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THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN MINNEAPOLIS

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by

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THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN MINNEAPOLIS.

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Antiquity of the \*  
Housing Problem. \*

\* \* \* \* \*

There is a certain prestige at-  
tached to every old question by very  
virtue of its age, a prestige which  
the housing problem may rightfully assume. Its elements  
are, obviously, as old as city building itself, and  
records of a social recognition of its importance date  
back at least as far as the days of Nero. Rome at that  
date prohibited the erection of buildings over seventy  
feet high. Coming down into more modern times we find  
that Charles the second of England published edicts  
against the concentration of population in cities, and  
in 1850 there was a London proclamation prohibiting the  
erection of any new houses or tenements upon sites not  
known to have been previously occupied by dwellings,

within three miles of the city gates.# Legislation upon the subject in France dates from 1848, when an attempt was made to force the owners of unsanitary houses to clean them up or to close them. During the period from 1851 to 1871 Baron Haussman spent 48,000,000 francs in an attempt to make Paris a model city. He undertook a systematic reconstruction of houses, streets, and parks. In 1852 Louis Napoleon set apart 10,000,000 francs to be spent upon improving the houses of the working classes. ##

The Complexity of  
its Nature and Af-  
filiations.

\* The housing question is not  
\*  
\* only ancient, it is intricate.  
\*

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* It combines with the fundamental quality given to it through its intimate connection with the physical necessities, a complexity which implicates realm after realm of social and individual interest, including economics, politics, social pathology, and civic art. There are numerous approaches to the subject.

Geo. B. Ford of Harvard University suggests three, namely, (1) the social approach, which aims to determine the possibilities for improvement of conditions in such hous-

#Lawrence Vieller in Reports of the Second Annual City Planning Conference.

## Kaufman. The Housing of the Working Classes and the Poor.



ing as already exists, and to stimulate a social demand for better housing, (2) the legal approach, through housing legislation, (3) an approach through the construction of model tenements.#

These are more properly methods of reform. Methods of study must consider the social, economic, psychological, hygienic, political, architectural, and aesthetic factors. Each of these factors is reciprocal, that is, for instance, it is a fact that room overcrowding is often due, in part at least, to the social phenomena of race segregation, but room overcrowding, in turn, has a large social significance in its effect upon morals and group standards. Again, for example, the light housekeeping phenomena is largely psychological, being the result, often, of nothing more or less profound than sloth, but the light housekeeping frame of mind once indulged in tends to perpetuate itself in numerous other sorts of moral laxness. Methods of taxation also affect, and are affected by, the housing conditions. Many of the most earnest advocates of the single tax are those interested in housing reform.

# Proceedings of the Second Annual City Planning Conference.

Fashions and fads, real estate booms, elevated artistic ideals, degraded and sordid personal interests, public and private ignorance, public and private education, all these and many more matters are intimately affiliated with the problem of shelter in a great city.

Its Importance. \* Naturally a great deal has been  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* said concerning the importance of the housing problem. One might quote more widely-read authority upon the subject, but he would hardly find the matter put more emphatically or with better scientific backing than in the following quotation from the report of a recent investigation into the conditions in five Rhode Island cities. "Housing facilities represent the most concrete and the most essential element in the control of health and efficiency of our working people, and legislation which would tend to improve conditions is at this moment imperative, owing to the constant increase of our population and its foreign character." #

But the question of housing goes deeper than this. Statistics relating to the growth of cities prove that the problems of the city are directly the problems of a

# Tenement House Conditions in Five Rhode Island Cities.

great, and rapidly increasing proportion of society, and indirectly and directly together the problems of all. The housing problem is intimately related to almost every realm of municipal perplexity. It is not only concerned with the City Economic, and the City Sanitary, but with the City Beautiful. In fact no one question, except the sister topic of city planning, lies closer to the central problem of all municipal development than the one now under consideration. The central problem of all municipal development is obviously this: to gain those advantages, economic, social, and cultural, which are directly dependent upon the concentration of population, and at the same time to conserve and universalize the hygienic necessities and advantages which naturally are more easy of realization in a more open physical environment. A good corollary to this statement might be: A large part of the cultural excellence of any community is closely bound up with a factor which is almost directly associated with hygienic requirements, namely, the careful and artistic planning of the whole city in respect to the way in which it occupies

and cultivates its natural environment. This of course would be slightly apart from our topic concerning the importance of housing regulation, were it not for the fact that the housing question and the question of city planning are so closely related that they are often really one and the same question as it will be the province of much which follows to demonstrate. The two together represent the heart of municipal perplexity, and, because they deal with the very web and woof of the city, implicate an enormous number of social factors in their constitution, and present corresponding difficulties in the matter of solution. Finally, the complementary aspect of the situation must be emphasized. Every true solution of municipal difficulty is a step toward what, when it is accomplished, will represent a social triumph, the magnitude of which it would be foolish to attempt to describe, namely the realization of a city which in every portion and in its entirety, so far as social responsibility is implicated, will be worthy of human habitation.

Types of remedial \*  
Action. \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The types of remedial action

so far evolved may be roughly

grouped as private and public.

Private activity includes the enterprise of landlord, tenant, employer, and disinterested philanthropist.

The participation of landlords is represented in the construction of model tenements, and the remodeling of old buildings into fit dwellings. London had Octavia Hill to point the way to the superior profits of careful and conscientious administration upon the part of the landlord. She and her associates reaped a monetary as well as social reward through the improving and re-renting of poor tenements. In New York City Mr. Alfred White pioneered in the model tenement movement. Between the years 1877-79 three groups of model tenements were erected in the metropolis, the first two by Mr. White, the third by the Improved Dwellings Association. They were immense buildings, grouped around a central court, and were very substantially built. They are still good types and have been a financial success. #

Activity of Tenants.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

The efforts of tenants to

# Lawrence Vieller in The Tenement House Problem.

improve housing conditions are conspicuous in the co-operative movements, found most flourishing in England and Germany. The Ealing Tenants, Limited, is a typical English example. Stock of two sorts was issued, one to single investors upon which interest is paid, and another to tenants upon which a yearly dividend is declared. Land was purchased and cottages erected, cottage tenements for two or more families, carefully and wisely constructed and located.

One of the most interesting German examples of a similar nature, although one not so closely related to the enterprise of tenants, is that at Stuttgart. Stocks and bonds were issued and sold sufficient to improve a whole suburb at Ostheim. Artistic lines were followed in the planning and neat villas were erected each to house several families. The venture has been a financial success. Rents are low ranging from \$2 to \$6 per month.#

Employer as Land- \*           The participation of the employer  
lord.                   \*  
                          \*   in the housing question is repre-  
\* \* \* \* \*               \*  
                          \*   sented by the Pullman suburb of

# S. G. Smith, Social Pathology, p. 111.

Chicago, and Port Sunlight in England. These are only two of the now rather numerous villages which have been planned and erected by employers for the use of their employees. Certainly the beauty of Port Sunlight, and its success as a financial venture cannot be gainsaid. # The partial failure of the Pullman enterprise has fortunately not discouraged similar ventures. Gary, Indiana, erected by the Steel Corporation, is a later example of employer's activity.

The State and Hous- \*            England and Scotland have  
ing in England.        \*  
                             \*        been conspicuous in the eyes of  
\* \* \* \* \*               \*  
                             the world, both as hosts to great  
housing difficulties, and as courageous reformers of  
housing evils through state action. A description of  
English procedure will suggest the method followed in  
Scotland, the two countries having worked much along  
similar lines.

The report of the investigation made by the London County Council in 1900 ## gives the Earl of Shaftsbury and the legislature of 1551 credit for inaugurating the first English housing laws, in providing for the

# Marsh, An Introduction to City Planning, p. 118.

## London County Council, The Housing Question in  
London.

establishment of lodging houses for the working people. Subsequently, legislation developed along five lines; one of these continued the policy of the first act, The Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act of 1851, in a series of Lodging Houses Acts. The second line of legislative development is represented in the series of Torrens' Acts begun in 1868. The third line is found in the series of Cross' Acts, the first of which was passed in 1875. All three lines of action are brought together and finally amended in a consolidating act passed in 1890 and known as The Housing and the Working Classes Act, 1890. From an analysis of this bill the nature of the previous legislation may be seen.

The Cross' Acts. \*           The first section of the bill of  
 \*                               \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* 1890 re-enacts the Cross' Acts with  
 amendments. Provision is made for the improvement, by  
 the state, of areas of unsanitary housing. Complaint  
 may be made by the medical officer of the locality, by  
 two justices, or by twelve rate-payers. Upon receipt of  
 such complaint the London County Council is to draw up a  
 scheme for the improvement of the area which, with the aid



and approval of the Secretary of State, may be carried out. Any scheme must provide for the accommodation of as many persons as are displaced, unless the Secretary of State permits otherwise, but in any case at least one half of the people thus displaced must be provided with lodgings somewhere. The council may itself erect buildings only by the consent of the Secretary of State, and then they must not be held for longer than ten years as property of the council. There are elaborate laws dealing with the arbitration of values.

The Torrens' Acts. \* Part 11 of the act sums up  
\* \* \* \* \* and amends the Torrens' Acts.

It deals with dwelling houses unfit for habitation, continuing the general policy suggested by the principle that "the responsibility of maintaining his house in proper condition falls upon the owner, and that if he fails in his duty, the law is justified in stepping in and compelling him to perform it." # The removal or modification of obstructive dwellings, and the improvement by scheme of any areas too small to be dealt with under part 1 are also provided for.

# The Housing Question in London, p. 4.

This open space must be of an aggregate extent of not less than one hundred feet.

6. On a street laid out before 1894, the height may not exceed twice such depth with an addition of sixteen feet.
7. The open space behind the building may, in general, be covered up to a height of sixteen feet, but this is not allowed in the case of the working class dwellings.
8. Working class dwellings, not abutting on streets, may not be built until the Council or Tribunal of Appeal has sanctioned the plans for them, but such sanction cannot be refused if it is proposed to provide about the buildings an open space or spaces equivalent to the open spaces which would have been provided under the Act if such dwellings had been erected abutting on a street laid out before 1894.

Further regulations, of a more elastic nature, have provided that (1) no dwelling houses shall be more than five stories in height, (2) no stairways shall be located so as to be surrounded by rooms, (3) stairways shall be

at least three feet in width, and shall be furnished with a dado of glazed or hard pressed brick, (4) basements shall only under certain conditions be used as dwellings, (5) baths and wash houses shall be provided to every block of buildings and closets shall have doors and windows opening directly to the open air, (6) the height of stories shall not be less than nine feet, (7) every building shall, if possible, be distant from any obstructing building one and one-half times the height of such building, and in no case nearer than a distance equal to the height of the building, (8) light shall enter all habitable rooms at an angle not greater than forty-five degrees. The standard for living rooms has been one hundred sixty square feet, and for bedrooms one hundred ten square feet, or if there are two bedrooms, one hundred ten and one hundred twenty square feet respectively.

Action taken under	*	Between 1875 and 1889, under
English Housing Leg-	*	
islation.	*	the operation of the Artizans'
	*	
* * * * *	**	Dwellings Acts, 29, 151 persons
were displaced, of which 27,780 were rehoused at a gross		

cost of 1,983, 892 pounds, which was subsequently reduced to 1,606,688 pounds net, or an average of \$268.88 per individual.

The London County Council succeeded the Metropolitan Board of Public Works in 1889. There remained some 2,457 persons to be rehoused who had been displaced by the former board. Subsequently the council displaced 11,841 persons and rehoused them at a cost of 1,144,800 pounds net, or an average of \$476.87 per individual.

Action by private Agencies. \* \* \* \* \* The Peabody trustees and other companies erected 7,026 buildings with 14,093 rooms accommodating

28,000 of the above persons. # Albert Shaw pronounced the Peabody tenements excellent, in 1895. ## In them the death rate was favorable. Other buildings, of similar pretensions when built, were in his opinion very bad structures. They were five or six stories high and accommodated 100 to 1000 families. There were some 600 of these buildings in London at the time when he wrote, with a total capacity of 120,000 people. In them the death rate was considerably higher than for all London.

# Thomson's Housing Handbook.

## Municipal Government in Great Britain.

They were unfortunate structures and went far toward making of no avail the great efforts and expense undertaken by the British government in the interest of better housing.

