THE HOUSING AWAKENING

LAWRENCE VEILLER
SECRETARY NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

America has at last awakened to the consciousness of her slums. Throughout the land a new sense of social and civic responsibility is stirring. The "new view" of charity has brought with it a new sense of values. Social workers are now seriously asking themselves what shall it profit a man to go to the hospital if he must soon return to some vile slum. It is now the rare person who does not immediately assent to the view that prevention is better than cure, and there is a growing conviction in all our cities that poverty is curable and even preventable. That bad environment is responsible for many of the ills of the body social and the body politic, is denied by few.

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

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

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

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

Mirabile dictu, these beliefs are being translated into action. Here and there a social worker, overcome with the sense of the futility of the old methods of relief work, is pointing out to his associates and directors that it is more important to have adequate sanitary inspection in the homes of the poor than it is to provide coal and clothing—that it is better than grocery tickets, that the city itself had better spend its money to strengthen its health department, than to supply outdoor relief.

It is not strange that we should have awakened to the dangers of our slums, for they have forced themselves on our attention with an insistence that could not be disregarded. Their coming has in most cases been associated with the advent of new races of immigrants, and, like most importations, they are costing us dear. No tariff wall has been high enough to keep them out. Few cities have been immune from the slum invasion. Staid New England college towns like New Haven have awakened with a start to find that one-third of their population is of recent foreign importation, and, like most imported articles, they are costing us dear. No tariff wall has been high enough to keep them out. Few cities have been immune from the slum invasion.

Aristocratic Baltimore has discovered that she has heretofore been "barbarous Baltimore", and now rises in her wrath determined to slay the hydra-headed monster that has been sapping her vitality. Indiana, stirred to its depths by one woman's recital of the wrongs of the poor, has determined to do away with her slums, and taken the first step towards that important end.

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

On the Pacific coast, the stirrings of the new ferment have been profoundly felt. Los Angeles, the city of most things good, is wiping out its small slum nucleus, and through its capable woman sanitary expert is affording the whole country an object lesson in the possibilit
ties of reform through "teaching the tenant." San Francisco, risen from its ashes, is unfortunately rearing for itself future plague-spots—but here, too, public-spirited men and women are alert and on guard.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The outlook for the future is hopeful. The old idea that the housing problem could be solved by building a "model tenement district" in itself, one finds emphasis laid upon housing laws which will control the situation for all time; on efficient and vigilant sanitary inspection; on Garden Cities and model small houses in place of huge tenements; on instructive visitation of the city with its housing conditions, puts the city into gardens of delight.

THE HOUSING AWAKENING

SOCIALISTS AND SLUMS—MILWAUKEE

CARL D. THOMPSON
CITY CLERK OF MILWAUKEE

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

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

How naively innocent, or shall we say, how ardently misleading.

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

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

FACING THE FACTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the fourth ward the alleys are crowded with shabby shacks, shut out from sunlight and air by dead walls of larger buildings, forlorn and wretched. In the Ghetto, in one building live seventy-one people, representing seventeen families. The toilets in the yard freeze in winter and are clogged in summer. The overcrowding here is fearful and the sixth defies description.

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

December 3, 1910.

THE MILWAUKEE OF TODAY.

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

December 3, 1910.

THE MILWAUKEE OF TOMORROW.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The slum is not allowed to breed,
to fester, to spread, and with the growth of the city, our housing conditions will become, in proportion to our population, as bad as those in any city.

"THE CITY WILDERNESS"

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

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

To make matters worse, crowded back to back with these dwellings are the alley houses, mere duplicates in construction and crowding. All of these houses are crowded closely together, so that there is very little light, and in many cases absolutely no sunlight in the dwelling rooms. Here, together, live men, women, children, dogs, pigeons and goats in regular tenement and slum conditions. This is another of the three foes of the Milwaukee housing problem.

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

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

HEALTH DEPARTMENT AT WORK

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

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

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

Once at the head of the Health Department, Dr. Rucker's attack upon the various phases of the housing problem was immediate and aggressive. He began at once a general clean-up in the streets and alleys, the byways and basement dwellings, as well as in general housing conditions in the Ghetto. Two hundred boys and girls were organized into the Milwaukee Health Guards, whose purpose is to help keep the city clean, to spread the idea that the preservation of human life is the highest type of patriotism. An investigation of the tenements was begun and a system introduced for scoring them in accordance with their relative sanitary condition. An immediate reduction of the number of occupants was enforced in the tenements where there was...
serious overcrowding. An educational campaign was begun by means of popular lectures on sanitation, for the general public. They were illustrated with stereopticon slides. An ordinance was sent to the City Council providing for the removal of slaughter houses from the city, thus doing away with some of the most distressing conditions in one residence district. The garbage collection department was reorganized so that garbage is collected between midnight and six in the morning instead of during the day. Modern lighted metal receptacles were substituted for the old-fashioned garbage box or barrel. And, finally, a commission was put to work to devise an up-to-date system for disposing of sewage. At present it is emptied into the lake from which the city draws its drinking water—and typhoid fever is much more prevalent than it should be, an epidemic occurring in the early part of the year.

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

OTHER PROBLEMS INVOLVED

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

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

The Legislature had granted Milwaukee, under a law relative to parking, the right to buy, own and sell real estate. By means of this, the administration is taking steps which will put the city in possession of nearly a million dollars' worth of real estate on the outskirts of the city. The land is being platted with reference to model dwellings for wage-earners. Certain sections are to be set aside for industrial and manufacturing purposes. Other sections will be devoted to commercial interests, and still others will be reserved entirely for residences.

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

Solve the problem of cheap and rapid transportation, and the working people may live by the rivers, amid sunshine and shade, the melody and song of nature's open fields. This the administration is determined to bring about. It is the purpose so to plat these residence districts that every house will have land enough to let the sunlight into every room and to provide for garden and lawn.

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

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

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

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

THE SURVEY
A QUESTION OF WAGES ALSO

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

December 3, 1910.
ATTENTION FELLOWS BLOOM

THE AWAKENING OF A STATE—INDIANA

THE HOUSING AWAKENING

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

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

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

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

There did not seem to be any excuse for it, and I asked our secretary: "Why do not the landlords cut some windows in those dark rooms? Why do they not mend those dangerous stairways and those leaky roofs? Why do they not drain the yards, and put in hydrants?"

And the secretary answered wryly: "They do not have to. The houses bring good rent anyhow, and there is no law to require it."

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

It always seemed strange to me that other friendly visitors should dwell on the persistent filthiness of the poor—as if, forsooth, they could be washed without water or dry without drains. None of our tenements had city water. Some—
times one cistern had to supply ten or more families, and then they had to be "pumpin' the water," one woman said, as she hung up her line of gray, half clean clothes. In one of our largest tenements, guiltless of drains, one of the top floor tenants eloquently poured her suits over the railing into the hall below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the great hand seemed to be directing every movement. Somehow, the plans unfolded, the hearts of men were opened up to good influences, the law was made straight. Otherwise the law could not have been won in a year. It was a miracle, no doubt.

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

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

2. To draft a housing bill to cure our old premises, and prevent unsanitary dwellings from being erected. In other words, to check the incipient slums.

December 17, 1910.
Mr. Veiller's Model Housing Code or his splendid book on Housing Reform, had been published. It would have saved so much labor and mental agony. There was nothing left to do but compile the best laws to be found. But the laws made for the big cities would not fit our state. It was like making over grandpa's coat for little Johnnie to trim them down to our needs. Just to cut off the tails was not enough; they had to be taken up in the shoulders, and fitted all over. At last our bill was finished, and one of our best lawyers, J. E. Igleheart, went over it and tightened all the screws.

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

The next thing was the publicity part.

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

Then there were letters to clubs and individuals, men and women of influence, ministers, teachers, politicians, candidates for office, to get their pledges. Each letter had to go over the lacerating story, to explain the new thought and the old need. Each one had to make a different appeal. For instance, a letter to a business man took up the commercial angle and showed how bad housing was bad business. Letters to ministers dwelt on the moral and ethical phases. Letters to women's clubs dealt with the imperilability of making homes in the miserable tenements, with the environment of the growing child, the danger to their own children, etc. The purpose of these letters was to arouse public sentiment, to make people addressed to bring pressure to bear upon their members of the Legislature.

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

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

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

I used to think that fine in Gray's Elegy was so fine, "The applause of listening senates to command." Maybe in Gray's time it was not a joke to talk about "listening senates." But they did listen kindly to the story of the poor, and what bad housing meant to the poor, bad health, bad morals; and what it meant to the state—the cost of crime and disease and dependence, and the loss of efficiencies of the working man. What took hold of the legislators, I think, was the horror of it, the pity of it. That showed the chivalry in our men. It was like watching a tournament of knights to sit back and see the friends of the bill, in both houses, fighting for it. The landlords came in force, and it was a bitter fight. The beautiful thing was that the opposition did almost all the lobbying.

After a hard battle the bill passed, mangled and torn, but very much alive. It was cut down to only two cities, but we'll get all the others yet. We'll go on building little homes in the orchards, and children that never had room to walk under the cinders, and the public opinion.

If you wait till it forces legislation it will be too late. What is needed is to "head off the slums," as Jacob Riis says, now, while land is so cheap and so plentiful.

If we could only lift up our eyes and see the vast, unpeopled plains of our great country, and then have a vision of the crowded towns. There is so much room for everyone in our wide states, plenty of sunlight in the fields, plenty of air on the hill tops. Yet men, in their blindness, go on building tiny homes, as Jacob Riis says, now, while land is so cheap and so plentiful.

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SLUMS IN BERLIN

JOHN IHLDER
FIELD SECRETARY NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

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

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

A committee of the Berlin Sick Insurances, "sacred and daughters of parents of the better class, who even in time of sickness are above want, as well as a considerable number of such as, by education and position, are used to better conditions of housing, and therefore spend on their housing more than the case generally," as its minimum standard the sick

support fund committee takes a habituation or apartment having a floor area of 108 square feet, a height of eight feet three inches and a net cubic capacity of 340 cubic feet. Compare with this the New York requirement, in force since 1901, that in every new tenement house each apartment shall have at least one room containing not less than 120 square feet of floor space, and that no room shall contain at least seventy square feet. Each room shall be at least nine feet high from the finished floor to the finished ceiling, except that an attic need be nine feet high in but one-half of its area.

The committee found that no fewer than 680 men—equal to 8.3 per cent of the total number of male patients visited, and 630 women—equal to 8.2 per cent of the total number of female patients visited—lived in rooms which were below the specified minimum of floor space; in fact, 166 persons were found living in rooms which did not measure even one-half of the floor area required. As regards the height of the rooms, 2,052 men (25.2 per cent) and 1,604 women (22.9 per cent) inhabited rooms which did not reach the minimum height. And lastly, 4,105 men (51.3 per cent) and 3,383 women (46.5 per cent) were deprived of the necessary minimum of cubic capacity of air; 2,351 persons did not have even one-half, and 133 had to be satisfied with less than one-quarter of the cubic air-space which is indispensable for a living human organism—and these were all sick men and women, some with tuberculosis!

The committee also reports that 372 men (more than 4 per cent) and 232 women (about 3 per cent) live in cellar dwellings. The bulk of the dwellings—perhaps 38 per cent in the case of front tenements and nearly 78 per cent in the case of back tenements—consist of but two rooms and a kitchen, or less, while nearly 30 per cent in one case and over 50 per cent in the other were habitations consisting of but one room and a kitchen.

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

It would be futile to match these conditions in New York and perhaps in other American cities, which are ignorantly congratulating themselves on having no housing problem. New York, where the Tenement House Department has been in operation for eight years, no new tenements erected in that time (and such tenements number more than a million and a quarter persons) would call for criticism on the part of the Berlin investigating committee, while even the old buildings are being brought slowly but steadily up to the standard where they will cease to be outright breeding places of disease.

