

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION**  
**VII**

# HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA

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## PAPERS

## HOUSING AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

THOMAS ADAMS

*Town Planning Adviser to the Commission of Conservation, Canada*

We have reached a stage of great rejoicing, and the pain of the past days has gone into history and we have arrived at the time when men's lips are full of the suggestion of a new era. Public men talk of this as a time for beginning to rebuild the world. There is not only the suggestion of Reconstruction, but every newspaper and every public conference has the color and tone of Reconstruction in its articles and in its discussions. In 1841 Emerson, speaking on Man the Reformer, said that the hour was ripe for great reform, that men's minds were full of great ideals, and that the time had come to get the reforms they wanted; but the hour passed by and men were lulled back into the old passivity.

The injustices of which Emerson spoke have gone on repeating themselves through the years that have passed since then, and to-day we have arrived at another stage when there is talk of reform, and when our minds are filled with ideals. We are again menaced with the danger of returning to peaceful development with self-complacency and contentment with things as they were; and with excessive zeal in regard to our own personal affairs coupled with disregard of those great public issues which sooner or later will force us to find some solution of our problems.

Perhaps if they are not dealt with now in the atmosphere of coolness and prudence, they will have to

be dealt with in desperation, and we shall fail to reach the kind of solution which sane and scientific men would desire.

### LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

We have, as a result of this war, however, learned some definite lessons. I think, for one thing, we have learned to appreciate the value of the scientific man in public affairs. With us there has been a tendency to look down upon science and to elevate a somewhat nebulous thing called executive ability. This, divorced from information and knowledge, is often an easy means of obtaining power through the support of the mob for those who are lacking in the information and knowledge that would justify their position in public affairs.

But we have come to recognize that a professor may be president of a great republic, that an engineer may be an excellent food controller, that an ex-McGill University professor may go to England and become the head of the national service and local government, and that our great railways may be presided over by men who have been trained in our universities as scientific men. There has been a tendency to idolize custom and prejudice and call them experience. We have suffered considerably from accepting too easily the claims of those who, worshipping custom and prejudice, declare that they are the only practical men.

And then again through this war, we have seen that men may die for posterity, the thing that has been scoffed at so often by public men when they have been asked to apply themselves to the problems of the future. We have men coming back from the battlefields who

have given themselves for posterity, and they will demand of us, not that we shall merely clap our hands and shout "hurrah" but that we shall meet them in the same spirit in regard to our social problems as they have shown in giving themselves for the defense of our freedom and our rights.

They will demand also that we shall be able to put before them a program showing that the things for which they fought, the ideals for which they died, shall not be disregarded by those who administer their affairs at home.

And in regard to this question of housing, we must recognize that before we can solve it we must get into the frame of mind of our English friends of making a humble acknowledgment of our past failures.

### MUNICIPAL EFFICIENCY IN AMERICA AND EUROPE

I have sometimes been told that the American is not prone to acknowledge those things in respect of which he is defective but rather to parade those things in respect of which he has been great and successful; but in my experience of public discussions in America, I must confess that in regard to housing, city planning, and other questions, the tendency is to overestimate what is being done in other countries, and particularly before the war what was being done in Germany, and to underestimate what is being done at home.

I have heard public men on your platforms declaim on the magnificent municipal efficiency of Germany at a time when I knew from personal inspection that the people in Berlin were perhaps as overcrowded and badly housed as any body of people on the continent of

Europe; where we are told,\* there is 30% more deaths of persons between 15 and 25 years than in London; where two-thirds of the population are living in tenements of five stories and over; where 70% of the people are occupying houses of two rooms and less, and where only 19% of the sons of Berlin-born parents were fit for military service in the present war.

These are the things that provide the real test of efficiency and show us how some of the magnificent parading of statistics and of descriptions of visits to Germany often pass over the really essential factors in connection with municipal administration. I say that there has been a tendency to underestimate what is being done in America in regard to this question, and it is with all humility that I put before you any suggestions from my own experience in Britain and in Canada with regard to the future solution of the problem of housing as a part of the wider problem of Reconstruction.

I hope you will not regard what I say of your condition as a criticism or as the expression of the opinion of the "candid friend," but merely as an interpretation of our problems with a little local color and some reference to your own conditions, in order to make them more clear and intelligible to you.

Happily the war is over and we may now put aside the question of War Housing. The rapid, somewhat indiscriminate methods which it is necessary to apply during the exigencies of war, can be put aside and we may now consider whether there is any problem of housing in connection with the period of Reconstruction that is before us.

\* T. C. Horsfall in *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

Now, if I may also say it, it seems to me somewhat of a weakness of your policy, as it is of ours in Canada, that it did not take into account the question of after-the-war housing even in the middle of the war itself. That fault is not to be found with the British policy.

After all, what were the reasons advanced in your Congress for the purpose of demonstrating the necessity for spending hundreds of millions of dollars on housing the workers at a time when all the efforts you could concentrate on winning the war were necessary to be devoted to that purpose? That better housing was needed for the purpose of increasing the production of munitions; that better housing was needed for the purpose of making men more contented; for the purpose of stabilizing industry and labor; for the purpose of preventing that discontent on the part of labor that grows into strikes and riots. These were the suggestions put forward with such force that Congress decided, in the midst of war, while it was asking you to give all the money you could spare for the purpose of carrying on the war, to devote a considerable part of its money to housing.

But, if that money was required to increase the output of munitions in time of war; if it was required to make labor contented and peaceful and efficient in time of war; if it was required to be spent for the purpose of securing victory in war, it is more than necessary for the purpose of increasing output, making labor contented, and securing victory in time of peace.

What will increase the efficiency of labor, what will produce contentment, what will avoid the extremes of socialism, what will set up a sound social structure on

democratic foundations, are the very things that Congress had in view in making this appropriation for war purposes. But you also need to promote these things for peace purposes.

Therefore it is a problem for national, for state, and for local consideration, whether you should not now, even more than during war, consider the necessity of dealing in a broad, comprehensive, and national way with the provision of homes for the workers in your industries.

### WHAT IS A HOME?

And what is a home? It is not a mere place of shelter in modern democracy. It must provide conditions that will promote efficiency in labor and strength of character in citizenship.

The home connotes the family; and the family, and not the individual, is the unit of the civic structure. A true housing policy must go further than improving or providing dwellings; it must be part of a comprehensive policy of town and country development. We must apply more thought to the theories and practical tendencies of urban and rural growth, and fit in our housing policies as part of a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural organization. In its broader and more general social aspect it is a problem of national proportions and importance, in regard to which past failure is written large in every community, and success can only be achieved—first, by humble admission of our defects, and second, by building upon nation-wide organization capable of dealing with it on business and scientific principles.

## DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO REMEDIES

Most people want to see good housing conditions provided for the workers; but there is considerable difference of view as to the best way to improve these conditions and those who oppose Government housing do so from strong convictions that it is unsound. It is not in any way disparaging to them to suggest that they will resist its becoming a success if they can, because they honestly believe that by such resistance they will be serving their country. I think the experience of national and municipal housing in England, so far as such experience is of any value as a guide to us on this side of the Atlantic, has clearly demonstrated the fallacies that underlie most of the objections to Government housing. But the fact remains, that these fallacies will have to be overthrown by practical demonstrations on this continent before they will cease to be factors to be reckoned with in connection with the housing problem.

The difficulties you have to face are greater than those in England for several reasons. In the first place national and municipal housing in England has been a subject of experiment for 30 or 40 years. Theories and fallacies have been put to the test of practical experience. It has been ascertained what is the line of least resistance and what are the actual financial responsibilities to be faced in providing housing accommodation. People have become accustomed to obtaining assistance from national funds for housing purposes; and all countries and communities are almost above everything else the slaves of custom.

Bad housing conditions are not caused by scarcity so much as by defective government and false economic



ideals; as during times of an excess supply of houses the slum conditions always persist in nearly as great a degree as at other times. The scarcity, however, creates a shortage among the more highly skilled laborers and the middle classes and makes the problem more extensive as we have it to-day, with overcrowding not only among the poor but among the well-paid artisans, clerks, and professional classes.

Then there is another type of housing problem that needs special attention; and for which we of this generation have least excuse. This is the continued building of insanitary shacks and crowded three-deckers in the open country all round the fringes of our cities and towns.

#### HINDENBURG STRATEGY IN INDUSTRIALISM

Certain obstructive elements will prevent progress in the future as in the past. We shall still find many Hindenburgs pinning their faith to the discipline of the front-line trenches cut through the industrial field; disregarding the social conditions of the badly housed multitude in the slums of civil life in the rear, which may bring their highly organized and scientific industrial machinery to a sudden stop and destroy all their plans and dividends.

A few weeks ago the German army appeared to be still defiant and unbroken. Now we know it to have been merely the outer shell that hid the rottenness at the core, produced by an over-confidence in military science and failure to recognize that success in war, as in peace, rests on the stability of the social organization that lies at the foundation of either a military or industrial army.

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In our industrial organization we have been prone to follow the German method in military organization, and to fail in emphasizing the spiritual qualities in our national life that in the long run are needed to give complete satisfaction to our material wants. Because of that failure we have neglected some of our public duties and put too much responsibility on private enterprise.

### GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY IN AFTER-THE-WAR HOUSING

What are our public duties in the present emergency? Does it involve the Government in responsibility? There being no longer any question of building houses for national defense the responsibilities of the governments to deal with the present abnormal situation raise very large and difficult problems. Some contend that, if Government action is necessary, it is the duty of the state or provincial government to take it, rather than the federal government.

Personally I am convinced that, whatever policy may be regarded as expedient, or as most in conformity with the traditions and nature of government in Canada and the United States, it is unlikely that any satisfactory solution of the housing problem will be obtained unless the federal government takes the initiative in promoting an active coöperation between itself and the provincial or state governments and municipalities. To make such initiative and coöperation effective, it is essential that there should be some form of financial aid given and the utmost administrative assistance that would be acceptable to the provinces and states.

In the United States the administrative machinery

set up for war housing should be maintained as part of your organization for reconstruction. It will be of great aid in developing the country; in creating a field for employment after the war; in attracting immigrants, and in improving the efficiency of the workers.

In Great Britain the after-the-war housing policy is as distinct and clearly settled as the policy with regard to housing during the war. The housing schemes that were carried out in Britain during the war, while exemplary from the point of view of important contributions to reconstruction—both because of their permanent character and the complete town planning and social equipment provided with them—were, nevertheless, purely war schemes.

As an after-the-war policy, however, the British Government is proposing to finance housing schemes all over the country, through the agency of the municipalities. It is found that a policy of building good dwellings and providing social and recreational facilities, which has proved a valuable aid to the increase of output during the war, is equally likely to be of value to increased production during peace.

Neither the provinces nor states nor the municipalities can deal effectively with this matter without leadership and financial aid from the federal government. It is a problem of national proportions needing stimulus and expert guidance from the central department.

#### RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

Certain constitutional and other difficulties in connection with the solution of the housing problem cannot be overcome very easily. There are difficulties in connection with the rights of property. I think the

people of Massachusetts do not read the first article of their Constitution often enough. We forget sometimes that rights of property and the sacredness of contracts and the right of eminent domain, while they must be protected in a civilized country, are secondary to the rights of persons, to the human rights which we possess—you as citizens of this Commonwealth and we as citizens of a free country to the north. That it is the human rather than the property rights, that should have, not the only, but the first consideration.

Property rights in slums! private enterprise in the possession of slums! I am not going to attempt to give excuses for suggesting that there is no contract in the ownership of slums that deserves protection. Perhaps there is in the outer shell of the slum if it is possible to be converted for healthy use, but the person who owns it should be put to the responsibility of its conversion.

There is private property in land that is justifiable. Perhaps I might have some friends who are persuaded that it is not, but in Canada we have a large proportion of our citizens who are owners of private property and we must deal with conditions as they are. But private property in the wrong use of land, the private property which permits me to own a lot and put a building on the whole 100% of the lot and destroy the light and air on my neighbors' land on both sides of me, is not a justifiable use of property and needs no protection under the law.

I should be permitted to own my land and to enjoy the full liberty of its use so long as I do not destroy the liberty of my neighbors. But I can destroy the liberty of my neighbors by the use to which I put my own property, and in so far as I do so, to the extent of making it

impossible for him to obtain light or air for his building as the result of the too intensive use of my own land, I am interfering with the rights of free citizenship.

We have this question of private property always with us when we speak about introducing town planning and housing reform. We have also the question of interfering with private enterprise. I have too great a regard for the development of the individual to believe that it is possible to create a great state and to organize a great community except by means of legitimate private enterprise and by its utmost encouragement. I do not believe in the government performing any function that will destroy or impair private enterprise of the right kind.

But when we speak of building houses, we must have particular regard to the kind of private enterprise that will be interfered with by the government's entering upon public building. I might, if I had the time, suggest the kind of government interference that is desirable, that would attend to the real estate speculator, who, without contributing any skill, without himself wanting to use the land, enjoys to an enormous extent the fruits of the profits realized during times of boom from its intensive and rapid development; or who, for the purpose of promoting a boom, exploits the new immigrants who come to the country and secures from those who use the land more than its value in order to maintain his method of developing it.

I might, to some extent, recommend interference with that kind of land development, for I do not pretend to be able to excuse it and I do not wish to suggest that that kind of private enterprise should be protected. There are legitimate functions for the real

estate operator. I do not condemn it as a profession. The real estate operator and building speculator are often wrongly condemned. They have a function to perform in the community and ought to be supported in performing it. But there are kinds of land and building development that do a great injury to our communities and prevent us from securing any satisfactory solution of the housing problem. It is possible that some of our friends who lend money at 15% and 20% will suffer if the government comes along and lends money at 6% or 7%, but what I maintain is that both the usurious land speculator and builder will be benefited in soul in proportion as they lose money, and that what we need to do is, to have regard to the kind of private enterprise that is productive and really gives us something for the money invested.

If you introduce money into Massachusetts out of the national exchequer to build houses, how are you going to interfere with legitimate private enterprise? At the present time you, as well as we in Canada, are suffering from scarcity and dearness of labor, materials, and money.

In normal times it does not pay the private builder to erect small houses and he has never shown much inclination for that kind of investment. How is he to meet the situation now when he has failed to meet it under more favorable circumstances in the past? The increase of rents has not yet reached the point that makes it worth while for the building speculator to invest in building, even if capital and labor were available. On the other hand, the wages of working men have not advanced in proportion to the increase that has already taken place in rental values, so that

any further increase, needed to enable private enterprise to resume building operations, is unlikely. The situation may gradually right itself, but it will take many years and meanwhile much hardship and injury will be caused and serious discontent and dissension may be created.

In so far as you are suffering from the scarcity and dearness of money, if the government comes along and re-lends to you some of the money you have paid in for your bonds, for the purpose of housing your people, will the builder have any less building to do? Will he not have more building to do in proportion as increased capital is introduced into your state? Will not the contractor, who at present builds on speculation, get in some other form the employment of his brains and his labor in building where he could not before because of the absence of existing private capital?

There is no interference with private enterprise if your government policy is so directed as to use every possible agency in securing the erection of the buildings: municipality, housing company, and private builder.

There must, of course, in the use of the private builder, be such regulation and such methods of employment as will prevent him or any private speculator from exploiting the public funds; but, subject to this protection, there is no reason why every form of private enterprise that can be legitimately employed, should not be used in connection with your constructive housing program, if you should decide to have a housing program in connection with your national government or state government or your municipality.

### THREE THINGS TO BE DONE

There are three desiderata that may be put into one word, to the confusion, perhaps, of the foreigner but not to the native Anglo-Saxon. I would say that we want a threefold program:

(1) To raze our slums;

(2) To raise the standard of our housing codes in regard to both new and existing buildings;

(3) To raise new houses by means of government funds directed through every private and public channel that we can use.

• The words "raze the slums" suggest the possibility of great expense to each municipality. You are not going to get the national or state government to come in and raze the slums of Boston. I am saved a great deal of explanation in using that term, "the slums of Boston," because I find on your program that tomorrow you are to visit the slums of Boston, and therefore I may be permitted to use the words of the program. So you have slums. Well, is it right or proper that you should have them without using much greater effort to get rid of them?

Is it not desirable, in this country, that you should consider, when you are spending hundreds of millions of dollars to improve your housing conditions, that you should try and get rid of some of the bad conditions you already have? It is going to cost you a great deal. You cannot allow slums to grow up in your midst and not be faced with two serious problems as they have been for the last 50 or 100 years in England and other old countries.

You must be prepared to face two conditions. In the first place, if you have slums, you have a percentage



of your population living under conditions that will mean that you cannot take them out of the slums without a slow process of education, without a great deal of patience, and without recognition of the fact that they have been injured mentally, morally, and physically by their surroundings, and that it is your duty to try and face the responsibility of helping to get them out of these conditions and not simply to blame them as living in conditions in which they rejoice, to which they are habituated, and therefore for which you have no responsibility.

Whenever you have slum conditions, you must face the difficulty of having to deal with the human problem that has been created by the slum; and if it is worth anything in respect of the adult population of the slum, it is worth tenfold more in respect of the children that are growing up in the slum. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that you should start with the education of a child a hundred years before it is born. You are educating the children of the next century in the slums of Boston, and in proportion as you erect better houses and secure sweeter, more wholesome environment, even for the lowest grade of the population than you have, you are improving the citizenship of this country and you are educating the future citizens to make it more stable and progressive. That human side must be dealt with; it cannot be ignored.

#### PENALTY OF SLUM CLEARANCE

Then there is the financial side; you cannot remove slums except at a loss. The city of Liverpool has cleared 32 acres of slums and erected healthy dwellings for 12,000 people at a cost of \$4,555,000; \$365,000 of

which was for widening streets. The city of Liverpool derives a certain income from the new houses, but it does not expect to obtain more than a full return on perhaps 50% of the money it has spent.

I will not put before you the false suggestion that you can deal with slum areas without having to incur great costs; it would only be misleading you. So far as my experience has gone, it cannot be done, because in slum clearance schemes you have these two problems to deal with: you must pay the penalty of the injury done to the human element, and you must meet the cost of getting rid of a disease.

A third point is that, unhappily, we have—in England and in Canada, at any rate,—to pay the owner of the slum as if he owned something that was as valuable as the revenue it produced—in the sense of capital values as in the revenue-producing value. That is to say, if it is producing, under a condition of pressure and extra demand, \$100 a year in rent, the property is worth 20 or 25 years' purchase of the income it produces, no matter how bad it is.

I say this question of slum clearing must be dealt with courageously and we must recognize that it has to be dealt with now or later, and we cannot continue to put it off too long, or we shall have difficulties far greater than those we have now to encounter in order to get rid of the slum.

The second desideratum is that of raising the standards of our housing accommodations in regard to both new and existing dwellings. I might give many illustrations, but there is no use in bringing three-deckers to New England. I might give many illustrations of bad housing conditions in different places. Every place has

its own problem, just as it has its own customs. A three-decker does not satisfy the Baltimore people who like the long rows or the small cottages of Philadelphia or the tenements of New York. Even in this country you do not have one uniform kind of housing problem. You have a series of problems according to the local customs and peculiarities of the people, and very often according to the dictates of those who are developing the land, who gradually accustom the people to a certain kind of home.

But in this question of raising the standards, while conditions differ in Canada and in the States and in each of the states themselves, it is desirable that there should be in each state, as far as possible, a uniform housing code that will raise the standard of private housing to the level to which you want to bring your public housing. I mean by that that if you start any policy of public housing, you cannot expect to make it successful if you permit private enterprise to erect buildings of a much lower standard than those erected by public enterprise.

Now, in saying this I have an admission to make with regard to some forms of private enterprise.

#### AN EXAMPLE OF GOOD PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

I will illustrate it by an example. The U. S. Steel Corporation is developing a new town in Ontario. In developing that town the proposed standards of housing and the standard of development are better than the democratic standards of our municipalities. In other words, private enterprise in this case is providing us with better conditions than we get through the machinery of government.

So that in many cases it is unfair to say that private

enterprise falls short on its own initiative of what we require under our housing codes. But in the experience I have had of building model houses, I have always been faced with the difficulty of having to compete with nearby slums for the want of properly enforced housing regulations requiring proper sanitary conditions in the houses already existing. Any buildings you erect with proper sanitary arrangements will have to compete with these existing slum conditions. Therefore, in order to make your government housing successful, you must require that the private standard be raised to a level of health and sanitation which you think is the minimum standard for public purposes.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF ENGLAND IN RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES

And third, in regard to raising new buildings I will refer to what is being done in England. The war-housing policy of England has taught her Government several things. Their reconstruction policy was started in 1915. They have been longer in the war. They have had opportunities for formulating their reconstruction program during the years they were fighting for existence. They have had an intensive study made of a large number of questions; the restoration of ship-building; the future allocation and supply of raw materials; the restoration of means of transportation by road and rail; the reorganization of industries; the setting up of industrial councils to adjust differences between capital and labor; standardization in relation to building construction; demobilization and settlement of returned soldiers; increased production of food from land; the setting up of interim reconstruction com-

mittees to advise on local aspects of labor problems and other reconstruction problems.

But, in addition, there was announced by Mr. Lloyd George the other day what is the declared policy of the Ministry of Reconstruction to deal with health, housing, and sanitation; a large rehousing program to deal with the proper settlement of land and its proper and healthy development, and another scheme to deal with questions of local transportation.

Now, when we consider that program of the Ministry of Reconstruction in England, we must separate it from the war-housing program. The war-housing program of England, as I say, taught them certain things, but it no longer affects their minds in considering the future except in regard to lessons it left behind.

It taught them, as the result of scientific investigation, the necessity of providing, not only good houses but good environment, recreation facilities, moving picture theaters, and churches in order to make labor contented and efficient. It taught them this in a way they had never realized before, and because they have been taught this in time of war, they are not going to lose the value of the lesson in connection with their peace problems.

The question of the future is how to build houses that will make up for the shortage created during the war. They suggest that 300,000 houses are needed at once and that money must be provided from national resources for the purpose of building these houses.

Now, consider for a moment what that means in relation to your own particular problem. England wants 60,000 houses a year to provide for an increase of her population. By erecting 300,000 houses, she is

going to build five years' supply, five years' normal supply of houses which would be erected by private enterprise in the absence of any public building. According to your statistics and your census, you would require to deal with your increase of population more than 300,000 houses every year instead of 300,000 houses in five years. So that your problem, instead of being a smaller one than that of Great Britain, is immensely greater because of your largely increased population from the outside.

To build these 300,000 houses in England, they will have to find \$600,000,000 of public money. Out of that six hundred million dollars, which the British Government will have to spend at the rate of about \$2,000 a house, they will have to lose, over the seven years, if prices drop according to expectations, about \$140,700,000 and the municipalities among them will have to lose about \$46,800,000.

That is to say, that taking the present high prices of labor, materials, and money and estimating the fall in values in the next seven years, the Government of England and the municipalities, between them, are facing the situation of having to spend, out of the public funds no less than \$187,500,000, or thereabouts, for the purpose of dealing with this problem.\*

You have there a condition that does not enable us to form quite a parallel on this side of the water. There is only the state and municipality and they are dealing with that matter in a somewhat easier way than we are

\* The clerk of Buckfastleigh Urban District Council states that the cost of houses in his district worked out at \$2,000. He estimated the loss at the end of seven years at \$625, of which the Government would pay three-fourths and the municipality the remainder. Municipal Engineer, Oct. 24, 1918.

in Canada or than you can do in the United States. You have your federal, your state, and your municipal governments. You cannot start a great federal housing policy, except during the war, for the purpose of securing the erection of houses through your municipalities, unless you introduce the state as the intermediary, just as we in Canada must introduce the province as the intermediary between the federal government and the municipality. But that, to my mind, is not an insurmountable difficulty.

The correct housing policy for our countries is to have the coöperative action of the three forms of government, federal, state and municipal, and to employ, under the municipality, every private agency and housing association for the purpose of doing the actual work.

But the problem in England, is not merely one of building these new houses. They have had 50 or 60 years' practical experience in dealing with slum conditions, in getting landlords to improve their own dwellings, and in the year 1913, the housing department of the Local Government Board secured the improvement of no less than 60,000 houses in England as a result of the direct expenditure by the landlords in improving these houses, under the threat that the government would do it if the landlords did not do it themselves.

The result of the improvement of these 60,000 houses was that the landlords enjoy to-day a larger income from their property and are above the reproach of owning dwellings that are unhealthy or disgraceful to them as owners.

Side by side with any policy of new construction, there must be, I imagine, in your country as in England

and Canada, a policy of securing that those who own unwholesome property shall so repair and improve that property that it shall be habitable and suitable for occupation.

Now, the fact that there are three problems to deal with in connection with housing also suggests that there are three subdivisions of the problem of new construction that have to be considered.

### TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING

You cannot deal with housing as a separate problem. In connection with housing or in connection with the house, there is:

- (1) The site,—that is the land;
- (2) The development, consisting of the local improvements;
- (3) The building itself.

You must deal with all these three factors when you come to formulate a new housing program. This has been recognized by your housing bureau in Washington. They have employed city planners and engineers and architects to deal with all these questions of the development of the land; the improvement of the land by the construction of roads and sewers and water mains and the building of the houses themselves, but I want to suggest to you that if there is any difficulty in getting your government to deal with housing itself on any large scale because of the fear of injuring private enterprise, there should be no difficulty in getting them to deal with the question of land development as a means of assisting private enterprise to solve the housing problem.

Every dollar you spend on buying land and on de-



veloping it goes as far as seven dollars spent on building houses. Of the two questions, to my mind the first is the most important from the government point of view. If you build houses and neglect the land or neglect the question of land development, you will not make much improvement in existing conditions, even by the use of public money; but if you acquire land, secure the right kind of development and assist private enterprise to build the houses, you will certainly make a considerable contribution towards the improvement of your social conditions and towards the indirect attack upon the slum itself.

### THE GARDEN CITY

Now that raises the question of town planning; in other words, you cannot deal with housing unless you have a town planning policy accompanying your housing program. I was taught that in the school of the Garden City, when, in 1903, we purchased about 4,000 acres of land within 34 miles of London, with a small capital of \$750,000, and started to build a new town; a few people with private funds, not a government supported institution. To-day there are 13,000 people there. There is every facility and amenity which a community requires. There is a civic spirit that would do justice even to Boston. There is an admirable feeling in that town that it is going to become an example to the whole country. There it is, a financial success, not complete so far, because the town is not finished, but it is a financial success which justifies the claim that that kind of development is sound commercially as well as being sound as a solution of the problem.

Many of the people who have gone to live in that

town have come out of the slums of London and they have destroyed, in my mind, the theory that people who live in slums must necessarily forever remain injured and unable to improve their conditions as the result of their own personal effort.

Above all the Garden City has taught us the necessity of dealing with this question of the land in order to secure any satisfactory solution of the housing problem.

Building, land development, and local transit, must be linked up together in any housing scheme that is going to be effective.

• We should have a housing policy that will enable us to deal, under one bureau, or under one government agency, with these questions together and not with one of them separate from the other. If we are going to have national funds spent on housing, there ought to be also simultaneously provided, a fund to be spent on the purchase and development of the land and, where necessary, on the provision of local transit.

This problem of dealing with these three questions at once has been forced upon the English people as the result of long experience of their inability to solve the housing question unless they purchased and controlled the development of the land and assisted in providing local means of transportation. If you buy land without means of transportation—and there is no present means of reaching it and you want to build houses upon it, you must link it up with an existing center by means of some form of transportation, and as a result of expenditure on transportation, you will so increase the value of that land in proportion to your expenditure that it becomes a better investment for those who acquire it.

Then when you plan that land, you will arrange its streets and roads for the purpose of securing the right kind of facilities for the people who are going to live upon it, instead of having to subject yourself to some real estate subdivision which is expensive and wasteful and to fit into which you have great difficulty because of its being held by private owners. To safely and effectively use public money in housing schemes, you must have not only the ownership of the land but the control of its development.

It is necessary to have in view the importance of dealing with this housing question, not merely in the slums of Boston, except as a palliative for existing conditions, but in the green fields outside of Boston. You need to spread the city evenly over the country surrounding the outskirts of your city rather than continue to congest your central district.

We have far too high a regard for the value of concentration. Concentration is producing transportation problems far more injurious to the business life of our cities than would a slight degree of scattering into the surrounding country. You must deal with this problem by spreading your city over wider areas, but in spreading your cities, roll them out evenly so that you can extend the sewers and the water mains and the pavements as you build the houses instead of spreading them at the rate of one and two to the acre. Round most large cities on this continent there are areas with one or two persons to the acre and with enough supply of sewers and water mains to deal with a population many times the number.

Why is it that our taxes are increasing? Why do we find it necessary to meet such high obligations for public

indebtedness? \* Because we treat the city as something which may be allowed to grow anyhow instead of applying the same business principles we apply in our private affairs. Because we go on using the public purse to finance land speculation by constructing more than the public share of local improvements.

#### A GARDEN CITY NOT AN ARTIFICIAL SCHEME

One of the first things said against the Garden City was that it was something artificial. "Why create a Garden City outside of Boston or London? Cities will establish themselves where there are raw materials; where people like to live; they will go where the railways are. You cannot *create* a Garden City, because cities will grow and they will establish themselves in spite of you, even if you try with all your might to secure their establishment in some place other than where they will grow naturally themselves."

Now there is a wrong and distorted argument needing very little examination to expose its fallacy. We did not try to create a Garden City at all when we started Letchworth. We recognized that there were certain natural tendencies at work which needed to be organized in order to establish a Garden City. You have the same tendencies in this country. You have

\* The Toronto Housing Commission states that "over 23 millions, or almost one quarter of the city's entire debt, has been caused through the carrying out of local improvement works, and a large portion of these have been done in newly annexed districts. Moreover, in addition to the debt charges on the city's share of the local improvement debt, which charges are included in the present tax rate of 30½ mills, the annual debt charges on the ratepayers' share of local improvement debt which is paid by the owner of the property specially benefitted amount to no less than \$1,700,000. This, in many instances, has the effect of doubling and trebling the ordinary tax rate.

the tendency of the manufacturers to move out of your over-congested, too highly priced, too highly taxed areas into the surrounding country and establish their own communities because they cannot afford to continue to grow and expand in the city on account of the high price of land and the over-congested nature of the only areas available for them.

That is why the U. S. Steel Corporation is establishing itself in the open country. That is why the Kodak people, when they come into Canada, do not go inside of our big cities but into the open country where they have plenty of room for their workers and plenty of opportunity to plan and develop as they think best in order to secure healthy conditions.

The Garden City was not an artificial creation at all. It is the existing slum city that is the artificial creation. The Garden City was the application of modern intelligence and knowledge to natural tendencies which we saw all around us. The existing city is just in the same way a dynamic thing. There is nothing static about the city. There is nothing fixed or rigid about city growth. Your city is growing, it is spreading itself out into the surrounding country, but what are you doing to control and organize that development? Where are some of your worst slum conditions? I know that we have slum conditions created within the last two or three years in our outer suburbs, and even in our rural districts, which are worse than some of those in the very heart of our cities.

### RURAL HOUSING PROBLEM

Then we have just as bad slum conditions in our rural districts as in our cities. You have districts in Califor-

nia, according to the Commission of Immigration,\* which produce riots principally because, in their judgment, of the bad housing conditions in which the people were living.

Yet we have persons who will use the wrong argument that, because people are badly housed in the country, and that produces a certain unhealthy condition, therefore it proves that the country is not a healthy place to live in and therefore that it proves the bad, unhealthy slum conditions are right after all because the death rates of the rural areas are just as bad as in the crowded towns. Two wrongs do not make a right.

Bad conditions in the *country*! What does that mean? Does it not mean that, in addition to the slum conditions you have cut off from you the principal source of recruiting to offset the degeneration going on in any overcrowded and unhealthy houses that you may have in the crowded parts of your city? We relied in London, as they do in most European countries, on recruiting from the country in order to make up for the deterioration of the city.

Don't mistake it. This question of rural housing is just as important for us in these new countries as the question of urban housing and getting rid of our slums and building houses in Garden Cities or Garden Suburbs or any other form of development around our cities. We have seen in this war how important is the question of urban and rural housing, because what affects production in the country districts, affects the

\* The California Commission of Immigration and Housing has determined in connection with the riot which occurred on the hop ranch near Wheatland on Aug. 3, 1913, "that probably the most contributory factor was the poor housing and sanitary accommodations afforded the workers."

whole life of the city. The question of the high cost of living is very largely a question of inefficient rural organization.

The time has come surely in the western provinces of Canada and in the western states, to reconsider this question of rural organization and to start to reconstruct anew so as to secure better means of social intercourse and the efficiency which comes from improved housing conditions in the country as well as in the city.

I have only time to suggest one or two things with regard to a possible policy for you, following the lines of what I think is a possible policy for us in Canada.

#### A GENERAL HOUSING POLICY

We have first to recognize that there is a national responsibility in this matter. Our federal governments are responsible for having taken a large amount of money out of the channels in which it is usually spent and directed it into other channels necessary for purposes of the war. They are largely responsible for the conditions under which labor, materials, and money have become dear. One of the reasons why material is dear is because of the embargo placed upon the use of certain materials during the war.

Then our national governments are responsible for immigration; they are responsible for trade and commerce; they are responsible for housing a large number of state employees; and they have a direct and vital interest in the housing problem in connection with these matters. I do not suggest that they should build houses. But I do suggest that you cannot dissociate the national governments from responsibility in this matter.

There is the province with us and the state with you. They are chiefly responsible for the administration of matters connected with the municipalities. They must be introduced as executive authorities to deal with this question of housing. You cannot get rid of the state if you are going to solve this problem right, because the state is the most responsible authority in regard to the question of land development and for dealing with the problems of constitutional rights in connection with police power and public welfare.

Then why not introduce the municipality? I know there are those who suggest that the municipality is in power for such a short term that they cannot trust those who are elected to represent them and that there is a danger that if public money were given, it might not be administered so effectively as it would be by some autocratic body.

But I am one of those who believe that good government is no substitute for self-government; that even if you make mistakes, even if you have to face certain difficulties, you would do far better to use your democratic machinery and gradually to improve it and place responsibility and confidence in it rather than to get the greater efficiency that would come by attempting to override it, either in its proper functions of administering the municipality or even in dealing with a question such as housing. I believe in enlisting and securing the coöperation of the municipal government in this matter of improving housing conditions and particularly for the reason that I want to educate the municipalities themselves.

Do not mistake the progress being made in England as evidence that the municipalities are thoroughly alive



to this question. The municipalities in England are as backward as the municipalities over here in regard to anything which involves putting an extra cent on the taxes, especially within six months of the time when they are going to appeal to the electors for a return to power. The policy of the national government in England has been much more courageous than that of the municipalities, and there is the same fight against inertia and the same difficulty in England that you will have in dealing with your municipalities here.

I suggest this, because I know there is a feeling, which I have encountered time after time in the United States, that it would be far better if some of these problems of local executive work could be dealt with by some autocratic body which would be independent of the electors. The right way is not to supersede your local government by means of an autocratic power above them, but to educate your people to improve local government, and you will never educate them in the slums. We must house them better in order to get better government.

So the question therefore comes down to this, as a final recommendation, that we should have in these countries federal, state, and municipal action; and that legitimate private enterprise should be encouraged.

A Federal Bureau should form the center for the distribution of intelligence and experience, but should also encourage the utmost local activity and responsibility consistent with the efficient working of any scheme. The Federal Government might provide funds and should provide expert aid to assist in solving the problem, but care will have to be taken to avoid causing friction by undue interference with what is, under normal conditions, a local responsibility.

There should be, in the operation of any scheme, a direct link between the three branches of government, and it should be a condition of the granting of federal aid in any province or state that the provincial or state government have a proper branch of one of its departments to act as the intermediary between the federal government and the municipalities.

The building of the houses and the development of the land will have to be carried out locally, either through municipalities, societies, manufacturers, or individuals. The ultimate success of any government scheme will depend on the soundness and intelligence of the local administration.

The central department will be valuable to organize and advise, and to carry on "a comprehensive sphere of observation." It is urgently needed to create the right system and assist in making it work to the best advantage. A matter of the utmost importance, therefore, is that the right kind of machinery be set up. The Federal Bureau must avoid treating the problem of reconstruction in a piece-meal way, without sufficient regard to underlying social conditions. It should not only deal with housing, but with certain phases of land development and transit. It should advise regarding standardization of materials, regarding model by-laws or housing codes in connection with building construction. It should deal with the difficult problem of waste by fire, which destroys so many of our buildings. It should prepare model plans of sites and buildings; and it should have under it and directly connected with it provincial or state departments supervising the actual work of planning and housing by the municipalities. The Federal Government should lend money to

the provinces or the states in ratio to their population and subject to the condition that they also provide funds and take steps to use the national funds for the improvement of housing conditions.

There are, of course, numerous other problems in connection with the question of planning and housing which also require to be dealt with by these federal and state bureaus. There is the question of getting better topographical information with regard to all the land that is in course of development in your country as well as in Canada. We have not adequate regional surveys of our country. We need surveys of much of our provinces and states where they are more or less thickly developed giving a proper classification of the land; showing us the areas suitable for industries; the areas suitable for residential development and the areas that are waste land suitable only for public places.

We need to apply science to community growth in our cities and country districts, and we need, on the basis of the regional surveys, to build a plan of these growing cities, towns and rural communities and to develop our housing policies in conformity with our general schemes of development.

We must frame our policies so as to include the quality as well as the quantity of life if industrial and human progress is to be maintained in these growing countries. To raise standards of housing codes will make building dearer; let it be dearer so long as we get value for our money. Wages will respond to the higher standards. In every country where housing standards are low, wages are low.

And this question raises one last thought, and that is, the difficulty I hear constantly suggested of dealing

with these matters in a country where there are so many constitutional obstructions. I attended a lecture the other day by an eminent university professor who told us that you are powerless to pass a federal child labor law; and this in a democratic country where the women have such strong power and where children are so important! I could not help thinking, as he spoke, that there are weaknesses in democracy as well as in autocracy and that you sometimes need to be reminded of the words of a great friend of yours when a certain "kaiser" of England tried to tax your tea. Edmund Burke, in a speech on American Taxation said: "The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I *ought* to do."

Do not let us think too much of what the law says we may do, but rather let us apply ourselves to do what we ought to do in the interest of social justice for which your men and ours went out to fight. As one of them, who himself paid the great price, has said:

"They died for justice; justice owes them this,  
That what they died for be not overthrown."

## HOUSING AND RECONSTRUCTION

GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT

*President, Rockefeller Foundation*

As I listened to this inspiring address by a Canadian Adams, I thought of a Boston Adams whose autobiography I have just completed. I think I have read no publication in recent times which stimulated me more and gave me a more complete sense of the absolute futility of human existence. You will remember that Mr. Henry Adams describes philosophy as consisting of finding an unintelligible answer to an unanswerable question. But when I think of the intelligible, definite, straightforward answers to some of the pressing problems of housing which have been presented to us tonight, I am thankful that the problem of housing cannot be in any way classified as philosophy.

Last May through the courtesy of the Ministry of Information in London I visited Gretna Green with a British official. We were driven through a temporary community, but which was so settled and complete that I supposed it had existed for a good many years. I was told, however, that everything I saw there had happened within eighteen months or two years.

We drove first to headquarters, where I was introduced to the general manager of the whole enterprise. It consisted of three towns occupied by about fifteen thousand workers, engaged in four different factories, the entire area extending nearly fifteen miles in length and served by government railways. The manager introduced me to the chief architect and to Miss Mac-

Donald, who was in charge of the social welfare work. I spent a day at Gretna, and I saw more things in that day than I have ever seen collected in any one place before. I think I may say that I had seen most every individual feature before that I saw at Gretna, but I had never seen them assembled as parts of one organic whole, one splendid administrative unit.

First we went to see the hostels where the young women employees were housed. These buildings were of three different types. There were very attractive temporary wooden hostels accommodating about sixty young women, where each had a room to herself and there was a matron for each group. It was like a college dormitory or a sorority house, and each hostel was particularly enthusiastic about its own matron.

Another hostel was made up of a group of three buildings later to be turned into permanent houses for workmen's families, by the addition of partitions. In each of these buildings, forty or fifty young women were housed. Then there were other hostels of a longer cantonment type. This third type was the first to be constructed and the least desirable.

At that time about eight thousand young women were housed in these hostels in the three centers. These young women, I learned, were not only doing their work well in the munition factory, but they were also being taught cooking and sewing, in which they had taken a good deal of pride. These girls by the hundreds, who came there with almost no equipment, had, during the first part of their employment gradually assembled ample wardrobes. And they seemed to thoroughly enjoy the life. They were in excellent health and there was good reason why they should be. In the first place,

they were subject constantly to physical examination and had to engage in a certain amount of outdoor exercise. They were supervised by medical examiners. There were canteens established in connection with all the factories. There was a forewoman in every room of the factory who looked after the interests of the girls. There was a dispensary in connection with each of these units, and everything was done that modern medical science and social welfare work could suggest.

I was taken to see the school, which was a model institution. The building was one of the most attractive I have ever seen, even better than most of the school buildings one sees in the Middle West. I found one feature of this school which was new; there were great windows which were pivoted and could be turned at an angle and which transformed each room into what was, to all intents and purposes, an open-air class-room. In the front of each class-room, faced by the pupils, was a cheerful, open fire. When you consider the price of coal in England at that time, it made you realize that the schools were under government auspices.

We were taken to institutions of various kinds. I was very much afraid that one called an Institute was too improving, but I found it was like the Lyceum in New England, no longer an intellectual stimulus, but merely a new name for a Club for men, women, and girls. Most charming buildings were furnished simply and inexpensively and yet with admirable taste. In this model town of Gretna there were three churches, the Free Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Wesleyan Church.

The roads were macadamized. There was grass everywhere. How they got it down so quickly, I don't

know; I fancy they put it down overnight as they do at world's fairs. Gretna was really green and there seemed to be a great deal of planting. Everything was going on, so far as vegetation was concerned, in quite as an astonishing way as the production of cordite.

I went through the factories and saw the young women at work. They found that they could do more work, or just as much, in seven and a half hours as they could in eight and a half, so they reduced the labor day to seven and a half hours. You see their labor is not a machine process. You can quite understand that with the stamping machine process they could not speed up a stamping machine so that it would stamp as many times in seven and a half hours as before it had stamped in eight and a half, but in the case of this cordite work, which consists almost entirely in the handling of great quantities of cotton, packing it in tanks of acid and unpacking it and putting it into great vats where the acid is washed out of it—all these processes involve rapidity of handling, and these young women, with tremendous enthusiasm, pushed things through in seven and a half hours and got the work done.

We went to a great hall used for public dances under perfectly proper auspices, and for public meetings. There were also two "cinema palaces," as the British say, and these were being managed under government auspices. The public library and public laundry interested me extremely; in fact, it was the most completely socialistic enterprise I had ever encountered. Every feature of life seemed to be looked after.

Order was kept by two hundred police women, admirably uniformed and many of them on bicycles, looking completely authoritative, wearing imposing



helmets, and carrying modest little clubs which were symbols of authority rather than weapons of attack. They kept things in perfect order without the slightest difficulty and were looked up to and respected by the entire community.

I was extremely anxious to see some of the new permanent houses that had been put up. I had found out beforehand that there had been three architectural competitions in London for the best plan for a working-man's cottage, and the architect of these houses had just won first prize in two of these and second prize in one.

I was, therefore, anxious to see some of them under his guidance. He explained that after they had been erecting these temporary buildings for a time, they found that the cost was so high that the difference between permanent and temporary construction was, after all, not so great. They decided to use permanent materials and planned the town in accordance with a complete and thorough lay-out in advance. They decided to make it a permanent industrial center, and they are going on now to make it, either under government or private auspices, one of the great industrial areas of North Britain. It is admirably adapted to the purpose—a great level area with two railways running through it and with a tidal estuary which, when dredged, can be made a means of sea-borne transportation. These houses that I visited are of the permanent type, built of brick, stuccoed, and with slate roofs, practically fireproof throughout and erected at a cost which the architect said in pre-war days would have been about \$1,800 apiece. Of course the war cost had put them considerably beyond that point.

I visited three of these houses, all of the same general type. My first impression was that the house was built a little too close to the street, but after I was inside, I discovered the reason. The plan is to have the houses rather close to the street to provide gardens in the great open space inside the block. There is only one straight street in the place. That had been an old highway with fine trees, which they resolved to preserve. All the other streets are delightfully curving. The blocks are of rather irregular shape and houses are built so that a central space is left open for gardens, lawns, and playgrounds.

As you enter the house the first door on the left leads to the bathroom—not a very convenient place from our point of view. Then just after the bathroom and under the stairs is a sort of vegetable cellar with a grating opening outside. Of course they don't have cellars. As you go farther in, passing the space on your right, you come into a charming living-room, running practically the whole width of the house. The windows and the upper half of the door are of the generous casement type that really let in the air. One of the windows is pivoted at the top and you can push it half way out to form a protection against the rain; so that even if the rain was beating against that side of the house, you could have the upper half open.

A scullery is between the living-room and the cold storage place under the stairs. Every bit of space is occupied. Upstairs there is one large bedroom, two small bedrooms, and a large closet. Such a house rents for twelve shillings per week, which is a fairly good price.

My impression was one of tremendous enthusiasm.

Then I began to ask questions. I asked the cost of the house and found that it was nearly 600 pounds—200 more than it would have been in normal times. I learned that it is a Government enterprise—that the rent does not meet interest and depreciation, that the girls are earning more than a standard wage in order to afford them comfortable living conditions, and that the first consideration of the Government was production and not cost.

Then I realized that there is a difference between an industry organized for war and an industry in normal life; that no matter how much you would like to see the millennium brought in by a touch of the wand, all these evils swept away, and beautiful towns spring up, there are certain considerations you have to face.

Moreover, I thought of other things. I remembered a model industrial town near Chicago called Pullman, with its flower beds and flowers, with its parks and macadamized roads, with its improved sanitation and town ordinances. Yet much to my surprise, when I visited Pullman, I found that the people of this model town didn't like to be model people and were looked upon with derision by those who lived outside of Pullman.

What was wrong? You have not solved the problem by the model town; you have not proved that the model town is the way out of our great democratic problem, because after all, however good and benevolent we are, this doing good to other people is one of the most precarious enterprises on which human beings ever embarked. They like to run things themselves, even if they run them rather badly, and after a while we come to realize that this problem is a great deal bigger than getting a model town and having it administered by

capable people, with great efficiency and in accordance with scientific methods.

I realized, however, that Gretna represented a great ideal, and if a place like Gretna, with all its efficiency, with all the things it stands for, with all the things so splendidly accomplished, could be translated into terms of democracy, could be created by the people themselves and then managed by them, it would be the greatest triumph that an American community could achieve. As I look at it, in spite of all the difficulties, if we will only go about it wisely, stick to it long enough and insist upon the underlying principles upon which this conception is based, we will be able to slowly but inevitably achieve something like Gretna which shall not be imposed from above, but shall grow out of the life of communities and be an organic part of them.

I think experience has shown that the corporation town, in which the citizens feel that they are, in a sense, managed by the corporation, is not under usual conditions, the happiest and most satisfactory town.

In other words, this is not a problem of corporations, it is a problem of the community, and until we get it fairly and squarely on the community, we shall not meet it in a successful and permanent way. We have had enough experience in a number of American towns to show that the thing can not be done in that way. The people who are interested in building up the town, and who, at the same time, are interested in the industries can, in their private capacity, help to promote these things and take a part in them. There is a very great difference between a building enterprise backed by a community and a building enterprise of some specific corporation.

And although we may not come to depend on the municipality, the state, and the nation as quickly as Mr. Adams suggests yet it is quite clear, it seems to me, that the thing must come. And unless private enterprise, with all its imagination, resourcefulness, and splendid capacity, takes advantage of this opportunity, then we can be quite certain it will be done in other and worse ways.

To my mind there is a splendid opportunity, a sort of challenge given to American individual enterprise. The American people are practically saying, "Now you have your chance; if you are able to do this, if you can show the way and can provide the mechanism for doing it, either with Government capital or with capital secured in some other way, with the economies brought about by getting money at reasonable interest rates, but managing the whole thing in an economical fashion, under such protection of the law as is inevitable, it will be a glorious achievement of American democracy.

If private enterprise does not do it, then of course the collective capacity of the community will take the job in hand, but we are going to make, I fancy, a good strong fight to show that American private enterprise and initiative in voluntary associations, and public opinion created by these agencies, can accomplish a great deal and perhaps solve the problem.

Why *should* we do this thing? The motives are very interesting. In a way, they have changed. The first motive was to be benevolent to somebody. Of course if people were docile and in no other relation of life did anything for themselves, you might build a model town and ask people to live in it. If people were not used to doing anything for themselves that might be done but

we find it difficult to submit to management even when it comes to us in the most beguiling fashion.

Then there is another motive, the securing of economic efficiency from people properly housed. Therefore it is a plain matter of business, and the American business man always likes to be approached in that way.

But, after all, what is the real motive that now stirs us most? We have been in this great war; we have been fused together as never before in our history by this sense of community interest—the feeling somehow by each individual that he gets his real significance from his connection with the whole life of the community and the nation. We do not like to think that we are going to disintegrate, to return to the old days and be each for himself, that individualism is going to assert itself again in a robust fashion.

We hope that this spirit of unity which we like to call democracy, this spirit of comradeship, this sense of responsibility not merely for ourselves but for the whole common life, this sense that we are all together that we belong to one great nation and that the life of that nation is of interest to every one of us, that the welfare of all is the concern of each, will not be lost sight of. We cannot go back to that old idea of scramble and conflict and individual struggle and mere group rivalry.

After all, the fundamental motive that appeals to us and that really stirs us is the conviction that only as we make life a wholesome, happy, reasonable thing for every man, woman, and child in the United States can we really be content, can we really feel that all our talk about democracy is not mockery rather than reality.

It is something worth working for, and if this housing movement means anything, it means that we are

resolved to see to it that there is a certain minimum standard of housing, of education, and of social life and opportunity for development.

Great Britain has nearly sixty Garden Villages and they are no longer experiments. We have a great many new enterprises in this country. This is a most auspicious time; the movement is under way; all that we have to do is to give it new impetus, to work our plans wisely, to have all the technique of the scheme developed, to translate the experience of abroad into the terms of American life, to make perfectly sure that we are not being beguiled by something which may be adapted to conditions in one country but which cannot, unless profoundly modified, be usefully implanted in our own.

All the technique of the thing is provided by an Association like this, the members of which have been giving their personal attention to these problems and are able to produce, on occasions of this kind, an overwhelming weight of erudition. My only possible excuse for being here is that I went to Gretna. It should be borne in mind that I am speaking only because of that experience and my personal interest in the general subject of housing. This is a field, you should understand, in which the Foundation of which I am an officer has not taken any action. Nor is it one in which I think it is at all likely that that organization will take financial interest.

This movement will come not as imposed from above, but it will grow out of the life of our community and our nation as men and women who catch the vision, who give themselves to it gladly and freely and who guide enthusiasm by carefully ascertained knowledge, by

tested technique, and out of that profound conviction of the American people that this war must never permit us to go back again to the old individualism of the early days. We must realize day by day and with increasing vividness and reality, this inspiring conception which has thrilled us through the war, that we are one, with common aims and with a great and fixed purpose to make life on this continent a finer, cleaner, more decent, and more satisfying thing, not for a few but for all of us.



# WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE TO HOUSE THE INDUSTRIAL ARMY

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WHY DID THE GOVERNMENT NEED TO BUILD HOUSES?  
HOW DID THE GOVERNMENT GO ABOUT IT?  
WHAT HAS THE GOVERNMENT DONE?  
HAS THE PROBLEM BEEN SOLVED?

Never has the world seen such a moving around of population as America witnessed in 1917 and 1918. The census, if taken to-day, would be found completely adrift from the official interim estimates based on normal growth. Norfolk, yesterday a town of 60,000, is to-day estimated at 160,000. Delaware, from Philadelphia to Wilmington, has become an accessible and crowded industrial metropolis. The old boom towns of the West were not more sudden than the developments we have witnessed in places, where the Government Procurement Offices found furnaces, lathes, and brains capable of being diverted to the manufacture of munitions.

The little plant that employed 100 men in peace times has been entrusted with orders calling for the employment of 500; great steel works that employed thousands have developed a program demanding thousands more. Plants that worked one shift, now

work two and three, and the adjacent towns bulge with the influx of additional workers who have come to man the extra shifts. Recently empty salt meadows have been suddenly cobwebbed with lofty steel towers and derricks, and now resound to the rattle of steam riveters in the hands of a newly mobilized army of shipbuilders who have to live and sleep somewhere when their shift is done.

In the biggest half-year our steel industry ever had, our production capacity was approximately 16,600,000 tons.

In the last six months of 1918 the total of direct and indirect requirements of the Government alone, was for approximately 20,000,000 tons.

And presumably civilians had some needs which even in war time had to be respected.

Likewise the Government wanted for its soldiers all the wool that the country could supply or import in the shape available. So it was also with numerous other articles. Whole industries became mere tributaries to the Quartermaster's Corps, Ordnance, and the Shipyards, and the industrial workers of America were obliged to get out of the less essential manufacturing lines and flock by millions to those smoky centers where they could work in steel for a just peace.

Now if these several millions of transplanted men had been horses, the shipbuilders and munition manufacturers would have had stables waiting for them when they arrived—good stables too, and good food, water, and attendants. But men, it was assumed, would look out for themselves, and the local speculative builders would jump at the chance to provide houses and res-

taurants for them. So this question was at first left to the law of Supply and Demand.

However, this reliable old law, like many another law these days, had been suspended. Building costs were abnormally high and houses built would shrink in value after the war so that the certainty of getting fancy rents and an instant supply of tenants upon completion, was an inadequate inducement to the local builder to supply houses.

The problem was far too big for him anyway. The man who built 20 houses in an average year was no match for a problem that required 500 houses in a rush. And the capital, which once would have been waiting for him at the bank, was invested in Liberty Bonds and working capital of his plant.

So when the avalanches of new labor descended upon the steel working towns and shipyard neighborhoods, all the houses were soon filled up for miles around. Rents rose and rose again. In houses normally renting for \$25 a month, workers paid as high as \$25 a week for a tiny room. Thrifty landladies put extra beds in their rooms, and then they invested in two-story beds, and finally they rented the same bed to night workers and day workers in turn. In some cases the bed worked three shifts a day, and the sleepy worker awoke at the touch of the next man whose hour to occupy it had come. It took courage to nestle down in such beds.

The labor turnover went upward. An official of the Shipping Board at one time figured it at 600% for the shipyards; that is to say, to keep every 100 men needed as regular force on the job, 600 men a year had to be hired. The managers never knew how many or rather how few men they would find the day after pay day.

They couldn't run plants efficiently with such a transitory personnel. Meanwhile our armies were forming, supplies were demanded, the nation was at war! Procurement officers and purchasing agents of the Government were frantic. Deliveries were late. Plants were running from 10% to 50% below capacity.

There was undeniably a tendency to mark up rents in approximate accord with skyrocketing wages which the factories were offering.

In one city a certain landlord demanded another increase in rent, and the lodgers protested that even with their unprecedented wages, they could not afford the increase in rate.

"Oh yes, you can," responded the landlord. "I learned to-day that your employer is going to increase the pay scale next week."

Fortunately redress was forthcoming in this case, for that town was the first to have a practical working remedy for such practices tried out by the War Labor Policies Board. A committee was organized of men whose findings would command respect; it investigated complaints, held private hearings, urging the landlords on patriotic grounds to accept a fair rental and threatened publicity and public shame to the recalcitrant. It worked like a charm and we have since organized such committees in some 59 towns. Ten towns have reported 310 cases handled of which 229 have been settled to mutual satisfaction.

#### DISCOVERING THE PROBLEM

Bridgeport was the first city to appreciate the bigness of the need for new housing. This town faced the problem before the United States entered the war by

reason of its work for foreign governments. A group of public-spirited citizens organized a housing company in 1916 and proceeded to construct houses and apartments by the hundreds and incidentally they did it charmingly, so that these little suburbs were the best parts of town. They could not do it adequately, however. Bridgeport had doubled its population, and the city perforce turned, in the end, to the Government for aid. From Erie, Bethlehem, Hampton Roads, and numerous other similar places came the same explanation—"We can't persuade skilled labor to live three in a room! The new men ask where they can find decent quarters and we have to say that there are not any within 30 miles! We must have Government housing!"

The demand sounded fantastic at first—Uncle Sam to build houses by hundreds and thousands as a detail of winning the war!

But vague tales came that England had come to that, and through the foresight of the American Institute of Architects an enterprising New York architect, last fall, packed his grip and went over, and presently brought back the astonishing fact, that, unknown to the outer world England had been building villages for her munition workers; lavishing on them the art of the best town planners, architects, and engineers, and out-doing in taste and practicability the best hitherto achieved anywhere.

#### HOW THE GOVERNMENT DID IT

On October 10th of last year a conference was held at the Council of National Defense at which the different production departments of the Government were represented, and the result of the conference was the appoint-

ment of Mr. Otto M. Eidlitz as a committee of one to advise with the various government departments interested in regard to problems concerned with the housing of war workers.

### THE FLEET TOWNS

At once the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which was already confronted by the housing problem in acute form, appealed to Mr. Eidlitz. Generous land area, adjacent to deep water, such as is essential to shipyards, was available mainly upon river banks in suburban regions in little villages or in open country where adequate living accommodations were obviously not to be found.

Mr. Eidlitz took up this problem for them in an advisory capacity, moving from the Council of Defense over to the Fleet Corporation and taking with him the small personnel which he had gathered about him. The Fleet Corporation introduced a bill. Congress was hard to persuade. Stopping to build cities and towns seemed a slow way to get out ships and a bit Utopian anyway, but a two-fisted shipbuilder, Ferguson of Newport News, took a day off and brought a startling story of how great yards were running at half their capacity for lack of decent housing for the men, and an appropriation of \$50,000,000 was forthcoming in the early days of January. This money, and \$45,000,000 more that was appropriated later, has been allotted to local housing corporations formed for the purpose by the shipbuilders. The latter put in their own money for the purchase of the land, and the Fleet Corporation loaned the balance of the needed funds for the houses, usually 90% or more on mortgage at 5%, with the under-

standing that there will be an appraisal of the property after the war, and the Government will write off the shrinkage of value, if any, as a cost of war. Each local housing company proceeds to hire town planner, engineer, architect, and builder, and build its village subject to the scrutiny and approval of the Fleet Corporation.

The housing difficulties of the manufacturers who served the War and Navy Departments were more tardily recognized by Congress. On December 4th a bill was introduced for an appropriation of \$50,000,000 to meet the needs of the War and Navy Departments and Mr. Eidlitz was appointed Director of the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor on February 8th, but without funds.

On May 16th the bill was passed, giving the President authorization for the formation of a Bureau, and on June 4th an appropriation of \$60,000,000 was given to the President who turned it over to the Secretary of Labor. The Bureau resolved itself into the United States Housing Corporation for reasons of legal convenience, and we proceeded to saw wood on receipt of the proper executive order from the President on June 18th, the first money being made available for disbursement on the 25th day of July.

#### FUNCTIONING OF THE BUREAU

Fortunately in April the President made available the sum of \$60,000 from his National Defense Fund which made it possible for us to start organizing (before funds were made available by Congress), for the far-reaching and complex problem before us.

This country had had little actual experience. Housing meant far more than mere houses; it meant the creation of entirely new communities, either as extensions of existing ones or as new communities varying in extent from moderate-sized villages to large towns.

The first task was the assembling of all information that could be found. The examples in Great Britain and Germany were designed to meet different conditions than we confronted and therefore were only applicable to a limited extent. Everything possible bearing on the problem was collected. Architects were asked to submit the best of their work and they responded generously. Designs were made by experts in the Corporation. Then from a great mass of material, plans were prepared for the types of houses which investigation indicated as being most desirable. This constituted the foundation plan of the actual community building. And when the appropriation was made available, immediately there were delegates from all points of the compass on our doormat.

House building everywhere had stopped, and of the 500 communities doing more or less war work, many had a shortage of accommodations. We would say to the group from the Chamber of Commerce with its woeful tale of congestion:

“What do you make in your town?”

“75 mm shells.”

“Ask the manufacturer to complain to the War Department.”

Back would go the delegates to consult with the manufacturer who would call in the Ordnance Production Officer assigned to that plant, and say, “I am below capacity as you know from lack of labor to man



the plant, and labor is unobtainable for lack of housing. Can't you get some housing?"

If the Ordnance Officer agreed that housing and not low wages or bad management or irregularity of supplies was the reason, he would tell his superior, the District Production Officer, who knew something about the engineering conditions and could check up the statement. If he also agreed that housing was the right solution for the situation, he reported to the housing specialist in the Ordnance Office at Washington who went to the man who was responsible for getting the total scheduled amount of shells from all the shell-making factories. The shell man might say to him, "Yes, that plant is under its capacity, but other plants are doing well, and I am getting plenty of 75 mm shells." If, however, he needed to speed up 75's, he would say so, and the housing specialist of Ordnance would pass on the complaint to the housing specialist of the whole War Department. Here it met other complaints from Aircraft, Quartermaster, and from other sections of Ordnance, and the Department specialist consulted the General Staff Production Statistician, who, turning pages of diagrams, told him perhaps that the French could take care of any shortage of such shells and that the help had better be given to cannon recuperator plants and to combat aeroplane plants where the shortage was more serious. If the complaint convinced the statistician, the Department specialist certified the urgency to our Corporation and asked for an investigation.

Forthwith we dispatched a real estate representative to that town to quietly get a line on real estate values before any one got an inkling that the Government was

interested. He was immediately followed by an investigator who spent a day or two searching for rooms and empty houses, interviewing business men, landlords, manufacturers, and workmen, and considering possibilities of improving transit to neighboring towns. On his return, he presented a report recommending perhaps the installation of a Home Registration Bureau to list all vacant rooms, and a campaign among the people to open their guest rooms to lodgers. This he thought should yield 400 rooms, leaving a net shortage of accommodations for 800, and he perhaps conservatively recommended provision of Government housing for half of this number, namely 400 single family dwellings in each of which he anticipated an average of two workers would live; cost at current prices with land and utilities, \$800,000. The Staff around the table would quiz the investigator on his report, and the conference would perhaps recommend an allotment to this town of \$800,000 by the Interdepartmental Committee.

This latter committee was composed of the War and Navy housing specialists and Mr. Eidlitz, and from time to time as new needs were disclosed, it balanced up the rival desires of the two departments, added this town and others to the list of approved projects, and diminished correspondingly the remainder of the funds available, but always keeping in mind the priority of the product being manufactured in the war program.

The next step was the technical investigation conducted by a team of four, a realty valuation expert, an architect, an engineer, and a town planner who were sent to the ground when the Bureau had decided from the report of the Preliminary Investigator that housing

was needed to expedite the war program. Together they toured the town to seek suitable sites.