Town Planning Act \*           The fifth and latest line of  
of 1909.                   \*  
\* \* \* \* \*               \* English legislation is represented  
                              in the English Town Planning Act

of 1909. It places power in the hands of the local government board, "to secure proper sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience with the laying out and the use of the lands and any neighboring lands." This includes power to regulate buildings, streets, open spaces, private and public, sewerage, lighting, water supply, indeed a comprehensive scheme for the development of cities.#

It is an "adoptive act", that is to say, it is optional with the local authorities whether or not they put the provisions of the act into effect in any particular city or village. The extreme recency of this act makes it difficult to obtain data upon its operation, if any such data of importance is now in existence. However, since it is operative along lines found to be eminently practi-

# Flavel Shurtleff, in the Proceedings of the Second City Planning Conference.

cable and eminently successful in Germany, it promises more for housing reform than any other type of housing legislation in Great Britain, or for that matter, anywhere. Under it is to be carried on what Ewart G. Culpin, English authority on city planning, denominates the humanizing of the German system, namely the recognition of the house as a true unit of all housing development in the application of German experience to English conditions.

Housing Reform \*            Although, as has been said, hous-  
in France.        \*            ing reform received very early atten-

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*            tion in France, the general policy  
has never advanced beyond the laissez faire, most of the work is done by voluntary associations, philanthropic institutions, and joint stock companies, aided in some cases by public credit.#

Governmental \*            In 1848 national legislation resulted  
Action.        \*            in the appointment of the Commission des

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*            Logment Insalubres, in an attempt to  
force the owners of unsanitary houses to either make them fit for habitation or close them. Paris continues this work in her Commission des Logment Insalubres, which consists of thirty members, ten of whom are appointed every

# Kaufman. The Housing of the Working Classes and  
the Poor.

two years by the municipal council. This commission meets weekly, but acts only upon complaint.

A law passed in 1894 and amended in 1896 affords opportunities for local authorities to adopt its provisions at option. Its purpose is to encourage the construction of cheap dwellings, and it administered by a Conseil Superior des Habitations à Bon Marché under the Minister of Commerce. This act also authorizes savings banks to lend some of their reserve funds to building societies for the purpose of encouraging the erection of dwellings.

The French approach to the housing question is typified in the Conseil d' Hygiene et Salubrité founded in Paris in 1802. # The Prefect of Police presides over it. There are twenty-four life members, appointed for high attainments and approved by the general government. There are ex officio seats for such men as the dean of the faculty of the University of Paris. This is wholly an advisory body of unpaid public spirited citizens. It meets twice per month, and has general advisory power over all conditions affecting health and comfort.

# Shaw. Municipal Government in Europe, p. 81.

In the Public Health Act of 1902 some specific regulations of housing were recommended and these have been pretty generally adopted by the local bodies. # Paris has some regulations limiting height of buildings and width of streets.

Housing Reform	*	Considering the limited legis-
Action in France.	*	lation upon the subject, French
* * * * *	*	action has been fairly vigorous.

In the period from 1872 to 1888, 42,394 cases of bad housing were disposed of by the Commission des Logment Insalubres, in Paris alone. Under the provisions of the Act of 1896 loans were soon made by savings banks for the purposes of dwelling construction amounting to 14,000,000 francs, thus providing dwellings for 4000 families of 14,000 to 15,000 persons. It is true that many of the local governments have been slow in availing themselves of the powers conferred upon them. Up to 1894 only 8 out of 36,000 administrative communes had organized commissions respecting unhealthy dwellings. Far and away the most significant feature of the French situation has been the development of the city of Paris, # Marsh. An introduction to City Planning, p. 64.





authority. A building plan can also be prepared for a district already built upon." # In these plans the "building lines" are set forth, namely the boundaries "within which the sites may be built on, and by which the areas intended for traffic or for front gardens, as well as those which form part of the high-flood district, are to be divided." # There are also detailed regulations governing height, character of structure, use, relation to street and traffic and similar matters.

The "Zone System" which has recently been introduced in connection with these extensive and inclusive plans has attracted wide attention. It is to be noted that the term "Zone" is misleading, since it suggests concentric circles, and the zones are not necessarily of that character. The general theory is, of course, that buildings should be lower and further apart in proportion as the distance is greater from the center of the city, but a particular zone may be a single block, or a part of a block. ## The recommendations for the Zone System are summed up in this sentence: "The Zone System would permit property to be restricted to the use for which

# Marsh. An Introduction to City Planning.

## Proceedings of the Fourth National City Planning Conference, p. 180.

it is best adapted by natural conditions." #

Boden Politik. \* In the German cities in which a  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* consistent town extension policy is  
 adhered to, at least two other features of procedure are  
 valuable. One is called the Boden Politik, by means of  
 which a town becomes the permanent owner of land outside  
 the suburban districts sufficient to give it control of  
 the real estate values of the vicinity. Through this  
 public policy real estate speculation is discouraged, and  
 the erection of a sufficient number of workingmen's dwell-  
 ings is encouraged.

The other policy by which German towns may regulate  
 their development is the Steuer Politik, which secures for  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 Steuer Politik. \* the city a part of the unearned incre-  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* ment Steuer Politik. of ground rents.  
 This is, obviously, an application of the policy of single  
 tax.

The German states also make loans to workmen or  
 small tradesmen in the country to enable them to build  
 their own homes. In the Grand Duchy of Hess the so-  
 called Land Wohnungs Inspection lends assistance to local

# Proceedings of the Fourth National City Planning  
 Conference, p. 180.

authorities and others through advising concerning the promotion of building societies. # Much of the best of German progress is due to the co-operation between the town councils and the local co-operative building societies, the former limiting and supervising the action of the latter.

City Planning in Frank-  
fort-on-the-Main.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* The foregoing consider-  
\* ations concerning the  
\* German policy may all be

seen in operation in Frankfort-on-the-Main, which is treated by Benjamin Clarke Marsh, in his book, "An Introduction to City Planning," as an example of successful housing administration. A digest of Mr. Marsh's treatment follows.

Frankfort is a city of about 346,000 population, a manufacturing town, and covered, at the time of Mr. Marshe's writing, 1908 or 1910, about 23,202 acres of land.

The building regulations are based upon a system of zones which are determined by the joint action of three bodies, The Tiefbanamt (Board of Works), the Consulting

# Kaufman. The Housing of the Working Classes and  
the Poor.

Commission, and the Council and Aldermen. The Hochbanamt (Building Department) has final authority over single buildings, subject to the general regulations of the city plan.

The divisions of the city are as follows:

1. The inner city (old Frankfort).
2. The outer city, subdivided into inner and outer zones, each of which has resident sections, mixed sections, and factory sections.

In 1906, the density of population was in the inner part of the old city, 200 to 240 per acre; in the outer sections of the old city, 100 to 160 per acre; in the outer town, 40 to 120 per acre. In the future a density of a maximum ranging from 80 to 130 only will be permitted in the new extentions.

There are three classes of roads: those for heavy traffic, principally radiating from the center of the town; those to be used as promenades, which are bounded by carriage-ways; and those of the residence districts.

Taxation. \* The Steuerpolitik is represented in  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* Frankfort as follows:

1. The Wahrschaftgeld (transfer tax) which amounts to 2% of the selling price.
2. The increased value tax, collected with the above at the time of transfer of the property, and levied according to the following scheme:

(a) In the case of land built upon:

After 20-30 years from last transfer,	.01
" 30-40 " " " "	.015
" 40 " " " "	.02

(b) In the case of vacant lands:

After 20-30 years from last transfer	.02
" 30-40 " " " "	.03
" 40-50 " " " "	.04
" 50-60 " " " "	.05
" 60 " " " "	.06

"These additional taxes will not be collected if it be proved that the present selling price is not higher than that of the last sale or that it does not exceed the price paid at the last transfer by more than such tax at the highest."

(c) "If less than 20 years have elapsed since the date of the last transfer of property, and if the value of such property be found to have increased 15% since the last transfer, then the following increased value tax must be levied in addition to the ordinary taxes:

.02	of the increased values if they am't to	.15-.20
.03	" " " " " " " "	.20-.30
.04	" " " " " " " "	.25-.30
.05	" " " " " " " "	.30-.35
.06	" " " " " " " "	.35-.40
.07	" " " " " " " "	.40-.45
.08	" " " " " " " "	.45-.50
.09	" " " " " " " "	.50-.55
.10	" " " " " " " "	.55-.60

and so an additional tax of .01 for every additional .05 increase in value up to a maximum amount of 25%." ‡

Land Policy. \* Frankfort owned in 1907 .489 of the  
 \* \* \* \* \* land within the city limits and a large  
 number of acres outside, including 8,500 acres of woods.

‡ Marsh. An Introduction to City Planning, p. 51.

This is not exceptional to the policy of many German cities.

Block Regulation. \* In the matter of regulating  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* building by blocks, however,  
Frankfort is somewhat original. Mr. Marsh gives the argument of the Board of Works in substantiation of the Frankfort policy as follows: "Numerous measures of the civic authorities, such as: the regulation of building and the division of the city area into building zones; a scheme of building; the sanitation of unhealthy residential districts; the promotion of public and private building activity; the building and letting of dwellings by the town, are directed to the solution of the dwelling question without, however, being able to prevent its rising especially in times of rapid growth and development of the city. Superadded to the natural falling short of the supply of dwellings, of the demand, there is often a lack of ground suitable for building, due either to the presence, on the border of the built town, of large landholders who will not sell, or, in fact most frequently, to the great subdivision of estates which



makes it difficult, if not impossible, to render the isolated parcels available. The authorities have indeed a right of appropriation which enables them in respect to roads, to oust the original owners; in the case of subdivided estates, however, this process yields awkward residuary plots, contiguous, it is true, to the new roads, but rendered by area, shape, or irregular situation with respect to the road, unsuitable for building upon.

"Even if a few landowners succeed, in the course of time, in increasing their estates by the purchase of neighboring plots, and build upon them, there nevertheless arise, if a general regulation of the boundaries of plots be not made, permanent economic, hygienic, and aesthetic evils. The building upon of angular or misshapen plots contiguous to the street involves, owing to the irregularity of the ground plan, an enhancement of the cost of building, while, on the other hand, the conformation and arrangement of rooms and courts is disfigured, the access of light and air hindered, and the requirements, made in the public interest, as to the

good appearance of the streets, are infringed upon. It is therefore necessary, in the interests of the public welfare, to transform agricultural lands, available for town-extension into regulated town building plots, reshaping and dividing them according to a system of redistribution, which would be, if required, compulsory."

A Prussian law passed in 1902 provided for the redistribution of Frankfort plots of land in the interest of public welfare. Operations may be set in motion by the local authorities or by landowners, provided they own more than half the area to be redistributed. Economic loss is to be borne by the municipality.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that Germany has entered upon a bold and constructive policy in the field of housing. There can be no doubt that reform is needed in that country. In 1895 it was said that Berlin lived almost entirely in tenements, 367,000 households then inhabiting 21,600 buildings, an average of 17 families or 75 persons per building. # Fewer than 600 families had private houses separate from business. One half the inhabitants lived in buildings

# Albert Shaw. Municipal Government in Great Britain,  
p. 356.

housing not less than 100 people. In 1885, 120,000 Berliners lived in cellar or basement rooms; in 1890 practically the same conditions prevailed. It is evident that the radical measures now being pursued by the German cities are in response to a serious need similar to a need felt in the large cities of almost every country in the world. The uniqueness of the German situation is found, not in the aspects of the housing problem itself, but in the boldness and effectiveness of the reform policies themselves, policies which place the Germans at the top of the scale in this sort of municipal enterprise.

Housing Reform \*  
in America. \*

\* \* \* \* \*

When one turns from the study of

Housing Reform in so advanced and

vigorous a country as Germany, to the

comparative primitive activities of American cities, he

is inclined to be discouraged with the, thus far, in-

adequate results of American democracy in this line.

New York City, for several reasons, is the most con-

spicuous among the American cities which have attempted

to reform the housing of their population. The New

York activities date back as far as 1834, and offer in the course of their development many a lesson in the fatal character of delay in so vital a question.

The first legislative committee to investigate housing conditions in New York City and to recommend legislation pertinent thereto, was appointed in 1853. This committee spent only seven days in investigation, but those seven days furnished material for a most lurid description of slum conditions. The committee emphasized the fact that their description was no "fancy sketch, no picture of the imagination." "It is," they said, "stern reality, enacted every day amid luxury and wealth, the natural and fearful results of the rapacity of the landlord in every crowded city, unrestrained by conscience and wholly unchecked by legislation." #

From this testimony, and the description of tenement conditions recorded at the time, together with the statistics then compiled regarding overcrowding, congestion, unsanitary evils, and immorality, Lawrence Veiller draws the following conclusions: "These words written forty years ago sum up the causes of all our bad con-

# De Forrest and Veiller. The Tenement House Problem,

ditions in the city of New York today. The overcrowding, the poverty, the disease, the crime and vice, met with in New York in 1900, products of our tenement house system have not come to us because of the narrow shape of Manhattan Island or of the lack of rapid transit, as has been claimed by superficial students of the subject for many years, but because of the primary neglect of the habitations of the poor of this city at a period when they could have been cared for in time." #

The first drastic and availing action to be taken in New York did not arrive until after the housing reform agitation by the Charity Organization Society, which came to a climax in the Tenement House Exhibition of 1900. As a result of this movement the New York Tenement House Commission of 1900 was appointed, its report adopted outright by the legislature, and the incorporation into the new city charter of a law creating a new Tenement House Department for the City of New York and a Tenement House Law, regulating the construction and maintenance of tenement houses, became a fact.