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

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON, Contributing Editor

A VALUABLE BULLETIN

One of the best bulletins which come to this department—and whose value is considered—is that issued each week by the City Civic Club of Philadelphia. This club uses "to gather into membership men of all parties, occupations and creeds from every geographical section of the city, who live and work in common a more intense interest in the betterment of municipal conditions in Philadelphia." It holds a weekly luncheon, at which an important address is made, which is followed by discussion. The bulletins cover important reports which a group of papers has discussed in a very interesting way what Philadelphia is doing in various respects for her citizens. Other typical subjects have been "Scientific Appraisal of Municipal Conditions in Philadelphia," by Frederick C. Howe, and "The Immigrant and Democracy in American Cities," by Grace Abbott.

PLAYGROUND OCCASIONS

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

December 17, 1910.
I

### SHADE TREE PROTECTORS

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

Membership is open to pupils above a certain grade. Badges will be presented by the Shade Tree Commission to the officers of the league, and badges for merit are to be awarded to those who may demonstrate the care of the trees in their respective districts. It is optional with the teachers of the various schools of the city as to whether or not they shall be levied. The officers shall be elected annually from boys and girls. Meetings are held bi-monthly in summer and on the fourth Thursday of each month during the school year. All associations of family members shall be stationed at the entrance of the meeting room.

"To prevent strangers from entering and members absent, and shall aid the president in preserving order."

The school district in which a Specimen of Adopted for the Selection of Trees.

### THE HOUSING AWAKENING

In 1902, the author M. E. Porter, writing under the pseudonym "Dwight Potter," wrote a report on the conditions in tenement houses in Boston. The commission, however, reported its recommendations in a more detailed manner.

### HOUSING REFORM IN COLD STORAGE—BOSTON

#### EDWARD T. HARTMAN

SECRETARY, MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE

In considering the housing question during the past fifty or more years, Boston has been almost purely academic. Some talk, some writing, mild laws and milder enforcement were the order of the day until in 1888 Professor Dwight Porter prepared a report on the tenement house section of Boston. Later, at the instance of the mayor, several of the tenement house districts of Boston which should have justified police force were designated as "thevis based reform."

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In 1902 Mayor Collins appointed a commission which devised itself exclusively to fire protection, strength of materials and other structural matters. In the meantime, a committee of the Massachusetts Civic League was considering tenement house provisions, which the commission promised in turn to consider. The commission, however, reported its proposed law without giving attention to the tenement house sections. Later, at the instance of the mayor, these were embodied in the bill by the committee of the Legislature and, after many amendments, finally became the present law on private libraries. In 1904, the Legislature authorized a commission which reported in 1905. On this report there were some hearings.

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

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

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

Boston is most insistent in season and out of season in her efforts to save over all these superficial sores but she has not yet consciously set herself to removing this one case. As the problem has shown so far, no movements have been developped to help. The hospital does for a few what the hotel should. The outdoor school conducted by the Women's Municipal League is taking care of a few children and pointing the way for a few parents.

One of the main arguments for playgrounds, even, has come to be that homes are not fixed places for play and that without playgrounds children cannot grow up.

What are the actual facts in regard to the housing situation in Boston? No one knows. It is known, however, that dark rooms, overcrowding, filth, impossible water closets, and many other bad conditions may be found by anyone who looks for them in most of the blocks in the North and West Ends, and in many places in Charlestown, East Boston, South Boston, Roxbury, Brighton and Dorchester.

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

Seven single North and West End blocks had in 1905 from 1,001 to 1,174 inhabitants—each a fair-sized town. As numerous blocks here, however, cover less than an acre, those with smaller populations are often very crowded. Of twenty-two blocks whose density in 1905 I determined, four had less than 500 per acre, four between 500 and 500, one between 500 and 700, for between 700 and 850, and one had 1,138 per acre. In all Manhatten, 122 blocks had 750 or more persons per acre—"interlacer congestion!" and all but seven of them were on the Lower East Side.

Block No. 35 bounded by Prince, Thacher, North Margin streets, and Lafayette avenue, had 1,530.8 per acre—"the most densely populated block Boston. It had 900 residents on 84 acres. They lived in houses averaging 3 2/3 stories high, one per acre per story. New York's most crowded block had 1,752 per acre in houses averaging 5 2/3 stories, or 304 per acre per story.

It is not possible here to go into all the causes, but it may be said that the people are primarily responsible. Indifference and ignorance are common to both slum dwellers and those who live elsewhere. Local authorities, to whom people naturally look for assistance, find more points of contact with owners and politicians than with with the inhabitants of streets, in whose department the sanitary division is placed. As a matter of fact a recent investigation showed a number of rooms occupied by stenographers, each of whom and 200 cubic feet or less. "Boston not only fails to require the minimum of other cities, but seems to have no minimum at all. The minimum for hotels is 10 cubic feet per person. By making them much more liberal than required by the rules of the Board of Health and the Board of Health, the present law is doing much to increase the amount of overcrowding and is not giving what may be termed "stenciled room." If the board of health were willing to improve matters and it is believed that it will succeed if the people stand between it and the owners and politicians. The building commissioner and the superintendent of streets, in whose department the sanitary division falls, will do all that the people make it possible for them to do. The board of appeal sees too much the material side of the housing question and apparently has not awakened to the fact that because people have to live in houses, there is a social or human side. It has nullified the spirit and in some cases the letter of the law.

These facts are now known by many people and the present state of public opinion makes the problem look more possible of a gradual solution than at any time in the past. The settlements, nurses, charity workers, and others are coming to see that their methods are letting the problem get ahead of them. They are beginning to see that it is a part of their work to help remove the causes of the difficulties which it will always be a part of their duty to alleviate.

New organizations are taking up the newer aspects of the work and many others are showing a readiness to cooperate. Officials are framing the same impulse and are either strengthening their present machinery or devising new machinery to do the work. There is hope, but this hope is based entirely on the assumption that Boston has at last awakened to her needs in housing and sanitation, and is ready to learn her job by working at it.

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

A trade school which has the commendation of employers, trades unionists and educational experts is worth more than ordinary attention, for it is a phenomenon all too rare. "The Rhenen Trades School is on the square," a plumber said recently. And so all of the laboring men regard it. They are as glad to have Owen Miller, president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, on the school's advisory committee as the school is to have won labor's approbation.

On the other hand, the co-operation of employers is shown by the fact that the Metal Trades Association sends forty boys to the school as regularly indentured apprentices. The employer meets the tuition fee and pays the boys their regular shop wages while they are in attendance.

How comes this friendship of both tradesman and capitalist? Excludes those who have always heard of the difficulties of most other trade-schools. The answer is so simple and so ideal that belief in it—and the actuality forces creedence—props up one's wobbling faith that more freedom, honesty and thoughtfulness, higher principles, practically applied, will yet save the day in these "labour and capital" troubles. Single-hearted and clearheaded, with a daily study of what constitutes for today and tomorrow the best possible trade education, the Rhenen School holds its independent, middle-of-the-road course.

When David Ranken, Jr., deeded over to the David Ranken, Jr., School of Mechanical Trades the whole of his large fortune, exceeding $3,000,000, he then and there endowed it with much of the freedom which characterizes it, for ideas can always be carried out if there is no concern as to where the money is to come from—a hampering, even crippling consideration which confronts nearly every institution and individual. Many of the trade-schools opposed by trades-unionists are not efficient; they profess to turn out a good plumber in three months. The Rhenen School, however, trains boys long and carefully and raises rather than lowers any standard of trade workmanship. But these "three months to over $2,500,000; and they own taxable property worth $12,000,000. It is a wonderful record, under a heavy handicap of social neglect. They are thrifty, they are clean, they are willing, and they are neglected. They are raw material of the first value, undeveloped and wasting.

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

Today there are in Buffalo 8,000 Poles, which is one-sixth of the entire population, and their 15,000 cottages are under the tenement law, which is administered by a Polish health commissioner, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak. He is new in office, but bids fair to be the best health commissioner Buffalo has ever had, even Dr. Wende not excepted. It is in his power to do much to release his people from the conditions which have held them down. Good health work means not only protection for the rich, but salvation for the poor who cannot, like the rich, escape from their surroundings.

Dr. Fronczak has the opportunity to save more lives in Buffalo than even Dr. Pryor has saved through his tenement commissions. The Poles are climbing. They have two daily newspapers; 4,000 families, representing 20,000 people, own their own homes; 5,000 of them have deposits in the savings banks, amounting to over $2,500,000; and they own taxable property worth $12,000,000. It is a wonderful record, under a heavy handicap of social neglect. They are thrifty, they are clean, they are willing, and they are neglected. They are raw material of the first value, undeveloped and wasting.

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

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

Our chief evil today is room-overcrowding, and here the city ordinances of 1904, which required 600 cubic feet of air for each occupant, were better than the present state law of 1901, which requires only 400 cubic feet. The ordinance is still effective, and is expressly not repealed, but the state law has practically supplanted it.

In 1905 Messrs. Pryor and Douglas of the tenement committee of the Charities Organizing Society started another tenement crusade, and for a year or two the town was "tenement mad," as one of the newspapers put it. Revolting details of nasty plumbing were in the daily press. Dr. Van Poyma and George W. Gillette of the same committee followed up the work. The health commissioner, Dr. Greene, gave his full support, and in one year 200 buildings were altered or reconstructed. These were mostly in the Italian quarter for the poorer Italians have run to old hotels, ware houses, and abandoned home steads, while the Poles have kept to cottages. As late as 1906 we found Italians living in large rooms, subdivided by high partitions of rope and calico, with a separate family in each division.

The state law is certainly drastic. All new or altered tenements must be certified as O. K. by the Health Department, and without this certificate tenants cannot be compelled to pay rent, city water can be turned off, and any mortgage is immediately forecloseable. The city has turned off water several times, and has used the eviction clause with great success. In the old United States Hotel, which was converted into a tenement house, the landlord refused to make necessary, but costly, changes. We told the tenants to stop paying rent, and he could not evict them. The result was that radical changes were made with the tenants still in the building. The welter was indescribable, but there was no unnecessary delay.

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

February 4, 1911.
What can nine inspectors do in a city where the large tenement hardly exists, and where there are 15,000 tenement houses, under the three-family law, in the Polish section alone?

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

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

What is the remedy?

Enforce the tenement law. Public opinion stands for it, and only public inertia stands in the way. Night inspection will prove the overcrowding, though mere day inspection will prove it also. These cottage tenements lack some of the evils of tenements elsewhere, for there are no dark rooms, but nevertheless they handicap life. The Poles will never come into their own in Buffalo until they stop this huddle. The word is not mine, but Mr. Veiller’s, but it is descriptive.

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

As I have said elsewhere, we want to give our foreign population an American fair chance, and then compel them, literally compel them, to live like Americans. We shall not have good citizens otherwise for our universal suffrage. The children of the poor do not need charity so much as they need opportunities. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear, and you cannot make an American citizen out of a tenement slum. The slum must go. If you spare the slum you will spoil the child.
And so it came about, and grew and grew, until now there are thirteen thousand some odd tenement houses in New York licensed by the bureau of factory inspection of the State Department of Labor, in which work given out by manufacturers and contractors can be made or finished in the houses, where the labor of all members of the family can be utilized without reference to age or factory law.

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

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

The law regulating this branch of industry is Section 100 of the labor laws which proclaims, unless when licensed, the use of a room or apartment in a tenement house or of a building on the same lot with one for "manufacturing, altering, repairing or finishing" of
costs, vests, knee-pants, trousers, overalls, chaps, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, dresses, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, fans, fur trimmings, fur garments, skirts, sheets, aprons, pocketbooks, shippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, or articles or boxes not for the purpose of manufacturing, preparing or passing macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ice, candy, confectionery, nuts or preserves.