They determined more definitely the amount and kind of housing needed, and recommended the selection of a site or sites, accompanied by a report discussing each of the various possible sites; the availability and probable cost of land; the probable cost and speed of providing the necessary utilities; of erecting houses and improving the lots, and the value of the resulting development to its occupants and to the Government, both for its use in war and as a saleable asset after the war.

The community into which the development was to be put was also considered, how the new project might best relate to it, and fit into its future growth. While there on the job they must eventually select a site which they all agreed upon as first choice, all things considered. Then they separated, each to dig up his special details.

The architect studied the housing of the community. The separate house of wood perhaps seemed the favorable type. He talked with the workmen's wives and found that they wanted a big back porch, because in summer they all washed their clothes out there. Stoves were what they were used to, and they always supplied their own: furnaces were unusual. Sand and gravel was so much a load. Brick in that region was costly.

The engineer had many questions to ask at City Hall and at the gas and electric light company.

The town planner figured on how to put the requisite number of houses on the plot with minimum length of roads, walks, pipes, etc.

The realtor was strangely voluble. He gossiped with

everybody in town and told them he was thinking of buying the Jones tract for the Government; and, because the Government wanted it, it did not enhance its value, and what did they think would be a fair price for it.

He asked the Chamber of Commerce to make an appraisal and report in writing its opinion of the value of the property. He also asked the Real Estate Board, the Rotary Club, the Board of Trade, the Mayor, Assessors, etc., securing as many as seventeen patriotic opinions, and incidentally smoking out the fact that Jones was trying to sell that property for \$250 an acre last year, and the frontage acres had sold for \$275 an acre in 1915. By the time he was ready to come to a fair appraisal Jones's imaginary picture of a small fortune had faded a bit, and Jones was disposed to say, "Whatever you say goes."

In most cases, the owner accepted whatever the Government decided was fair. If he would not come to a fair price, a sign was placed on his land "Property of the United States Housing Corporation, Labor Department, U. S. Government, No Trespassing." And if he then balked, he received 75% of the price named by the Government and he could sue for the balance.

Then the team returned to Washington and submitted a joint report and recommendation to the Staff Conference. Perhaps it was adopted or they were asked to procure additional information and data. Or perhaps it was canceled, as a result of their findings. If it is adopted the Real Estate Division is instructed to buy the lands.

The next step devolves upon the Architectural, Engineering, and Town Planning Divisions which appoint

a Committee of Design. This Committee consists of architect, town planner, and engineer, selected from among private practitioners of high professional standing. Each of them reports to the division to which his work relates and is by it reviewed and checked minutely in all construction and mechanical details; but they collaborate as a team in their work of design.

The architect receives from the Architectural Division full instructions as to the requirements and limitations of the project; also the various standards and data whereby he is to be governed.

Not improbably he faces a problem new to his experience for he is now to build a house with a special view to the professional requirements of the person who is to take over the business of its internal management; that is the wife-housekeeper and cook.

The Housing Corporation seeks to build for the comfort, convenience, and labor-saving of the woman most concerned.

The project town planner is responsible for the whole layout of the project upon its site; the planning of roads; walks; sub-division into lots; the placing of the buildings; the design for recreation places. He receives from the Town Planning Division instructions, information, and data, just as the architect does from the Architectural Division.

The project engineer is charged with the design of all that part of a project designated as utilities, roads, sidewalks, sewers, sewage disposal, lighting and water supply. He is launched upon his work by the Engineering Division in the same manner as the other designers and that work is similarly checked and approved.

Throughout, the processes are similar to those per-

formed casually and piecemeal in the developing of any building scheme. The significant difference is in the team work and in the working out by experts of every detail for a result combining solidity of construction, convenience, beauty, and value, with the greatest possible economy, as for example Yorkship Village, the Fleet Corporation project at Camden, N. J., which I will describe a little later.

In approximately three weeks, if all goes well, the plans and specifications are ready for bids; a specially prepared list of contractors being selected for reliability, efficiency, financial responsibility, and where possible, proximity to the project. In another ten days the bids are received and contracts let. Construction shanties begin to go up on the property and carloads of lumber, brick, plumbing supplies bought through the Construction Division of the War Department from carefully prepared schedules prepared by our Materials Procurement Branch, and cleared through the War Industries Board, are moving across the map toward the job.

All is not finished with the completion of the project. The town that was on paper now actually exists, an entity of brick, mortar, wood, and streets. Having called it into existence, the Housing Corporation must now run its enterprise; for, Uncle Sam will not sell but will simply rent for the duration of the war so as to exclude profiteers who might inflate the rentals to match the paying power of the worker, as landlords have done elsewhere.

Correlated with the management of the property there came the necessity for furnishing and equipping the dormitories, cafeterias, recreation buildings, etc.

The operating of the housing, some of which is part

of old communities, some adjoining old communities, much like a suburb, and others forming entirely new communities, has called for men who possess some knowledge of real estate and who have an insight into industrial conditions generally, and who understand how to serve best the individual and the community. These requirements have called forth a new profession of Town Managers who must qualify by personality, training, and executive ability.

The problem is a large one and the Town Manager has among his duties the fixing of rentals and general upkeep of the property and must act as agent of the Government in conserving the capital investment. He must also establish coöperation with the lines of endeavor in his community.

The following policy has been adopted by the Corporation, that in each locality a local board of control be appointed to be composed of five members as follows:

1. One member representing labor.
2. One member representing local industries.
3. Three members representing the general community in which the development is located.

This local board of control when created will have the following duties:

1. Supply the judgment needed to meet the local problems arising from time to time and not sufficiently vital to be transferred to Washington.
2. To afford a practical means of supplying more or less continuous supervision.

The Corporation will supplement, however, the

supervision of the local board of control with periodic inspections made by its representatives.

### THE ORDNANCE TOWNS

In the War Department last winter a chain of huge temporary plants involving the manufacture or loading of explosives was started. As these had to be remote from all existing habitation, it followed as a necessary incident to the operation of the plant, that housing had to be provided for the workers.

There are 16 of these Ordnance towns. The most colossal is Old Hickory, near Nashville, serving a vast powder plant which the Du Ponts operate as agents for the Government. Ten thousand workers, some with families—28,000 people altogether—are housed there in temporary barracks, dormitories, bungalows, apartments, cottages, and hotels.

Nitro near Charleston, West Virginia, is another case with 1,700 ready-cut bungalows and numerous dormitories and barracks, accommodating about 12,000 construction men and operatives, and stretching for four dusty, busy miles along the Kanawha River.

One of the odd problems here was the getting of a good milk supply. In that narrow West Virginia valley there were neither cows nor pasture enough to produce the milk for the new mob that had descended upon that bottom-land cornfield. Condensed milk served for a time but now the Wisconsin dairy converts milk into butter and skim milk; and reduces the latter into milk powder by eliminating the water. At Nitro the milk powder is mixed with distilled, filtered water, then the butter is stirred in and the family is thus reunited. It tastes like milk, smells like milk, and it *is* milk, very



good milk, as anybody in Nitro will testify. It betrays its checkered career only by refusing to sour in less than ten days and by bringing to the top of the bottle a cream of unusual density.

Another Ordnance town, Muscle Shoals, Ala., planned for 15,000 population, is a permanent village, for when swords are beaten into plowshares, this plant will divert its nitrate from T N T to fertilizers. Other important Ordnance towns are to be found at May's Landing, Morgan, and Hammonton, New Jersey.

All of these involve stores, recreation facilities, movie theaters, schools, and other features of a complete community. As they are government reservations, non-taxable and remote from existing school systems, the Ordnance authorities, as one detail of their myriad activities, have had to develop their own school system with a general superintendent at Washington, a staff of teachers, and 10,000 pupils. Otherwise, they could not have retained the services of married workers with children of school age.

### YORKSHIP VILLAGE

One of the Fleet Corporation projects is Yorkship Village at Camden, N. J. Here in a tract known as the Cooper Farm, 2,000 houses are being completed for a population of some 10,000 people dependent upon the neighboring yards of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation. The houses are of that simple economical type so everlastingly common in Philadelphia and Baltimore where they are "built by the mile and sold by the foot," two stories high, low stoop, brick—but you would never recognize them, for an intelligent architect has touched them with the magic of artistry

and camouflaged them with the tricks of a town planner producing a bewitchingly quaint and beautiful little city that will be one of the sights of America for half a century.

Balancing yield against investment it cost nothing to break the roof lines and shorten the rows into groups. It cost nothing to make the street plan with turning streets and closed vistas and odd angles. It cost nothing to make the motifs all in pure Colonial. It cost nothing to make the proportions right and to vary the color and texture of the roof, and to mix in stucco of diverse colors. Every window in the cozy town looks out upon irregular spacings and angles as in those fascinating crooked old towns of Europe. There are playgrounds, gardens, and a central square, a school, two church sites, and a group of apartments. There are single houses, double houses, triples and quadruples, up to eleven in a group. They look like long rambling houses with a curious multiplicity of doors and stoops. Inside are found the best results without extra cost, four bedrooms where three used to fill the same space, elimination of superfluous hallways, and the like. Mixing art and brains in the design of Yorkship Village, balancing yield against investment, has added nothing to the cost and millions to the equity.

Other permanent towns of about this size—10,000 population—are under way at Bethlehem, Norfolk, and Bridgeport. Erie, Rock Island, Eddystone, Philadelphia Navy Yard, Newport News, Quincy, Vallejo, Baltimore, Wilmington are scenes of development of 500 houses or more.

The great bulk of the work is permanent. Temporary stuff costs almost as much and would be a dead loss

after the war, so that wherever the housing can be marketed afterward, permanent construction is the only intelligent solution. A more compelling factor than the financial salvage was the fact that the high grade mechanic could not be induced to stay long in a scrubby cold cabin and rightfully insisted on wholesome accommodations for himself and his family.

### CONCLUSION

Brief, though its existence has been, the United States Housing Corporation on November 1, 1918, had already under construction or ready to let, 18,747 permanent buildings, to house 23,319 families; 1,771 ready-cut buildings, to house as many families, and 300 buildings to house approximately 24,190 workers without their families.

Figuring two workers to a family, the total number would have been approximately 75,000.

Through the Transportation and Homes Registration Service it has "tied up to" their jobs more than 35,000 workers. It has established municipal utility improvements costing over \$13,000,000; has loaned \$6,500,000 to public utility corporations for necessary extensions and improvements, and when the close of the war checked its activities, was purchasing and delivering building and construction material at the rate of one million dollars a day. The engineering work alone called for 70,000 freight cars to move its materials and if extended in a straight line, would have reached 530 miles. In addition to this through the Requirements Division, it has interested private capital to the extent of building 13,000 houses at a cost of \$43,000,000 under

restrictions imposed by the Corporation, such as limiting rentals, etc.

Altogether, including the Fleet Corporation's 30 odd projects, the 16 Ordnance towns, and our 82 projects, Uncle Sam's new cities and villages would have neared the 150 mark. The total population to be housed therein being over 250,000. It should be understood however that this was greatly curtailed on the signing of the Armistice and is being further curtailed almost daily.

**IS THE PROBLEM SOLVED?**

**HAS EVERYTHING BEEN DONE THAT SHOULD BE DONE?**

**HAS ALL THE GOOD HOUSING FOR WORKMEN THAT THE COUNTRY REASONABLY REQUIRES BEEN PROVIDED?**

**IF NOT, WILL IT BE, AND BY WHOM, AND HOW?**

*(For the Discussion of this paper see page 287.)*

## GOVERNMENT HOUSING—FEDERAL, STATE, MUNICIPAL—IS IT DESIRABLE?

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The topic, by its phrasing, tends at the very outset to confine the discussion to a field associated with schemes of housing, such as might be illustrated by the work of the London County Council in England. It implies that we are to choose between the speculative building of houses for wage earners, the results to be guarded solely by restrictive legislation, and direct action by governmental authority where homes are provided as in the case cited. It suggests that we are now to choose between accepting the *status quo* with respect to the housing problem and paternalism.

I use the term paternalism, because so many of those who have interested themselves in housing reform have accepted without question the idea that industrial corporations are responsible for the housing of their employees, thus accepting industrial paternalism or a state in which life is subordinated to the mechanical process of industry and the will of the employer.

At the outset I would make clear that it is *not* my purpose to deal with this question from such a limited angle; for I realize that by so doing, the vital issues at stake would be obscured in a fog of legislative and judicial controversy. What is now needed is a statement dealing with social values rather than legislative or administrative technique.

At the very outset we must define our purpose; for,

upon the definition of our purpose depends the nature of the measures we are to advocate. Why are we here assembled? Are we here for the purpose of patching up and repairing, or is it our purpose to rebuild a worthy structure, the physical environment in which men live, which will be expressive of the aims of a true democracy? Are we here to frame compromises, perpetuate fallacies, and to legalize congestion by writing them into law?

Why are we here? For myself the answer is simple: We are not here to prepare the plans and the specifications for repairing our ill-begotten cities and our sordid industrial areas; nor to frame compromises; nor to perpetuate fallacies. We are here for the purpose of formulating a statement embodying no less than an ideal with respect to the physical conditions under which men live, to indicate the nature of the problem confronting us in attempting to realize that ideal, and to discuss in broad outlines that policy which will make it possible for every man, woman, and child of the nation to live in an environment which will neither stifle nor crush their spirit and make them impotent to render national service in times of war or in times of peace.

With respect to the statement of an ideal,—that is relatively simple. Is life in even the most modern of tenements expressive of an ideal? Is life in the so-called "factory town," the congested industrial areas, or in our slums likewise expressive of an ideal? Is the state of congestion in which men live in our great cities, regardless of their financial status, expressive of an ideal? Life as we find it in the areas mentioned is expressive of precisely the opposite; it does not satisfy nor is it a reward for labor for the vast majority of men. In our

ideal physical environment, expressive of a true democracy, there can be no congestion, no slums, no sordid, ugly towns, dominated completely by industry: there must be open spaces at the very doors of the habitations; there must be agricultural lands adjacent reserved for the future generations, and there must be physical community centers where citizenship may express itself. The home and its closely related interests will be guarded against encroachments by commerce and industry. Around the home will the processes of industry revolve.

With respect to the problem: It is first of all that of establishing by education, and not by law, a national minimum with respect to the conditions under which men live, and then by a program looking toward decentralization, to demolish our slums and rid ourselves for all time of the intolerable conditions of congestion which now but breed Bolshevism in our American cities. So long as the slum and the congested areas remain, there is no hope of developing a national life expressive of our avowed national purpose. It is the complete demolition of these social sore breeding areas which is our immediate task.

And so we come to the question of policy. By what technique shall we rid our cities of their slums, the congested "factory towns" of their congestion and their hideousness, and so organize our entire physical environment that all men may therein lead rational lives and reap the reward of their labors by other than wages, which in themselves fail to satisfy regardless of their scale.

What is the purpose of government? Upon our answer to this question depends the nature of the policy

which we are to advocate. Seemingly, and the idea is now particularly vivid, government is organized for the purpose of waging war. Seemingly it is organized for the enforcement of police power, for the administration of a curious sort of justice, and for the protection of property. Surely these are the vivid functions of the government, if we may judge by the nature of legislation framed for various purposes and from the activities of government with which we come in close personal contact.

But the function of government during the last century has been rapidly expanding; and the general direction of that expansion may be expressed by the term "collective provision." From a purely political mechanism we witness the nature of government changing into an organization which is social in character. Wider and wider is growing the area of interest which the government assumes over the well-being of its citizens. The state now attempts to educate its citizens; it provides them with roads, with water, with the "public utilities"; it cleans our streets and takes away the refuse and carries our letters and our parcels. In varying degrees does it care for health and insure against old age. The purely social activities in which governments now engage are constantly expanding; and these activities do not now seem paternalistic, though most of them were once so considered; they are merely the expressions of coördinated actions of good citizens. They express a social state rather than a political.

The Bourbon, the conservative, will fight to the last ditch the expansion of this field of governmental action; but his fight will be of little avail; for the elemental



philosophy upon which "collective provision" is based appeals strongly to the average man who has come to recognize his impotence in acting alone.

And why should we not make government the focus of our rational aims rather than a policeman to arrest or a court to punish? There is no reason. With the function of government constantly expanding, why should we draw the line of its activities relating to the provision of adequate living conditions hard and fast at the property line along our highways and our streets? By allowing only police power to cross the property lines in our cities, by so doing, we foster the slum and the tenement and we create the conditions which breed the diseases for which we call upon government in the guise of collective provision to erect and maintain the hospital, the insane asylum, the poorhouse, and the jail.

We have never, no nation has ever, been able to develop conditions within areas where congestion breeds congestion as a result of various influences, which are expressive of the rational purposes of men, by attempting to curb selfishness through the exercise of police power. And the fundamental reason for this is that police power is by its very nature a check upon the actions of men; it deals with minimum standards; its aim is to prohibit the intolerable. And since so many men are selfish, it follows that the minimum standards, the degrees of toleration which we set up as limits in our laws soon assume the guise of standards.

If it is our hope to provide a thoroughly adequate environment for all men, then we must cross the property line with someone besides the policeman.

Stated in terms of action, there are obviously two things for us to do: One is to demolish all slums and rid

ourselves of the congested areas; the other is to so organize society,—that is government,—that they shall not again emerge.

But is it possible to abolish the slum by police power, by restrictive legislation? If we draw upon a world of experience to frame the answer, that answer is an emphatic “no”! Restrictive legislation does not provide the higher wage which is made necessary by the enforcement of laws which tend in one way or other to increase the cost of building houses. Higher standards with respect to congestion within a given area, or with respect to light and air and sanitation, may be obtained by restrictive measures but there inevitably results from their application a diminution of the area occupied by the family.

So long as we limit our effort in housing reform to restrictive measures alone, so long will a highly congested condition of living obtain among those who receive a minimum wage, and hence it follows that there will be ever with us as the vivid evidence of our impotence to deal with this problem—the slum.

At the root of this whole problem is the Land Question. Not until we deal squarely with this will any measure of housing reform be really effective. But with this phase of the problem I will not now treat, since I assume as a premise that it must be included as a phase of any constructive housing program to be conducted by municipality, state, or nation.

Nor will I attempt to formulate in precise and definite terms to what extent house building should be carried on directly by municipality, state, or nation. That, for the moment, I shall assume to be a detail.

What I propose, however, is that the problem of pro-

viding all men with adequate homes shall be attacked by government,—government being made directly responsible, and its functions so organized as to acknowledge its ability to act as an association of consumers. Surely homes, decent homes for all of the people, are no less vital from the standpoint of the individual and the nation than is the carrying of the mails or parcels, or of building hospitals and jails.

And while I am quite ready to leave the question open as to whether or not the municipality and the state shall engage in the actual operation of building new homes for its slum dwellers and those who live in congested areas, or the nation in actually erecting adequate accommodations for its citizens,—I say that the nation *must* clear its slums by direct action and insure that adequate habitations be erected to house the population thus removed.

As I now view the problem, it is essentially that which relates to the use of municipal, state, and federal credit, and I propose that adequate homes for all of the people and the land upon which these homes are to be built, be made a basis of government credit; and that capital,—municipal, state, and federal,—be so directed in its use as to make this condition possible.

I do not propose a program of housing based upon philanthropy; but I do propose that the credit of the government which represents the savings of the people shall be used to offset the counter currents which now make it utterly impossible to provide all men with an adequate environment.

It is really the intelligent direction of the use of capital (beyond the land question) which must be the basis of housing reform. The fringe of our cities is

sordid not because people desire to live in these God-forsaken wastes, these social vacuums, but because capital, the savings of the people, has been used selfishly and stupidly and with no reference whatever to the effect upon our social and economic future and upon our environment as a whole.

Not very long ago I crossed Blackwell's Island Bridge and walked several miles out into the area beyond,—now included in Greater New York. That area—in the main farmland and marshes less than ten years ago—is wretched to a degree beyond my powers to describe. Across that area there are lines of railroads,—a perfect jumble of them, with their tracks upon elevated structures or earth embankments of great height and which enclose one like a well. And out across the fields, where cattle were still grazing, one saw rising out of the plain, in complete isolation, city tenements, five stories in height, several blocks of them with their barren, bleak walls and few windows,—as strange and incongruous a sight as ever I saw.

And all this was within the area of Greater New York, and these tenements were all acknowledged by the laws of the State of New York and the city's new districting ordinance!

But it was the use of credit that did this work,—not credit used for the benefit of the people, but credit, the savings of the people, used by individuals and institutions for purely selfish purposes. It was *our* savings which created this waste. Someone borrowed money, I venture to say, for nearly all that I saw; and unless the municipality, the state, or the federal government takes some action, money will still continue to be loaned by corporations to selfish individuals by the millions for

the erection of similar buildings in this area, until the entire area shall have become built up,—a solid, compact mass of tenements and factories. And then we shall have miles upon miles of slums! This is but typical. All of our cities are going through the same process of—development, shall I say? Outward spreads congestion.

It is high time that we ceased our senseless prattle regarding “economic” housing. Was it “economic” for England to find that she could have drawn one million more men to the colors, had she properly looked after the health of her man power? As Lloyd George, in speaking of housing, said:

“I solemnly warn my fellow-countrymen that you cannot maintain an A-1 empire with a C-3 population. . . . You cannot bring up healthy people in unhealthy homes. We have talked about it, we have played with it, for forty or fifty years, but it has really never been taken in hand. . . . We have had Acts running into hundreds and hundreds of sections. We have had regulations that would fill a library. We have had the most attractive pictures of model dwelling and endless authorities. But you cannot plow the waste land with forms; you cannot sweep away slums with paper; and you cannot cope with the wants of the people with red tape.”

This expresses something of the attitude of Great Britain. It is an expression of the present government; it is an expression of the government that is to be.

And, while England is formulating her program of reconstruction, one phase of which looks toward the adequate housing of the entire population of the British Isles, we are debating the question as to whether or not

the Government of the United States shall express itself other than in negatives. Really, I wonder if I am awake.

Shall municipal, state, and federal governments stimulate by constructive action the provision of homes for the people, with the social and the physical environment in which its citizens live?

In the past our answer has been this: Government shall concern itself with the conditions under which its citizens live to the extent of issuing a classified, codified series of "don'ts."

That attitude has satisfied our concept of government; it has likewise measured our concept of the "problem"; but times have changed; we are now possessed, I passionately hope, of a new concept of the function of government and a new concept of the magnitude and the vital national importance of providing a truly adequate environment for all men.

I have suggested that at bottom this is a problem which involves a change of attitude with respect to the economic scale by which we measure the relative worth of money and men. I realize that I may be accused of having failed to make my meaning clear if I omit the formulation of a definite program. Suffice it for the moment that we determine but one point, viz.: the extent of national responsibility that I have suggested. Our next step is the working out of a general formula whereby it would be possible to direct the use of credit for this and intimately related purposes through co-ordinated federal, state, and municipal executive agencies. Coincident with that we must determine how we shall go about the work of making the necessary regional surveys which must precede the intelligent direction of

credit. We must know what natural resources must be conserved, what agricultural areas must be maintained and developed, and the extent of local housing needs in terms of social requirements.

Our program of governmental direction must be conceived in terms of the future. The definition of executive authority in the local, state, and federal governments must be extended to include the provision of homes in an adequate, permanent environment; for there is no function of government more vital than the maintenance of the social and physical well-being of the people. Central in this program shall be the organization and the distribution of world knowledge and experience in this field. Executive departments should be created to perform this function and to direct the use of governmental long-term loans to properly constituted bodies operating under limited dividend charters. In no other way is it possible to counteract the economic forces which sweep away the residential areas of the poor. This is the direct way, likewise, of neutralizing the effect of restrictive legislation which must be made more drastic if it is to be effective.

In the federal executive should be lodged the authority to create an independent cabinet portfolio to organize knowledge and experience in a field broadly covered by the terms "town planning," "housing," and "public works,"—this knowledge and experience to be made available through such activities as are now carried on by the Department of Agriculture in its own field. Similar executive bodies should be created in the states and in municipalities in order to stimulate coordinated action in matters related to municipal, state, and nation planning and the distribution of population.

Whether or not federal credit should be used for the purpose of stimulating housing is open to question, but the credit of states and of municipalities must be used for this purpose. The use and direction of this credit should be controlled by executive rather than legislative authority and it should be limited to the use of municipalities or to properly constituted nondividend corporations. If we wish to achieve a truly national minimum with respect to the conditions under which all men live, we must stimulate as well as restrict action; and the stimulation of action can be achieved most certainly through the direction of credit to this end.

*(For the Discussion of this paper, see page 292.)*



## RECENT GOVERNMENT HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

YORKSHIP VILLAGE, CAMDEN, N. J.

ELECTUS D. LITCHFIELD

*Architect, New York City*

The planning and construction of Yorkship Village was a romantic opportunity, the like of which has seldom fallen, if ever, to the lot of an American architect. Its construction was desired over night and the time available for the completion of the first plans was so short as to make the undertaking exciting in the extreme.

We were appointed the 7th of February, 1918, and on the 7th of April complete plans for 907 houses were ready, estimates obtained, and contracts ready for letting with responsible contractors within the moneys available for the work. This was possible only by heroic work, both day and night, on the part of a very enthusiastic and patriotic staff.

Before the plans were sent out for estimates, the quantities had been taken off for the entire operation, the market fine-tooth-combed to know what equipment and materials were available at the lowest possible price, and before the plans were finally submitted for estimates we knew that the houses were possible of immediate construction at an average price of about \$2,750 per dwelling.

From April 7th to May 2d, innumerable but inevitable conferences between officials took place, and on the 2d of May, contracts were signed with the Tide

Water Building Company of New York for the houses, and with Miles & Tighe of Easton, for the street improvements, and within a week, the contractors were on the ground beginning actual operations.

It is hard to appreciate the magnitude of the operation and the construction which has been done since that date. It will help you to understand it, when I tell you that in Yorkship Village there are about 14 miles of streets, to say nothing of 6 miles of alleys, and we have a freight yard of about 10 acres, at which we have been unloading daily on an average from 30 to 100 cars of building materials. Of brick alone we are using 20,000,000. When fully manned we have a force of close to 4,000 men, but perhaps the most amazing statistics which I can give you is to tell you that we have issued from our office since the 7th of February, no less than 4 tons of blue prints.

At the same time I was appointed architect for the proposed housing development, Messrs. Lockwood, Green & Co., engineers, of Boston, were appointed to take charge of the engineering features of the work. We were at once instructed to proceed to Camden and inspect the various sites which had been suggested and to make an immediate recommendation of our selection to the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Among the plots suggested was a piece of property about five-eighths of a mile, as the crow flies, from the shipyard, which showed many advantages over the other plots available. It was a thoroughly rural tract known as the Cooper Farm. It was the site of an old Swedish Fort in Colonial days, and, during the Revolution, of the battle of Gloucester, where the Americans fought under the command of General Lafayette.

While closely adjacent to the shipyard and to the thickly settled portions of the City of Camden, it was entirely cut off from the latter by the north and south branches of Newtown Creek and was, for development purposes, virtually an island. With the exception of an old country road, connecting the towns of Collingswood and Gloucester, which extended longitudinally across the property toward its southern side, it was entirely without developments which need affect our plans.

Two creeks bound the property on the north, west, and south, and an important road leading directly toward Camden, and known as Mt. Ephraim Pike, bounds it on the east. Across this latter road is West Collingswood, a well laid out and pleasant suburb of Camden. It required but a short embankment and a small bridge to connect this property with a street leading directly to the entrance to the shipyard, so that with the completion of such a connection, the whole tract would be but a few minutes' walk from the yards.

The Collingswood Road above referred to, crosses the south branch of Newtown Creek by a bridge to Gloucester, and an extension of the Camden-Gloucester trolley lines which passes the shipyard gateway (a connection now under construction), would provide street-car connection from the heart of the development to the yards and to the town of Camden itself.

This site was selected without delay and purchased forthwith.

The topography of the Cooper Farm when I first walked over it in February of this year, was not very different from that of a somewhat flat but interesting golf course. Along the river bank to the north, which is quite high, there was an interesting growth of large

hardwood trees, and here and there about the property were scattered interesting specimens of oak, beech, and sycamore. Down towards the tip of the peninsula was the old Cooper Homestead, dating back to the 18th Century. This house contains several very interesting old mantels and the building will undoubtedly be restored and retained.

The plan of Yorkship, as we finally decided to call the village, was the result of a very careful study of the topography and of the future practical necessities of the plan. There were 2 things which we felt must be continually borne in mind. These were: First, that the street layout should be such that, for each inhabitant of the village, access to the shipyard should be as direct and convenient as possible. This meant not only by foot across the bridge, but also by means of trolley along the line of Collingswood Road. The second point was, that at some point there must be grouped the social and commercial activities of the village, and that this center must also be readily accessible from all points. This center, it was to be remembered, would be visited during the daytime by women and children and at night by the men coming from their homes, and therefore, it should not of necessity be as close as possible to the shipyard, nor of necessity be on the transportation line.

We early decided that, so far as it lay within our power, we would avoid in Yorkship Village the ready-made character, which to us was the curse of other fiat towns. We wished as far as possible that when Yorkship Village was completed, it should have the same intimate, homelike character and something of the sentiment that is found in the villages and towns, which

homogeneously developed in the days of our early American history.

Situated as Yorkship is in Eastern New Jersey, on the shores of the Delaware, we felt that its architecture should have something of the native character of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which meant, of course, that there should be constructed, in the main, brick houses in early Colonial or Georgian style.

We felt that the town plan should have something of the formality that is found in the best of the early American villages, and yet that that formality should not extend throughout the plan, and produce a hard, cold, and uninteresting stiffness. We felt that the English garden cities and munition towns have lacked somewhat in a definite expression of plan and yet we wished to obtain in much of our village the naturalness which seems to constitute so much of the charm of these English communities. It will be noted, therefore, that the plan changes gradually from the formal character at its center to a much more simple expression, as one proceeds towards its periphery.

We have been interested to find that our scheme of an octagonal avenue encircling the center of the town was one of the features of the plan recommended by Sir Christopher Wren, for the rebuilding of London after the great fire.

In coming to Yorkship from the shipyards, one passes up Morgan Street and along Yorkship Way, across an arched concrete bridge of simple but appropriate design. At the head of the plan is a small square flanked by two L-shaped hotels or lodging houses for single men. In the center of this square is the town flag-pole.

Passing between these two L-shaped buildings along

the double driveway, with a green in the center, planted on both sides with elms, one enters Yorkship Square, the social and civic center of the village. Here is to be erected directly on the axis of the approach, a 3-story community building, containing the offices of the village, stores, club rooms for men and women, 2 moving pictures theatres, one with an inclined floor and one with movable chairs and with a level floor, so that it may be used for dancing and other entertainments. It is planned that this will have a Colonial tower and cupola, and will be the most ambitious, architecturally, of the structures of our town.

On the left of this amusement building is a small hotel for men and women, a 3-story structure, so designed as to be easily converted into apartments later on, if it should be so desired. The remainder of the square is devoted to apartment houses, 2 and 3 stories in height, with the exception of the 2 small buildings on the axis of the Square at the westerly side, which are to be of 2 stories and of rather interesting but simple monumental character, and are to provide quarters for a bank and a store, and each of them is to have lodge or other meeting rooms over.

The angles of the Square toward the north are closed, the apartments being carried around the sides and ends of the Square, but are pierced directly in the corners with arched footways, which permit access to Hornet and Wasp Roads, the diagonal streets. Let me insert parenthetically here that the streets of the Village are not named after voracious insects, however appropriate that might seem to New Jersey soil, but are named after frigates and sailors affectionately remembered in American history.

Proceeding to the west of the Square, one passes between the lodge rooms just referred to, up Paul Jones Avenue to the Common at the head of which is a site for a library or other public building, while on the right hand and on the left are to be located the Baptist and the Methodist churches. It is planned that these buildings shall be of brick, Colonial in style, with white spired or cupolaed towers, similar to those found in the early New Jersey towns. Similarly, at the right of Paul Jones Avenue to the east, a site is also set aside, upon which we are endeavoring to arrange at the present time for the erection of a Y. M. C. A. building.

The community building to which I have referred before on the south side of the Square, is pierced by a generous archway through which one passes into a court and between 2 little residence buildings which serve as a gateway to the large public school necessary to accommodate the children of the village.

As Yorkship Village is planned, under the construction now authorized, to provide homes for about 8,000 people, the twenty-room school, about to be placed under construction will be none too large. A generous plot has been set aside for the school, so as to allow ample space for playgrounds for the children, while directly across Collingswood Road, to the south, a general recreation field is planned with locker and gymnasium buildings for the men and women as well as football and baseball fields and quarter-mile running track.

When Yorkship Village was originally planned, the program called for the erection of between 900 and 1,000 houses; 907 to be exact, and the town plan provided a development of part only of the plot, although

it was realized at the time that the town would in all probability be eventually expanded, and the plan was therefore so made that it was possible when further appropriations were provided to easily articulate the full development. The town now provides for about 1,700 houses and 100 apartments while sites are available for about 300 houses more. The work is well along. There are ready for occupancy to-day about 500 houses, and Yorkship will soon be a living town of close to 8,000 inhabitants.

In the first half of Yorkship Village, of 907 houses, there are 27 distinct plans of houses in 70 different combinations, making in all 243 groups. In addition to the varied types of houses, we developed about a dozen different types of porches; moreover, to add still more variety, we have designed one group with a gable roof, one with a flat roof, and another with a hip, and we have employed no less than 7 different kinds of roofing material, including a new one, which we invented, which, with the use of slate surfaced asphalt paper, gives the effect of old copper or standing seam tin, and is almost impossible to tell, once it is on, from its prototype.

To obtain rapid and economical construction of the houses, to say nothing of their rapid and economical design and yet to obtain the interesting variation, which was absolutely essential, if the town was to have the architectural expression desired, was something of a problem. In order to make it possible to obtain at the very small cost per house—approaching as nearly as possible the desired \$2,500 per unit—with houses built of permanent material, brick, with slate or other fire-proof roofs, it was essential that a large percentage of them should be of the group type, largely adopted in the



plans of the English towns, and with which we had had satisfactory experience in the development at Everett Park, at Jamaica, L. I.

By making elevations of the individual houses of the groups on slices of cardboard, making some for end houses, some for the middle and combining these like children's blocks, in differing orders of combination, we obtained a surprising number of interesting groupings. We had these sliced pictures electrotyped and by pasting duplicates together as we found satisfactory combinations in the cards, we were soon able to obtain a picture of each of the proposed groups in the village. These were then photographed and blue printed and these prints issued together with detailed working drawings of the individual houses, and thus we were able rapidly and economically to place in the hands of the builders, complete working plans for all of the necessary buildings. It is surprising how many different effects can be obtained with a comparatively small number of individual details.

It is most interesting to see the town grow over night and to note that the care which was taken in the location of the houses on the plan has come back to us many times over in the street pictures which have resulted. It may be accepted as axiomatic in town planning, that you cannot take liberties in actual construction with the place of the house on the plan without injury to the final effect. The lessons which we have learned are innumerable and invaluable but I may not take your time to-day to tell you of them, except perhaps to emphasize the fact, that a variation in roof materials is, I believe, almost essential if a town is not to have a ready-made, institutional character.

Yorkship is the largest permanent industrial town constructed by the United States Government under the Emergency Fleet Corporation and, I believe, also the largest permanent town constructed for war workers by any of the Government agencies, with the possible exception of that at Muscle Shoals. Others have been contemplated greater or equal in size, such as Neville Island, near Pittsburgh, and the town for munition workers at Bethlehem, but since peace has been declared the first has been entirely abandoned, and the second reduced to 600 houses.

The town at Muscle Shoals, for the workers in the air nitrate plant, while very large, is of wood construction while Yorkship is almost entirely of brick.

Among the already established and operating shipyards, that of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation at Camden, directly across the Delaware from Philadelphia was early selected by the Government for important orders and permanent expansion.

The few houses in Camden that had been vacant were rapidly filled, and shortly after the first of the year, 1918, a survey of the real estate agencies in that city and the adjoining town showed but 2 rentable houses.

Early in the winter it became evident to the Shipping Board that if real results were to be obtained from these yards, and particularly with the extensions then in contemplation, that it would be necessary to provide many thousand additional houses at Camden as the extensions of the shipyards were to be of a permanent character and it was felt that even after the war this yard would be continuously busy for years to come. It was decided that the housing also should be of a permanent character.

With the coming of peace, many of the Government housing developments have been cut down or abandoned. Yorkship having been planned as one of the permanent towns and its buildings being all of a permanent character has suffered comparatively little. Approximately 200 houses, which, owing to their location, had been planned for latest construction, have for the present been deferred, but we have no information that they are definitely abandoned and we hope still that they may be completed under present contracts.

It will be evident from the plans and from what I have told you, that Yorkship Village is not going to be just a collection of workmen's homes, but a town laid out so far as in us lies, so that the workmen who live there will have every physical opportunity for happiness. The houses are built not only of permanent materials, but are planned to be as comfortable and efficient as we know how. They are easy housekeeping homes in every sense of the term. The sanitary equipment is equal to that in your own houses, and for economy of operation they are undoubtedly much better than what you have yourself. They are supplied with electric light, gas ranges, and individual heating plants. Every house has its individual yard, and, so far as possible, back of each group is an open green in which it is planned to plant a few well-placed fruit trees under the shade of which the small children can play upon the grass in sight of their mothers working in the kitchen.

The village is owned by a corporation known as the Fairview Realty Company, which has a capital stock of \$250,000 upon which the income is limited to 5% or \$12,500. The Government has set aside for the con-

struction of Yorkship Village, the sum of \$10,000,000 and all of the returns from this great investment over and above that required for the amortization of the Government loan and the possible \$12,500 return on the capital stock goes back to the inhabitants of Yorkship in the maintenance of the town and in increased physical recreational and educational advantages.

## RECENT GOVERNMENT HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

### ATLANTIC HEIGHTS AT PORTSMOUTH, N. H.

WALTER H. KILHAM

*Architect, Boston*

Those of you who are familiar with the city of Portsmouth may remember an old paper mill at the left as you go across the railroad bridge going towards Maine. That plant has been developed into a ship-yard, and on a hill in the rear of those buildings which you can see from the railroad, there has been built this last summer the suburb known as Atlantic Heights, which consists of 300 houses for workmen, dormitories for 400 single workers, a cafeteria that will serve 800 men at one sitting, and the project includes a schoolhouse, a community building, some shops, and other things which will be constructed later.

Our appointment as architects was made on or about April 29th. Three weeks later we had the plans of the town and the buildings sufficiently along to permit work to be started and work was begun on the dormitories at that time, about the 20th of May. The first dormitories were finished and ready for occupancy about the 15th of July.

The houses are built of brick throughout, and at the present time there are over 100 houses occupied by families. Still better progress would have been made had it not been for the Influenza. You heard yesterday

about the minimum standards provided by the Government.

In addition to those, which of course were rigidly adhered to, we included a few of our own which we thought ought to be adopted in New England. Those in general, were:

First: No living room should have a door opening directly into it from outdoors.

Second: All types, as far as possible, should be single and semi-detached houses; in other words, the row house practically does not exist at Atlantic Heights; there are two or three rows, but no more.

Third: All houses should have an outside entrance to the cellar without going through the house.

Fourth: As the houses are all small, four and five rooms, and at the outside, six rooms, we felt that a cottage type was desirable, so we kept the cornice lines at the top of the first story in all cases, with high pitched or gambrel roofs, to get the requisite head room in the second story. We have no two-story houses as such, with cornice at the top of the second story. We discarded the kitchenette type in favor of the kitchen and dining-room combination, that being a large room, and we advocated and obtained the use of brick to assure easy maintenance, and we tried to follow a style of design which would harmonize with the colonial buildings of the old city of Portsmouth. As we also acted as town planners, we were able to obtain certain other desirable features not always found in a town plan.

The tract lies along the Piscataqua River which here runs under a steep, rocky bank about forty feet high. The railroad runs through a valley along the other side

of the tract, so the whole place is on a hill which gives it extensive views of the country in all directions. The land is undulating, the differences of level being as much as twenty feet, with a great many outcropping ledges. Evidently a geometrical or formal type of plan would have been both inappropriate and expensive, as well as out of place in New England anyway.

The general features of the town plan were determined in this way: we had to have an approach bridge over the Boston & Maine Railroad, and the only place to build it economically was at the point where we could get a good take-off on each side of the railroad. There was only one such point and that located the bridge. The next objective point was a cove in the river bank with an old wharf which had been used a hundred years ago and was rebuilt and re-used for the landing of material by water.

The third feature was a natural swale near the center of the tract which would act as a drainage valley for the sewer system. Therefore, we laid out our main street running from the bridge over to the cove. There is a very pleasant view at the end of the street and we have made a small park there which will be a recreational spot. We laid out another street parallel to the shipyard fence where we located the dormitories for the single workers, and Saratoga Street follows the drainage valley. The other streets were laid out in curves to follow the lines of easy construction and natural drainage.

All the streets were named after Revolutionary and other vessels of the old navy which had been built in Portsmouth, such as "Ranger," "Kearsarge," "Saratoga," and so on, all very familiar names.

The elimination of row houses made it possible to eliminate back alleys with the exception of two or three. This spot at the main entrance to the town between the divergence of Kearsarge and Ranger Streets we made into a triangular town common. Every square in New England, as you know, is three cornered. This town common will contain the shops and the community buildings. The cafeteria is being built here now facing one side. The schoolhouse is under construction in a block near by but off the main thoroughfare, and several other streets are laid out for future development. One or two features in the town planning may be of interest. In certain cases where very good-looking outcropping ledges occurred in the street location, instead of cutting through the ledge, the entire width of the street, we carried the sidewalk up over the ledge, setting the houses back, to break the line and preserve these charming bits of natural scenery, and in other places, where little clumps of trees occurred, we reserved the lots containing those trees as little parks. Up in Raleigh Way there is a very fine clump of trees which forms a little park, and right on the river bank near the cove there is a beautiful stand of pines which is to be kept as a public park and picnic ground.

The principal streets are 50 feet wide with 26-foot roadways. The other streets are 40 feet wide, with 18-foot roadways. Most of these houses are 4-room, semi-detached houses. Every house has good head room in the second story, which is secured by building long dormers. No house is nearer than 16 feet to any other. All have furnaces, coal ranges, and electric light. We were unable to get any gas into the project as the local gas company could not finance the extension of



their plant. About 100 of the houses are already occupied, and the occupants seem to like them.

All the rooms are kept fairly large. The laundry trays and sink are in the kitchen, and we begged for, insisted, and obtained soapstone sinks and soapstone trays, put together in units, which we believe is the best kind.

The boarding-house question is taken care of in one way by building a number of the four-room houses with a door in the party wall, so that a person wishing to take boarders can hire two units and have an eight-room house with two bathrooms, or he can have a single unit of four rooms and one bathroom, which makes a very flexible arrangement. There are other types, of simple design, to go on a corner of two streets. There is another type of four-room, single house, which has a quite large kitchen and combination dining-room and a rather large living-room with an alcove in the end. The alcove has two windows, so I think it will get by the law. Houses similar to these were found to be quite satisfactory in Lowell by the Homestead Commission. We have a special type of six-room house which it is proposed to add to the project. I said there were no houses having eave lines in the second story; there were none in the original project; these are intended to be placed out along the bluff and for a little higher class of workmen. We have a type of six-room house which has been already occupied and found to be quite satisfactory. It has rather a smaller kitchen than the other, but it has a good sized dining-room adjoining the living-room.

We endeavored to keep the houses pretty much the same in external appearance, and I think that has a great value in preserving the unity and simplicity of the

appearance of the whole place, even if the back yards were not entirely graded at the time the picture was taken. Any one who carries out one of these projects learns something as they go along, I suppose, and I don't think it is right to describe this thing without speaking of one or two conclusions I should draw from an operation of this sort. I think Mr. Veiller has said that the scale of a room could be determined by a 9 x 12 rug. I should say that the scale of a workman's house should be such that it should not require more than one truckload of furniture. Many of the tenants like to bring all their furniture on one truck, and also take it away in one truck, and that precludes having rooms over-large, requiring too much furniture. I also think the accommodations provided for kitchen utensils by the Government standards should be amplified for New England. I do not know how it is further South, but here they seem to have a great many pots and kettles and want more space to put them than is found in the cabinets which are Government standards. I should say also that it is very important to have a good place expressly designed to keep the baby carriage, and that has not yet been included in any set of standards that I have seen. As for the dormitories, there are eight of these buildings, built of frame and stuccoed outside. They contain fifty rooms each, with sitting rooms on the first floor and also a very good sitting room in the second story, which is made to open like a sun parlor or glazed outside porch. These dormitories are fully occupied and have proved very satisfactory.

The schoolhouse is a one-story building and is expected to be started very shortly. The cafeteria, is a simple building of frame with stucco exterior. A sketch

is about as far as we have gotten on the community building. The idea was to have some one-story shops of old-fashioned type running off on each side, while the building itself will contain a movie hall with club rooms and various things that go with such a building. The shops are to be started at once. The building faces the upper end of the triangular common; the dormitories are beyond and the cafeteria stands at the right. Probably the Realty Company's office, if they have one, will be on the other side of the square. The planting of the tract has all been provided for and some of the shrubs and trees have already been set out while the rest are now heeled in for the winter and will be set out in the spring.

## RECENT GOVERNMENT HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

UNION PARK GARDENS, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

EMILE G. PERROT

*Architect, Philadelphia*

Union Park Gardens at Wilmington, Delaware, is one of the 7 projects the Emergency Fleet Corporation is constructing to assist in housing the large number of shipworkers employed in the shipyards on the Delaware River, in the territory extending from Bristol to Wilmington.

When the United States entered the war the Chamber of Commerce of Wilmington started to investigate means to meet the house shortage which existed in the city. With the vision of the broadminded business men they were, they decided to engage the services of an expert to make a housing survey. They appointed Mr. John Nolen of Cambridge, as town planner, to investigate not only the house shortage, but available sites for new houses.

Acting on his report the Emergency Fleet Corporation decided to go ahead with the erection of houses in Wilmington, after having made an investigation of their own, and they adopted Mr. Nolen's recommendations to build these houses on a tract known as the Woodlawn Tract along the southern boundary of Wilmington. The site was eminently suitable for the purpose and was laid out on Garden City lines, dispensing with the customary gridiron, rectangular street plan.

The site is relatively high, at an elevation considerably above the main business district of Wilmington. It is located at the intersection of Union Street and Lancaster Avenue, on the outskirts of the city, partly within and partly without the city, and comprises about 58 acres of beautiful rolling farmland, one portion of which, adjoining the woodland section to the south, at present reserved as parkland, is heavily wooded with magnificent trees. A brook, a special feature of the plan, flows through the tract. To the south is the parkland just mentioned, with Lancaster Avenue and Union Street on the north and east respectively, the latter being the main highway to Baltimore and Washington. On the west is Cathedral Cemetery.

A feature of particular interest worthy of special mention is that of the purchasing of adjacent property for the protection of land values created by this new development. Beyond the original limits of the tract and on the north side of Lancaster Avenue were a number of disreputable shacks and negro hovels, while on the east side of Union Street the land was unimproved by buildings of any sort. These 2 tracts were purchased because of their vital importance to the project and the limits of the tract were accordingly extended to include them. This procedure enables the Liberty Land Co., which is the holding company, to secure and maintain the increased property values which are being created by this new development, and, at the same time, to prevent the speculative land operator and builder from depreciating the character and quality of the new project by the erection of cheap and unsightly rows of houses or stores, which unquestionably would have occurred. As a result the architects

have been able to design the buildings, etc., on both sides of Lancaster Avenue and Union Street thereby insuring their uniformity in appearance.

The site is connected with Wilmington proper and its shopping district by two trolley lines, one on Union Street and one on Lancaster Avenue, the latter giving direct transportation to and from the shipyards of The Pusey and Jones Company, Harlan plant of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and the American Car and Foundry Company which may be reached in 10 minutes.

### THE TOWN PLAN

The town plan of Union Park Gardens, the conception of John Nolen, has been arranged to form part of the City of Wilmington, which it adjoins, by continuing some of the present city streets through the tract.

The plan includes all the essentials of a thoroughly organized garden suburb. In addition to the houses and apartments, there are to be a Community Building, a school, and a requisite number of stores to meet immediate local needs. The already existing police and fire stations of Wilmington, just beyond the limits of Union Park Gardens, obviates the necessity of providing for such service. Likewise, because of the present park bordering the tract on the south, no consideration had to be given to the reservation of extensive park areas. A large, modern, and completely organized public school, less than a quarter of a mile distant, materially aided in solving the educational problem for the development itself.

In determining the general plan, the communal building, apartments, stores, and public garage were located on Union Street and Lancaster Avenue, in and

about the vicinity of their intersection, the garage being placed at the rear of the stores. This scheme was the obviously logical arrangement because of the proximity of Wilmington proper, and the existence of traction lines on both these thoroughfares, thereby keeping heavy traffic from other streets in the development, and producing residential privacy for the houses themselves. Aside from the fact that the majority of the group houses have been located as conveniently as possible to the traction service, there has been a judicious placing of 2-family houses in the most desirable locations; namely, on Grant Avenue and to the southern end of the tract among the trees, and near the park.

#### STREET LAYOUT

By introducing curved thoroughfares to avoid excessive cut and fill, by connecting with only the principal adjacent and already established streets, and by dividing the tract into blocks of varying sizes and shapes, so that none would be either too long or too wide, Mr. Nolen has succeeded in evolving an extremely ingenious and practical plan, in spite of having to conform, in a great measure, to the existing, old-fashioned, checker-board street layout of the city of Wilmington. By limiting the curved element to the longer, main thoroughfares, a modern and scientific layout has been obtained which presents sufficient opportunity for variety in treatment, due to the resulting irregularity of blocks and plots, without either complicating the simplicity of the plan or unduly increasing the practical difficulties in the surveying of streets and building lots, an objection frequently advanced against the use of curved lines.

Grant Avenue, already partly constructed, and

which, when finally completed, will connect Wilmington's system of public parks, enters Union Park Gardens at the Village Green, and continues through the development and the park beyond. It is a broad, curving thoroughfare, averaging 125 ft. in width, following the course of the stream previously referred to, which gives it the charming effect of varied vistas. The roadways proper are on either side, with an intervening space, beautified by a pool and spillway spanned by a rustic bridge. Minor public open spaces with suitable approaches have been created at the intersection of the more important thoroughfares to produce a variety of viewpoints. This is particularly true of the Village Green, which not only gives a more appropriate setting to the communal and apartment buildings, but opens the view in many directions to vistas of the most charming character.

Careful distinction has been made between principal and secondary streets, not only to effect economy in both the cost of street construction and maintenance, but to preserve the residential character of the development by encouraging the use of the principal and the wider streets for through traffic, and the secondary narrower streets for local traffic. A noticeable peculiarity of the plan is the fact that, with one exception at the southwestern corner of the tract, none of the streets continue beyond the tract on the west side of the Cathedral Cemetery.

To those familiar with scientific town planning one glance at the general layout attracts attention because of the absence of service drives between blocks at the rear of the group houses. The original scheme included 15-foot driveways of this sort, to reduce vehicular



traffic on the main thoroughfares, and to facilitate the delivery of household commodities and the collection of ashes and garbage. With the inauguration of the "cash and carry" system by the stores, the delivery question no longer required serious consideration. On account of insufficient appropriations and existing city ordinances limiting the cleaning, lighting, and the removal of ashes and garbage from streets only, together with the question of adequate policing, the authorities of the city of Wilmington could give no assurance of extending such facilities to include service drives.

The situation was fraught with further difficulties due to the fact that, although Wilmington would undoubtedly be extended in the near future to include the entire development, at the present time the greater part of Union Park Gardens is outside of the city limits. Obviously there was no alternative other than the elimination of all service drives. The ingenuity of the architect was taxed to the utmost to arrive at a solution which would be satisfactory to all parties concerned, with the result that the novel, yet simple, expedient of introducing front areaways whereby ashes and garbage could be removed conveniently and directly from every group house was determined upon. This feature has a two-fold advantage: first, reducing the expenditure for road construction, thereby effecting a saving in the cost of the project; and second, making it possible to increase the depth of each plot by half the proposed service drive, or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The writer has dwelt at some length on this feature, because, in his opinion, the architects have successfully introduced a new element in the solution of the rear service drive problem in connection with group housing.

## LAND SUBDIVISION

The plots for intermediate group houses, between parallel streets, although not conforming to any absolutely uniform dimensions, generally average from 16 to 20 feet, frontage by 95 to 100 feet depth. End plots of this same depth have a somewhat greater frontage, in order to maintain a sufficient distance between groups. Although 16 feet has been taken as the accepted minimum distance, it has been possible to secure 18 feet or more in practically all instances. Plots for the detached and semi-detached houses have a frontage varying from 30 to 50 feet, depth irregular. The distance between houses on opposite sides of the street, depending upon whether minimum 20-foot or maximum 30-foot set-back, varies from 80 feet to 100 feet on the narrower streets and 90 feet to 110 feet on the wider ones. Allowing for the depth of each house, there remains a distance of 90 to 100 feet between rear lines of houses; which space is more than sufficient for an abundance of light and air.

This project contemplates 506 houses of which 399 are of the group type, 104 semi-detached, and 3 detached. After allowing sufficient ground for the apartment houses, stores, community building, school, and playground, there will remain a few lots which may later be purchased and built upon. A site has been reserved for a future school building, with an adjoining playground for baseball and tennis. In addition, two reserved areas, unsuitable for dwellings, are to be devoted to allotment gardens, for those who would not otherwise use their own back yards for this purpose.

Of the total area of 58 acres, 35 acres or 60.3% have been used for strictly residential purposes; 32.14 acres

for the 514 house lots and 2.86 acres for the 3 apartment lots, the latter having a total of 40 apartments. The remaining 23 acres or 39.7% represent  $7\frac{2}{3}$  acres or 13.2% for a future school and its adjoining playground, community building, and parks;  $\frac{9}{10}$  of an acre or 1.55% for reserved spaces to be used for allotment gardens; and 14.44 acres or 24.95% for streets. The density of housing, calculated on the basis of 514 families in separate houses and 40 families in the 3 apartments, occupying a total of 35 acres, is 15.83 families per net acre.

Excluding the apartments, and using 514 houses, which occupy 32.14 acres, as the basis of calculation, the density is 16 houses per net acre. It will be seen that the intensification of housing—15.83 families per net acre or 16 houses per net acre—is somewhat greater than normal because of the use of the group type. In the opinion of the writer, this development very forcibly illustrates the possibilities of the group type of house in the successful concentration of housing, when scientifically planned. Although exceeding the generally accepted maximum of 12 houses to the net acre as recommended by English authorities on Garden Suburbs, it is worthy of note that, notwithstanding this density of housing, only 24% of the 32.14 acres devoted to house lots is occupied by houses. The remaining 76% is unoccupied and consists of lawns, which, with the additional area of the streets, insures ample light and air.

#### ARCHITECTURAL TREATMENT

The monotonous uniformity of rows of houses has been carefully avoided. In spite of the fact that the group scheme has been followed to a great extent,

attractive and diversified effects in architectural design have been obtained by using both varying house setbacks and broken roof lines. Gable ends and dormers have been introduced at certain irregular intervals, especially at important points like street intersections, opposite streets, etc., with good results. Many of the houses have been given individual settings by taking advantage of certain irregularly shaped plots. There are 20 different types of houses, arranged in a variety of combinations. The groups vary from 3 to 10 houses each, separated by party walls, in units of both even and odd numbers. Only in two instances do they exceed this number, notably, one group of 12 and one of 13.

Harmony, simplicity, and uniformity of scheme have been maintained by adhering to one style of architecture, thus limiting the types of exterior treatment; and by securing effects in mass and proportion, rather than by the introduction of useless and expensive architectural embellishments.

### TYPES OF HOUSES

The necessity of obtaining at least 500 houses on this tract at the minimum cost per unit consistent with proper construction and complete accommodations made it obligatory to eliminate the single or detached house and to resort to the use of the 2-family and group types. This, however, has been in no way detrimental to the project.

The houses are of four principal types:

1. The single house—of which there is but one type.

2. The 2-family house—semi-detached or twin (double) of which there are 2 general types having 3 variations each.
3. The group house—having 7 variations of the intermediate houses depending on foot frontage, with 4 variations of end houses, depending on foot frontage.
4. Apartment houses.

The 2-family or semi-detached house has a frontage of 24 ft. 9 in. and a depth of 24 ft. 8 in., and is built upon lots of varying sizes. This house contains 6 rooms and bath; a living-room having windows on 3 sides; a dining-room and a kitchen on the first floor. On the second floor there are 3 bedrooms and a bath, the former having roomy closets, and the latter a linen closet, in addition to the built-in medicine closet over the lavatory. The stair to the second floor opens from the end of the living room, thereby making an attractive entrance feature. Another feature worthy of special notice is the clever arrangement of the rear kitchen entrance vestibule. This combines the entrance to the basement stair and a space for a refrigerator. The ice-box is thus removed from the heat of the kitchen but is still easily accessible to both the kitchen and the outside entrance.

The group house is essentially the same as the 2-family house in its interior accommodations. In the plan itself, a distinction has been made between intermediate and end group houses by increasing the depth of the latter to allow rooms of a larger size; and also, in many instances, by arranging them 3 rooms deep, the middle room receiving light from one side only. The intermediate group houses are generally 27 feet to 30 feet in depth as compared with 33 feet and 39 feet

for the end ones. It was decided to increase the area of end group houses, particularly those located at street intersections, as they would command higher rentals, because of the advantages of side lawns with better outlook and more abundant sunlight and air.

To meet the anticipated demand for houses at cheap rents by workmen having small families, a number of the intermediate group houses in the less desirable locations comprise only 4 rooms and a bath, of which the two second-floor rooms are bedrooms. On the first floor the rear room occupies the full width of the house and is used as a combination dining-room and kitchen. The living-room in an emergency can easily be converted into a bedroom.

#### HOUSE ACCOMMODATIONS

The arrangement of both the plan and the interior accommodations of these houses has been made to conform to the Government's standards for war housing. Every house has a full basement, well-lighted and ventilated, with a cement floor, a warm air furnace, and a covered exterior entrance from the rear yard. In addition, every intermediate group house has an areaway entrance at the front, with steps descending at the side of the porch, which, in conjunction with the rear basement entrance, gives excellent through ventilation. It also facilitates the removal of ashes as well as affording convenient and direct access for the gas and electric inspectors to make periodic meter readings without passing through the main part of the house.

The kitchen fixtures have been located with reference to convenience and labor saving; the sink and its drain-board always located with a window on one side to provide ample daylight and the range on the other side;

a built-in dresser for dishes and supplies, supplemented in many of the houses by a large closet for heavy kitchen utensils and bulky commodities. All bathrooms are entered from the second floor hallway only. They have composition floors, and are equipped with modern plumbing and fixtures, including a tub, lavatory, and toilet fixtures. There is an ample attic space, well-ventilated front and rear, to keep the bedrooms cool in summer. This attic has no living accommodations, but may be used for storage. A coat closet has been provided in nearly all living-rooms, and every bedroom has at least one ample clothes closet. Every house, except a few which have open raised and cemented terraces with benches either side, has a front porch, which never extends the full width of the front in order not to exclude direct sunlight from the living-room.

Frame construction is not used in the operation. Stone masonry has been generally used for basement walls, above which they are of brick and hollow tile, the latter houses and some of the brick ones to be stuccoed on the exterior. The roofs are slated, so that the entire development is both semi-fireproof and permanent in character. Public utilities, including sewers, water, electricity, and gas, are being extended from Wilmington proper. The interior finish is yellow pine, a variety of colors being secured by staining it green, mission-brown, or golden-oak.

#### COST OF CONSTRUCTION

A detailed statement of the total cost of construction is not yet available. Even if it were, it could not serve as a basis of comparison for similar enterprises as Union Park Gardens is an emergency development for the

housing of shipworkers in which rapidity of construction was of far greater importance than cost. It was impossible to obtain a reasonable lump-sum figure because of the continually advancing prices due to the war. For this reason, and also to avoid delay in starting actual construction, the contract was let on the basis of cost-plus a fixed sum. The materials were purchased through the Construction Department of the United States Army. It was thus possible to obtain them in quantity at the reduced prices previously agreed upon between the Government and the dealers in building materials. This arrangement had the added advantages of controlling the shipment of materials to the various Government operations as needed, thus avoiding any irregularity in distribution.

Quantity estimates were made for the various portions of the construction in advance of letting the contract, on the basis of which the cost of materials for each type of house was determined.

The City of Wilmington has agreed to reimburse the Government for the cost of the sewer system by canceling the sewer assessment against the properties and paying its proportionate share, approximately 2%, for street intersections, etc.; to pay  $\frac{5}{8}$  of the cost of street construction, excluding sidewalks; and to assume the cost of installing the water supply by its purchase upon completion. The Gas and Electric Companies are to pay for the installation of their respective services up to and including house meters.

#### GARAGE FACILITIES

The question of providing individual garages has always been a much mooted one, both because of the



additional cost and the lack of sufficient information in advance of actual occupancy to determine, with any degree of accuracy, not only how many individual garages are likely to be required but also in connection with which houses they should be located. However, for the detached and semi-detached houses, whose occupants are more likely to possess automobiles, there is both ample ground at the rear of the property for a future garage and for access to it at the sides of those houses. If it is found that the public garage on Union Street, near Lancaster Avenue, is insufficient or inconvenient, it may become necessary to provide additional, more centrally located facilities by utilizing the two areas now reserved for allotment gardens for community garages.

### LANDSCAPE TREATMENT

That landscape work has a wholesome mental and moral effect upon the residents is indisputable. Landscape architecture, which frequently receives little or no attention as evidenced by the unfinished appearance of numerous housing projects is, in this development, to be under the able direction of Mr. Nolen.

The present trees and other natural beauties of the site have been preserved as far as possible. The streets are to be planted with hardy trees, and the space between the roadways of Grant Boulevard with both trees and shrubbery, which will not only beautify the tract, but will materially add to the intrinsic value of the property. The houses have been located with careful regard for their relation to street and property lines, the latter to be marked by hedges. Fences are

to be erected on the rear property and party lines only.

To foster the social life of the community and to cultivate a spirit of fellowship and neighborliness, a Communal Building, with its various accommodations, is planned. It has been learned that in industrial communities for skilled workmen and their families, particularly for those brought from a distance, it is as essential to provide recreation and amusement as it is to provide adequate and sanitary homes. It makes for their well-being and contentment, which are the prime factors in eliminating, or at least reducing to a minimum, the labor turn-over, the most serious industrial problem at the present time.

#### SUPERVISION AND MANAGEMENT

Wilmington was fortunate to have many progressive, public spirited citizens, whose keen foresight and vision have made Union Park Gardens a distinct achievement. To them, and particularly to their Chamber of Commerce, is due the credit for realizing the urgent need for adequate housing. They organized the Wilmington Housing Company, which undertook to raise sufficient funds by public subscription to purchase the necessary land. Some 110 different individuals subscribed to the stock of this company with the understanding that while there was little possibility of financial return, the money would be used to purchase the land which was to be given to the National Government; and upon which the latter would make a loan for the construction of the houses. This company advanced \$100,000 to the Liberty Land or operating Company, with which the land was purchased; they in turn gave the Government

a mortgage covering the loan for construction work, agreeing to pay 5% interest per annum, and, after all operating expenses were paid, any unexpended balance was to be used to amortize the loan.