The evils which this new code was to correct were

# Ibid.

in general, insufficiency of light and air, due to narrow courts and air shafts, undue height, and the occupancy of the building or adjacent buildings of too great a proportion of the lot area; danger from fire; lack of separate water closets and washing facilities; overcrowding; foul cellars and other like evils, which are classed as bad housekeeping. #

New York \*           The distinct provisions of this law  
Code.       \*  
\* \* \* \* \* \*       \* it is not necessary to discuss here.

More progressive legislation enacted since in Chicago, Columbus, Duluth, Minneapolis, and other cities, will be taken up in subsequent chapters in relation to the concrete problems of Minneapolis. In general it may be said that the New York legislation came at least fifty years late and promises to remain permanently at least fifty years behind truly progressive housing codes.

Retarding \*           It has had a tendency to influence  
Influence. \*  
\* \* \* \* \* \*       \* other American cities toward undue con-  
servatism in housing enactments. A case  
in point was cited by Chas. A. Ball, housing authority

# De Forrest and Veiller. Tenement House Problem,

in Chicago, in an address before the City Club of that place. Chicago, he pointed out, in framing her code, had taken council from New York, and had limited the demands for toilet facilities to one water closet for every two families, in old structures, unless landlords are minded to install more closets in old buildings than the law demands, Mr. Ball declared that the resulting conditions are such that it is impossible to check the spread of many communicable diseases and the general ill effect of unsanitary toilets. The absurdity of continuing to allow the New York code to remain a standard becomes all the more evident when the further source of this provision is known. When London long ago attempted to rid herself of the old vault system she adopted the standard of one water closet to every two families, which in spite of the evident concession to expediency involved, was to that troubled center of social ills, a move of tremendous complication and difficulty. Since this London revolution a great deal has been learned about plumbing, both in relation to the manufacture of toilet conveniences and their instal-

lation, and in relation to the dangers of toilets used in common, as a means of spreading disease. Notwithstanding this advance the most progressive housing legislation in America today continues the old London regulation in the treatment of structures erected previous to the period of housing enlightenment in the particular city to which the laws apply. Minneapolis has now no regulations upon the subject. When proper ones are proposed they will no doubt have to do battle with the so-called "New York Standard", in this particular case a London standard inherited from a past age.

Necessity for Constructive \*            Even when the best  
 Legislation.                    \*  
    \*    of housing codes is  
 \* \* \* \* \*                           \*  
    \*    passed, but a feeble be-  
 ginning is made toward an adequate legislative treatment  
 of the housing problem, admitting never so eagerly, that  
 legislation cannot work out a full solution of its  
 complexities. This must be very evident when the full  
 scope of European legislation upon the subject is  
 brought to mind.



brought to mind.

Classes of European	*	Such legislation may be
Legislation.	*	
	*	roughly grouped under about
* * * * *	*	five heads, only the first two

of which find any considerable degree of reflection in the United States.

1. Health codes, calculated to provide for the observance of simple health precautions, such as the prevention of seriously unsanitary conditions in dwellings and densely populated areas.
2. Housing codes, regulating the architectural phases of the housing in relation to sanitation and protection against fire, and other dangers resulting from faulty construction, as well as matters such as room overcrowding and ground congestion.
3. Enactments which propose the reorganization of building development in such districts as afford conditions inimicable to public welfare. Example, the Cross' and Torrens' Acts of England.
4. More aggressive legislation inaugurating

policies of strict governmental supervision over the use of land, such as the Prussian Master Act of 1875 and the English Town Planning Act of 1909, and, retroactively, the Prussian Act of 1902 relating to the redistribution of city lands.

5. Constructive economic policies providing for the co-operation of the state with private interests in the encouragement of good housing, such as the French Act of 1896 making available loans to building societies, the Prussian Landwohnungs Inspection Bureau, or, much more significantly the Bodin Politik and Steuer Politik of Germany.

Meagre Nature of  
American Legislation.

\* \* \* \* \*

The latter classes of constructive legislation are practically unknown in Ameri-

can cities, although it is in them that the older countries have learned to put their trust. American legislation is, so far, of a purely negative type. It is aimed to prevent certain typical housing evils which are general enough to admit of conventionalized regu-

lation. Even in this class of restrictions the United States is behind. The Zone System of refinements upon the crudeness of a city wide uniformity of regulation is still unknown in this country. A Zone Plan is now proposed for Chicago, but it may be years in passing into law. On the whole American legislation lags.

Meagre Extent of \* As is no doubt evident it  
American Private \*  
Activity. \* has been the purpose of this  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* introductory chapter to keep the

emphasis upon a discussion of the legislative approach to our subject, but since other sides of the question have been at least briefly touched upon it becomes necessary to gather those considerations into some what of a conclusion. That conclusion is parallel to the one covering the legislative aspects of the case.

American private housing reform action also lags. This is easily evident from the fact that the two most significant of the privately administered housing movements in England, namely co-operative housing, and Garden City planning, are practically unknown in America. It will be well to halt a moment to discuss the latter

of these, the former having already received brief mention. #

Garden City \*           The first Garden City was founded  
Principles. \*  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       at Lechworth, thirty-four miles  
                                  north of London in 1903. It is  
managed by a limited stock company, dividends being  
restricted to five per cent. The land is leased for  
99 or 999 years. The population has reached seven  
thousand and in Lechworth today there are thirty in-  
dustries.

The pioneer in this movement which finds expres-  
sion in Lechworth, is Mr. Ebenezer Howard. . Mr. Ray-  
mond Ulwin, now secretary of the Garden Cities and  
Town Planning Association of England gives this expo-  
sition of Howard's fundamental principles. "Mr. Howard's  
suggestions included the proper planning and ~~limiting~~ of  
a town, so as to keep it always within reasonable touch  
of open country; this may be called the larger aspect of  
the question; but they also included the proper arrange-  
ments of the individual buildings and the limitation of  
the amount of building in relation to the area of open

#See pp. 37 above.

space, and this may be called the detailed aspect of the question." #

This larger aspect which Mr. Howard developed is to be realized in Lechworth by limiting the growth of the city to 35,000 and securing around its borders a strip of agricultural land to be kept perpetually un-built upon. The detailed aspect of the case is to be realized through two sorts of limiting standards relating to the covering of building sites. The first is that not more than one-sixth of any site shall be built upon. The second is that in proportion to their cost, buildings are limited in number upon any site. There shall be of dwellings costing,

less than \$1000	not more than 12	per acre,	of buildings costing
from \$1000 to \$1750	" " "	10 " " , " " "	" " "
" \$1750 to \$2500	" " "	6 " " , " " "	" " "
" \$2500 & over	" " "	4 " " , " " "	" " "

The two most noticeable peculiarities of a Garden City are its well planned and systematically developed nature, with public buildings centrally located, and the practice of grouping dwellings around open spaces which

# Raymond Unwin, F. R. I. B. A. Nothing gained by

Overcrowding. Page 1.

are to provide an abundance of natural sanitation and beauty. This latter characteristic is defended by Mr. Ulwin in these words,

Defence of \* "The overcrowding of buildings upon  
 \* \* \* \* \* the land has been so generally practiced,  
 and is so generally assumed to be necessary, that one  
 cannot hope to advance far without first considering  
 carefully whether there is any economic difficulty  
 standing in the way of limiting the number of houses or  
 other buildings to be erected upon a given area of land,  
 and, if so, what that difficulty is." "To most people,  
 whether they are interested in the land as owners or  
 builders, or are disinterested inquirers, it seems at  
 first sight so obvious that the more houses you put  
 upon each acre of land the more economical is the use  
 made of the land, and the less each person will have to  
 pay for it, that few have really troubled to test the  
 matter. It has generally been assumed that though  
 it may be necessary, to some extent, to put a limit to  
 the number of houses that may be crowded upon an acre,  
 that this limit should be made as high as possible,

and that any limitation must necessarily be a serious tax to the community.

"It can, however, be shown that this view is very far from correct; that on the contrary the greater number of houses crowded upon the land, the higher the rate which each occupier must pay for every yard of it which his plot contains, the smaller will be the total return to the owners of land in increment value, and, indeed, the less will be the real economy in the use of the land."

The argument used by Mr. Ulwin in attempting to prove his point is based largely upon the economy of the garden city plan in its treatment of roads and other open spaces. The common method of city laying out, namely the rectangular block method with wide streets and, often, alleys between, contrasts with the garden city type in its excess of paved open space, that is, unpaved road bed. The idea advanced is that in residence districts such an abundance of paved road is largely unnecessary on the one hand, and highly extravagant on the other, constituting as it does, at once an expensive

means of securing open spaces, and a ~~smaller~~ waste of good lawn and yard. Mr. Ulwin is free to admit that where the cost of land is comparatively high and the cost of improving the land is comparatively low, the gain from the garden city type of laying out is not so striking, but in outlying suburbs, when these conditions are reversed and the cost of improving the streets is high in proportion to the cost of the land, the gain is considerable.

The health advantages of garden cities are made evident in the following table.

Death rate per 1000 persons.	Lech- worth.	Brigh- ton.	Lon- don	Birming- ham.	Man- chester.	Liver- pool.	Middle- borough.	Max. differ
Adults.	4.5	15.3	14.	15.4	17.9	19.	19.1	14.
Infants.	54.5	96.	107.9	134.3	134	143.6	157.8	103. #

Note. Needless to say, the garden city movement is not without its critics, especially to our interest, in the matter of its applicability to American conditions. A discussion of the financial difficulties involved will be found in the published report of the Second

# From the Housing Exhibit at the City Club, Chicago.

March-April, 1913.



National Conference on Housing held in Philadelphia in December 1912. Mr. Grosvenor Alterbury finds difficulty in the increased cost of transportation to and from work involved in living in a removed garden suburb, and in the increased cost of building construction involved in the comparatively separate garden city type over the multiple tenement. Mr. Ulwin has, of course, partially forestalled such criticism in calling attention to the fact that suburbs develop concentric circles the areas of which increase, not in proportion to their distance from the center, but in proportion to the square of that distance.

From the other charge, in spite of his declaration of economic advantage, Mr. Ulwin has not entirely cleared his plan. His tables # must admit that a higher ground rent is necessary in the garden city, and in spite of the evident truth that one gains in value all out of proportion to the increased cost, this is nevertheless a serious draw back. The very poor must buy coal by the bucket, and housing by the square yard; they have not sufficient money to bargain advantageously.

# Table showing Comparison of the Economics of the old method and the garden city method of housing, (next page).

	Scheme I. (old system)	Scheme II. (garden city)	Scheme III. (garden city)
No. Houses.	340	152	152.
Av. Size of Plot.	83½ sq.yds.	261½ sq.yds.	261½ sq.yds.
Cost of Roads.	L 9,747-10-0	L 4,480-10-0	L 4,480-10-0
Cost of Land.	L 5,000	L 5,000	L 2,500
Total cost of Land and Roads for House.	L 43-7-6	L 62-7-5	L 45-18-6
Equivalent Ground Rent for week.	8d	11¼ d	8½ d
Price of Plot per Sq. Yd.	10/4½	4/9¼	3/6

#

Ground rent figured on a 4% basis.

# Raymond Ulwin, Nothing Gained by Overcrowding.

Conclusions.       \*           Whatever the practical difficulties  
                       \*           in adapting these Garden City principles  
 \* \* \* \* \*         \*           to American conditions, the truth  
                       \*           remains that the evils they are calculated to correct  
                       \*           are present with us.   It is high time that we awake  
                       \*           to the possibilities of both the public and private  
                       \*           approaches to this vexed question, in the former being  
                       \*           guided largely by Germany and in the latter receiving  
                       \*           inspiration, in great measure from England.

## THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN MINNEAPOLIS.

### INTRODUCTION.

The belief, quite general among Minneapolis people, that their city has no housing problem is, even while largely excusable in the light of the facts, an example of dangerous civic optimism. In no two cities is the housing problem the same, so that the fact that Minneapolis does not have the high tenements of New York, the densely populated areas of Chicago, the narrow streets of Philadelphia, or the rear<sup>\*</sup> alleys of Washington, D. C., does not mean that there is no bad housing in the city now, or the promise of bad housing in the future. The truth is that Minneapolis has her own peculiar housing problem, a complex problem, and one which is all the more worthy of deep public concern for the reason that by taking thought now, Minneapolis can go a long way both toward rectifying the mistakes of the past and toward guiding the future development into wholesome and

*\*blind*

beautiful results.