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

finishing, gloves, making buttonholes, hat frames, millinery ornaments, chiffon blouses, baby coats, vests, knee-pants, trousers, overalls, chaps, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, dresses, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, fans, fur trimmings, fur garments, skirts, sheets, aprons, pocketbooks, shippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, or articles or boxes not for the purpose of manufacturing, preparing or passing macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ice, candy, confectionery, nuts or preserves.

A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts made to improve these conditions, published under the cooperation of the National Housing Association. The introduction, by Lawrence Walker, was published in November 1909. The series consisted of ten articles, the last of which, "こともあります, and the others, by Karl D. Thompson, December 4, 1911, price 10 cents. The series was called "The Housing Awakening," and was published by the National Housing Association.
It was an unreasonable and confiscating cost, an impossibility to secure a non-freezing water-closet for use in yard compartments—and it hurt the pochet! The newspapers, for the most part, declined to print material on the agitation, and only the fact that the overcrowded public hearing broke up in a riot secured any effective publicity.

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

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

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

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

We are to be congratulated on our street and alley arrangements, on our new tenement law, on our lack of high dwellings, but we still have our 100,000 privy vaults and our acres of shacks—a vast deal to be rid of—and an aggregation of new tenants from across the sea who will need, for the art of decent living, more than the ministrations of the garb-
THE SURVEY
February 18

G R A N D  R A P I D S  G E T S  R E S U L T S

JOHN HILDER

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

The municipal affairs committee of the Board of Trade made the first attempt at solving this problem three years ago, when it induced the government to appropriate money for a city plan. A commission appointed by the mayor, aided by John M. Carrère and Arnold W. Brunner, prepared a report which made a careful survey of the city's needs and indicated the best way to meet these needs. With this as a guide, the municipal affairs committee called a conference of officials and representative citizens as the climax of its second civic revival—the first had secured the appropriation for the city plan report. At the conference the committee proposed that all efforts should be concentrated on securing one improvement, that when this had been placed fairly before the people and adopted or rejected, another conference should be called and another improvement decided upon which should receive united support. This proposal received the unanimous endorsement of the conference. The committee then presented a list of needed improvements, and after debate the conference decided unanimously (only one man voting) to concentrate all efforts on securing a bond issue for a water filtration plant.

The campaign ended in victory at the municipal election last spring. There had been two previous attempts to secure pure water for Grand Rapids, which had ended in failure. Four days after the election the committee called another conference, to which it invited officials of the district or neighborhood associations, the trades and labor council, and the real estate board. This conference decided unanimously to concentrate all efforts on securing at the fall election a bond issue for an extension of the park and playground system, as recommended in the city plan report. The campaign began immediately. The Park Board, which had with difficulty been restrained from putting the proposal before the people at the spring election, took an active part. During the summer Grand Rapids has long had band concerts in present parks. Last year many of the concerts were given in districts which have no parks, and between numbers of park and other officials and citizens made addresses advocating the bond issue, illustrated with lantern slides which emphasized their points. All the organizations which had been represented at the conference, with one exception, formally endorsed the proposal. A number of business men and professional men subscribed money for the equipment and supervision of a playground as an earnest of their desire to help, and the city government was induced to provide money for the equipment and supervision of three other playgrounds. As the campaign near the Park Board became even more active, it had in its superintendent, Eugene Goebel, a man who had already commended himself to the people by the results he had achieved on a small appropriation. Mr. Goebel showed that he is a persuasive campaigner as well as an efficient park superintendent. Upon him in the last weeks fell the burden of the detail work. He conducted meetings, secured endorsements from organizations in every part of the city, and waged a continuous publicity campaign through the newspapers, by means of a wagon which constantly traversed the streets, and by great posters on the billboards.

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

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

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

CIVICS

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON, Contributing Editor

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

TOWN PLANNING BY CHARTER

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

A CALL TO THE ART IMPULSE

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

VII

Teaching the Tenant

JOHANNA VON WAGNER

EXPERT, LOS ANGELES HOUSING COMMISSION

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

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

Is it worth while? If it is not worth while for the other fellow, it is worth while for one’s self to have helped along in the work of God, “the cause of man,”

—evolution, economic and spiritual. To make the most of present-day conditions and surroundings, and to awaken desire for better standards of living is our work. So we start out with good will towards all men, a speaking knowledge
neighbors all around, partaking of the beer, helping to swell the lamentations; the air unbearable oppressive, and with it all, the sultry heat of a summer day.

For minute I could not become. When I stated that I had been sent by the doctor to lend a hand and look after the sick child, a storm of opposition broke loose. "It is Divine Providence that the child shall die; I stand for no interference. One dead, and one born every year, so it has been for seven years, and this one must go too. O, my baby!" More yelling and more drinking.

No moral persuasion would help here. A minute more and the drunken men would have put me out on the street. "All right," I said, "we will do what we can and leave the rest with God." I said it positively, and put my handbag down and asked the nearest woman in the crowd to help me clean up; put any money and the alms of all, that were, on the baby on my lap before the kitchen fire to keep the hot compresses on its little body, feeding, drop by drop, the barley water and stimulant, protecting it against flies and lice, a piece of mosquito netting, from which continually I had to scoop off the bugs falling upon us from the ceiling.

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

I could not give up the child. I wrapped it up in a blanket, took it outside in the garden, and praying that it might live, and it lived and began to breathe and get warm, and there out of doors I sat with the baby in my arms until five in the morning, watching the sun rise on a new day. Then the mother appeared on the scene, a pitiful sight, sober, untidy, dirty. Placing the child in the carriage, I talked to her one solid hour. What didn't I say! The woman cried and saw her duties in a different light, promising by all that was holy to take care of the little life and save it from an early grave. After her promise to care for the child according to instructions, I walked home—there were no cars at that time in that part of the city—for I needed a bath, clean clothes and some breakfast before beginning another day's work.

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

During my first week of work, seeing
A child in convulsions in an Italian fam-
ily, the mother, "Quick, get
by," I said to the child into a
some hot water to put the cold
hand on the little cold forehead and then
and there made a vow to give up drink-
—and he kept it. The family moved into
a light, airy flat, and the children got a
chance for better health and education.

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

On ropes overhead the bed, bag-
sages, peppers, dried fruit, and other en-
tables; underneath the bed, flour, and
macaroni; tomato balls—preserve of
tomato made into a tight hard soft
rolled under the bed in their natural
state, and from them pieces were
broken off every day for soup or maca-
roni, plus cobwebs, dirt, and vermin.
The toiletries were in the yard, necessitating the
use of vessels in the rooms. The doctor
whom I called in to see the patient, on
being shown the unhygienic condition
of food stuffs in the bedrooms, became
naseated and had to leave the room.
The family was persuaded to let the
child go to the Contagious Disease
Hospital; the kitchen was fumigated; all en-
tables were removed from the bedroom
and the woman was cared for until recov-
ercy. With the aid of the father and will-
ingness to be instructed, more sanitar-
ious ways of living resulted, the family being
persuaded to leave the unhealthful bau-
ment and move above ground.

Almost always the Italians rent a ten-
ment large enough, from at least several bed-
rooms, each having as many beds as the
space allows, two or three double beds
with a few cot beds between, according to
the size of the room. To economize
space, the doors are taken off the hinges and put in the cellars and a
curtain is put in their place. Who
asked how many men are kept, the
mo-
her gives the equal numbers of the bed.

The survey has taught us that the number of
boarders accommodated is far in ex-
cess, as many as two or three men shar-
ing one double bed. Very often this
number has to be doubled, as there are
different lengths of beds from the
day and night shifts of workers.

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

Being present at the funeral of an
Italian woman who had died of consumption,
leaving nine children and tea board-
ers, the oldest daughter, crying, said,
"She had to kill herself for the men. My
father and mother had been killed by it
some time ago, and this, the family bedroom, as well, as
the cheap tenements have no closet room for
food or clothes.

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

The Italians are very independent, so
far as their ways of living are concerned
and in obeying city ordinances. Most of
them are thrifty; their main object seems
to be to save all they can, while on the
other hand they are anxious to get all
the material help possible, whether
needed or not. Mutual helpfulness is not
much practiced among them. Often in a
tenement, when the woman was sick
and a little girl was standing by a sink
trying to do a washing, or leaning far out of
the window to hang up clothes, who
would go from floor to floor asking for
help. The neighbors would reply, "Who
will help me when I'm sick?" "Have too
much work myself," etc. Some lessons in
moral obligations have to be taught
right here.

Too frequently the Italian lanidlord
cannot be so easily to comply with tenen-
thouse laws, but must be threatened;
and even that is useless when he has
become a political boss and dares defy
the laws.

My experience in another home was in-
structive. It was a very dirty tenement
in a narrow alley, occupied by col-
ored families having three rooms each.
On entering, I saw sacks and sacks of
rags and women and children sorting
them. Becoming acquainted with the cir-
cumstances of the family first, I begged
permission to inspect the rooms. It was
granted, except that I was asked not to
and this, the family bedroom, as well, as
to go into one of the bedrooms as the hus-
band was sick in bed. As the wife had
seemed anxious to hide the fact, I was
just as anxious to be allowed to know the
nature of the sickness. After persuad-
ing her to allow me to stay long after it
closed, I entered and found a case of small-
pox, with the people sorting rags and
taking them away. The man was
promptly removed; the premises were
fumigated; all rags, bedding, and clothes
were burned; the loss was made good;
and the whole house, both halls and
rooms was fumigated. The people had
to discontinue their business of sorting
rags in the tenements; they were told of
the danger of infection and acquainted
with the law.

One woman, pleased to get into a new
house, took the dark room flat because of
the difference in price. When told of
the danger to the family's health, she
admitted that she would have to move
because the gas bill was equal to the diffe-
rence in rent. Besides, all were suffer-
ing more or less with eye trouble, es-
pecially the mother, who every time she
went on the street had to become ac-
ustomed to daylight. Having to get eye-
glasses to let us see the children, she lost
considerably in health and money, in her
effort to save rent. If the woman had
known the value of sunshine and light
My first day among Slavic tenants made me go out on the street and weep. It tempted me to pray for an earthquake to take us all down! What could I do single-handed, teaching the art of living to those who only struggled to exist? The largest family occupied the kitchen, with two beds and a cradle, benches around the walls, children everywhere—on the bed, on the floor, in the cradle; the stove full of kettles (all coffee kettles), and one large soup pot with the individual pound or half-pound of meat for each family or boarder.

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

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

Behind the scenes, as it were, through gaining their confidence and being able to speak their language, one hears the tale of woe of the women, virtuous beasts of burden, and learns of the brutality of the men, who use the knout (whip) if their wives are sick in bed and not able to cook for the boarders. In one instance, I stopped a man from beating his wife two hours after childbirth because she was unable to get up and prepare dinner. There were seven men to cook for.

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

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

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

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

The request to come on a Sunday when the boys and girls are home, or in the evenings when the husband is home, to take a meal underground (basement), or under the roof (attic), or somewhere else, is gladly complied with, as personal touch helps much toward promoting confidence and establishing friendly relations. In return, my evenings at home were attended mostly by my friends from the tenements.

March 4, 1911.
carpets, and painful chromes (which are so easily obtained from the ever-present "salon plan" man in tenement houses), admired my inexpensive furnishings, from the cheese-cloth window curtain to the social cup of coffee. Prices and recipes were asked, patterns taken, and many pleasant hours spent in mutual benefit.

"What do we have to teach?" you ask.
Is there anything that is not to be taught? The people must know the laws of health; the mothers must be taught how to get that health in the home. They must know the principles of sanitation as applied practically in the home: cleanliness of air, of food, of body, of room; of kitchen utensils; right removal of all dirt and dust, especially the care of garbage; the dangers of defective plumbing; symptoms of declining health; defective eye sight, hearing, the beginning of tuberculosis, etc. With each family the situation differs. The more knowledge, plus common sense, the worker has, the better for the people. We give and we take, because we can also learn much from those we meet.