The Liberty Land Company proposes, for the time being, to rent the houses and not to sell them. The distinct advantages of preventing deterioration and depreciation of the properties, together with imposing certain property restrictions, are only secured by retaining control over the management of the development. Proper management and upkeep, so essential to the success of such a project, can only be maintained by renting—not by selling. At the same time this eliminates the objection so often advanced by the laboring class that the purchase of houses interferes with the mobility of labor; the freedom to seek better positions elsewhere. The rents to be charged will be controlled largely by existing rents for similar accommodations elsewhere in the city of Wilmington. They will vary from \$27.50 per month for the smaller houses for the average shipworker to \$50 for the larger single houses, of which there are but a limited number, for the superintendents, etc.

In the past, scientifically planned Industrial Developments constructed along the most practical and economical lines, have failed to achieve ultimate success because they have lacked the application of scientific method in the maintenance of health, efficiency, and amenity. If the promoters of this development continue to display the same careful administration after the completion, as has distinguished it throughout these constructive stages, namely, by instituting a policy of control by which to regulate and protect the com-

munity's interest and welfare, it is safe to predict that the City of Wilmington will have every reason to feel proud in having taken advantage of the unusual opportunity presented to make of Union Park Gardens an inspiration for similar undertakings elsewhere.

# THE HOUSING STANDARDS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

JOHN NOLEN

*Town and City Planner, Cambridge, Mass.*

At the conference of the National Housing Association held in Philadelphia last February we discussed housing primarily from the viewpoint of its effect upon the war. We were concerned then, first of all, with winning the war. We believed then, as we believe now, that a proper housing policy was an essential part of a war program. We came again to the statement that you can't man the works unless you house the man. Also that you can't keep the man unless you house him properly.

There was a recognition, too, of the effect of the characteristic housing and town planning of a nation upon the efficiency of an overseas army,—its bodily vigor, its intellectual alertness, even its patriotic enthusiasm and that great quality which we call *morale*. These influences are exhibited not only by the house itself, but by the entire home environment of the local community,—its streets, its stores, its schools, its parks, and recreation places. It has often been said that the patriotism of men is of a somewhat higher order if they come from cities having irregular plans, cities that are picturesque, interesting, and beautiful, as contrasted with those that are dull gridirons, commonplace, and ugly.

To-day we have shifted our emphasis and attention. In place of considering the effect of housing upon the

war, we are beginning to look around and ask, what influence has the war had upon housing? The effect surely has been mixed. In some directions, undoubtedly, housing standards have been lowered. Many examples could be given. We have had to accept as a part of war's necessities the disadvantages and dangers of a makeshift housing policy, a policy which emphasized the "Take a Roomer" campaign, the solution of housing requirements not by an addition to the supply of houses, but through transportation. The result has been that during this war emergency, even housing reformers have patriotically closed their eyes. However, the lasting effect of the war upon housing will, I believe, be good. At least we have an opportunity to make it so.

#### PERMANENT HOUSING

The so-called "Standards Recommended for Permanent Industrial Housing Developments" by the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation are a notable achievement. They were adopted by the Bureau after months of open-minded and vigorous discussion by a representative group of men. This body included architects, engineers, landscape architects, town planners, contractors, physicians, housing experts, social workers, realtors, and others with Frederick Law Olmsted as Chairman. Credit to the value of their services has already been publicly acknowledged by the Housing Bureau of the Government. It is fitting to add here that the original draft of these standards was prepared by Lawrence Veiller, Secretary and Director of the National Housing Association, and in the final decision of many of the most important standards, his view

prevailed. Why? Not, I believe, merely because of his personal grasp of this subject, although that should be freely granted, but because the National Housing Association by its patient work of a decade under his direction had, through observation, study, and discussion gathered the experience that had ripened into wisdom upon which the adoption of standards could safely rest.

A number of essential ideas should be noted in connection with these housing standards of the Federal Government. In the first place, they are standards for *permanent* construction. As a matter of fact, the Government standards for temporary construction are in many ways equally worthy of review and praise. But they are not the subject of this discussion.

A second essential idea is that while these standards were adopted with a firm determination that they should control, their application was to be discriminating. Common sense was to have its proper place; also local custom. Therefore the Housing Bureau recommended in its very first paragraph that these standards were not intended as inflexible requirements, but added that any plans which failed to conform to the standards were not likely to be accepted unless supported by very strong reasons.

The standards as put forth by the Government are comprehensive. The nine types of houses included cover virtually the whole field. They are as follows:

1. Single family house.
2. Two family house.
3. Single family house with rooms for lodgers or boarders.
4. Lodging house for men.
5. Hotel for men.

6. Lodging house for women.
7. Hotel for women.
8. Tenement house.
9. Boarding house.

### THE MOST IMPORTANT STANDARDS

There is not time in this paper to discuss these standards in detail. They are presented clearly and succinctly in the ten small pages of the pamphlet, boiled down and carefully arranged for easy comprehension and reference. They should be read and studied by everyone interested in the peculiar difficulties connected with the housing of wage earners. Discussion now, however, can be most profitably directed to three outstanding proposals, each absolutely fundamental to good housing, and each unfortunately more or less in conflict with the common practice of our time.

These three outstanding general proposals are:

First, That Row or Group houses are not normally to be more than two rooms deep.

Second, That side yard space between adjacent buildings is to be at least 16 feet and preferably 20 feet.

Third, That tenement and apartment houses are considered generally undesirable, and will be accepted only in cities where because of high land values it is clearly demonstrated that single and two-family houses cannot be economically provided or where there is insistent demand for this type of multiple housing.

If nothing else were accomplished by the formulation of Government standards, the cause of good housing would owe an unending debt of gratitude to the agency and circumstances that set down in determined form



the Government's belief in these three fundamental proposals.

But of course there are many other points that are worthy of praise and of wider adoption. They run all through the list of subjects for the various types of buildings with which those concerned about housing are familiar,—the materials of exterior walls, the size of windows, the height of buildings, fire protection, the size and number of rooms, the all-important plumbing, the character of fences, allotment gardens, free standing beds, the need for a clothes closet in every bedroom, etc.

As a basis for special discussion may I suggest two groups of only six topics each that appear to me of greatest importance and significance. These deal mainly with the single family house. The first group relates primarily to the character of the house itself, the second to the town planning features that do so much to make or mar the house as a satisfactory home.

### THE HOUSE ITSELF

In the group determining the character of the house itself, I should name as most important the following standards:

1. That row or group houses are not to be more than two rooms deep.
2. That cross ventilation as direct as possible is to be provided for all rooms.
3. That no living quarters are to be in basements.
4. That a minimum clear space of eight inches is to be provided between the ceiling and the roof, with adequate ventilation.

5. That five-room houses are to be preferred for higher paid workers, and four-room houses for lower paid workers.
6. That every house is to have one large bedroom and a parlor or living room from 10 x 12 feet to 12 x 14 feet in size.

### TOWN PLANNING

In the town planning features the regulations of most far reaching effect are:

1. That side yard space between adjacent buildings is to be preferably 20 feet, with a minimum of 16 feet.

2. That the group house should be used wherever lot sizes or land values make it difficult or impossible to provide adequate side yard space.

3. That rear yard depth is to be not less than the height of building, nor in any case less than 20 feet, and the minimum distance between the backs of houses at least 50 feet.

4. That front yards or setbacks are desirable where practicable, and the minimum distance from the front of the house to the front of the opposite house is to be 50 feet.

5. That *private* alleys will not be accepted, but that access to the rear of houses may be made through minor public streets, such streets to be not less than 12 feet wide, and to be properly paved, curbed, drained, and lighted.

6. That the tenement and apartment house is to be considered an undesirable house type, and accepted only in places where other types are not practicable.

In addition to the town planning features in the standards issued by the Bureau, special reference should

be made to the pamphlet issued later by the Town Planning Division, entitled "Suggestions to Town Planners." These are of great importance and exercised a controlling influence on the actual plans that were prepared under the direction of the United States Housing Corporation.

#### ARE STANDARDS NECESSARY?

It is natural to inquire here, should self-imposed standards be adopted to control Government housing for war needs? Why should not the aim be the largest possible amount of housing at the least possible cost? I believe there are two substantial reasons. The first is that this method would defeat its own primary purpose. Not the largest amount of any kind of housing, but the largest amount of *satisfactory* housing, is essential.

Contentment and efficiency are dependent upon satisfactory housing, and without contentment and efficiency the war needs of labor would not be well served. The second reason is that even in the most engrossing days of war, when many things had to be done which we might have wished otherwise, an effort was made to hold to the human requirements of the workman and his family. There are laws of human well-being—scientific laws—and we now know better than we ever knew before that in the long run it pays to follow them. In this respect housing is not peculiar. There are standards in food, in clothing, in ships, in munitions, in factory buildings, in motor vehicles, in airplanes, and in all the vast complex material of the modern world.

But if we agree that there should be housing stand-

ards, by what method should they be fixed? Should they be determined by the wages that workmen receive and rent that workmen can afford to pay, or by an economic rent on land, building and utilities,—a return, say, of 10% gross or 5% net on the invested capital,—or by the accepted but constantly changing minimum requirements of safety, health, convenience, and comfort? Or, should they be determined by all these requirements considered together? It is my opinion that if these Government standards have one merit more than another, it is their endeavor to harmonize so far as possible all these various requirements.

The big problem, again, in housing is that of cost, and it will assert itself sooner or later in connection with these housing standards of the Federal Government. Suppose this house which has been built to conform to these standards costs \$4,500 or even more. Who will live in it after the war, when it passes from the ownership of the Government? If it is found too expensive, even after a reasonable write-off by the Government, what will be the influence finally of the Government's action in adopting these standards and building according to them? Will the Government's standards be finally discredited and pronounced impracticable? Will we be compelled to return to our old standards again?

These questions cannot be answered now, but they are worth asking as we stand in these first reconstruction days on the brink of a more far-reaching housing movement than that which the Government fathered as a part of its war emergency program.

There is one subject to which, if I am not mistaken, the standards do not once refer. That is, the *appearance* of the workman's home,—its ugliness or beauty.

Why is this aspect ignored? Is it unimportant? No, I believe it is because beauty, like happiness, is best obtained by not being too directly sought. If a house has a proper plan and is built of suitable materials, if it is so arranged as to serve its purposes well, if its color is considered, if it is located with due regard to the other houses and open spaces,—in a word, if its planning, location, and construction are controlled by standards such as those recently adopted by the Federal Government to serve war needs and placed in the hands of qualified architects—we may safely take chances on its appearance. In most cases, as I believe the Government operations will demonstrate, the æsthetic as well as the practical results will be appropriate and gratifying.

Housing is on the new map of the world. Its place and boundaries are changed permanently. Public opinion has shifted, and in the right direction. No statesman who aspires to power and honor in the new régime can fail to include it in his reconstruction or readjustment program. The men in the service expect to find on their return a new and better type of workman's home.

Unless all signs fail, housing reform is to be part of our new standards of action. Like new standards of action in other fields, housing is to be changed through three influences that are spreading far and wide. They are coöperation, a new scale of money expenditures, and a raising of democratic ideals. The years of the war have given innumerable illustrations of what coöperation can do. We are no longer daunted by cost, if the thing for which the money is to be spent is worth it.

A world war has been successfully fought to make the world safe for democracy.

A world peace is now being outlined that will also, we trust, make democracy safe for the world.

A plank in the domestic part of that peace program will be a recognition that housing conditions should be made fit for democracy, that higher standards of living must prevail. The English Premier has already drawn attention to this in connection with other fundamental reforms. He has pointed out that the end of the war finds us in a more exalted mood, and has advised that we should, to quote his own words, "think out new ways of dealing with old problems. Don't always be thinking of getting back to where you were before the war. Get really a new world."

## RENT PROFITEERING

JAMES FORD

*Manager, Homes Registration and Information Division, United States Housing Corporation*

Many of you doubtless have had intimate experience with rent profiteering during the past year. Rents have gone up rapidly in cities which have had insufficient housing accommodations. There have been more than 60 such cities in this country in which the rentals have gone up a considerable degree. These cities are well scattered throughout the country, though most of them are on the Atlantic Coast. Rentals have gone up in some cases by several hundred per cent. We have, in the records of the Bureau of Industrial Housing, instances in which the landlord is stated to have secured from his property an income considerably larger than the exchange value of that property. For example, we have from Bath, Maine, an instance of a gross rental of \$4,600 from a property for which the owner had paid only \$3,000. In Key West, Fla., we have a case in which the owner had secured 200% of the value of his property in a single year's rental, and increases of 50% are very common in some of our most crowded industrial cities.

This matter came to the attention of the Housing Bureau rather early in its history. The Housing Bureau was created in February for the purpose of studying the housing of industrial workers in cities in which there were war contracts. The Bureau did not secure appropriations with which to build until in July,—a consider-

able period later. But in April the first complaints of rent profiteering began to pour in, and in the month of May an appeal from working men in New London which came to Secretary Wilson was so grave that it led to the sending of a special investigator to New London to make a report and to devise some means of meeting this problem. Mr. Richard Washburn Child was sent by Mr. Felix Frankfurter of the War Labor Policies Board, and he, in coöperation with Mr. John C. Ellis of New London, devised a scheme for meeting this problem through the organization of a local committee. A committee of twenty-four members was established with an equal number of members selected from organized labor and from the propertied class, the representatives of the propertied class being manufacturers in New London. This committee was divided into sub-committees, one of which met each week, and these sub-committees heard the complaints of landlord and tenant.

This device which Mr. Child and Mr. Ellis had worked out for New London has been applied, with slight modifications, by the Housing Bureau, to the rest of the country. Cases have come to the attention of the Housing Bureau in a variety of ways. A great many letters written in illiterate handwriting and rather oddly spelled, addressed to the President of the United States or to the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, have come, by devious routes, to the Housing Bureau. Early in June we arranged with the Council of National Defense to have local committees on Rent Profiteering established throughout the country under the joint auspices of the Council of National Defense and the Housing Bureau. The Council of



National Defense sent a letter to every State Council, and upon our recommendation, also sent such letters to Local Councils of Defense. And local committees of the New London type were established to handle such cases as were reported to us or any new cases which might appear within the community.

Such committees were established, with the assistance of the Council of National Defense, in more than 60 American cities, acting generally, first, upon cases which had been reported to the Housing Bureau by the War Department or the Navy Department. Many of these cases were very urgent. The Rock Island Arsenal, the Philadelphia Navy Yard, the Mare Island Navy Yard in California, and a great many other government arsenals, navy yards, and war industries reported that their labor turn-over was very great, some saying that it was as high as 30% per month, because it was impossible for their working men to secure accommodations at rents which they could pay.

The seriousness of the problem was very great and it was necessary to take immediate action. Unfortunately, the Bureau of Industrial Housing had no power to commandeer occupied property. The Emergency Fleet Corporation had that power; the Navy Department had that power, limited, however, to regions in which torpedo boat destroyers were being manufactured. The Navy Department and the Emergency Fleet Corporation having the power to commandeer occupied property, under some circumstances, were able to take over property in which exorbitant rentals were charged, and operate the same property at reasonable rentals, directly. The Housing Bureau has never had that power. It has had legislation before the present

Congress for that purpose but the bill has not passed, and now that the armistice has been declared, that bill presumably will not pass.

This lack of power may however prove to have been a fortunate thing for the country because it has led to the development throughout the United States of a rather valuable type of committee for meeting this problem. Such local committees, as were established through the Council of National Defense by the Housing Bureau, are organized in the following way: In the smaller cities they are generally committees of three or five; in the larger cities they may be of five or of any larger number. On a committee of five, there will be two representatives of organized labor chosen by the local central labor union or by a union engaged in the manufacture of war products, two members from the local real estate board or real estate exchange, chosen by that exchange, and then a chairman acceptable to the other members, one of the respected citizens of the community whose judgment every person trusts. Generally he is one of the officials of the Local Council of Defense. In the larger cities, there are several such committees of five; one for each ward, perhaps, or one for each district or one to meet each week in the month, so that all cases can be handled without overburdening any particular group.

The committee generally meets once a week. It is important at the outset that each committee should make itself known to its city, and it therefore advertises the fact of its existence; it calls attention to the dangers of rent profiteering, it shows how rent profiteering interferes with the winning of the war. It shows that where rentals are high, it is difficult for the war indus-

tries to secure labor and that the labor turn-over, therefore, is very great, that the production of war materials is interfered with and the war is thereby prolonged. It urges the property owners to charge rentals no higher than those which they received prior to the war, to stop raising their rentals, or to charge only such rentals as are reasonable.

Local committees vary considerably in their method of determining what constitutes a reasonable rental, and it is proper that they should, for this is a community matter and not a federal matter. The local people are better able to know what rental is reasonable in that locality. They do not question a return of 10% gross on the investment; they *are*, however, likely in every case to question a return of 20% gross while in some communities though not in others a return of 15% gross is open to question.

Other communities go about the matter in a still different way; they may say the landlord is entitled to the same rental he received in 1914; or, that he is entitled to a 10% increase on his 1914 rental; but, if he is charging 20% more than he charged in 1914, he is open to suspicion; if he is charging 30% more, he is quite certainly a profiteer unless he has made very considerable improvements in his property which warrant that increased rental.

The local committees do not consist of economists, but they do consist of practical men who know whether a rental is reasonable or not and who talk the same language as their fellow citizens, and who can make their fellow citizens appreciate their methods of determining what constitutes a profiteer.

The local landlord is tried by his peers, by people

whom he understands, by people whom he respects. The result is that he is willing to conform to their decision. Actually thousands of cases have been taken up by these local committees and the same method, viz., persuasion, has been used in all. The landlord is shown that he is a poor patriot if he charges an exorbitant rental. By this means he is induced, almost invariably, to reduce such rental. But if the rental he has been charging is not exorbitant, the tenant is made to see that it is not, with the result that he then pays it willingly.

In the vast majority of cases brought before these committees rentals have been reduced, as the landlords were found to be profiteers. In many cases also improvements have been urged and made, and in a considerable number of cases, evictions have been prevented. There are several hundred cases of rent profiteering on the records of the Housing Bureau which have been adjusted to mutual satisfaction, and a great many such cases which have not been reported by the committees. The committee in Cleveland, Ohio, reports that it has already, in nine months, saved more than \$120,000 to the tenant class of that city, directly. The direct savings affected by these committees constitute only a small part of the value of their work, because the very fact of their existence or the fact of their publicity leads prospective profiteers to keep their rentals at a reasonable figure. Many a person who had thought of raising his rental has decided not to after a committee of this character has been established.

It may be of interest to hear one or two reports of such committees. The committee at Charleston, W. Va., reports that in one case, the rental of a house in

1916 was \$30; in 1917 it was \$40; in 1918 it was raised to \$50 and the owner then told the tenant that he would have to move out unless he paid \$70. The case was brought up before the committee and they finally agreed that \$50 was a proper rental for that house. In the next case, treated in the same week, the rental in April, 1918, was \$22.50, and was raised in September to \$30. The committee ruled that that rental should be \$22.50 and the landlord accepted its decision. In the next case, the rental in 1917 was \$12.50, raised in 1918 to \$25. The case came before the committee and the rental was fixed at \$18. In the next case the rental in 1917 was \$40 and was raised in 1918 to \$75; the landlord and the tenant before the committee compromised on \$60. In the next case the rental was \$25 for four rooms and was reduced by the committee to \$15. In the next case the rental was \$20 and notice to vacate had been served upon the tenant unless he would pay \$25; the rental of \$25 was approved by the committee and the landlord was sustained. In the next case the rental was \$15 in February, 1918, \$18 in May, and was raised to \$40 in September. It was reduced by vote of the committee to \$18, and the landlord and tenant accepted its decision.

Now, you will observe that the methods of determining what constitutes a fair rental must vary. Each case is decided upon its merits, but the important point is that it is decided, that a reduction of rental is effected, and that the landlord and the tenant generally go out of the building friends, and that the community is spared a general increase in rentals as a result of the action of the committee.

Here is one of the weekly reports from this same

committee, which is only one of 60 such committees. The report is for the week of August 22, 1918; 65 cases were heard; 20 sustained the landlord and 30 reduced the rent. The other cases were pending. In the next week, 16 cases were heard; 5 sustained the landlord and 10 reduced the rent. In the next week, 18 cases were heard; 6 sustained the landlord and 13 reduced the rent. In the next week, 22 cases were heard; 6 sustained the landlord and 16 reduced the rent. In the next week, 16 cases were heard; 7 sustained the landlord and 9 reduced the rent.

Here is a report from Portsmouth, Va., dated October 28, 1918. The Portsmouth committee is headed by a labor man. This is, on the whole, unusual, but it is the condition in Portsmouth, New London, and in a few other cities. In general a Council of Defense executive serves as chairman of the committee. President Colein, of the Central Labor Union, Chairman of the Committee at Portsmouth, Va., stated that their sub-committees met almost every night for six weeks and heard four or five cases each night, and that on Friday nights cases were heard before the whole committee and that every case had been adjusted to the satisfaction of the committee and both parties concerned. If every case has been adjusted to the satisfaction of a committee of which a labor man is chairman, we may assume that there have been considerable reductions in rental.

Here is a report from Lowell, Mass., for the week ending October 19th; 5 cases had arisen since the previous report which were settled without resort to the committee, that is, by some one member of the committee who saw the landlord and tenant and brought them together. Three complaints were withdrawn by the

complainants when informed by the chairman of the committee as to what constituted profiteering; for a great many cases are raised where the tenant has no legitimate grievance. Ten cases were heard by the full committee, resulting in 3 verdicts which sustained the landlord and 7 which effected a reduction in the rental.

If the landlord will not listen to the decision of the committee, the committee may resort to publicity. It is the only whip which the local committee generally has. It is the only threat which it can offer, except to threaten federal interference, which means very little because the federal government has little power to interfere. The threat of publicity, however, worked in some cases. The method was simply to publish the facts of the case without comment in the local papers—they were published without comment, in order to avoid libel proceedings. The threat of publicity had often to be used but few cases actually were pilloried in the cities in which these committees operated. A great many of the committees never resorted to publicity and a few of the committees found that they could not secure the co-operation of the local newspapers anyhow. In general however the threat worked pretty well where it was utilized.

In some cases it was possible to resort to the use of federal power to commandeer. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, having that power, utilized it very freely and had federal rent adjusters. The Bureau of Housing did not have that power, but in many of our naval projects, notably, Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., Camden, N. J., and Bath, Maine, where working men of the navy were engaged in the manufacture of torpedo boat destroyers, or parts thereof, it was possible

to threaten the use of this power and it was actually utilized in Norfolk, Va., and in Bath, Maine, to considerable advantage.

In the particular case at Bath, Maine, an illiterate Greek had bought a house for which he paid \$3,000, and had raised the rent, which had been \$8 a month for each half, to a figure which gave him \$4,600 per year on his \$3,000 investment. In general, it may be said that the leading real estate men of the city were not the offenders, were not the profiteers. The profiteers, as a rule, were small property owners, generally recent immigrants who owned a single piece of real estate, persons unfamiliar with American traditions, persons who did not appreciate that they were interfering with the conduct of the war by their practices. That has not been invariably true by any means; but it is the rule that the worst cases of profiteering were cases of profiteering by owners of small properties.

This means of controlling rent profiteering has not been tried in Washington, because Washington already had federal legislation governing this subject. After there has been legislation governing profiteering, it is quite impossible to settle cases by committees out of court; for, everybody wishes to make use of the legislative remedy. It was therefore impossible to use this device in Washington.

It has been utilized, however, pretty freely in the rest of the country. Its value has been that it has reduced rent profiteering, both by bringing cases before committees and by newspaper and other publicity, and has succeeded in bringing about good will between persons who had previously had nothing but contempt and dislike for each other. It has put an end to a great



deal of ill-feeling. Moreover, it has been very good for the community to have a representative local agency considering the question of what constitutes profiteering and what constitutes justice to the tenant; of what constitutes patriotism; and these local committees have led to a considerable development within the community, in patriotism and in civic pride.

Now, is there any salvage to this device? Is this a kind of committee which should persist after the war? Rent profiteering will decline as construction of houses expands. The profiteering is due pretty largely to economic laws, to a shortage of supply of houses relative to the demand for houses. As building increases, as private builders begin to supply houses to meet the demands of the population, or as the war-time population withdraws to peace industries, profiteering will decline. It will decline unevenly, because in ship-building towns, fresh labor is still being taken on and the shortage of houses is becoming greater all the time, but in other towns having war industries, this is not true, and the number of cases is declining.

There is, however, a permanent function apparently for such committees, namely, to settle grievances out of court. Many tenants do not think very well of their landlord; many landlords do not altogether approve of their tenants. There are many grievances which are serious and many grievances which are not, but a very small grievance may lead to very bitter feeling. It is possible for these committees to persist as landlord and tenant tribunals, to consider the many cases which come up, the grievances, the quarrels. These quarrels, if they are allowed to go on, lead to serious discontent and this is a period in which there is going to be a great deal

of industrial discontent and a period in which it is very important to reduce that discontent wherever possible. The landlord and tenant tribunals are going to persist in many of the cities in which they have been established. The committees have already written to the Bureau at Washington, saying that they consider their function permanent; they will be able, therefore, to solve a very large number of cases out of court and will add to that increasing number of conciliatory devices like the domestic relations courts and conciliation committees of employers and employees, which are doing so much to solve serious social problems by moral suasion.

## RENT PROFITEERING

JOHN C. ELLIS

*President, Machinists' Union, New London*

With some trepidation I accepted the invitation to come here, not being used to addressing such representative gatherings; I felt, however, it to be my duty that I should come to explain to this body exactly what rent profiteering is, what harm it has done in some cases, and what we should do about it.

Last January a great many men of the city of New London came to me, I being president of the Machinists' Union, and they told me that the rents were going up so that they could not possibly pay them, and food stuffs were going up, and they had received no raise in pay since the previous October. A great many of them had large families and the landlords said, "If you can't pay the rent, get out." Then came a great influx of naval officers wanting houses until even a shack made of ordinary boards was at a premium to live in. That was the condition in New London last January.

These men would come to me with tears in their eyes; their wives would come to the office and say, "Ellis, can't you do something?" I made a record of these cases; I had quite a considerable number of them. I called the attention of the Central Labor Union to this fact, and they appointed me commander in chief to see what I could do. We placed ads. in papers and got dozens of replies.

People had talked to lawyers and then said, "What is the use? If we write, we will get put out of the

house." The lawyers told them, "You have no rights under the law, a man can charge any rent he wants to." At the same time, President Wilson appealed to workmen saying, "Men, keep on your jobs, we need you; the boys over there need you"; and yet these landlords were willing to throw these men out on the streets and make their families homeless; for what? For a few more dollars per month. Were they supporting the Stars and Stripes to win a victory? I leave it to you. I fail to see where it comes in.

As I told you, women came to see me and I was absolutely helpless. What could I do for them? These letters came in and I read them over and wrote a letter to Hurley, the chairman of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, wrote one to Gompers, and one to Secretary of Labor Wilson, and I got a reply, "We will look into it." In the meantime, another organization in New London heard about this trouble over rents and started a committee also. They sent out cards, and then came the statement in the New London papers in large headlines, "There is no such thing as rent profiteering in New London." Then the landlords rejoiced and said, "What are you going to do now, Ellis? You are up against it." No, I was not. I had a talk with Mr. Momm, Superintendent of the Ship Engine Company. He said: "What are you going to do next?" "We are going to get up a petition signed by every one of these workers and send it to Secretary Wilson and if that don't do any good, it will go to President Wilson, and if that don't do any good, I will go myself," I replied.

Shortly after, investigators began to flow into New London. Everyone said, "We can't do anything; there is no adequate law." In the petition I sent to

Secretary Wilson, I stated "if the Government did not see fit to appoint a commission, we would appoint one ourselves," because something had to be done and if it was not done it would interfere with the efficiency of the war, stop the building of ships, and stop a great many of the industries which the Government depended on. At that time work was going on at the submarine naval base, they wanted as many men as could possibly be put in there; it meant your safety and our safety. I told him that we had to back up the boys in France, that we had to protect their families.

Suppose you were a working man and had worked hard all day in the shop, ten or eleven hours, and, tired and worn out, think you are going home to your family, to be greeted by your wife and children with a smile; but instead of that your wife meets you in tears and says, "There it is, we have got to get out; we can't pay the rent." What would you do? Boys, I tell you how you would do if you felt like I did; you would get hold of a couple of those landlords and string them up. But I don't believe in mob law; I believe in obeying the great Government at Washington; I believe in supporting the boys at the front. I didn't even believe in a strike during the war. You never heard of a strike in the city of New London during the war, did you? Certainly not, because there was none there, because the kind of boys you have got there are loyal, staunch, true Americans, but they want decent treatment.

When Richard Washburn Child came there, we had a talk and he said: "What do you want to do? What is the proposition?" "Why, we are going to get a committee and go after the landlords and publish them." Prior to that in stirring up this little ruction

around the city of New London, I had written out a list of profiteers for the press and it went to Samuel Gompers and the list was copied in the papers of New London, and one of those fellows called me up on the phone and said: "Ellis, if you don't take that back, I will sue you for \$5,000; I tell you it is a lie." I said to him: "You go and get your tenants to sign a statement that you haven't done that and I will pay for the publication of a retraction in the newspapers and get down on my knees and apologize." It never came. I am perfectly willing, if I have done anybody an injustice, to apologize, as every man should do.

In one of these cases, there was one woman whose husband had had his hand cut off. He had been a mechanic and after his hand was cut off he couldn't work at that any longer and was put on as watchman at one of the important Government plants. His rent was raised about 50 or 60%. His wife came to me and said: "What can we do? I have got a boy at the front. If we do everything we can for the Government, why does the Government allow us to be made homeless by these profiteers who want to raise the rent?" That case was published in the papers and the landlord did not raise the rent in that one particular case.

Another case was of a man who was not a skilled mechanic, who was what we call a handy man, a man who did not drink and, I want to tell you, had a lovely family, four or five children, and one or two grandchildren. He rented a house of a Jew, I believe, and this Jew took sick. Through the whole period of his sickness this man and his wife cooked dainties for him and brought him back to health. After they brought him back to health, the Jew conceived the idea that he

didn't like his tenant's children and he said: "You get out." That man, to my own knowledge, walked the streets of the city of New London up until ten or eleven o'clock at night and could not get a shack, even. The situation grew on his wife's nerves so much that she threatened to commit suicide and they had to tie her to the bed. But this man insisted, "You have to move anyhow." We had no committee, then, gentlemen. The day before this man was to be set out on the street, a woman of the town was arrested for street-walking and sent to the workhouse, and the Superintendent of the Bradley Street Mission got her to relinquish the three attic rooms that she had occupied for this man to put his family in.

Here is another case: a young man enlisted in the service, had a young wife, about twenty-two years of age, and also a boy about two and a half years old. He was assigned to one of the Government stations of the city of New London and could only get home once or twice a week. After he would leave the house, the landlord's wife would go to the apartments and hound the life out of this woman, who was in a delicate condition, expecting to be sick in a month or two afterwards, and wouldn't let the woman alone until this woman took spells and one spell lasted eight days and for eighteen hours there was not a sign of life in her body.

I had a talk with the landlord and I'll tell you what happened to that fellow. I was inspector at the Ship Engine Company. We have moving pictures there at the noon hour and when those workmen got together, I mounted on a pile of castings and told of the case. I said: "That landlord lives at that house; I want every

one of you to write that man a letter and tell him what you think of him." That boy who had enlisted in the service had worked in that shop at one time and I was a little bit afraid of the result of that speech, because there was a howling mob went to that house that night and he sent for me and said: "For God's sake come on down and see me; I'll do anything." He showed me about 1,000 or 1,500 letters. I looked over a number of them and they threatened him with all kinds of torture. I don't believe any human being was ever threatened with more punishment than he, but the result was that that woman was let alone and she is living in the house to-day and is not disturbed. He simply understood that he had to act decent.

I will give you another case. A man came to my house Saturday noon and was describing the matter. He said: "I'll get put out of my house. I asked the landlord to give me until next Thursday, until I get another house, and he refused." I said: "Who is the landlord?" He told me. I said: "Do you owe him any rent?" "No." So with the aid of the telephone I asked, "Why are you putting this man out? What's the matter with letting him stay until next Thursday?" He replied, "I won't let him stay another minute." I said, "All right; are you in business?" "Yes." I said, "All right, look in the paper Monday morning. I am going to give you a headline." The tenant remained to Thursday. Like a lot of rats and vermin concealed under dirty filthy boards, when you pull the boards up, see how they run. That is publicity; they are afraid to let the world know what they do. We want to get rid of vermin, we want to get rid of bacteria. For what? For the health of the working man, for you



and for me; for decency, for morality, and if we cannot do it one way, we will try another.

People may say, "Mind your own business." It is our business. Take some of the houses I have been in. I have made it a special point to get around and look at some of these houses. I have seen houses with the ceilings falling down, with the toilets something terrific, and yet their owners have tripled the rent and ordered people to get out, and they say they are good American citizens. What do they care for sanitary conditions or whether a man can live in the house or not, or anything, only the dollar?

I want to impress this on your minds; we have got to do something. When you people go out and think over these conditions, in the name of humanity and in the name of God Almighty, in the name of that Great Creator that created you and me, in the name of the Great Christ that died for you and me, let us strive and love our own brother a little bit stronger and see whether we cannot do something. I am asking you, will you do it? For the sake of the greatest democrat that ever lived, the Man that died for you and for me, died that we might have eternal life, the Man who said we should love our brothers as ourselves—shall we do it? A man may differ; we can all differ; we love the same flag, and let us try and remember that we have brothers probably not as well situated as we are in life, probably not as well educated, but we can help them along and try to raise up their sphere of life until that great brotherhood shall come and help us on.

## GOOD HOUSING AS A REDUCER OF LABOR TURNOVER

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Private employers may be urged to build houses for their workmen only when it is shown that for them to do so will increase their profits. Manufacturers have, on occasion, launched upon housing movements for other motives. Altruistic purposes have perhaps been served more often by housing developments, even, than profit-making motives. The employer sometimes builds houses because he wants to beautify the town or because he wants to improve the character of his working people. Such purposes, however, are chiefly matters of private concern, and only preachers of the Gospel may have leave to tell manufacturers what they should do from altruistic motives.

So often, indeed, has idealism controlled the inauguration of a housing scheme that, to date, the appeal of housing experts seems to have been mainly to disinterested purpose, rather than to the practical judgment of manufacturers. So often has idealism controlled, indeed, that the practical motives can hardly now make themselves heard to manufacturers, who have come to regard housing developments as the playthings of rich men who wish to do something pretty before they retire.

My purpose in this paper is to furnish ammunition to those who wish to prove that, under certain circumstances, it serves a manufacturer's strictly business interests to build houses for his workmen. This

ammunition may be found in the record of companies whose labor turnover has been increased by the lack of sufficient or decent housing accommodations. It will be even more effective to show where labor turnover has been reduced by the provision of sufficient and decent housing accommodations.

The reduction of labor turnover has been the aim of progressive manufacturers ever since it became apparent how costly it is to be always breaking in new men to replace experienced men who have left. Investigators who have studied the expense of hiring and training new men and the losses through reduced production and increased wastage while they are learning, figure the total at anywhere from \$30 to \$75 per man. Thus, for a plant of 1000 employees, having an annual turnover of 100%, the needless cost would range from \$30,000 to \$75,000, according to the various studies. When it is considered that in many cases the turnover runs far beyond this figure, the effort to stabilize employment assumes high importance.

Through the very great kindness of the executives of the United States Housing Corporation and the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Dr. Royal Meeker, I have been furnished with certain information not hitherto published, which seems to me to show that bad housing and labor turnover are closely related. I have been able to add to this information, in some slight degree, by observations of my own, and by reference to an important paper by Mr. Leslie H. Allen, called "The Workman's Home: Its Influence upon Production in the Factory and Labor Turnover," which he read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in June, 1918.

The evidence furnished is not especially diverting reading, but it will be important to those whose immediate purpose gives them an incentive to read it.

Permit me to epitomize at some length from the report of the field agents of the United States Housing Corporation to the Chairman, Mr. Otto M. Eidlitz, and his Conference Board.

Here are some extracts from a report on the Fore River Shipbuilding Plant at Quincy, Mass. The labor turnover at this plant for January, February, March, and April was 118%, or 354% per year. In the week of February 23d, out of 14,554 employees, 158 left on account of poor housing, and 12 for transportation. The principal reason given for leaving, for the four months mentioned, was inability to obtain decent housing facilities.

“The single men put up with almost any form of inconvenience in order to stay on the job, sleeping anywhere from two to eight in a room; in some instances, sleeping in relays—that is, a man occupying a bed for a certain length of time, and then leaving the bed and allowing another to have his turn—which condition is most deplorable.”

Another report on this same plant states:

“While the single men are not exacting with regard to housing accommodations, often sleeping two to eight in a single room and often occupying the same bed in relays, such conditions are intolerable for married men. They are a leading cause of the excessive labor turnover.

“In January, 1918, 3,193 men were hired and 1,307 left, and there was a gain of 1,806 in the labor force. In one month it was necessary to hire 3,000 men in order to increase the force by 1,000. The daily non-attendance is often as high as 30%. The exorbitant rent charges prompt many workers to abandon their jobs.

"Families living in poor four-room flats, without modern improvements of any kind, have had their rent raised from \$16 to \$22 per month.

"The Naval Board reports a turnover of 60% at Fore River, and attributes it largely to lack of proper housing facilities within reasonable distance from the plant."

The following is from the Staff Conference report of May 8, 1918, on the general situation at Bridgeport, Conn.

"Because of the universal recognition of the fact that labor turnover must be kept within reasonable limits if maximum production is to be obtained, and, since any housing shortage and the amount and kind of housing provided to fill that shortage is bound to have a large effect on labor turnover, we endeavored to get a fairly definite view of the situation as regards turnover in the district.

"Labor turnover in industrial plants in Bridgeport is seriously high. The Remington Arms Company has had, during the past twelve months, a turnover of about 88%, which is the lowest that we found in the district. Most of the manufacturing plants, particularly those engaged on war production, report labor turnover rates running from 200 to 400% per year at the present time, and one important company reported a turnover of 50% a month, or at the rate of 600% a year.

"Employers interviewed, without exception, consider that housing shortage is a very important, if not the principal, cause of high turnover.

"Employers stated that, if they could reduce their labor turnover to reasonable proportions, they could, with their present equipment, increase their production anywhere from 10 to 20%."

The following is from a review by John V. Van Pelt, dated August 22, 1918, of Bethlehem, Pa.:

"Congestion is terrible; many live 3 shifts in a house. Impossible to increase transportation; service taxed to utmost. 800 sets of furniture stored in Allentown.

Easton has its own large plants; but a good many men come from there. Men do not like temporary buildings; even as a matter of patriotism find it impossible to keep in physical condition and live in barracks. Need trained machinists of settled habits. Men with families must have homes."

A report on Canton, Ohio, dated August 26, 1918, by John V. Van Pelt also states:

"Mr. Doubel, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, writes over the date of August 23, 1918, 'Hundreds of skilled mechanics and unskilled laborers have been compelled to leave this city (Canton) the past few years for lack of homes. We are growing rapidly, and our diversity is constantly increasing and there is not the least belief of disintegration.'"

Where housing accommodations are not causing trouble, labor turnover seems to be fairly low, as evidenced from the following report on Charleston, S. C., dated August 25, 1918, by John V. Van Pelt.

"Monthly turnover is  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ . In general, complaints are not for poor housing; but on account of poor transportation and lack of amusements in Charleston.

"In view of low labor turnover, recommended that project of providing 100 houses be left till later appropriations. Transportation survey advised; also Homes Registration Bureau. Recommended that, if houses are put in, trial of 25 be initiated."

Where housing is good for high-priced men and poor for men on low wages, labor turnover seems to be high among laborers and low among the skilled men, as evidenced from the following report, dated August 27, 1918, on Cleveland, Ohio.

"Turnover high in outlying plants and plants where conditions are bad; but about 30 manufacturers do not

ascribe this to lack of housing. A house survey by the Chamber of Commerce reveals: Serious shortage among colored workers, pronounced among foreign, but not so for skilled labor. Rents high. Some house capacity for families who can pay \$25 to \$40. Little room capacity for laborers, but considerable for those with higher standard of living. Brass and Copper Co. reports 60% monthly turnover and only 60% production, with need of 400 more men for existing contracts."

A report on Derby, Conn., for September 10, 1918, has an interesting sidelight on housing.

"Railway service bad. Local interests do not want houses, as they fear the competition of good ones. People with houses will not take in children. Mr Wanning, of the Birmingham Iron Foundry, said they were having trouble with getting houses for new employees. Impossible to get men from outside; nowhere to live."

The relation between building houses and turnover appears very clearly in the Blake report, August 5th to 8th, on Hamilton, Ohio.

"Hamilton about one hour ride on railroad north of Cincinnati; 1½ hours on interurban. There are no considerable settlements within 45 minutes' ride where workers could be housed. Gun carriages, engines for steamships, machine tools are products and the heavy machinery of the plants is valuable. Street railway said to be almost bankrupt. Increased fare to be passed by authorities. Service is poor. Company can probably make improvements in trackage if increase in fare is granted. Unenviable record as seat of labor trouble. Families are found living in basements, attics, etc., and houses in poor repair. Hamilton Homes Co. was formed by local capital to build houses for workers. It expected to work on basis of small net return. Contract was let for 50 houses; but there is doubt whether the Building and Loan Associations can raise the ⅔ promised in addition to the \$132,000 capital subscribed.

"Seventeen plants employing 6,900 men and 650 women use 5,300 men and 300 women on war work. 1,400 men and 400 women additional are needed by Oct. 15th. Turnover high, 20% common. Production 60% to 100% of capacity."

Ilion, N. Y., furnishes the following testimony in a report dated August 3, 1918.

"Monthly turnover 30% to 43%. Saturation complete. Total number of employees, 9,000. Cannot be held without housing. 3,000 more needed. Cannot increase production, demanded by Government, without them. Does not believe housing alone sufficient. Welfare necessary. City of Ilion will not do anything. Remington Arms does not contribute anything to city and, when large contracts finish and close down work, employees leave, so building houses is a great risk."

As housing accommodations diminish, labor turnover increases, as is evidenced by the following report on Indianapolis:

"800 men, 1,200 women; 250 being highly skilled, all the remainder semi-skilled. Has plant and equipment for 200 more men and 800 more women added at rate of 400 per month. 95% of plant on government orders. Has been able to increase force but little, owing to lack of housing; but can maintain present rate of work with it. Monthly labor turnover has increased since January from 6% to 14%. Wages are normal for district. It takes 50 minutes to one hour and ten minutes to get from plant to residential parts of city, where there is capacity for more workers. Female workers object to this much more than men. No less essential plants, from which workers can be drawn. Some housing capacity for families in Indianapolis and considerable room capacity, but most of it too far from plant."

Gary, Indiana, seems always to have had a housing situation, as is evidenced by the following extract from a report to the Housing Corporation:



"Request for housing at Gary. Owing to growth of United States Steel Corporation, housing in city has never been able to keep pace with increase of population. 22,378 men and 858 women employed in mills and factories. 10% improperly housed, 10% residing at unreasonable distance, 75% of output of mills war work. 1,040 additional hands will be required during 1918. Capital available will be inadequate to meet needs."

The relationship between labor turnover and lack of houses is shown also in a report on Muskegon, Michigan:

"Preliminary report by C. Stanley Taylor. Muskegon 22 miles north of Grand Rapids. Various manufacturers doing \$65,000,000 worth of war work. Complaints from Aircraft Signal Corps, Quartermaster, Army and Navy, that production is greatly hampered through lack of housing. Average monthly turnover, 27%. Table in report represents 80% of war work of Muskegon. Raised to 100%, the total employees of firm doing war work would be 10,700, of whom 16% are women. 1,479 are needed, of whom 28% will be women, which would raise the future percentage of women to nearly 19%.

"Two of the companies have a monthly turnover of 50%. Most of them say housing has been inadequate for two years."

An investigation of 40 plants at Niagara Falls, New York, shows that, whereas the normal average labor turnover was 12% a month, the present average is 25% a month. The housing situation there is shown in the following extract of a report for November and December, 1917:

"Preliminary investigation by Independence Bureau. Great congestion. Amount of housing shortage: Population increase of 13,743 since summer of 1915 (housing last adequate in fall of 1913) and construction of only 541 buildings containing 784 dwellings since summer of 1915, so it is fair to conclude that the amount of housing

shortage is approximately for 10,000 persons. (This allows for 5 persons per dwelling.) The room shortage confirms this figure.

"A letter from the Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce, August 23d, is as follows:

"We have conferred with the chairman of our War Labor Committee and it is his opinion that, roughly speaking, the demand and shortage of labor are now about 20% greater than was the case at the time when the previous report was made. He further states that he does not look for any marked change in industrial activities by reason of cessation of hostilities."

In Norfolk, Virginia, a study of the turnover figures in 7 plants showed that while the normal loss of employees was 6% a month, the rate at that time was 16% a month. The situation stated was that industries employed 2,500 men a year ago, and now have 8,000 and want 2,000 more. Two years ago a number of houses were vacant,—perhaps 2,000, some say 2,000. As soon as activities began houses filled up. It was stated 10% of the houses were unoccupied at the present time and 140 rooms vacant for boarders. Some of these houses were dilapidated and some rents exorbitant, but it was expected that they should be absorbed.

A most significant research was made by a group of housing students in 150 plants in northern New Jersey in a radius of 25 miles from New York. The normal turnover was found on the average to be 5% a month and the existent rate 15%. A summary of the situation contains the following statements:

"All that is definitely known is that building has for two or three years been relatively at a standstill, that rents are high and that living quarters are hard to find. Newark has made application for financial aid to build houses for the shipyard, munition plant, and other war

workers. A report stated that the increase of such employees had reached 57,613 on March 28, 1918, and might go to 100,000 before the end of summer.

"It is evident from the above that there is an immense need of housing in this section and the district is underbuilt. We know that in normal times it was growing to be one of the greatest industrial centers of the world and that the number of new houses required per year runs into the thousands."

Eleven plants near Philadelphia, whose normal turnover was 15% suffered a turnover of 25% when housing conditions grew unsatisfactory.

"Two years ago, Chester had a population of 38,000—now 90,000, and if munition plants and two shipyards are able to increase as projected, 30,000 more will be added by September 1st. Building of houses had not kept pace. Chester and adjoining towns crowded to a degree that it is a menace to health of community; but in spite of utilization of every inch of housing, workers cannot be accommodated in neighborhood, and thousands commute in Philadelphia and as far away as West Chester. This causes great shifting between plants. Profiteering a scandal; but control of profiteering will not add to house space. In some places, individual companies are constructing homes, viz.: National Analine Co., at Marcus Hook; but the individual activity is by no means a solution of general problem."

Another investigator from the same district writes:

"Congestion acute. House building as follows: 1915, 91,497—1916, 7,762—1917, 2,734—Jan. 1st to July 25th, 801. Relatively good transportation has resulted in wide distribution. Large number of employees carried 6 to 12 miles or even farther. No towns within reasonable distance that are not full. Turnover invariably high, running up to 50% a month. A number of less essential industries. There might be a shifting to essentials. Calculations of shortage from normal growth of city and lack of house building gives 3,000 families

to be cared for. Calculations of shortage resulting from 90,000 new workers added to plants, say 45,000 brought into district, and half of them married, 22,000 more families uncared for, total 25,000 dwellings required."

Conditions in eastern Pennsylvania and Phillipsburg, New Jersey, are shown in the following report:

"June 13, 1918. La Farge Report. Easton and Phillipsburg on either side of Delaware River, but physically one town, are near enough to Bethlehem to be drawn upon for workmen. There are a number of medium size factories in both cities; most of them with a large percentage of war orders and in Phillipsburg the Ingersoll-Rand Co.'s works making machinery for battleships and shells, employing 3,600 and needing an increase of 900, average monthly turnover about 25%. This Company has provided well for its workmen and the town, club house, baseball field, etc., and is considering building houses. Consider 500 for American and 500 for foreign proper number. Have bought sites.

"Transportation to the Ingersoll-Rand plant is not good; towns are closely built; entire place completely filled up and bad congestion. Housing scarcity became very acute, August, 1917. No mortgage loans to be had and building costs prohibitive. Bethlehem helps to fill up. Bad rent profiteering. Concludes that there is congestion and housing shortage that centers about the Ingersoll-Rand Works. Other industries do not appear to be suffering uniformly, or very acutely. Some are at a disadvantage and any attempt on their part to expand would be frustrated. Housing for Ingersoll-Rand would help all."

Figures on conditions at Portsmouth, Ohio, are indicated in the following extract:

"With exception of 60 houses just completed by Whitaker-Glessmer Co., house building has practically ceased in district. Serious overcrowding exists in foreign and colored population. Boarding houses with two shifts in beds. Unable to learn of more than half a

dozen vacant houses and these in bad repair. Whitaker-Glessmer Co. employs 4,900 men and needs 500 more by October for shell plant increase. Labor turnover 18% and it has been unable to increase its force because of housing shortage. Company feels that 60 houses just completed are all it can afford."

An investigation which I made for the Ordnance Department of housing conditions adjacent to the Rock Island arsenal is amply supported by a letter from a manufacturing company of East Moline to Admiral Rousseau:

"With reference to letter from Admiral urging expedition in production of 4-inch Naval Guns, believe we have overcome all technical difficulties—great difficulty lies in housing and transportation. Since taking contracts, conditions have very materially changed. Company has built 55 houses for \$166,000, also 4-story brick building with 48 rooms, housing 96 unmarried workmen. Have also advanced money to Y. M. C. A. Should immediately have near plant additional housing for 500 to 600 workmen. Labor turnover 50%. Surrounding towns where available housing could be used if transportation were good."

My own studies for six weeks at the Rock Island arsenal show that municipal regulations in Davenport, Iowa, the principal residence district of the tri-cities, restricted absolutely all feasible home building to arbitrary city limits; that many employees left the arsenal because they could not get proper homes, and still others because the wages paid did not permit them to pay the rents existing as a result of the housing shortage.

An investigation of housing at Sharon, Pennsylvania, brought forth the following statement:

"May 1917. Preliminary Investigation. Foster and Blake report. About 17,500 men employed and 2,000

more are needed. 45,000 population in district. Most of employees are on war work (probably 1,800 of those needed are for war work). Few women are used, heavy iron and steel trades. Labor turnover average 20% a month. Runs as high as 45%. Would appear that housing shortage very important factor in this turnover. Percentage of boarders high. Some room capacity but not much.

An investigation of the conditions at Stamford, Connecticut, is epitomized as follows:

“Turnover high, ranges from 7% to 50% a month. Highest figure, Stamford Rolling Mills which uses mostly common and semi-skilled labor for which there is much demand everywhere, and inadequate housing in Stamford. There is a total of 106 vacant residences. Many of these expensive and unobtainable and others very old and probably uninhabitable. Assume 50 to be possible. Most of these are for sale, but possibly owners might be induced to rent to war workers. Normal rate of building provides for 300 families annually. 1916-328; 1917-110, and to date this year 19. Deficit from normal 470 families. Considerable crowding in foreign sections of town. Ample land.”

The normal turnover of labor of plants on Staten Island was found to be 2%, but war time crowding caused the rate to rise to 25%. The statement of the Housing Corporation investigators was that shipyard investigators would not take new contracts because they could not get men, owing to the lack of houses.

“Staten Island along the north shore presents an ideal place for shipbuilding. The Staten Island Shipbuilding Company is an old concern and has been steadily growing. They now have opened this second yard, which is to be dedicated throughout the war exclusively to Navy work. It is clearly the duty of the Government to assist them. The housing conditions are frightful in the congestion shown. Men were seen clinging to the

front fenders as well as the steps and rear fenders of the cars and reports said they even climbed to the tops of the trolley cars and rode there. At the hours for quitting work, they were like ants."

Of conditions in Warren, Pa., a statement makes the following comment on labor turnover in the principal firms:

"Monthly labor turnover averages 15%, running in one case up to 20%. No accommodations for families. 600 residence buildings have been erected since 1917 (January). Very little building activity now. A number of old buildings and barns have been remodeled as residences, and attics and basements fitted up. Some additional room capacity could undoubtedly be developed. Only large town within 30 minutes' ride of Warren is Nillwa, itself over-crowded. Its population is 26,000, and 9,000 is total number of men in local industries. The proportion of one worker to three of population would strongly indicate overcrowding. Congestion marked in Warren. Plants producing material badly needed under present war conditions could increase production from 5% to 25% if they could obtain full forces of fairly efficient workers. Main cause of inability to do so is lack of housing. To house additional load of 1,075 needed, probably 500 dwellings would suffice."

Another picture of the relation of labor turnover to housing was furnished by the President's Mediation Commission, in its report of the seething unrest in the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest, employing about 70,000 men. A breakdown of several months in the summer of 1917 was followed by a period of low productivity. The President's Commission made the following comments:

"We are dealing with an industry still determined by pioneer conditions of life. Hardy contact with na-

ture makes certain rigors of conditions inevitable, but the rigors of nature have been reinforced by the neglects of men. Social conditions have been allowed to grow up full of danger to the country. It is in these unhealthy social conditions that we find the explanations for the unrest long gathering force but now sharply brought to our attention by its disastrous effect upon war industries. The unlivable condition of many of the camps has long demanded attention. While large improvements in camp life have recently been made, many of the camps still require much betterment to make them fit human habitations. A number of employers have shown a most commendable understanding of the implications of operating camps unfit for men. Unfortunately, however, the old abuses were so long continued and so widespread, that even after physical conditions are bettered a sense of grievance remains. This discontent gradually translated itself into demands not merely for physical comforts but for certain spiritual satisfactions.

"Partly the rough pioneer character of the industry, but largely the failure to create a healthy social environment, has resulted in the migratory, drifting character of workers. 90% of those in the camps are described by one of the wisest students of the problem, not too inaccurately, as 'womanless, voteless, and jobless.' The fact is that about 90% of them are unmarried. Their work is most intermittent, the annual labor turnover reaching the extraordinary figure of over 600%. There has been a failure to make of these camps communities. It is not to be wondered, then, that in too many of these workers the instinct of workmanship is impaired. They are—or, rather, have been made—disintegrating forces in society."

The Ohio Industrial Commission, in a report of November 27, 1917, pictured the high labor turnover resulting in 108 labor camps from unsanitary and otherwise insufficient housing accommodations. In 39 camps, or in 44.3% of those from which this information was obtained, the laborers remained, on the



average, one month; and in 10 camps, or 11.4%, the average length of residence was one day.

The California Commission of Immigration and Housing stated in a report on the riot which occurred on a hop ranch near Wheatland on August 3, 1913, that probably the most important contributory factor was the poor housing and factory accommodations afforded the workers.

The high labor turnover indicated in the reports to the United States Housing Corporation was mainly due to the positive lack of sufficient houses, but, in the case of the lumber industry in the Northwest, and the labor camps in Ohio, some kind of provision had been made, but, even among foreigners, negroes from the South, and others of subnormal standards of living, there is a demand for comfort, cleanliness of some degree, and something of privacy and quiet.

A report of the School of Economics of the University of Pittsburgh on the negro migrant in Pittsburgh, picturing housing conditions that are shocking, that breed disease and create vice, stated that the negroes gave as their reason for emigrating the fact that higher wages had attracted them, but the housing conditions in Pittsburgh for them were so bad that only 27.9% intended to remain.

Mr. Leifur Magnusson, in a report summarized in the November, 1917, issue of *Monthly Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, paints a depressing picture of the average mining town which he studied in a survey of 213 housing developments. He pictures unpainted, insanitary houses, uniform in design and material, laid out on rectangular streets on open dirt roads, without sidewalks, without gutters,—houses

placed on ample lots, but without gardens and even with no vegetation, without fences; houses set in a community without movies or other amusements, with only poorly kept company stores, without garbage collection, and with rubbish, cans, and debris concealed, if at all, only by weeds.

Of 16 mining towns in the west studied, none had a sewerage system, only one in twenty had running water, and only one in twenty had bath tubs. Of the crowding in these towns, an indication is furnished in Mr. Magnusson's report by such facts as the offer in certain West Virginia mining towns of a bonus of \$1 a month to every family having over three boarders in a four-room house, and his statement that it is not yet an obsolete plan in certain Southern cotton-mill towns to require that one employee per room in every house be furnished to the mill.

Permit me to extract from Mr. Magnusson's forthcoming report the following picture of a mining town. It was written in 1898 to the president of the company by a local resident engineer of a mine in the Hazelton, Pa., anthracite region. It may seem to be going a long way back, to describe conditions in 1898, but Mr. Magnusson states, as a deliberate judgment, after his study of these towns that "generally speaking, the same type of house prevails in the anthracite coal region to-day as did in the sixties." The interest of this statement, written twenty years ago, lies in the fact that, for soft phrasing and hard hitting, for ironic humor, salved over by tact, this report of the unnamed engineer excels anything I have ever read in literature.

"Many of the roofs," he says, "do not leak badly, but in attempting to patch an old shingle roof, such as those mentioned as requiring to be

renewed, the work of repairing many times will be found to cause new leaks.

"The cellars (with exception of Nos. 90-99 inclusive; and all the houses recently built) have been excavated under one-half or along the one side of the block, generally under the front side and have but one window of two panes of glass with a screen over the outside, so the window can be taken out for ventilation. In some cases, the occupants have excavated the earth from the other half of the cellar. There should be an additional window in the cellar so as to afford proper ventilation and aid in drying up dampness we found to exist. In one case, No. 116 & 117, there was a drain stopped up, causing two to three feet of water standing in the cellar.

"The privies, in all cases but where the new and recently built houses are located, are in very bad shape; in most cases the appearance would indicate that the contractor was obliged to put down the pits to a certain depth and plank up the sides. In sinking these pits, rock probably was encountered and the regulation height of plank curbing put in, thus bringing the floor of the privy several feet above the surface. The privy wells are full up to the top of the ground, and the contents of the wells flow out into surface ditches, new houses excepted. In the older houses, the privy buildings have the appearance of having been built by the tenants and are poor apologies for the purpose. My opinion is that, if these premises came under the inspection of the health officer, these affairs would be criticised.

"Not many of the houses have any protection over the front doors, thereby permitting the storm to drive into the houses, under the doors that do not fit very closely to the floor. A weather strip on the bottom of the door would assist in remedying this, and a small porch would also be of service; which, if made, would prevent the building of such porches by the tenants, as is sometimes the case, and so built do not always improve the external appearances.

"If it is concluded to paint the houses—the old ones—the new ones have been painted) in most cases, it will be necessary to new weather-board one side only, and renaill the other three sides of these buildings. If, however, it is not expedient at this time to expend so much money on painting, some patching and renailling of the siding could be made to pass for a while longer; and, probably, too, some of the roofs might be left untouched in the same way.

"The chimneys, where they start from the third or attic floor, should be changed so as to start from the bottom. As now, in these cases, the stovepipe is carried up through the floors, enters the chimney in the attic, and is positively dangerous from fire.

"The age of the houses, their never having been painted, and, as a rule, no more repairs having been made within than absolute necessity required, will sufficiently account for the present condition."

It is not the proper purpose of this paper to go into the solution of the housing problem, and the writer can make no claim to be an expert in housing matters. The question as to whether the private speculative builder, the municipality or the state, whether building

and loan societies, or groups of employers should build houses where they are lacking in sufficient numbers is a question entirely apart from the influence of bad housing upon labor turnover. The investigations from which I have quoted seem to me amply to prove that even the most ignorant of workers will not live in uncomfortable quarters. They prove even more than this. My quotations from the reports to the Housing Corporation cover so large a range of manufacturing communities as to indicate that even where bad housing is general and to quit one job on account of bad housing means merely to take up another where conditions are equally bad, workers will move from one discomfort to another as a fever-ridden patient will toss in bed unceasingly in spite of the fact that he finds no comfort in any new position. The employees who quit in such large numbers in the cases quoted possibly jump from the frying pan into the fire, but their restlessness, even when it gained them nothing, must be accepted as a protest and a warning.

Since it is established that bad housing produces high labor turnover, we need to inquire whether it is within the power of individual employers to better their condition by enterprises of their own.

A study of such efforts as is available seems to me to be equally conclusive in this regard.

Many manufacturing concerns in the United States have embarked upon housing ventures.

In preparation for the paper referred to elsewhere in this account, Mr. Leslie H. Allen circularized 840 companies of whom 17% had built houses. Mr. Leifur Magnusson circularized a list, which he declared to be an incomplete one of 700 concerns who had built houses.

He received replies from 213 companies,—112 mines, 54 mills, and 47 other manufacturing concerns. Comprised in this list were such high grade developments as Morgan Park where the United States Steel Corporation houses 750 employees out of 3,500 men in their Duluth, Minnesota, plant, and the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio, which has built 825 houses in suburbs entirely under their control and development. Mr. Allen and Mr. Magnusson asked the firms circularized whether they were satisfied with the results of their ventures, particularly in respect to reduction of labor turnover, and the testimony seems to be fairly unanimous that the desired result has been obtained.

What seems to me to be the most significant proof is contained in a letter I have received from the Employment Management of a company in southern Ohio, employing large numbers of negroes. On the whole, the policy of this company towards its negro help is based upon a higher plane than any other but one plant that I know of. It is building a whole suburb of houses for its negro workers, basing its action upon analysis of turnover of labor among colored workmen who live in comfortable houses in town as against the turnover of those living in crude barracks or camps erected adjacent to the factory. On August 2, 1918, this employment manager wrote that the turnover among the well-housed colored men was only 107% per year, whereas the turnover among the inadequately housed colored workers was on the basis of 1080% per year.

Mr. Leslie Allen's researches were epitomized in a table which seems to be significant of the result of the company houses upon labor turnover. He has classified in one column the turnover by percentages and set off

against these figures the percent of concerns having adequate housing for each of the various labor turnover percentages, and the percentages of firms having inadequate housing for each class of labor turnover percentages. The result is as follows:

Turnover	Adequate Housing	Inadequate Housing
- 50	52.5	34
50-100	21	35
100-200	14	14
200-300	7	6
300-400	3.5	8
400-	2	3

I take the liberty further of making several quotations from Mr. Allen's paper:

"A Pennsylvania mill has some very positive evidence of the cash value of good housing. Their manager writes us:

"Our two blast furnaces are located about twenty miles apart and between them is the blast furnace of a rival company. We consider our housing facilities superior to theirs, and to give you an idea of the effect of this would state that for years past they have had to pay more per day, of the same number of hours, for all of the men they employ around their plant. Of course the wages differ for different positions, but any position at their plant pays more money than a corresponding position at either of our two plants.

"Furthermore the general living conditions around one of our own plants are somewhat better than the other, and in view of this we find we have to pay a differential in the labor scale, although the plants are only twenty miles apart.