Nature of the \*            As this problem has become clear af-  
 Problem                    \*  
                              \*    ter seven months of study it seems at  
 \* \* \* \* \*                    \*  
 least a four fold one.

1. It's the problem of the character of tene-  
 ment construction, embracing at once the bad examples of  
 tenements which have been built in the past and which  
 are now pretty generally scattered over the city, and  
 the types of tenements which are being erected in in-  
 creasing numbers today.

2. It's the problem of the small house, chief-  
 ly with respect to general condition, toilets and water  
 supply, in other words,,upkeep conveniences, and san-  
 itation.

3. It is the problem of the growing tendency  
 toward tenement construction in general, whether this  
 construction be of technically good or bad character, a  
 social and economic question that is concerned with a  
 increasing demand for flats, apartments, in brief, ten-  
 ements.

4. It is the problem of the development of



covered as a whole, and taken as a true indication of the character of the worst the city has to offer. In other words, in this city bad housing is not a matter of blocks, but a matter of types of tenements and types of single houses, and not a matter of locality except in a surprisingly general way.

It became necessary therefore, to select examples of bad housing throughout the city whenever they should be found, and to make the study thus more extensive than has been the case in many similar investigations in other cities. One important limitation was observed in centering the attention upon the conditions surrounding the average, normal, working man's family. The worst housing conditions of the city are to be found, doubtless, in the cheap hotels and the strongholds of the "light housekeeping" population, but cheap hotels do not harbor families, and light housekeeping apartments do not harbor normal ones. Some analysis of this latter type is incorporated in the study, but light housekeeping examples are not included among the three hundred fifty-two families of the general tables. Correspondingly,

TABLE 1.  
HOUSES BY MATERIAL.\*

DISTRICT	CLASS	WOOD	BRICK VENEER	BRICK+STONE	TOTALS
I.	No. of TENEMENTS		2	18	20
	PER CENT		.10	.90	1.00
I.	No. of DWELLINGS	14			14
	PER CENT	1.00			1.00
II.	No. of TENEMENTS	1	1	9	11
	PER CENT.	.10	.10	.80	1.00
II.	No. of DWELLINGS	51			51
	PER CENT	1.00			1.00
<hr/>					
TOTAL TENEMENTS		1	3	27	31
	PER CENT	.03	.09	.88	1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS		65			65
	PER CENT	1.00			1.00
GRAND TOTAL		66	3	27	96
	PER CENT	.69	.03	.28	1.00

\* IN THIS, AND ALL TABLES FOLLOWING, TENEMENT ROWS, PRACTICALLY UNIFORM IN CONSTRUCTION, ARE CONSIDERED ONE BUILDING.



only such apartments as contained two or more relatives were considered apartments for the purposes of this study so far as the tables which analyze conditions "by apartments" are concerned. When the building is referred to, intention, and plan, are consulted in determining the number of apartments, but from the point of view of the population, an apartment must house two or more relatives, and must not be sub-let.

\*  
Types of \* The investigation included, first of all  
Buildings \*  
\* an exhaustive study of thirty-one tenement  
\* \* \* \* \*  
houses, and tenement rows. These buildings fall naturally into about four classes.

1. Twenty-five of them are flats or tenements over stores. (See table 1.)

2. Two are tenement rows, that is rows of houses two or more stories in height, and containing one, two, or more apartments each, and having a common wall separating adjacent houses. \*

3. Three of the examples are tenements, without stores in the first story, and conforming to the Minneapolis' definition with but one minor exception

\* It is evident that such buildings do not always conform to a strict interpretation of the definition of a tenement found in the Minneapolis building ordinances, since such buildings do not always contain at least three apartments altogether, or two apartments upon one floor sharing the use of waterclosets and the like. The structures are herein classed as tenements because they present housing evils such as are generally characteristic of tenements.



Eskman Flats on the island, Ave.



Eskman flats from Two  
the rear,

(73)

which is herewith fully explained, not because of its intrinsic importance, but because of the interesting type of building in which it occurs. This exception is to be found in the Eastman flats, a long row of stone-faced brick structure extending from number 1 to 59 Eastman avenue, on the Island. From the front this row has the appearance of being one long tenement. (See illustration one.) From the rear, however, the peculiarity which exempts portions of it from the tenement house class is quite noticeable (See illustration two.)

Between each pair of numbers, that is, for example, between 1-3 and 5-7, a fire wall extends from top to bottom of the structure, thus dividing the long row into sixteen sections, most of which contain eight apartments each, and are plainly tenements, but two of which contain not more than two apartments, thus not being open to tenement classification. For all practical purposes this slight exception is negligible.

4. The remaining example is a wooden building, once a private home, but now, after a manner typical of city metamorphosis, converted into a seven family

tenement.

Beside these groups the investigation covered sixty-five dwelling houses, five of which are open to classification as tenements, because of the number of apartments contained, but which because of their general type of structure have not been so classed, and the remaining sixty-one of which are wooden dwellings containing not more than two apartments each.

Housing \*           The method of study entailed housing  
Cards.   \*  
\* \* \* \* \*   \* cards, examples of which are included in the  
appendix.   There is a lot card, recording the features  
of lot occupation, general sanitation, and maintenance,  
a house card, describing the more general features of the  
house, and an apartment card recording the important  
facts about each apartment. With but one exception, all  
the apartments in any building are described in case any  
of them are an exception. This exception is in the  
treatment of the "Brick Block," found on Washington Ave-  
nue So., between 11th and 12th avenues. The Brick  
Block is a huge group of tenements extending continuously  
around three sides of the area bounded by 2's St. and



Terrace at corner third and Tenth Three  
of the blocks.



Row Houses in North East, Four

56

Washington avenue, and 11th and 12th avenues So. The type of construction on the Washington avenue side differs radically from that found in the other portions, and this side alone was carefully surveyed for purposes of the study. (See illustration three.) On the whole the method is calculated to give a fair and unexaggerated record of all the buildings investigated.

Two Districts.\* In making up the tables the examples  
\* \* \* \* \* are recorded as situated in one or the other of two districts. This is due to the fact that the buildings in district one were examined by the writer, while those in district two, were examined by a trained investigator from Unity House Settlement.

The latter district is in general, North Minneapolis; the former is in general, all other sections of the city. The addresses of all the tenement buildings investigated and incorporated in the tables will be found in the appendix.

Extensivity of Bad\* In attempting to answer the ques-  
Housing.\* tion of how general throughout the  
\* \* \* \* \*

city are the conditions summarized in the tables, it will be well to make a brief survey of Minneapolis housing geography. From one end of Washington avenue to the other, almost, one finds numerous examples of flat and apartment buildings over the stores. Some of these are situated in large brick structures, others in smaller wooden buildings two stories or so in height. Many such upper floors are now used as hotels. Where they are still inhabited as tenements, they may well be represented by the figured in this report. Similar conditions exist along Cedar Avenue in the sixth ward, and along intersecting streets, and also to some extent along 4th avenue south out as far as 22'd street, and again in north east Minneapolis, especially along Marshall avenue. Hennepin and Nicollet avenues and 1st Ave. So. are also dotted with examples of flat construction of this type, and in fact, when one considers that until 1908 there was but slight regulation of tenements in Minneapolis with nothing at all said about lot percentage and nothing said about dark rooms, he realizes that in every portion of the city where flats were built above stores prior to





the whole of the Unity House district in which forty-two of the dwellings were situated. The district designated extends from Hennepin to twentieth avenues north, and from the river to sixth street, and is homogeneous with a large portion of north Minneapolis. The conditions discovered on this side of town are also indicative, although perhaps <sup>not absolutely</sup> ~~in somewhat less degree~~, of conditions in south town, especially between Washington and the river and along Cedar, Minnehaha, and Bloomington avenues, and heighboring portions of the city. In these districts fourteen of the dwellings are located.

A district upon Western Avenue especially in the neighborhood of Wells Memorial House presents serious conditions comparable to anything reported upon, but this district was not incorporated in the study because it is largely given up to the light housekeeping and rooming business. We are, as has been said, concerned first and foremost with the average laboring population. Northeast Minneapolis may simularly be suspected of contributing heavily toward the problem of the dwelling house. There are numerous rows of once uniformly constructed

but now uniformly dilapidated dwellings, groups of which draw water for many families from a single well at some distance from members of the houses. (Illustration four.)

In Brief: To sum up it may be fairly said that not  
\* \* \* \* \* a single district of the city is entirely free from reproach upon some or all of the points of criticism which are to be developed in this report, while many such have cause for considerable concern.

Anti-

## CHAPTER I.

### THE RESULTS OF INADEQUATE HOUSING REGULATION.

Materials \*        Before entering upon a close analysis of  
\* \* \* \* \*        the details of structure and habitation, it  
will be well to obtain a more definite understanding of  
the general character of the buildings covered. Table  
one classifies the structures by materials. In district  
one, two of the tenements are brick vaneer, and eighteen  
are of brick and stone construction. In district two,  
one of the tenements is of wood, the converted building  
referred to above, one is of brick vaneer, and nine are  
of brick and stone. Two of the wood and brick, vaneer  
structures are more than two stories in height, a condi-  
tion which was one of the earliest offences against safe-  
ty to be prohibited in this city. One of these is the  
dwelling house which has recently been converted into a

tenement.

All of the dwelling houses are of wooden frame construction, the prevailing type of dwelling houses for the American laboring man.

Delapidation: Many of the structures, both tene-  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* ments and dwellings, are in a serious  
 state of disrepair. The Eastman flats are settling  
 badly, causing ill swinging doors and cracked walls.  
 They also have floors which cannot properly be main-  
 tained. Several apartments in one line of buildings  
 which opened at the rear upon the roof of the rear of  
 the first story, the only possible yard for the inhab-  
 itants, were deprived of the use of even this space be-  
 cause the roof was too unstable to be walked upon with  
 safety. Miss Waite says in her study, quoted below,  
 that delapidation is the most characteristic feature of  
 dwelling houses in her district. This is not true  
 alone in North Minneapolis. The fact that houses are  
 are not modern, and not kept in good repair is notori-  
 ously characteristic of South-East Minneapolis, where  
 on the whole, excellent housing obtains. If this is

TABLE 2A.-TENEMENTS BY NUMBER OF STORIES AND USE.

DIST.	ONE STORY	TWO STORY	THREE STORY	FOUR STORY	TOTAL
I. No.		3	16	1	20
PER CENT		.15	.80	.05	1.00
II. No.		1	10		11
PER CENT		.09	.91		1.00
TOTAL		4	26	1	31
PER CENT		.13	.84	.03	1.00

TABLE 2B.-TENEMENTS BY USE OF FIRST FLOORS AND BASEMENTS.

DIST.	BASEMENT INHABITED	BASEMENT NOT INHABITED	TOTAL	FIRST STORY, STORES OR OTHER INDUSTRY.	FIRST STORY INHABITED
I. No.	4	16	20	16	4
PER CENT	.20	.80	1.00	.80	.20
II. No.	1	10	11	9	2
PER CENT	.09	.91	1.00	.81	.19

true in South-East, how much more true is it of the humble laboring men's cottages of North-East, North, and South.

Number of \*            In table 2, the tenements are class-  
 Stories.    \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*    \*    ified by the number of stories.    There are  
 twenty-six having three stories, four having two stories,  
 and one having four.    In most of these, as has been said  
 the first story is devoted to stores.    Like Chicago,  
 and unlike New York, Minneapolis has never had a period  
 of high tenement building, and now that the apartment  
 house craze is fairly on, the requirement that all ten-  
 ements more than three stories in height must be fire-  
 proof, discourages to a great extent, the higher types.  
 Minneapolis does not now suffer, and may never suffer  
 from excessive height in tenement construction.

Number of \*            Table 3, classifies the structures by  
 Apartments. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*    \*    number of apartments.    More have seven  
 apartments than any other number, being followed by those  
 having eight.    If the Eastman flats were listed as sep-  
 arate buildings they would swell this latter division  
 greatly, as most of them contain eight apartments.

TABLE 3. - HOUSES BY NUMBER OF APARTMENTS CONTAINED.