THE RELATION OF ECONOMICS TO THE LAW

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

"Those rights then which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights, such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them. For that legislature in all these cases acts only as was before observed, in subordination to the great law-giver, transcribing and publishing his precepts. So that, upon the whole, the declaratory part of the municipal law has no force or operation at all, with regard to actions that are naturally and intrinsically right or wrong. Blackstone evidently conceived of law as the formation of certain abstract and universal applicable principles of justice, which man, by searching could find out. His definition of law has been criticised by later authorities, not so much because it attempted to impart to law the characteristic of permanence, as because it confounded law and ethics, ethics being regarded as embracing the rules of individual conduct which man regardless of legal sanctions was expected to follow.

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

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

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

Mr. Adams evidently conceives of law as meaning a body of rules, whether derived from the divine or human insight, that form the basis of conduct in society.
The Housing Awakening

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

During the investigation of 1908-1909 it was found that the Romeo Flat was constantly built without regard to percentage of lot area covered and almost invariably without a yard. These evasions of the law were reported to the Board of Public Works, which alone of the various municipal departments responsible for the enforcement of the law, is in a position of authority, through its issuance of building permits. The president of the board stated that it had been decided to exempt these buildings from the restrictions of the tenement house law owing to the fact that they were flats, which with their separate entrances, as he claimed, did not fall within the definition of a tenement house.

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

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

"Ruled out" of the tenement law.

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

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

In itself the Romeo Flat does not constitute a nuisance, except that its single stairway permits a three-story building containing six apartments to be built on a small lot in place of a flat with three apartments. The open stairway is preferable to a dark, unventilated hall, but it is manifestly absurd that this type of multiple dwelling should violate any provision of the tenement house law. Since the city attorney's decision, 198 of the 273 wooden buildings erected for three or more families have been Romeo Flats. It is safe to assume that not one-quarter of these have yards and that the great majority are without adequate light and ventilation.

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

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

The public receives from a municipal department no more than it demands, and the prevalent indifference to the lessened housing conditions in San Francisco is largely responsible for the lax interpretation and enforcement of the law. Too at least of its many safeguards are practically impotential. One of these is the provision that the Board of Works shall issue the permit "after plans for plumbing, lighting, ventilation, and other sanitary features have been approved by the Board of Health." The other provision relates to "certificates of occupancy," and recites that it shall be the duty of the Board of Public Health to make or cause to be made a final inspection and examination of all buildings before any such buildings are occupied, and if such buildings are found to have been erected and constructed in conformity with all the provisions and requirements of this ordinance said Board of Public Health shall issue a written or printed certificate thereof to the owner or lessee. No person, firm, or corporation shall occupy any building or structure until such certificate has been issued.

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

April 1, 1911.
never consulted and never asks to see the plans filed with the Board of Public Works when application for building permits are made. The second of the laws is so entirely a dead letter that the Department of Public Works has not even a printed form of occupancy certificate.

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

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

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

Among such buildings in San Francisco the Treasure Flats stand as warnings to other cities and other states. If such an evasion of the spirit of a law can be legalized, does it not prove that it is not law but enlightenment that is needed? Does it not mean that until the men of a community are willing to sacrifice time and energy to arouse the public conscience, greed and ignorance will nullify every good law? Not the least wise of the many wise chapters of Lawrence Veiller's "Housing Reform" is the chapter of Don'ts. Would that the first two of these could be impressed on the heart and mind of every man in San Francisco and in every similar city: "Don't let your city become a city of tenements. Keep it a city of homes." "Don't imagine there is no necessity of action because conditions in your city are not as bad as they are elsewhere.

San Francisco points with justifiable pride to the rapid rebuilding of its business section. Even those who regret the wiping out of every landmark of pioneer days rejoice that the spirit of the pioneers lives in their sons; but where can be found among these sons the foresight and public spirit which reserved from the Mexican grants the open squares, and gave the Golden Gate Park to the people as a heritage of pleasure? San Francisco "invites the world" for the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. She justly claims that she can house, interest, and amuse all who may come for a day. But what of those who will enter her gates through the great canal? What is prepared for the immigrant who will be the father of her citizens?

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

W. J. GHENT

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

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

The Appeal has won its way because it has brought socialism to the mind and heart of the common man. The socialism of before the Civil War was utterly unlike its two contemporaries, the Owenite and the Fourierite forms—that held sway in the third and fourth decades. The new movement was German in origin, and under the leadership of various doctrinaires it became a distortion of Marxism—incredibly dogmatic, narrow, and bitter. It struggled along for many years, but in spite of the strongest endeavors failed to make appreciable headway among the workers. It may be said even to have effectively alienated large sections of that class. It dealt in fixed dogma, uttered in a phraseology that few except the initiated could understand; and it avoided, or even often opposed, the workers in their daily struggles.

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

April 1, 1911.

REAL HOMES FOR WORKINGMEN

Each house, six rooms and bath. Rent, fifteen dollars a month.

THE HOUSING AWAKENING

IX

ONE MILLION PEOPLE IN SMALL HOUSES—PHILADELPHIA

HELEN L. PARRISH

OCTAVIA HILL ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA

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

A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Voller, Tim Haver, November 16, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 5, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Illinois, by Albin F. Voller, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reforms in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward S. Harrison, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Hidden Pests of Buffalo by S. P., February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI. The Housing Reforms and Old Slums—Philadelphia, by Roger H. H. J. Schrage, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents; VII. The Horse and Ten-Penny Providence, by Alice S. Griffoth, April 1, 1911, price 25 cents.

May 9, 1911.

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

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

The contrasting type of the small house in Philadelphia has given rise in its various stages of development to many and serious difficulties, but this attempt to describe it is prompted by the belief that it is the better method of housing, the only method that ultimately will offer a solution of the great housing problem with which all our cities, great and small, must some day wrestle. There is the good small house and the bad small house; the small house on its own street and with its own yard, and the small house crowded in behind a large house on the rear of lots or in narrow alleys, wherever the greed of landlords, before the law forbade, could find a footing for it. There is the small house whose rent is too high, which when times are hard and work is scarce has to house more than its own one family for whose need it is adapted. These are some of its phases, and yet, even in slum districts, the evils arising from its overcrowding and misuse are less serious than those of the tenement, for it is more readily reconstructed and less costly to destroy. In the newer sections of a city and in its newer forms it may become the stepping stone to garden cities and to a realization of the dreams of city planners, while the tenement will forever prevent its city being a city of homes.

Four reasons are usually given why this method of housing has succeeded in Philadelphia: first, the topography of...
the city with the low price of land; second, the municipal regulations favoring the small house; third, the readiness of the small house; fourth, the desire of the people to own their own homes.

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

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

Its land values have always been remarkably uniform and low for a city of its size. Today, within twenty-five or thirty minutes of the City Hall, building land with street and municipal improvements can be bought for from $1,000 to $10,000 an acre. If the maximum number of forty houses be allowed on this space, with an average of fifteen to twenty feet each, the price would be about $400 for each of these lots. The zone where such prices obtain is reading constantly to the edge of the unimproved areas which are waiting for the approach of the trolley lines and the opening of streets, but these figures may be taken to suggest roughly the basis on which building operations in small houses are undertaken.

Second, the building requirements as to foundations, walls, joists, etc., are less severe for houses sixteen feet or less in width. Fourteen feet, however, is the minimum width of house allowed, and in many of the present operations it is found advantageous to increase the size of lots, even a few inches in width adding greatly to the desirability of a house. It is said that the leniency of these municipal regulations in Philadelphia is a strong factor in the success of the small two-story house.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stoops</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water main</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidewalk</td>
<td>20 cents per square foot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curb</td>
<td>20 cents per square foot.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Newer Type of House for Skilled Laborers.

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

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

These operations have been so successful financially that they are considered safe and profitable investments, and a builder who has proved himself conservative and intelligent in the use of capital has no difficulty in obtaining it. The financial institutions have been amply profited thereby, and are considered so secure that sometimes in transferring its interests in a mortgage to a client the company will guarantee against possible loss, the client loan and the company reserving four-tenths per cent as a bonus for the guarantee. Often, of course, the operation is financed by the contractor. He will himself hold the mortgages as the houses are sold, reimbursing himself gradually for the outlay made. One contractor who is also in the real estate business states that of 800 sales of houses he had built not one was thrown back on his hands. The ground is usually obtained in blocks of about five acres and is divided by streets that must "run from one public street to another in a straight line." The best price for construction is made on a basis of twenty or more houses, and the specifications for each sub-contractor are so systematized for the uniform rows of houses—the corner ones only being larger and more elaborate—that the work can be done at remarkably low figures when compared with the cost of building a single house.

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

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

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

The average cost of the two-story houses built in 1910, without the cost of the land, as reported to the Bureau of Building Inspection when permits were applied for, was nearly $2,000. This average is raised by the large numbers of two-story eight-and ten-room dwellings in residential neighborhoods. The average actual cost price of such houses as have been described, and which are shown in the photographs of typical
It is claimed that these extensive building operations could not take place unless the houses were built for immediate sale. During the year 1910, 8,342 two-story dwellings were erected at the estimated cost of $16,010,025, exclusive of the cost of the land. In the past ten years 60,000 have been built, and there is a total of about 185,000 such houses in the city. The census of 1900 gives only twenty-two and one-tenth per cent of the families as living in houses owned by themselves, though the number of different owners of real estate is said to be between 150,000 and 160,000. The explanation is that many new houses are bought in groups for investments. Many workingmen own houses as investments, and many have moved from those that they first bought to larger ones or to new neighborhoods, still holding their first purchase as a source of income.

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

As the houses in a large operation are finished they are immediately put up for sale. A cash payment of $350, or even $300, is sufficient to obtain possession. The terms of sale would be in this way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Mortgage</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash First mortgage</td>
<td>$950.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Second mortgage</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6% First mortgage</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6% Second mortgage</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First mortgage at 6%</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second mortgage at 6%</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$2,400.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The yearly charges on such a house would be:

- Interest on first mortgage at 6.4% per cent. | $64.80 |
- Interest on second mortgage at 6% per cent. | $30.00 |
- Taxes on assessed value of $1,400 | $21.00 |
- Water rates | $10.00 |
- Total | $125.80

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

By the census of 1910 there was an average of five and four-tenths persons to a dwelling in Philadelphia. Now, according to the city records—the census returns for 1910 are not yet available—the 1,649,000 persons live in 325,000 dwellings, an average of four and seven-tenths persons to a house. The building of houses has thus outstripped the increase of population and the standard of living of the better-to-do classes into the newer neighborhoods and a readjustment of population in the older districts.

The $350 purchase price will make possible by the association terms by which sales are made.

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

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

May 6, 1911.
Some years ago it was found that the number of peculations discovered among the employees in a large department store in New York were greatly in excess of those in a similar establishment in Philadelphia. After investigation it was concluded that the cause for this lay in the fact that in Philadelphia each employee, outside of his relation with the store, had a distinct position to sustain. He owned or rented a house, or his family did; he had church and neighborhood connections; his character was subject to comment; and if he moved it was with the knowledge and interest of his neighbors. In New York, on the other hand, the man's identity was lost in a crowded tenement district. As he was known to but few people he could move to another district of the great city and be completely lost again.

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

In addition to such social advantages the life within the household can be regulated more normally. The sleeping rooms are upstairs, separated from the daily household tasks and interests, giving greater privacy and quiet than when the rooms open one from another. Some yard space, however small, draws forth unexpected tastes or interests, and the mother of a family has opportunities for fresh air and sunshine which she never can have where going out means leaving her work and descending many stairs. These all have a connection with the fact that approximately 75,000 houses have been erected with the aid of building and loan associations, and that five saving banks hold $40,000,000 belonging to 371,744 depositors.