"Hardly a month goes by that we do not get some men to come to us from this rival furnace, stating that the reason for moving is, though they get less wages, the housing conditions are better around our plants.

"I might say that while we have not got the exact

figures for comparison, we believe our labor turnover is exceptionally low compared to other plants in the same line of business, and we find the difference between the labor turnover at our different plants bears a relation to the desirability of the houses and living conditions at the respective plants.”

A new Mexico mining company that has laid out one of the most charming and artistic villages owned by a copper mine, writes:

“When this camp was new, it was composed mainly of single men, the number of married men gradually increasing with the age of the camp until now a large majority of the men are married. This has necessitated the building of additional houses from year to year to take care of the demand, although there has been no material increase in the number of employees.

“Without a doubt, a married man settled down in a house with his family is much more contented than a single man who is living in a boarding house. It is a fact that a married man will not jump up and leave his work on the slightest provocation, whereas a single man without a family connection frequently gets up and leaves without notice, for no reason whatever.”

From another metal-working firm we have:

“We know that good housing tends to hold the men, as we find that many men give their excuse for leaving us that they cannot always obtain the kind of house they desire.”

The following letter is significant:

“At Marcus Hook, Pa., is the Viscose Company, makers of artificial silks, with a pretty housing development which takes care of about one-half of the employees. They have a labor turnover of 15% per month at the present time. Next door to them is the Congoleum Company, making floor covering, with no housing and

the turnover is 30% per month. The Viscose Company employs a larger proportion of skilled labor than the Congoleum Company. Living conditions in that region are very bad and labor is very restless, due partly, of course, to the great shipyard developments. The Congoleum Company recognizes the need of housing as the only solution of their manufacturing problems and figure they would save \$200,000 a year thereby, inasmuch as they have unskilled labor handling fragile goods where a careless sweep of the arm will ruin \$20 worth of goods."

#### Further confirmation from an Erie Iron Works:

"Among our mechanics who own their own houses the labor turnover is very small; this also is true to a large extent among the unskilled labor who have lived in the city and own their homes."

#### A contented Maine textile concern says:

"We have been building a few houses every year or two and almost never lose a well-housed family."

The above answers to Mr. Allen's questionnaire seem to be amply borne out by the answers Mr. Magnusson received. The DuPont Powder Company, for instance, had found results from their housing developments so satisfactory that out of 12,225 employees in one community it had housed 6,800 or 55.6% directly in buildings of its own construction. Relative to its Hopewell, Virginia, project, it is stated that it would have been quite possible for the company to have obtained its labor supply without any provision of cottages for married employees, but in order to reduce floaters and to secure a permanent and contented labor force, it was decided to proceed with the construction of houses for married employees.



The President of one company who says that it is his aim to make his village the best in the South, reports that those who move away generally come back explaining that the women could not get along without the household and other conveniences.

"It is the experience of some of the Southern districts," says the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "that it is impossible to conduct mining operations without a nucleus of men in good houses to give stability to the labor supply." The best mills of the South visited all made the assertion that the migration from mill to mill is not nearly so great as it used to be before adequate housing was provided.

Mr. Magnusson's report as summarized in the Monthly Review is sufficiently informing, but the completed report not yet published contains many items of interest in connection with our inquiry. It is stated, for instance, that in an industrial survey of South Carolina in the fall of 1916 six mills which had improved housing reported the percentage on the question of length of service. One reported 50% of its people, one 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of its people and another 25% as employees with a service record of from ten to fifteen years. One reported 60% as employed from five to ten years; and one reported 60% and another 75% as employed at least five years. Nine other mills having improved housing reported "some," "many," "large numbers" as employed for from 9 to 40 years.

Out of 213 companies studied by Mr. Magnusson 180 or 84.5% reported on the nature of the result obtained from their venture in housing. One hundred and seventy-five of these or 97.3% set the result as satisfactory both to the employee and to the company,

and only five said that the results were unsatisfactory or not positively helpful.

The replies tabulated by declared results are as follows:

Better class of workers . . . . .	75
Greater Stability . . . . .	47
Secured necessary help . . . . .	43
Reduced floaters . . . . .	42
Better living conditions . . . . .	32
Greater loyalty . . . . .	24
Secured more contented workers . . . . .	24
Secured more efficient workers . . . . .	17
Better control of labor . . . . .	9
Better standard of living . . . . .	8
Married men attracted . . . . .	6
Greater regularity of employment . . . . .	5
Better houses for employees . . . . .	4
Profitable to Company . . . . .	3
Very satisfactory . . . . .	3
Facilitates part time . . . . .	3
Value in advertising . . . . .	1
Control of drinking . . . . .	1

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The fact that the number of replies tabulated is more than the number of companies replying is due to tabulating in two places answers that gave two statements of results. A brief analysis of the nature of the replies which are given as nearly as possible in the language of those replying, shows that they may be classified almost altogether under the one result of reduced labor turnover.

At least 141 or nearly half of the replies come under this heading.

As I have stated before, I do not consider that it is a part of my duty in this paper to offer suggestions as to the type of houses to build, nor the financial arrangements to be entered into in connection with building.

It is sufficient, perhaps, if I have proved that bad housing causes labor turnover, and the provision of good houses reduces it. I cannot, however, close without stating what seem to me to be some important principles.

In the first place, housing is not the chief cause of labor turnover. Employment methods within the plant will always principally control whether a manufacturer keeps his employees or not. Workmen choose their employer precisely as their employer chooses them, and of late years the manufacturer has learned that it costs him money when workers reject him as an employer. He has seen the need of being an efficient employer, as hitherto he has insisted upon efficient workers. He has come to examine and improve the methods by which workmen get on to the payroll, and he has come to see the necessity of making more clear and equitable the bargain he makes with the man he hires. He has come to see the need of improving working conditions and of facilitating the means by which the worker can call, from time to time, for re-examination of the terms of the bargain and improvement of the working conditions. It can not be too strongly emphasized, therefore, that housing is only one of many influences bearing upon stability of employment, and those who desire to reduce labor turnover through improving housing should take care that, in the effort to do so, they do not add new grievances while removing old causes for discontent.

**Certain principles stand out.**

First, what the employee demands is fair wages. Any substitute for this is wrong and undemocratic,

and will fail. Anything a company does *in addition*, without infringing on the employees' rights, may be done in a manner to suit the company's own purpose. Thus, if the provision of proper housing is strictly an addition to fair wages and does not in the manner of its provision infringe upon the rights of the workers, it may safely be undertaken.

Second, what the manufacturing company wants is efficient, permanent employees. If living conditions in a given community are such that the payment of fair wages alone will not secure such employees, the company is morally and economically justified in efforts in community or social betterment in any respect that is not in itself undemocratic.

It seems to me that the provision of houses to reduce labor turnover may be done in a fashion to create grievances which increase it; for instance, when the sale of houses to employees is made through deferred profit sharing; or any other plan which may cause the worker to lose credit for payments if he leaves the company; or if the company provides only unhygienic and uncomfortable houses in a community such as a mining town, where no other housing is available; or, if houses are rented, and the leases are made terminable automatically and immediately if an employee leaves or strikes; in any of these cases, a housing plan interferes with the freedom and rights of the citizen, and will fall short of its purpose. Even in a plan otherwise ideal, if the company imposes too detailed restrictions on the use of the property, the employee is likely to resent his relations with a power which rules his conduct, not alone at work, but even in the privacy of his own home. The experience of Pullman is final on this point.

But, where such pitfalls are avoided, manufacturing companies have the opportunity, through a housing movement, not alone to reduce labor turnover, but to improve the efficiency and standard of living of their workers, and to bring them a benefit through large scale building operations, in accordance with modern city planning, which they, or speculative builders, or even our unenlightened municipalities will never obtain for them.

## THE COST AND VALUE OF GOOD HOUSING TO OUR INDUSTRIAL LIFE

LESLIE H. ALLEN

*Engineer, Boston, Mass.*

Not long ago the writer was in a steel-mill town in the western part of the state of Pennsylvania; having half an hour to spare, he walked through the working-class residential district. He found there small houses and tenements of brick and wood, mostly in a bad state of repair, some falling to pieces. Each house had its own well and pump in the back yard and usually within 15 or 20 feet was the family sanitary building. A sour smell was wafted from open doors or arose from the soil around and flies were everywhere abundant. Half an hour later in talking with the manager of the largest steel mill in the town the subject of employment was touched upon and he stated that at least a third of his force had to be replaced every month as the men would not stay very long at one job. Asking him for the reason, he stated that it was for no reason at all. The men were restless and dissatisfied, it was their nature to be so, and after working a short time in one plant they would throw up their job and move on to the next mill or to the next town where they would take a similar job. The problem seemed to him an insoluble one and as long as there was a new man coming along to apply for the vacant job he did not seem very much concerned, but accepted it as inevitable. Asked whether he did not consider that the wretched homes did not have something to do with it, he replied that the men were

used to that kind of a home. It was better than many of them got in other sections or before they left Europe, and that if given anything better they would not appreciate it, but only misuse it.

In one of our thriving Connecticut cities a splendid limestone office building is just being completed for one of the large manufacturing concerns. A little farther downtown stand the factory buildings of this company, modern structures of reinforced concrete fitted with the most up-to-date machinery and in every way models of their kinds. A little farther on if you look carefully you will discover rows of unsightly wooden shacks which look like contractor's discarded tool houses or temporary stables. These are the barracks in which the unskilled laborers who work in the plant are housed. And yet this employer does not understand why he should have so much labor trouble and such a large turnover.

Similar towns, similar houses, similar lack of sanitation and proper water supply, and a similar attitude on the part of employers can be found in nearly every state in the Union. We are told that the workman is a restless being and he is contrasted to his disadvantage with his European confrère who is born, lives, and dies in the same house and always sticks to the same job.

#### COSTLINESS OF LABOR TURNOVER

The present problem of labor turnover is being recognized by employers of labor as one of the greatest difficulties that they have to contend with. During the press of war work manufacturers were reporting to the Government a turnover of men ranging anywhere from 200 % to 600 % and the difficulty of getting enough

men and the right kind of men to work steadily at a job is still very great.

A continually changing force in a factory is expensive to the manufacturer in 5 ways:

1. The new employee is liable to spoil valuable material or merchandise.
2. It takes him some time to learn his job during which he produces less than his fellow-workmen.
3. He is apt to damage intricate machinery by his carelessness.
4. The foreman has to spend a good deal of his time teaching him his new job;—time that should be spent managing the whole shop.
5. The clerical work of hiring the men and paying them off as they leave is quite considerable.

The cost to a manufacturing plant of taking on each new man has been estimated by experts at figures varying from \$30 to \$150. Mr. Boyd Fisher in a speech before the Boston Employment Managers Association, in June, 1917, quoted figures from the Packard Motor Car Company showing that if labor turnover were eliminated this firm would save at least a million and a half dollars annually.

It is hardly necessary in addressing the National Housing Association to state that one of the chief causes of the continual changing of jobs by the American working man is the nature of the house in which he has to live. I do not claim that good housing is a panacea for all social ills but I can state confidently that the bad housing conditions in our manufacturing centers are one big and important cause of the restlessness of the working classes.



## LABOR TURNOVER AND SOCIAL UNREST

The average workman, leaving his family behind him, comes to a town in search of work; he makes his way to the nearest mill and is taken on and then searches for a place to live in. As a rule he first goes into some private house as a boarder; very likely he has to sleep in a room with 3, 4, or even 6 others (during the last 2 or 3 years the sleeping of 2 shifts of men in the same bed, the night shift coming in and the day crew turned out to go to work, has been by no means uncommon). When his day's work is done there is nowhere for him to go but to the moving picture show or the saloon or pool room, and as a rule a long search through the town fails to disclose any place to bring his wife and children to.

What wonder then that he should get sick of it, throw up his job, and apply for a job at the next mill or move on to the next town for another job.

The fact is, that in spite of high wages the living conditions in our manufacturing centers are so miserable that a workman cannot endure a long stay in one place, and he soon throws up his job and moves on to the next town in the vain hope that he will find something more attractive than the conditions he has just left. Such men, separated from their families and roaming from place to place, soon drift into the "floater" class that is such a big problem to our employment departments.

There is at the present time a vast army of working men thus moving from place to place in wide circles, working anywhere from 1 to 4 weeks in each town on their orbit and perhaps coming back to the town they have left in 2 or 3 years. In the meantime many of

them lose touch with their families and degenerate into the common "hobo."

Upon the solution of our labor problem rests the industrial future of our country; handicapped as we are by the very high rates paid for labor, we cannot, unless we can far outdo our European competitors in speed of production and quality of output, hope to hold our own in the markets of the world. This cannot be done unless our workmen are far superior to theirs and that they will not be unless their homes are good enough to induce them to remain steadily and contentedly at their job. The financial inducement to work is not the only one or the most effective one. A man must have some other motive to induce him to remain happy and contented at a steady job. Therefore to keep our place in world trade, one of the prime requisites seems to be a proper home for every working man.

We have advanced far in the matter of healthful surroundings in the factory. To-day every factory has its drinking fountains, rest rooms, recreation facilities, many of them have lunch rooms, athletic clubs, etc., but of what avail are these if the workman can enjoy them for only 8 hours a day and spends the other 16 in unsanitary, unhealthy surroundings?

Follow the workman to his home or dwelling place and you will find there the root cause of the discontent that keeps him forever on the move, restless and dissatisfied.

Adequate and proper housing for the working classes is no more than a wise conservation of the most important element in industry; that is, man power. The man who loves his home will take a pride in his work.

He will make a good citizen and help to build up his community.

### THE MANUFACTURER TESTIFIES

A well-known textile manufacturer recently wrote us as follows:

“Employers are very watchful of their machinery and take every precaution for its preservation and lubrication to insure its being maintained in good working order.

“What would an employer think of a superintendent who scrapped 50% or even 15% of his complement of machinery per annum? Yet that this record is common in labor turnover is evidence conclusive that lubrication is needed in relations between employers and employees. To scrap workmen is expensive as every employer knows. New help is poor help. Inexperienced labor is inefficient labor, therefore costly labor. Low production per operative and per machine due to poor operatives means high costs in addition to low wages, so neither side is satisfied. Dissatisfaction results in more labor turnover and so the process continues interminably.”

Until we engaged in the Great War, the nation was hardly conscious of the very bad housing conditions prevalent, as, unlike the big European industrial countries, England, France, and Germany, many of our working men do not speak our language and their woes are inarticulate. It is well to bear this fact in mind in considering the welfare of the working classes in this country as compared with those in European countries. A country where the same language is spoken by all the nation is a much more closely knit family; the dis-

ness of the poor is quickly brought to public attention. In this country it is not so; they suffer in silence and we do not know it and do not bother our heads to find out what is the matter with them.

The war has, however, forced it to our attention. The country finds that it needs the services of these men and is surprised to find that labor does not quickly respond to all the demands made upon it, and in particular that a man is not content to do the same hard work, day in and day out, without a comfortable home of his own or anything pleasant to look forward to in his hours of leisure.

The manufacturer having found out how much he is losing by this irregularity of employment has also found out that successful and regular production depends on a sufficient supply of contented workmen. In the reconstruction period before us more and more emphasis must be laid upon this human side of the problem. Of what use is it to secure for all men by our Constitution "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" if we make the pursuit of happiness such a long stern chase? Happiness unfortunately has got such a long start on the average working man that he has almost despaired of ever catching it.

About a year ago the Aberthaw Construction Company circulated a questionnaire among representative manufacturers in order to get their experience as to the value and importance of good housing; 840 replies were received. This in itself is testimony to the wide interest felt in this topic to-day. With very few exceptions the replies indicated they all considered that good housing was of real benefit to a manufacturing plant, tended to hold the men and make them more contented and

happy, though there was some division of opinion as to whether good housing reduced time lost through sickness.

Better than any statement of mine on this subject are some of the replies that we received.

### GOOD HOUSING HOLDS LABOR

The experience of the general manager of one of our largest collieries is typical of many. He says: "From close observation and study of results experienced at 14 operating collieries, I can state specifically that where housing conditions excel, there the better class of labor exists, as is demonstrated by higher efficiency in their work, cleaner play during their play time, and better homes for the wife and family.

"At such of these collieries operated by our company where conveniences of a modern character have been placed at the disposal of workmen and their families, our labor is of the most efficient and also of the most stable character. We have found under these good conditions that even though the man did not fully appreciate the conveniences provided, in a great many instances after he and his family had moved away the wife has written to our superintendents asking if her husband can be placed at work again, and if a house can be obtained. At other of our collieries, especially those acquired by purchase after housing plans had been fully developed under the previous owners, we have observed that where inadequate thought and consideration had been given to house plans and conveniences difficulty was experienced in retaining the desired class of labor, even though the working conditions at the mine were equal to the working conditions at our collieries built throughout by ourselves."

Confirmation from another colliery is as follows: "Our company is engaged in mining bituminous coal, and has over 1,000 houses. Owing to the depressed condition of the trade for many years we were unable to keep our houses in proper and attractive condition, and had it not been for that condition prevailing generally, we would unquestionably have lost labor that otherwise we retained. During 1916 and 1917 we put all of our houses in very much better condition and improved the surroundings. We have not any doubt that we have retained labor which would have gone to other places had we not done so, and our judgment is that it is wise to provide comfortable houses and attractive surroundings for the employees of any industrial establishment and that such a policy returns indirectly satisfactory financial results in the operation as a whole."

From a large paper mill we hear: "Our industry is the principal one in the town and most of our employees have been with us for a great many years. There seems to be enough houses in the neighborhood to provide room for all. The company owns some land which it sells to those employees who want to buy and build their own houses. We encourage our employees to buy their own homes, as our experience is that those who do so are much more dependable than those who do not."

Enough has been said in this paper to show the cost of bad housing to our manufacturing industries. If bad housing costs the manufacturer much, it costs the nation more, as all the lost time and expense caused by labor turnover (which in its turn is largely due to bad or insufficient housing) reduces the productive ability of the nation and checks the increase of national wealth. For if 10 men in 8 hours produce 100 units of work when

under proper conditions they should produce 150, the nation is the poorer regardless of who profits primarily by the increased output.

A large part of the cost of bad housing can thus be reckoned in terms of reduced industrial production (which is the source of national wealth). And to the cost so computed we must not forget to add the cost of caring for the sick and the defectives produced by bad housing conditions, the cost of the war against tuberculosis, and the loss to the nation of the thousands of potential wealth producers that swell the infant mortality rates of the tenement and the slum.

How much this amounts to in dollars and cents cannot be reckoned. It is undoubtedly very great and it needs no argument to show that the *value* of good housing can only be measured in terms of the *cost* of bad housing.

### COST OF GOOD HOUSING

The cost of good housing is however high, especially at the present time, and the question as to whether the cost of good housing is equal to its value remains to be discussed.

The writer was recently visiting a mill village in the northern part of New York state. The only industry was a textile mill then in process of enlargement and the number of families employed in the old mill was about 200. The housing accommodations were wretched, many of them 3-story brick tenements, others 1-story wooden houses; all in poor repair and without drainage or water supply, the water being carried in from nearby wells. The houses were all owned by the manufacturing corporation and showed a deficit varying

from \$3,000 to \$8,000 year by year owing to the large amount of repairs needed to hold them together. The mill agent gave as his opinion that the state of the houses had a direct effect on the health, energy, and production capacity of the tenants, and in view of the need of 150 extra hands in the mill when additions were completed expressed a wish that he could build an entirely new village for 300 families with proper water supply and sewerage and pull down the present houses, (of which he was heartily ashamed). On being asked what difference to the output of his mill would probably result from better health of his hands due to better housing conditions, he estimated that his mill which he now considered 75% efficient would then be 90% efficient. He was producing 15,000 lbs. of merchandise per day on which he made a net profit of \$120 per ton. Assuming this to be 75% of possible, 90% would add 3,000 lbs. per day to his output, showing an additional profit of \$180 per day or about \$55,000 per year.

The cost of a village of 300 houses was estimated roughly to be about \$1,000,000 and the gross revenues obtainable from it about \$60,000 per annum—but as annual repairs and management were estimated at \$20,000 per year and a sinking fund of a like amount was deemed necessary, only \$20,000 remained as net revenue available for a dividend on the housing investment (*i.e.*, 2%). But the agent felt that the profit on the additional output could also be properly credited to the housing investment, thus giving a net total return of \$75,000 (equals 7½%) on the outlay.

These figures are hypothetical and cannot be used as a final proof that the financing of a housing enterprise is so simple that all our manufacturers have to do is to



build all the houses needed for their workmen and reap a profit in so doing. The problem is not so easy as that. In crowded cities where land values are high and in industries where competition is keen and the margin of profit is small such an easy solution is out of the question.

The cost of building materials and labor have risen in recent years so much faster than rents that newly developed real estate is no longer a profitable investment for builder or owner unless some indirect return such as that cited above can be figured in.

If it is granted that improper housing is a hindrance to our industrial production and that better homes must be provided if our manufacturers are to hold their own in the markets of the world, the point arises as to who should furnish these houses. Up to the present private enterprise has in most cases built homes. Usually the supply has lagged a little behind the demand. For the last two or three years owing to the rise in price of labor and materials, private enterprise has stopped building with the perfectly reasonable excuse that there was no money in it. The point then arises as to whether the employer should make up the shortage or whether this should be the duty of the whole community.

#### A COMMUNITY PROBLEM

When this country was first settled each immigrant had not only to own his own house, but to build it, and to-day in newly opened-up sections, the same holds true; but modern standards of living have so far changed that the type of house the settler could build is forbidden in our cities and towns and he has not the means, skill, or opportunity to build the kind of house that we insist on his having. Someone else must supply it for him,

and if we insist on standards of building and of living that are beyond the financial resources of a section of the community, some other part of the community or the whole must make up the deficit.

The house comes first, for of what use is it for society to try to "elevate" the laboring man, teaching him the elements of personal hygiene, warning him against the dangers of tuberculosis and influenza, weighing his babies, and printing notices in 11 languages telling him not to spit, if society does not give him first the things that he ought to have that he cannot furnish for himself—decent homes, clean streets, and cheerful surroundings?

In many cases the employer finds it profitable, indirectly, to build and own workmen's homes. The United States Steel Corporation has spent millions in recent years in doing so. Mining corporations and other village industries have to do it in order to get any one at all to come to their plants. The Connecticut Mills at Danielson, Conn., have a model village which they feature in their labor recruiting by means of an attractive pamphlet which they circulate among mill hands in other cities. In the future, owners of improved housing will compete at a considerable advantage in the labor market if they advertise the attractions offered in the way of good homes, parks, recreation facilities, etc., in their labor campaigns. In such cases there need be no hesitation in saying that it is still the employer's duty to house and to properly house his men.

But in many of our important industries competition is too keen and the margin of profit is too small to justify any additional outlay. The factory in the village has to compete with the factory in the big city, where housing of a kind is more plentiful, and both

have to compete with rival industries overseas which have much lower labor costs to figure on. In such cases the extra burden of the financing of a housing enterprise would be prohibitive. Relative to plant costs, housing costs are very large. A mill employing 1,000 hands might cost \$2,000,000 to build and equip with machinery. A village to house the help would cost not less than \$3,000,000. Many of our industries might shoulder such a burden as long as they are sheltered behind a high tariff wall and their business is confined to internal trade. If this is to be the future of American industry we can insist that each employer house his employees. In order to break even he must of course charge the additional cost of his heavy investment in housing onto the price of his goods, so that it is paid by our good old friend the "ultimate consumer." If, however, we expect American trade to reach out beyond its own borders—and this surely is the hope of every one of us—we must ask the community through its municipal or state government to lend a hand—as has been done with such conspicuous success in England.

#### INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND NATIONAL WELFARE

Industrial housing is surely one of the most important problems of to-day. Not only national health but national prosperity and national life are involved. In the interest of the nation it is imperative that it be grappled with and settled speedily. The old, unsanitary shack and overcrowded tenement must become things of the past. If the tenant of a bad dwelling suffers in health or in productive capacity his loss is not his alone. America suffers. His sickness, his poor physique are a loss to the nation. His reduced productive

capacity checks the normal increase of the country's wealth.

When our army is demobilized and our men return to the arts of peace they will have a right to demand proper living quarters, conforming at least to the hygienic standards of their camps. Some of these men have come from our slums. What a national disgrace it would be if they were forced to return to them.

Premier Lloyd George, in a recent British election speech, emphasized this point in striking language as follows:

“What is the first thing the great war has shown us? The appalling waste of human material in this country. There is hardly any material placed by Providence in this country which is so much wasted as human life and human strength and human intellect—the most precious and irreplaceable material of all. Recruiting officers have come to the conclusion that, if the people of this country had lived under proper conditions, were properly fed and housed, and lived under healthy conditions—had lived their lives in their full vigor—you could have had a million more men available and fit to put into the army. That is an appalling figure, and it is not merely that. When you have not lost life you have depressed the vitality of life. There are millions who are below par. You cannot even keep animals in their full vigor unless you give them good conditions. You cannot do it with men and women, and you cannot bring up children under bad conditions. There are millions of men's lives which have been lost as a result of the war, but there are millions more of maimed lives in the sense of undermined constitutions through atrocious social conditions that you have got in consequence of the whole of the terrors of this great war. You must put that right.

Put it at its lowest—trade, commerce, and industry, they all suffer through it. A vigorous community, strong, healthy men and women, is more valuable even from the commercial and industrial point of view than a community which is below par in consequence of bad conditions. Treat it, if you like, not as a human proposition, but as a business proposition. It is good business to see that the men, the women, and the children are brought up and sustained under conditions that will give strength and vigor to their frames, more penetration and endurance to their intelligence, and more spirit and heart than ever to face the problems of life, which will always be problems that will require fighting, right from the cradle to the tomb. That is the first problem. One of the ways of dealing with that is, of course, to deal with the housing conditions. Slums are not fit homes for the men who have won this war or for their children. They are not fit nurseries for the children who are to make an Imperial race, and there must be no patching up. This problem has got to be undertaken in a way never undertaken before, as a great charge and duty."

Whether we acknowledge our responsibility or not, the working man is beginning to see it and is going to demand that society give him the things that he needs; for, he is realizing that high wages alone bring him neither wealth nor comfort, and he is determined that in the readjustment of national affairs he is going to get a share of the good things that make life worth while. If he fails or if we obstruct his attempts, we shall add to the rising tide of discontent that is producing the deplorable anarchistic conditions on the continent of Europe. It would be folly on our part to ignore the rising of the tide or deny the justice of the demand.

In ancient British history there is the story of a king,

Canute by name, who, wishing to show his power and might, caused his throne to be set up on the seashore on the verge of the rising tide. Seating himself he commanded the waves to advance no farther, and as the tide continued to advance he bade his courtiers sweep them back. Unsuccessful, he quickly had to acknowledge defeat and retreat. We face to-day a rising tide of social unrest. Peering into the future with anxious eyes the perils of peace seem to us greater than the perils of war. We have touched in this paper on one of the underlying causes. If we attempt to hold back the flood we shall surely be engulfed by it. Be ours the privilege and the duty to build channels into which it may flow and so guide it that its mighty energies may be productive only of good.

The dykes of Flanders had held back the ocean for centuries but when the German horde came rushing on, the Belgians broke down the dykes and the very ocean that had been kept out for so long saved the Belgian army.

Many of us have been holding back by passive resistance or active obstruction all the efforts of the working man to improve his position in industrial life and his standing in the community. May we, too, realize before it is too late that the very elements we feared most can work in coöperation with us and must be induced to do so, if our national prosperity is to be maintained. To reap the fruits of our sacrifice in the Great War we must work together, and in facing the problems that lie ahead of us we must be inspired by the national motto,—“UNITED WE STAND.”

## LABOR'S ATTITUDE ON HOUSING

MATTHEW WOLL

*Assistant to Mr. Gompers as Chairman, Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense*

It is not the purpose of my address to deal with the more immediate and circumscribed subject of housing as it affected the munition workers of our country within the past year, nor how the Government might best dispose of such homes and houses as it has found necessary to bring into existence by reason of the rapid and unprecedentedly large grouping of workers in and near munitions and shipbuilding centers. It is my desire to address myself to the larger and more general problem of adequately and fittingly housing the workers during peace time, and to explain the problem as it is viewed by the workers themselves.

Great progress has been made in recent years in promoting safety and sanitation in manufacturing, mining, and transportation. The progress has been most rapid in safeguarding workers from industrial accidents. This progress has been the result of continual agitation and education but has proceeded most rapidly and satisfactorily since the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Laws, which render unsafe working conditions expensive to the employer.

The advance of sanitation in workshops has been less rapid. The dangers from bad sanitation are not only less obvious, but there is no liability for disease or death occurring as a result of improper sanitation. Future progress in sanitation demands not only cleanli-

ness and ventilation but consideration must likewise be given to occupational diseases.

Still less progress has been made in promoting safe, sanitary, and comfortable houses for the workers. Little progress has been made in this direction because there has been a total lack of responsibility and no liability whatever for injury or ill-health caused to the workers or their families. Until recent years there has been indeed little, if any, community interest aroused in the housing problem of the workers. Squalor and almost unlivable conditions are still found in many homes of the workers whose compensation is inadequate and where the opportunity of the worker to associate with his fellow workmen for their industrial improvement is persistently and successfully denied.

One of the outstanding and most grievous features prevailing amongst these unorganized workers is the practice of having small children look after themselves while their parents are at work. The homes of these poorer workers in the main are heated by stoves, making it very easy for the children to seriously burn themselves or start a destructive blaze. In many cases these homes consist of dark, unsanitary, pest-ridden rooms and foodless kitchens. There can be no disagreement in the conclusion that such housing and conditions of homes should not be permitted to exist.

The past provisions for the housing of workmen have been generally bad, not alone in the larger cities, but in industrial communities of every size, and in rural districts as well. The importance of good sanitary standards is becoming generally recognized. The growing demand for sanitation in the home, as well as in the shop, and adequate and fit houses for the workers



to live in, is the result of years of agitation and insistence on the part of the organized workers of our country. This development is due principally because of the organized workers' demand for adequate wages and their pronouncement that the well-being of the community requires as good sanitary conditions for the wage earner and his family as for the families of those of a higher economic status.

The noticeably increasing public demand for the observance of proper sanitary standards in the building of new homes has created a new phase to the problem and makes more difficult its solution when applied to the old houses in the poorer districts of our large cities and industrial centers. Houses in these districts never had sanitary utilities and conveniences. Because they are centrally located they are usually rented as long as they are at all habitable and not condemned by health boards. The immigrant worker is not so particular. The unorganized toiler has little choice. His economic condition determines his mode of life and standard of habitation. He can consider only proximity to his workshop without extra cost of travel to and from his work. Long hours of toil do not permit him to live any great distance from the shop.

The owners of these properties are well aware of these disadvantageous economic conditions of the workers, and logically reason, "why should we therefore remodel or refit the old buildings, and lose that income which these improvements will entail?" Because there is not the same language in use, among these foreign workers, with a multiplicity of foreign customs and practices and a lack of trade organization, many of these workers are comparatively indifferent and generally ex-

tremely weak against strong groups who have financial interests in the properties and who do not hesitate to commercialize every economic disadvantage of these workers. The problem of housing in these old districts, is, therefore, distinctively the most essential yet most difficult problem to solve.

The demand of the wage earners is not only for sanitary and fit houses to live in, but the workers are also insistent that a sufficient number of houses shall be available so that they may be freed from the evils of high rents, over-crowding, and congestion. Such conditions of housing make not only for discomfort and unhappiness but promote disease and degeneration.

The ordinary method of supplying houses through their erection by private capital for investment and speculation has rarely, if ever, been adequate. Nearly all of our cities are built upon a system of exploitation. Most houses built for the wage earners are built to sell. They are built shoddily and only as good as they must be in direct proportion to the building laws and municipal supervision. It has not been a question of building well, but of building profitably. Usually, and quite generally, banking and loaning institutions are in league with the owners of building projects, and later turn over their joint projects to other innocent persons to be squeezed by them in order that a handsome income may be secured to both interests concerned. This system of exploitation does not permit of proper housing facilities and adequate upkeep. It demands only incomes and discourages expenditures, thus, in a short time the houses become bad, until a few years thereafter the Boards of Health order the premises vacated, unless political prestige or industrial influence suffices to

prevent the continuation of a most abhorrent condition of housing.

The tenement house acts, as well as the health ordinances and building regulations of municipalities, while generally productive of good effect, are at best surface remedies and can never cure the evil of our present housing situation. A careful analysis of the results of the private housing situation for the past twenty-five years demonstrates conclusively the inadequacy of our past procedure. In practically no instance have social ideals or economic justice been given more than a superficial consideration. In small manufacturing communities the number of all of the inhabitants owning their own homes is less than 15%. With this percentage in small manufacturing centers what may we expect in larger manufacturing cities where land and building costs are much higher.

A further study leads to the remarkable finding that a very large proportion of homes owned by these workers are encumbered with long-time obligations which tend to keep the operatives in a state of complete dependency, making it easy to repress their economic rights and force them involuntarily to become mere cogs in the adjacent factory organization. Under these conditions the wage earner is less likely to strike or leave his employment in order to retain his immediate, though meager saving and investment. He is led often to forfeit his opportunity for future improvement by forfeiting his right of association and of collective bargaining.

Excellent plans for the housing of workmen have been put into effect by a number of firms and corporations, but such measures have little, if at all, affected the

general situation. On the contrary, the employers' interests are primarily in the economic advantage which a closer labor supply affords. Indeed the early and still existing practice in some localities of factory-owned dwellings was, and is yet, an immense advantage to employers in times of strikes and other labor disturbances when the power of eviction can be invoked, or at least threatened to good advantage in the employer's behalf.

Aside from the well-to-do manufacturer or corporation engaging in the present system of housing the workers, we have also the speculator in real estate to consider. While the improvement and the social welfare of the wage earner have been of secondary importance to employers, the welfare of the wage earner and an improved community spirit are totally lacking in the motives which prompt the real estate speculator. He is invariably prompted by selfish interests and has scarcely ever been concerned beyond the immediate prospects of profit. As a matter of fact he has been confined mainly to the limited number of better paid workmen because he has found that the exploiting of low and under-paid wage earners is not a profitable field for him.

It may be well asked if the low and under-paid employees in factories are being housed at all, or if they are only boarding, rooming, or crowding. It is difficult to conceive how the worker with a very low income and large family can rent habitable houses, much less approximate those sanitary utilities which our present knowledge of health demands. It must, therefore, be apparent that our present practices and policies—or lack of policies—for improved housing of the workers

have been unjust and due principally to disastrous economic conditions of the workers.

The solution of the problem first of all demands that every wage earner shall be afforded the opportunity of employment and an income and sustenance to enable him, without the labor of mother and children, to maintain himself and family in health and comfort and to provide a competence for old age with ample provision for recreation and good citizenship.

To attain this condition the worker must be guaranteed and encouraged in the exercise of his right to organize and associate with his fellow workmen in trade unions and to deal collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they may choose, for their improved economic and industrial conditions and relations.

Realizing that ownership of a home, free from the grasp of exploiting and speculative interest, will make for a more efficient worker, a more contented and happy family, and a better citizen, the Government should interest itself in the following program:

- a. Prepare and inaugurate a plan to build model homes for the wage earners.
- b. Establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money for a long term of years at a low rate of interest to build their own homes.
- c. Encourage, protect, and extend credit to voluntary, non-profit making housing and joint-tenancy associations.
- d. Exempt from taxation and grant other subsidies for houses constructed for occupancy of their owners.

- e. Relieve municipalities from the restrictions preventing them from undertaking proper housing plans and engaging in other necessary enterprises relating to the workers' welfare and fitting habitation.
- f. Encourage and support the erection and maintenance of houses where the workers may find lodging and nourishing food during the periods of unemployment.

We should no longer hesitate in forcing unused lands into use by exempting all improvements from taxation and by placing a tax on non-productive the same as on productive land.

Legislation should therefore be devised for the purpose of preventing the holding of land out of use and to secure for the Government, if not all, at least a part of the unearned increment of land.

In dealing with this question individually, the existing conditions present problems which seem almost hopeless of solution, but we are fast getting beyond the individual situation and individual point of view to the development of collective planning and rebuilding. In that development alone lies our main hope.

There is developing very rapidly a public demand that every worker shall be provided with a decent, fitting, sanitary, and comfortable home. The wage earners of America are deserving of this new conception of life and living and are entitled to no less. All right-thinking persons and students should willingly strive and cooperate to obtain this end. This, then, is the inspiration, the motive, and one of the ultimate objects of the American Federation of Labor, the attitude and program for the reconstruction of our human, social and

economic relations which, I am sure, will commend itself and embrace the hearty support and coöperation of all who are interested in making the life of the worker and his family better than the day before, and still better the day to follow.

*(For the Discussion of this paper, see page 297.)*

## THE GROUP HOUSE—ITS ADVANTAGES AND POSSIBILITIES

### THE MANIA FOR THE DETACHED HOUSE

R. H. DANA, JR.

*Architect, New York City*

In most parts of America, there is a mania for the detached house. Regardless of the size of the house or the lot or other circumstances, the cry is always "let each family have a separate house to itself. What applies to the ten-room house should also apply to the four-room house. What is good on the lot of 10,000 sq. ft., should also be good on the lot of 2,500 sq. ft., one-quarter the size. Why discriminate against the small wage earner?"

After thirteen years of sympathetic study of the matter, I feel more convinced than ever that the detached house is *not* the best type for the small wage earner. I felt it instinctively in July, 1905, when I was at the opening of the first Garden City at Letchworth, England, and have ever since been trying to prove it logically, and think I have at last.

Is not this mania for the detached house peculiarly American? Do the English or the French for instance have this same feeling? Even though they may not have as many radiators or bath tubs per family as we do in America, yet they certainly know how to live healthily and attractively. After two years living in France and three summers in England, I felt convinced that those two countries are as domestic as we are in



America, and care more for privacy than we do. Have we not something quite vital to learn from the grouping of their houses over there? Is not the American mania for the detached house perhaps a prejudice, coming down to us from the pioneer days, when a man had to battle with nature on a large scale, and had little or no time for community or social life? Other men were either his enemies, rivals, or at best "strangers." His one idea was to live independently, off by himself. The fact that the mania for the detached house in the West is stronger than in the East would seem to bear this out. But just because the detached house is the American solution for the small wage earner, is it, therefore, the best? Because it was the best for yesterday, is it necessarily the best for to-morrow?

"But," you protest, "you surely do not favor tenement houses—either the crowded city kind or the proposed zigzag type with finger tips touching around a playground in the full country! You do not approve surely of the double deckers or triple deckers, or those monotonous row houses where a man can't distinguish his own front door from a hundred others when he comes home late at night." No, by no means, I am opposed to those types of dwellings, as much as any one; but I would have the small wage earners for their own good live in group houses; that is, two or more families living side by side, with party walls between, but under one roof.

#### THE SIZE OF THE HOUSE IN QUESTION

The basis of our discussion must surely be the rent of the houses we are talking about. The maximum rent in question is \$35 a month. This at the high price of building to-day means six rooms at \$5 a room, plus \$5

for conveniences, such as modern plumbing, electric lighting, and heating. The tendency to-day is for smaller and more comfortable houses than formerly. Therefore, I do not think any one would question that six rooms plus these conveniences is better than seven rooms without them. This rent means a two-story house with cellar, of about 500 sq. ft. area per floor, or 20 feet x 25 feet in plan. Above this rent, the problem is quite different and does not concern us in this discussion.

The minimum rent would be \$25 a month or four rooms at \$5 a room, plus \$5 for conveniences. This means a two-story house and cellar, of about 350 sq. ft. area per floor, or 16 feet x 23 feet in plan. Below this rent, tenants to-day must not expect to obtain a new model house, but will have to live in houses built a few years ago when construction was cheaper.

#### THE SIZE OF THE LOT IN QUESTION

Because the detached house is good for a small house on a lot of 100 feet wide, it does not follow that it is good for a medium sized house on a 50 ft. lot or a small house on a 25 ft. lot. Land cheap enough for large lots can only be found in outlying regions reached by doubtful trolley service. The worker very justly prefers to be within walking distance of his work, as this saves him from sixty to eighty-four cents a week, or from \$30 to \$42 a year, which is enough to keep him in clothing for the year. Furthermore, it is unquestionably more healthy, to walk to and from one's work, rather than breathe the bad air of overcrowded cars. Land within walking distance of factories is usually held so high that the lots for the rents under \$35 a month would have to

be as small as 250 sq. ft. in area. The shape of this area is flexible, no matter what the real estate men have said to the contrary in the past! The suggested shape 50 ft. x 50 ft. leaves no decent space anywhere outside the single house. The usual shape 25 ft. x 100 ft. gives a fair front yard and back yard but the side yards are objectionably narrow between the single houses.

### THE FALLACY OF THE SIDE YARD

If the side yards are wide and planted, they are a separation between houses; but if narrow they are less private than no side yard. The windows of the middle rooms of two adjoining houses look across at each other only a few feet apart, with no more privacy than in a narrow city court. This can be avoided by having the houses only two rooms deep, with the windows facing chiefly the front yard and the back yard. Still these windows into the side yards are a doubtful addition to the rooms, and I feel it would be better to concentrate the windows on the front and back yards, and to omit the side windows entirely, thereby giving much needed unbroken wall space in the rooms.

Because these side yards are so narrow, the sunlight does not dry them out. The snow lies there long in winter, and the grass won't grow there in summer, so that they are always damp, muddy, and unsanitary.

Furthermore, these narrow side yards cannot be used for anything. The front yards can be used for lawn and flower garden; and the back yards for drying clothes and vegetable gardens, but the side yards are not needed.

Some people claim that these side yards are needed in warm weather for ventilation, but let us look at the

facts closely. Is it not much more important to have ventilation *through* the house than *around* the house in warm weather? In cold winter weather the wind draws through these narrow slits between the houses, so that there is no side of the house protected from the wind, where a small baby in its carriage could get an airing. The family never sit out-of-doors in the spring and autumn, simply because there is no sunny place out of the wind where they can sit attractively.

It is also claimed that the side yard is needed as a passage to the back yard from the street. The back yards, however, can be reached conveniently by a community path connecting the back doors, with access to the street about every hundred feet or more. Therefore, since the narrow side yards are unnecessary and undesirable, let us omit them as much as we can, and make the houses adjoin each other. At intervals, where we must have side yards, let us concentrate the space of the many narrow side yards omitted into decently wide side yards, each 20 ft. wide at least.

### OBJECTIONS TO THE GROUP HOUSE

Let us first look at the usual objections to the group house, and see if they are really valid. The real estate men object that they are difficult to sell. Is this not pure prejudice based on the usual poor construction of the row houses that look as if they would not stand up alone? One real estate agent even told me that 20 foot lots, the width of the units, would involve half numbers to the houses, because the numbers were laid out on the basis of 25 ft. lots. When I explained to him that a four-family group house 80 ft. long was located on a 100 ft. lot, and we, therefore, only had four families

to the 100 ft., the same as his custom, he still was unconvinced.

Another claim is that these group houses are noisy and that you can hear your neighbor "change his mind" in the next house. This may have been true in some old-fashioned bad examples; but the brick party wall from cellar to roof, now required by law, is as sound proof as it is fireproof.

Another objection is that the middle rooms in the group houses are stuffy without the cross-ventilation of the corner rooms. But all well-designed group houses are only two rooms deep, and have connecting doors between the front and back rooms purposely for this cross-ventilation, which is certainly more thorough than just across the corner of a room.

Another objection is that there is no privacy on the front porches, based on the bad custom of adjoining piazzas. By good planning, the porches can be kept separate, and even recessed so that you cannot look across from one to the other.

Another objection is that these group houses are monotonous looking, owing to the fact that some of the first of them were poorly designed. There is in reality much more variety of design possible in the group house than in the single house; a variety that we architects have hardly begun to discover. In short, are not all these objections to the group house based on poor examples, and would not the answer to them be "go to a good architect"?

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE GROUP HOUSE

The advantages of the group house are quite obvious. It is cheaper to excavate, build, and maintain than

several detached houses, on account of fewer outside walls, and one chimney and one line of plumbing serving two families. This means that the tenant gets the same house for less rent, or a larger house for the same rent, than he would if he rented a detached house.

The units of the group house are cheaper to heat than detached houses, as they keep each other warm. We have always found in a group that the middle units rented before the end houses for this very reason, and that the canny tenants of the middle units did not light their furnaces in the fall until several weeks later than their neighbors at the end of the group.

The group house has greater privacy on the interior than detached houses, as the neighbors at the side cannot see or be seen from inside the rooms. All the views are across broad, open spaces; either the broad back yards or the front lawns and street.

The chief advantage, however, is that the group houses have so much better proportions on the exterior than the detached houses. They present a better front. This is not only of interest to the architect but to the community as a whole. The economic detached house has to be two stories high, with air space above the second floor rooms, so that it is difficult to make the total height from the grade to the ridge less than 25 feet. The width of the detached house is, of course, limited by the rent to 16 or 20 feet. The result is that the detached house is necessarily higher than it is wide, and stands up in a restless, perky way. The height may be disguised by bringing the roof down to the first floor ceilings, but this spoils the headroom in the second floor bedrooms, and adds greatly to the cost of the house,

owing to the necessary dormers and complicated roof construction. A whole town of such detached houses close together seems to me to present a very unfortunate pill-box effect, that we, as architects, cannot approve of as the final word in the matter. The group house on the other hand is necessarily longer than it is high, and gives the feeling of a house sitting comfortably on the ground. These group houses certainly look like bigger and nicer houses than the small detached house, and from the real estate point of view can be made to look like a better-class development.

#### SIZE OF THE GROUP HOUSE

If the group house is to be the happy medium between the perky detached houses and the monotonous row houses, we must take care in the group house to avoid either of these extremes. We have tried group houses of eight families, but I confess that these are a bit too long, unless broken up by more "architecture" than can usually be afforded. Certainly group houses should never be more than eight units long, on account of easy access to the back doors. An even number of units is advisable for the using of one chimney and one line of plumbing for each two units. A group of four units seems to give the best proportion. This would be 64 to 80 feet long by about 25 to 30 feet high. Groups of two units and six units are also good. Here is chance for real architectural composition, and interest, with long roof lines, occasional gables, recessed and projecting porches, etc. The 20 ft. space between these groups breaks the monotony of the row, and alternating long and short groups gives still further variety.

## THE GROUPING OF HOUSES

A full architectural study of the problem demands that we compose these groups as well as the individual façades. A group of three- or five-group houses has more possibilities for architectural composition than a single-group house. This grouping of the groups gives variety and interest to a town. It brings out the design of each type of house by contrast with the right sort of houses next to it. It "pushes" the feeling of the town plan by houses especially designed for corners, ends of vistas, etc. It gives contrast between groups of houses and open spaces by concentrating each in large masses. The group houses only 20 feet apart give a sense of continuity that is pleasing. The open space would be concentrated into large playgrounds, allotment gardens, etc. This gives much more quality and scale to a development than the old method of small dabs of land cut up by dots of houses. Is not the unbroken lawn with groups of trees at the side more pleasant than the lawn dotted all over with single trees?

## CONCLUSIONS REGARDING GROUPING

Although our study is by no means complete, we have reached the following conclusions: Alternating long four-family houses with shorter two-family houses give a pleasant rhythm, and relieves any possibility of monotony. It looks better not to mix groups with hipped and gabled roofs, but to have one group of gabled houses with ridges and gables carefully composed, and another group of all hipped roof houses. Group houses more than 20 ft. apart look scattered, and a 20 ft. distance between gives them a pleasant feeling of continuity and mass. Broad front lawns make the street



far too wide for the height of the buildings, and therefore, except around the community greens, it looks best to have the houses only 20 to 25 feet back from the sidewalk. It thus proves best to concentrate the biggest open spaces at the back of the houses rather than in front.

To sum up the matter briefly. A home for the small wage earner within walking distance of his work, means to-day a small house on a lot so restricted that the side yards are objectionably narrow and had better be omitted as much as possible. This results logically in the group house. The objections to the group house are based on old badly planned and badly constructed examples. These objections are entirely eliminated in the new group houses designed by sympathetic architects. The advantages of the group house over the single house are chiefly economy of construction and heating, greater privacy inside and better looks outside. A development of such group houses, of different sizes, grouped with relation to each other and to the town plan, would be much more varied and pleasing than a village all of single houses crowded together to give the same number of families per acre.

*(For the Discussion of this paper, see pages 303 and 308.)*

## SOME PROBLEMS OF MANAGEMENT

FRED C. FELD

*Rental Manager, Yorkshipp Village*

The town manager or rental superintendent or whatever you wish to call him is the poor fellow who has that great job of trying to make the dreams of the architect and the city planner and all the other men who engage in planning and building wonderful houses and villages come true, and those of us who have had experience know that sometimes it is rather difficult to make all these wonderful things come true, because somehow or other folks are very perverse and they do not appreciate all the good things that we have sat up nights and planned for them, and they just want to do the opposite and there is where our job becomes most interesting.

In discussing these most vital problems of management, it is not my intention to take the time allotted to me in presenting a formal paper, but rather to point out some of the more important problems that confront the manager of any housing enterprise. I am sure that there are a number of persons present who have had great experience in this work and more good will come out of the meeting by having a real, old-fashioned, free-for-all discussion of these points.

I offer therefore the following topics as a basis of discussion of some of the problems involved in the term "Management":

1. Selecting and placing tenants.
2. Shall the rents be collected weekly or monthly?

3. Shall collections be made at the homes or shall tenants bring rents to the office?

Is it advisable to deduct rents from wages?

4. How shall properties be inspected to insure proper maintenance and prevention of insanitary conditions as a result of carelessness or indifference on the part of the tenants?

5. How can the best development of yards and community gardens be promoted?

6. Shall women be employed as rent collectors and inspectors?

7. What Welfare or Social work should be done by the Owning Company?

8. How shall the Owning Company aid in promoting Social life when the houses are located in such a way as to constitute a separate and new community?

9. What restrictions and regulations should be enforced?

10. What factors shall be taken into consideration in fixing rentals?

I do not mean to suggest that these are the only questions to be considered, as I know there are many more and perhaps even more vital ones.

You will notice that I have taken it for granted that the projects we manage are renting propositions. I have purposely left out the problems that are confronted in managing an enterprise in which the houses are being sold nor have I set down anything about the management of boarding-houses or hotels,—as we sometimes call them—which is, of course, a most important subject. I have also left out the important question of maintenance or upkeep, the way we are to carry on our repairs problems. They vary so much in different localities and in different kinds of houses that it is rather difficult to point out any fixed rule to follow.

Let us consider seriatim the questions that have been listed.

## SELECTING THE TENANT

First of all, the method of selecting and placing the tenants. In an enterprise such as that of the Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia or the City and Suburban Homes Company in New York or any other private enterprise, the problem is somewhat different from what it is in an enterprise that is coupled directly with a munitions plant or a shipyard. Those of us who are interested in an industrial housing project, have our prospective list of tenants practically handed to us: we are not, as it were, in competition with the real estate man at the present time, but rather our people are coming and beseeching us for homes to live in, so we need not waste time going out and soliciting prospective tenants.

The first and the immediate problem that presents itself is the proper placing of tenants in these various enterprises, the fitting, if you please, of the right family to the right house. We all have had experience with the man and wife and 6 or 7 children wanting to move into a 4 room house. Saturday a woman became very much insulted because I suggested that a 4 room house was a bit too small for 6 grown children. She could not understand at all why we need care anything about how many people were going to crowd into that house.

We have the problem also of preventing a reasonably sized family from going into a house suited to them and then taking in a lot of boarders and roomers afterwards. In the lease forms that we have, and which have been approved by the officials of the Shipping Board, we designate the number of persons who may occupy a particular house, and we hope by that means to regulate and prevent overcrowding.

Of course we investigate, where possible, and if the prospective tenants do not live too far away from the shipyard, we visit their homes and see just how they keep their present places of abode. We get information also from the foreman or the superintendent about the man. I have been surprised how much the foremen know about their men. We had one report that said "Don't give this man a house; he beats his wife." I wonder how the foreman knew? Another report said, "This man is very irregular, he gets drunk frequently." Needless to say, he wouldn't be a very good tenant in Yorkship Village.

And so from all angles we must judge them and have personal interviews and discussions and decide. After they have decided that they want a house, the practice in the various projects connected with the Shipping Board is to place the application, in which they have agreed to abide by the rules of the company, before an allotment committee which consists of representatives of the yard, representatives of the real estate company managing the houses, and others who might have information and knowledge in this matter, sometimes perhaps 5 or 6 men comprising this committee. The tenant is notified that the house has been allotted and, upon payment of the rent, he moves in.

### METHODS OF COLLECTING RENT

The second question I have set down is What is the Best Way in Which to Collect Rents? That is, whether the collections are to be weekly or monthly. I am very strong for the collection of rents weekly. The man gets paid weekly: every piece of business that he transacts is on a weekly basis; he pays his life

insurance, as a rule, weekly; he buys his furniture generally speaking, on weekly installments, and his whole life, more or less, is on a weekly basis, and even if he does pay his rent monthly, the housewife saves, if she is a good one, a certain portion of each week's pay until she has accumulated the month's rent, and why not let her just pay that rent weekly, because she is really paying it that way when she is paying it monthly.

For there is the danger that some tenants, being very human, may be tempted with a little money in the house sometimes to run off on a jaunt and then say to the rent manager, "You will have to wait a bit for the rent," and perhaps throw the whole matter over much later and get in arrears, which ought not to be. The City and Suburban Homes Company of New York has certainly the longest experience on this weekly rent question, and their losses because of unpaid rentals are practically nothing, the whole operation being managed on a weekly basis. From my own experience, it seems to me that the easiest and the best way to get our rent is to get it when the man has the money.

The third question is one that is receiving very great consideration at the present time, and that is, *where* shall we collect the rental? Shall we go to the home of the tenant at regular periods, weekly or monthly, whichever way we decide, and collect the rental, or shall we insist upon the tenant coming to the office and paying the money there on the days prescribed or shall we deduct the money from his wages?

All three plans work.

In deciding this question we must consider local custom and habit and not try to make our scheme fit

some scheme we have heard about, because that does not always work. I was in a little town several days ago where the company that owned the plant practically owned the town. Everybody knew that they owned the houses and everybody that lived in the houses worked for the company, and it seemed to me that their scheme of taking the rentals from the pay was the simplest, and easiest thing to do. The men wanted it that way, and it is really surprising to find how many men do want to do it that way. At the present time they have been accustomed to having Liberty Loan payments deducted from their pay, and having War Chest payments deducted from their pay and payments for many other things in the last year or so have been deducted from their pay, and they say, "Why bother about the rent? Just take that also and save us the trouble."

There are other things to be considered, however. Personally, I am not in favor of taking the rent out of a man's envelope. I like to put a man on his own responsibility. I think it is a grave mistake; we are too willing to do things *for* the people instead of giving them the opportunity to do things for themselves, I want a man to stand four square and realize that he has a responsibility, a debt, a business arrangement; he is purchasing the use of a house. When he can be made to feel his responsibility it helps him very much and develops him; but this matter must be decided as best suits your own plan.

#### INSPECTION AND MAINTENANCE

Linked up closely with this question of collections and the time of collections, is the question of the

inspection of the property. In the Octavia Hill Association, we copied or rather used the same plan that has been used until recently, in the City and Suburban Homes Company, a plan that originated in the work in London. We said that the right time, the logical time, to talk to a tenant is the time that you are visiting in the house and collecting the rentals that you have a reason for being there, and it is very, easy to step into the house and make the necessary inspections that are required in order to insure a proper maintenance of the conditions that you want to have. Some people do not hold that view. I had a letter recently from one of the gentlemen connected with the U. S. Housing Corporation in which he said that he did not feel that the time at which the collections were made was the right time to inspect, but he forgot to say what the right time was: and for my part I am not at all sure that it *is not* the right time—the time when you are in the house on a particular errand. I will be perfectly frank with you; we are not doing it.

We have some 100 houses occupied; we are having the tenants pay the rent at the office; and frankly, we are feeling our way on this point; it is a big job to go around to, 1500 or 2000 tenants and collect rents; it is much simpler to have them come in; it is even simpler to have the rent taken out of their pay. It is, of course, easier in some regular way, at least once a month to make a careful inspection of the house; but the question for me is the attitude of mind of the tenant when you come around for nothing else but an inspection. I am wondering what the tenants are going to think, whether you are going to have their coöperation in the way you ought to have, to help them to live properly



and to realize their responsibility in keeping their houses in good order.

Someone has said, "What are you going to do with the yards and gardens?" One man said, "Let the yards alone." In many of these enterprises the yards are very small; you cannot have grass and flowers and children, they won't go together; either the youngsters are going out on the streets, in the neighborhood away from home or something else will happen. What are we going to do with the yard? Of course it looks much better to have a nice little patch of ground at the back of the house with every blade of grass evenly cut and planted according to a certain proportion so that there are not too many blades in one place, a little red flower here and another red flower over there, but after all what is going to become of the children? In many of these schemes, playgrounds are planned, open spaces for the children, but after all the mother wants the small child where she can see it; she wants it near home where, while she is busy about her own work, she can observe what is going on and look after the child. That is a problem that still has to be worked out.

### THE WOMAN RENT COLLECTOR

There has come into this work an element which has come into all kinds of work, and that is woman; in this case, the woman rent collector or inspector or manager or whatever you wish to call her. Some of the shipyards and some of the other industrial plants as well, rather resent the presence of a woman in the management of the houses. I wonder why? Who is the housekeeper? Who is at home? Who is respon-

sible for the upkeep of the house after all, and the cleanliness about the premises? Whose job is it? Is it the man's who goes to work in the morning, or is it the wife's? Who can sympathetically discuss with her some of the things that she ought to know about if she is not as good a housekeeper as we think she ought to be? What is the proper relationship?

Of course a man may come clothed with authority and say, "You have got to clean that yard up." But a woman may come and say, "Well now, don't you think it would be much better if this yard was a little different from the way you have it? Don't you see how nice Mrs. So and So's yard is, 2 or 3 doors below, and don't you think you'd like to have yours look the same and not have people in the neighborhood talk about you? Think it over."

I really think that if we can get trained women with experience in this work, that the logical person to handle the matter of inspection of premises and the necessary oversight of the care of the properties—not meaning the mechanical work—is a woman. They are going to be hard to get.

Nothing, to my mind, is more difficult than dealing with tenants. It is not an easy job, and there are so few people who have the stern stuff in them to match their wills against the will of somebody who does not want to do the thing you want them to do, and really win out; it is a patience-trying job, because people have in them, all of them, the element of right living, and yet they do so resent any attempt to suggest that they ought to live differently.

Therefore, we want a woman who has some of this stuff that mere man calls business sense, someone who

has what is called old-fashioned horse sense. We don't want to go to our tenants with the Lady Bountiful attitude of handing them something. We have been handing Labor things so long that I think Labor will soon rise up and say, "Quit handing us anything but an opportunity to live right."

The next two questions in a measure merge themselves into one: viz., the question of the advisability of welfare or social work. I have already indicated my viewpoint on this matter. We were down at Hog Island a few days ago. They house there some 2000 men in their hotels and bunk houses. They have all sorts of entertainments going on for these 2000 men, and the question was asked the manager, "How many of them go?" The night we were there, there was a prize-fight on. You can't do anything any more without a prize-fight—and someone asked the manager, "How many men go?" And we found that there were something like 200 of the men, as a rule—many times, fewer, who attended the bouts.

The next question was, "What do the men do?" Well, the men stay in their rooms. They read. Some few of them get together for a quiet game of cards. Others simply like to go into their rooms and read and be alone, and we asked, "When do they go out?" Well, of course most all the fellows went out Saturday night. Going out Saturday night and taking a bath on Saturday night all work together, you know, and really they told us that that was the time that the baths were most busy, on Saturday. I do not know why they needed them more then than any other time. Many of the men went home on Sunday; many of them were men of family; they were not wild to run around;

they were satisfied, after a good day's work, to sit down and follow their own notions.

We are handing the men all sorts of things and cannot understand why they do not want them. A man came in the other day and said, "I have got to have a house; they told me at the yard I was a pretty good soccer player and they had to keep me there because I can play soccer." What has that to do with punching rivets and building ships? He got a lot of pleasure out of soccer, but what about those who were watching?

#### SOUND WELFARE WORK

When we get down to this welfare proposition, let us not make up a program of all the things we are going to do, but wait until we get our tenants into the houses and find out what they want to do and give them an opportunity to do it themselves and manage the thing themselves. For instance, a group of men want to start a tennis club; they want a place to play tennis. I don't believe we ought to go out and buy the various things needed to play tennis and roll the court and say, "Come on in, fellows, it's all fixed, come in and help yourself." But if we say, "We have a little piece of ground over here; if you fellows can get together and take care of it, we would be glad to let you have it," what happens? The men are interested in the thing they do themselves, but they do not care a rap for the thing you hand to them on a silver platter. Let them have an opportunity for self-expression.

We have not mapped out in Yorkshipp Village project any wonderful scheme of social welfare work. Some people are very much concerned about what kind of a

community house and what kind of a club we are going to have. I don't know. I don't know what kind of people we are going to have until we get them. Why have the thing all planned and try to fit them in until they come?

### FACTORS IN FIXING RENTS

The last question I wish to raise is, What factors shall be taken into consideration in fixing rentals? A lot of us have been worrying about that for some time. The chiefs of some of these various departments who have to do with the fixing of rentals are worrying about that problem. It is a big problem. We have houses that have been built in war time at an advanced cost, and a lot of people are saying, "Well, unless this thing pays an economic return, 10 or 12% gross—12% is nearer right—on the money invested, nobody is going to do it when the war is over and the whole thing will be a failure."

They lose sight of the fact that these houses were built under very peculiar conditions and nobody could hope to apply to them the old rules that we have been applying for years. Suppose we did apply the 10% gross rule to most of the operations based on their cost; no working man could ever afford to pay the rental of such a house; and so, to a large extent, the cost factor has been lost sight of in fixing rentals. The amount of money a man can afford to pay, whether it is one week's wages for one month's rent or 20% of his monthly income, or whatever rule you want to fix, we think perhaps may be a helpful factor in guiding our decision as to the fixing of rentals. Then someone rises up and says that we are in competition with other

people and our rentals are going to be too high, even on the basis we have discussed.

I am wondering what the rentals are going to be when the commercial builder resumes building; what rental he is going to ask? I have asked a few men that I have met here who have built for private companies, and I have found that in every instance their rentals were almost the same as the rentals that have been fixed in these various villages.

I have tried briefly to indicate some of the more pressing problems that we will meet in our attempt to properly manage and develop the various housing projects of the Government, so that the families who live in these villages will be happy and contented and will get out of life the measure of enjoyment that they are entitled to.

We do not hesitate to approve the large expenditure of public funds for the proper education of our children, nor should we hesitate to approve the expenditure of public funds to afford the opportunity of right living to the citizens of our country.

The town managers who are going to be successful will need the advice and experiences of all those who have been engaged in this work, and I hope that some of the things that I have pointed out may be a real help and that we will be able to make the wonderful dreams of the architects and town planners come true.