DIST. + CLASS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	19+	TOTAL	
I. TENEMENTS			1	1	1	2	3	4	1			1		1	1				1		3	20
PER CENT			.05	.05	.05	.10	.15	.20	.05			.05		.05	.05				.05		.15	1.00
DWELLINGS	8	3	2	1																		14
PER CENT	.57	.21	.14	.07																		1.00
II. TENEMENTS					1		4	1	3						1				1			11
PER CENT					.09		.36	.09	.27						.09				.09			1.00
DWELLINGS	42	6	3																			51
PER CENT	.83	.12	.05																			1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS			1	1	2	2	7	5	4			1		1	2				2		3	31
PER CENT			.03	.03	.06	.06	.22	.15	.12			.03		.03	.06				.06		.15	1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS	50	9	5	1																		65
PER CENT	.77	.14	.08	.01																		1.00
GRAND TOTAL	50	9	6	2	2	2	7	5	4			1		1	2				2		3	96
PER CENT	.52	.10	.06	.02	.02	.02	.08	.05	.04			.01		.01	.02				.02		.03	1.00

However, as noted above, the Eastman flats are classified as one building, and thus contains a great many more than twenty apartments. Beside the Eastman flats only two other buildings of the group contain more than twenty apartments. One of these has twenty-eight apartments, and stores in the first story. The other has thirty apartments, with stores in the first story, and is connected with a series of flats which occupy the greater portion of three sides of the block. (Illustration three.) The dwellings are wooden structures containing with few exceptions, not more than two apartments.

Percentage of Lot \*      The question of how great a  
 Built Upon.            \*  
                              \* proportion of the lot may properly  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 be covered by a tenement and out buildings, touches the housing problem at one of its most vital points. It is evident that in the group of tenements reported upon the average is high. (See table 4.) Sixty-nine percent of the lots are covered to exceed sixty-four percent of their arear. Thirty-five percent are covered more than eighty percent, and thirteen percent are entirely covered. Lest one think that these percentages could find little



TABLE 4. - LOTS BY PERCENTAGES OCCUPIED  
BY TENEMENT BUILDINGS.

DIST.	UNDER 50%	50 TO 59%	60 TO 64%	65 TO 69%	70 TO 79%	80 TO 89%	90 TO 99%	100%	TOTAL
I.	0	3	3	2	5		3	3	20
PER CENT	.05	.15	.15	.10	.25		.15	.15	1.00
II.	1		2		3	3	1	1	11
PER CENT	.09		.18		.27	.27	.09	.09	.99
TOTAL	2	3	5	2	8	3	4	4	31
PER CENT	.06	.09	.16	.06	.27	.09	.13	.13	1.00

reflection throughout the city generally, let him remember that prior to 1908 there was no limitation upon the proportion of the lot to be covered by apartments and tenements. One can find example after example of buildings upon corner lots which approach one hundred percent of the area, and buildings upon interior lots which exceed seventy-five percent. When the ordinance was passed in 1908, it was a reproduction, in this respect, of the Chicago law, and thus represents a standard set by the second largest city in America, a city which is so densely populated in some districts, that were that density to be continued throughout the city area all of the population of the western hemisphere could be housed within the city limits. The results is that Minneapolis allows a higher percentage of interior lots to be covered than does New York City.

The following suggest comparison,

	Corner Lots	Interior Lots
New York City	.90	.70
Chicago	.85	.75
Minneapolis	.85	.75
Columbus	.75	.50
Duluth	.75	.60

Chicago is realizing that the percentage now customary there is too high. Chas. B. Ball, Chief Sanitary Inspector, speaking before the City Club, Wed. Mar. 19, 1913, proposed a zone system of lot percentages to supercede the present Chicago regulations. He favored preserving the present regulations only upon a portion of the waterfront and in the center of town, which were to constitute zone I. In Zone II, which was to comprise territory between Zone I and the outskirts of the city, the percentages were to be decreased to sixty-five and eighty, while in the newer sections, Zone III, percentages of fifty and seventy were to obtain. Whether or not Mr. Ball's proposal is sound in detail is not a vital question for us. Adversely the point seems well taken that if seventy-five percent of an interior lot is ever too great it is too great precisely where Chicago would, under the proposed system permit it, namely in the already congested down town district. The policy suggests a concession to expediency. If this be true, all the more necessity is laid upon a city not yet obliged by great economic pressure to make concessions to ex-

pidiency, to approach in practice what is evidently Mr. Ball's ideal, namely the seventy-five and fifty percent regulations. If it be considered excusable upon the part of Minneapolis to have copied Chicago's regulations in the days of public indifference to the housing problem, it will not be too much to ask that Minneapolis be concerned as Chicago is becoming concerned, over the possibilities of these regulations, now that the light has so generally dawned upon the housing situation.

Beside the bold percentages applicable to lots as given, Minneapolis allows the first story to entirely cover the lot, provided that the required space be unoccupied above the first story. Also, under two conditions may tenements cover ninety percent of the lot above the first story, and when there are streets on two or more sides of the lot and the street frontage exceeds by one-twentieth the number of square feet in the area of the lot, one hundred percent of the lot may be covered without let, hindrance, or qualification. It is evident that these are extreme percentages. They



ing clothes in a one room flat  
light house keeping apartment.



Absolutely no yard.

Six.



absolutely unwarranted upon the ground of hygiene, sanitation, or economic necessity.

Stables on Tenement \*            Finally, Minneapolis has no  
 Lots.                            \*  
                                      \* housing regulation governing the  
 \* \* \* \* \*                       \*  
 housing of animals upon tenement areas. Illustration  
 seven shows a delapidated stable on the rear of Eastman  
 Flat property. It is occupied by five horses and  
 constitutes a reeking nuisance. Illustration no. eight  
 is of a group of stables on the rear of the tenement at  
 Marshall Ave., and 5th St. N. E. They house horses  
 varying in number from three or four and upward, and a  
 large number of chickens beside. Columbus and Duluth  
 have prohibited such occupation of tenement areas with-  
 in fifteen feet of the house. (This also applies to  
 dwellings). From observations in Minneapolis it seems  
 desirable to prohibit such occupancy of tenement lots  
 at even a greater distance, especially as stables are  
 now so generally ill maintained.

Two Causes of \*            In considering the above facts  
 Congestion.       \*  
                              \* relating to lot occupation it must be  
 \* \* \* \* \*                       \*  
 borne in mind there are just two causes of congested



View - Stables on Tenement lots.



Right - Stables and chicken houses  
on Tenement lot.



population in cities, namely lot over crowding, and room overcrowding. To anyone acquainted with the broad areas of Minneapolis, the very idea of over crowding seems foreign. Fortunately room over crowding, except in the case of light housekeeping families, is still comparatively rare. It is perfectly evident, on the other hand, that the foundations for extensive lot overcrowding are being securely and rapidly laid. There are today many apartment houses and tenements cutt off from proper light and ventilation because of insufficient open spaces. There are many more which, when three and four story buildings spring up around them, will be deprived of light, air, and space, necessities that have thus far been afforded them because of the adjoining unoccupied land. And this is not all.

The Future. \* Last year there were constructed under  
 \* \* \* \* \* the present inadaquate regulations, 1,202  
 tenement apartments, calculated to accommodate 5,409  
 persons. Presuming the life of these buildings to be at  
 least fifty years, we realize the possibility of affect-  
 ing 270,450 people for one year of their lives, by the

tenements constructed in 1912. On the basis of thirty-five years to a lifetime we have the possibility of submitting a city of 7,727 people all of their lives to the ill effects of our present too great lot occupation through the building activity of one year alone.

Inhabitant \*            The ordinance of 1908 forbids the  
 Basements. \*            building or fitting up in apartments or  
 \* \* \* \* \*                tenement houses of livingrooms or sleeping rooms, the  
 floors of which are more than two feet below the grade  
 of the lot upon which the building stands except for the  
 use of the janitor, in which case the rooms must meet  
 requirements of ventilation and dryness. So far as is  
 known this law has been uniformly enforced in the new  
 buildings, but one case of violation in old buildings  
 recently found, leads to the suspicion that more could  
 be discovered. In one of the tenements included in this  
 study a basement apartment was fitted up during the  
 winter of 1912. The apartment contains five rooms, entry  
 hall, clothes closet and toilet. Three of the rooms are  
 toward the front of the building and receive light from



Nine - Children - and dark rooms  
Basements,



Ten - dark rooms basement tenements,

(78)

five windows of fair size. (Illustration nine). The remaining two rooms and the toilet are situated in the rear and are dark. The toilet ventilates into a store room or still unfinished portion of the basement. The dark rear bed rooms have no ventilation except into the rooms in front. There is no dampproofing in the floor and walls. The soft wood floor has already buckled because of the damp.

The apartment is not inhabited by a janitor, but by two Polish laborers and their families. Because of the dark unventilated rooms, the dampness of floor and walls, and the crowded occupation, it is dangerous to health. It represents several violations of law. It serves also to illustrate some of the evils of basement apartments in general.

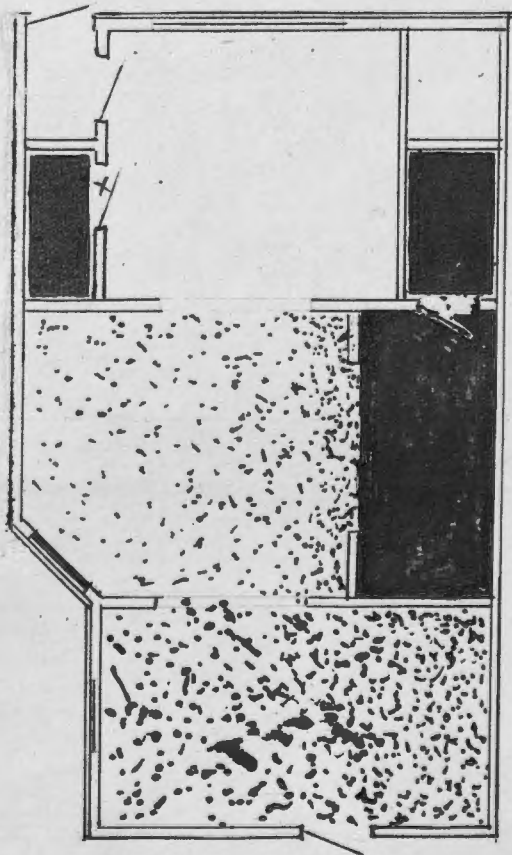
Prevalence. \* From the general room analysis, table  
\* \* \* \* \* 5, it will be seen that one hundred thirty-  
six rooms, or nine percent of the tenement rooms recorded  
are basement rooms. Of the three hundred fifty-two  
apartments included in the tables, twenty-two, or nine  
percent of the tenement apartments, are in the basement,

TABLE 5. — GENERAL ROOM ANALYSIS BY DWELLINGS AND TENEMENTS.

	LIGHT	DARK	TOTAL	VENTILATION		EXTERNAL WINDOWS			INTERIOR WINDOWS ONLY	NO WINDOW SKYLIGHT ONLY	TOTAL	UPPER FLOORS	BASEMENT	
				POSSIBLE	IMP.	1	2	3						
TENEMENTS	1055	463	1518	1012	506	595	445	94	238	122	24	1518	1382	136
PER CENT	.70	.30	1.00	.67	.33	.40	.29	.06	.15	.08	.02	1.00	.91	.09
DWELLINGS	364	12	376	271	105	191	160	20	2	3		376	376	
PER CENT	.97	.03	1.00	.72	.38	.50	.42	.05	.01	.02		1.00	1.00	
TOTAL	1419	475	1894	1283	611	786	605	114	240	125	24	1894	1758	136
PER CENT	.75	.25	1.00	.68	.32	.42	.33	.06	.12	.06	.01	1.00	.92	.08

This does not give an adequate idea of the seriousness of the situation because twenty-one basement apartments in the Eastman Flats, and four in another tenement row are not included in the number, due to the fact that they were never let to light housekeeping families, or let out to single roomers, or otherwise used in conjunction with an upper apartment. The fact is that the inhabiting of basements in this city is an inexcusably prevalent practice.

Liability to • Plate I shows a plan representative  
 Darkness. •  
 • of six basement apartments in a row of  
 • • • • • • • •  
 flats on 5th street south near Cedar Avenue. It illustrates what is almost sure to be a fact, namely that basement apartments are dark. One bed room is entirely deprived of light; the kitchen and dining room are only dimly lighted by one window each, these opening upon a narrow rear court. There are also two dark closets, the one marked by a cross, serving to illustrate a principle which must always be borne in mind in the study of housing, <sup>namely that bad housing</sup> is, in general, occupied by just those people who can emphasize the unwholesome features to the highest



I.



*Eleven - Mark rooms basements,*



*Twelve - Many basement apartments,*

(8)



possible degree. Thus this closet, three feet by seven in area, was being occupied by a laboring man as a sleeping room. Upon his closing the door, as sometimes he did "when there was company in the other room," he was effectually deprived of light and air. This tenement is the farther one in illustration ten. Both buildings contain bad basement apartments.