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

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

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

Fifth, municipal land purchase on far-sighted and cautious lines will much assist town planning. By owning a certain amount of land themselves local authorities are able to prevent undue private speculation, and they have this great advantage over private individuals, that when they are preparing a town planning scheme they know where their roads and trams are likely to go, and can therefore without any risk whatever, buy land that is going to be increased in value by their scheme, before, and not after, the increment created by the expenditure of public money. Municipal land purchase on careful lines kills two birds with one stone. It prevents private land speculation, and it reduces the cost of town planning schemes by securing for the community the increased value created by their efforts.

Town planning properly administered should not only raise the lives of the people; it should also in the long run relieve the pockets of the taxpayers. America's enthusiasm in the fight against tuberculosis is an example to the rest of the world. This work of spreading cities outwards instead of upwards is closely allied with the endeavor to stamp out consumption. Better housing means less tuberculosis.

THE HOUSING AWAKENING

THE FOREIGN INVASION OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN

—NEW HAVEN

EMMA W. ROGERS

A mutual friend brought an old New Haven resident to see me in the country last summer and naturally the talk turned on New Haven. Time had evidently made little change in the affection and interest of this New Havener for his native city, from which she had been taken as a bride thirty years ago to the middle West, and which she had only re-visited at long intervals. It was the ancient elm, the quiet beauty of the streets, the ivy-covered college buildings, the circle of cultivated and conservative people dominating the little college city which lingered delightfully in her memory, and doubtless it was rude on my part to dispel the illusion which was evident from the nature of her inquiries.

"Do you really," I said, "that while much of the old remains, there has grown up in these years a new New Haven, a city where more brass is manufactured than anywhere in the United States, or in the world, for ought I know; where..."
thousands of men and women work in the largest gun factories, the largest hardware factories, the largest rubber shops, the largest clock shops in the United States. Do you know that one-fourth of our population is Italian and one-third of the births this year were of Italian babies; that some thousands of Russians, Austrians, Hungarians, Romanians, and Lithuanians surround our city in colonies like a Roman wall, and in habit as well the heart of the town with these thirty-five thousand Italians; that the spreading elms canopied children of every race, for long ago the Irish, German, and French formed a noticeable contingent, and the two former are now the chief pillars of government here? In fact, I said, "to know New Haven today as really is one must know a busy, thriving, manufacturing city, with two-thirds and more of its population foreign born or the children of foreigners, and its chief interests centered on wages and profits and the practical bread-and-butter questions of the hour."

No, she had not realized this change, this onward march of events. It confused her vision of the old New Haven, and seemed almost a desecration of sacred soil. In the West it was the natural course of events, but it was grievous that the old colonial city should not remain perfect and a resolve not to shed the threadbare garment of the past, this beautiful city has awakened to a higher appreciation of its rich endowments and opportunities, and to a realizing sense of its shortcomings and needs. It has begun weaving its new raiment to clothe worthily and to adorn a New England city of the twentieth century.

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

On no subject except the business upbuilding of the city is the awakening of New Haven more evident than on the conditions in which its poorer wage-earners live, and how best to remedy these. It has dawned on the community that indifference to, and ignorance of, civic conditions and needs, on the part of the well-to-do, and as well as of the poor, are the causes of slums in our city, and that both classes must be aroused to do away with them and to make them impossible.

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

The well-to-do citizen is responsible primarily for social and sanitary conditions because he has some leisure and a degree of education and trained intelligence. It is his duty to know under what conditions the poor live and work in his city, and to cooperate with authorities and civic societies for the common welfare. The indifference of the poorer wage-earners is due to lack of leisure,
In this house the rents range from $7 to $13 for two to four rooms. There is but one toilet on each floor for six families. The rear house is within eight feet of the one in front. The hall is 14 feet long, very narrow, and poorly lighted.

The city's tenement landlords provide oblong spaces boarded in, but unroofed, for the tenants' ashes and waste. There were paper, worn-out mattresses, rags, old iron, broken odds of furniture and utensils are thrown hither and thither by the tenants, perhaps eight or ten families, and when their one or two garbage cans are full the excess garbage is dumped in the waste and ash bins with results better imagined than described. Flies innumerable and occasionally great rats add to the nuisance, and needless to say discomfort and disease are inevitable results of this municipal neglect.

Careful landlords have these ash and waste bins emptied once a month, but the more numerous indifferent ones only two or three times a year. Some back yards which I went into a few days ago, belonging to a group of Italian tenements, were simply horrible, with ashes, filthy refuse, garbage, and paper indiscriminately mixed and in piles and loose, the few receptacles being overfull. Such conditions are common among the tenements and are a scandal in any city. A committee of the Board of Aldermen took up the question of garbage last year, and made a lengthy report, giving much space to what is being done elsewhere, and many enlightening quotations from books and reports on sanitary service in cities, but wound up in a disappointing way by advising the city to continue the present system of garbage collection and disposal, with recommendations for some minor improvements in the service. In the matter of disposal, the committee advised postponing the installation of a modern sanitary system until other cities had demonstrated a more nearly perfect system of incineration or reduction, and it also recommended that ashes and waste removal be left as at present to individual citizens and owners.

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

As a citizen I am loath to confess that inoffensive pigs are the victims of our municipal garbage disposal system. Before the day of modern sanitary science this might have been tolerated, but it is indefensible in the second decade of the twentieth century. The country may lag behind the city in progress, but the farmer, even if he is sometimes dubbed a "hayseed," has learned not to keep a swill barrel. Household food and kitchen refuse are taken direct from the kitchen to the iron troughs of the pigs and fed to the pigs. No stale or hold-over garbage is considered fit for the animals which form the chief meat food of the world. A strong effort was made by citizens to have New Haven install an incinerating plant of a kind to which the municipal service collects. It is collected only twice a week, freezing and thawing in winter and decaying in the heat of spring and summer before reaching the unfortunate swine. The market of New Haven will offer this garbage fed pork to a long-suffering public, the more intelligent part of which has abjured home-grown pork for years. But the working people, with it, and that may be one of the reasons why our large hospitals are always overcrowded.
This economical scheme of garbage disposal is being tried out at Springside, the camping home and farm for the poor, but I am informed that the pens and the dumps are properly scattered from the homes. The effectiveness of this method of disposal has become so great in one of the suburbs where the private contractors operate it, that the community threatened to rise and abolish the practice forthwith.

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

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

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

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

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

In 1909 ninety-six tenements were built each accommodating from three to twenty-three families, and in all giving homes to 433 families. About one third of these houses were of brick.

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

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

In New Haven there is no excuse for congested areas and the increase of tenements except the indifference of the citizens and the authorities. No large tenements are needed nor should they be allowed; no overcrowding on lots should be tolerated. These evils are here and rapidly increasing let us blame ourselves and not the kindly and industrious foreigners who thriftily try to earn the most they can on their investments and are ignorant of the calamities they are calling down upon themselves and the community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Haven has an efficient Building Department, and while the limits of its small force, which works constantly to supervise tenement building according to the requirements of inadequate laws and ordinances, and beyond them when possible, The Health Department is asking for more tenement house inspectors in an effort to bring its work up to date for the betterment of the public health.

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

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

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

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1911

FIFE WASTE

107

The final duty of the average householder throughout the land before retiring to rest is to look at the fire or furnace in his house. The fact that this danger is so ever present tends in itself to limit opposition to the building of fire-proof structures over crucial areas. It is the truth in this thought which was the basis for that provision of the Napoleon code, still the fire insurance law of France, which provides that the individual must in a measure insure his neighbor as well as himself against fire loss.

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SIXTEEN-FAMILY HOUSE ON CEDAR STREET.

Rents for three and four-room apartments are $30 and $42. There is one toilet for every two families.

June 3, 1911.
THE HOUSING AWAKENING

XI
THE DISCOVERIES OF COLUMBUS

OTTO W. DAVIS
SUPERINTENDENT COLUMBUS ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, but Columbus, Ohio, did not discover itself until 1831. Both discovered new worlds. The former discovered a distant world, strange and wonderful, holding out great promise and unlimited opportunity. The latter found an unknown world in his very midst, strange but horrible, suggesting a malignant growth of terrible possibilities to her citizenship if left unchecked. It was disclosed that the great mass of her wage-earners were without any protection whatever from the thoughtless or greedy landlord who was erecting buildings covering his entire lot, putting in as many dark rooms as he happened to find expedient, and providing water and toilet facilities if he wanted to, or omitting them if he did not.

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

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

Just how many such there are no one knows, and as long as "decent" people kept on the main streets and off the alleys, apparently no one cared. These good people succeeded very well in convincing themselves that Columbus was a city of homes. All this happy dream might have remained unbroken if the pernicious social worker had not kept telling of some of the things found in the alleys and poorer streets. For instance, a man with his sick wife and two small children were living in a single, dark, unventilated room. The wife and mother had tuberculosis, and it was very evident to the Associated Charities that little could be done really to help the family so long as it lived there, so it was moved to better quarters. Ten days later a family of nine were reported to the society from the same single room. The writer will never forget two families he was called on to visit shortly after his arrival in Columbus. One was a family of five, where the husband and
father was dying of tuberculosis. They were living in a damp, dark, foul basement, unfit to house animals, much less human beings. The other poor family had dabbled in real estate and bought a home. A visit was made to see what kind of a house these applicants for charity had purchased. It was found to consist of four posts about twelve feet apart, around which had wrapped the tin roofing from some old building. It cost, they said, two dollars for the building, fifty cents for roofing paper, ten cents for some nails and the rest they did themselves. In this one room shack lived a family of nine.

To get some idea of just how bad conditions were, the Associated Charities made a careful investigation of six small blocks in different sections of the city. Accurate data was secured concerning 314 houses containing 287 apartments, 225 of which were occupied by 260 families composed of 735 persons. The facts found were startling. For instance, 35 per cent of the houses examined were found to cover the entire lot. Fortunately just half of them were found to cover only 50 per cent of the lot. Of the 314 rooms in these buildings, 6 per cent were without outside windows, thus furnishing the best of all breeding places for rats, etc.

In the matter of water-supply, 10 per cent of the apartments examined were absolutely without any whatever, 25 per cent were dependent entirely upon cistern water, and 40 per cent were without any city supply. Of the remaining 60 per cent, 43 per cent got their water from a hydrant in the yard.

The conditions found in regard to toilet facilities were equally bad. 5½ per cent of the apartments were without a closet of any kind whatever. 79 per cent had theirs in the yard as in the days of our fathers, and 63 per cent of the families were obliged to share theirs with one or more other families. In several instances ten and twelve families had to share a single closet between them.

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

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

LIVING QUARTERS OVER A STABLE
A livery stable is on the first floor, a barnyard on the second, and living quarters with fourteen dark rooms on the top.

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

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

There is no one, however, who has inspected bad housing in Columbus, who is not aware that a law affecting tenement houses only would fail to reach many of our worst evils. Bad as the tenement houses are, there are hundreds of two-family and single houses where, with the exception of the dark room, sanitary conditions are as bad or perhaps worse than in the tenement. For instance, what could be worse than "Sausage Row," with its eight or ten buildings set flat on the ground, with one family paying $5.00 for two rooms up-stairs and another family paying $6.00 per month for two rooms down-stairs, without any toilet facilities and with no water except what they steal? Instances were found in which a single closet had to serve the purposes of ten and twelve families. Toilet and water facilities are equally bad in single houses, some having neither. In spite of the fact that Columbus has recently expended $200,000 to ensure the pure water which it now has, thousands of wage-earners and their families are not provided with it by their landlords. Great numbers of these live in single or double houses, which are very popular in Columbus. In addition, there are a considerable number of families who live in one or two-room shacks along the river bank or on the "downs." One enterprising scavenger has built a baker's dozen of such shacks out of the boxes, boards, and buildings which he has been given or been paid to haul away. From these he receives a rental of $2.00 per month. Any housing legislation for Columbus would be utterly inadequate if it failed to touch the double and single house.