## WHAT THE TENANT REALLY WANTS

MARGUERITE WALKER JORDAN

*Director, Industrial Relations Bureau, Altoona, Pa.*

“What the Tenant Really Wants” is a question of human relationship, which is industry’s greatest problem. These wants are not always expressed tangible things. We are accustomed to thinking that they want something; we don’t know what they want but they want it. Sometimes we judge only from symptoms and a few ideas gathered from partially successful industrial communities. There is the ever-present danger, too, of mixing what a tenant really wants with what we think he ought to have, and such a scrambled-egg affair is not usually satisfactory.

His first wants are a living wage, proper plant working conditions, and a satisfactory house—and this house he wishes to own. Supply these physical needs as ideally as our Government is going to supply them, and there is still something else that he wants,—a community life and social conditions, a multitude of intangible little things; but little things make up the sum total of human happiness and happiness is the thing which all the world seeks, the tenant being no exception. The idea of meeting this need, like every other big idea, is not easy to put into operation. The unsocial atmosphere of the industrial village is almost unbelievable and encourages an intense colony life, accentuating the disadvantages of the barrier that the tenant and the owner have together built up.

The situation is summed up in *Drift and Mastery*:

“When you solve a puzzle, you’re done with it, but the industrial puzzle has no single key. Nor is there such a thing for it as a remedy or a cure. You have in a very literal sense to educate the industrial situation, to draw out its promise, discipline and strengthen it. There must be found the efficiency expert to take from industry the deadening effects of machine production. There must be vast sums of money for experimenting in humanizing labor. There must be created an industrial education by which the worker shall be turned not into an intelligent machine, but into an understanding, directing partner of business. The long process of self-education in Democracy must be encouraged. They must have support in their desire to turn themselves from wage earners into a corporate body that participates in industrial progress.”

In discussing the various elements involved in town management, I am not criticizing but am attempting merely to outline conditions as they are. The persons concerned may be divided into three classes: Tenants, owners, town managers; or one might call them under-dogs, past, present, and future.

#### THE TENANT, OR PAST UNDER-DOG

Many of the families who will live in the villages financed by Government money come from the slums or tumble-down rural huts, or some of our industrial villages which are little better, and they bring into our modern home in a Garden Village their old mode of living. The architects may calculate on air space and bathtubs, but the windows (just as usual) are nailed fast, and Johnny gets sewed up in his winter flannels. Then, too, some of our friends are used to “fat back



an' co'n bread," and like it. Our scheme of things has given the tenant so little responsibility that most of them are mentally lazy and like that, too!

As a sample of their mental viewpoint, we have the Southern mountaineer who addressed medical experts of the Rockefeller Foundation thus: "Who fetched youn's? What air you furriners pesterin' us fer? I reckon this here is *our* hookworm!"

So in approaching the civic and community problems, there must be a sympathetic understanding of past opportunity and environment. This means patience and more patience, and explaining the same thing over and over again until they finally "get you." This work of making a subject transparent is more necessary as the proportion of the financial responsibility which the tenant is asked to bear increases.

When approached in the right manner and spirit, however, I know of no case where the wage earner has utterly failed; for "the trustworthiness of men trusted seems often to grow with the trust." Generally a man knows as much as his habit of mind in his daily life will let him know. He moves in a small circle, and even minute objects appearing within the radius of that circle assume enormous proportions.

As a class, the laboring people are intensely jealous and given to much gossip. Life, to the women particularly, is often made up of dinner buckets, dirt, and patches; and the mud and the dirt are often reflected in their mental lives. The women spend the wage and often have little knowledge of home making, or ability to make a dollar do a dollar's worth. Our educational system has provided little that meets daily needs. Their response to special vocational work is wonderful and

sometimes they get a very keen conception of just what you wish.

Once I was giving a cooking demonstration to an audience of Southern darkies. Being quite familiar with their special form of household waste, I was going after lard and fried things pretty strongly. After my talk, one tall black arose and said, "Niggers, I done lissen to what dis white lady say, and she shore done tole de Lord's trufe; 'cause I got a frying woman and I know dat she can frow more out de back doah with a spoon dan I can tote in de front wid a shovel."

#### THE OWNER, THE PRESENT UNDER-DOG

The under-dog of this meeting is certainly the owner and landlord. Before I came to Boston I was inclined to give him a few kicks, with several high-sounding phrases, but the Army slogan of "Treat 'em rough" has been so vigorously applied that I'm inclined to be sympathetic. So if you'll excuse, I'll just say that he is human, sorry for his mistakes and trying to do better. This attitude I take it with regard to the "present underdog" is eminently selfish. But we must remember that he represents the executive type, the brain that has met our war problems and must meet our problems of construction, and he has had some difficulties too because of his great need for steady, efficient, continuous work and without this the American manufacturer cannot compete in the world's market. The principle of coöperation has proved its worth to the nation during the war and it needs to be extended both on the side of the employer and the worker, not however for the ends of mutual recrimination and strife, but for the ends of public service.

## THE TOWN MANAGER, OR FUTURE UNDER-DOG

The under-dog for the future seems to be already slated, and as far as I can see, it's the town manager. Particularly if that usual Government prescribed labyrinth of red tape applies to him. If so, to pardon a Southern expression, "May the Lawd help him," and the tenant too, for no less a power could untangle the system.

Generally speaking this link in the chain often fails because the necessity of securing the moral support of the foreman—the tenant's point of contact with the company—is not appreciated. This can usually be secured by asking for his advice and suggestions. But if your project hasn't his good will, just "forget it"; pack it in moth balls. Often the management fails because the diagnosis of basic community problems is not correct and in addition it requires the sort of leadership that keeps to the background; that helps a people to help themselves. The real job is supplying the incentive. All of this is difficult and the dead line for a town manager is—even to be *accused* of encroaching upon the authority of the operating division. There is too much thrusting in of the manager's point of view in attempting to dictate amusements and reserve standards. For instance, last summer I visited a Government plant employing about 12,000 girls, where a young woman has been put in charge of recreation. With the thermometer at 90 she took fifteen girls on a marshmallow roast. Another worker almost broke up community meetings, because she did not believe in kissing games.

It's right hard to tell you all the limitations of a manager, for in attempting to be one, I'm so personally

well acquainted with their many infirmities, but the project requires centralized authority and is doomed from the beginning if the highest operating official is not wholly sympathetic.

Much of this work is logically a woman's field, for it deals with family problems; but the old antagonism and prejudice concerning women in industry is ever present, and she shares the usual fate of the pioneer and gets the criticism which the unusual always attracts. To those who haven't gone much below the surface of the thing it looks easy—but so does tight-rope walking!

#### SUPPLYING THE WANTS OF ONE COMMUNITY

In supplying the wants of one community we began by trying to find out what the men wanted and then working with them to get it. Such a policy was made possible because of the attitude of the president of the plant, Mr. Thomas N. Kurtz, who has instinctive rather than acquired democracy, and the success of the work of the Standard Refractories Company, which I expect to discuss briefly, is due to the *esprit de corps* radiated by such a personality. Before the introduction of any activity, the whole proposition as it was personally known to me from experience and observation was presented to Mr. Kurtz. This was then discussed with the plant superintendent and others. The matter would then be presented at a foreman's meeting, and the subject discussed with the workmen or the group specially concerned in the immediate project; although this method was slow, it was sure of securing coöperation, because everybody was given an opportunity of presenting his own opinion. Often this had a double value; for it is always wise to have the need of

something felt and expressed before any attempt is made to offer a remedy. After a decision was made a board of employees coöperated with the president and myself in the management of these activities, and the responsibility of the board will be continuously increased.

After supplying some of the purely physical wants of the community, the company's first provision for the social and ethical needs of its workers was made through a visiting nurse. Her expenses were borne entirely by the company, as it was necessary to prove their sincerity of intention by concrete action. The need for medical service developed to such an extent that a dispensary and a doctor have been added. The community supports these activities, the dispensary being known as the Claysburg Workmen's Dispensary. There have been local elements which have made the establishment of this difficult, but both doctor and nurse are kept busy. The dispensary is being used and that is the real proof.

Living quarters for the unmarried office force were provided by converting an old farmhouse into a club. In this building we have a pool table and writing room. The living room is convertible into a dance floor. The building is self-supporting, but does not pay interest on the investment.

Our village is so new that gardens were not possible until this year, but the war garden as a community garden has now come to stay.

A kindergarten was opened, in order to provide some form of education and play for the many little children in our village, under school age; as well as to assist the mothers in their home duties. The community helps in the financial support of this, for we believe in neither

soft soap nor charity. The space used for the kindergarten was a portion of the old office building, which being accessible to the plant and easy of adjustment is convertible at noon hour into a lunch room for the men. At present the space is quite sufficient. Using this building in such a way is part of the general plan to let community consciousness develop, in order that some group life may be already formed before the erection of a large well equipped building, whose attractiveness might otherwise awe the people whom you are most desirous of reaching.

The structure of this whole scheme of town management is held together by a board, half of whose members are elected by the workmen; and the other half are appointed by the president of the company. They meet at regular intervals and discuss and decide all problems relative to the plant and the community. This body recently voted on questions regarding wage scale and group insurance. Questions of complaints they also settle, and the foremen, the real Czars of American Industry, are no longer permitted to fire workmen arbitrarily, as occurred in one plant where a negro foreman, pinned down to facts, admitted "dat he jest los' his taste fer dat man."

The fundamental principles underlying the wants of the tenant are always the same, but reaching these wants and solving them intelligently is no easy problem.

### CONCLUSION

In coming now to the conclusion of this subject the spirit of the times is such that interest in the human machinery is wanted by the tenant to become a part of the business; it must permeate the organization like

yeast in bread, not wrapped in tin foil either, but loosened.

The organization that redeems industry first, that uses the wealth that has come from its combined creative spirit to liberate that same creative spirit in others, will be looked upon as the real redeemer of wealth. This creative spirit is ethical, too, for it means that beautiful things are not only to be placed around the laboring man, but they are to be put into his heart and there made free and allowed to work out through his hands. It means a departure from our old policy of trying to stuff his head with facts and giving the soul's needs a crumb to feed on.

Clean wholesome play is a part of the ethical, too; for, "it is the way in which hours of freedom are spent that determines as much as war or labor the moral worth of a nation"; and there is comradeship for "the blood of life has a single heart beating through God and clod and me." It has been said that making weapons of destruction should humanize the world; and so it has, for in towns managed by the Government, it is possible to make men and money and things together—an uncommon sight, but quite within the scope of unprecedented power and authority which the country's biggest landlord can so easily wield.

This landlord can do more to socialize labor in five years than has been done in the entire previous existence of the country; for, privately owned industry is watching every move that the Government makes and will be quick to follow. For it is sorely pressed for just the practical, working activities that could come from such great proving grounds as the beautiful Garden Villages of Yorkshp, Atlantic Heights, and Union Park Gar-

dens and these will ever be beacon lights in the wonderful record of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

The Government has proved the greatest friend of the wage earner and he is watching too, but the unrest caused by his ignorance and our ignorance is widespread and deep, and the retribution for past injustice will hurl the booms of its wrath into the period of reconstruction, unless some basic industrial wants can be concretely met.



## SOME PROBLEMS OF MANAGEMENT

HAROLD G. ARON

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It is a pleasant thing for one who has, during the past several months, been trying to cut a way through the forest of management problems occasioned by some of the Government housing projects, to come out into the clearing and hold converse with such sympathetic ears. It is particularly so to me this morning, having been on one of our New England projects since about seven o'clock wrestling with the questions of coal, rentals, schooling facilities—in which last problem I was considerably embarrassed by the fact that our experts have told us that one and a half children was all that a ship-worker was supposed to have, and I found that the mean average on our first three families was something like nine and two-thirds.

In according me the opportunity to speak on so broad a subject as "Some Problems of Management," I was almost tempted to ask on what word the emphasis was to be laid, because there are *some* problems of management; and I fear that I may perhaps disappoint you in following the line which I have thought out coming down in the train. I had not intended to discuss the specific questions Mr. Feld has suggested, for two reasons. In the first place, it seems to me that those are not the major questions; and in the second place, it would be somewhat out of order for those of us who perhaps have got to pass on these questions to attempt

to inject our ideas or try to persuade you that our ideas are correct, and personally I am here in a plastic frame of mind to get the best suggestions which you have to offer, and I may say to you that so far as the housing projects of the Shipping Board are concerned, we have not fixed any hard and fast policy on any of the matters which Mr. Feld has mentioned in his discussion, and we are trying to keep an open mind and to bring to bear on it not only the best experience and the best theory, but, as well, the best practice as it gradually develops in connection with our projects.

It seems to me that the great problem of management, certainly so far as it confronts us of the Shipping Board in the Housing Division, is how to make these projects of ours justify the underlying investment of the Government and the ideals which have been built into them, and in solving that problem I cannot subscribe to the doctrine nor would I personally participate in any program which assumes that these housing projects of ours are to be regarded as exploded shells, now that the war is over, and that toward them the Government has no function except to get the highest possible salvage value out of them.

On the other hand, I have not yet seen the light to the point of saying that these housing projects, financed with federal funds, are analogous to industrial housing projects, or, in fact, similar to any housing projects which have heretofore been attempted in this country. It seems to me that our problems are, to a very considerable extent, *sui generis*, and for that reason I want, in a few moments, to discuss with you what I regard as some of the important phases of that great problem of how we are going to make these projects justify them-

selves, with one or two practical suggestions which are probably a long ways from the line of thought which you have been following and will follow in this discussion.

In the first place, it seems to me that the war has brought unhopd-for opportunities to the program for the better housing of workmen. With those unhopd-for opportunities, it has brought an unthought-of significance, and with that great forward movement there has come as well, in my opinion, absolutely unforeseen danger to the whole movement.

Now with regard to the opportunities, I need hardly say to you that the clock has been turned forward many, many years, and that we have seen in the last year or two in this country, something which none of us would have lived to see in the matter of industrial housing had it not been for the war. It was a question that had to come and it came; and the opportunity is one which, of course, should be taken advantage of. And with all due deference, I say on behalf of the architects and the men who have planned our projects, with whom I have had frequent occasion to differ from the practical standpoint, that in the matter of building ideals into workmen's houses, they have done a splendid job.

I said that the unhopd-for opportunities have brought with them an unthought-of significance to industrial housing, and I shall not dwell upon that point except to call your attention to this, that just as we have finished, or practically finished, many of our projects and got our tenants in, what had been a war emergency ceased, the scene shifted, and we were confronted with an entirely new and different problem; and I say to you this, expressing only my personal

opinion, that if the sociological and economic phenomenon which is showing itself in Europe exerts any influence in this country, the industrial housing financed by the Government money is going to be an outpost on the frontier, and therefore it seems to me that there is an unthought-of significance through this strange turn of events in this matter of houses built for workmen through government funds.

With that unthought-of significance have come unforeseen dangers. Here I take it that I shall meet with some disagreement; if in fixing the rentals of these houses, we are confronted by the problem that we cannot get a sufficient rental to justify, not the war investment but a normal investment; if we find, in trying to rent these houses at what is a just rental, that the workmen do not want them at that rental and won't pay it, I submit to you that the whole program of industrial housing is threatened with a serious setback.

If it becomes evident that we have in our ideals stridden ahead of the American workman and he has not yet caught up to us,—and it is against that which I personally am directing every effort—if that becomes demonstrated, instead of Government housing being pointed to as a standard to which others may come, it will be pointed to as a horrible example of what becomes of ideals when it is tried to put them into practice; and therefore the great problem of management, I say again, is to make these government housing projects justify themselves.

Now, what practical suggestions have I to offer? They do not concern themselves with matters of allotment gardens, or the number of boarders, or with garbage and ashes collection, or with dogs or chickens,

though we are dealing with these questions and, I think, fairly intelligently thus far.

I have, however, three practical points to which I should like to call your attention. The first is this, that the greatest single need of industrial housing at this time in this country is patience on the part of those who are most interested in making it succeed. I mean by that that we must take things a step at a time. We have got a splendid foundation here, but Rome was not built in a day, nor can we achieve all of our ideals at once, and let us take a step at a time, and if we cannot get all that we seek, if we cannot be satisfied, let us at least be content if we get so much that nothing reactionary is done and the door is not closed against the most progressive step forward.

In what I am doing in my own bureau, there are many things I know we cannot accomplish which I personally believe should be done. But where we cannot accomplish what is now impossible, I am taking the greatest care to see that nothing is done which will foreclose that development when we reach the point where, as a practical matter, it can be accomplished.

If we apply that kind of patience to these Government housing projects, adhering to our ideals, pursuing them without rest but also without haste, we shall get to a point which we all desire, and much faster than if we tried to achieve them all at once. In that connection, may I say very frankly, by way of illustration, that if we can accomplish a policy of not selling these houses for the present we have gone a long way. Let us not sacrifice that by holding up the ideal of the English Garden City or the communal self-owned town which has worked perhaps in France and Belgium or in Eng-

land but which we are not generally convinced will work in this country. It may work. Let us take the first step by enforcing a no-sales policy for the immediate present and then let us gradually develop that other idea rather than try to force the whole now.

Another point which I desire to make is in my opinion a thoroughly practical one. If, as I said a moment ago, the most important thing is patience among those who are most interested in achieving the ideal, the second is a purely practical question, and that is in letting our genius, if we have it, work out some kind of a plan whereby houses can be sold to the American workman on a fluid basis. Now that, in my judgment, as a practical matter, is of the utmost importance, and I am not satisfied that such a plan has been developed thus far. I believe it is possible, through the expansion or interaction of existing governmental agencies, to develop a plan whereby the American workman can buy his home over a long period of years, but I have not seen any practical suggestion which would, in my opinion, meet the problem; and if instead of discussing some of these problems which are in the next field, we would concentrate on that one question, it would be of infinite help to some of us who are actually up against the problem of how to handle these houses now that the war is over.

There is nothing, in my opinion, that this conference could do which would be of greater value, if it has not already done it, than to have a committee into which the very best brains of this country would go, evolving such a plan.

My third suggestion is this—and it too is practical—some of my confreres will smile—and that is with regard

to a change of viewpoint as to the proper governmental agency to get back of these housing projects. In my opinion, the most useful governmental agency in advancing the cause of housing in this country during the next ten years is going to be found in bringing about a broader view of the powers and duties of the municipality. It is not, in my present judgment, at this time a problem essentially for the nation or for the state, but the American municipality can be of infinite help not only in improving existing housing conditions, but in aiding the construction of new houses.

We all know the pitfalls of industrial housing; some say it is in the cost of the land, but we all know that it is not the cost of the land, it is the cost of the utilities that go into the land. If we can get away from some of those anachronisms of assessment which apply in many municipalities and get the municipality to the broad viewpoint where it will be willing to get behind this better housing movement, we shall get more immediate results than if we indulge in questions of the state or nation taking action in an undeveloped field.

It has been my privilege, in connection with the Shipping Board, to conduct all the negotiations with municipalities, and it has been encouraging to be able to go into a council and meet men who have never heard of any of our ideals—practical politicians—and put it to them and come away with an appropriation of \$200,000 to \$650,000 for providing the utilities on our projects. That has run over two millions of dollars.

If you will be patient, I am convinced we can work these projects out on a basis where, assuming a normal cost, they can be shown to pay their own way, and the capital behind industries will find that industrial hous-

ing is sound business and can carry the investment; we can broaden the concepts of our municipal statesmen of this question; so, by combining these two factors with a well developed plan for the sale of these workmen's homes, we will have, in the language of Archimedes, a lever long enough and a prop strong enough to move the world.



## SCRAPPING THE SLUM

RALPH ADAMS CRAM

*Chairman, City Planning Board, Boston*

Whatever we may think of the existence, number, or nature of "natural rights" there is one over which there can be no discussion. I mean the natural right of every man to live decently, and in an environment that has some element of attractiveness, even actual beauty. I am no Bolshevik and when I declare the need of decent and beautiful living conditions I refer quite as much to the high-brow, the professor, the professional, or business man as I do to the member of the proletariat. Not that transformation of character can be effected through education and environment, as was fondly believed by the doctrinaire scientists of the 19th century. There is such a thing as inherent character—in the individual, the family, the race—and no amount of elaborate education or ingratiating environment can wholly change this. It is a fact, however, that along these lines something can be done and the most made of potential character.

We have heard during the last generation more than enough talk along these lines, but we have seen, until very recently, little in the way of actual accomplishment. From the last decade of the 18th century down to the outbreak of the war, living conditions, at least so far as working men are concerned, have been getting steadily worse. Perhaps as a whole they reached their lowest depth in the first quarter of the 19th century, and while since then certain improvements have been

effected sporadically, it was still possible four years ago, is still possible to-day, to find in any industrial city slums that in their ugliness and their disease-breeding and vice-breeding conditions were as bad as any recorded in history. I could lead you in 20 minutes to alleged living quarters in Boston that are a disgrace and a menace, and, so far as my investigations have gone, the same is true with practically every industrial city in the United States.

We hear much talk about new laws to correct evil conditions and bring in new conditions which are better. Under correction I insist that it is not so much a question of new laws as the enforcement of laws already existing. New legislation has become a mania with us and with our governmental representatives, but the execution of the laws is not a matter in which so much interest is shown.

We confront the necessity of building a new world on the ruins of one that has fallen, not without some signs of discredit. We have the free choice of building up a new era of real civilization or of reverting to another period of Dark Ages. On the choice we make depends the future of the world for the next 500 years. What is our choice? Are we going to yield to the reactionary, *status quo* influences now showing themselves; are we going to submit to the Bolshevik anarchy, that, whatever its pretensions, can have issue only in barbarism equal to, if profoundly different from, the barbarism of the 19th century; or are we going to learn the lesson of the war, scrapping our old superstitions and our old methods as we scrap the slums which are one manifestation thereof, and so go on to build a real world in which we can take pride and to which we can look with con-

fidence that the war has made the world better rather than worse?

Many of the schemes for establishing a new political basis for the world after the war are valuable, but we cannot afford to lose ourselves in admiration of their magnitude. We have got to build up from below, for only so can a real society be established. Anything else is either Imperialism or Internationalism, and the first we propose to see the war shall destroy, the latter we propose to see the war shall not precipitate upon us. The unit of human scale is the family rather than the individual. The basis of sound society is a just and righteous industrial and economic and financial condition. Without these things political readjustment will prove valueless and unstable. The men of our heroic armies, as they come back from the front, are the men in whose hands will lie the control of affairs for the next generation. We are bound to them, and, in so far as is possible, direct them toward those things the necessity for which they have realized through their experiences in the war but the means toward the attainment of which are less evident perhaps to us as well as to them.

This conference is assembled to deal with one of the very fundamental problems, that of decent and attractive housing. If we cannot solve it, who can? If it is not solved, and the solution put into practice, then we lose, whatever may be the conditions of peace.

As Chairman of the Boston City Planning Board, I have for the past four years come somewhat closely in contact with housing conditions in Boston. This was one of the questions expressly committed to the Board by the State Legislature when planning boards

were called into existence. From the outset it was apparent that this question of housing covered:

- First: Improved living conditions within the city.
- Second: A system of decentralization which would work toward inducing people to move out of the congested areas into the comparatively unsettled and open sections in the suburbs.

There always will be a certain number of people who want to live directly in the city and are really compelled to do so. Great numbers, however, would be better off if they lived in the suburbs, or even in the surrounding towns where living conditions could be made more consonant with the principles of decency and righteousness.

One question immediately arises with regard to this second consideration and that is, transportation. To make decentralization possible, transportation must be quick, regular, reliable, and cheap. As a matter of fact, it comes in the end to the question of a five cent fare. Now here in Boston we confront a situation which works absolutely against this fundamental necessity of decentralization. The situation in Boston at the present moment is one which is working in the opposite direction through a progressive increase in fares on steam and electric railways. We began at five cents and remained there for many years. We have now gone on to seven cents and in a few days this will rise to eight cents, and there is a veiled threat that before long the minimum fare will be ten cents. I believe that everyone interested in the question of decent housing and in building up decent citizenship should set his face against this scheme of doubling the fares of our street railway service. In sanctioning this increase in rates, Boston places itself

absolutely out of line with the most progressive communities in Europe. In England, France, Belgium, and I think Germany, the progress has been and is now in the other direction, that is, toward reducing fares instead of increasing them. In Brussels, for example, I am told that many working people live 20 miles outside the city because they can obtain season tickets enabling them to come in to their work in the morning and go out at night on certain specified trains, the total cost per week being 20 cents, or less than 2 cents per trip. If our fares here in Boston go to 10 cents it will cost a workman \$1.20 per week for transportation for himself alone, to and from his work. This is intolerable, and some way must be found to assure him a maximum rate of 5 cents per trip, if we are not to maintain and even intensify the present intolerable conditions of congestion here in Boston.

It is, of course, impossible for me to cover the whole field. That is not my function. There are many authorities here at this conference who can deal with its various aspects more in detail than I, and far better than I. I shall content myself with calling your attention to one residential section here in Boston with which the City Planning Board has just been dealing. I refer to what is known as the North End. This is one of the most interesting sections of Boston, as it is the oldest. It presents extraordinary difficulties and the problem is, consequently, particularly absorbing.

Here is a region in the midst of a great city, a section originally the best residential quarter, now surrounded by trade and industry. It is the landing place and the first living section for the immigrant, chiefly Italians and Greeks. It has remained a residential area since

the founding of the city, and business encroachments on its boundaries have been negligible during 300 years. In the beginning there were the narrow, winding streets of the colonial town, large blocks with residences around the street front, each standing in its own ground with deep gardens behind. Little by little the intervening yard areas were built up with intruding tenements. Then the back gardens were made available, stables gave place to more tenements crowded into the rear areas, until at last the whole territory was packed almost solid with tenement houses and small shops, great quantities of the former being packed in the middle of blocks with no street frontage, little light, less air, and frequently no means of approach except through covered tunnels sometimes not more than 4 ft. wide. Many of the houses are old wooden structures roughly made over for tenement house purposes from what once had been spacious residences. As the living conditions grew worse, laws and regulations were made for improvement of the property and for its regulation; these laws have been indifferently enforced, not always through the fault of the departments charged with their administration. For 50 years efforts have been made to redeem the section and make its living conditions tolerable. Only recently, however, have the first steps been taken toward comprehensive improvement of the whole area.

In its policy of examining and reporting upon each section of the city, the Board three years ago began the study of the North End. It was convinced from the start that it should be retained as a residence area. From the first it was evident that all questions of the substitution of good tenements for bad was contingent

on what may be called a geographical reform of the region, that is to say, the opening of new streets, the widening of old, and the elimination of tenement houses in the back areas. Until this could be done there was little good in advising and carrying through schemes of new "model tenements." The Board has now, after, as I say, three years of study, completed its report, which was submitted to the Mayor last week.

The general principle followed by the Board comes under three heads:

- (a) The opening of new streets.
- (b) The widening of old.
- (c) The elimination of the dead interior areas.

All these hang together. I mean to say that they are part of the general scheme. New streets and widenings have been considered, not only with regard to traffic requirements, but also as to their bearing on the splitting up of the big blocks and the opening up of the interiors to light and air. We have provided for one main thoroughfare running across the district and connecting the North Station with the South Station. This is imperatively necessary from a teaming standpoint, but the street also serves the purpose of bringing light and air into several bad blocks as well as eliminating certain centers of impossible congestion. There are a number of short new streets, not traffic ways but for local communication, which also open up bad areas. Naturally in this region were found many narrow and winding alleys with dead-ends. These have been wholly obliterated and either widened to provide streets, or made into breathing spaces.

The opening up of the interior blocks is in our opin-

ion one of the most important reforms to be carried out. Our investigations show a large number of blocks in which occur relatively large areas solidly packed with tenement houses all more than 60 ft. from the surrounding streets, and approached, as I said before, only by narrow alleys or tunnels. Against these dead centers the Board has sworn eternal warfare, and in our plan for the redemption of the North End every one is obliterated. Wherever possible we work toward cleaning out the tenement houses and substituting in place thereof small interior parks or rest areas, not for playgrounds, but for the use of mothers and children; quiet spots where there may be, perhaps, two or three trees, a drinking fountain, a sand-pile, seats, and, generally speaking, a chance for rest and a breath of air for the overworked mothers and the somewhat numerous babies of the district.

It will be seen that we have tried to preserve the original character of the North End intact. Wide boulevards are not contemplated. The new streets still wind naturally around the occasionally steep grades, and no effort has been made to achieve a grid-iron regularity. In fact, we have tried to avoid this scrupulously, knowing it to be bad and uneconomical in principle as well as out of the question in this area.

Something already has been accomplished, even though our general scheme has only just been completed. The famous Morton Street District has been redeemed. This is a great triumph and for its inception and carrying out the thanks of the Board and the City are primarily due to the Women's Municipal League. The conditions that existed in this deplorable area, the results achieved through destruction, and



what is promised through reconstruction, can all be ascertained through a study of our report to the Mayor.

These sporadic efforts are of great value, but of even further importance is the dealing with an area such as this, in the large. The whole problem must now be confronted as it stands, and with a determination on the part of every good citizen to see that a general scheme of rebuilding and reconstruction is carried out, at least in principle, in accordance with the recommendations that already have been made. It is not an expensive project even as prices stand now. The net cost would scarcely exceed \$2,000,000, an insignificant sum when we bear in mind the enormous population that is accommodated within the limits of the North End as component parts of society and as future citizens of a better Boston than we have ever known before.

What is all this reformation of the living conditions of the workers in the community but a kind of symbol of the reconstruction of the world that lies before us? Perhaps if we begin with these relatively small things, we shall be the better able to go on with the greater task of rebuilding the world.

*(For the Discussion of this paper, see page 312.)*

## HEADING OFF THE SLUM—WHY HOUSING LAWS ARE NECESSARY

ALBION FELLOWS BACON

*Evansville, Indiana*

My story begins with the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. When they landed on this stern and rock-bound coast they gathered together in a dry place, out of reach of the breaking waves that dashed high, and all took in a deep breath of the Air of Freedom, and then all exhaled it with a sigh of delight. They looked out over the great wastes of water, and the great wastes of land, and said: "Oh, the joy of having room enough, and air enough, and sunlight enough, and water enough! Oh, to get away from the slums of Europe! Here are no landlords, no garbage, no ashes, no filthy alleys, only the sounding aisles of the dim woods. Everybody will be well and happy and religious."

Of course, the first thing they all did was to hunt a house. That's the first thing home-seekers do, everywhere. Then they had to begin to build. They had plenty of Real Estate men among them, for they have been found in every group since the days of Lot. But alas and alas, they had no City Planners. So the Real Estate men staked off some lots in the wilderness, and it wasn't long till the sounding aisles of the dim woods were turned into narrow crooked streets and alleys. But as yet they were new, and the houses were far apart. And they had only white wood ashes, and the swine ate the garbage.

Then the years went on, and generations came and

passed away, and the houses grew old. But they did not pass away, because they were made of sterner stuff, and were too full of traditions to give up, no matter how unsanitary and dangerous they were. Besides, there wasn't any sanitation in those days, so nobody worried.

Meanwhile the cities grew, and the population increased, and the cities became congested and slummy. Then Freedom withdrew herself to more exclusive quarters, and left the crowded tenement districts, and made her home with the wealthy owners of the tenements. And from that day to this, the Breath of Freedom, that the Pilgrim Fathers thought they had secured for all their descendants, is denied to those that are poor. They cannot have free air or free sunlight or free water or free space, unless there is a law guaranteeing it. Only those who can pay for them can have them.

Now, there were certain Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and of Colonial Dames who still kept the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers and they believed in Freedom for everyone. And they lifted up their eyes, and they saw how the poor were skinned and tortured and then killed by the slums. And they lifted up their noses and perceived that the air was full of stench because so many used it, and they said, "The Ghosts of our Fathers will rise, and the very monuments will fall on us if we permit their descendants to be wronged, and their old homesteads to be desecrated, and their principles to be dishonored." Then they tried to change conditions, but they could not. Then they tried to change the slum owners, but they were an oily breed, and slipped through their fingers. Likewise, they had no shame. Then they appealed to the magistrates, but they said, "We have no power to act.

Give us a law to control slums, and we will enforce it." Then they appealed to the people, but they said, "Ha! This is romance! We do not believe you. Give us facts and figures." Then they gave them facts and figures, and they said, "We will think about them." And they thought and thought and thought, but could not make up their minds all at once. So then those certain Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and Colonial Dames waited, and again presented facts and figures, till they grew weary. And then they were sorrowful, and they said, "Let us move westward to a place that still has space and the breath of Freedom."

So they came westward to Indiana. And they were happy and free. And they multiplied, and others joined them. And they said, "Let us build cities such as they have in the east." And they did so. But alas, after many years, they also began, as all cities do, to grow congested and slummy. Then the blood of the Revolutionary Fathers and Colonial Mothers rose in their children and they became Housing Reformers, for they said, "There is such a thing as being too free, when it is the case of the evil doers."

And they separated the real real-estate men from the slum owners, and the real architects from the skin builders; and the real real-estate men and architects said, "There shall be a law that every dwelling in the state shall be safe, sanitary, and wholesome." And when it was said it was done, for the people of Indiana are not long in making up their mind. And it was so that the name of slum owner and skin builder was the same as Hun, and was Anathema Maranatha.

Yet to this day they are an oily breed, wherefore we

have to make our laws still stronger and stronger, or they are of no avail.

When I sat down to write this paper I looked over the volumes of the proceedings of the National Housing Conferences to see what I had said before, and what others had said, on this subject. It looked to me as if the testimony of all the speakers was so overwhelming, and the facts and figures so convincing, against slums, and in favor of housing laws, that not a single person in the United States could need convincing.

But, I reflected, slums still exist, in almost all of our cities, and only a small percentage of them have housing laws. It must be that Housing Conferences are like churches. Sinners do not go to church, just the religious people. So housing sinners do not come to our conferences. It is the enlightened people who come.

But you enlightened folk are going to have to play the part of the "little candle" in "a naughty world," for you will find, or have found, that a large part of the population of your city is benighted in regard to housing conditions. You will find an immense amount of ignorance on the subject. In fact, slums are an index of the ignorance of the people, as I may show you later.

Slums are generally regarded as the rat holes, the cesspools, of a city; those disgusting, decaying places, in a disagreeable part of town, where you carefully avoid taking strangers, where you hold your breath when you pass, and try not to see, and thank your stars you don't have to live there; those places overrunning with dirty, ragged children and frowsy women and collarless unshaven men with sweaters on. Those are the places you never allow your children to pass—if you know it; places from which you wouldn't hire a maid—

if you know it; places to which you would not send a washing, or from which you would not receive meat or grocery or bakery products—if you know it. They are places to which you send old clothes and provisions, by the coachman, because it is too distressing and disagreeable to go yourself, and you are afraid you will catch something, though he brings back the germs on his shoe soles and in his fur collar, after all. Those are the places where epidemics start, and riots and rows. There is always a flag on the doors, for some disease, and a lot of people are always sick there, and you generally see an ambulance or a patrol wagon.

Now, I said, slums are generally considered to be such places. And they are, undoubtedly, slums—100 points bad. But just as a dog will bark at an unmistakable tramp, and not molest a well-dressed rascal, we are apt to pass by places that have from 10 to 80 slum points, if their exterior does not betray them.

What are these points? I recite them for beginners: Darkness, dampness, dirt, overcrowding, bad plumbing or no plumbing, bad water or no water. Or, we might say, lack of light, air, water, dryness, lack of disposal of waste, lack of repair, lack of sufficient space.

Of course you are apt to find most bad points in the decaying old houses, falling to ruin, too rotten to hold nails, with all the joints sprung, and the foundations undermined by rats, with the accumulated waste of generations in cellars, vaults, and yards. Any place near these is going to be a near-slum, because it will share the rats, the odors, the noise, and the flies, no matter how the tenant strives.

These places, of course, are self-condemned. The owners are going to fight for them, but public sentiment

will be against them, if you can drag the public to see them, and explain how they endanger the social, moral, civic, and business life of the city.

What you have to worry most about is the well-dressed rascals. Those rows of quiet, sad-looking houses, on side streets, that would be whited sepulchres only they are always gray. The boy who reads the gas meter can tell you all about them, and so can the butcher's boy, and the ash man. Some of them have very genteel, refined people living in them, delicate women, small-wage-earning families. Home-seekers coming to a city go through these houses till they are heart-sick with the stuffy halls and moldy parlors, the dark bedrooms, the greasy kitchens, the broken plastering, the ragged wall paper, the horrible cellars, the wretched sheds, the miserable plumbing. The poor mother and housekeeper wears her life out scrubbing, putting lime in the cellar, trying to make the house cheerful, and often dies in the attempt. The family have rheumatism, tonsillitis, typhoid—one spell of sickness after another. Those houses are from 50 to 80 points slums, and are only saved by not being overcrowded. Some day they *will* be overcrowded, and be 100 points bad. And then the whole neighborhood and the whole street will be a bad district.

This is a dangerous condition, but not all, yet.

There are apartments so near your own, or your office, that you could hit them with a brick, that are 10 points bad. A dark room is 10 points bad. A dark hall is 10 to 15 points bad. Some handsome apartments have many dark rooms. some have damp cellars or damp floors, some have bad plumbing, some always smell musty and moldy. Anything that gives a house an odor of de-

cay or mold or other odors is dangerous; for bad odors, like pain, are nature's warnings of something wrong.

Now, can't you just see these places I am talking about? Every one of you knows just what part of your town I refer to. You can see the old shops, the old rows of houses, the shabby streets. You can see the muddy water oozing across the uneven pavement. You can see the open hallways, with no front door, showing the scarred plastering. You can see the stolid women, the dirty children. You can catch the smell. You can see the little dark kitchenettes, too, and the apartments I was speaking of.

Shut your eyes, now, and try to recall some more. Do you remember the old dark rickety stairs a block from Main Street, on Third?

If you ever went up that stairs, to take a bowl of broth to the old lady who was sick in the third floor, back, you remember that, looking out of her little back window you saw a bricked court, with many clothes-lines across it, and much trash and junk piled in the corners. You noticed the swarms of flies over the garbage. You saw boys on the alley fence, and a big, barefooted girl in the court. Up under the roof was a little half window, with a milk bottle on the sill, and you heard a baby cry in a weak voice. It was August! You shut the window, because of the horrible odor from the court. When you felt your way down the dark hall, and reached the ground, you went around the block, because you didn't remember any dwellings there. All you saw was a row of dingy shops and offices, some with signs, "To rent." But upstairs you saw some old lace curtains.

A little farther up the block was a big old house,



sitting back from the street. It had a sign "Room to let," and just out of curiosity you went in, because you used to play with a boy who lived in that house, when you were a child.

You went in with a mental picture of the velvet carpet, and the family oil portraits, the old-fashioned piano and "what-not," the marble mantel, the brass andirons, the snowy curtains, and the silver hair of the grandmother who sat in the sunny window.

One door was off the hall, so you walked in. The back door was off, too, and you could see a yard full of high weeds, where there used to be flower beds. There was not a vestige of carpet on the floors, and hardly any paper left on the walls. The woodwork was scarred and nicked. Laths grinned through the broken plaster. The beautiful old cornice even was broken, and so were the windows, some stuffed with rags. The marble mantel had lost a great piece, and the broken grate was full of beer bottles, while the hearth was coated with black dirt. And then you turned to go out, but just then the door opened of what used to be the big drawing-room on the other side of the hall, and you saw inside a cook stove, with pots and pans on the ash-strewn floor, a jumble of unsheeted beds, a sick baby on one, an old man on another, and a string of tousled children hanging to a draggled woman's skirts. Heavy feet sounded in the upper halls, loud voices rose in discord—and you fled.

This is no romance. Every one of you has such a place—maybe dozens of such places—in his city. They are the saddest, most shocking commentary on our failure to head off the slums. All of these places might have been headed off, by housing regulations that need

not have been so stringent in the old days. Now we have to pay dearly for our neglect.

There is one thing I wonder if you thought of when we visited the typical old house—that is, the loss of property values in the neighborhood. The old house became a boarding house, when its owners moved out, and then it was a rooming house, and queer people took possession of it, and then it became a slum, and a dozen families moved in. Your father moved out to the suburbs, because business was invading the district, and tall offices were going up, and you couldn't get light and air. He sold his property in that neighborhood, for half its value, because "the neighborhood had run down." No nice people wanted to buy or rent or live there. That was the reason for the fall in value, and we all know that millions of dollars are lost that way, annually.

I haven't begun to tell you the actual facts I have seen, and I am conscious that I have made a poor effort to describe them, because no words are black enough to paint them as they actually are. Only Rembrandt could have done them justice, with all the shadows of his brush.

The actual facts are more than most people can stand. I remember a party of women whom I conducted through the slums of their own city, out west, where we found about fifteen people in a small room, most of them feeble-minded living in abject degradation. One of the ladies was so overcome by the sight that she went outdoors and wept bitterly.

Now, how are you going to put an end to these conditions? It's no use to say, as one high-minded man said, "Why, it's so obvious that those places are bad,

I don't see why we have to even think about them, or worry about them. It looks as if nobody would want slums." Others say, "All we need to do is to educate the people to higher standards." Yet we have had colleges and slums, side by side, since we had cities, and it is notorious that college towns are often slowest in social reforms.

It is true, however, that we need *housing* education in order to get housing laws—definite publicity about slums, and what they mean to all the people. People must see the slums, and feel the shame of them.

They must be made to see that if only one-ninetieth of the people have bath tubs, the city cannot be clean. That if only one-fourth or one-half of the population has water and sewer connections, the city cannot be safe. If only one-tenth, or less, of the people take care of alleys, backyards, ashes, and garbage, the city cannot be sanitary. If a large majority of the people fail to finish the grades, and a very small percent go to High School, the city cannot be said to have high educational standards, even though it has the most famous authors, philosophers, and professors in the world.

✓ If a city be as famous for its slums as for its monuments, then its past is dishonored and its future is endangered.

The people must realize that a city means *all the people* and all the houses. They must not cherish the thought that the true index of the city's advancement is its churches and schools and fine residences and big stores and great mills. Those things show what a comparatively small number of people are able to do with money or brains or religion, or all these or with public tax funds. Neither can a city be judged by its well-

known business men and society people. They are not the "upper crust" of the pie, even—they are simply the brown part on the meringue on top of the pie. The city itself is the pie. That means the multitudes of people who throng up and down the streets, who do not go to church, who only go through the lower grades of the schools, but have no say-so about the schools; the people who work in factories and mills, on conditions given them; who live mostly in rented houses, taking them as they find them. This is the city. The high watermark of these people is the high watermark of the city, and these people are held down by the slums. Only a part live in slums, many live in near-slums, but most of them—and most of us—have the slum concept, because we take slum conditions as a matter of course.

You can see it in the dirty back yards and alleys, in carelessness about trash and garbage, in failure to paint and keep up property. You can see the slum concept in the dirty groceries and meat shops where even the best people trade.

You can see it, too, in the vaudeville that caters to the lowest taste—yet good families visit it. You can see it in the bill boards that good people allow, also in the vaults. You can hear it in the low songs of the street, that the young people bring home. You can feel it in the resistance to all effort at civic betterment. You can breathe it in—you have to breathe it in—for it comes in through your key hole, and under your doors, this influence of the slum, in your city.

So, I say again, the slums of a city are its high watermark.

You will have to present some painful facts before

you can free the mind of the people from this "slum concept," and take away their complacency.

It isn't enough to show them that the loss of property values is tremendous. It isn't enough to show them how political bosses find their tools in the slums, and many of their votes. It is not enough to stroll through a congested quarter in the daytime, when most of the tenants are out. They need to see them after midnight, when four and five are in one bed, or a dozen in one room, or more, when it has bunks to the ceiling. It may be easier to show them, since the influenza, how congestion endangers a whole city. It will be hard to show just how evil influences spread. The evil doesn't show in daytime. You see a group of girls, women, and children. Ask who are the mothers and who are the fathers. Some are unmarried mothers.

Point out the pretty, delicate girls, who work in the shops, but live in some of these horrible "homes." They are ashamed to bring their company up those filthy stairs, for they like to have a beau from wealthy families.

Point out the low-browed, evil-looking men, that you shudder to pass. Those men walk the streets, as you do, and your daughter does. They brush against her on the street, and jostle her in the crush of the crowd for tickets.

Point out the tuberculosis victims you see walking at large, but sleeping and dying in these old places. Point out the flies swarming over their beds. Do you notice any tags on them, saying, "These flies are only allowed on this block"? If you did you could identify the same flies on your avenue, sucking sugar off your baby's lips, on the lawn.

Point out the opportunities for vice and crime, in the

open hallways, with dark yards beyond. Notice the police court records, and compare with these places.

See if the visitors recognize any wash in the slums.

Please call their attention to the babies. I'm not going to describe them, or I might seem to be "appealing to your emotions." But I ask you to see that every visitor to the slums gets *one good look* at the babies.

I think, then, that nobody will question the necessity of getting a housing law but the slum owners.

If any one still believes that slums can be headed off without a law, show them that, for long ages, property rights have been more sacredly safeguarded than human life, even. They must see, too, that, with all our beautiful talk about the "home," we haven't a single law protecting the home, unless we get a housing law. A house can be so dangerous and unsanitary that people fall through its floors, and die of its conditions, yet you cannot compel the owner to make it safe without a law, nor can a health officer go inside, except to fumigate. People who ask why housing laws are necessary might just as well ask why it is necessary to have statutes against murder and larceny, when the ten commandments say, "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal." All housing laws are founded on those two commandments, but if people will not heed the "thunders of Sinai," then we must provide a department, for they *will* fear the police.

So then, if we are to prevent housing crimes, we must have housing laws. We must have laws that prevent all forms of dangerous housing, whether it kills people, or only half kills them, by fire, by accident, by asphyxiation, or otherwise. And this means that *every dwelling* must be under regulation.

Of course a housing law is necessary! Make it as strong, as broad as you can, for the lawmakers will take tucks in it. Don't listen to the whines and wails of the people who want to sweat the land, and are not willing that each room should have its one window, properly situated. Remember that no housing law was ever passed that did more than to provide the actual essentials of safety and decency—every single one grazes the danger line. *One window*—what is that to a one-room apartment that houses a family? We ourselves can't breathe without two windows. And that is just a sample.

We have a new incentive now for Housing Reform. The war has given it. I do not mean alone the problems of housing workers in war industries. I mean—our boys are coming home—home! Back to the dwellings they left. Remember, in the window of the slum, as in the window of the mansion, hangs the service flag.

We can't let them come back to those places. Thousands have tuberculosis. If they come back to dark, damp rooms, the White Plague will sweep us all away.

Will your people listen to this? Their ears have been full of the din of war and the cry of the children of devastated France. They have heard so much of atrocities they feel that nothing at home can be worth noting. Atrocities! have we not in our cities dark, damp cellars, where families live, as loathsome as a German dungeon? They mean death just as surely—a death of torture. Who would not rather be shot than die a lingering death from tuberculosis? Listen—for four years this world has been bathed in blood and agony. But for a century the slums of our cities have hidden away cruelties and tortures and wrongs.

Our boys, who are coming home, went to the front to die, if need be, "to make the world a fit place to live in," as our President said. The world will never be a fit place to live in while slums exist. It will never be a fit place to live in till *all* the homes of *all* the people are safe.

No one knows so well as the members of this Conference what a struggle is needed to obtain good housing laws. No one so willingly extends a hand to others making the fight. I am sure the whole Conference honors and appreciates the efforts of all those who are determined to free their city from the blight and the shame of the slum. We know what a dead weight they will have to lift of conservatism and inertia, and what an active force of vested interest they will have to oppose.

But the people must listen to you, when you call upon them in the name of your new heroes, and your ancient heroes. When you call upon them, in the name of your great and wonderful past, to go down to those old dingy streets whose cobbles were pressed by the sacred feet of the greatest men of our nation, they must rise and go. They must cleanse them of the "slime of the slum." They must drive out the degenerate hordes that are desecrating the old homesteads.

We believe they will listen. They will hear the cry of your own children, and the solemn voices of the Past, even above their symphonies. They will be restless in their church pews because of the degraded ones in the shadow of the churches. They will be uneasy in their beautiful homes because of the children who can never know the meaning of *home*.



## CAN A HEALTH DEPARTMENT COPE ADEQUATELY WITH THE HOUSING PROBLEM?

CHARLES B. BALL

*Chief Sanitary Inspector, Health Department, Chicago*

The question that we are to discuss this day is rather a new question—"Can a Health Department Cope Adequately with the Housing Problem?" Let us inquire first what we mean by the housing problem.

Lawrence Veiller, Nestor of housing reform in America, told us some years ago that it was "The problem of enabling the great mass of the people who want to live in decent surroundings and bring up their children under proper conditions to have such opportunities. It is also to a very large extent the problem of preventing other people who either do not care for decent conditions or are unable to achieve them from maintaining conditions which are a menace to their neighbors, to the community, and to civilization."

We all agree that the old-time idea that housing deals only with that which is enclosed by four walls and a roof is no longer tenable.

Housing is concerned with a host of fundamental questions. The solution of the housing problem begins with the layout of the city. The proper development of the several public utilities, including transportation, water supply, sewerage, public lighting, as well as appropriate street, block, and lot dimensions are all vital to the right kind of housing.

A housing program must, therefore, be comprehensive and consistent, and must include in its scope a

forecast of the extent and location of housing needs in the future, the adequacy of existing utilities, park and school facilities, etc. All these, in addition to the framing and enforcement of progressive laws applicable to the construction of new dwellings, the improvement of the old, and the sanitary maintenance of both new and existing.

With such apprehension of the broad social aspect of housing administration, we may now inquire if any organized city department is properly equipped to add such duties to its present responsibilities.

A word of personal explanation. My conclusions are based on an experience of nearly 30 years in dealing with such matters, including supervision of inspection service for 7 years in an independent bureau in the District of Columbia government, 2 years in the formation and operation of a separate Housing Department, viz., the Tenement House Department of New York City, and 15 years as Chief Sanitary Inspector in the Health Department of the City of Chicago. These conclusions are not based on dealing with conditions in any particular city, but in all cities. I know well that there are both able and worthless officials in all kinds of municipal work; many that are without social vision, a few that possess it. I am glad to say that your Health Commissioner is an old-time friend and valued co-worker whom I count as among the very best of such officials.

What are the ordinary functions of a Building Department and how related to the housing problem?

The Building Department of a city controls the examination and approval of plans of all classes of buildings in respect to:

1. **Materials of construction.**—It must ask, “Are these suitable for the use to which they are to be applied?”

2. **Strength of structure.**—It must inquire, “Is the design adequate in strength and stability of: (a) Foundation; (b) Walls; (c) Floors; (d) Roof, and (e) Stairs?”

3. **Proper facilities of access for the use intended.**

4. **Inspection of work in progress to determine its conformity to the plans.**

5. **Reasonable standards of workmanship in execution.**

6. **Proper record and issuance of permits.**

7. **Final certification on completion.**

Let us note:

(a) That these functions are in general mechanical in their nature.

(b) That the relation of the department to the structure ceases on its completion. It has no interest in the conditions that come with occupancy.

(c) That they are concerned with all classes of structures, many of which involve to a slight degree only the human element.

(d) That the qualifications and training required to properly perform these duties are technical and tend to a narrow outlook and

(e) That the duties performed contain little incitement to a social point of view.

It will, of course, be said that the dwelling is a structure and therefore should be placed with other structures under control of this department. This we admit, but contend that such control should be applied

to its structural elements only. We feel that the peculiar relation of the house to the human being whom it shelters justifies exceptional consideration of its purpose and planning.

We shall also have to answer the argument that when the laws which control the design of a dwelling are expressed in explicit mathematical terms it needs no more than ordinary intelligence to observe if these provisions are complied with. That is, anyone who is competent to make measurements can determine if a room has a floor area of 80 sq. ft., and if a ceiling has a height of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ft. We contend that in the mind of the observer some conception is required of the purpose of the law which he enforces; otherwise he might, for example, accept a room 4 ft. x 20 ft. as fulfilling the intent of the law as a living room, which would be ridiculous. Likewise, he might accept a legal window as fulfilling its proper function, even if the window does not have outside of it adequate space on which to open. Such things have happened in the past.

It will be granted, I think, that a Building Department will usually have little concern for the community needs with respect to transportation, recreation, public lighting, street improvement, and for future housing development.

All things considered, we are forced to the conclusion that a Building Department without other coöperation and supplementary control is an insufficient agency to cope with housing problems.

Resuming our original inquiry, what shall we say about control of housing by a Health Department?

The functions of a municipal Health Department as a rule are as follows:

1. The registration of vital statistics.
  2. The control of communicable disease.
  3. The conduct of school inspection and the promotion of child hygiene.
  4. The safeguarding of the food supply.
  5. The abatement of nuisances and the regulation of offensive trades.
- And sometimes also
6. The supervision of hospitals and dispensaries, and
  7. The operation of a laboratory.

An important reason why housing control should not in large cities be under a health administration is the great and ever-present difficulty in securing adequate appropriations for the carrying on of health activities. The men and money to prosecute housing work can be much more readily obtained for an independent department of the city government than for a mere bureau or an additional subordinate item in health activities.

The technical character of its work imposes upon a Health Department limitations due to its very nature and offers little incitement to consider broad and vital questions such as future housing needs, the study of districts in which housing development is likely rapidly to take place, the types of dwellings most suited to the needs of different classes in the community, and the possibilities of making modifications in structure and plumbing equipment such as will, without the sacrifice of essential strength and convenience, decrease the cost of housing to the worker.

The main reason, however, why Health Departments of large cities should no longer be the chief agencies for

housing control and development, is that in the presence of health emergencies their housing functions are discontinued and the housing forces diverted to other duties. The epidemics of infantile paralysis in 1916, and that of influenza just past, give emphasis to this argument.

I do not believe that there is a Health Commissioner in the country who has not diverted his housing inspectors to influenza control. Now, such diversion of function did not happen with respect to the water inspectors or to the firemen, because their duties are definitely outlined by law and it is impossible to divert them in the face of health emergencies, however desirable it to some extent may be. They are in separate departments and are not subject to the control of the Health Commissioner.

There is a constant temptation also at all times to place the ordinary duties of a Health Department above the exercise of housing functions.

The report of the Women's Municipal League of Boston in 1916 states a fact common to all Health Departments, when it says, "In Boston, the housing of the people has been and still continues to be placed far down in the long list of the duties of the Health Department."

I am convinced, after working first for 15 years in coöperation with a Health Department in the city of Washington, D. C., then in a separate Housing Department, viz., the Tenement House Department of New York City, for 2 years, and for 15 years afterward in a Health Department in the City of Chicago, that in large cities, perhaps setting the minimum limit at 300,000 population, housing control and outlook should

be vested in an independent administrative agency, having no other functions.

We need not, however, consider this question wholly from a theoretical or personal point of view. We have a practical demonstration of the satisfactory operation of an irrelated housing department in the work of the Tenement House Department of New York City since its organization in 1902, seventeen years ago. Its administration has been notably successful and it has set a high standard for other cities to follow. Its statistical publications included in the annual reports are noteworthy and are far in advance of any such material collected and published by Health Departments. A parallel is also found in the working of the State Tenement Commission of New Jersey which has attained a reputation as a housing agency quite independent of city Health Departments.

To summarize then my conclusions, my observation of numerous cities in which housing control of some kind has been established and with a detailed knowledge of the various administrations in which I have had experience, as well as the working out of the 2 examples above referred to, it appears that every city above 300,000 inhabitants should have a separate department, disconnected from the Health and Building Departments, but coöperating with them, to exercise the administrative functions necessary for the adequate control of housing.

## OWN YOUR OWN TOWN

LAWSON PURDY

*Chairman, Committee on New Industrial Towns, New York City*

I have been asked to speak to you to-day on the subject, "Own Your Own Town."

There are not any of you that are going to have that privilege in all human probability, so it is not presented to you *ad hominem*, so to speak, or *ad feminam*, as a problem that you are to deal with for yourselves. I do not offer the plan of a town owning itself as a panacea for anything or as a plan that is applicable under all circumstances. It is a plan which, if entered upon at all, must be carried through at the proper time and under proper conditions. The reason that some of us have thought of this particular plan is because it appears that we need something better than we have, and we offer the plan as a contribution toward that end.

We want better housing conditions. Most of you here know quite well what kind of housing conditions we now have in the United States. It seems almost unnecessary, perhaps, for me to talk of what we have, to stimulate in you a desire for something better; but it is amazingly true that very few people in the country have ever made any diagnosis of conditions as they now exist, even in their own home town or their own home city.

What conditions we have we have come to by a process of individuals building for profit or building their own homes, with lack of protection by the State. Each man to a very large degree has been a law unto



himself as to what he would build. He could do as he pleased; he could damage his neighbors all he liked, and he was unprotected from inroads by his neighbors on his own personal liberty. In the last few years we have done something toward the protection of home owners by zoning laws. Those laws, so far as I know them, are good as far as they go, but they go only a short distance. We have done something in late years toward protecting communities from bad building. We have done something through sanitation. We have done something by housing codes.

What we want is homes. This audience, probably to a greater degree than almost any audience you could gather anywhere, has a picture in mind when the word home is used. It ought to mean a great deal more than a well-constructed house. The word home signifies all that goes with family life; it means the house; it means sanitary surroundings in and about the house; it means the orderly arrangement of the city; it means suitable amenities of life; it means friends and neighbors; it means a community spirit. It sums up pretty much all the social blessings of life when we say home.

We have looked in the past to individual effort to secure that home and even to safeguard the home after it has been secured. We have been successful to a degree, for the well-to-do. We have had very little success for the ordinary wage earner.

Go through our great cities and look for the old houses, no longer put to the use for which they were constructed, and you will find a large percentage of the poorer people of every city living in old houses that originally were built for a single family and now housing many families. You will see buildings originally erected for family

occupancy now used for one form of business or another or even for manufacturing. We go through this process of change in every city, utilizing old buildings for new uses, and almost never can the old building, even with proper expenditure of money, be turned to the new use and serve that new use to a really satisfactory degree.

Even our original tenement houses came from the old single family houses; at least that is true of New York—altered over for occupancy by a number of families. Here was a house say fifty or sixty feet deep, built in a row, as they are in New York, as a rule, and when altered over for more than a single family, there was a dark area of anywhere from thirty to forty feet or more, in the middle of the house. There were no windows, no ventilation, and where there are no windows and where there is no ventilation, dirt is the inevitable result and disease is the inevitable result.

When they built the first houses for occupancy by a number of families there, they copied the old single family house and we had tenement houses built for the use of a number of families with dark rooms in the center of the house; and not only is that true of New York, but it is true of the small cities throughout the country where houses have recently been built for occupancy by a number of families.

Then they built a house with windows along the side, the house standing next to the lot line; apparently, at first, the rooms were adequately lighted, but in a little while, someone erected a house on the lot line and all those windows were closed up, illustrating how important it is that each owner should supply on his own lot, his share of light and air.

We have seen in all the cities of the country large

areas well developed for the use to which they were first put, which, as the use has changed, have become a plague spot to the town or what we know as a "blighted district." I know of no way adequately to deal with such a situation, save where there is one ownership of a sufficient area coupled with a sufficient capital to rebuild that area from time to time wholesale, so that it shall be fitted to serve the new use for which it is now ripe and serve it well.

In small cities all through the west and the east too, you will find that the city has grown faster than the city government has planned for it, and particularly it has grown in the wrong spots where it need not have grown had the growth been controlled. It has grown beyond the sewers and the water supply. Take the survey of Springfield, Ill., I think it is, and look at a map which shows the wells and the little backhouses around the various houses. They are shown by dots and squares which come close together all over the outskirts of that city of Springfield.

Now that is not an unusual situation; it is the average city of the middle west. I speak of it because I have figures for it which I assume are correct. About one-quarter of the families live on unsewered streets, and a goodly percentage of them without any water supply.

Those conditions are entirely unnecessary, whether you own your own town or whether you do not, but to meet the changing conditions of every city, you do need adequate capital, you do need the control of large areas. We can have coöperation in a good many different ways. Perhaps there is no way that is a bad way. There are ways that are better than others. We would not look forward with pleasure to the ownership of a whole city

by one man or one family, as has been common in England in the past; but even that condition is better sometimes than the kind of results we get out of an ownership of homes in the city by 45% of the people.

I think it is in the city of Des Moines that 46% of the people are said to own their homes. Some people may like the conditions in Des Moines; I do not. The conditions there are that nearly a quarter of the people live on unsewered streets, and the pictures in the survey of Des Moines are very distasteful to look upon, to put it mildly. You can get pictures of Des Moines that look like a beautiful garden city with everything lovely, but they are not the pictures of where three-fifths of the people live; and you need a picture of the backyard as well as a picture of the street in order to realize the conditions.

How shall we improve this state of things for the future? I would not care very much about the improvement of one particular community unless it were likely that the example of that community would spread, but we have the good fortune to live in a world where health is catching and where, if you get something that is beautiful in a community, other communities want that same thing. Given adequate wealth in a community and adequate brains—and we have both in the United States—what the people determine to have, they can have.

All that we need then is that we should have in our minds what we want, and not only in our minds here, but in the minds of enough of the people, and then we will get it. It is not always the case that when we have set our hearts on achieving some object that we achieve it in precisely the way we think we are going to achieve

it. It is a good thing to have an elastic mind so that when the road forks, you can choose the other fork if that is the shortest way to the point you desire to reach, and maybe we will not reach the point we seek to-day by means of the self-owned town as I shall describe it to you. We are going to have some wonderful illustrations growing out of the war of well-planned towns, better planned than we have ever dreamed of having in the United States before the war. How are we going to keep them so?

Now we know that where some very attractive suburb has been developed by a farsighted real-estate developer and people have bought with restrictions running twenty years, for nearly twenty years they have had a very beautiful place, and in most respects it has been a highly desirable community. When the restrictions run out, however, or if it is not restricted in advance, we soon have encroaching upon that residential community some undesirable features. It may be that a single store comes in upon a block and pushes out to the building line instead of setting back twenty feet, and with the coming of that one store, the street is ruined, it is on the down grade and never can come back.

We need a larger protection than is afforded by individual desire for the comforts of life, or than has ever been afforded by the most farsighted private restrictions; and the time is coming in almost every such community, when the use to which that particular land should be put ought to change; when it is owned by a different owner for every twenty or forty or fifty feet, the change does not come in an orderly way, but costs those owners much distress of mind and loss of money before it is brought about.

We cannot have any community well run and satisfactorily managed without some kind of central management. For the community where everyone owns his own home, the central management is the government of the community, and that may be infinitely better than anything we have yet known. It may afford very much more protection to the individual home owner than any protection we have yet had in any community, and even then, for people of small means and for wage earners, it must fall far short of giving them what is needed for the best kind of community.

Government cannot enter to any very great degree, into the general upkeep of the place. When the new towns are laid out as some of these new towns are being laid out by the United States acting through the Shipping Board and the Housing Bureau of the Labor Department, they are planned as community entities. Many times it is better to have common backyards and common gardens than it is to have little narrow strips that are individually owned and controlled by the occupants of the individual houses. That is only possible when you have a unity of ownership as well as unity of control. If these communities, so well planned, shall be sold piecemeal to individual owners, the time will come when they will fall back into the condition of what we now have in our cities as "blighted districts." We can see the end from the beginning. We cannot expect very much better than anything that we have had before. It needs continuity of management.