A side view of a tenement at 19-27, 12th street south shows windows opening into the basement apartments at the end. (Illustration 11.) This particular end apartment has but one dark room. Interior to it are four other basement apartments having three dark rooms each. In this basement, none of the toilets are ventilated. Since the building of the garage along the rear lot line as shown some of the rear rooms of the basement are damp, due to the fact that the seepage of surface water has been cut by the deep concrete wall, from going in the opposite direction.

Other Difficulties. \* Six apartments at 18-20, and  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* 34-42, 11th St. So. are in the  
 basement. (Illustration twelve). Only one toilet

is ventilated, and that insufficiently. The tenants complain that the wall paper does not remain for any length of time upon the walls because of dampness. I could find but one tenant who had remained in the basement during more than one spring. It was her testimony that hard rains often flooded her kitchen floor and sometimes the whole of the apartment. She told of the backing of sewerage up into her bath tub and indicated how the whole building was settling through the action of water.

Damp Cellars. \* Illustration thirteen is a flash-  
\* \* \* \* \* light picture of a dark basement bed  
room in the Eastman flats. The toilet facilities are not decently situated. Not content with such outrages the builders of these unusual tenements located cellars beneath the basements. These are invariably damp, and when, <sup>when</sup> ~~as happens~~ the toilet facilities are in them, are peculiarly ill-smelling. In one, a Scandinavian woman wintered her chickens among piles of debris and filth. In some, ancient open cisterns contribute to the dampness above.



A dark  
bed-room  
and water  
closet  
combined.

Thirteen.



Apartments below the street.

Fourteen (36)

Should be \* It seems only reasonable to suppose  
 Regulated. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* that if it is an offence against good  
 housing practice to allow the construction of basement  
 apartments in new tenements with all the modern pre-  
 cautions to insure ventilation and dryness, it would  
 be only proper to prohibit such places as are here  
 described, from being lived in at all. If such pro-  
 hibition seems too severe, at least there should be such  
 regulations as will insure, so far as possible, the  
 health of the occupants.

Regulation. \* Minneapolis has no regulations appli-  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* cable to basements constructed and  
 arranged prior to 1908, and these, as has been shown,  
 are precisely the ones which most need regulation. New  
 York City has six requirements as conditions of occu-  
 pancy for basement rooms.

1. Such rooms must be at least nine feet high.
2. The ceiling must be at least four feet six inches above the level of the street or surface of the adjoining ground.
3. There must be a closet appertinent to them.

4. The windows must be equal to one eighth of the floor area with sash opening one half.

5.-6. The walls and floor must be damp proof and water proof.

Chicago provides in addition to demands similar to the above, that no basement room" shall be used for living purposes unless such room shall have a window opening upon a street, alley, yard, or court, and provided that when the windows of any living room front solely upon a street and the floor of such basement is four feet eight inches below the sidewalk grade, such windows shall be located not less than three feet back of the lot line.\*\* Columbus and Duluth require a written permit from the health department granted only when certain conditions are fulfilled. It is evident that other cities are in advance of ours in the regulation of basements in buildings erected previous to the age of housing enlightenment.

New Basements. \* Other cities are in advance in the  
\* \* \* \* \* regulation of basements in new tenements. Columbus and Duluth both prohibit the occupancy of such locations for living purposes. Columbus allow-

\* Chicago Revised Building Ordinances 1912, Paragraph 477.

ing them to be used for cooking and laundry purposes, Duluth permitting only the latter. Moreover these cities make their regulations cover all basements, while Minneapolis specifies only basements which are "more than two feet below the grade of the lot upon which the building stands." The wording of this last phrase is significant. Under this provision rooms may be inhabited no matter how far they are below the level of the street, provided they are not more than two feet below the level of the lot. The definition for basements in the Columbus and Duluth codes as well as the one in the Minneapolis code refers to both the level of the lot and the level of the sidewalk. The Minneapolis regulation of inhabiting basements refers only to the "grade of the lot." Illustration fourteen shows a four story concrete apartment house (the further building, the lower floor of which is more than two feet below the level of the sidewalk, and inhabited). From such a moderate instance one can gain no conception of the possibilities for evil of rooms below the level of the ground upon which the building stands.\* Such is precisely the type of basement room which flour-

*See also frontis piece.*



arrangement. This will permit of the other basement apartments being rented out. Again in the case of four flat apartment houses, plans are now being submitted providing for a janitor's flat in the basement. This is obviously superfluous from the point of view of the builder who wishes at any cost of honor to increase the capacity of his structure. He intends to accommodate, not a janitor, but a pay tenant.

Solution. \* It ought to be obvious that the course  
\* \* \* \* \* taken by the newer codes in absolutely prohibiting the occupancy of basements in new buildings is not adopted unadvisedly, and that in such a policy lies the only safe method of dealing with this particular form of the housing problem.

Dark Rooms. \* To anyone not familiar with the in-  
\* \* \* \* \* evitable results of unregulated housing construction, the statement that Minneapolis tenements have within them at the present time, more than a thousand dark rooms, comes with a distinct shock. A glance at the types of buildings in which these dark rooms are



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Dark Rooms behind a  
stone wall.

Fifteen.



A tenement with dark  
rooms and basement  
apartment.

Fifteen.

(92)

situated will be enlightening. Illustration fifteen shows twenty-five and twenty-nine Central avenue. These two buildings contain together twenty-five dark rooms. As will be seen, the side wall is on the lot line and contains no windows. Illustration number sixteen shows the flat at the corner of Marshall avenue and seventh street N. E. This building contains ten dark rooms, most of which are alcove bed rooms.

Future dark \*                      Illustration number sixteen and number  
rooms.                                      \*

\*                                      \*                      seventeen give examples of the sort of  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
building which results in dark rooms when the lot ad-  
joining the structure is built up, owing to the fact that  
the windows upon which the apartments depend for light  
and ventilation, are situated in a wall which is built  
upon the lot line. This practice is now prohibited by  
law, but many examples of this offence abound throughout  
the city to the sure future detriment of sanitation and  
health. These are the mistakes of the fathers.

In Dwellings. \*                      Beside tenement dark rooms there are  
\*                                      \*  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \*                      doubtless hundreds of others in foolish-  
ly constructed dwellings throughout the city. Some of



EMIL ANDERSON  
SHOES

APPROPRIATE AUTO CO.



Quaker  
Oats

STRENGTH  
NO WASTE



PACKAGE.  
ROOF

*Seventeen*

*Lot of  
windows  
sure to be  
battered by  
future building  
erections with  
dark rooms  
as a result.*

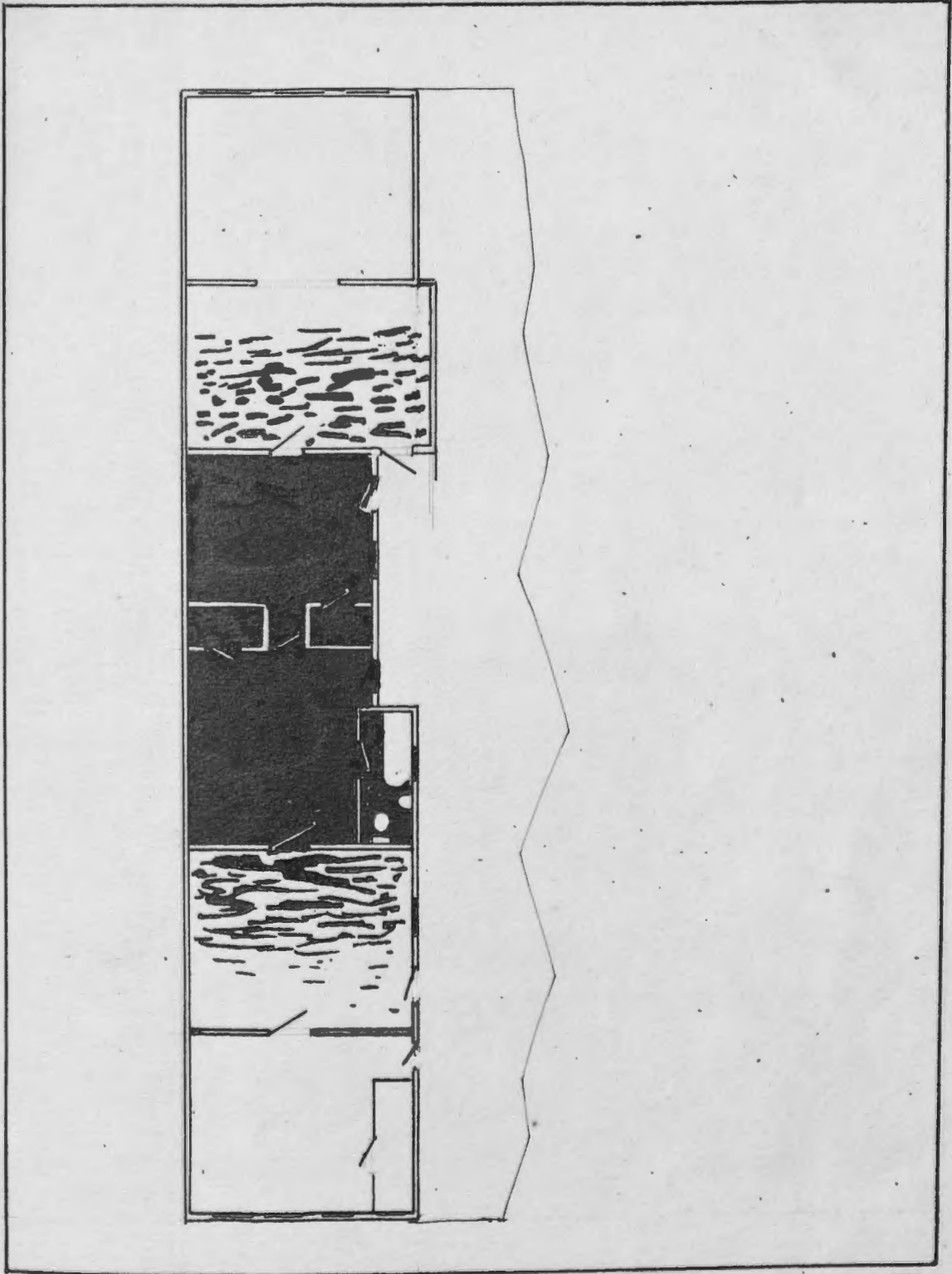
*Eighteen.*

(94)

these are alcove bedrooms, others are situated against walls too near other buildings, others "just happened."

Definition. \*            In this study a dark room is defined  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \*            in accordance with accepted practice as  
a room having no windows to the outside light and air, or  
in case of such windows, a room in at least three-quarters  
of which a newspaper cannot be read at the middle of the  
day.

Prevalance of. \*            From the general room analysis  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \*            (table 5) it is seen that 475 rooms  
out of the 1894 reported upon are dark. This is twenty-  
five percent. Considering the tenements done, 463 rooms  
out of 1518 are dark. This is thirty percent. From  
table number 6, we observe that of the 288 sleeping rooms  
in the tenement apartments of district one, 93 or thirty-  
two percent are dark. Correspondingly, in district two,  
38 out of sleeping rooms are dark, representing twelve  
percent. In the dwellings of district one no sleeping  
rooms are dark, but in the dwellings of district two, three  
percent are.



II

Location of \*            Many of these dark rooms are base-  
 Rooms.            \*  
                          \*            ment rooms as will be recalled by referring  
 \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 again to plate I.    Plate II, is a plan of six room apart-  
 ments over stores.    Light is admitted from the outside  
 only at the front and rear, which means four interior  
 dark rooms in each apartment.    At 2108 - 10 , 4th Ave.  
 So., a similar situation exists except that the toilet,  
 instead of ventilating partly into the hall, as is here  
 true, has no means of ventilation except into the dining  
 room, the original use of the cubby hole in which the  
 convenience is located having been as a sort of linen  
 closet.    At 28 Central avenue, series of two apartments,  
 end to end, containing in each series eight rooms, are  
 lighted only from the front and rear, which means six  
 interior dark rooms in every eight.    Other dark rooms  
 have windows to the outside but these open upon narrow  
 courts which afford insufficient light.    Illustration  
 twenty shows such a court, a lot line court, which pre-  
 sents the idea,

Use.    \*            The prevailing use of dark rooms is for  
          \*  
 \* \* \* \*    sleeping purposes.    The reason for this is

Clark's Bed  
room.



Thirteen.

A cause of dark rooms,  
narrow courts.