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

Edgar L. Weinland, head of the city Law Department, a man of refinement and culture, stung with a sense of shame that poor people in his city should be forced or permitted to live as he had found many living, entered earnestly and heartily into the effort to draw up a housing code that would be just to the builder and owner, and yet eradicate the evils which too often accompany the building of houses in the city. Fortunately the Russell Sage Foundation published at about this time Veiller's Model Housing Law which was used as the basis for our code. Mr. Veiller himself, as secretary of the National Housing Association, gave constant and invaluable assistance in framing a code suited to the needs of Columbus.

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

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

DON D. LESCHER 

MINNESOTA BUREAU OF LABOR 

Machine shop and factory accidents—their human cost and preventability—has been written large by American public opinion in the past three years. A great work in this direction has been done by the Minnesota Bureau of Labor that its investigations in these fields. It has been the distinguishing feature of these investigations that the industrial accidents problem in terms of new ranges of employment, which have their seat in rural and industrial districts as in rural and industrial districts of the country. The industrial accidents problem is not appreciated.

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

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

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

FATAL ACCIDENTS FOR EACH 1,000 MIN. 

EMPLOYED

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The high accident rate in Minnesota is due largely to the rapid development of the industry and to absentee ownership. Production has increased 33 per cent and the labor force 62 per cent in the last five years. The 1910 labor force would have made a 28,000 mile long line.

But even this tremendous output is not to be the limit of achievement. During the last five years the single employment of the iron blast furnaces has increased from 33,357,641 tons to approximately one-seventh of the entire shipments since the first mine was opened in 1883. The 1910 shipments of 33,357,641 tons were approximately one-seventh of the entire shipments since the first mine was opened in 1883.

THE RISKS OF THE ORE-DIGGERS' 

SYRIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

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

The 

New York proportion is said to be smaller than elsewhere; about 10 per cent (estimted), but perhaps as large a proportion of the 200,000 or so of the people of the Syrian class in this country. In New York the proportion is said to be smaller than elsewhere, but perhaps as large as that of Americans in this city.

In Troy, New Haven, Providence, Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, and in fact in nearly every city except Albany, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, a number own their homes. Many own tenement property for investment. This is especially the case in Lawrence, Mass., where thirty-five persons own property, several of them living on the premises; but it is a more or less usual form in every part of the country.

In New York has been made of a business block in New York owned by a banking firm; a merchant in St. Paul, merchant, insurance man, owner of a $100,000 block of land in every city except Albany, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, a number own their homes. Many own tenement property for investment. This is especially the case in Lawrence, Mass., where thirty-five persons own property, several of them living on the premises; but it is a more or less usual form in every part of the country.

Mention has also been made of large tracts of North Dakota land owned by a St. Paul merchant, insurance man, owner of a $100,000 block of land in every city except Albany, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, a number own their homes. Many own tenement property for investment. This is especially the case in Lawrence, Mass., where thirty-five persons own property, several of them living on the premises; but it is a more or less usual form in every part of the country.

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THE HOUSING AWAKENING

XII

A CITY AWAKE—DETROIT

MYRON E. ADAMS

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

The census shows one of the causes of a housing problem in Detroit. In 1870 the population was 77,590; in 1880, 115,340; in 1900, 285,734, and by 1910, it had increased to 654,766, without unusual gain by annexation.

Through all these years Detroit has ranked among the first cities in the number of houses owned by residents. Its position at the crossroads of interstate and international commerce, its varied industries, the conditions under which men have labored, as well as the unusual recreational opportunities on river and lake, have made a strong appeal to the home-builder and have been among the most obvious causes of its growth.

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

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

To these hindrances to congestion must be added the possibility of almost unlimited expansion, with easy access to places of labor. It is significant that practically all the automobile factories, which have been built within the last five years, are located in the outskirts, where before there were great tracts of vacant land.

The census shows that the population of Detroit increased by 189,000 during the last ten years. The question immediately suggests itself as to what provision has been made for housing these people. The answer is unsatisfactory because of insufficient statistics, except for the last three years. In 1908, 1,075 single dwellings, 358 double dwellings, 247 tenements, and 105 combined stores and dwellings were erected, affording homes for 3,716 families, or 17,904 people. In 1909, 2,503 single dwellings, 431 double dwellings, 107 combined stores and dwellings, and 154 tenement buildings were erected for 4,559 families, or 21,017 people. In 1910, 3,020 single dwellings, 529 double dwellings, 109 combined stores and dwellings, and 240 tenement buildings were erected, providing a total accommodation for 5,500 families, or 25,300 people.

Thus in three years, 63,493 people...
THE HOUSING AWAKENING

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The foreigner creates his own problem.

This is a picture view of the colony of Bulgarians, Dalmatians, and Servians. The houses are constructed so as to use all the space. (A) shows two barns and houses extended and joined into one. (B) is a new tenement house of the last type. (C) is in center, towards top of building. (D) is on east side of building, towards top of (C) and the west side of (D). (E) Hotel where men were housed in new buildings, independent of alterations and additions. In other words, during three-tenths of the time, more than one-fifth of the increase in population of the last decade was cared for in new homes. Despite all this Detroit has felt the pressure of increasing population, and shows evidences of overcrowding. There are two chief causes of this in two distinct classes of districts.

The first is the steady exodus to the suburbs of people whose homes once formed the downtown portion of the city, and whose places are taken by renters and roomers with little interest in the property they occupy and still less in the neighborhood. On the east side, and within a radius of three-quarters of a mile from the center of the city, this old district with its cheap boarding houses, many in bad repair, and its numerous lodging houses, combined with the infrequent homes of long-time property-holders, forms the border of the dreary district of houses of prostitution and their kind. On the west side is a similar district where these conditions are being duplicated. The disintegration goes on without perceptible opposition; the number of people who crowd into smaller quarters constantly increases.

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

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

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

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

The Polish district on the west side is by far the best of the sections inhabited by foreign-born residents. Industrial advantages have divided the Poles into two distinct communities. They are thrifty homemakers, owning 90 per cent of the houses in the district. They seem to prefer the one- or two-story dwelling with a yard, and seldom occupy the two-family flat or the tenement, as their Jewish and Servian neighbors do.

The Italians, rapidly increasing in number to 15,000 or 20,000, occupy a large district within the inner mile circle. There are few homemakers among them, and the boarders roam from city to city and from section to section. Many live in houses once among the most desirable in the city. These bring high rents, with consequent overcrowding. Repairs are lacking and disorder prevails. The Servians, the Dalmatians, and the Bulgarians form a colony of about 5,000 near the car shops. Here, under the "boarding boss" system familiar in most industrial cities, there are few houses with fewer than six boarders, besides the boss and his family. When the shops are busy this number is doubled, and the beds are used day and night. In one tenement on a rear lot, which had four separate flats with twelve rooms, were seven women, five boarding bosses, and fifty-two boarders—and that in a slack season. Inspectors of the Board of Health, who have power to prevent overcrowding, have cut down the number of boarders and improved the general sanitary condition of the neighborhood.

One of the serious problems is the number of dark rooms created by the building of new houses and tenements on the...
several minor changes the entire code was adopted and made operative last February.

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

The code provides for a Department of Buildings to grant permits and to compel compliance with its provisions. Eleven inspectors are authorized. The amount secured from licenses for building permits will cover the expenses of the department. During the first month of its existence the income from building permits amounted to $4,600, and the yearly budget for the maintenance of the department amounts only to $15,000.

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

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

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

WOULD THE BEST SYSTEM FOR GENERAL WELFARE BE CONSTITUTIONAL?

MILES M. DAWSON

COUNSELOR AT LAW AND CONSULTING ACTUARY, NEW YORK

1. Is the purpose constitutional and may the funds be disbursed for this purpose?
2. Is the form of the tax constitutional?
3. Is the machinery for collecting and disbursing it constitutional?

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

"THE OPEN IN THE ALLEY."

Detroit has probably the most complete alley system in this country. The task of keeping alleys clean became increasingly difficult. This picture shows conditions in the most recorded district before the refuse of the winter has been cleared up. The Board of Commerce, the Housing Commission, and the Central Council of Charities are cooperating with the Board of Public Works in clearing the problem.
The Survey August 5

The Supreme Court, in McEwicb v. Maryland, 17 U. S. (4 Wheaton), 316, held that the power to tax, and its powers are granted by the people and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.

The power of the whole Constitution which specifies as its object that "general welfare" to "promote" which it was at the suggestion that the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot. No objection ought to arise to this construction from the phraseology of the Constitution, for (a) to do anything that would appear to Congress contrary to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted in express terms, will carry a power to do anything that was not authorized in the Constitution, either expressly or by fair implication.

But one of the elder statesmen differed—Madison, who argued that appropriations not for the purposes of the enumerated powers are unconstitutional; i.e., for instance, that Congress has no power to give bounty; in Congress, and may fairly be deemed that the deliberate sense of a majority of the Union has all times supported. This, too, seems to be the construction maintained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

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

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

Hamilton in his gift to Jefferson in 1791, as secretary of the treasury, says:

It is, therefore, of necessity left to the discretion of the national legislature to pronounce upon the objects which concern the general welfare, and for which, under that description, an appropriation of money is requisite and proper. And there seems no room for a doubt that whatever concerns the general interest of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, is within the sphere of the national councils, so far as regards an expenditure of money. The only qualification of the generality of the phrase in question, which seems to be admissible, is this, that the object to be appropriated of money is to be made general and not local, its operation extending in fact, or by possibility, throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot. No objection ought to arise to this construction from the phraseology of the Constitution, for (a) to do whatever else would appear to Congress contrary to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted in express terms, will carry a power to do anything that was not authorized in the Constitution, either expressly or by fair implication.

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

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

Much of the condition which has now at last become intolerable is properly chargeable to the village fathers of the town brought with them "rural institutions" to which they were accustomed, such as the vault in the back yard, the leaking cesspool, and the slop-gutter"; not feeling a need of better things for themselves, nor taking thought for things needful for their children after them in the city that was to be.

The marvel is that the penalty now being paid is so largely one of dollars and cents. How 600,000 people have managed to live over, next to, or in the neighborhood of 7,000 "earth closets," euphemously so-called, and at the same time escaped the plague and kept the death-rate down within measurable distance of the normal, would seem on the face of it inexplicable. Sanitarians, however, explain away the miracle by pointing to the rolling land upon which the city is built, giving a natural drainage into Jones Falls and the harbor; also to the subsoil of sand and clay, except at the lower levels, supplying a natural filtration bed—not that this makes the death-rate lower, but that it prevents it from becoming higher. Of course the people with sufficient

September 2, 1911.

come have been able to purchase a certain amount of immunity from these horrors to which the poor are subjected, their toilets and bath-rooms draining into hidden cess-pools and private sewers. Nevertheless, for rich and poor alike, a day of judgment would surely have come. The storm water and the city sewage must either sink into the ground or empty into the Falls or the harbor; and these two natural disposal plants had about reached their limit. The harbor was already a veritable cess-pool. Hundreds of sewer pipes poured their contents into it on all sides. It was choked with organic matter, and there were no water currents, if we except the tides, to carry off the sewage.

The harbor would not be such a sink of pollution if the supposedly natural filtration bed under the tens of thousands of earth closets really afforded an outlet; or if the closets, of which hundreds, if not thousands, are all the time full to overflowing, were regularly emptied by the "night soil men." There are more than one hundred men earning their livelihood in this way. None is a city employee though all are supposed to have licenses. The business is one in which anyone may embark if he can but equip himself with a dipper or bucket, barrels, and a cart. The work originally was done at night, but the carts made such a racket, lumbering over the cobblestones, that Baltimoreans decided they would rather endure the nuisance by day than have their slumbers disturbed. Since then it has been a "night soil" business only in name.