If we have that, it would appear that we might lose something of tremendous value. There is tremendous value in the feeling that men have for their own homes where they own a certain piece of land with a house

upon it. That is something we have not achieved; don't forget that we have achieved it to very small degree in this country. We find to-day that labor organizations as a rule are opposed to their members owning their own homes because they tend to become nailed down to a spot and cannot move when the job moves; they are held back from collective bargaining and from procuring for labor the conditions that labor deems necessary for its welfare. The man is hampered and restrained by owning his own home; though in fact he does not very often own it all, he only owns a little equity in it, subject to a mortgage, and is always in danger of having that mortgage foreclosed if, for the time being, his wages fail.

We must, if we can, get for a whole community all the blessings that may come through individual home ownership and the blessings of individual home ownership never come for the whole community, they only come for some fraction of it, be that fraction large or small.

What shall we do, then, to secure the advantages of individual ownership and at the same time have a single control over large areas under good management? Some form of coöperation furnishes a solution, and there may be coöperation that is worth while under various forms.

While the following conditions are desirable, there may be successful coöperative ownership of even a single multi-family house. The area should be large enough for a community that would supply its own stores, schools, churches, amusements, and amenities of all kinds. It must be convenient to places of employment. The streets should be planned so that the area set apart for stores and theaters should get as

large a share as possible of the patronage of the people. If practicable, most of the houses should be for single families, but there should be some multi-family houses with ample ground around them and some boarding houses for men and separate houses for women if there should be a demand for them. Care should be taken that the number of stores of various kinds should be sufficient, but killing competition should be avoided, and the highest possible rent could be obtained for business property under such conditions. The increase in the value of land of property for dwellings would be small, but the rent obtained for all business property would represent a large advance over original value of vacant land.

The land and buildings should be owned by a corporation without capital stock directed by trustees of ability and public spirit. After a community spirit was formed the tenants should elect some of the trustees and perhaps ultimately all of them. The capital for such an enterprise could be supplied, profitably to itself, by an industrial corporation which desires a stable supply of workers, by the United States, as it has already, or by states or cities.

Such a community should be able to buy itself free in from 25 to 50 years and be well off in the meantime. If 5% interest is paid on capital and 2% to a sinking fund, the principal would be paid in about 27 years. A sinking fund should be maintained for replacement of buildings. Under a single control with efficient management the buildings would have a much longer life than under ordinary conditions.

When the property shall be paid for in full the entire net earnings would be available for community welfare



and can be so maintained forever for all subsequent tenants. Some of the towns built by the United States present the opportunity at no additional cost.

Now suppose, that one of these well-planned towns is also well managed; that instead of selling off the individual houses, the corporation, such as the York-ship Corporation, that owns the whole town, never does sell, but, as the money advanced by the Government is paid off by annual installments the time will come when the entire cost of the town has been paid and the town will have an income of its own. It does not matter whether the same people are living there when that time arrives who lived there when the town was started, although they will be more apt to be the same, under this program; but the people who live there then will have an income to be spent upon that town such as no town in the United States has ever had in the past, and such, probably, as no town anywhere in the world ever had, and it will have it without cost to any one, and every subsequent dweller in that town will have spent for him a splendid income to do those many things for the people of that town that never have been done as fully as we would wish to have had them done.

In every city and town of the United States there are plans for better sanitation, there are plans for better education, there are plans for the manifold social needs of the town that everyone agrees would be good and beneficial, that cannot be carried out because they haven't the money to carry them out; and if the town owns itself, it will have an income to carry out those plans and carry them out as they never could be carried out in any other way.

Let us think about this a moment, now, from the

point of view of the person who lives in that town. In these new towns that the Government has built, there is no community sentiment, of course; we have just brought together a lot of people from hither and yon who have nothing yet in common. Gradually, however, in every such community, some community sentiment grows up. It is a tender plant; it needs to be nurtured; the better it is nurtured and the better the soil, the faster it grows. From the beginning, then, let those people know that as they pay a reasonable rent for the premises they occupy, that rent in part is going toward a fund that will, in the end, pay for the town, for them, and for all subsequent occupants of it; that everything that is done in that town is for their common concern; that they pay the bill and have a right to a voice in how the income shall be spent; for, there may be some income even in the early stages, more than enough to amortize the principal and to pay for the ordinary running expenses on the scale to which the ordinary town is accustomed; and I should hope that when such a corporation owns the town, the time would soon come when the tenants would elect to the Board of Trustees some of the members of the Board.

From time to time, as the town comes to be more nearly paid for in full, I should hope that the tenants would elect a larger and larger proportion of the Board of Trustees, and that movement should go on as fast as a community sentiment develops that renders the community able to express itself effectively for what it wants.

I ask you to let your imaginations play over the effect upon the minds and characters of people living in a community where, in a most practical way, the concern

of each is the concern of all; where, if one man fails to keep his own premises, of which he has exclusive possession, up to the standard of the community as a whole, he is damaging all his neighbors, and where the community as a whole can control such conditions, and if some member does not live up to the common standard for the common good, he can be excluded and put out of the community, so there is an effectiveness of control.

May we not hope that in such a community, instead of the somewhat narrow affection, the somewhat narrow sentiment that a man has for his own little house and his own little backyard with a wooden fence around it, you may substitute the feeling that this town is my town, that these playing grounds are my playing grounds—I support them, I control them, and I direct them; that this library and this theater are mine, for me to direct as to policy and program; that all the activities of the town, the health service, the nursing service, the education, is all mine, paid for by me; that I know I pay for it and that I direct how the work shall be done. And would there not be a pride in that community to have it the best community that it could be made, along with the power to make it so?

*(For the Discussion of this paper, see page 324.)*

## **DISCUSSIONS**

## GOVERNMENT HOUSING

JOHN V. VAN PELT

*Architect, New York City*

It seems to me that Mr. Leland's intensely interesting and instructive paper has stopped too soon. I wish he could have told us more about what is to happen in this country of ours during the now present Reconstruction period, but this I realize is impossible as no one can foretell what attitude Congress will take.

Returning to the United States Housing Corporation's office one evening, when the preliminary work for the new appropriation was in hand, I had a long and interesting talk with Mr. Eidlitz on probable developments of Reconstruction. Of course, we feared the war would continue for a much longer period and that there might be a larger number of injured soldiers returning than we now hope will be the case. Mr. Eidlitz looked forward to the need of providing for these men and it was suggested that communities might grow up where work specially adapted to their possibilities could be carried on. From this we ran into a discussion of the changes throughout the country that the war may have permanently developed.

While I was making inspection trips as Captain of one of the Second Investigating teams of which Mr. Leland has told you, a chief point on which I had to report was the probability of the endurance of a demand for housing in each locality. It is evident that if the Housing Corporation had satisfied a demand for 5,000

houses in any single locality (such a need actually existed in several places), and if, after the war, a large proportion of the workmen moved away, the real estate market would become glutted, building activities would receive a deathblow, and the Government would have on its hands valueless property, empty shells with windows as targets for small boys' stones. Therefore, to the best of our ability, from any source of information that might present itself and help us to forecast the future, we had to study the problem of the future activities of each location. I must admit that I began these trips with a preconceived idea that practically all of the industrial stimulus resulting from the war would disappear with peace and that each locality would return to its original pre-war condition. To my surprise I found that in 39 cases out of 75, on which I have data, manufacturing after the cessation of war will continue in far greater volume than before the war began, and this activity will probably last for a considerable term of years. Where navy yards have been increased, where nitrate plants have been constructed, at the proving grounds, and at such places as Neville Island, it seems certain that the new enterprises will be centers of energetic effort. Furthermore, in many manufacturing towns, the original product has been held back so that during the last four years orders have piled up. The devastation on the other side of the water will supply an increased market. As a result, in place of the original output, the manufacturing plants must now turn out a supply for these increased orders, for the orders that will result from devastation, and an equivalent of the original annual output, which will probably be stimulated through the general busi-

ness expansion that the world at large, certainly this country, may expect.

I find continual repetitions of these conditions. One of the most typical is the National Cash Register Co. in Dayton. Before the war, they employed 8,000 men; during the early part of the war their foreign markets were cut off, economy was practiced throughout the United States, and they found a need for only between 2,000 and 2,500 employees. After we entered the war they accepted Government contracts and increased the number of their workers to 5,000. As soon as peace is established they expect to return to the manufacture of their original product and employ a considerably larger force than 8,000.

All of this means that although in a number of the manufacturing centers only such additional houses will be needed as the cessation of building operations during the last two years has made necessary to keep pace with the normal increase of the city or town; in many other cases a large number of houses varying from 50 to 1,000 ought to be built immediately. During the war, workers were crowded into some of the cities so that they lived under far worse conditions than beasts. Three shifts to a bed were actual facts, and in places I believe foreign or colored laborers were forced to sleep three shifts of two to a bed. Men with families who came on by themselves had to remain in shacks or dormitories under conditions that cannot possibly continue permanently. If houses are not provided in such localities, the workmen will not stay, indeed they cannot stay and maintain any efficiency. Work which will be vitally needed during the next few years will cease.

The manufacturers are as keenly alive to this as the

laboring element. In many cities, we had conferences with both sides and both were anxious that permanent houses be constructed, as temporary housing could not meet the after-war requirements. I believe there is no question but that strong pressure would be brought to bear upon Congress to continue Government building if it were not that a general and very laudable tide of public opinion will set in with a view to the reduction of taxes, so that governmental economies will doubtless be urged and a few points on which economy should not be practiced will probably be lost in the shuffle. Furthermore, the building of houses by the Government smacks not only of the bogey Paternalism, but of arrant Socialism.

Of one thing, however, I am firmly convinced, a tremendous change has taken place throughout the face of the country, a change that is certain to endure. In the West, in outlying portions of New England, even in the South, there must be towns of no commercial value, originally settled through passing booms, or little back-waters left by the onflowing current of civilization, but each containing its quota of possible workers. Men who had become somewhat fixed, with families that could not be transported without risk to an uncertain destination, men without sufficient energy to uproot them from surroundings that they knew to be unproductive, were sought out during the intense need for workers that has existed of late and carried away to centers where they have been and will be of value.

The Navy Yard at Portsmouth, unable to attract machinists from Philadelphia and other intensely energized centers, combed the small towns of New Hampshire and Vermont. In building for the navy at



Kittery we had to take this fact into consideration and provide houses more in keeping with the New England farmhouse, and with larger bits of ground so that there might be gardens. The emptied towns and villages—the backwood hamlets of New York State, as well as the four corners of the West—will have no attraction for the uprooted and transplanted worker, who if he had too little energy to leave will have as little to return and less desire. In a few instances, associations may carry some of the men back to their original haunts; but it is to be hoped that this will not occur in many instances, for rustication is likely to become rust and the world has need of all the productive power that can be assembled. If the outlying corners are emptied and are to remain empty, we have added proof that workers will tend to congest the manufacturing centers.

I have never been a Socialist in my beliefs, I have always been intensely conservative; but if providing houses, schools, recreation buildings for the needs of these men and women, the sinews of our country, is Socialism, then up to this point I am ready to be called a Socialist.

## GOVERNMENT HOUSING

MRS. EDITH ELMER WOOD

*Adviser, Women's Municipal League, Boston*

We must first of all define our terms.

What do we mean by Government Housing? Government initiative and supervision? Government financing? Government building?

I agree with Mr. Ackerman that the most important step is a mental one. When the American people shall have realized, as other peoples have long since done, their collective responsibility for the proper housing of every man, woman, and child in the land, in a positive as well as a negative sense, then Government housing will be an established fact and the rest merely a matter of ways and means.

Government financing, direct or indirect, we must have, if we are to reach any solution of the housing problem, because in no other way can a sufficiently large supply of capital be obtained at a sufficiently low rate of interest. Building costs are such, not simply now, but on a basis of pre-war prices, as to make it an economic impossibility to build a house of acceptable standards and rent it at a price which the unskilled wage-earner can pay, and produce a commercial return on the capital invested. It simply cannot be done. This has been proved over and over again at these conferences by architects, builders, and town planners, but the final inferences have not always been drawn from the facts presented. The only solution, therefore, is the elimination of commercial profit, and this can only be

done by the Government. It is a misnomer to call such a policy paternalism when it occurs in a democracy. It is the people deciding to do for themselves collectively, on a cost basis, what they cannot do for themselves individually. It is less paternalistic than our public school system, where the taxpayers do pay the bills. Nobody wants the taxpayers to pay for the housing of American working people.

Please don't misunderstand this statement. I am not talking about slum clearance schemes. The process of atoning for the housing sins of our fathers by purchasing slum areas, tearing down existing rookeries, replotting streets and lots, and rebuilding on proper lines necessarily means a bill for the taxpayers. This is not the case with a *de novo* housing project, which, when properly managed, is run neither at a profit nor at a loss, but at cost.

What shall be the part of national, state, and city governments respectively? The National Government and the state governments will quite certainly concern themselves with the supply of capital or credit and the control of standards through the control of the purse-strings. The actual building may be done either by cities or by housing societies or by individual working men,—in any case with the help of Government loans. The best results have been obtained abroad where all three modes of activity prevail. The individual working man may get his loan directly, as under the New Zealand system, or through the medium of non-commercial loan societies, as under the Belgian system.

The war has accustomed us to direct building enterprises by the Federal Government. It is quite likely that the Federal Government may continue to build

homes for its own employees as the German and Austrian empires have long done—and the practice is not necessarily bad because of its origin either. In fact, it has much to commend it. Beyond this, however, in building, the Federal Government is not likely to go.

We have here in Massachusetts the only example of a state carrying on a direct building enterprise—the Lowell project of the Massachusetts Homestead Commission. This is, however, a demonstration,—an educational experiment. Except for such a purpose, or, again, to provide housing for its own employees, state governments are not likely to turn builders.

Direct government building in this country, as has been the rule elsewhere, is likely to be the work of municipalities—and may we soon have as good examples of municipal housing as the White Hart Lane and Totterdown Fields estates of the London County Council!

From the administrative point of view, we should look forward to the establishment of a National Housing and Town Planning Board. We all realize by this time that housing and town planning are inseparable. This board should dispense loans from a national housing fund created by bond issue, and should control standards through that power, exactly as the Vocational Education Board does with its grants. Each state should have its Housing and Town Planning Board, under which should function a network of local boards. We are indebted to Belgium for this system. Her *comités de patronage*, established by the law of 1889, have been so successful that they have been widely imitated. The Massachusetts planning boards might easily develop into such a system if housing were more

definitely added to their functions and if they were placed under a state board instead of being independent units. Their voluntary federation shows their own appreciation of some such need.

Financing may be largely done through the release of already existing accumulations of capital. Thus Belgium, and, following her, France and Italy, and several other countries, use a certain percentage of the deposits of their state savings banks for housing loans. Germany uses the funds of the state insurance institutes. A bill has been introduced in Congress ever since 1913 to liberate Postal Savings deposits for this purpose. They only pay 2% interest to the depositors and could therefore be loaned at a very low rate." Another practical proposal has been to amend the Federal farm loan law so as to permit housing loans as well as farm loans. Our Building and Loan Associations afford a wonderful mechanism ready to hand for extending credit to working men to build their own houses if they coöperate with a government agency. The reason why the Building and Loan Associations, as they stand, do not meet the needs of the unskilled wage earner is that his saving capacity is not great enough to repay the whole cost of a house in 200 monthly installments (a little over 16 years), which is a necessary part of their system. If a Government loan for half the amount could be secured, repayment of which did not begin for sixteen years, the total repayment time could be doubled and the scale of saving-capacity necessary for a home-builder reduced nearly one-half. In addition to the use of existing accumulations of capital, like the Postal Savings deposits, the credit of the Government can be safely utilized to raise considerable sums of

money by bond issue. Here the rate of interest charged on the housing loans would depend upon the rate at which the bonds were sold.

The war has shaken us out of our old ruts and habits. Everything has gone into the melting pot. This period of Reconstruction is one of great possibilities for good if rightly used. The task of providing a real American home for every American family is an enormous one, but not beyond the power of the American people if they undertake it seriously. And unless we do bend our energies to it, we shall fall behind in the race with countries whose greater war losses have brought them to a deeper realization of the need of conserving human life.

## WHAT LABOR WANTS

EDWARD F. McGRADY

*State Superintendent U. S. Employment Bureau, Boston*

I have had the honor of being at the head of 82,000 working men and women in the city of Boston for some considerable period, and a great many of our poorer workers, when they want any kind of advice, always come to the officers at the labor headquarters and there they lay their troubles. So we are at all times in close touch with the greater percentage of the wage earners, particularly those who live in the congested districts. We in the labor movement, not only in Boston but in the state and in the country, have spent most of our time in past years in trying to get enough wages to get enough to eat, and we have had to be satisfied to get any kind of a place to live in. In other words, housing was a secondary consideration to getting enough to eat; but we have, by hard labor, improved our condition so that we have become ambitious to get out and get a little of God's sunshine and a little more air.

One of the problems that is going to affect the workers in getting better housing will be transportation. The average worker to-day spends just a little more than one-quarter of his income for rent. The average wages in Boston, from the highly skilled worker to the common laborer, are less than \$17 per week; so you see the average working man cannot afford to go out in the suburbs if he has got to pay large transportation charges, and if he does get out there, he cannot afford to pay the rent that is asked. I heard somebody say

the other day that they thought most everybody could get a good house or a good tenement for \$25 a month. Well, I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that the average working man to-day, particularly those living in the congested districts, cannot afford to pay \$25 a month rent; it is too much for him.

Most of the American workers have left the congested districts, only to have their places filled in or taken up by foreign workers who were brought to these shores to compete with American labor. These men came here with the assistance and the help of the unfair manufacturers of this country. They paid them low wages, which meant that they had to move into houses where the rent was low. That meant that those slum houses continued to render a profit to their owners and they continued to stay in existence. I believe it is the sentiment amongst the average organized worker to-day that the only solution for us to get better housing is to make it a governmental function. To-day, with conscription—and we believe in conscription in time of war—with conscription, it means that the bodies of your boys do not belong to them any more; those bodies belong to your Government between certain ages; and if those bodies are going to be the property of the Government, the Government ought to see to it that the men and women of this country live in such good conditions that when that body is called for, it will be delivered in first class, healthy condition.

I do not know of anything that surprised me more in the recent trouble that we had than a visit that I made to Camp Devens for the purpose of finding out the names and the addresses of the soldiers who had been inducted into the service and been discharged for



physical disability or other reasons, and I found at the time that I went there, that there had been 35,000 soldiers inducted into the service only, on reëxamination, to be turned away for physical disability—more than 28%—a very high rate when you come to consider that those men had previously been passed by the local draft boards; and the local draft boards must have released from service at least that many more men, largely for physical disability.

I believe that that deplorable condition of health amongst the workers was largely due to poor housing, as well as to the fact that they were not enabled to get enough to eat, having an insufficient wage scale. So we believe and we trust that something will be done to make the Government take over this great big proposition of housing, because I want to assure you that if the Government does not do it we know in the ranks of labor that we eventually will have to do it. We have largely stopped immigration into this country, and that means that the organized workers are going to take the foreigners who are now with us and we are going to inculcate American ideals and American ambitions into those who are with us to-day, something we never could do before because they were coming in too fast for us to educate or to assimilate.

Now these men, with the course of training and with the ambition that we are going to instill into them, are going to demand better housing conditions. We are going to get it even though we have to get it the same way that we have got our increased wages in this country.

We hear a great deal of talk about Reconstruction. We hear a great deal of talk about the Bolsheviki across

the water. There is nothing that will create that kind of a movement in America more than to make the workers dissatisfied, more than to make them discouraged with the present conditions of living. If the workers become discouraged, if they cannot see daylight ahead of them, it means that they are going to do the next best thing and take something in their own hands to get that which they believe belongs to them.

The workers say to themselves, "Labor creates everything in this world." True, labor, in creating everything, must have capital to assist it, but capital could not exist without labor and we believe that labor has a prior right and if labor creates capital, it is the duty of capital to see that they act jointly with labor, to see that labor will have, in this world, not a living wage, because organized labor is not going to talk about a living wage any more. A living wage has been the curse of the workers in this country; a living wage means a living wage to pay your way for to-day, and it means that if you are compelled, through sickness or other misfortune, to stop working, and are out of employment for a period of two or three weeks, you are next door to the poorhouse.

We believe in the Reconstruction program that labor is going to demand something more than a living wage. We want to lead dignified lives in this country, and we are entitled to lead more dignified lives in the future than we have lead in the past, and God knows we have earned it. One of the things that we want in a Reconstruction program, and we are going to insist upon it, is better housing conditions.

The Mayor of our city recently appointed a Housing Commission and he recognized the rights of labor and

put a labor man on that committee. I heard somebody ridiculing housing conditions in Boston last night. I don't know who the gentleman was, but he offered a pretty good case. It would be laughable to me, if it was not for the fact that the conditions that exist to-day in Boston are criminal, in my opinion, in the thickly settled portions of our city. I believe these conditions exist because our building department in the past was not straight—I heard it said a few years ago amongst a group of labor men that the only people in the city employ who wear diamonds are those who work for the building department. I know, from personal investigation within five weeks, that the building department of Boston has allowed new construction to go up in direct violation of the law, and when we called their attention to that fact, they invariably said, "Well, Mr. So-and-so, who is not with the department now, had charge of that." The health department of Boston has not co-operated as they should with the building department, and the building department and the health department have not coöperated with the law department. Each one of these departments throws the burden on the shoulders of the other department. But we found out on close investigation that here in Boston our law department has failed to prosecute 1,200 and odd cases of building violations in this city; and when we asked them when they proposed to take this matter up and go through with it, they told us they didn't know, that they were first going to sift the cases out.

These are the conditions in Boston and I claim, as a worker, that these conditions are criminal. It is true they have been allowed to exist in the past. Most of the labor men, as I say, have been busy trying to get

enough wages to keep body and soul together for themselves and their families, but the Boston Central Labor Union has earnestly taken up this matter of housing in this city and this state, and we propose to get behind the Women's Municipal League and we propose to make the law department do something, if not, we will do something to the law department of this city.

We intend to go through with this and we are going to start next Monday at 9 o'clock in the city of Worcester, where every labor president of every union and every business agent and secretary in the middle part of our state has been summoned to an all-day conference starting at 9 o'clock in the morning, and there we are going to take up the question, not only of Labor Reconstruction, but we are going to take up the question of housing in this entire state.

As I said previously, we will get action for better houses for the workers of this city and this commonwealth, even though we have to get that action in the same way as we have received increases in wages.

## THE GROUP HOUSE—ITS ADVANTAGES AND POSSIBILITIES

GEORGE F. MARLOWE

*Architect, Boston*

I sometimes wonder if we people who attend a Housing Conference are not especially interested in an expression of mere details of houses, but I could not help being impressed by the fact that Mr. Dana had given up so large a part of his paper to the expression of merely æsthetic matters.

This seems to me especially significant, for previous to this conference I was under the impression that questions of architectural design were not apt to be brought forward at a Housing Conference. I have changed my mind. Both the sociologist and the practical owner have been known to overlook them, and as the architect above all else dreads being considered impractical, he is apt to refer to them somewhat timidly if at all.

The place of the group house, of course, is in the semi-rural or suburban development, for the city problem is a different one. The alternative, aside from the single house and the semi-detached or double form, is the dwelling for two or more families with complete apartments all on one floor. We always find, however, the man who insists upon the single house, who feels that there is something lacking, especially in a democracy, if he cannot walk around his house on his own land, and provided conditions allow him land enough to be worth walking upon, this is all well enough from a practical point of view. Architecturally, as we have seen,

it is not so satisfactory. With the typical suburban development, moreover, the chances are that there will not be land enough to be worth walking upon. We are all only too familiar with the long rows of boxes, 8 to 12 feet apart, the parlor of one with complete view of the kitchen, bedrooms, and bath of the next. Why not face the problem squarely, and eliminate a portion of the single houses in the moderate priced development?

Some will insist that the single house is more self-respecting. This may or may not be true. Quite self-respecting people have been known to live in group houses.

It has certainly been demonstrated that when properly planned, rooms may be satisfactorily lighted and ventilated. Economy of construction has been referred to.

Then as to the relative merits of up and downstairs or all on a floor. Personally, I have usually preferred to go upstairs to bed, and if it comes to a question of dignity, I take a stand here.

As to the question of gardens referred to, one has only to recall the rear gardens of any of the English developments to dispose of this.

Finally, there is the old objection to buying and selling, and this objection is less easy to meet, though there seems no reason why a question which is never raised in the case of the city or town house should be insistent in the case of the suburban zone. It may be admitted, however, that the group or row house is better adapted to renting than to tenant ownership. In the case of the double house, the prospect to the owner of living in one-half and putting himself in the desirable position of landlord of the other is often a special inducement to build.

The opportunities in regard to coöperative heating and facilities for cooking, washing, and care of young children are open to almost unlimited development, and so far have been but little considered in this country. With the great changes in labor conditions in the last few years, it is becoming evident that the American housewife of all classes will be more and more dependent upon outside service of this kind. It is not difficult to picture the group house, perhaps built about a hollow square with playground in the center for the children, with its day nursery where the babies and younger children may be left under the care of the community nurse when from either necessity or choice the mother is a wage earner; and its common kitchen and laundry, where meals may be prepared and washing done by the tenants themselves or by the community cook or laundress. Instead of a dozen or more kitchens with a dozen washes going on each Monday, we should have both economy of planning and of labor.

I am not advocating the total abolition of the individual hearthstone, but it must be evident that with the ever-increasing tendency of the wife to become a wage earner, there is a consequent neglect of household duties, in some instances becoming positively disastrous. But these for the present are matters for the attention of the social worker rather than the architect.

As to the æsthetic conditions, I have always maintained that they are worthy of serious consideration. If the French, under the terrible pressure of the military situation of a year or more ago, found the æsthetic of sufficient importance for serious consideration in their program for rebuilding, are we really justified in flip-pantly dismissing this factor as of no consequence? I

think not. We may also well recall the statement that it was the attractive physical qualities of the English Garden Villages which enabled John Burns to secure the passage of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909.

The small single house is the despair of the architect of the industrial village. Architecturally, in quantity it is almost hopeless. In the old English or French village house with its diversity of material and with all the charm which age has given to both building and surroundings, it seemed almost literally a joy forever. At least one thought so, before the Hun broke loose. You may not have cared particularly about living in it. However, the French architects tell us that with the reconstruction they will provide both charm without and (at least according to the French idea) good plumbing and light and air within, with due and very proper insistence upon the regional type, for which unquestionably they are due the very highest commendation. Our own regional type by the way, at least for domestic work, is the Colonial or Georgian, which may, if you will, have some of the English characteristics of the corresponding period. To build bungalows or other structures with the characteristics of the Mexican, Italian, or other European Mediæval house is just as absurd as it would be to masquerade in the streets in the costume of these countries or of a corresponding period.

With our industrial villages, with stories of a fixed height and windows of the area specified by the Government or the local building code, the problem is a difficult one. Exterior materials are limited to shingles or possibly white clapboards; by rare good luck occasion-



ally a little stucco or brick, and roofs usually covered with slate chip shingles. Well, the most enthusiastic draftsman, looking back to a visit to Letchworth, Port Sunlight, or Hampstead before the war finally loses hope and puts his chief efforts into a good group of trees, hoping that the architecture won't be noticed much. And when the first photographs come in and the trees are not there, he turns away with a sigh and wonders if industrial housing is such an attractive problem after all.

Architecturally, therefore, our hope is in the group house, but please do not understand that I am urging you never to build single houses for workmen. We all agree that when conditions permit, the single house is the better house, but let us try to overcome some of the groundless prejudices against the group house. We have seen that it is more economical to build, occupies less land, is better architecturally, and suggests endless possibilities in coöperative housekeeping.

## THE GROUP HOUSE—ITS ADVANTAGES AND POSSIBILITIES

CHARLES C. MAY

*Architect, New York City*

It is not many years ago that any one who took the platform at a Housing Conference and delivered a eulogy upon the group house would have been committed at once to the asylum, but our attitude on that has changed and most of us, I think, feel in this greater tolerance that the change is one in the right direction, and in the debate between different types of dwellings we cannot hope to obtain unanimity, and the only type of house which is universally condemned is the old-law tenement. I had thought to include in the list of undesirables the wooden three-decker, but I found last evening that one can learn to love even a row of three-deckers.

But as between the group house and the detached house, about the best conclusion we can hope to arrive at is that under certain conditions for certain people one type is preferable to the other. Reverse the conditions and the conclusion must be reversed.

In other words, for each specific problem a decision must be reached in the light of all the elements that bear upon that specific case.

What are some of these elements? First and most obvious is the cost of land, and that has been rather thoroughly discussed. Then comes the grade of the workman himself. That is, of course, fundamental, because all calculations come back to the question of how

much rent the workman can afford to pay, but for the moment I am thinking not so much of the grade of workman in terms of his earning power as in terms of his personality and intelligence, because certain features of the group house call for real intelligence in their use.

Mr. Dana has covered very fully and convincingly the details of the well-planned group house, and in doing so, he has shown us that there is involved common use of certain of these features, such as service path, the common yard, even the economical common soil pipe in the party wall.

Now, we all know that it is easier for me to live at peace with my next door neighbor if both he and I own an automobile than if he and I own one in common. In the latter case he and I want to go driving at the same moment. And so in these community features, it is not enough that we provide them; we must be sure that they are going to be properly used after they are provided. If we expect them in one of these industrial developments to be successful in operation, at least if they are to run it themselves, we must look for the virtues of patience, forbearance, and capacity for team work in greater degree than they are to be found to be present in even some of the more intelligent communities.

And here comes in, too, the question of nationality. If the population to be housed is homogeneous, well and good. If we have two distinct nationalities to be taken care of that fact must be recognized in the study and plan of the development. If we have three or four or half a dozen nationalities, heaven help us.

At a reception the other day to Dr. Masaryk, the President-elect of the new Jugo-Slavic republic, the point that was emphasized over and over by half a dozen

speakers was the persistence of national traits and spirit through hundreds of years in spite of most active efforts at suppression.

Now, if that is true in Europe, if those traits are so intensive and so persistent, they will not be lightly laid aside simply because transplanted to American soil. Bear in mind that one of these traits may be a deep-seated prejudice against the group house. I have known many developments where the architect and the owner would have been glad to gain the economies of the group house, but they did not dare to use it because of a deep-seated feeling of this sort.

I have had some opportunity in the past years to watch the workings of this national spirit in coal mining communities, where the labor element was about equally divided between Italians and Poles. The work in the mine went on apparently with comparatively little friction, but in the home community, the atmosphere was one of an armed truce and it needed little more than a careless word to start something, and once started, the tendency was always toward group fighting between nationalities.

Let us, then, provide these community features by all means, but let us provide also the machinery for seeing that they are properly used.

Those very roughly are a couple of the elements which must be brought into any decision as to whether the detached house or group house or some other type is the best one for that particular problem.

Then assuming that we are to use the group house, there are a few general characteristics which we can pretty safely insist upon. We shall look for fire-proof roof and walls, both exterior and party, and, of course,

the party wall will carry up to the roof. We shall look for a house not more than two rooms deep, because otherwise we shall lose the through ventilation that we cannot do without.

We shall look for provision for individual drying spaces and individual gardens. These things cannot well be pooled. We shall look for living porches, with a certain degree of privacy. We shall expect good service access to the rear yards to take care of deliveries, the collection of garbage, ashes, and so forth.

And in the rear yard we shall look for not only a parked space for the householders to use in common and to enjoy, but we shall look for a real program for its upkeep, its maintenance, and its administration. The war has shaken us up very thoroughly, but it has shaken us closer together. We look in a new light upon our neighbor's rights and privileges. It may be that the new social sense which we feel will express itself in better use and understanding of this kind of community privilege.

## SCRAPPING THE SLUM

THOMAS ADAMS

*Town Planning Adviser, Commission of Conservation, Ottawa, Canada*

The subject which we have to discuss is, I believe, "Scrapping the Slum and Heading Off the Slum." I could not help thinking that the fine papers which we have heard from Mr. Cram and Mrs. Bacon might be supplemented with advantage by quoting the figures of Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, who stated in the Report of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health that there were 3,000,000 persons in the United States at all times suffering from some form of sickness, of whom about 1,100,000 were in the working period of life, three-quarters being actual workers, who must lose at least \$700 per year, making an aggregate loss from illness of \$550,000,000. The expense of medicine, medical attendance, extra foods, etc., would equal this amount; thus, there was a total cost of illness of approximately \$1,100,000,000, of which it is assumed that at least one-half is preventable. These are only estimates but they are based on careful calculation, and they are put out by Professor Fisher as an indication of the tremendous monetary loss to this country from the conditions about which we have been hearing this morning.

In listening to Mr. Cram, I was reminded, when he referred to the pyramid building and the need for building from the bottom upwards, of the constant reiteration of the proposal that we should leave this question to settle itself and of the fact that the base of the pyramid is the denizens of the slums.

It is popularly argued that it is largely a question of letting the individual grow and of educating him. Well, how can you properly educate people living under slum conditions? By what process are we going to accomplish, what in a democracy is so important, the education of the people to the point of getting discontented with the slums, unless we help to lead them and guide them out of them by sound administrative and legislative methods promoted by leaders of public opinion?

Is it not to be considered a desirable thing in a democracy that the most intelligent should try to lead the least intelligent? Why this constant argument about building from the bottom up without respect to the rottenness of the bottom? It is impossible for you to regard it as a sound thing for the lower element to lead society. Of course, I do not mean the poorer element; poverty and intelligence are often companions. We should try to lead these lower elements out of these conditions rather than say that it is their duty to lead us.

The strength of a chain is its weakest link, and so long as we have slum conditions, we cannot go on arguing that this question is to be settled merely by leaving people to solve the problem themselves. That is the old *laissez faire* attitude that has condemned us to slum dominion for so many centuries and that, I am afraid, is going to leave you with this problem on your hands until it becomes too desperate for you to solve it in the right way.

We must deal with this problem courageously, drastically, and with all the enthusiasm we can put into it.

Well, how are you going to scrap the slum? There

\*are two main difficulties; one is that of finance and the other is housing the people you are going to "dishouse" by destroying the slum.

If you destroy the slum, you drive the people out of that slum and they go somewhere else and create a new slum, don't they? We know they do, because one of the difficulties is that these people have come to enjoy the slum in a certain degree, unfortunate as that fact is for our civilization.

We have to face these two difficulties, financing the clearance of the slum and finding houses for the people who are dishoused. Some persons would pull down the slums and let the residents crowd up some other buildings and convert them from semi-slums into slums. That is the usual process.

We see, therefore, that alongside your effort to scrap the slums you must have a constructive housing policy to provide for those who are dishoused.

But you must deal with this, some say, by private enterprise. Just imagine the kind of educational process and the private enterprise that will convert a Jew owner of a gold mine into giving it up for the benefit of the public! Say he owns a gold mine in slum property and he is told that he will be a better citizen and it will be good for his soul and it will make him worthy of the acclaim of the multitudes in the market place if he will simply hand over his property and let it be converted into good sanitary condition for the people living in it and all he will lose will be the money value of his vested interest in bad property!

That is the process of education we shall have to go through to get rid of the slums by the persuasive method. The alternative is compulsion, propelled by



the intellect, the leadership, and the public spirit of the community.

Again, on the question of private enterprise in relation to new construction. Are you going to the builder to say: "Now, look here, Mr. Jones, you are a speculative builder. We want you to do a new job in the interest of the community. Buy that slum on the North End and rebuild it with model dwellings and take your chances of making a good thing of it for yourself. It doesn't matter if you don't make anything on it. It will be in the interest of the community."

Do you think your appeal will be met? Personally, I fail to see how private enterprise is going to deal with the problem at all.

The future of the slum contains a menace of worse things than we face now with the distant rumblings of Bolshevism and anarchy. Your birth rate is going up in these districts and is going down among your more intelligent classes in the best residential areas of your cities. At least it is so with us and I think it is so with you.

The slum element of your population is increasing most rapidly and in proportion to its ignorance and the inefficiency of the children who grow up under slum conditions you have a growing threat to your democratic civilization. The base of the pyramid is widening on this foundation of the slum.

I want to confine myself to two practical questions in the short time at my disposal.

What about finance? Well, some of us have lived long enough to remember that before the war we were told that to spend a few million dollars needed to get rid of the slums was out of the question. We couldn't

raise the money! In England, perhaps an expenditure of thirty to fifty million pounds would have accomplished the enormous task of getting rid of the slum dwellings in the worst part of the big cities. But it was an idle dream to think that we should be able to raise that money from among ourselves for any social purpose.

Remember, it was not for a purpose of destruction we needed to spend that money, but a productive purpose; by means of which we should prevent the continued expenditure of money on hospitals and poor rates and on an educational system that did not give us the best results; a purpose that made a more efficient laborer, a purpose that made men better able to produce munitions in time of war as well as to produce other things in time of peace; a productive purpose, but we could not raise enough money to get rid of the slums.

Then, when the war came, when our national existence was at stake, when our boys went to the front, we found that there was absolutely no limit to the amount of money we could raise. That was satisfactory, but it discredited the "practical" man who had previously told us that we could not solve our social questions because we had no money.

You in the United States might have had to continue this war another year or two and might have had to spend a great deal more money, so that you might very well be in the frame of mind to say: "Well now, a billion or two more might have been needed to get rid of the Germans and to destroy German autocracy, and if we had spent that money during the next year or the next few months, we should also have had to lose a lot of our boys in the process. Now we have saved our boys, let us spend a few hundred million that we have

saved by the collapse of the war, in trying to make better conditions for the boys when they come back. And not only for them, but for the children and for the posterity for which they have fought."

I think there is no more discredited man to-day, no more unpatriotic man than the man who would say, "Why should I do anything for posterity? What has posterity done for me?" Did the boys ask that question when they went across and gave their lives for the posterity that is going to enjoy the freedom that they have purchased?

There is no question about it, that the slum is a menace to our civilization and that as this country grows and develops, no matter what you do by evangelizing through your churches; by using the energies of the medical profession; by utilizing the achievements of science to reduce disease and to eliminate the troubles inflicted upon us by bad social conditions—you will accomplish little by all these things unless you first get rid of the environment in which the seed grows and develops in spite of all the external influences you can bring to bear upon it.

Scrapping the slum is not such a difficult financial problem if you take into account both sides of the balance sheet. You cannot deal with it by private enterprise and education alone, excellent as these are in their places; you cannot educate men who are willing to be owners of slums into giving up their valuable property for the interest of the general community, and you cannot, by private enterprise, pull down slums and build houses to take their place, because private enterprise has no permanent interest to be gained by the operation.

Therefore, it comes to this, that in order to scrap the slums you must have a great constructive housing policy, not only to build model dwellings where the slums are, in their place, but to develop your suburbs so as to attract people out of the slums into the surrounding country, as far as you can. In the proportion in which you congest your center, you make that process of decentralization more difficult, because rapid transportation is an essential part of the development of your outer fringe and the more you centralize the more difficulties you create for rapidity of transportation. Indeed, we are seeing that transportation is also made dearer by over centralization.

The problem is so vast, so complicated, and so involved in our national and social life, that it is necessary for the nation, the state, and the municipality, along with groups of the best citizens of the community, to take hold of it and say "This shall no longer be."

We shall somehow find the means and the opportunity to put this right under our constitution, our laws, and our customs, because these must not stand in the way of what is the best system for the future of the American nation.

I say that, because sometimes the statement is made: "Oh, we are different, the conditions you speak of are different from ours." I waited for three years in Canada before I ventured to suggest that I knew a little about their conditions, and the comparison between them and the conditions of older countries. In certain details, there are different conditions. There are different laws in regard to land. But underlying the whole fabric of both old and new civilizations, there are the

same tendencies to look after "number one" and to make property more sacred than life.

In the essential things, apart from details, you have exactly the same kind of conditions that they have in the older countries. I do not see after four years on this side—and Canada is very much like the United States—I do not see much difference in regard to the underlying reasons why the slum exists and the underlying reasons why we show an indifference towards getting rid of it.

Now is the time when people are willing to listen to us and when it is necessary to make it clear that you cannot deal with this question solely by education, and it is futile to try and cure it through the very individualistic forms of private enterprise that have been partly responsible for its creation.

The education that is most needed is the education of ourselves, and of our politicians and leaders of thought on social problems, including that of clearing the slums.

## CAN A HEALTH DEPARTMENT COPE ADEQUATELY WITH THE HOUSING PROBLEM?

JOHN J. MURPHY

*Former Tenement House Commissioner, New York City*

One of the preceding speakers expressed his embarrassment at being called upon to discuss a paper with which he was in complete agreement. I find myself in the same predicament. As everyone knows, we derive the word "discuss" from "*discus*," something which is thrown with great speed and accuracy, and I find some difficulty in looking over Mr. Ball's paper to do more than echo its sentiment.

In the form in which the question is presented, undoubtedly it might be answered in another way than that obviously anticipated, "Can a Health Department Cope Adequately with the Housing Problem?" Of course it can. Any one who has looked at the multifarious duties conferred upon the departments in Washington will realize that any department can do anything. If you have looked over the list of things, for example, committed to the Department of the Interior, you would see at once that there is no reason why any department, however named, cannot do anything which may be assigned to it.

Perhaps the reason why I was called upon, or put down for a discussion of this paper was the fact that for eight years I had the privilege of presiding over that Department which has (perhaps by the prominence of the city where it is, or perhaps from the wisdom shown in the construction of the Department) been something

of a guide for housing reform throughout the United States. I mean the city of New York; and the experience which the framers of that law had in looking over the actual conditions found in the city of New York at the time when the law was passed, sufficiently answers this question.

We had tenement house laws on the statute books of the state of New York for many years. A distinctly good housing law for its time was enacted about 1867, and additions made from time to time. But the enforcement of that housing law was divided up among four departments of the city government. The Health Department had some of it, perhaps the major part; the Bureau of Buildings had some; the Police Department had some; the Fire Department had some; and the result was as it always is when responsibility is divided.

There was a constant tendency to do what is now known in the vernacular as "pass the buck." If you wanted to find out who was responsible for anything, it was always somebody else. The consequence was that when the Tenement House Commission in 1900 began its investigations, they found that even of the buildings which were in course of construction in that very year in the city of New York, the great majority, 92%, offended in some way against the requirements of the statute.

Now, a proper housing department has a social view, an economic view, and what might be called an architectural or construction view, and the man who undertakes to guide it ought to be informed along those lines.

The Health Department is very naturally inclined to regard the public health from a somewhat different

angle than the department which is engaged in considering it from the possibility of amelioration by the improvement of environment. A health department endeavors to improve the public health by acting directly upon the individual. A housing department would naturally try to improve conditions by improving the environment in which the individual must live. There is a distinct difference in the point of view and in the method, and there is bound to be a difference in the points on which those two departments will place their particular emphasis.

In the city of New York, as the result of this report of the Tenement House Commission of 1900, all of those powers which previously had been scattered among the different departments that I have spoken of, were concentrated in a Tenement House Department, and the record is open for any one to read.

No one claims that New York housing to-day is by any means perfect, but as compared with the conditions which obtained at the time when this Commission made its report, it has immensely improved; and we have, since the time when the law was enacted, provided accommodations for nearly double the population in so-called tenement houses, which were housed in tenement houses at the time when the law was passed, and in those houses there has been a tremendous improvement in living conditions.

It has been reflected in many ways. Of course, lots of things have operated to reduce the death rate of the city of New York, but it is significant that from 1900 to the present year there has been great progress. We had, at that time, a death rate of 20 and a fraction per thousand. In the last year, the death rate had fallen



below 14 and it is quite obvious to everyone who has studied the question that the housing improvement had much to do with it; so that I endorse everything that Mr. Ball has said as to the desirability of doing this thing which is suggested.

That is, every big city, where housing in general is of importance should have a specific department to deal with it. Of course, it is difficult to get people to realize how important the subject is. If you look in the dictionary to find out what the word "housing" means, you will see that it has something to do with the trappings of a horse. The lexicographers haven't yet come to the recognition of the fact that housing has something to do with the habitation of a human being.

## OWN YOUR OWN TOWN

RICHARD S. CHILDS, JR.

*Secretary, Committee on New Industrial Towns*

The question of just how Mr. Purdy's picture applies to the housing projects of the Government is my theme. I have fixed upon 12 projects out of the 50 or 60 that will be completed by the various Government housing authorities, projects which are large enough and isolated enough to be said to constitute separate, independent social units or towns, which will have their commercial centers—a necessary feature, it seems to me, if there is to be an unearned increment from which we may hope for an abnormal ultimate revenue.

At the beginning, however, it must be understood that for these housing projects, built as they have been, regardless of cost and in great haste and by relatively inefficient workmen compared with peace times—I have seen twenty of them standing in a ditch and throwing out altogether about one shovelful a minute—we must, in those towns, be prepared to write off a very large war cost, to bring them down to their market value.

What that may be, we don't know yet; we will not know for some time, not until wages get down to normal, not until the industries reach their peace-time level; but we assume that if the Government adopts the principle that it does not want to be landlord forever of these houses and property—that it wants to sell them to somebody—that it is willing to get its principal back by an amortization process, it will sell the property at its market value and not attempt to apply a rack-rent

process that will squeeze out of the tenants the excessive and abnormal war cost.

Starting, then, from the market value, whatever it may be and whenever we know what it is, it seems perfectly reasonable to me that the Government, in disposing of these properties, should say, "We prefer to sell them on a principle that would insure the capital being turned over only once, just as in the case of the subways in New York City, the nickels of the present generation of strap-hangers are amortizing the capital, retiring the private capital altogether." If those subways were privately owned, that process would continue indefinitely and we would turn over the capital from time to time, but under the New York City bargain we will turn over that capital but once, and when the principal is retired the subways will belong to the city without any cost to the city.

Substantially, the same principle may be applied to a certain dozen of these housing projects. We do not know what the figures are and we cannot tell for some time yet, but I am very happy to be able to say that the idea of a "self-owning town" has been presented to the various authorities and we have friends at court in all places. There seems to be no present danger that either the housing corporation, which is restricted by law and is unable to sell off, or the fleet corporation, which has laid down some restrictions against selling off, or the War Department, which has a couple of good permanent housing projects, will subdivide or spoil these developments. So long as the management of all these properties is in the present hands, the way will be kept clear for the study, and if found acceptable, the application, of the "self-owning town" idea.

## **BOSTON'S HOUSING PROBLEMS**

## THE CITY'S OBLIGATION IN HOUSING

ANDREW J. PETERS

*Mayor of Boston*

I wish to assure you that I do not stand here in any mere official capacity, speaking words of perfunctory welcome. If I were not Mayor of Boston, I should be as deeply interested in your movement as I am to-day. You are attacking aggressively, persistently, with expert knowledge and the enthusiasm of crusaders, one of the most fundamental evils of society. You have wisely combined and organized your forces, making a common fund of the experience of some two hundred cities that are represented in your membership. So that, if practice lags behind vision in a particular community, you are able to go in there and put the moral authority of the whole nation, as it were, behind the efforts of the progressive elements. This year, indeed, you may appeal to the experience of the national government itself, which has discovered that underlying the problems of ship-building and the manufacture of munitions there was a problem of workers' homes.

The aims of the housing movement, as I understand it, may be summed up in four words,—safety, cleanliness, light, and air. These, one would say offhand, are simple things. Every child the world over ought to be safe and clean and revel in the good, wide out-of-doors. But when you have built up an elaborate civilization, you find that it is just the simple things that are hard to keep and costly to recover. We spend millions of dollars for parks, which are nothing more than little

bits of natural countryside that the country child takes as a matter of course and that, fifty years ago, could have been had for a song.

Safe housing, I take it, is chiefly a matter of good building laws, well enforced, and of fire prevention. Cleanliness brings us face to face with some of the most difficult problems of municipal engineering—surface drainage, the water supply, the removal of sewage and house waste, and all that relates to personal sanitation. Sunlight and air cost nothing, we say. As a matter of fact, each of them presents a large bill every year to the city treasurer for payment. If our citizens are to live decently and if some of them are to live at all, we must provide sufficient street width and yard room and window exposure and interior air space and strict regulation to prevent encroachment on all of these. Here we meet the evils of lot crowding, room crowding, and basement occupancy. Here we find the sickly anæmic children, suggesting the parasitic plant, the Indian pipe or the ghost-flower, that breathes no air and makes no green foliage, but throws up a ghastly, whitish stem.

We don't want that kind of human plant; you all hate to see them, to think of them, just as I do; and that is why your movement appeals to me. Though it bewilders the layman with its technical specifications, it is a movement of broad sympathetic foundation and deep ethical purpose. You show us high death rates and every form of moral and physical decay resulting from congestion and you demand a fixed minimum of comfort and decency in order to check these evils. You would draw a Plimsoll line on the ship of state and make unlawful the load that would sink it below the danger

point; and sooner or later the world is going to be reasonable and accept your line.

As for Boston, I observe that frankness is the rule in your proceedings and shall not attempt to be other than straightforward with you. You are, doubtless, familiar to some extent with the history and conformation of the city, that have created our special conditions. We have admirable suburbs, a fine water front, and about four square miles of public parks and playgrounds well scattered, within the city limits, besides the great areas of the metropolitan parks and beaches, lying just outside. In some sections, such as the West Roxbury and Jamaica Plain district, the population is only 2,500 to a square mile, but in the North End it is at the rate of 125,000 and in certain blocks very much more. At first thought, it seems incredible that people could be crowded together so closely that the whole population of the United States, if it lived under these conditions, would occupy a tract only 25 miles square. But that is the actual situation we have to face. It ought not to exist, but it does, and the experience of New York, for example, shows that people can live in that way with a death rate that is astonishingly low.

We are an old city and the arts of town planning and sanitary housing were unknown to our pioneers. They liked deep lots with comfortable spaces in the rear. But, as the land became valuable, these vacant areas were built up. Hence the dense, irregular blocks in the North End and the long narrow streets in South Boston, bisecting the hollow rectangles in which that district was originally laid out.

We are a city of wooden three-family houses. Almost half of our 76,000 dwellings are of this type. We are

a city of landlord ownership, to a great extent. Only 23,000 families in a population of nearly 800,000 people own their homes and more than half of these homes are mortgaged. It is the savings banks, which in Boston have very large deposits, that attract the surplus earnings of our people.

We are a city of ancient buildings, many of which have been altered into three-family dwellings without proper reconstruction. We are a city of narrow streets, and our law permits the erection of buildings to a height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times their width, which may mean two rows of 75-foot houses darkening a 30-foot roadway. We have large foreign colonies, containing excellent material for citizenship, but at present poorly housed in the older quarters of the city.

Our building and housing laws are made by the state legislature and we are not always able to convince that body of the necessity of improvements that seem perfectly clear to us. For example, though our three-family houses are now, at last, made subject to sanitary inspection, they are not yet classified as "tenements" and the stricter requirements for that class of property do not apply to them. That is why you find here the anomaly of some 35,000 three-family houses which are not legally "tenements," as they would be in Chicago, as against only 8,000 "tenements," according to the Massachusetts definition. Of these 8,000, nearly 5,000 are situated in the heart of the city and occupied largely by immigrants.

On the other hand, we have gone ahead in some directions as far as any city. We now have an effective legal process for the prevention of overcrowding and have almost stamped out the worst phases of that evil.



In the last ten years we have demolished nearly 3,000 old buildings. We have vacated hundreds of occupied basements. We have either reduced to a negligible figure or abolished altogether certain unwholesome forms of house sanitation. We have scoured our back yards and made public alleys of what used to be private nuisances—though we have too many private alleys still. We keep indexed records in complete detail of each of our 8,000 “tenements.”

The agencies at work on our housing problems are all keenly alive to the importance of the subject. The Health Department, recently reorganized, and placed in charge of Dr. Woodward, is developing a new system of house inspection. Dr. Woodward intends to take the city block by block and have every building examined. The Building Department maintains a vigilant watch over plumbing installations and structural features. The City Planning Board has made studies of block congestion in the North End, and has brought about the reform of one notoriously congested district. You may have seen its plans and charts, illustrating this improvement, which, by the way, our Board of Health had recommended as far back as 1900. The Housing Committee of ten persons, appointed by me in the early summer, has a free hand and full authority to go as far as it pleases in proposing remedies. I expect a report from this body in December and have asked that it be thorough and practical, so as to serve as a basis for action. Perhaps it may be able to draft a distinct housing statute to take the place of the revision of 1914, which merged the building and housing laws and did not meet all our wishes in other respects.

Balancing the pros and cons and making due allowance for legislative control, I think you must agree that our public agencies have not been asleep on the housing question. We know that much work remains to be done and we intend to keep on pushing hard until the ideals of our excellent workers in this field—some of them members of your Association and personally known to you—are translated into accomplished facts. It is inconsistent, to say the least, that we Americans should go forth to the ends of the earth—to Panama and Manila and Havana—and banish malaria and yellow fever there, and at the same time continue to tolerate disease-breeding conditions that exist at our own doors. We all know it is a community matter. The germ is no respecter of persons. The house fly dines with beggar and prince impartially, and may impart his contagion to one as well as to the other. The sick child of the tenements innocently infects his companions and then there is an epidemic of some cruel disease that water and fresh air and sunshine might have prevented.

The housing problem is a community problem, and one so important that Mr. Lloyd-George has just included a re-housing program as part of his plan of reconstruction of England. More specifically, it is a health problem, calling for great concentration of authority in the health officer of the city. It is also a problem of education and this, I suppose, is the point at which the chief executive can be of service. As a citizen, I can only assure you of my sympathy and approval. As Mayor, I promise to do all in my power to promote a knowledge of housing reform and, as far as my influence extends, to put the force of public

opinion behind every proper housing measure and its due enforcement in Boston.

I ask you to count me as one of yourselves in my desire and purpose to advance this movement for good homes for all the people.

## HOW IT STRIKES AN OUTSIDER

JOHN IHLDER

*Secretary, Philadelphia Housing Association*

I shall not take advantage of the pictures that Mr. Hartman has shown you; what I think about them is practically the same as what you think about them, and there is no use in my telling it to you. I would like to call your attention, however, to one thing that should come up as a result of the thoughts you are having about the pictures, and a result of the discomfort you have just felt.\* If your thoughts lead to the enactment of a housing code, as they should, then you will find certain people here in Boston who will object to certain definite proposals for professional or technical reasons. In Baltimore I have recently been going over the provisions of a housing code, and I find that the architects, or such of them as have appeared, object to any provision which requires windows in such rooms as this in hotels. They think forced ventilation much better than the cool, fresh air now coming into this room and say that windows interfere with it.

Now I am not going to talk about the houses that we saw this afternoon or that Mr. Hartman pictured this evening. Houses are only one factor. The people are another and are quite as important. So I am going to talk a little about the people, but I am not going to talk about the slum population; I am going to talk about the people of Boston as they strike an outsider.

\* The room had been very hot and close and the audience had demanded that windows be opened.

Each of our cities, of course, lends itself more or less to the jeers of its sister cities. You have all of you heard and appreciated jokes on the provincialism of New York and on the smug content of Philadelphia. You will note that I do not speak of the slowness of Philadelphia—that joke is antiquated. Ever since, during the war, Philadelphia secured the Emergency Fleet Corporation, something that no other American city was quick enough to do, that joke has gone out of date. But though we all enjoy jokes on each other's cities, all of us, except perhaps the people of Boston, enjoy most the jokes on Boston; and the number of them is greatest. There is that familiar jingle, supposed to have originated in New Haven but repeated with pleasure from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, which describes the very exclusive circles in which two of your distinguished families move, and there is the infinite variety of jokes on the heavenly city and the dissatisfaction of previous residents of Boston when they are compelled to change their residence. These jokes indicate how Boston strikes us. Mr. Ralph Adams Cram this morning gave an intimation of why it strikes us so. He admitted that Boston is peculiar. I say "admitted," though if it had been a Chicagoan who was speaking, I would have said "boasted." Perhaps it was the quiet, cultivated way in which he made the admission. His was not a deprecatory manner, yet it was certainly a very different manner from that a Chicagoan would have used. It enabled him to sink his conviction into our consciousness without arousing any protest, and there it joined itself to our inherited conviction that Boston is the Hub of the Universe.

Boston, then, is peculiar, even in its own eyes. But

it is not peculiar in the sense the old Quaker meant when he told his wife that he sometimes thought that even she was a bit peculiar. Boston thinks, at least so we outsiders believe, that it is peculiar because of its excellence. Even while Mr. Cram was speaking, we could not keep from suspecting him of believing, at least subconsciously, that the slums he proposed to demolish, are peculiarly excellent slums. Now, if Mr. Cram feels this and his feeling has left him some lingering regret for the slums that he proposes to demolish, how must other Bostonians feel? They do not know their slums, many of them, at first hand, but have simply heard of them from their youth up as being peculiarly excellent slums.

Here comes in another thing about Boston that strikes the outsider, its reverence for the past. So strong is this reverence for the past, that apparently it dulls interest in the future. Some years ago, but not long enough ago to have become a sacred tradition, Boston undertook to look forward to 1915. The effort was too great, however, and its glance reverted. Having this reverence for the past, it considers with anguish the destruction of anything that ties it to the days gone by. This is evidenced by the methods adopted in your slum clearance schemes down in the Morton Street area which we visited to-day. You have, at considerable expense, I believe it is over \$200,000, let in sunlight and air. But this has been done very carefully. Fringing the cleared space, carefully spared from molestation, are still dwellings that contain all the characteristics of the slums; dark, gloomy rooms, dark, dirty hallways, dark insanitary and noisome toilets. Boston must retain what it can of antiquity, despite the modern iconoclast.

If the day ever comes when, to secure a strong, efficient population, slum clearance is undertaken on a large scale, it needs no prophet to foretell that one little piece of a slum will be retained, and that on it will be put a tablet stating—I do not say proclaiming, that would not be Bostonian—but stating that here stands a part of Boston's original slum.

Now this characteristic is not wholly bad, even in the eyes of an outsider. In that day we shall want our grandchildren to know something of the obstacles that we have overcome. The only objection is that when the grandchildren of New York and Philadelphia and Chicago come here to look and marvel, they will have quietly injected into their consciousness a belief that this slum was not like theirs. But with such minor ills as this we must bear. Perhaps the grandchildren of that day may even come to believe that Boston alone had slums to overcome. Have not Boston historians convinced us, and our grandfathers, that American political independence was conceived and born in this favored spot, despite the fact that Philadelphia calls attention on every occasion to the fact that it has the cradle of liberty.

Which brings me to the third point that strikes an outsider—Bostonians, having written the history of America, have developed the historical sense. Looking back over the records which time has left, they find many of the most striking and picturesque passages in the accounts of meetings and the passing of resolutions. The quiet, dull, plodding work that went on between these bright occasions has not left enough for the writer to work up, so the impression has grown in Boston, even more than in the rest of the country, that meetings

and resolutions make history. So Boston specializes on meetings and resolutions.

Now don't, for a moment, think that the rest of the country, that New York or Philadelphia or Chicago feels irritated or hurt because of these characteristics of Boston; on the contrary, these cities are inclined to share Boston's opinion that they are excellent peculiarities, even if they are sometimes carried too far.

The denizens of the rest of the country are most appreciative of the civic pride which leads a Bostonian to go blocks out of his way in order to show them the Copp's Hill Burying Ground, even though they may be somewhat hazy as to whether it is British or Irish cops who are buried there. As school children, they did their best to learn the date of the Boston Tea Party and memorized the names of the towns through which Paul Revere rode in order to wake up the people. As grown-ups, they accept every invitation to attend a meeting in Boston, in the hope of taking part in passing some historic resolution—witness this housing conference.

Occasionally, however, they are inclined to ask themselves if there is not need for another Paul Revere, for Paul was a stimulator to action. We, for example, are informed that in the very near future there is to appear a report on Boston's bad housing. Unfortunately, we remember that there have been other reports, and we recall that several of those previous reports dealt with the houses that we saw to-day. But we believe that this one, while it can scarcely contain anything new, may have a new sequel. For one reason, the business men, as represented by the Chamber of Commerce, seem to be taking a genuine interest. Unhappily they have signalized their awakening by casting stones—a not



unknown tendency on the part of those who have been suddenly and too late awakened. According to an editorial in their magazine the well-meaning efforts of social service workers have been spasmodic and the social workers oftentimes have confused the situation by their proposed solutions during the past thirty years. This may be true, but where were the business men all that time? If they had only lent the aid of their hard-headed common sense, perhaps Boston to-day would be without a slum, except for the historic fragment. Now, however, that they have invaded the field where the well-meaning social workers thoughtlessly gambolled so long, we shall, of course, expect immediate and tangible results.

For another reason, Boston to-day has a Mayor who recognizes the importance of good housing, and who has brought here a Health Commissioner who has improved housing in another city.

It is not in the power of this conference to give you or your Mayor, as he has so courteously intimated, a firm determination not to rest until your objectives have been attained. That determination will come only from him and from you as you support him. As for us outsiders, we can only look on hopefully, for we all like Boston and, except for our loyalty to our own cities, would like to come here and help guide strangers to your historic slums.

## HOW IT STRIKES A BOSTONIAN

CHARLES LOGUE

*Chairman, Mayor's Housing Committee, Boston*

I hardly know what to say in reply to Mr. Ihlder's humorous address, but I think that perhaps you want to know, and you will expect from me, some short account of just what we have done and what we are doing to try to cure the conditions, some of which Mr. Hartman has shown to you to-night. In 1904 Mayor Collins appointed a tenement house commission to study this question. I was appointed a member of that commission, and we took the subject matter in hand to investigate. We spent a year investigating the conditions of Boston. We prepared a bill to be submitted to the Legislature. That bill was, in great part, copied from the New York tenement house act which had been passed and put into action in New York a short time before. We went before the Legislature and tried to get that bill passed, and we tried to arouse all the interest that was possible, but we "got leave to withdraw," and it was not until 1907 that action was taken which gave the present tenement house law substantially as it is to-day, with some amendment. That was a great improvement in the condition that had existed. Of course, it was not ideal.

We would all like to get ideal housing, but it is almost impossible to get it, and the next thing to get is to get the best you can, and if you cannot get just what you want, to take what you can get, hoping for future improvements in later bills. In 1909—the Boston

1915 movement which Mr. Ihlder so humorously refers to—we got together for the purpose of studying conditions that existed in Boston not alone in housing but in everything else. I happened to be appointed on one of those committees which had to take up the study of the housing problem here. We employed an expert investigator. I do not remember just how long he worked, probably 5 or 6 months, gathering data from different sections of Boston, notably the sections in the North End, the West End, the South End, some in East Boston, some in South Boston, and some in Charlestown.

We found a very peculiar situation existing, especially in the North End, and the result of our work then was summed up in the report which we made that it was utterly impossible to build legitimately where illegitimate housing was allowed. That is to say, the conditions existing in the North End were such as to preclude the possibility of building houses in any other part of the city and taking those people who were living in the congested sections there and moving them out to the suburbs or any other place where they might get better conditions.