(98)

Twenty.



evident, darkness being a more obvious disadvantage in a room used in the daytime, than in one used only at night. Many dark rooms, again, are kitchens. In the dark kitchens of 1901- 4th St. So. the women complained of the cheerless darkness. One woman said she knew her eyesight had been impaired through working constantly by gas light. There are, once more, tenements on South Washington avenue in which rooms are never lit except by gas jets, rooms in which children play with their toys by day and sleep at night. See illustration nineteen for a flashlight of a dark bed room on North Washington.

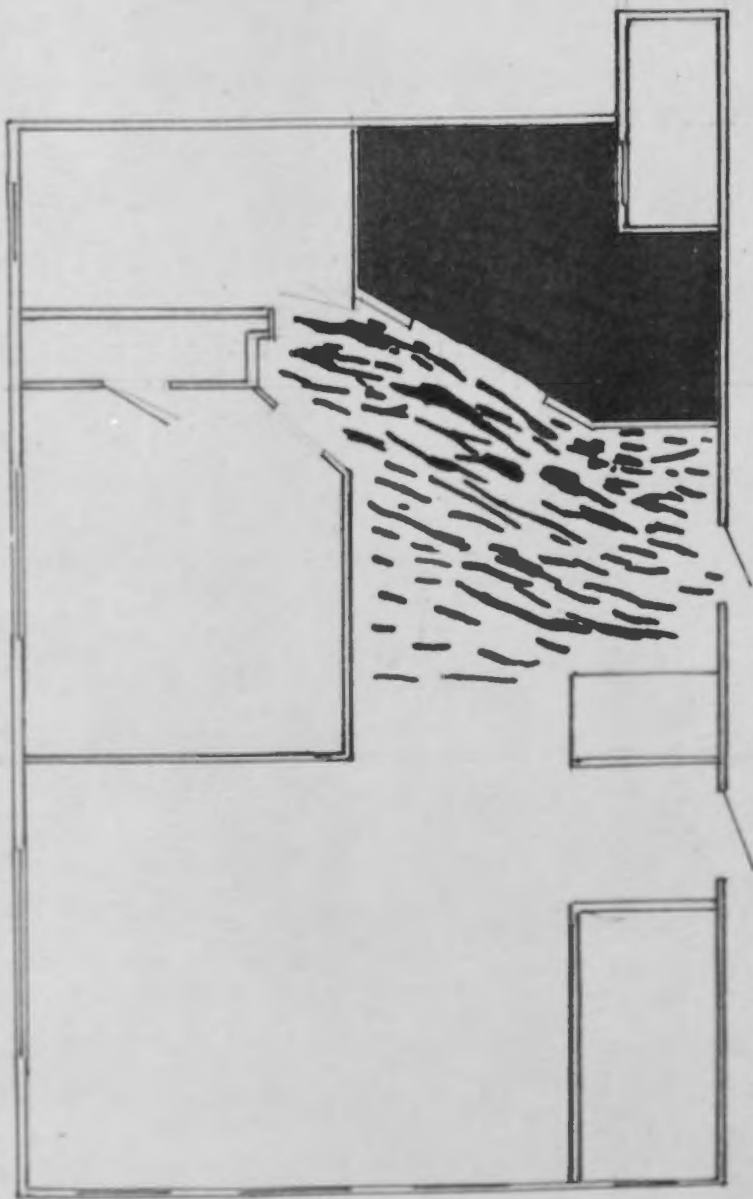
Retroactive \* In the amendment of Apr. 11, there is  
 Amendment. \*  
 \* a retroactive measure calculated to some-  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 what open up dark rooms used, or designed to be used, as sleeping rooms in structures already built. The demand is made for windows in outside walls where such are possible or failing that the installation of a ventshaft at least nine square feet in area. In sleeping rooms already constructed and provided with ventilating skylights, or opening into a lighted room by means of an opening at least thirty feet in area, or situated upon a

ventshaft of the size required, no change need be made. So far as it goes this is a splendid measure. It should be extended to apply to other living rooms, as experience has shown that any living room may be at any time converted into a sleeping apartment.

Dark Rooms in New \*                      So much for the older structures.  
Structures.                      \*

\* \* \* \* \*                      \*                      The great pity is that in spite of  
the provision in the ordinance of 1908 revised, that

"every habitable room shall have a window or windows with a total glass area equal to at least one-tenth of its floor area, and opening onto a street, alley, yard or court " (P 130), the building of tenements with dark rooms has not ceased. Plate III illustrates the point well, This is a close approximation of a floorplan to be found in two new flat buildings at the corner of Forrest and Lyndale avenues south. As will be seen, both kitchen and diningroom have no light from the outside. There is a vent shaft to the kitchen, but this was not constructed of legal size. At the time this apartment was built it was distinctly illegal in at least three particulars. The dining room had no windows opening to the outside,



III

the kitchen had no windows opening to the outside, and the vent shaft was at least three square feet smaller than the ordinance specified for vent shafts. In the two structures built according to this plan there were accordingly in the nineteen apartments contained by both together, thirty eight dark rooms, and eight inadequate and illegal vent shafts. Needless to say no true plan of the building was submitted to the building inspector. It is decidedly an attempt "to put one over," On the other hand the building inspector in looking over a drawing of the actual floor plan incorporated into the building took more exception to the smallness of the vent shaft than to any other feature. Since the erection of this building an amendment to the ordinance has been passed ( amendment of Apr. 11, 1913.) which legalizes the practice of putting all of the windows for two rooms in one of them, when there is provided an open doorway or space between of at least thirty feet area. This is equivalent to a door four feet by seven and one-half. The window space in the lighted room must equal at least one-eighth of the combined floor areas of both rooms.

Good housing practice will, I am sure, discredit this law. Veillers Model Law allows for alcove treatment of rooms, but specifically demands that no alcove be less than ninety feet in area, and each must be lighted and ventilated from the outside as are other rooms.

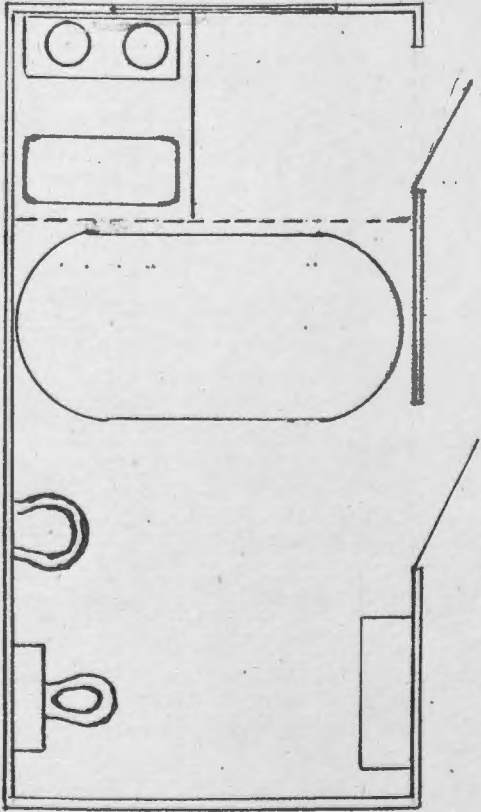
Kitchenette on Vent Shaft. \* The new amendment also provides \* that a kitchenette less than thirty - \* six feet in area may be located on a vent shaft. This means a dark kitchenette. As a matter of fact the kitchens in the flat shown by plate III were, not allowing for the space occupied by the vent shaft and the out off corner, nearly one hundred feet in area. The important consideration is not, of course, this one violation of the law, but the fact that henceforth plans very similar, with an enlarged vent shaft and a smaller kitchen, will not be violations of the law.

Unwholesome Kitchenettes. \* It must be admitted that the advent \* of the kitchenette has introduced a \* \* \* \* \* vexed question. The rage for diminutive looking quarters has resulted in many unwholesome developments, some of which have disgraced what have been considered first class apartments. For instance Hennepin Court Apartments at

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 which have disgraced what have been considered first class  
 apartments. For instance Hennepin Court Apartments at



1915 Hennepin Ave. So. had installed previous to Feb. 28, this year, fourteen kitchenettes of a type located in the bathroom compartment and separated from the bath tub and closet by a dwarf partition which did not reach within one foot nine inches of the ceiling. (Plate IV.) As can be seen the kitchenette was next to the ventilating window and all of the bath room odor must necessarily pass directly through the cooking apartment on its way to the window.

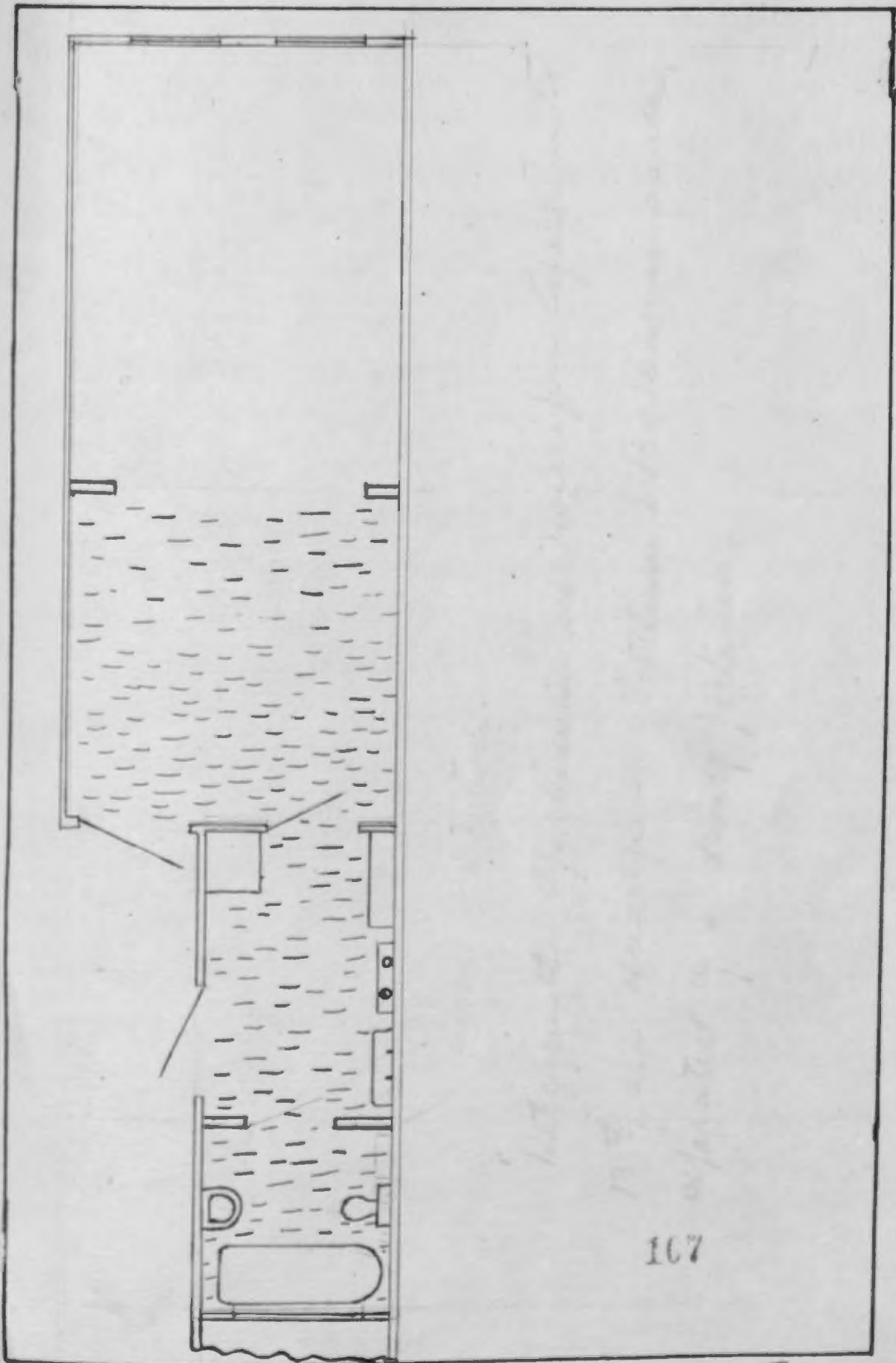
Their Possibilities. \* Even with the best of ten-  
 \* \* \* \* \* ants the arrangement has an  
 unsavory aspect, but one needs a vivid imagination to be  
 able to fully realize the state of such a combination  
 kitchen and bath room were the apartment occupied by the  
 lower class of tenants which will some day surely inhabit  
 all of the tenements which now are so glad to call them-  
 selves select. Centers shift, populations change, and  
 the center of our city is moving out toward the prosperous  
 district which have lately been so active in constructing  
 tenements. The extremes of society are strangely alike;



it is at once highly fashionable and highly otherwise to live in a multiple house. Similarly the most fashionable apartments may have in them the possibilities of the most degrading and unsanitary tenements, when they come to be occupied as they almost inevitably will be, in the course of time and change, by another class of tenants. No one can doubt, for instance, when he views the massive oak finishing in the Eastman flats nearest town that they were once the places to live. They have fallen from grace. So too some day, Hennepin Apartments. These kitchenettes will then become pest holes.