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

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

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

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

To say that tenement-dwellers accept these offenses against health and morals without protest argues only ignorance of the minds of the poor. To some degree they resign themselves to conditions, but the smothered sentiment does find expression on occasions: as, for example, the childlike frankness of the bright little Italian girl, recently come from New York, who is told about in the printed report on Housing Conditions in Balti-
allevies everywhere would swarm. During an epidemic of typhoid in one part of the city, an investigator saw the contents of an overflowing vault streaming down the public alley. It was "known to contain the discharges of two typhoid patients, which had been emptied into it during the six weeks preceding." Perhaps some of "the mysteries of Providence" could be cleared up, if we were to trace through flies, buckstiers, grocery-boys, market-men, and kitchen-maids the connection between these streams of pollution and the food on our tables.

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

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

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

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

Let us see. In that month it took 3,000 miles of traveling to visit six cities. Important as those cities are, their own confusing variation forbids generalizing.

El Paso, up a titanic incline of 619 miles from San Antonio, its altitude 4,000 feet; a desert city of the mountains, with nothing but sand and air which thrill and tingle and colors which intoxicate. Many come for their lungs, come and go; and the permanent group of residents are well within their shells.

At the other end of that incline is San Antonio, green and beautiful, with its memories going back to Lone Star days, now undergoing the pangs of a land boom, with its civilization a mixture of old and new, the gay city of Texas. Still to the east, another half day's journey, is Houston, with something of Atlanta's assertiveness, claiming business primacy with more or less justification. Perhaps a little more southern in feeling is this lower tier of cities, excepting El Paso. El Paso is a reflection of the world. It is not only the Negro who is a separate class, but the Mexican—the Greaser—is to the ordinary inhabitant a being inferior. Then the capital, Austin, where one seems to strike the very heart of Texas: a tight little city of not so many ten thousands, sufficient unto itself, with a generous social democracy which has no counterpart in the other cities. Here is not only politics, but culture, the great University of Texas here having its domicile; or, rather, this is its home address, for ever the university is linking itself to the life of the people of the state.
So, to speak of Texas as a whole, as a result of even this long journey, is absurd. If one traces the location of the five cities mentioned upon the map of Texas, he will find that after all only a little of the center has been visited with a short trip of 600 miles to the western border. Nevertheless, because these are five of the most important cities, and because there are at least three organizations (already alluded to) which have state-wide affiliations in the social field and whose point of view may be obtained at second hand, and because the results of rural mismanagement are sometimes apparent in cities, there are certain problems standing out prominently in these selfsame cities, which are certainly state problems.

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

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**BUILT OF RUBBISH**

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

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**A HUT OF DIRT AND TWIGS**

Makeshift construction, without sanitation, in El Paso.

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**THE SURVEY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

"There is the State Association of County Judges," replied a wise judge, "but it is you who are trying to get that before them as a whole."

"Why?" he was asked.

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

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

November 15, 1910.
effective local campaigns comprise the sum total of educational effort. Then consider that into this state, which, after all, is just beginning to know itself, there is pouring a stream of unfortunates from other states, fleeing, as they think, to save their lives in this sunny clime. Some do; but they are the ones who have resources. Many others, whose resources are small, through the criminal ignorance and incompetency of local medical practitioners, waste what would go a long way at home toward securing adequate care in coming here to strive and scrape for a few weeks or a few months, and then collapse. They become public charges. Even then they may become victims of a glibly comedy, may be shipped from place to place, by public officials, at public expense; shipped wherever their despairing whims suggest; hastened to death, and the public treasury in the end the sufferer.

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

In this chaotic condition Governor Campbell, at the last legislative session, vetoed a measure for the establishment of a state sanatorium, a course in which he was amply justified. The situation demands something far more general than that. Governor Campbell's suggestion that there should be a state tuberculosis commission is in the writer's mind, the first necessary step. Such a commission should have very wide powers of investigation and recommendation. It will be necessary for it to jack up the local health officials, who are lax, much more abruptly than in the past. It must gather statistics and data of the present extent of the disease. It must very carefully consider the question of a deportation law, or of other measures which will prevent the incoming of those who come only to die at public expense. It must see what system of sanatoriums is best adapted to the peculiar conditions existing in the state, and this with relation to the comparative wealth and comparative civilization of different sections. Then must come a consideration of the educational campaign. Other states have suffered because of lack of a great state program. Texas is in a position to lead the way by a strong state commission. Because we have expressed the opinion, voicing the belief of trained observers in the four larger cities at least, that tuberculosis is a menace, it must not be presumed that present conditions are much worse than in other states. The only difference is that Texas is adding rapidly to its burden by reason of alien accretions. With this added burden, only a few health officers have acted with any degree of vim. A few have attempted to hide conditions. Others have affirmed that there were no "native" cases, which is nothing less than wilful blindness. But whether there has been activity or laxness, it matters not. Because of climatic and present social conditions, the tuberculosis problem is primarily a state problem in Texas.

In the field of the juvenile court and probation there is the same apparent need of a state juvenile court commission. The history of this movement in Texas plainly indicates that it is now in need of the patient, careful, intensive field work which must always follow the active propagandist stage. As the result of enthusiasm, there was imbedded in the Texas statute a law covering juvenile court and probation which was practically copied bodily from the statute books of another state. In some ways lawyers have affirmed it was a misfit. Its legality on some points is so seriously questioned that the judge in one important city judges his docket so that technically juvenile court cases are tried on a criminal docket. As a result, we were told of one case where a weak-kneed jury refused to take a child from a notoriously immoral woman, on evidence which any juvenile court judge would have accepted as convincing.

In another large city the probation system has been badly discredited because the judge has been trying to work out a "big brother" volunteer scheme with no paid official as a center. In short, some of the best friends of the movement acknowledge that, excepting...
in a very few places, it has broken down completely. There is need to see where
the laws should be remedied, what system
would best fit counties varying in wealth
and in social conditions, when the paid
officer should be paid from the public
money, and so on through the whole
long chapter. Texas was not ready for
the plan; it had not been worked out in sufficient detail. What is be-
ing done now should have been done in
the first place. The day was saved in
a few places, like Dallas and Houston.

At the same time there is nothing
resembling the cotton mill conditions in
some of the other southern states. Whatev-
er of administrative coercion is now
exerted in this broad state must be by
one lone commissioner of labor statistics
and a deputy at Austin, who notifies the
district attorney in case violations come
to his attention. The district attorney
notified must prosecute. In several pre-
ty bad situations the commissioner or
deputy has gone to the scene and righted
matters. But everyone recognizes that

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

Though in taber-colonies the state has
been slow in awakening, this is not ins-
ficative of its attitude in other fields.
The child labor problem now receiving
attention in the state is practically one of
prevention. There are unmistakable evi-
dences of increasing manufacturing in-
they can give only incidental protection.
The present child labor law prohibits
employment of any child under twelve in
factories, manufacturing mill, or any es-
ablishment using machinery. Children
between twelve and fourteen the statute
bars out, and those who cannot read nor
write, unless the child has a widowed
mother or incapacitated parent to sup-
port. Employment under sixteen is pro-
hibited in breweries, distilleries, and in
marine service. The twelve-to-fourteen-
year-old children who are employed, can
drive away idleness only between the
hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. They cannot
work all night. Proof of age is most rudim-
tary. Furthermore, there is no compul-
sory education law.

With this situation, leaders in social work
in Texas are considering two things: first,
the organization of a state child labor
committee; and, second, the placing of all em-
phasis just now upon legislation which shall
fix an absolute standard age limit of four-
teen, and shall further, as the opportunity
offers, a state compulsory education law.

No wiser decision could be made. It is
not a situation which indicates improving
the administrative machinery, in order
completely to accomplish what the present
law intended. Rather every detail of the
situation seems to cry out for the stra-
tegic advantage of getting a better and ab-
solute standard on the statute books, and
then fighting for the administrative de-
tails later on; especially so as industrial
interests grow apace, and problems be-
come more complicated.

With reference to a legislative pro-
gram of this sort, it is interesting to the
writer to remember some comments
made to him upon the unconscionability
of the Texas Legislature. It was not his for-
tune to see it at work. But certainly it
cannot be accused of unwillingness to ac-
tect favorable plans, an accu-
scation which could rest against certain other
Legislatures.

Let us take these two movements, for in-
stance, child labor and juvenile prob-
ination. In legislation on these two subjects
is really remarkable, when one remem-
bers how strong in Texas is the tradition
that a man’s home is his castle, and his
children his own. Even in some of the
cities it is so. The supervisor was called
sharply to account in Fort Worth for
having ventured to remark that in the
ultimate analysis the state must be re-
ponsible for its children. The “castle”
shekes in the bottoms of Dallas, there is
in every one of the five cities a need for
some rudimentary housing regulation.

There is an amusing yet sardonic
in the Rio Grande, to the optimum
of Dallas, there is

Although the campaigns above men-
tioned must begin from the state end,
there is another which must be taken up in
the individual cities. From El Paso, with
its miserably damp and dark Mexican
adobes fringing the international boundary
along the historic Rio

Grande, to the optimum

tweets, the climate has saved it from deso-
lating scourges. But even the climate
cannot avert all disease, and the worst
of the adobes have been responsible for
the spread of indigenous tuberculosis.
Nevertheless, adobes built lately have
been better, and work for mothers and
babies carried on by the Woman’s Char-
ity Association last summer gives promise
that El Paso will slowly awaken to the
need of cleaning house. More definite
word has come to us in a recent dispatch
from El Paso, that the city physician, W.
H. Anderson, has recommended the de-
struction of 1,500 shacks for the protec-
tion of the health of the city. The City
Council ordered him to begin to destroy
the worst ones, and to take severe con-
nexions in those that are habitable.

This habit of setting apart ugly facts
by themselves is not confined to El Paso.
In San Antonio, for instance, the news-
the international boundary
along the historic Rio
Grande, to the optimum

There is an amusing yet sardonic
tale of the time when the presidents of
the United States and Mexico were to
meet at the Rio Grande. It was
discovered that a most irrelevant, unrea-
sonable and utterly miserable group of
so-called houses bordered the line of
progress, and refused to hide itself.
What easier than to hide it with a huge
fence? That is the logic which El Paso
used. Visiting physicians affirm that
only the climate has saved it from deso-
lating scourges. But even the climate
cannot avert all disease, and the worst
of the adobes have been responsible for
the spread of indigenous tuberculosis.
Nevertheless, adobes built lately have
been better, and work for mothers and
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This habit of setting apart ugly facts
by themselves is not confined to El Paso.
In San Antonio, for instance, the news-

papers viewed with suspicion and alarm a little description of a visit paid to some picturesque horse corrals which thrift property owners had transformed into "model dwelling houses." Imagine a hollow oblong, pointed on three sides, with a continuous row of corrals, more or less partitioned off, and housing, apparently, fifty families or more. Incredibly as it may seen, there was even danger from fire because of the possibility of the one single and narrow place of egress being blocked with people and household belongings. Certainly the sanitary arrangements had the virtue of being plain and above board. Nothing was concealed—a few common privies, a common pump or two, everything deliciously Arcadian and odorous. The cheerful Mexican families, one newspaper assured us, positively enjoyed in these simple houses. There was, too, a link which tied these peaceful retreats to busy downtown, for here the pecan nut workers were getting their wages ready. In a city in which the use of the word "infanery" by the Associated Charities secretar y in her newspaper articles was resented, it is not to be wondered that it was considered quite bad form to speak of corrals. When they were mentioned, nothing would do but to send a reporter to about the best one of the lot, to bring his impressions back, enriched by the rosy hues of an active imagination.

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

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

So this Leviathan commonwealth is beginning to find itself. In age not so young, in youthfulness very, very young, but big, it is like some boy giant of sixteen, all bulging and bursting out of his outgrown clothes, awkward and ungainly. Whilst husting back to the pioneer days, cities have been growing and growing, railroads have been invading, the horde of well and ill have been encroaching, the social problems have come, most insolvent of all—not only those spoken of, but others.