The result of that was, of course, that no action was taken at all, nothing was done; it was the feeling of the men there that the congestion would have to be stopped before any improved conditions could be found. Now, how are we going to stop the congestion that exists there? It was not legal building, it was illegitimate housing, but remember this, that the property in the North End has been in that way for many years, that the present owners of that property bought it in good faith; you cannot confiscate that property and put the

cost of the improved conditions on the people who own it to-day; those people are poor; the only thing they have is the equity in the real estate which they own there, and it would be high-handed robbery to attempt to drive those people out of their property without any compensation; so I became firmly convinced that the solution of the trouble is going to be in the City Planning Board.

That is a Boston condition. The city of Boston is responsible for that condition down there, not those people. I have lived there for almost twenty years; I know every foot of the North End. I lived down there when conditions were better. It was, as you know, one of the oldest residential sections of Boston, occupied by American people. After a time, and during the big tide of immigration, the Americans were driven out by the Irish; the Irish occupied that part of the city for many years; they did not develop the property as it has been developed since; they, in turn, were driven out of there and their places were taken by the Italians, by the Jews, by the Lithuanians, and by other foreign immigrants coming here. They were more enterprising than the Irish; they developed that property when there was no law forbidding it; there were no laws existing then which prohibited them from building up that property as it exists to-day; consequently the city of Boston is responsible for that condition and not those people, and my opinion is that the city of Boston ought to pay for the improvements that are necessary down there.

If we are to have better conditions, there is only one way of doing it, in my opinion, and that is, that the City Planning Board be empowered to take and run streets

through that section of the North End or through any other of those congested portions of the city, that light and air, which are so necessary, should be let in by the new streets and by the planning that is done by the City Planning Board. They ought to go to the Legislature and make application for a loan, I don't care whether it is five million or ten million, it is going to be worth it all. Let the city of Boston then take and open up all those districts. There will be a certain amount of compensation back again in the betterment which will result from that improvement.

Mr. Hartman said that there was no solution but the consideration of the taxation of the land. I disagree with him there. I believe that this is the solution and the proper solution, that we ought to, by some means or other, obtain sufficient money to give to the City Planning Board and give them authority and let them make those new streets, opening up all those places, where they will have sufficient light and air, and in addition to that, let a law be formed and made to prevent any future condition existing such as that which exists there to-day.

Now we have a peculiar condition in Boston, and a condition which is peculiar to Boston. We have what is called the three-decker, and it is an ideal type of house for working men. As far as sanitation and air and plenty of sunlight and everything of that kind goes, it is ideal; it is infinitely superior to any conditions in New York; it is infinitely superior to any conditions in Philadelphia. The objection that I have against them is that they are built of wood and they are liable to a conflagration hazard. That is the danger that I see. The æsthetic aspect is not all that could be desired. Of course there

is this difference between the three-decker and the type of house in Baltimore and Philadelphia, that there is more or less restraint placed on the inhabitants of the three-decker, whereas, in the homes in Baltimore and Philadelphia they are not subject to that restraint because they are in their own house. That is an advantage, but that is the only advantage that I see that Philadelphia or Baltimore has over the three-decker in Boston, and of course anyone who knows the conditions, knows that those conditions in the three-deckers are far superior to the tenement house blocks in New York, where they have to depend absolutely on the light from the inner yards and the courts, etc.

Mr. Hartman said to-night that he hoped there would be no blocks built with shafts or courts, but it would be utterly impossible to frame any law in Boston with any hope of getting it passed that would do away with those shafts and courts. There is a phase to this matter that Mr. Hartman has evidently overlooked, and that is the economic aspect of it. You may want and desire all the ideal pictures that you can imagine, but when it comes down to the practical work of getting those things, then you are up against a stiff proposition, especially when you have to go to the Legislature and convince the men who make the laws that these things are necessary and that these things are better for the citizens.

Now I was appointed on the Commission sometime in July. By the way, I ought to say this, that this present attempt now has been brought about by the Women's Municipal League of Boston. They have made a very earnest attempt to improve the conditions in Boston, and I want to pay a public tribute here to

the ladies, the prominent ladies of the Women's Municipal League, who have taken such a deep interest in this, and as far as I can help them, I can assure them that I shall do all I can in any way that I can to help along the work which they are doing.

The Women's Municipal League drafted a law which they thought would meet the conditions and improve the situation in Boston. They called a meeting at City Hall and invited all the civic organizations to go there. The draft of the bill was read at that meeting and there was a great deal of hostility shown to the bill. The bill was considered entirely too drastic. Certain of the provisions were condemned and there was no hope of getting any encouragement from that meeting, but the ladies persisted and finally got a meeting of all the civic organizations including the Chamber of Commerce. I was elected as a delegate from the Chamber of Commerce, made Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee, and so I lent my advice, as far as I possibly could, to get consideration of that bill by the Chamber, and so we had a series of meetings there, called at the Chamber of Commerce, and we investigated and discussed the question of this bill until we all finally arrived at the conclusion that the best way to solve this problem was to appeal to the Mayor and petition him to appoint a Commission to consider this question from all aspects, and to invite on the Commission all interests with the hope that in getting all the interests combined into one, we might succeed in going to the Legislature and getting a good bill through.

The Mayor appointed that Commission and we have been working pretty hard since last July. We have held about 20 meetings, and each meeting lasts about two

hours or two hours and a half. We have had the sub-committees working and they work very hard, and I might take this opportunity of telling the press, which used a hammer on us last week because they said we were keeping everything secret, and that although we were mentally superior to everybody else, that still they thought the press ought to hear something about it. Well now, I want to say this to the press, that we will be very glad to have your representatives at our meetings, and we haven't any desire to keep anything away from the press; in fact, we would like to get its aid, but we hope to be able to get our report in such shape that we can give it to the press very soon. We hope to get that report into the Mayor's hands by the middle of next month. In investigating this matter we have invited everybody that we thought was interested in housing, and we were not very much encouraged by the attendance at those different sessions. We invited lots of people there to give us their views. A few came; but only a few. We intend to have a few public hearings and invite the public to give us their views on what they think should be done. In the meantime, we are trying to frame and draft a bill which we hope will improve conditions in every part of the city, and if we get that through and get it with the Mayor's consent, backed by his influence, to the Legislature, we may be able to succeed in giving you a very decent housing law.



## WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

CHARLES B. BALL

*Chief Sanitary Inspector, Health Department, Chicago*

I am not going to be quoted as a Chicagoan; I shall feel quite at liberty to use the first person rather than the second because of the fact that my father was born in Salem and lived there the first 25 years of his life, and I can trace my paternal lineage for six generations in that neighborhood. I belong to Boston.

There are some people here that have never realized that there was a problem of housing, and to such, who do not know that "the cure for bad housing is the bitter labor of generations," I first address myself. The venerable Dr. Eliot, who sat on this platform last evening, has summarized housing evils in one sentence, "Bad housing is the fundamental evil in all cities, for it develops many physical and moral ills."

Another educator, Prof. Chas. H. Cooley of Michigan, says:

"Humanity needs that men should have sunlight, fresh air, the sight of grass and trees. It demands these things for the man himself and it demands them still more urgently for his wife and children.

"No child has a fair chance in the world who is condemned to grow up in the dirt and confinement, the dreariness, ugliness, and vice of the poorer quarters of a great city. It is impossible to think with patience of any future condition of things in which such a childhood shall fall to the lot of any large part of the human race. Whatever struggles manhood must endure, childhood should have room and opportunity for healthy, moral, and physical growth."

Let us outline our reply to the question, "What Shall We Do About It?"

I. **SOMETHING MUST BE DONE.** The steps taken in the past 30 years are an insufficient answer to our question. The reconstruction era is the time to advance. Secretary Lane has rightly told us, "The imagination of the world is challenged by the largeness of the opportunity to put all things right."

II. **WHAT SHALL BE UNDERTAKEN?** We need the enactment and the enforcement of adequate laws to regulate the reconstruction of both old and new dwellings and the sanitation of both. Such laws must correlate housing with city planning, with zoning, and with other social community needs.

III. **WHAT AGENCIES MUST BE EMPLOYED TO ACCOMPLISH THESE ENDS?** The administration of housing laws, in my judgment, must be through a housing department constituting an additional spoke in the wheel of municipal organization. We need also an independent agency consisting of a group of interested citizens who shall coöperate with the official agencies.

IV. **WHAT RESULTS MAY BE OBTAINED?** I will try to outline some of these, if you will bear with me.

As has been intimated, Boston has not been unaware of the menace of the slums in her midst. This afternoon I read a little story by Edward Everett Hale, a plain statement of slum conditions. It was published in 1869 and tells with considerable detail what a Bostonian found at that time. Sixty-six years ago in 1852 the Massachusetts Sanitary Commission published two thick volumes saying that something ought to be done. We are now in the third generation of those who have

grown up in the slums, and these are the conditions from which we are still suffering. Let me quote from General Francis A. Walker, who was my instructor in Yale before he came to Harvard, and who made these remarks in connection with a tenement report made public in 1888 by Prof. Dwight Porter. He says:

“I expect soon to see the time come when the Commonwealth of Massachusetts shall declare that no one of its citizens, under whatever plea of poverty, shall have his home where he has not a sufficient access of fresh air and of God's sunlight.”

On Sunday morning last I was enticed by the fresh air and beautiful sunlight to take a walk from the hotel. I looked around the neighborhood of Copley Square. It was not an unknown land to me, yet I had never before realized its magnificence and beauty. I passed the public library, and under the frieze, I read “The Commonwealth requires the education of the people as the safeguard of order and liberty.” And then I thought with Thomas Adams, “You cannot educate a people that is badly housed.” I went farther across Commonwealth Avenue and looked up and down the façade of luxurious homes. In Beacon Street I saw the same abodes of wealth and refinement located on these world renowned streets and avenues. Then I came to the Embankment, that magnificent esplanade which stretches up and down the renewed shore of the Charles River. Beyond, I saw the beautiful, spacious basin glimmering in the sunlight, and on the other side the beginnings of that great educational institution which means so much to our technical training. Still beyond was the greater institution of learning, the greatest on

the American continent; and then down the vista I saw that great product of engineering skill and architectural achievement, the bridge which connects these two cities, the city of learning and the city of wealth. Farther down I saw, rising above other things, the glistening dome of the State Capitol, suggesting the glory of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, preëminent for leadership in the galaxy of States.

And then I cast my eyes toward the upstanding shaft of Bunker Hill monument, the most significant monument on the American continent. As I looked again, I saw an ancient building of massive walls and with grated windows, the Suffolk County prison in which are confined hundreds of men. Next to that, the great hospital in which lie on beds of sickness hundreds of your citizens. I thought of the great philanthropic institutions of Boston and the page of your newspaper of the evening before, where are enumerated many deserving charities that need the helping hand; as all these were in my mind, I thought also of the dark rooms lying below the roofs in the extended landscape and those other evils that have been pictured to you from time to time.

Time was when great institutions and extensive charities marked the *progress* of civilization. It is so no longer; these things are now the signs of the *failure* of civilization rather than of its *success*. It seems to me that Boston has loved *liberty* rather than life, the making of *money* rather than the making of *men*.

#### WHAT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN?

The first step for the future is to enact and enforce laws that will:

1. PREVENT THE ERECTION OF UNFIT TYPES OF DWELLINGS.—Such laws should include all dwellings. We have come, since about 1912, to fully realize that housing evils are by no means confined to tall tenements, or even to low ones, but that overcrowding, uncleanness, defective plumbing, and other like evils, may be found in any dwelling, even if inhabited by a single family.

The later laws, such as the State Law of Michigan, and the Minneapolis law, both enacted in 1917, are rightly based on an inclusive classification of all houses and institutions in which human beings live. You should have no hesitation in deciding that a law which regulates the building of tenement houses only and does not apply to other dwellings is quite inadequate to meet present day needs.

There is an undesirable misapprehension on the part of many persons, even among those who possess more than ordinary intelligence, to underrate the importance of erecting new dwellings which are fit to live in, as compared with the work of improvement and sanitation of old buildings.

Do not misunderstand me. The bad repair, filthy conditions, dark rooms, and insufficient plumbing of the worn-out old houses, be they dwellings or tenements, are unspeakably deplorable and distressing, but in most of our American cities these may be done away with within a relatively few years at the most. In many neighborhoods they will be likely to be shortly displaced by factories, warehouses, railroad yards, or other newer types of occupation. On the contrary, the permanency of a newly constructed house, the strong probability that it will render service to three or four generations of men, makes it imperative that it fail in no regard to

be a safe and efficient habitation. The saddest housing evils in Boston are those which prevail in new, that is, recently erected houses. The more enduring the structure of these tenements, the longer the dark rooms will "exact a toll of death from those that dwell therein."

2. SET RIGHT STANDARDS FOR NEW DWELLINGS.—The longer Boston stands still, the further will she be outdistanced in the race in respect to the standards to be embodied by law in new buildings.

For example, consider the matter of basement living rooms. No such rooms have been built in Buffalo for some years past, and the standards set for the houses built by the federal government altogether prohibit them; hence Boston can do no less than rule out by law any new living quarters underground.

Boston early established the constitutionality of a law limiting the height of buildings; nevertheless, it continues to build lofty tenements fronting each other across very narrow streets. It will be difficult to carry out a proper limitation of heights of dwellings, even such as the common New York practice of one and one-half times the width of the street, but this height at least should not be exceeded.

We should follow the government standards in prescribing 50 feet as the minimum distance from the front wall of a house to the front wall of a house on the opposite side of the street.

Having provided by law for light and ventilation on the street front of a dwelling, similar provisions must be made for an adequate rear space on the lot. This should not be less than the height of the building, nor in any case less than 20 feet. Such is the government

standard. To adopt less is to sacrifice fundamental open spaces.

If a row or terrace group of houses is to be built, the limit of two rooms in depth should be applied as a necessary restriction to insure light, ventilation, and outlook. The same good result is secured, even in tenement houses, by designing a large building round about three sides of a spacious court and limiting the transverse depth at every point to two rooms. This is common in the design of Chicago new tenements.

Time does not allow a further detailed statement as to the basic provisions which should be included in your forward movement in legislation controlling the design of new houses, but those suggested are important.

3. SECURE ADEQUATE ENVIRONMENT.—Sometimes the mistake has been made of thinking that our work was done when a house has been well built in accordance with an approved plan. Let us not conclude that a dwelling is fit or complete unless it has a suitable environment. Some persons despair of providing this by law. I do not. We need the utilities in this order: Sewers, water supply, roadways, sidewalks, trees, grass, and waste disposal. Only when these are all available can the dwelling become a proper human abode.

That the community life may be properly cared for, we need churches, schools, libraries, places of assembly, parks, and the like.

Listen to what has been accomplished in war housing in Britain, as described by a recent observer:

“One thing strikes the observer forcibly in practically all of the larger operations conducted by the Government. These communities are complete. They are laid out along the latest ideas of housing and town plan-

ning. They contain, beyond the cottages (permanent and temporary) for industrial workers, dining halls, recreation buildings, clubs, institutes, schools, playgrounds, churches, hospitals, stores, markets, and they are provided with excellent roads with curbs, sidewalks, fences, hedges, and, in many cases, trees have already been planted."

If England has done so well when subject to the awful strain of war, can we do less in peace than provide these amenities?

The time is now ripe for one forward step not yet taken by any American city. I refer to such limitations of the number of persons who may live on an acre of ground as will prevent congestion of population. This has been accomplished in Europe, Great Britain, and in Canada by prescribing the maximum number of houses per acre. The changes in type of housing use are so frequent and rapid in our cities from the single family dwelling through various transitory kinds of occupation to a technical tenement house, that it seems logical to me to reach the same end by limiting at the beginning, not the number of houses, but the number of living rooms which can be built to the acre.

Assuming that the occupation of each room will be likely to be an average of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  persons, if we say that 40 living rooms shall be the limit allowed, we provide for 60% per acre. The distribution of these 60 can be in 10 houses of 4 rooms each to house 6 people, or 5 houses of 8 rooms each to house 12 people, or in 13 apartments of 3 rooms each to accommodate 4 or 5 persons in each.

Such a high standard as 40 rooms per acre would be adapted to the outer, more open districts, of a city, and



a considerably higher number could be allotted in the central, more densely built-up portions.

4. BRING TO PASS A REASONABLE IMPROVEMENT IN EXISTING DWELLINGS.—The second part of our task, namely, to pass and enforce proper laws for dealing with the existing dwellings, is a much more complex one. These buildings are of all ages, built of many materials, of greatly diverse types, with varying means of access and plumbing equipment. The tall tenements are also different on the upper floors from the ground floor, and perhaps may be shut in on one flank and open on the other. In the framing of laws for the removal of structural evils which are found in old houses, a classification may well be made of them into several classes:

First: Those buildings which may be made habitable by slight changes only, such as cutting of additional windows or skylights for halls and rooms, the removal of partitions to throw together two small rooms into one large one, the building of more stairways and fire escapes, and the construction of adequate plumbing equipment. Certain old buildings may well be given a longer lease of life by such changes as these.

Second: A second class of buildings by reason of their length or breadth and height require major improvements in their structure. The cutting of courts and air shafts down through the upper floors of a large building is a heroic measure, as is the removal of partitions and the entire rearrangement of the rooms on every inhabited story, but such treatment is often justifiable when the walls are heavy and the floor structure is sufficient.

Third: The third class of houses is fit only for condemnation and demolition. Slovenly shacks and ram-

shackle shanties, tumbledown sheds and dwellings in disrepair and dilapidation, "shame-stained and bearing the nameless odors of decay," deface our cities, and we should spare no pains to be rid of them. Old worn-out buildings which have for years served their purpose should be scrapped, just as old machinery is thrown aside.

The progress of 30 years in mill and shoe production machinery is such that the old no longer is in service, but has been supplanted by new. The efficiency of a machine is now judged by present-day standards, by quality of its output. Worn-out dwellings should likewise be judged by twentieth century standards.

It is not difficult to apply the acid test to a house.

Does it afford light, air, and space to its occupants? Does it deny sunshine and air circulation to its neighbors? Is it structurally safe? Has it the needed means of egress? Is its plumbing adequate? Is it clean? If an old building fails in any of these regards and its deficiency cannot be made up by means such as I have outlined—to the wrecking crew with it.

Three cities should be named as holding high rank with respect to their demolition accomplishments. These are Boston, Washington, and Cleveland. Since 1907, the Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Dwellings in the District of Columbia has demolished more than 1,500 houses as unfit for habitation by reason of dilapidation or insanitary condition. It has caused the repair of nearly as many more to render them fit for use.

In Boston, Mr. Thomas Jordan, Deputy Commissioner of the Board of Health, has devoted untiring energy to the matter. The number of buildings or

parts thereof removed during the years 1900 to 1913 was 1,164, the greatest number being 209 demolished in 1904. No appropriation was available in the years 1914 to 1917. The \$10,000 appropriated for 1918 was not available until summer, and the coming of the epidemic has caused postponement of active operations for this season.

The Building Commissioner of Boston also reports that 1,200 dilapidated buildings were razed during the years 1915-1916.

Cleveland is likewise noteworthy for the demolition of about 450 buildings in one season under the administration of former Chief Inspector Mildred Chadsey.

5. IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON THE ENLARGEMENT, REPAIR, AND MOVING OF FRAME DWELLINGS.—Up to the present, we have not laid sufficient emphasis on the necessity of limiting the life of old frame buildings, but have allowed repairs, extensions, and alterations of frame houses in many ways which have operated to prolong their existence as nuisances.

The amount of repairs after fire damage and when dilapidation occurs should be cut down in order to diminish fire hazard and to decrease the sanitary disadvantages of old frame buildings.

It is also quite reasonable to impose strict limitations on the removal of an old frame building to a new site where its permanency will be augmented. Unless a positive community advantage can be shown, the argument of profit to the owner should be given little weight. Only in remote and sparsely occupied districts should the renovation of frame dwellings by extensive repair be approved.

6. MAINTAIN ALL DWELLINGS IN CONDITION FIT

**FOR HABITATION.**—The maintenance of dwellings and their surroundings in fit condition for human occupancy will not require much additional legislation.

Many tedious details of careful inspection, making of records, and service of notices, and so on, must be faithfully performed to secure good repair, cleanliness, adequate care of plumbing fixtures, waste removal, and abatement of various miscellaneous nuisances. In all this work, the tendency toward the unconscious lowering of standards must be continually in mind and tirelessly resisted, else our labors are in vain.

The introduction in times to come of instructive inspection, when the representative of the department will take time and pains to explain both to tenant and to landlord the reasons why sanitary maintenance is for his advantage and that of the community, will be a significant advance over present methods.

**7. CORRELATE HOUSING WITH CITY PLANNING.**—Since the elements of a city plan for a given district permanently affect the types and development of housing in that district and since the converse proposition is true, namely, that the utility of street and block improvement is to a marked degree dependent upon housing construction, these functions of the municipality should be correlated at every point of contact.

This is not alone necessary with regard to the outlying open areas in which the processes of development are active, but in connection with the rectification of plan for the built-up portions of the city. The cutting of new streets in congested districts results in tearing down of houses and changing the character of the housing that remains.

I am advised that the excellent work of the City

Plan Commission of Boston commends itself to those who are most interested in the solution of our housing problems.

8. **ESTABLISH A ZONING SYSTEM.**—The relation of zoning methods of control to housing is also most vital. Mr. Frank Backus Williams, a recognized authority, has already advised us:

“The zoning system has many objects, the promotion of manufactures by placing the plants in favorable situations, the regulation of real estate values and rents, by preventing one class of activities from intruding upon another to the injury of both; the fixing and preservation of the character of neighborhoods in order that the waste of destruction, rebuilding, and readjustment may be avoided, but the main purpose of zoning is the improvement of housing conditions through the prevention of congestion. . . . The zoning system prevents congestion by limiting the intensity of building upon each building lot, so that on every one of them there may be light, air, sun, and open space.”

#### WHAT AGENCIES MUST BE EMPLOYED?

To my mind, the administrative agency that can best accomplish the desired result is a Housing Department having functions independent of those of other departments and added as another spoke in the wheel of city administration. This conclusion is based upon 15 years' experience in working with the Health Department in Washington, D. C., then as the head of a bureau in the Tenement House Department of New York City, and finally 14 years' experience since as the Chief of the Sanitary Bureau in the Health Department of Chicago.

A principal argument for an independent administra-

tion of housing work is that sufficient men and money can be more easily obtained in the city budget for such administration rather than as a branch of Health Department activities.

A further reason for a Housing Department is that its energies and funds, devoted solely to the furtherance of housing betterment, will not then be diverted in case of epidemic to other uses, as is sure to occur if organized within the Health Department.

To assist the Housing Department or Bureau in its enforcement of law, and to observe whether the law is interpreted in accordance with the intention of its friends, there is required a committee of citizens who can keep under constant observation the administration of the law, note violations independently of the department concerned, take appropriate action when the law needs strengthening or other amendment, and carry on publicity work in the community. This upholding of the hands of the law-enforcing agency is an absolute and necessary function of the community, independent of the officials who are charged with the duties of enforcement.

#### WHAT RESULTS MAY BE OBTAINED?

We have been considering the need of housing reform during thirty years, but little has been done.

This day there looked out between the iron bars of yonder prison window a young man whose length of life has been less than the thirty years during which we have been considering the need of housing reform. He was born in a congested tenement. "Home," as Jacob Riis puts it, "the greatest factor of all in the training of the young, meant nothing to him but a pigeon-hole in a

coop along with so many other human animals." As a youth he sought the freedom of the streets. There he found comradeship albeit of the worst type; of schooling he had a minimum, unlearning in an hour at home everything he had acquired during the day at school. His teaching in the street led to his delinquency. A steady downward course was his until he reached a prison cell. You and I cannot escape responsibility for the place in which he was born and the environment of his boyhood.

This day there lies in a hospital bed, torn by the ravages of a loathsome disease, a young woman with only darkness in life at an age when all joy is her rightful heritage. She was also a child of the tenement, existing, not living, in overcrowded quarters where maidenly delicacy was an impossibility and disregard of decency became a habit. The common toiler was only less a peril to her than the unlighted hallway. She at least has been a factor in urging on the battle against the evils that cost her virtue and her life. We cannot claim that we have done our duty by this young woman while such conditions still prevail in any dwelling in the city.

This day there died in a rear dark room of a tall tenement a little girl of five, whose few years of life had none of childhood's happiness. Perhaps you have in your home a little one of tender years; whose play and childish prattle constitute for you the chief end of life. The little one who gave her life to-day to the Moloch of bad housing was as dear to the mother's heart as is your child, but is lost because of our failure to insure that these least favored ones enjoy the same happy lot as the most favored.

One more picture and I am done. This day a babe was born in a basement room, where the walls are damp and reeking with noisome odors. No light of day penetrates to this room. The foreign-born parents of this young American in fond hope picture him as the stay of their declining years. Strange to say, the destiny of this new-born babe is rather in your hands than theirs, and is to be largely determined by the decision we here and now make on the question at issue.

Shall he by law be provided with a fit shelter and with the environment that makes the home a worth-while place? Shall his home be, as one has said, "A place to be safe in; a place to be warm and dry in; a place to eat in peace and sleep in quiet; a place whose kind, familiar limits rest the nerves from the continuous hail of impressions in the clanging world outside?" The issue of our conference is not a matter of doubt with me. I believe that adequate laws will be passed and will be enforced by a City Department organized especially to perform that function. A group of interested citizens will be formed to encourage and stimulate all housing activities.

The inspiring result will be that in the distant years there shall exist in all our city:

No room unfit for a babe, the gift of heaven, to be born in;

No house in which the child may not play and grow in the bright sunlight;

No abode into which a bride and groom may not safely enter to establish a happy home;

No dwelling from which the worker may not go forth with joy to his daily task and to which he may not return at eventide with restful satisfaction;

No habitation in which the old, done with the



active labors of life, may not peacefully await the end with its benison of full reward.

This, my friends, is the result which I predict will surely come to pass as we take up the duty so plainly ours.

## **HOUSING PROGRESS OF THE YEAR**

## HOUSING PROGRESS OF THE YEAR

### REPORTS BY THE DELEGATES

LAWRENCE VEILLER, PRESIDING

#### THE CHAIRMAN:

I am not going to make a speech, but I do want to explain this meeting. This is one meeting of the Conference that is peculiar. In the first place, the chairman is under injunctions, quoting the language of the Tank Corps, "to treat 'em rough." Everybody who is called upon is called upon without knowing he is going to be called upon and he is literally held to three minutes, and at the end of three minutes when the gavel drops, *he* is expected to drop with his sentence in midair. Let me relate this brief episode. A woman came to see me not long ago about holding a meeting. I advised her to have a meeting of this type with no papers and everybody limited to three minutes, and said, "You cannot make it a success, however, unless you have a steam roller in the chair. Who is going to preside?" "I am." She was such a quiet, meek-looking type of woman that I asked, "Do you think you can do it?" She replied, "We were having a meeting in Chicago at which I presided and a representative of the United States Department of Agriculture was making a speech. I notified him that his time was up, and he said, 'Just a moment.' He went on five minutes more and I had to say again, 'Your time is up,' and he turned to me and said, 'Madam, if you will only

allow me to finish'; and I said, 'Sir, that is what we *want* you to do.'” That is the spirit of this meeting, at the end of three minutes we *want* you to finish. We will call first on Mr. Ball, of Chicago.

## CHICAGO

CHARLES B. BALL

*Chief Sanitary Inspector, Health Department, Chicago*

There have come two publications out of Chicago, a little one and a big one, and two reports of housing vacancies, a little one and a big one, during the year. This pamphlet which I hold up is very much like a splendid purple pamphlet issued before war times by the Tenement House Department of New York City and entitled "For you." It has been prepared and distributed by the Chicago Women's Aid of the city of Chicago, one of our best housing agencies. This other document is the annual report of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium of the city of Chicago, of which our Health Commissioner, John Dill Robertson, is chairman of the Board of Directors. It contains a report on housing occupying two-thirds of the volume, prepared by Mr. Robert E. Todd, covering an intensive investigation of 22 blocks and 15,100 rooms. I have to suggest that the best way to use this volume is for each of you to get a copy of it, which will not be difficult at all, and study the data and draw your own conclusions.

Chicago is, as always, unique in the fact that when all the other cities of the United States had a housing shortage, we had an overplus. We have overbuilt Chicago for some years, and when there came the need

of making munitions of war and housing the people who were making them, we found that we were able to do it, not only for Chicago, but for our neighbors. In June a request was made by Professor Ford of the United States Housing Corporation that we see what could be done in a limited area, through a survey of vacant apartments within ten minutes' walk of Englewood Station. That was made by the Chicago City Club and reported on June 15th. The area covers just three and a half square miles. The investigation was made in three days, June 4th, 5th, and 6th, by thirty-six members of the School of Civics and Philanthropy, and some interesting analyses were made in their reports, of which there is not time to speak.

It was found at Washington that more space was needed to house war workers, and a later request came which was presented to the sub-committee on available housing of the Home Registration Service of the State Council of Defense. That was reported on August 21, 1918, the work having been "in progress" about three weeks. 169,000 residences and flats were visited. Four hundred workers were engaged in the work whose services were donated by various organizations. The round-up showed that the vacant apartments numbered 4,612, vacant houses 493, and rooms for rent 11,120. Our public-spirited newspaper, the Chicago Daily News, on August 21st published this list covering four pages, as you see, and donated 20,000 copies of that for the use of the authorities.

**THE CHAIRMAN:**

We will call on former Commissioner John J. Murphy, of New York.

## NEW YORK CITY

## NEW YORK CITY

JOHN J. MURPHY

*Former Tenement House Commissioner*

New York has not much to report that is new or very encouraging. The situation there is very much as it has been for a number of years. As in the case of Chicago, a police census made in July of this year indicated a surplus of about 50,000 vacant apartments in the city; those, however, were in the most undesirable sections of the city and in the poorest types of buildings. The new administration of the city of New York is not particularly hostile to the tenement house law or the Tenement House Department; it simply does not understand it. This remark applies to the general city administration, not to the Tenement House Commissioner. The administration regards both as sort of highbrow contrivances for the annoyance of landlords and for preventing the tenants from living in that state of life to which it has pleased the Lord to call them. The law, however, remains unchanged.

Two attempts were made in the legislature of last year: one to abolish the Tenement House Department by the usual method of transferring its work to the various Bureaus of Buildings of the city of New York; and another, to permit the conversion of unsuitable old residence buildings into tenement houses. The latter is the danger we are confronting in New York and I have no doubt in other cities, under the pretext that, because of the stoppage of building and an apparent increase of population in certain cities, it is necessary to utilize those old buildings; on the one hand for the benefit of the owners of them so that they may be able to pay

more taxes to the city, and on the other hand, for the benefit of the people who may not be able to find suitable accommodations. If there were any way in which this could be done, and subsequently the buildings could be removed from the tenement house classification, there might be something said in favor of it, but if it becomes a law, we would have this great mass of old structures put in the way of the future improvement of the city. I fear that is the proposal which we are going to have to fight very hard in the coming legislature of the State of New York. I hope, however, that the great success which the Tenement House Committee has had in the past under the leadership of Mr. Veiller in preventing objectionable amendments to the law, which were not really amendments but deteriorations, will continue in the future.

**THE CHAIRMAN:**

The State of Pennsylvania, represented by Mr. John Molitor, head of the Housing Bureau of that State.

**PENNSYLVANIA**

**JOHN MOLITOR**

*Chief, Bureau of Housing, State of Pennsylvania*

I do not know that I have much to say except to state that the force of the Bureau of Housing of the State of Pennsylvania was increased from 2 men to 5 men in June last. You can imagine how much work we can do in a large State like Pennsylvania with a force of 5 men. Up until a year and a half ago I was working by myself and I tell you that I was as active as a one-armed paper hanger with the itch. The principal work I have

been trying to do is to study the problem of the small overgrown community; these towns usually are the one-industry towns, like the mining town or the steel mill town, and as a rule the corporations in the past have prevented the development of that town; by reason of having had labor troubles. They own all the surrounding land and have not sold any of it for years, and the towns have increased in population but not in size. Very few new houses are built and the great problem is to get the corporation owning the land around the town to sell some of it, open it up, and allow people to build houses or get them to build houses themselves and provide for the natural expansion and civic development of that town along other than industrial lines.

Also the problem in some of the mining towns is, where the land has settled and the water from a nearby stream or ground water has risen up and made the houses insanitary, to provide some means of correcting this or having these houses abandoned and new areas laid out, so that people can have their homes upon ground that will be safe. In one community that work is now under way and some 250 houses will be abandoned and the people will be given lots and houses up on the hillside. In another place there is a similar condition in a town which had 2,000 inhabitants twelve years ago and now has 6,000, but very few new houses built since that time. The land around that town is owned by one coal-mining corporation, and it has agreed to open up the land around there and to build a great number of houses at its expense, and to sell them on reasonable terms; also to sell lots to the people so as to give them a proper means for expansion. They had been crowded into a very small section, but by this



means they will be enabled to spread out over some six or seven times the former area, with a population of three times what they formerly had. It is very hard to secure these methods of expansion except by working through the corporations which can control things. Where you find the individual owners, it is much more difficult and a much slower process; they are harder to move when they are separated, than when they act collectively. The large corporations are now taking more interest in the people than they formerly did.

#### THE CHAIRMAN:

The State of New Jersey represented by Miles W. Beemer, Secretary of the New Jersey Board of Tenement House Supervision.

### NEW JERSEY

#### MILES W. BEEMER

*Secretary, Board of Tenement House Supervision of New Jersey*

The necessity of housing industrial workers has given a great impetus in New Jersey to the development of industrial housing. We now have housing villages or industrial developments in Passaic, New Brunswick, Elizabeth, Bayonne, near Camden, where the great village of Yorkship is being constructed, Belcoville, a new village near Mays Landing and Amitol, another village near Hammonton in Atlantic County. These new housing developments, created to supply the housing needs of war workers, brought a new vision to many people in New Jersey who needed the new blood of such enterprises to give them a better understanding of community development.

In our tenement house work we have been fortunate during the past year in obtaining amendments of the tenement house law in two important particulars: one, the amendment of the definition of a tenement house makes it clear that the tenement house law, which covers the entire State of New Jersey, applies to every building or portion of a building in which three or more families live; the other amendment provides for the conversion of one- or two-family brick or stone residences into three-family houses.

We have a number of areas in some of our New Jersey cities where the neighborhood has gone to seed, many fine residences having been abandoned by their former occupants who moved either into the suburbs or into new sections of our cities. This change, due principally to the improvement of transportation facilities, has left these large houses, which cannot be rented for occupancy by single families, to develop into rooming-houses or to become dilapidated and centers of slum development. The amendment of our tenement house law makes provision for the conversion of these buildings in a practical manner under the control of the State Tenement House Commission. A number of them have already been converted, to the benefit of owners, tenants and the community.

**THE CHAIRMAN:**

We have heard from various states; we are now going to hear from a city which is very near to us, the city of Boston, Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood.

## BOSTON

EDITH ELMER WOOD

*Women's Municipal League of Boston*

Just a little over a year ago the Women's Municipal League of Boston, after a seven years' close, first-hand contact with the bad housing conditions of the city, decided that the two chief causes of these troubles were the inadequate standards of the existing law in certain important particulars, and the non-enforcement of such law as we had. It therefore formulated its program to work for a modern housing law for Boston, with adequate standards, and for a specialized city department to administer it. The next step was to invite a number of leading organizations of the city, civic, business, and philanthropic, to appoint special housing committees to study the subject and to confer together from time to time upon it, a sort of informal housing council. Sixteen organizations, including such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce, the Central Labor Union, and the City Federation of Women's Clubs, responded and appointed committees. The first meeting was held in the council chamber of the City Hall on the first of November, 1917, and subsequent meetings were held through the winter and spring.

Then came the inauguration of Mayor Peters, who, in his inaugural address, made it abundantly clear how sincere was his desire to see the housing conditions of the working people of Boston improved. The moment seemed propitious to ask for official action. A petition was drawn up and signed by practically the same organizations that had been meeting throughout the winter and by certain additional ones. In this petition

we asked the Mayor to appoint a citizens' committee to do three things: to investigate and report on existing housing conditions in Boston, on the existing laws and ordinances relating to housing in Boston, and on the administrative mechanism for the enforcement of those laws. The Mayor granted the petition and early in July appointed a housing committee of ten members.

Very appropriately he appointed Mr. Charles Logue, who had been chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Housing Committee as its chairman, and several other members were representatives of the organizations which had signed the petition. His letter of instructions to that committee followed very closely the lines of our petition, and so they are doing exactly those three things,—they are going to report on housing conditions, on housing laws, and on housing administration as they affect Boston, and make their recommendations. They have been hard at work since the middle of July, and their report is expected some time next month. It will then be up to the people of Boston to get behind the recommendations that are made, and to see that they are not pigeonholed, but are carried over the top into the realm of accomplishment.

Those who had the subject at heart felt that nothing could help so much to produce just the sort of active, enlightened, enthusiastic public opinion that would bring this about as to have the National Housing Association hold its annual conference here. These same organizations, then, with the addition of the Mayor, the Health Commissioner, the Building Commissioner, the City Planning Board, and the Massachusetts Homestead Commission, extended to the National Housing Association an invitation to come to Boston. Great

was our delight when it was accepted, and we are now looking forward with confidence to getting just the inspiration we need—and which Boston needs—to make the reforms we hope for an accomplished fact.

#### THE CHAIRMAN:

The chair allowed Mrs. Wood one extra minute upon the understanding that she would throw a bouquet at the National Housing Association. The next speaker will be Mr. John Ihlder, Secretary of the Philadelphia Housing Association, who will tell us about Philadelphia.

## PHILADELPHIA

### JOHN IHLDER

*Secretary, Philadelphia Housing Association*

There are three points in the recent housing history of Philadelphia, two bad and one good, but we hope the bad are temporary. The two bad ones are that insanitary conditions have increased and that house over-crowding has increased during the past year. The third is that we have begun to build, through government backing and through direct government operation, a better type of house than we had before. The first point is indicated by the fact that during the past ten months, from January 1st to November 1st, 1918, the Housing Association has handled 16,528 complaints and recomplaints of violations of our housing and sanitary laws. That compares with 11,663 in 1917.

As for house over-crowding, a little over a year ago, the New York Shipbuilding Company came to the Housing Association and asked for aid in finding houses

for its workers. They said they wanted to have three shifts of men and were sure Philadelphia could provide the houses for them. That was the beginning of our vacancy surveys. We discovered that we could not house those men in Philadelphia. At our suggestion, the company secured option on land and on that land to-day the village of Yorkship stands. Soon after that, the Hog Island people came to us and when they found what the situation was, they not only advertised in the newspapers, but they had a corps of 30 or 40 men who went up one street and down another, ringing doorbells and asking housewives to take in Hog Islanders as a patriotic duty.

Later we had a police survey which seemed to indicate the existence of 6,170 vacant houses. The Association checked the survey up and found that there were only about 450 vacant houses fit to live in. In the police canvass were included stores, churches, office buildings, and ruins.

Owing to the pressure of population, many dwellings that, because of their unfit condition had stood vacant for years, were occupied. That is one cause of the increase of insanitary conditions. People had to have some kind of shelter.

Our interest in Philadelphia extends beyond the city borders; we feel that we are part of one great industrial district that extends over into New Jersey and down to the Delaware state line, consequently we have made surveys in places like Chester, and we hope they will ultimately be followed by a correction of the conditions found; for these were abominable. During this past year we have established branches of the United States Homes Registration Service and our office has been the

headquarters of representatives of federal departments interested in housing. We have advised in the selection of sites for government developments and have passed on some of the house plans. Our advice has not always been followed, which we fear we shall regret even more in the future than we do in the present. But if we have not secured uniformly high standards for all our government built houses, and so are doomed to increased work in the years to come, these developments of varying merit at least should afford us a good laboratory for experiment and so give us the basis for sound argument in the future.

We are now engrossed in the problems of Reconstruction. We hope to continue the United States Homes Registration Service, which was organized by the Housing Association at the request of Dr. Ford, to which the Bureau of Boarding Houses loaned its entire staff, and the expenses of which are paid by the Philadelphia Council of National Defense. The great shifting of labor during the coming months calls for this service and if the present arrangement cannot be continued we shall have to reorganize. We also have plans for legislation which involve not only regulation but state aid in some form.

#### THE CHAIRMAN:

One great advantage of the cessation of hostilities is that it enables us to have our Canadian friends with us once more. They have always been closely knitted to us in everything we were doing in housing and we have a splendid delegation from Canada. I am going to call first on Mr. W. S. B. Armstrong, of Toronto, Secretary of the Toronto Housing Company.

## TORONTO

## TORONTO

W. S. B. ARMSTRONG

*Secretary, Toronto Housing Company*

The Toronto Housing Company has not been building during the war but is laying plans now for resuming its work. We have been accused of profiteering, but we have a clean bill of health from our Finance Commission of the city. Some of you evidently are interested in profiteering. One result of the operations of the Toronto Housing Company has been government action along the line of a committee which is going to solve our housing problems, and I would like the chairman to call on the secretary of that committee, who is here and who, being a professor in a Methodist College, will not hesitate to speak for himself.

## THE CHAIRMAN:

I am going to follow instructions, as I always do, and call on Professor C. B. Sissons, the Secretary of the Toronto Housing Committee.

## TORONTO

C. B. SISSONS

*Secretary, Ontario Housing Committee*

I happen to have the honor of being secretary not of the Toronto Housing Committee but of a committee appointed by the Ontario government about the middle of last summer to inquire into the nature of the housing shortage in the province of Ontario and to make such recommendations to the government of the province as, on investigation, it might seem desirable to make. We



have been at work now for three or four months and are becoming familiar not only with the situation in Ontario, but with the various remedies which have been found to be practicable and desirable in other countries, and chiefly with the remedies which you are putting into application in the United States; and I am here to-day not to give you any instruction, but merely to learn what you are doing and what you plan to do, now that the war apparently is over and we must get down to a peace footing again. I want particularly to know what is likely to be the policy with regard to government subvention in housing.

Perhaps I should say, however, that in Ontario it was very soon discovered that there was a serious shortage of houses. We had word from something like 35 towns and cities showing in all cases a shortage and in some cases a very acute shortage of houses for working people, and we know also that throughout the rural parts of Ontario there are many cases where farm laborers could be used to advantage if there were permanent houses in which to place the laborers. The Ontario government immediately, without waiting to discover whether the responsibility rested with the Federal authorities or the Municipal authorities more than with the Provincial authorities, authorized a loan of \$2,000,000 at 5% to any municipality which had a housing shortage. They are prepared to loan up to 80% of the value of the property, and only on houses which, with their lots, will not cost more than \$3,000.

A good many municipalities are undertaking to avail themselves of the offer of the loan and we are hoping that in the city of Toronto where the Toronto Housing Company has done such excellent work, the very acute

shortage which exists may be to some extent alleviated by the Housing Company availing itself of some of this money and going to work and building houses which will make labor conditions better, not only for the laborers themselves but for their wives and children. We do not wish the conditions which were described this morning by Mr. Ellis to be repeated in the industrial centers of Ontario.

**THE CHAIRMAN:**

I am going to stay in Canada for a while. Montreal, I think, is in Canada and I am going to ask Dr. Emile Nadeau to tell us about the conditions in Montreal. In the early years of our association, we always had him with us at our conferences and always remember him most kindly; we haven't had him with us for two or three years. Dr. Nadeau.

**QUEBEC**

**EMILE NADEAU**

I wish Mr. Veiller would come to Canada and visit us. He would find out that I am living in old Quebec and don't know much about the conditions in Montreal.

I haven't much to report about housing progress in Canada. I have been much interested in housing, as a hobby, and this is the reason why I am coming to the housing conventions whenever I can afford it.

When I got that postal card from Mr. Veiller saying there was to be a convention in Boston, I just went to my banker and asked him if I could afford to go there? But I was distinctly told that a government employee, after four years of war prices, could certainly not afford

to do it. Then, I received the preliminary program and the first thing I saw on the cover, was: "You can't afford to miss it"; so, I said: "My friend Veiller must know better than my banker," and I decided that I had to come.

I am representing nobody but myself and that is not much, but the main reason why I came was to find out once more how you Americans are dealing with these problems. I want to get some kind of injection of American spirit so that I can perhaps reinject some into our people down in Quebec, as we are a little slow about housing and town planning.

Our people claim that we have no housing problem, no slums, and nothing of all the evils that you Americans have got: we are living in a kind of fool's paradise.

I have come here to learn something and I hope that in a few years we shall also have some model towns we will be proud to ask our friends to come and visit. When they will find out that these model towns do not exist only on paper, but have actually been built, perhaps they will be interested to copy them.

THE CHAIRMAN:

After having heard Dr. Nadeau, I am sure you will agree with me that *we* cannot afford to miss *him*. I am going to call next on Cincinnati, Mr. Bleecker Marquette, of the Cincinnati Better Housing League.

## CINCINNATI

### BLEECKER MARQUETTE

*Secretary, Cincinnati Better Housing League*

I have been in Cincinnati only about three months and there are a good many things about the situation

there that I do not yet know. I do know enough about it, however, to say that I am not going to be able to report back at the next session of the National Housing Association that our problem has been solved. We have considerable of a problem left yet even though I *have* been there three months. There are involved in the situation a number of serious obstacles which it is the province of the Better Housing League, among other organizations there, to overcome as rapidly as possible.

Our housing code, which is limited in its application to tenement houses, is in certain respects inadequate and it is inadequately enforced. There is a minimum of organized public opinion behind the housing movement and we have also an abundance of that general apathy which is common to most cities. We have the unfortunate situation that a number of our wealthy people own some bad tenement property which does not always bring them a very large return and it is difficult to persuade them to view the situation as we see it. We have also in Ohio a complicated taxation problem that is giving all the cities of Ohio, Cincinnati included, all kinds of difficulty, and you can imagine that when our officials do not know where the money is coming from to meet the absolutely necessary expenses of administering the Government, it is not easy to get our much needed increase in the tenement inspection force.

According to the latest estimates, we have in Cincinnati about 14,000 tenements. The housing inspection bureau of the building department charged with the enforcing of the code has only 5 inspectors who find it a physical impossibility to supervise more than about one-tenth of the tenements. Yet remarkably good work has been accomplished. Those 5 inspectors under

a very energetic and capable chief tenement inspector, Mr. George Hauser, have, during the past three years, had torn down about 350 old, dilapidated tenements and have been getting rid of the worst conditions as rapidly as they can. We have every confidence in our building commissioner, Mr. George Rendigs, as well as in the chief tenement inspector, and we work in the finest spirit of coöperation with them.

We have had for the past year a visiting housekeeper plan that is working most satisfactorily in improving the maintenance of our tenements. The visiting housekeeper is paid in part by the landlords themselves who are charged a small fee in proportion to the number of families in their houses. This work has proved so successful in the most badly housed section of the city, which is one occupied by negroes, that we are extending the work beginning January first, after which we shall have three visiting housekeepers, two of whom are to work in the white tenement sections.

At the request of the Procter and Gamble Company of Cincinnati we made a survey of the houses within walking distance of their Ivorydale plant. The survey disclosed a marked shortage of houses and we are hoping to interest the Company to undertake a housing development.

We had a decidedly strenuous fight over the establishment of the Homes Registration Bureau in Cincinnati. The chairmanship of the Bureau was put into the hands of a real estate man who did not appear to be particularly interested in whether or not war workers would be properly housed through the Bureau. With strong support from Washington, however, we succeeded in preventing the listing of houses without

regard to sanitary and structural conditions and were well on the road to winning a decided victory when a still more wonderful victory was won on the other side which put an end to it all.

Another controversy just recently has arisen over the power of the Building Commissioner to vacate unsanitary tenements. Our prize slum landlord succeeded in tying up by an injunction, not only the building commissioner, but indirectly the other city departments, restraining them from interfering in any way with his tenement property. The City Solicitor had put in a demurrer to the effect that the Court of Insolvency which had granted the injunction, had no jurisdiction. The Judge of the court had delayed his decision for two months. He was a candidate for reelection and we had reason to believe that he intended not to give his decision in the case until after election. Working in cooperation with the Building Commissioner and backed by our most prominent newspaper, the League succeeded in getting a decision on the case three days before election. Just before leaving Cincinnati for the Conference I learned that the Judge had threatened to cite me for contempt of court and perhaps when I go back it will be to go to jail—that remains to be seen.

#### THE CHAIRMAN:

If Mr. Marquette goes to jail, he will no doubt find fault with the housing conditions there. We have with us a representative of Harrisburg and the president of the American Civic Association, not only that, but a member of the new commission at Washington on Living Conditions of War Workers, Mr. J. Horace McFarland.

## HARRISBURG

J. HORACE MCFARLAND

*President, American Civic Association*

For the American Civic Association let me say to these friends of the National Housing Association that we view, with the utmost happiness, the progress of the movement with [the inception of which we had a little to do, and only hope that the National Housing Association will grow to be the lusty, husky fighting organization that it now seems to be developing into.

For the housing of the city of Harrisburg I do not want to say anything, because it would not be fit to print! For the organization in Washington, of which I am not the chairman but a humble member, the new Commission on Living Conditions of War Workers, I can say that since William Hohenzollern inserted his feet into the refrigerator, our occupation has been "busted"; but there are people of good intentions in Washington hunting for a place where we can hang ourselves up in the hope that when things settle down we can do some good to these great problems.

I have one earnest word to say. If you have any love for your native America, if you have any belief that the thing we have been fighting for is worth holding, do prevail with all your might and power on Congress to continue, until these gigantic experiments are tested out, the housing work begun under the great governmental organizations.

If it should turn out that the housing undertaken by the Ordnance Department and the Emergency Fleet Corporation and by the United States Housing Cor-

poration is junked, a calamity will happen. If it should on the contrary be realized that the Government has undertaken a tremendous laboratory experiment in human welfare, the completion of which will require only the use of material and funds already provided, and which cannot but be fraught with immense good to the United States, there will be reasons why future generations might rise up and call the Kaiser blessed for having bullied us into it.

**THE CHAIRMAN:**

We have not heard much from the ladies to-day. We have with us in this meeting for the first time a new figure who is going to play a very important part in the housing development of the country because she is able to contribute from a very large experience among the coal miners. We shall be pleased to hear from Miss Marguerite Walker Jordan, of Altoona.

**ALTOONA, PA.**

**MARGUERITE WALKER JORDAN**

To be called upon, without warning, to address a meeting of this kind, even for three minutes, is, to say the least, a surprise. But Mr. McFarland has introduced a subject of paramount importance when he refers to Government Housing, for this is America's initial effort to provide in either numbers or stability of construction adequate homes for her wage earners.

And the question of Town Management is another problem so unknown, so vital, and so big that only those who have come in close contact with the workman, his



daily needs and his problems, can realize the opportunity that our Government will miss in casting aside its Garden Villages, refusing to finish the experiment, and thus failing in the needed contribution to the great question of humanizing labor.

**HOUSING PROGRESS OF THE YEAR  
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY**

## HOUSING PROGRESS OF THE YEAR

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY\*

My report is a report of stewardship on behalf of the Board of Directors of this Association. It deals with the things that have happened during the year in the field of housing reform and with what we as an Association have done during the year. First, let me sketch briefly the main events of the year that has just closed.

#### HAPPENINGS OF THE YEAR

Of first importance is the adoption by the Government of the Government's Housing Standards for Permanent Construction. The Association played an important part in aiding the Federal Government in formulating these standards; standards which are to govern the kind of houses which the Government is to erect and which it is expected will have a far-reaching influence upon the type of house that will be built in this country for many years to come. If we did nothing else during the year, we feel that we have justified and more than justified our existence as an Association by the contribution we were able to make in this respect.

#### GOVERNMENT HOUSING

The remarkable development of the year undoubtedly, is the fact that the Federal Government has taken up housing. The appropriation by Congress of \$110,000,000 to be expended in the building of houses to house

\*This report covers the period October 1, 1917, to October 1, 1918.

munition workers and other workers in war industries as well as in shipyards is of transcendent importance. It dwarfs all other happenings of the year. While taken as a war measure and intended primarily to speed up construction of ships and munitions, it is bound to have a most important effect upon the whole future of the housing movement in America. What that effect is likely to be it would be premature to state at this time.

#### INCREASED PUBLIC INTEREST

One of the significant things of the year has been the increased interest of the general public in the whole housing problem, due unquestionably to the housing shortages which have come to exist in various communities where vast numbers of war workers have suddenly been imported and where with the insufficient housing accommodations of its pre-war days the community has found itself absolutely swamped. These startling demonstrations have brought the subject before the whole country in a dramatic way and "Housing" has become in all senses a national problem. Even the architectural profession has responded to it, a profession which as a whole has held aloof until very recently from the consideration of a problem which perhaps concerns their profession more than it does any other. The leading architectural journals have vied with each other in seeing which could secure the most articles dealing with housing, and experts in various phases of the field have been importuned to write articles for competitive journals. The Journal of the American Institute of Architects as a piece of journalistic enterprise sent to Europe an Eastern architect and was thus able to give to the country a series of interest-

ing and informative articles describing what Great Britain had done to house her war workers. The architectural magazines have not only published series of articles from time to time dealing with special phases of the housing problem, but have even gotten out special numbers devoted to this single question. The result has been most productive and has awakened the architectural profession to the possibilities in the building of workingmen's houses that heretofore they had not dreamed of.

One of the features of the year has been, as last year, the series of housing famines or serious shortages in many cities. The country, of course, cannot transport thousands of workers from one community to another without having such famines result—an inevitable consequence of the shifting of industry and the readjustment of labor brought about by the war.

#### ENFORCEMENT OF HOUSING LAWS

While the chief interest of the year has been manifested on the constructional side of housing, interest has not been lacking in the other phases of this great problem. An evidence of this has been the appointment by the American Public Health Association of a committee to standardize the work of public health officials. While this is primarily a health problem, it has a most important bearing on the enforcement of housing legislation; and the vexed question of whether it is the function of a health department to enforce housing laws, or whether this should be entrusted to some other branch of the city government is likely to have careful consideration in the study which this committee is to make. The Secretary of the National

Housing Association has been chosen Chairman of the committee and hopes that the result of the committee's labors will prove of permanent value to the enforcement of housing laws throughout the country.

### THE CEMENT HOUSE

The subject of building materials always has a great interest for both the architectural profession and for the building trades. Consequently, the study during the year of the possibilities of the cement house made by a committee of engineers of the Cement Institute should prove of much value. It is the first attempt to bring together the scattered opinions and conclusions reached by students of the use of cement as to the possibilities in the utilization of this material for workingmen's dwellings. A brief but very excellent report has been published on this subject.

### THE FINANCING OF HOUSING

The financing of workingmen's dwellings is a problem that is always with us. During the year a contribution has been made to this subject by the formation of the Cleveland Homes Association which has evolved a new method of financing, laying emphasis upon certain phases of the problem which heretofore have had little attention.

### SURVEYS

Up to a year ago, when we spoke of a housing survey, we had in mind a survey that was made to determine what might be termed the bad conditions in a community for the purpose of getting legislation to remedy them. Most of the surveys of the past year have been

surveys made to determine housing needs as to quantity of houses and not at all the older type of survey to discover the existence of slum conditions. With the new kind of survey, new agencies for making surveys have come into the field. Several of these have shown themselves to be quite capable of doing this kind of work. One of the notable surveys during the year was that of Niagara Falls; others were Mr. Nolen's survey of Wilmington, a survey of housing conditions in New York City, a survey of the housing needs of Philadelphia, and a survey of California coast cities made by the Commission of Immigration and Housing.

### ROOM REGISTRIES

Closely allied to this question has been the development of Room Registries in the various cities of the United States. It has been a logical outcome of the work of the United States Bureau of Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor which has been bending its energies to finding housing accommodations for the new workers added to the populations of our munition towns. It naturally was the part of wisdom to find accommodations for such workers in existing buildings, wherever that could be done, rather than to go to the expense and delay of starting new construction. The establishment of these Room Registries Committees in various cities by the Bureau of Housing of the United States Department of Labor marked a most important step in developing as a permanent institution in our cities, agencies where workers can find full information as to rooms and flats and dwellings that are available for rent at various prices; and where, it is hoped that in the future, similarly, landlords and

real estate agents and, likewise, owners can find information with regard to the character of tenants. The need of this has long been felt and it is hoped that from these government developments, when the war is over, there will come something of permanent value to the whole country.

### RENT PROFITEERING

With the great increase in the cost of all commodities, especially of food and clothing, it was to be expected that rents would soar, especially in those communities where the population has been artificially and suddenly augmented. In some cases a considerable amount of Rent Profiteering has occurred, nothing like, however, the amount that might have been expected. That has been one of the interesting and significant things of the war-period that rents have not risen in proportion to the increase in the cost of other commodities.

With the development of this evil of Rent Profiteering have come new methods of controlling it. Some of these have proved to be valuable and should be of permanent benefit to the whole country. The system established in New London has proved especially effective. It is described in another part of this book in the papers by Mr. Ford and Mr. Ellis. Some such system should be made of permanent service to the country after the war is over.

### NEW BOOKS ON HOUSING

We have sought to keep our members and the country informed on the new developments in housing, especially in the literature of housing by establishing a department in our bulletin "Housing Betterment,"



listing the new books and articles that have appeared since previous issues. This promises to be of very great value to all students of the housing problem.

At our Conference last year a valuable paper was read on the Relation of Housing and Tuberculosis giving the results of a special study that had been carried on for some months under the direction of the Health Commissioner of Chicago and in connection with the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute. That study has been completed since then and has been published in book form and adds to the knowledge of the relation between housing and this disease.

The number of our cities that are taking up industrial housing is so rapidly increasing that the Association has felt the need of supplying persons who come to us for information with a list of architects who have done industrial housing work. Such a list has been compiled and is furnished upon request to those who ask for it.

### ZONING

St. Louis has passed a districting ordinance regulating the height and uses of different buildings in different parts of the city—a law which has many novel features and represents quite a departure in many respects. The New York Zoning Law still is on the statute books and no test case has come to disturb it. This has been partly due to the war, with its consequent cessation of building activity, or great reduction in it. Several buildings have been erected in New York City under the new Zoning Ordinance; and while there has been litigation over it, there have been no cases which have squarely tested its constitutionality. The situation is one which is very satisfactory in some respects; but it

would probably be more helpful to the country as a whole in firmly establishing the validity of zoning regulation if the New York law could be tested and the whole issue thrashed out in court.

The long-expected decision of the United States Supreme Court with reference to the validity of the segregation of negroes in our cities might have been expected to have had an adverse effect in the important field of Districting but strangely enough it has not; the Court having held that the two propositions were on quite different bases.

### REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING

Significant has been the endorsement of the Michigan Housing Law, the best housing law in the country, by the organized real estate interests of the State of Michigan following in the footsteps in this respect of the Minneapolis Real Estate Board and the National Association of Real Estate Boards. To have the real estate men of any state take so broad-minded and public-spirited a position with reference to legislation which so vitally affects their interests is gratifying in the extreme.

### BUILDING INTERESTS

One of the significant features of the aroused general interest in housing has been the publication by various building material interests of pamphlets on Housing, most of which have been conspicuously labeled "Industrial Housing" and have sometimes rather by implication suggested the desirability of buying lumber or concrete or some other building material. Nothing could be more indicative of the fact that housing has become a nation-wide and national issue.

## MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

With the increased development of improved housing enterprises increased emphasis is naturally being placed upon the management side of the problem. The Association is therefore being asked more and more for information and literature dealing with this phase of housing reform. It has consequently begun to make a collection of tenant regulations that are in vogue throughout the country. It hopes ultimately to be able to codify these and prepare a set of standard regulations for the control of tenants. Similarly, it has started to collect information with reference to restrictions on property that are in vogue in various residential developments not only among workingmen's developments, but even in those of a higher class.

## THE SINGLE WORKER

The housing of the single worker has begun to have the attention it deserves—an attention it has not heretofore had. A competition among architects in Philadelphia as to the best type of lodging house is interesting and significant because it has set new standards—standards, however, which had already been set by the Federal Government in its "Standards for Permanent Construction" of this type of building. Closely allied with this has been the evolution of the best type of house for the housing of young girls, a service which the Y. W. C. A. has rendered in developing its hostess houses. The pamphlet that it has issued describing the main features to be followed in this kind of building and its management is a distinct contribution to the housing problem.

Equally important has been the change in the point

of view with reference to the housing of the male single worker. Changes here have been made that are little short of revolutionary. The bunk house and the barracks have been outlawed. Hereafter single workers are to have their own single room and are to live like human beings instead of like animals. The social side of their life is being considered as it never was before. Community rooms, bowling alleys, lounges—in short the Community Club or Inn is being developed as the best means of housing the single worker. What this will do ultimately toward stabilizing labor supply and revolutionizing industry no man can tell. It is fraught with tremendous possibilities.

#### OWN YOUR OWN TOWN

Extremely interesting suggestions have been formulated by one of the radical groups, composed chiefly of men interested in the single-tax movement who have constituted themselves a committee entitled "The Committee on New Industrial Towns" and have pushed forward a modified form of single-tax plan, namely, a scheme for common ownership of all the land in new industrial communities with the idea that the occupiers and owners of the houses shall get the benefit of such unearned increment as may develop, no land being sold but all to be on a leasehold system. A very active propaganda is being carried on by this group. The subject is an extremely interesting one and it will be enlightening to see what progress it makes.

#### A RÉSUMÉ OF OTHER HAPPENINGS

It is only possible to allude to some of the other interesting happenings of the year. Among these may be mentioned the following:

The sustaining by the courts of the California Housing and Hotel Law; the establishment of the Standardized Housing Corporation to deal in standardized housing of concrete units of large size; the publication in England of the pamphlet, "New Towns After the War," suggesting the establishment of one hundred Garden Cities as a means of meeting the need of houses in Great Britain; the suggestion of Soldiers' Colonies for returned soldiers—these to be along Garden City lines, outlined in Mr. Mawson's book "An Imperial Obligation"; the establishment of the Room Registry Movement on a national basis and the holding of the first Room Registries Conference by those private organizations which have heretofore carried on this movement in their respective cities with the possibility of a national organization being formed; the holding of the Second Australian Town Planning and Housing Conference; the Housing Institute held at the Conference of Social Work at Kansas City; the adoption by the Bureau of Housing of the State Health Department of Pennsylvania of a standard Model Ordinance for adoption in the smaller communities; the postponement, owing to the war, of the taking effect of the Washington Alley Law requiring the vacation and destruction of all dwellings on alleys in that city; the establishment of new types of Housing in Labor Camps.