What will be the outcome? If the writer mistakes not, there will be some mighty interesting tussles down there in the Lone Star State—sharp and pointed and fruitful encounters! It would be invidious to mention the strong men and women to be found in the Associated Charities of the different cities, the Mothers' Congress, the Women's Federation, the Conference of Education, the Labor Council, and the settlements, or those who have already enlisted; they are always eminently practical save in one point—state legislation.

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

playground director, and, if not already a city employee, he soon will be. This
in about three years, by attending strictly to one thing at a time, the club has
three most helpful social agencies at work.

Not always, but sometimes, as we have indicated, there has been lack of wisdom
in state legislation. We believe this is due, not so much as anything else, to the iso-
lated position of the unending miles of roads between separate city and city. There
has been an insufficient exchange of views, sufficient understanding, sufficient criticism, between different groups, different cities.

It is for this reason that the formation of a state conference of charities and correction has been urged. It is plainly
and apparently one of the chief needs of the state. The unending miles must
be overcome. In both city and state there seems to be another handicap to overcome. Many of the business men of the state have seen their business grow, without re-
liing themselves of the details which could be entrusted to able
subordinates. They have become slaves to detail, and have not allowed
interested in one or another phase of co-
development and have realized the
moralties involved in Ethics, something
more than personal ethics, is undoubtedly
receiving more and more recognition, and
the position will come when men re-
 fuse longer to be mere machinery of ad-
dition and subtraction.

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

That outlook upon a little of the center
of Texas and at one of its edges, with its
town streets, its horizon-bound forests,
trees, its desert splendor, its-wide-flow-
ning rivers, its magnificent vastnesses, its
fascinating cities, its vigorous peoples,
convinces the observer of one thing: it
is to no mean destiny that this princi-
pal state is tending. In that destiny,
the future may judge by what has been
forthcoming even in these earlier days of isolation and
lack of cohesion, will play no mean part.

Not Mexico, but preventable
disease and the currying of social
and individual
the...—this is the
fight in which
the Lone Star
State
engage with all
that matches
ger, and audi-
city, with
which it waged
warfare in those
never-to-be-
 forgotten days
of the fifties.

November 19, 1910

THE COMMON WELFARE

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

REPORT ON SALARIES

The New York Commission on Teach-
ers’ Salaries, which was appointed by
Mayor Gaynor last February, has sub-
mitted its findings in 140 pages of ma-
terial, so bulky that they have not yet
been published in full. In the main the
report is favorable to the advocates of
‘equal pay’ for women teachers. Much
carefully compiled information is given
which is of interest to educators through-
out the country.

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

The commission finds that men do not
appear in large numbers below the sixth
grade and practically all are employed in
the teaching boys’ classes. In the sixth,
seventh, and eighth grades there are 905
men and 790 women teaching boys’
classes. Many boys leave the public
schools without ever having had a man
teacher.

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

The commission recognizes the evidence
on the sex theory of teaching for
ished by the investigations of the
State Conference of Charities in 1906,
of the Russell Sage Foundation, and
of the Association for Improving the
Condition of the Poor in 1907, and finds
that $500 a year is not enough—enough for
a beggar. The A. L. A. C. P. (more $600
a difficult wage for a single woman in
New York.) Instead of a slow advance-
ment every year, it suggested a minimum
salary of $750 or $800, unchanged for three
years. The Board of Estimate and Ap-
portionment has passed a resolution in
favor of this change which will take ef-
effect as soon as the necessary changes in
the Davis law can be made.

Salaries for principals, it is said,
should be based solely upon the size of the
schools and not upon sex. In the
high schools it is suggested that teach-
ers of boys’ classes, irrespective of sex,
shall be paid more than those who have
boys. In order to avoid the multiplica-
tion of salary schedules a system of
bonuses in addition to salaries is recom-
ended for teachers of classes of mental-
ly defective and backward children
and of cripples. It is recommended that
clerks receive a yearly salary of $600 in-
stead of three dollars a day.

The commission should be true to the
fact that the wages paid substitute teachers should be as
advanced that it will no longer be possible to effect any considerable sav-
ing by employing mean substitutes
rather than those of regular teachers.

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

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

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

of TWENTY CITIES

The article by Mr. Veller on another
page opens a series of twenty on as many
cities which will be published in The
Sewage and New York Bay

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

A solution of this will obviously be impossible if neighboring communities continue to pollute the harbor. Act by one community to solve such a problem there must be a co-operative spirit in which all bear their share of keeping clean a body of water which is jointly and universally adjacent to the homes of millions of people. The problem is vastly complicated by the fact that not only numerous cities and towns but two states front on the river and seem to be obviously an interstate question which, as Mr. Holmes suggests, it yet find its way to the United States Supreme Court.

In that case, the mere creation of a Metropolitan Sewerage Commission dictates New York's desire, if not her to be clearly comprehended, to appear with hands. As things stand, it would seem as if such a case as Mr. Holmes suggests could easily fall upon New Jersey, and that that state would be called upon to answer yes or no to some such question as this: "Have you done that thing which is your power to purify your river which you propose to discharging into your neighbor's front yard, and have you co-operated with that neighbor in devising a comprehensive plan for keeping New York harbor clean and healthy?"

Physicians, engineers, sanitarians and municipal commissions have different notions as to the standards to be set in and as to the value of the various cleaning processes proposed. The records of one-municipal relations in this great city, if New York, situated at the discharging end of waters which carry the sewage of hundreds of towns, did not set up high standards, her neighbors might gorge her with waters with raw sewage. A degree of treatment adequate for today might be inadequate for the day of years— with the enormous growth of population in New Jersey and in Westchester county, N. Y. It is easier and safer to enact a comprehensive plan and adequate treatment now than to wait until the harbor waters are saturated. White Plains and other suburban water towns did not project the Bronx river sewer until the river became literally a stench to the nostrils of the commuters, Why, as New York to repeat the experience?
only excellent living accommodations for the city's working people, but does it at rates within the workingman's means.

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

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

JUSTICE WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The arrest of the secretary of the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union at the instance of the Erectors' Association, whose members employ many of those union men, on the charge of blowing up the plant of the Los Angeles Times and many other bridge and building structures, is one of the most serious arraignments ever suffered by American organized labor. The only parallel to it is the prosecution of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado and Idaho. But however heinous the crimes were with which the miners leaders were charged, there was at least an occasion in the aggressions of certain powerful disturbed and corrupt political combinations in Colorado, which bred distrust of the law and contempt for man-made law; and those charged with its enactment and enforcement. In the public mind and conditions, and the charges against the miners found some connection, enough at least to cast suspicion on the prosecution and to give the benefit of the doubt to the accused, which led to their acquittal.

There is no such occasion in any way to extenuate the long series of deliberately deeds for which the perpetrators have been sought. Now charged against the executive of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, his brother, and an agent third conspirator, who, it is claimed, turned informant and has offered his evidence. Such serious charges, imprisoning, it is said, the loss of no less than 172 lives and property valued at nearly $4,000,000, should not be held as true against any man until they are proved by due process of law. Moreover, one who is just, and who know the only way in which justice can be done, will deny the right of the accused to the best legal defense they can secure, or will be equal to the largest help of their friends in procuring the ablest available counsel. If there is probable cause to hold the accused to trial on these charges, it is the plain duty of the Erectors' Association and of the authorities to prefer and press them. If there is reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused, or much more strong presumpti of their innocence, in the minds of of their friends and fellow-craftsmen, is equally their duty to aid in their defense.

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

THE COMMON WELFARE

NATIONAL CENSORSHIP OF MOTION PICTURES

The National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures feels that its work has been misunderstood by many. It therefore endeavors in a recent report to answer certain adverse criticisms which have lately been circulated. In doing this it explains at length how in March, 1910, a committee of the Association of Exhibitors of New York called on the People's Institute for advice regarding the public hostility to which the motion picture art was at that time subject. Upon the suggestion of the People's Institute the exhibitors asked for the creation of an

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

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

THE SURVEY

May 6

Donahoe in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE TRAFFIC SQUAD.

July 1, 1911.
WHEREIN COLUMBUS IS PROGRESSIVE

Besides passing this splendid housing code, Columbus, over the last eighteen months or so as a picture of Roosevelt in Africa known as "special releases," for which extra prices are charged and which have not been passed by the board. There are also pictures privately owned by lecturers as prepared for a particular circuit of vaudeville houses, which are not and cannot easily be censored. A few pictures infringe the censorship.

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

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

The commissioner of accounts of New York City, after an investigation of the moving-picture shows of the city, reported: "We are satisfied from our examination that the intelligent work of the board of censorship has largely curtailed the objectionable features of moving pictures shows in New York, as far as the representatives of many city officials and private societies from these pictures themselves are concerned."

This means that the pictures of many cities and private societies have been reproduced in the report, objectionable sections of slides (not motion pictures) or old films, which have ceased to produce pictures against the cause of criticism aimed at the work of the board.

FEDERAL HEARINGS ON COMPENSATION

The last year's work in behalf of a uniform system of compensation by the National Civic Federation's Committee week after the City Council passed an Industrial Accidents and their Prevention, was commented on in The Survey of January 14. The uniform bill which was introduced by the city council of thirty-three states was based somewhat upon the same principles as the New York law. The position taken was that the system of compensation of the New York Court of Appeals in the Ives case is therefore of peculiar interest.

When the decision was first published by the chairman of the committee, F. Teumesh Sherman, and the secretary of the federation's department on compensation, Launcelot P. E. Patter, expressed themselves guardedly on the question of the constitutionality. Marshall enunciated some of the constitutional amendment since they felt that the amendment which he had recommended to the state constitution was by no means final; that it was quite possible that if other state legislatures declared such legislation constitu- tionality. They left open the question of the regulation of the hours of women's work, would lead to a forerunner of a bureau of civil defense in which which should be added. In addition, features continue the public licenses, supervise theatrical exhibitions, supervise dances, oversee housing, and investigate all cases of compensation, of which Francis Lyde Stetzer, the ordinance committee chairman, felt that this amendment was not yet sufficient and further to eliminate the un- justly held by women which necessarily result from double remedy, it restricted the scope of the ordinance remedy.
the first time since the Philadelphia meeting on Work Risks. In Washington as in Philadelphia the strength of the new movement for national insurance was apparent. At the hearings on June 14 and 15, two briefs were presented by Miles M. Dawson, one on the constitutional advantages of compensation and of national insurance, the other on the constitutional rights of such insurance, under the taxing power of the federal government. To arguments supporting these the commission listened for several hours. James A. Emery, counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association, had at the first hearing in May expressed the opinion that national insurance is constitutional and most desirable, and R. J. Carey, counsel for the New York Central Lines, also supported this view as regards interstate railways. The counsel of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad spoke against the constitutionality of the Lewis bill. Among those supporting the constitutionality of this method of compensation legislation by Congress as regards railways were Alfred P. Thom, the counsel of the Southern Railway, Prof. Ernst Freund for the American Association for Labor Legislation, Messrs. Kellogg and Judson, of the Massachusetts State Commission, and James A. Lowell, counsel for the railroad unions. In spite of their advocacy of the bill, representatives of the unions and Mr. Lewis expressed the deepest interest in the national insurance proposals. Mr. Lewis was himself the author of the contributory mining insurance law in force since 1897 in Maryland.

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

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

NINETEEN VOLUMES ON WOMEN AND CHILD WAGE-LEANERS

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

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

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

I. Cotton Textile Industry.
II. Men's Ready-Made Clothing.
III. Glass Industry.
IV. Silk Industry.
V. Wage-Earning Women in Stores and Factories.
VII. Conditions under which Children Leave School to go to Work.
VIII. Juvenile Delinquency and Its Relation to Employment.
IX. History of Women in Industry in the United States.
X. History of Women in Trade Unions.
XI. Employment of Women in the Metal Trades.
XII. Employment of Women in Laundry.
XIII. Employment of Women and Infant Mortality.