Other matters of interest have been: the Inquiry of the Laboring Women of England as to what the laboring women of England want in the way of housing accommodations and housing standards, and the publication of the results of that inquiry; the test case of the Minneapolis Housing Law, turning on the question of whether it is constitutional to prohibit the storage of rags in a

dwelling house or on the premises (the case is still pending in the courts); the Standardizing of Plans for Farm Houses, thus extending to the rural communities the benefits of improved housing which the cities have enjoyed for some time past; the holding of an Institute in New York by the American City Planning Institute to discuss the various technical aspects of Zoning or Districting Laws; the completion of the State Housing Project of the Homestead Commission of Massachusetts at Lowell and the completion of a certain number of houses there and their occupancy; the formulation of a new Scientific Standard of Measuring Sunlight and the publication of the results of these researches; a novel method in the Abolition of the Privy Vault evil is found in the "zoning" of privies in an Indiana city by which certain sections of that city one after another are required to get rid of their privies.

Significant also have been: the coming into use of the Group House as a new development in America as a splendid substitute for the "terrace" or row house, and in many cases a much more advantageous treatment than the detached house, built as so many of them are too close together; the Slum Clearance Schemes in France, especially in the cities of Marseilles and Limoges; the regrettable resignation of Commissioner Murphy from the New York Tenement House Department after eight years of service; the increasing general acceptance of the propriety of establishing Personal Liability for Preventable Fires; the Housing Survey of Buffalo carried out by the Health Department; the active taking up of a movement for housing reform in the city of Boston after all these years of discussion and the likelihood of definite results being achieved this

time; the publication, after several years waiting, of the City Plan Report for the city of Minneapolis; the Sanitary Regulation of Labor Camps by the State of Ohio, and finally the wonderful War-housing Developments of Great Britain illustrated by such splendid schemes as Well Hall, Gretna and Rosyth.

So much for the leading events of the year. Let us consider now the year's accomplishments more intimately from the point of view of our Association.!

### CITIES INTERESTED

Last year at this time we reported there were 473 cities which showed some definite, active interest in housing. To-day there are 616, an increase of 143 or 30% in the year. Of these new cities; in 27, Housing Committees were organized; in 25, movements for better housing were started; while in 124, "model" housing enterprises were proposed or actually launched. Last year we reported that there were 231 different housing organizations distributed in 176 different cities. To-day, there are 299 in 242 different cities, an increase of 68 or 30%. Of these 68, sixteen are independent organizations, 2 are committees of charitable associations, one is a committee of a real estate board, 12 are connected with clubs or leagues, while 37 are committees of Chambers of Commerce.

### HOUSING ENTERPRISES

With regard to "Housing Enterprises" or Developments—the so-called model dwellings or improved dwellings that have been built during the year as a result of organized effort on the part of some group in the community or by the government itself, making an

effort to improve the living conditions of the working man by building the right kind of dwelling—the increase has been startling, due largely to the fact that the Federal Government has taken up the housing situation and is producing buildings; and also because of the war, the construction of dwellings by individual builders had almost ceased and there has been a necessity for public enterprise to get into the field. Last year there were 236 organizations committed to improved buildings. To-day there are 543, an increase of 307, or 130%. Sixty-seven of these are governmental enterprises; 151 are by employers for their employees, 65 are real estate developments, and 24 are citizens' enterprises started by the Chamber of Commerce or similar organization.

The accompanying list of "New Enterprises" represents those that have come to our notice and been added to the files of our Bureau of Information. We do not vouch for its accuracy. We feel sure it is incomplete. It is also possible that many of the projects here listed may never be carried out.

### NEW ENTERPRISES

**Aberdeen, Md.,**

U. S. Housing Corporation,

**Akron, Ohio,**

Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.,

Miller Rubber Co.,

**Baltimore, Md.,**

Jewish Home for Consumptives (*Bungalow for housing employees*),

Baltimore Housing Corporation,

Oakenshawe,

**Bath, Maine,**

U. S. Shipping Board,

(Texas Shipbuilding Co.),

**Bayonne, N. J.,**

Bayonne Housing Corporation,



- Bristol, Pa.,  
 U. S. Shipping Board,
- Brunswick, Ga.,  
 Home Building Corporation,  
 American Home Co.,
- Bucyrus, Ohio,  
 C. J. Carothers Co.,  
 Ohio Steel Foundry Co.,
- California, Pa.,  
 Vesta Coal Co.,
- Camden, N. J.,  
 U. S. Shipping Board,  
 Fairview Realty Co.,
- Carnegie, Pa.,  
 Roslin Farm,
- Cassidy, B. C.,  
 Model Town by A. J. T. Taylor of Vancouver, B. C.,
- Champaign, Ill.,  
 J. F. Hessel,
- Charleroi, Pa.,  
 Pittsburgh Steel Products Co.,
- Charleston, S. C.,  
 Victory Housing Corporation,  
 U. S. Government,
- Charleston, W. Va.,  
 Industrial Homes Finance Co.,  
 East Gulf Coal Co.,  
 Baker & Myer Realty Co.,  
 Belpont Realty Syndicate,  
 Harrison Development Co.,
- Charlottesville, Va.,  
 "Morven"—Samuel H. Marshall,
- Chester, Pa.,  
 U. S. Shipping Board,  
 Sun Shipbuilding Co.,  
 Chester Shipbuilding Co.,
- Chicago, Ill.,  
 Francis Barry Byrne,
- Clairton, Pa.,  
 Clairton Land Co., subsidiary of Carnegie Steel Co.,  
 Wilson Townsite,
- Cleveland, O.,  
 Alexander S. Taylor,

- Coatesville, Pa.,
  - Worth Bros.,
  - Coatesville Housing Co.,
- Cooperstown, N. Y.,
  - Cooperstown Building & Loan Ass'n,
- Cornwells, Pa.,
  - U. S. Shipping Board,
- Crawford City, W. Va.,
  - U. S. Housing Corporation,
- Danielson, Conn.,
  - Danielson Construction Co.,
- Delaware County, Pa.,
  - Westinghouse Electric Co.,
  - Baldwin Locomotive Works,
- Dodgeville, N. Y.,
  - Dodgeville Housing Ass'n, subsidiary of Daniel Green Felt Shoe Co.,
- Donora, Pa.,
  - American Steel Wire Co.,
- Downs, W. Va.,
  - Rachel Coal Co.,
- E. Taunton, Mass.,
  - Taunton Cotton Mills Co.,
- Ebensburg, Pa.,
  - Munroe Coal Co.,
  - Ebensburg Coal Co.,
- Eden Park, Del.,
  - New York-Delaware Realty Co., near Wilmington,
- Elkton, Md.,
  - U. S. Housing Corporation,
- Ellwood, Pa.,
  - National Tube Co.,
- Elm Grove, W. Va.,
  - Valley Camp Coal Co.,
- Enosburg, Mass.,
  - Nelson & Hall Co.,
- Essington, Pa.,
  - Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. Co. (U. S. Government).
- Fairfield, Ala.,
  - U. S. Steel Corp.,
  - Tenn. Coal & Iron Co.,
  - American Steel Wire Co.,
- Farmingdale, L. I., N. Y.,
  - The J. B. Associates,

- Florence, Ala.,  
U. S. Housing Corporation,
- Forge Village, Mass.,  
Abbot Worsted Co.,
- Gloucester, N. J.,  
U. S. Shipping Board, for:  
    { Penn. Shipbuilding Co.,  
    { N. J. Shipbuilding Co.,
- Graniteville, Mass.,  
Abbot Worsted Co.,
- Groton, Conn.,  
Groton Iron Works,
- Hamilton, O.,  
Hamilton Home Bldg. Co.,
- Haskell, N. J.,  
Du Pont Company,
- Haydenville, Ohio,  
National Fireproofing Co.,
- High Lake, Ill.,  
E. A. Cummings Co.,
- Hilton, Va.,  
Newport News Shipyard & Drydock Corp.,
- Hog Island, Pa.,  
Emergency Fleet Corp.,
- Huntsville, Ala.,  
Abingdon Mill,
- Ilion, N. Y.,  
Ilion Homestead Corp.,
- Indiana Harbor, Ind.,  
Mark Mfg. Co.,
- Jacksonville, Fla.,  
U. S. Shipping Board, for:  
(Merrill-Stevens Shipbuilding Co.),
- Jeanette, Pa.,  
Pennsylvania Rubber Co.,
- Jersey City, N. J.,  
Federal Homes Corp.,
- Johnson City, Tenn.,  
Johnson City Building Co.,
- Johnstown, Pa.,  
Cambria Steel Co.,
- Joliet, Ill.,  
Fred J. Walsh,

- Killingly, Conn.,  
Goodyear Cotton Mills, Inc.,
- Knott County, Ky.,  
Caney Creek Community Center,
- Kohler, Wis.,  
Kohler Co.,
- Lansford, Pa.,  
Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co.,
- Latrobe, Pa.,  
Pennsylvania R. R. Co.,
- Lebanon, Pa.,  
Stetler-Mengel Co.,
- Lee Park, Pa.,  
Lehigh & Wilkes Barre Coal Co.,
- Lexington, N. C.,  
Erlinger Cotton Mills Co.,
- Lockport, N. Y.,  
Lockport Homes Co.,
- Lockport, Pa.,  
Densmore & Kerr,
- Lorain, Ohio,  
U. S. Shipping Board, for:  
(American Shipbuilding Co.),  
American Sheet & Tin Plate Co.,
- Los Angeles, Calif.,  
Municipal Housing Ass'n,  
Elliott & Horne Co.,
- Madisonville, La.,  
U. S. Shipping Board, for:  
(Jahneke Shipbuilding Co.),
- Manheim, Pa.,  
Alpha Portland Cement Co.,
- Martins Creek, Pa.,  
Simpson & Briscoe, Archts. (Firm name not given),
- Massena, N. Y.,  
Aluminum Co. of America,
- McDonald Townsite, Ohio,  
Carnegie Steel Co.,
- Mocanaqua, Pa.,  
West End Coal Co.,
- Moline, Ill.,  
Marquette Improvement Co.,

- Montclair, N. J.,**  
 W. Leslie Walker, Archt. (residential),  
**Muscle Shoals, Ala.,**  
 Air Nitrates Corp.,  
**Nemacolin, Pa.,**  
 Buckeye Coal Co.,  
**Nesquehoning, Pa.,**  
 Simpson & Briscoe Archts. (Firm name not given),  
**New Orleans, La.,**  
 Rowland Otis,  
**Newark, N. J.,**  
 Newark Bd. of Trade,  
 Federal Bldg. & Loan Ass'n,  
 Home Building Syndicate of Newark,  
 Port Newark Housing Ass'n,  
 Union Bldg. Co.,  
 Women's Housing Ass'n, Hotel Caroline for Working Girls,  
 Submarine Boat Co.,  
**Newburgh, N. Y.,**  
 Stalworth Realty Corp.,  
 Germain House & Home Co.,  
**New Durham, N. J.,**  
 Simpson & Briscoe (Newark) Arch. (Firm name not given),  
**New London, Conn.,**  
 Chamber of Commerce,  
 New London Housing Co.,  
**Newport News, Va.,**  
 U. S. Govt. Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.,  
 Shipbuilding Housing Corp.,  
**Niagara Falls, N. Y.,**  
 Sisters of Mercy (Home for Girls),  
**Niles, Ohio,**  
 Dept. of Labor (100 houses),  
**Noank, Conn.,**  
 Groton Iron Works,  
**North Adams, Mass.,**  
 Arnold Print Works,  
**North Andover, Mass.,**  
 Lenova Houses,  
**Northbridge, Mass.,**  
 Northbridge Cotton Mills,  
**North Dighton, Mass.,**  
 Mt. Hope Finishing Co.,

- Oakland, Cal.,  
Pacific Development Co.,
- Pascagoula, Miss.,  
American International Shipbuilding Corp.,
- Paterson, N. J.,  
National Silk Dyeing Co.,
- Penniman, Va.,  
U. S. Govt. (near Williamsburg, Pa.),
- Perryville, Md.,  
U. S. Housing Corp.,  
Ammonium Nitrate Plant (U. S. Govt. Project),
- Perth Amboy, N. J.,  
Housing Company,
- Peterboro, N. H.,  
White Mfg. Co.,
- Philadelphia, Pa.,  
American International Shipbuilding Corp.,
- Pittsfield, Mass.,  
Pittsfield Housing Project,
- Port Jefferson, L. I.,  
U. S. Shipping Board: for  
(Bayles Shipbuilding Co.),
- Portsmouth, N. H.,  
U. S. Shipping Board,  
Atlantic Corp.,
- Portsmouth, Ohio,  
Whitaker-Glessner Co. (82 Houses),
- Pottstown, Pa.,  
Eastern Steel Co.,
- Quincy, Mass.,  
Emergency Housing Corp., Washington, D. C.,  
U. S. Government,
- Raritan River Terminal,  
Ordnance Dept.,  
U. S. Housing Corp.,
- Rock Island, Ill.,  
Housing Corp. C. of C.
- St. Helena, Md.,  
U. S. Shipping Board,  
Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp.,
- St. Louis, Mo.,  
A. Leschen & Sons Rope Co.,

- Salamanca, Pa.,  
 Buffalo, Rochester & Reading R. R. Co.
- Samonville (Enosburg), Mass.,  
 Nelson & Hall Co.,
- San Antonio, Texas,  
 War Service Board,
- San Pedro, Cal.,  
 San Pedro Packing Co.,
- Savage, Md.,  
 Savage Cotton Factory,
- Seek, Pa.,  
 Lehigh Coal & Nov. Co.,
- Shawinigan Falls, Que.,  
 Shawinigan Water & Power Co.,
- Sheffield, Ala.,  
 Air Nitrate Plant No. 1 (U. S. Govt.),
- Shenandoah, Pa.,  
 Weston Place, Mining Town,
- Sherbrooke, Que.,  
 Canadian-Conn. Cotton Mills,
- Snoqualmie Falls, Wash.,  
 Snoqualmie Falls Lumber Co.,
- South Langhorne, Pa.,  
 North American Lace Co.,
- Sparrows Point, Md.,  
 Bethlehem Steel Co.,  
 U. S. Govt., for  
 (Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp.),
- Springfield, Mass.,  
 Forest Park Heights,
- Syracuse, N. Y.,  
 Peckham Wolfe & Co.,  
 Solvay Process Co.,
- Tacoma, Wash.,  
 George Lawler,
- Teterboro, N. J.,  
 Grosvenor Atterbury, Architect. (Name of firm not given),
- Tifton, Ga.,  
 Home Building Co.,
- Triadelphia, W. Va.,  
 Valley Camp Coal Co.,
- Troy, N. Y.,  
 Troy Development Corp.,

- Troy, Ohio,  
C. of C.,
- Tulsa, Oklahoma,  
Exchange Nat'l Bank,  
Tulsa Home Bldg. Co.,
- Tyrone, New Mexico,  
Model Mining Town,  
Phelps Dodge Corporation,
- Utica, N. Y.,  
Skenandoa Cotton Co.,
- Uxbridge, Mass.,  
Uxbridge Cotton Mills,
- Vancouver, B. C.,  
Taylor Engineering Co.,
- Vancouver, Wash.,  
U. S. Shipping Board,
- Vandalia, Mo.,  
Walsh Fire Clay Products Co.,
- Verona, Pa.,  
Best Mfg. Co.,
- Wanamie, Pa.,  
Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Co.,
- Washburn, Wis.,  
Washburn Dwellings Co.,
- Watertown, N. Y.,  
N. Y. Air Brake Co.,  
U. S. Housing Corporation,
- Wellsburg, W. Va.,  
Whitaker-Glessner Co.,
- West Brownsville, Pa.,  
Vesta Coal & Coke Co.,
- Westmoreland Co., Pa.,  
Frick Coke Co.,  
U. S. Steel Corp.,
- Whitehall, N. Y.,  
Champlain Silk Mills,
- Williamsburg, Va.,  
Du Pont Co.,
- Williamsport, Pa.,  
Williamsport Improvement Co.,
- Wilmington, Del.,  
General Chemical Co.,  
Woodlawn Co.,



Wilmington, Del.,  
 Wilmington Housing Co.,  
 Builder's Corp. of Delaware,  
 E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.,  
 Bethlehem Shipbuilding Co.,  
 Joseph Bancroft Co.,  
 Liberty Land Co.,  
 Union Park Gardens,  
 Woodburn, Forest Hills, Mass.,  
 Kilham & Hopkins, Boston (Residential),  
 Youngstown, O.,  
 Realty Trust Co.,  
 Petroleum Iron Works Co.,  
 Hawk-Palmer Co.,  
 Brier Hill Steel Co.,  
 Republic Rubber Co.,  
 Ohio Leath Co.

### MEMBERSHIP

With regard to our membership, as you know, we are constantly dragooning people to become members of this Association; in fact, as I have said before, it is hardly safe for a person to write us a decent letter asking for one of our pamphlets unless he is willing to be dunned for membership. We try to do it politely—but firmly. We give them all the information they want—gladly; whether they are members or not. We help them to the limit, but at the same time we tell them it is very advantageous for them to become members of our association and that they will be helpful to the cause. We are doing this all the time, day in and day out, in an effort to increase our membership, and while the increase is very gratifying, in one sense; in another it is very slow, in comparison to what we need.

Last year we reported a membership of 713 members; to-day I am glad to report a membership of 912 members, a net increase of 199 or 28% during the year. On

the financial side we received about \$19,000 and spent about \$17,000 during the year. If it were not for the very generous appropriation which the Russell Sage Foundation makes to us in the form of a grant, this association would have to close its doors, because our membership revenues alone amount to only something like \$5,000, and a live, active national organization cannot possibly be run with such pitifully small revenues. Least of all can it respond as it should to its increasing opportunities for service or realize as it ought its interpretative and educational possibilities. We ought to spend \$150,000 a year.

#### PUBLICATIONS

We have published during the year 10 important pamphlets. There has been, I think, no year in our history when the miscellaneous publications we have issued have been so really valuable to the whole community. The Proceedings of our annual meeting last year made a book of 450 pages; we printed 1,100 copies; each member got a copy and the others were sold at \$2 a volume and all are now gone. *Housing Betterment*, our quarterly bulletin, has grown to be a very lusty child. It now takes about 90 pages each issue; and, even with that, we print only about half the material that we have available and which ought to be used. During the year we issued four numbers, though the cost of printing it has been more than doubled. There were some 30 other publications published by other organizations, that have to do with housing, copies of which we secured and distributed to our members. As an organization we are rather unique in this respect; we are on the *qui vive* all the time for publications that

will interest our members, and when we find such, we try to get 1,000 copies and send one to each of our members.

### HOUSING CONFERENCES

While we have had no large formal conference such as this, since the last one in Chicago, a year ago, there have been several Housing Institutes held, such as the one on War Housing Problems held in Philadelphia last February. We had not planned to publish any report of it, but the papers and discussions were so interesting that there was a unanimous demand for their publication and we published that report. For the first time in the history of this country, the Governor of a state has called a housing conference to discuss the needs of better housing. Governor Harding, of Iowa, did that last September; it means that he is pledged to a campaign not only for putting Iowa on the map in the matter of good housing but putting it in the lead. The Pennsylvania Housing and Town Planning Association held its meeting at Johnstown in June. It was a very important and successful meeting, and as a result we may look for a law for some of the cities in Pennsylvania on this subject.

### LEGISLATION

As to legislation, it has been a period of comparative quiet. The greater part of the interest in housing has been centered on Government housing and the production of governmental housing facilities. Notwithstanding this, Illinois, Iowa and Pennsylvania are framing new housing laws and New Jersey has amended its

housing law. Baltimore has formulated a housing ordinance and the City of St. Paul has adopted a housing ordinance modeled very closely on the Minneapolis law. It has not yet had time to operate, so it is too early to say how this ordinance is functioning. They have also appointed a Zoning Commission and a City Plan Commission, all of which should make for the betterment of that city.

#### ADVICE GIVEN

As in previous years, the main work of advice and help that we are able to give must be through correspondence. During the year we sent out 4,735 letters each dealing with a special subject. We also were able to visit personally the following cities and advise with the people in those cities and help them organize their work: St. Louis in Missouri, Hamilton and Middletown in Ohio, Newark, N. J., Johnstown, Williamsport and Harrisburg in Pennsylvania and Davenport in Iowa.

It does not tell very much to say that we have advised over 100 cities. A better understanding of the wide range of our field of activities and the services we are really rendering, is found in a list of the states and cities that we have advised through the medium of correspondence. I do not mean by correspondence just some short letter saying that we have received their communication and will send them our literature, but I mean correspondence in which we have taken up important phases of the housing problem and given them the benefit of our experience and advice. These are the states and cities in the United States where we have been of service during the year.

# HOUSING PROGRESS OF THE YEAR 421

<p><b>Alabama</b>                      Mobile                      Muscle Shoals</p> <p><b>California</b>                      Los Angeles                      Oakland                      Sacramento</p> <p><b>Colorado</b>                      Pueblo</p> <p><b>Connecticut</b>                      Bridgeport                      Hartford                      New Britain                      New London                      Torrington</p> <p><b>Delaware</b>                      Wilmington</p> <p><b>Georgia</b>                      Atlanta                      Rossville</p> <p><b>Illinois</b>                      Alton                      Chicago                      Decatur                      East St. Louis                      Harvey                      Joliet                      Rock Island</p> <p><b>Indiana</b>                      East Chicago                      Fort Wayne                      Logansport                      South Bend</p> <p><b>Iowa</b>                      Davenport                      Des Moines                      Fort Madison                      Sioux City</p> <p><b>Kentucky</b>                      Lexington</p> <p><b>Louisiana</b>                      New Orleans</p>	<p><b>Maine</b>                      Bath</p> <p><b>Massachusetts</b>                      Boston                      Cambridge                      Lawrence                      New Bedford                      Pittsfield                      Springfield</p> <p><b>Michigan</b>                      Detroit</p> <p><b>Minnesota</b>                      Minneapolis                      St. Paul</p> <p><b>Missouri</b>                      Kansas City                      St. Louis</p> <p><b>Nebraska</b>                      Lincoln</p> <p><b>New York</b>                      Buffalo                      Newburgh                      Niagara Falls                      Penn Yan                      Poughkeepsie                      Syracuse                      Troy                      Tupper Lake                      Utica                      Wappingers Falls</p> <p><b>New Jersey</b>                      Bayonne                      Elizabeth                      New Brunswick</p> <p><b>North Carolina</b>                      Greensboro                      Hot Springs</p> <p><b>North Dakota</b>                      Washburn</p> <p><b>Ohio</b>                      Akron                      Canton</p>	<p><b>Ohio</b>                      Cincinnati                      Cleveland                      Hamilton                      Middletown                      Toledo</p> <p><b>Oklahoma</b>                      Tulsa</p> <p><b>Oregon</b>                      Portland</p> <p><b>Pennsylvania</b>                      Butler                      Erie                      Harrisburg                      Johnstown                      Lancaster                      Philadelphia                      Reading                      Williamsport</p> <p><b>Tennessee</b>                      Chattanooga                      Johnston City</p> <p><b>Texas</b>                      Beaumont                      Dallas                      El Paso                      Orange</p> <p><b>Utah</b>                      Salt Lake City</p> <p><b>Virginia</b>                      Alexandria</p> <p><b>West Virginia</b>                      Charleston</p> <p><b>Washington</b>                      Spokane</p> <p><b>Wisconsin</b>                      Clintonville                      Janesville                      La Crosse                      Madison                      Two Rivers</p>
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That would seem to indicate pretty clearly that we are really a *national* organization. It also indicates very clearly that the problem is a universal one and is not confined to the large cities; it seems to find its habitat in Penn Yan and Orange and Wappingers Falls quite as much as in Detroit or Boston.

We have not, however, limited our activities to the United States of America. We have been asked for help from outside—we have not volunteered it. In Canada we have advised: Guelph, Ottawa, Regina, Steelton, Toronto, and in British Columbia, Powell River and Vancouver.

We have also advised people in Mexico, France, England, Australia, and in Madras and Poona, India, and finally in Hawaii.

#### RANGE OF SUBJECTS

Let me summarize the topics on which we have given people advice. Here are some of the things people have written and asked our advice about. We have carried on a sort of correspondence course of instruction, writing them letters sometimes twelve pages long or more:

Government Financing of Housing  
Two-family Dwellings  
How to Make a Housing Survey  
Types of Houses to Build  
Labor Turnover  
Rental *vs.* Ownership  
Housing Famines  
Literature  
Rural Housing  
Educating the Tenant  
Laws  
Relations, Landlord and Tenant

Rent Records  
Repairs and Upkeep  
Charter Provisions for a Housing Dept.  
Municipal Houses for the Poor  
Negro Housing  
Books on Housing  
European Experience  
Financing of Housing Developments  
Cubic Air Space Standards for Office Buildings  
Legal Decisions on Constitutionality of Housing Laws  
Co-Partnership  
Rent Profiteering  
Types of Suburban Housing  
Double Deck Bunks  
Restrictions  
Regulation of Boarding Houses  
Lighting and Ventilating of Prison Cells  
Hotels for Single Men  
The Right Distance Between Buildings  
What a Local Housing Association Can Do  
Campaign for a Housing Law in Illinois  
Sale *vs.* Rental of Workmen's Houses  
Training for Employment Managers  
Detailed Criticism of a Proposed Men's Hotel—Plans  
Turkish Baths and Housing Codes  
Elimination of Vaults  
Model Towns  
Organizing a Housing Association  
Schedules for Surveys  
Government Housing  
Financing a Local Association  
Tenant Regulations  
Booklet for Sale of Houses  
Lodging House Standards  
Temporary Housing  
Housing Laws in the United States  
Control of Bad Tenants  
Location of the Bathroom in Old Dwellings  
Take a Roomer Campaign  
Housing of Clerks  
Building Codes  
Central Heating  
Bishopric Board

The Shack Problem  
Housing of Girls  
Exhibits  
Conversion of Old Dwellings to Tenements  
Housing Laws in Various States  
Government Aid  
Housing and Tuberculosis  
Financing of Housing Schemes  
Labor Camps  
Privacy  
Americanization  
U. S. Home Registration Service  
Housing of Foreigners  
Lodging Camps  
Company Towns  
Relation of Rents to Wages  
Management of Model Tenements  
Michigan Housing Law  
Collection of Rents  
Interpretation of Indiana Housing Law

That list, I think, gives some conception of the scope of the housing problem itself as well as of the work of our Association. We do not, however, lay claim to universal knowledge, though it might seem that any person who could answer all those questions might do so. What we have sought to do was to get from other sources information on topics where we were not informed and thus provide our inquirers with the very best information available.

### CONCLUSION

That there is a fruitful field of influence for us to occupy there can be little doubt. While we have accomplished much, with limited funds and limited staff, what still needs to be done is what gives us concern.



## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

From January 1 to December 31, 1918.

Balance on hand, December 31, 1917..			
General.....	\$ 3,395.11		
Industrial Housing (Special Contribution).....	250.00	\$ 3,645.11	
<hr/>			
Receipts during year:			
General			
Russell Sage Foundation.....		9,750.00	
Membership Dues:			
Sustaining.....	575.00		
Annual.....	4,148.87	4,723.87	
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Contributions:			
Regular.....	86.44		
Miscellaneous.....	3.50		
Towards expenses of Boston Conf.....	1,000.00	1,089.94	
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Sale of Publications:			
Proceedings.....	464.61		
Miscellaneous.....	157.04	621.65	
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Philadelphia Conference:			
Contribution.....	25.00		
Sale of Proceedings.....	602.00	627.00	16,812.46
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		<b>\$20,457.57</b>	
Disbursements during year:			
General			
Rent.....	788.80		
Tel. Tele., Messenger and Express	224.01		
Postage.....	1,230.07		
Furniture and Fittings.....	560.61		
Stationery and Supplies.....	933.91		
Printing.....	4,059.27		
Salaries.....	9,261.06		
Traveling Expenses.....	1,547.59		
Miscellaneous Office Expenses....	145.56	18,770.88	
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Industrial Housing:			
Return of Special Contribution...		250.00	19,020.88
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Balance on hand, December 31, 1918			
Fifth Avenue Bank.....	1,336.69		
Petty Cash.....	100.00		\$ 1,436.69

## **DELEGATES**

## DELEGATES

### DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HOUSING IN AMERICA

VICTOR A. ABEL . . . . .	Philadelphia
Housing Division, Emergency Fleet Corp.	
FREDERICK L. ACKERMAN . . . . .	New York
American Institute of Architects.	
THOMAS ADAMS . . . . .	Ottawa, Canada
Commission of Conservation.	
MISS LILLIAN C. ALBEE . . . . .	Watertown, Mass.
Watertown Woman's Club—Council of Nat'l Defense.	
R. W. ALDRICH . . . . .	Boston
JOHN K. ALLEN . . . . .	Boston
Liberty Loan Committee of New England.	
LESLIE H. ALLEN . . . . .	Boston
Aberthaw Construction Co.	
ALLERTON HOUSE CO. . . . .	New York
MRS. EMMA S. ALMY . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
MISS AMELIA H. AMES . . . . .	Boston
Women's Municipal League.	
MRS. WILLIAM H. AMES . . . . .	North Easton, Mass.
MRS. ERNEST C. AMY . . . . .	Boston
Hale House Settlement.	
MISS MARTHA ANDERSON . . . . .	Watertown, Mass.
Simmons College Student.	
W. CORNELL APPLETON . . . . .	Boston
D. B. ARMSTRONG . . . . .	Framingham, Mass.
W. S. B. ARMSTRONG . . . . .	Toronto
Toronto Housing Co.	
MRS. D. M. ASTRIN . . . . .	Boston
Charlesbank Homes.	
A. L. ATWOOD . . . . .	Norwood, Mass.
MRS. E. B. ATWOOD . . . . .	North Adams, Mass.
Home Economics.	
ELMER E. AVERY . . . . .	Plymouth, Mass.
MORTILLA AVERY . . . . .	Wellesley, Mass.
Wellesley College.	
MRS. GEO. H. BABBITT . . . . .	Bellows Falls, Vt.
MRS. ALBION F. BACON . . . . .	Evansville, Ind.
Indiana Housing Assn.	
CHARLES M. BAKER . . . . .	Boston
EDGAR H. BAKER . . . . .	Portsmouth, N. H.
Secretary, Chamber of Commerce.	
MISS EDITH M. BAKER . . . . .	Boston
Social Service.	
MRS. ROLAND M. BAKER . . . . .	Boston
Instructive District Nursing Assn.—Civic Federation.	

MISS AMELIA MUTR BALDWIN . . . . .	Washington
U. S. Housing Corporation.	
CHARLES B. BALL . . . . .	Chicago
Dept. of Health.	
MRS. SUSAN LEWIS BALL . . . . .	Brookline
MISS GOLDE BAMBER . . . . .	Brookline
Hebrew Industrial School.	
W. C. BARBER . . . . .	Joliet, Ill.
DAVID D. BARNER . . . . .	Boston
T. H. BARNES . . . . .	New York
W. T. BARNES . . . . .	Boston
United States Housing Corp.	
JAMES F. BARRY . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
Vice-Pres., Meeting House Improvement Assn.	
A. B. BEAL . . . . .	Boston
MRS. A. W. BECKMAN . . . . .	Altoona, Pa.
MILES W. BEEMER . . . . .	Jersey City
Board of Tenement House Supervision of N. J.	
MATTHEW E. BELL . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
ALBERT F. BEMIS . . . . .	Boston
Pres., Housing Co.	
P. C. BENJAMIN . . . . .	Melrose, Mass.
Boston Rubber Shoe Co.	
MISS ANNA BERCOWITZ . . . . .	Boston
Federated Jewish Charities.	
JULIUS BERKOWITZ . . . . .	New Bedford, Mass.
Board of Commerce.	
J. O. BETELLE . . . . .	Newark
Newark Board of Trade.	
C. A. BINGHAM . . . . .	Waltham, Mass.
City of Waltham.	
MRS. CHARLES SUMNER BIRD . . . . .	E. Walpole, Mass.
Mass. Woman's Suffrage Assn.	
MISS MARY L. BIRTWELL . . . . .	Cambridge
The Associated Charities of Cambridge.	
MISS MARY P. BLAIR . . . . .	Boston
MRS. J. BAPST BLAKE . . . . .	Boston
H. W. BLANEY . . . . .	Cambridge
Secy., Boston Society of Landscape Architects.	
MISS M. J. BLEAKIE . . . . .	Brookline
Room Registries, City of Boston.	
F. L. BLISS . . . . .	Boston
Employment Mgr., The Barrett Co.	
RUTH AULT BOLGIANO . . . . .	Los Angeles
E. H. BONELLI . . . . .	Boston
I. M. BOOTHBY . . . . .	Lowell, Mass.
United States Homes Registration.	
LONGIN BORYS . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
W. H. BOUGHTON . . . . .	Washington
The Bishopric Mfg. Co.	
FRANK A. BOURNE . . . . .	Boston
Boston Public Library.	
E. H. BOUTON . . . . .	Baltimore
Dundalk Co., Roland Park Co.	

# DELEGATES

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HENRY J. BOWEN Boston Real Estate Exchange.	South Boston
FREDERICK S. BOYD	Cambridge
JEFFREY R. BRACKETT	Boston
C. F. BRADLEY Mass. Child Labor Committee.	Boston
R. M. BRADLEY Thomas Thompson Foundation.	Boston
W. H. BRAINERD	Wellesley, Mass.
C. W. BRAZER	New York
MRS. FLORENCE BRENNAN Employment Div., Walter M. Lowney Co.	Boston
W. J. BRENNAN City of Newark.	Newark
WILLIAM F. BROGIE Boston Board of Health.	Brighton, Mass.
DILLON BRONSON Morgan Memorial.	Boston
B. E. BROOKE Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.—Buckeye Land Co.	Youngstown, O.
MISS KATHERINE G. BROOKS	Cambridge
MISS RUTH F. BROOKS	East Boston
MISS A. V. V. BROWN Art Museum.	Wellesley, Mass.
BURTIS S. BROWN	Boston
F. C. BROWN Architectural Review.	Boston
MRS. GEORGE A. BROWN Anti-Tuberculosis Assn.	Everett, Mass.
J. H. BROWN Sun Shipbuilding Co.	Chester, Pa.
S. J. BROWN	Hingham, Mass.
MISS UDETTA BROWN	New York
F. J. BROWNE Utica Chamber of Commerce.	Utica, N. Y.
DR. ALICE G. BRYANT	Boston
REV. PETER BRYCE Ontario Housing Commission.	Toronto
LEO J. BUETTNER Johnstown City Planning Commission.	Johnstown, Pa.
MISS PRISCILLA BUNTIN	West Newton, Mass.
MINNABELLE VAN D. BURCH	Boston
MISS GLADYS BURMESTER Instructive District Nursing Association	East Boston
MRS. ADDISON C. BURNHAM	Newton Centre, Mass.
MRS. Y. S. BURRELL	Cambridge
MRS. ANNIE H. BURRELL Woman's Club—City Federation of Women's Clubs.	Concord
W. B. BUSEWAY Boston Dwelling House Co.	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
MISS C. A. BUTTERS Cambridge Associated Charities.	Somerville, Mass.
ERNEST G. BUTTRICK Member Board of Trade.	Lowell, Mass.

MRS. LAWRENCE P. CAFABELLE	West Roxbury, Mass.
MISS MARION M. CALLAWAY	Baltimore
E. A. CAMPANA	Boston
Boston Board of Health.	
C. N. CANN	Boston
MRS. J. R. CARLSON	Boston
The House Beautiful Magazine.	
JAMES A. CARR	East Boston
Board of Health.	
MISS MARY E. CARR	Dorchester, Mass.
J. B. CARRINGTON	New York
Editor "Architecture."	
MISS NELLIE P. CARTER	Boston
GEORGE D. CHAMBERLAIN	Springfield, Mass.
Springfield Chamber of Commerce.	
DR. M. CHAMPION	Boston
Boston Board of Health.	
MISS RUTH CHAPIN	Boston
Home Service Section, Amer. Red Cross.	
EDWARD M. CHASE	Manchester, N. H.
HORACE E. CHILD	Melrose, Mass.
Boston Rubber Shoe Co.	
RICHARD S. CHILDS	New York
Committee on New Industrial Towns.	
MISS A. P. CHURCHILL	Boston
State Health Dept.	
MISS M. E. CLARK	Boston
Women's Municipal League.	
JOHN CLARKEN	Detroit
Detroit Board of Health.	
MISS COATES	Newtonville, Mass.
Secy., Newton Welfare Bureau.	
MISS MARY WRIGHT COBB	Boston
STEPHEN CODMAN	Boston
C. N. COGSWELL	Boston
CASO F. COLBURN	Boston
ARTHUR C. COMEY	Washington
U. S. Housing Corp.	
JOHN E. CONZELMAN	St. Louis
Unit Construction Co.	
J. RANDOLPH COOLIDGE, JR.	Boston
Mayor's Housing Commission.	
JOHN T. COOPER	Malden, Mass.
Boston Rubber Shoe Co.	
MISS COOPERSTEIN	Roxbury, Mass.
Federated Jewish Charities.	
H. B. COPELAND	Boston
C. A. COTTON	Providence
Providence Chamber of Commerce.	
MISS LAURA M. COX	Lynn, Mass.
MRS. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE	Kalamazoo, Mich.
State Chairman, Woman's Comm., Council of Nat'l. Defense.	
EDWARD A. CRANE	Philadelphia
Secy., Phila. Society of Architects.	

# DELEGATES

433

HARVEY W. CRAW . . . . . U. S. Housing Corp.	Quincy, Mass.
ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD . . . . . American Civic Assn.	Philadelphia
MISS ANNETTE L. CROCKER . . . . .	Brookline
J. F. CROWLEY, M.D. . . . . Chairman, Adams Board of Health.	Adams, Mass.
MISS FRANCES G. CURTIS . . . . . Boston School Committee.	Boston
MISS HARRIETT S. CURTIS . . . . . Secy., Boston Co-operative Bldg. Co.	Boston
JAMES STEWART CUSHMAN . . . . . Allerton House Co.—Hotel Builders.	New York
MISS HAZEL M. DALTON . . . . .	Portland, Me.
GEORGE DAME . . . . .	Roslindale, Mass.
R. H. DANA, JR. . . . . Architect.	New York
JOHN F. DAY . . . . . Hood Rubber Co.	Watertown, Mass.
MISS GERTRUDE DEMORTON . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
MISS MARY DEF. DENNY . . . . .	Dedham, Mass.
L. E. DESTREMPES . . . . . City of New Bedford.	New Bedford, Mass.
MRS. E. L. DE VOE . . . . .	Boston
E. S. DODGE . . . . .	Boston
DR. HELEN I. DOHERTY . . . . . Fr. Scanlon's Housing Committee.	Boston
CAPT. F. H. DOOLITTLE . . . . .	Watertown, Mass.
MISS MARY S. DORAN . . . . . Children's Aid Society.	Boston
J. F. DOWNING . . . . . City of Cambridge.	Cambridge
MRS. SIDNEY DREYFUS . . . . .	Brookline
MISS DRUMMOND . . . . . South End Music School.	Boston
MISS H. S. DUDLEY . . . . .	Boston
ROLPH DUFF . . . . . Secy. to Governor Sleeper.	Lansing, Mich.
C. B. DUNHAM . . . . .	Medford, Mass.
JOHN S. EDMANDS . . . . .	Somerville, Mass.
MRS. J. C. EDWARDS . . . . .	Boston
MISS K. L. EDWARDS . . . . .	Southbridge, Mass.
MISS ESTHER J. ELLIOTT . . . . .	Newton Highlands, Mass.
MISS JENNIE LOIS ELLIS . . . . . Organized Charities.	Atlantic City
RALPH D. EMERSON . . . . .	Boston
MRS. CAROLYN M. ENGLER . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
THOMAS A. ENGLISH . . . . . Boston Health Dept.	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
HAROLD K. ESTABROOK . . . . .	Chestnut Hill, Mass.
MRS. GLENDOWER EVANS . . . . . Mass. Civic League.	Brookline
ARTHUR G. EVERETT . . . . .	Boston

434 NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

MISS HELEN E. FAIRBANKS . . . . .	South Acton, Mass.
School of Social Work.	
SYRA I. FEINGOLD . . . . .	Boston
West End Welfare Centre Federated.	
P. C. FELD . . . . .	Camden, N. J.
Fairview Realty Co.	
EUGENE H. FELLOWS . . . . .	Scranton, Pa.
Penn. Council Nat'l Defense—Civic Bureau Board of Trade.	
J. H. FELLOWS . . . . .	New Britain, Conn.
New Britain Chamber of Commerce.	
H. THEODORE FELTCHER . . . . .	Boston
MISS M. H. FENNO . . . . .	Boston
Ellis Memorial House.	
JAMES I. FERRY . . . . .	Whitinsville, Mass.
Whitin Machine Works.	
MISS MARGARET FITZ . . . . .	Cambridge
Judge Baker Foundation.	
F. A. FLATHER . . . . .	Lowell, Mass.
MISS AMY FOLSOM . . . . .	Boston
Director Associated Charities.	
EUGENE L. FOLSOM . . . . .	Waltham, Mass.
Waltham Watch Factory, Asst. Gen. Mgr.	
ELMER S. FORBES . . . . .	Boston
Mass. Civic League.	
MRS. ELMER S. FORBES . . . . .	Boston
JAMES FORD . . . . .	Washington
U. S. Bureau of Industrial Housing.	
MISS A. W. FOSTER . . . . .	Roxbury, Mass.
MISS MARJORIE L. FOSTER . . . . .	Boston
Lincoln House Assn.	
MISS M. L. FOSTER . . . . .	Boston
North End Union.	
RACHEL FOSTER . . . . .	Boston
D. A. R.	
MISS EMMA FRANK . . . . .	Boston
Jewish Welfare Center.	
MISS HENRIETTA FREDERICKS . . . . .	Newton, Mass.
WARREN F. FREEMAN . . . . .	Boston
Boston Real Estate Exchange.	
HARRY A. FREY . . . . .	Bay City, Mich.
International Mill & Timber Co.	
MISS H. V. FREY . . . . .	West Medford, Mass.
MISS A. B. FRISHMUTH . . . . .	Boston
MRS. GEO. E. FROST . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
ANDREW D. FULLER . . . . .	Boston
DR. C. B. FULLER . . . . .	Waltham, Mass.
Dir. Public Welfare Commission.	
T. GALASSI . . . . .	Boston
MISS F. E. GARRISON . . . . .	Philadelphia
Octavia Hill Assn.	
DR. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN . . . . .	Lonsdale, R. I.
Former Governor of R. I.	
COOPER GAW . . . . .	New Bedford, Mass.
New Bedford Board of Health.	



## DELEGATES

435

CHARLES P. GILLEN . . . . .	Newark Mayor, City of Newark.
JAMES GILLINGHAM . . . . .	Philadelphia Bureau of Surveys of Phila.
MRS. E. M. GLEASON . . . . .	Boston Secy. Lamb & Nash Co.
F. A. GODLEY . . . . .	New York
MISS MIRIAM GOLDBERG . . . . .	Boston Federated Jewish Charities.
FRANK E. GORMAN . . . . .	Lansing Deputy State Treasurer.
FRANK E. GRAMKOW . . . . .	Natick, Mass.
F. J. GREEN . . . . .	Janesville, Wis. Janesville Chamber of Commerce.
MRS. J. GREEN . . . . .	Malden, Mass. Malden Anti-Tuberculosis Society.
R. F. GREENE . . . . .	Boston National Fireproofing Co.
LUTHER C. GREENLEAF . . . . .	Boston Mass. Real Estate Exchange.
DR. C. L. GREIL . . . . .	New York National Board, Y. W. C. A.
MRS. AARON HAILPARN . . . . .	Boston
MISS E. HALE . . . . .	Boston Cambridge Associated Charities.
MISS ALICE A. HALL . . . . .	Everett, Mass.
EDWIN H. HALL . . . . .	Cambridge President Associated Charities.
JOSEPH H. HANDFORD . . . . .	New Bedford, Mass. Chamber of Commerce.
MISS FRANCES HARDON . . . . .	Boston
MISS MARY CAROLINE HARDY . . . . .	Boston
J. M. HARRINGTON . . . . .	Roslindale, Mass. Boston Health Dept.
MICHAEL T. HARRINGTON . . . . .	South Boston South Boston Housing Commission.
W. F. HARRIS . . . . .	Cambridge Chairman, Cambridge Planning Board.
L. C. HARTFORD . . . . .	Boston Am. District Steam Co.
CHARLOTTE SELLERS HASSETT . . . . .	Wellesley, Mass. Wellesley College.
O. E. HAWK . . . . .	Youngstown, O. Citizens' Organization.
MRS. M. HAWK . . . . .	Youngstown, O.
F. E. HAWKS . . . . .	Greenfield, Mass. Greenfield Tap & Dye Co.
H. B. HAYDEN . . . . .	Framingham, Mass. Dennison Mfg. Co.
ANDREW H. HEPBURN . . . . .	Concord, Mass.
F. J. HERDING . . . . .	St. Louis, Mo. Conzelman, Herding, Boyd.
MISS ROSE BROOKS HERFORD . . . . .	Boston The Little House.

MISS ELIZABETH M. HERLIHY . . . . .	Boston
City Planning Board.	
F. W. HERRICK . . . . .	Beverly, Mass.
Beverly Board of Health.	
JOSEPH E. HERRICK . . . . .	Beverly, Mass.
Beverly Board of Health.	
MRS. M. K. HILLARY . . . . .	Malden, Mass.
Gen. Secy. Malden Associated Charities.	
H. HINDENLANG . . . . .	Boston
N. E. Development Assn.	
JOHN S. HODGSON . . . . .	Boston
Secy., Housing Board, Mass. State Dept. of Health.	
MRS. THOMAS HOFFMAN . . . . .	Boston
Federated Jewish Charities.	
MISS ELIZABETH L. HOLBROOK . . . . .	Boston
Associated Charities.	
F. W. HOLD . . . . .	New York
Togan Stiles Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.	
FRANCIS W. HOLDEN . . . . .	Haverhill, Mass.
Secy., Haverhill Planning Board.	
MRS. IRA W. HOLT . . . . .	Arlington, Mass.
MISS LOIS L. HOWE . . . . .	Cambridge
Business Women's Club.	
MISS I. HOOPES . . . . .	Newburyport, Mass.
J. C. HOPKINS . . . . .	Boston
M. P. HOROWITZ . . . . .	Cambridge
JOHN T. HOSFORD . . . . .	Boston
Real Estate Exchange & Auction Board.	
ELMA HOUSER . . . . .	Boston
Student Simmons College.	
ALFRED DEW. HOWARD . . . . .	Newton Centre, Mass.
A. H. HOWLAND . . . . .	Elmhurst, N. Y.
Greater N. Y. Tenants League.	
MISS R. B. HOWLAND . . . . .	Flushing, N. Y.
Associated Charities of Flushing.	
H. V. HUBBARD . . . . .	Washington
U. S. Housing Corporation.	
MISS CATHERINE HUGHES . . . . .	New York
MRS. FRED L. HULL . . . . .	Boston
R. M. HULL . . . . .	Cambridge
MISS LOUISE HUNTER . . . . .	Wellesley, Mass.
A. F. HUSTON . . . . .	Coatesville, Pa.
Chamber of Commerce, Coatesville.	
WOODS HUTCHINSON . . . . .	New York
MISS ISABEL F. HYANES . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
GEORGE P. HYDE . . . . .	Boston
Dist. Housing Adjustor for Emergency Fleet Corp.	
JOHN IBLDER . . . . .	Philadelphia
Phila. Housing Assn.—Penn. Housing & Town Planning Assn.	
THOMAS B. INNESS . . . . .	Brockton, Mass.
Checkerton Series.	
ELMER C. IRELAND . . . . .	Everett, Mass.
N. E. Fuel & Transportation Co.	

MISS L. H. IRVING	New Brighton, N. Y.
Social Service Committee of Staten Island.	
MISS SUSAN C. JACKMAN	Boston
ALLEN W. JACKSON	Boston
WILLARD F. JACKSON	Brockton, Mass.
Planning Board.	
MISS VIRGINIA JAMES	Boston
ROBERT JEMISON, JR.	Philadelphia
Emergency Fleet Corp.	
MRS. ARTHUR H. JENKINS	Brockton, Mass.
Visiting Nurse Assn.	
A. S. JENNEY	Boston
MISS MARGARET F. JENNISON	Boston
School of Social Workers.	
G. N. JEPSON	Worcester, Mass.
CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON	Providence, R. I.
Teacher Social Science.	
W. T. JOHNSON	San Diego, Cal.
MISS ELIZABETH DICKERMAN JONES	Newton Highlands, Mass.
PERCY R. JONES	Allston, Mass.
Town Planner for the Housing Corp.	
MISS MARGUERITE WALKER JORDAN	Altoona, Pa.
THOMAS JORDAN	Boston
Health Department.	
CHARLES E. JULIN	New Haven, Conn.
MISS MARGARITE JUNG.	Milwaukee
School of Social Work.	
HARRY KEELAN	Boston
Boston Board of Health.	
JOHN L. KEHOE	Providence, R. I.
Providence Chamber of Commerce.	
HERBERT J. KELLAWAY	Boston
J. T. KELLEY	Boston
American Institute of Architects.	
MRS. J. T. KELLEY	Boston
JOHN P. KELLEY	Boston
United Improvement Assn.	
HARLAN P. KELSEY	Salem, Mass.
JEREMIAH J. KENLEY	Quincy, Mass.
Plumber Inspector, Quincy.	
CALVIN KIESSLING	New York
David McGrath & Kiessling.	
WALTER H. KILHAM	Boston
Architect.	
J. M. KILROY	Boston
Boston Board of Health.	
MISS ESTHER L. KILTON	Worcester, Mass.
MRS. ISABELLE KILTON	Malden, Mass.
21st Middlesex County Suffrage Assn.	
WM. G. KIRSCHBAUM	New Bedford, Mass.
Board of Health.	
MORRIS KNOWLES	Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh Housing Conference—Chief Engineer Shipping Board, Phila.	

ROBERT D. KOHN	Philadelphia
U. S. Shipping Board.	
P. C. KUEGLE	Youngstown, O.
The Buckeye Land Co.	
MISS HELEN R. LADE	Boston
GARRETT LAMB	Quebec, Can.
Kipawa Fibre Co.	
JOHN J. LAND	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Dept. of Health, Boston.	
MISS ANNA E. LANNING	Dorchester, Mass.
MISS MARTHA L. LATHE	Newton, Mass.
Newton Welfare Bureau.	
MRS. CHARLOTTE LAWRENCE	Boston
Wednesday Morning Club.	
DR. N. LOUISE LAWRENCE	Louisville
WM. B. LAWRENCE	Boston
Mass. Real Estate Exchange.	
MISS GENEVA L. LEAVITT	Framingham, Mass.
Framingham Civic League.	
CHAS. H. LEE	New York
Borough President, Manhattan.	
C. A. LEIGHTON	Wilkesbarre, Pa.
Lehigh & Wilkesbarre Coal Co.	
AMORY LELAND	Chestnut Hill, Mass.
MRS. J. D. LELAND	Brookline
MRS. J. D. LELAND, 3rd	Washington
J. D. LELAND, 3rd	Washington
U. S. Housing Corporation.	
CECELIA LEMNER	Boston
State Health Dept.	
WM. F. LENGTON	Haverhill, Mass.
Planning Board of Haverhill.	
DANIEL J. LEONARD	Boston
Examiner in Charge, U. S. Employment Service.	
ALVAH M. LEVY	Fitchburg, Mass.
MISS DOROTHY LEWIS	Wellesley, Mass.
Wellesley College.	
MRS. R. C. LINCOLN	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
ELECTUS D. LITCHFIELD	New York
MISS HARRIET FRANCES LOCKE	Nashua, N. H.
Architect.	
C. P. LONGWELL	Gloucester City, N. J.
The Pusey & Jones Co.	
MISS H. S. LORD	Boston
Instructive District Nursing Association.	
JOSEPH P. LOUD	Boston
Architect.	
FREDERICK F. LOW	Boston
Architect.	
MISS ESTHER LUFKIN	Dorchester, Mass.
Boston Associated Charities.	
WM. L. LYALL	Passaic, N. J.
President, Brighton Mills.	

## DELEGATES

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MISS CAROLYN B. LYNCH . . . . .	Dorchester, Mass.
Assn. Collegiate Alumnae.	
MISS R. LYNCH . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
Salem Assn. for Prevention of Tuberculosis.	
W. G. LYNCH . . . . .	New York
Lynch Construction Co., Inc.	
MISS ALICE MACCOMACK . . . . .	Glen Ridge, N. J.
ALBERT J. MACDONALD. . . . .	Boston
The Architectural Forum.	
J. O. MACDONNELL . . . . .	Boston
The Boston Herald.	
MRS. EDITH H. MACFADDEN . . . . .	Cambridge
American Defense Society of Cambridge. Associated Charities.	
W. F. MACGLASHAN . . . . .	Buffalo, N. Y.
Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.	
MISS M. MADORE . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
CHARLES D. MAGINNIS . . . . .	Boston
Architect.	
W. H. MAHONEY . . . . .	Peabody, Mass.
Chamber of Commerce.	
FRANCESCO P. MALGERI . . . . .	Boston
North End Union.	
MISS ELEANOR MANNING . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
CAPTAIN F. H. MARANI . . . . .	Toronto, Canada
Ontario Housing Committee.	
EDWIN H. MARBLE . . . . .	Worcester, Mass.
Chairman, Worcester Planning Board.	
F. E. MARBLE . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
MRS. MARY MARDFIN . . . . .	New York City
GEORGE F. MARLOWE . . . . .	Boston
Adden & Parker.	
BLEECKER MARQUETTE . . . . .	Cincinnati, O.
Cincinnati Better Housing League.	
MRS. WILSON MARSH . . . . .	Quincy, Mass.
Milton Social Service League.	
GORDON P. MARTIN . . . . .	Boston
W. R. MARTIN . . . . .	Pittsburgh, Pa.
MISS F. L. MASON . . . . .	Taunton, Mass.
Taunton City Planning Board.	
A. S. MATHERS . . . . .	Toronto, Can.
Bannigan, Mathers & Thompson.	
CHARLES C. MAY . . . . .	New York City
Architect.	
J. E. MCAFEE . . . . .	Boston
National Engineering Corporation.	
MISS RUTH MCCALL . . . . .	Winchester, Mass.
DR. W. J. MCCAUSLAND . . . . .	Quincy, Mass.
Board of Health.	
MRS. LEE S. MCCOLLISTEE . . . . .	Tufts College, Mass.
J. B. McDONOUGH . . . . .	Boston
G. J. McELROY . . . . .	Boston
Health Department.	

- J. HORACE MCFARLAND . . . . . Washington, D. C.  
U. S. Department of Labor—Committee on Living Conditions of War  
Workers.
- MRS. MARY MCGEE . . . . . Brockton, Mass.  
Visiting Nurse Association.
- JOHN MCGLINCHY . . . . . Boston  
Board of Health.
- EDWARD F. MCGRADY . . . . . Boston  
Housing Commission of Boston.
- PHILIP L. MCMAHON . . . . . Boston  
Employment Management Course, Harvard University.
- MRS. WILLIAM E. MCNAMARA . . . . . Mattapan, Mass.  
National Civic Federation N. E. Section.
- F. J. MCNULTY . . . . . Newark
- H. H. MCPHERSON . . . . . Detroit  
Detroit Housing Association.
- MRS. F. S. MEAD . . . . . Boston  
National Civic Federation, Women's Dept.
- MRS. J. HERBERT MEAD . . . . . Arlington Heights, Mass.
- MISS MARCIA MEAD . . . . . New York  
Schenck & Mead.
- MRS. CRAIG C. MILLER . . . . . Marshall, Mich.  
Council of National Defense.
- MISS SADIE E. MILLER . . . . . Jamaica Plain, Mass.
- TUPPER G. MILLER . . . . . Quincy, Mass.  
Board of Health.
- A. H. MINSHALL . . . . . Halifax, N. S.  
President, Commercial Club of Halifax.
- C. MITCHELL . . . . . New Bedford, Mass.  
New Bedford Charity Organization Society.
- P. H. MITCHELL . . . . . Toronto, Can.  
Toronto Housing Company.
- MISS A. MOFFAT . . . . . Boston  
Pauline Agassiz Shaw Neighborhood Houses and Day Nurseries.
- JOHN MOLITOR . . . . . Harrisburg, Pa.  
Pennsylvania Department of Health—Chief, Bureau of Housing.
- JOHN F. MONAHAN . . . . . Newark  
City Commissioner.
- MISS H. I. MOORE . . . . . Boston
- DR. P. P. MOORE . . . . . Gloucester, Mass.  
Board of Health.
- MRS. A. H. MORRILL . . . . . Cambridge  
Room Registry Bureau.
- MISS F. R. MORSE . . . . . Boston  
Associated Charities.
- MRS. LEWIS KENNEDY MORSE . . . . . Boston
- MISS E. L. MOSELEY . . . . . Brighton, Mass.  
Associated Charities of Cambridge.
- F. THORNTON MOSHER . . . . . Boston
- MRS. ALICE L. W. MOVIOUS . . . . . Boston
- JOHN J. MURPHY . . . . . New York  
Tenement House Committee, C. O. S.
- MISS MARY E. MUSSON . . . . . New York  
Young Women's Christian Association.

MISS M. F. MUTCH	Boston
S. H. MYERS	New York
National Lead Company.	
DR. EMILE NADEAU	Quebec
W. E. C. NAZRO	Plymouth, Mass.
Plymouth Cordage Co.	
MISS ELIZA J. NEWKIRK	Boston
MISS MINNIE M. NEWMAN	Boston
Director, Division of Work for Women, Bureau of Immigration.	
S. E. NEWMAN	Boston
Boston Exchange.	
C. E. NICHOLS	Auburndale, Mass.
Stone & Webster.	
JOHN NOLEN	Cambridge
Board of Directors, Nat'l Housing Assn.	
WILFRED A. NORRIS	Watertown, Mass.
Architect—E. Watertown Civic League.	
MRS. AMES NOWELL	Boston
R. E. NUGENT	New London
VINCENT NUTILE	Boston
United Improvement Assn.	
MISS M. GRACE O'BRIAN	Boston
Instructive District Nurses Assn.—Nat'l Organization Public Health Nursing.	
MRS. WM. H. ODELL	Dorchester, Mass.
Pres. Dorchester Women's Club.	
J. C. OLMSTED	Brookline
MRS. CATHERINE OSBORNE	Boston
Boston Students Union.	
MISS E. B. OSBORNE	Salem, Mass.
Salem Associated Charities.	
DR. E. O. OTIS	Boston
MRS. E. O. OTIS	Boston
H. A. OWEN	Whitinsville, Mass.
Whitin Machine Works.	
P. W. PAGE	Boston
National Engineering Corp.	
MISS ALICE PARKER	Quincy, Mass.
CORNELIUS A. PARKER	Dorchester, Mass.
Mass. Homestead Commission.	
JOHN H. PARKER	Saugus, Mass.
MRS. JOHN H. PARKER	Saugus, Mass.
Representing Selectmen of Saugus.	
WINTHROP D. PARKER	Boston
W. S. PARKER	Quincy, Mass.
City of Quincy.	
R. PARKINSON	Southbridge, Mass.
American Optical Co.	
MRS. FRED B. PERCY	Brookline
Pres., Brookline Friendly Society.	
GEORGE L. PERIN	Boston
Franklin Square House.	
MS. GEORGE W. PERKINS	Boston
Mass. Suffrage Assn.	

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EMILE G. PERROT	Philadelphia
Ballinger & Perrot, Architects.	
MRS. J. VON WAGNER PIATNIZKY	Malden, Mass.
O. J. PIKE	Lynn, Mass.
Rep. Mayor of Lynn.	
CHARLES LEWIS PITKIN	Boston
MISS L. N. PLATT	Philadelphia
Bureau of Boarding Houses.	
MRS. HENRIETTA MARQUIS POPE	Cambridge
Landscape Architect.	
MISS ELIZABETH PORTER	Boston
F. J. PORTER	Saylesville, R. I.
Sayles Finishing Plants.	
WILLIAM S. POST	New York
George B. Post & Sons, Architects.	
W. E. POTTER	Lowell, Mass.
U. S. Homes Registration Service.	
DWIGHT POWELL	Brockton, Mass.
MISS ETHEL B. POWER	Cambridge
MRS. LOUIS PRANG	Roxbury, Mass.
Civic Club of Roxbury.	
CHARLES E. PRICE	New York
Portland Cement Assn.	
MISS B. PRITZ	New York
DR. F. I. PROCTOR	Wellesley, Mass.
MISS ELIZABETH PUTNAM	Boston
MISS JOSEPHINE M. QUIMBY	Boston
Fenway Business Girls Club, House Director.	
ROBERT S. QUIMBY	Watertown, Mass.
Hood Rubber Co.	
MISS ANNA J. QUINN	Boston
ANDREW RAEBURN	New Bedford, Mass.
Board of Commerce.	
MISS DOROTHY RAINOLD	New Orleans, La.
W. J. RANDALL	Chelsea, Mass.
Chelsea Board of Health.	
MISS ELEANOR A. RAYMOND	Cambridge
HENRY B. REED	Auburndale, Mass.
Newton Welfare Bureau.	
W. MAXWELL REED	Woonsocket, R. I.
American Wringer Co.	
MISS HELEN LEAH REES	Cambridge
MISS L. REID	Boston
Lincoln House Assn.	
MISS E. M. REMELE	Boston
Elizabeth Peabody House.	
MRS. GEORGE T. RICE	Westwood, Mass.
Nat'l Civic Assn.	
J. R. RICHARDS	Washington
Commission Living Conditions, Dept. of Labor.	
WM. P. RICHARDS	Boston
E. E. RICHARDSON	Roxbury, Mass.
Teacher Boston M. I. T.	
W. C. RICHARDSON	Boston



MRS. A. L. RIENZ	Allston, Mass.
OTTO R. RIETSCHLIN	Boston
Aberthaw Construction Co.	
GEORGE E. RIGGS	Lawrence, Mass.
Secy. Lawrence Chamber of Commerce.	
J. F. RULEY	South Boston
Boston Board of Health.	
MRS. WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY	Newton Centre, Mass.
Woman's City Club of Boston; rep. Mrs. George W. Coleman, Pres.	
MISS MARY ROCKWELL	New York
DR. ERLA RODAKIEWICZ	New York
Y. W. C. A. Dept. of Work Foreign Born Women.	
MRS. CHARLES ROEPPER	Boston
Member Municipal League.	
MISS FREDA ROGOLSKY	Boston
Civilian Relief, Red Cross.	
MISS M. ROLLINS	Boston
The House Beautiful Magazine.	
MISS MIRIAM ROME	Boston
West End Welfare Centre.	
MISS M. ROONEY	West Roxbury, Mass.
EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT	Boston
Field Secy., Mass. Federation of Churches.	
REV. ADOLPH ROSSBACK	East Boston
VIOLA J. ROTTENBERG	Boston
L. V. RUTLEDGE	Cambridge
MISS F. A. SANDERSON.	Littleton, Mass.
State Federation of Women's Clubs.	
MISS MARION D. SAVAGE	Wellesley, Mass.
MISS GERTRUDE SAWYER	Norborne, Mo.
MRS. J. H. SAWYER	Boston
Associated Charities.	
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Boston City Planning Board Investigator.	

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