Other Examples. \*            Examples of unsanitary kitchenettes  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* might be almost indefinitely multiplied.

In the Hennepin Apartments at twelve twenty-five and twenty-seven, Hennepin Avenue, a building containing seventeen dark rooms, five unventilated toilets, and a dumb-bell court on the 1st line of which tenants complain because of its filthy condition, there have recently been installed three additional nuisances, kitchenettes in bath rooms. The plan is shown in Plate V. As will be evident the bath room is back of a dark room which



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V

must depend upon a front room for ventilation. The bath room itself has no light and ventilation except from the interior, and now is divided by a dwarf partition in order to accommodate the cooking arrangements. Odors from the toilet can escape but one way, through the kitchen. What a Southern European population could make of this combination is beyond description. Keeping in mind the general principle that tenements must be made proof against the ignorance and carelessness of the lowest class of tenants, it is easily evident that these types of kitchenettes are not only undesirable because of their unconventional location, but are doubly undesirable because of their untold unsanitary possibilities.

The Demand. \*                      Similarly, although to a less extent,  
 \* \* \* \* \* the kitchenette of any type is open to dis-  
 favor. On the other hand there is an increasing demand for small apartments with kitchenettes, a demand in many cases not unreasonable, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter on present tendencies. With which admission we must return to the issue from which we have

some what wandered, the relation of the kitchenette to the dark room.

Kitchenettes Should \* From the facts now in  
be Light and Ventilated. \*

\* mind it is evident that the

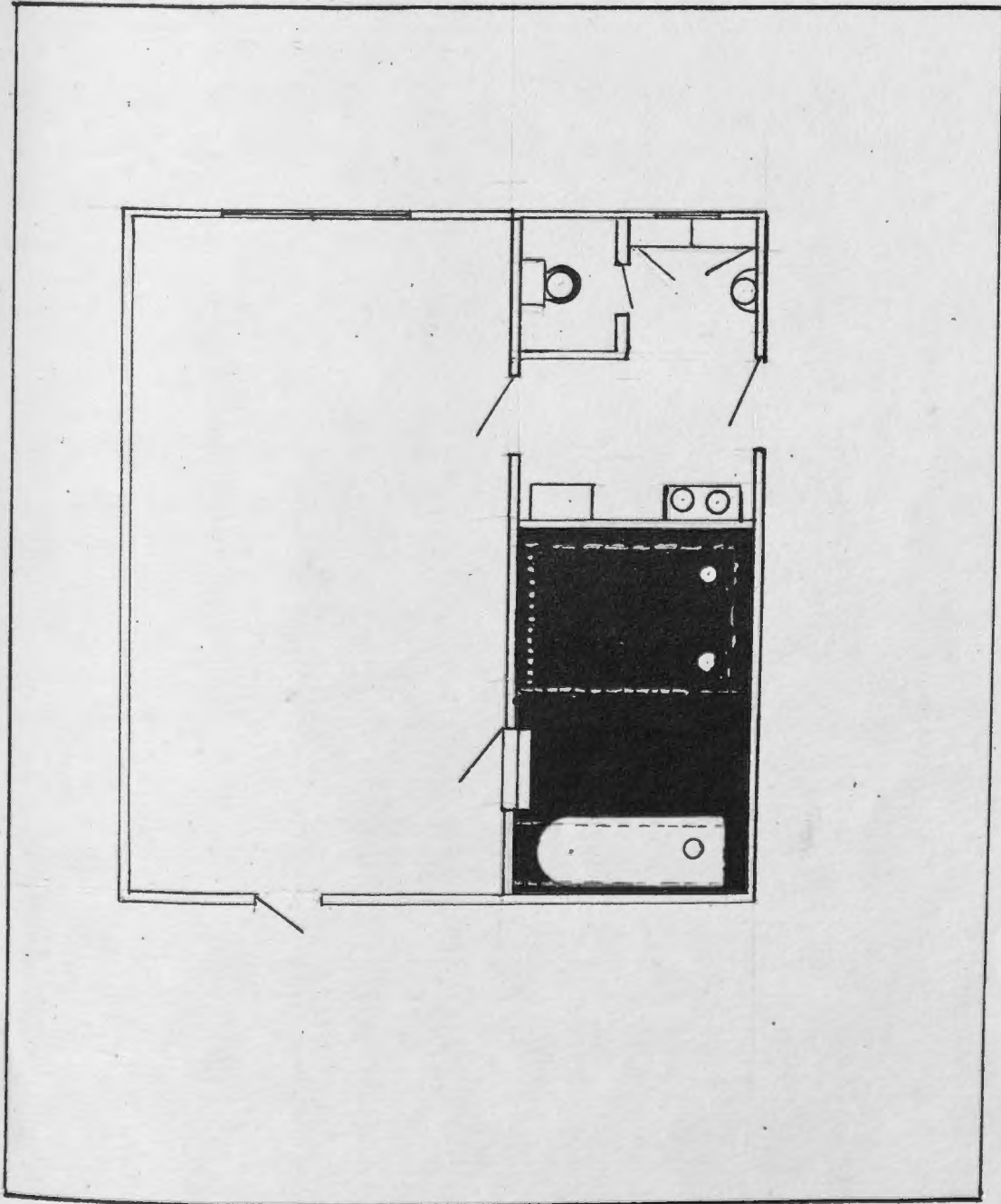
\* \* \* \* \*

kitchenette cannot be ignored, and probably cannot be legislated out of existence. On quite the other hand it seems absolutely unnecessary to allow a kitchenette to be either unlighted from the outside or unventilated from the outside. If one were to choose between a kitchenette situated upon a vent shaft and dark, and a toilet situated upon a vent shaft and dark, it seems reasonable that he would consider the latter the <sup>lesser</sup> evil.

As will be brought out in the next chapter the fumes of cooking are a nuisance when turned into a vent shaft.

Again the eyes are used more constantly in a kitchen than in a bathroom, hence the greater necessity for light.

However, other cities than ours have seen fit to demand that toilets shall be ventilated to the outside. As a matter of fact it is not necessary to deprive either toilet or kitchenette of outside light and ventilation as can be seen by referring to plate VI which shows a kitchenette ventilated and lighted through the outside



VI.

wall.

Conclusion. \*           It is plain that enough can be said  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* upon the subject to call in question the  
 advisability of continuing the construction of dark  
 interior rooms and kitchenettes. Even if such dark rooms are  
 are small, they are used constantly, and <sup>housing wise,</sup> are a concession  
 and a retrograde. Veiller says that no housing evils  
 are necessary and that wherever they are tolerated they  
 are a rejection upon the intelligence, right mindedness,  
 and moral tone of the community. The prohibition of  
 darkness in the apartment houses of South Minneapolis  
 would not work economic hardship. In general these  
 buildings are now for the well to do, not for the poor,  
 although the poor will one day inherit them and all of the  
 foolish, short sighted, blunders built into their struc-  
 ture. The protection of the poor, in this case, means  
 demanding decency of the rich.

Ventilation. \*           The question of ventilation is, as  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* we have seen, closely related to that  
 of dark rooms. Again consulting the general room

TABLE 6 - SLEEPING ROOMS BY LIGHT + VENTILATION:

DIST. AND CLASS	LIGHT	DARK	TOTAL	VENTILATED	NOT VENTILATED	WITH EXTERIOR WINDOWS	WITHOUT EXTERIOR WINDOWS	TOTAL
I. TENEMENTS	195	93	288	174	114	208	80	288
PER CENT	.68	.32	1.00	.64	.36	.72	.28	1.00
DWELLINGS	46		46	27	19	46		46
PER CENT	1.00		1.00	.58	.42	1.00		1.00
II. TENEMENTS	120	38	158	111	47	112	46	158
PER CENT	.76	.24	1.00	.70	.30	.71	.29	1.00
DWELLINGS	133	5	138	123	15	134	4	138
PER CENT	.97	.03	1.00	.89	.11	.97	.03	1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS	315	131	446	286	160	319	127	446
PER CENT	.70	.30	1.00	.64	.36	.72	.28	1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS	179	5	184	150	34	180	4	184
PER CENT	.97	.03	1.00	.81	.19	.98	.02	1.00
GRAND TOTAL	494	136	630	436	194	499	131	630
PER CENT	.79	.21	1.00	.69	.31	.79	.21	1.00

analysis, table 5, we find then thirty-three percent of the tenement rooms are not ventilated and that twenty-five percent of them have no windows to the outside. The discrepancy between these two percentages is due to windows so arranged as not to admit air. In the dwellings we find thirty-two percent of the rooms not ventilated and nineteen percent having no window to the outside. Table 6, records 114 unventilated bed rooms in district one, from a total of 388, this is thirty-six percent. Similarly twenty-eight percent have no outside window. In district two, thirty percent of the tenement bed rooms are not ventilated; twenty-nine percent having no outside window. This discrepancy of eight percent in one case, and one percent in the other, between the number of ventilated rooms and the number of rooms having windows to the outside is due to air tight storm windows and unmovable sash which prevent a circulation of air even when windows are present.

To obtain a definite idea of what such conditions mean, imagine an attic room twelve by nineteen feet, and in half of the area less than seven feet



high, lit by one window which is placed in a door opening upon a rear platform, and is not arranged with movable sash. The only means of ventilation, then, is by opening the door. In this one room, at the time the study was made, lived a family of three, father, an American, mother, a German, and a child of three years. The father was suffering with advanced tuberculosis. Under the conditions, too crowded to be permitted even had the room been capable of ventilation, the contamination of the mother and child could be averted only by a miracle, and miracles of the sort required are not numerous, as the records of tenements will show.

Closed Windows in \* In dwellings this particular  
Dwellings. \*  
\* sort of neglect is even more pre-  
\* \* \* \* \*  
velant. The entire forty-two percent of non-ventila-  
tion in district one, and similarly the eleven percent  
in district two, is due to the lack of proper construc-  
tion of the windows, and of the storm sash which cover  
them. In some cases this is due to the ignorance or  
carelessness of the tenant, but more often it is the  
fault of the landlord who fails to fit windows with

movable sash, and nails storm windows tight with neither hinges by which they may be swung open, nor slides in the frame which may be opened to allow the entrance of fresh air. This may seem a minor point, but in consequence<sup>t</sup> to health it is indisputably an important one. We need legislation to compel the fitting of storm windows with ventilating contrivances, and the maintainance of all windows in rooms and halls in such condition that they can be opened at the will of the tenants.

Chief Causes of Lack \* In the main, however, lack  
of Ventilation. \*  
\* of ventilation is due to an  
\* \* \* \* \*

absence of windows, or the location of them upon too narrow courts or upon inadequate vent shafts. In this study, rooms have been called unventilated when they had no window to a street, alley, yard or court, or vent shaft, provided when they were upon a vent shaft there was provision for opening it at the top. All of these rooms were either closed off from other rooms or might be so closed off by means of doors or curtains.

Retroactive remedies. \* The amendments of Apr. 11th,  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* this year, previously mentioned

are intended to correct lack of ventilation in buildings already erected. The chief criticism is that the provisions should extend to all living rooms, rather than simply to sleeping rooms,

New Buildings and \* The provisions relating to new  
the Vent Shaft. \*  
\* buildings are open to criticism on  
\* \* \* \* \*  
the following points. The vent shaft is still permitted.

It is legal to have a pantry, bathroom, water closet, urinal compartment, and finally, by the latest amendment, a kitchenette, if less than thirty-six feet in area, ventilated only by means of a vent shaft. Such means of ventilation have long been in wide disfavor.

The huge examples, characteristic of New York Cities Dumb-bell tenements have been declared "gigantic culture tubes of tuberculosis." The smaller ones are also agents, <sup>poor ventilation</sup> <sub>q</sub> The principle involved is that the warm air escaping into the airshaft from the apartment will, rise upon coming into contact with the colder air of the shaft thus causing a draught through the room to be ventilated. The actual facts are, however, that the air of the vent shaft may be warmer than the air within

the apartment, in which case the current tends to be reversed. Especially when the air from apartments is heavy with the dampness of cooking and gases of combustion, is it likely to hang inert within the shaft, or slowly settling, to distribute the sickening odor through apartments below. Windows upon an air shaft are often closed to "keep out the smell," rather than opened to let the smell escape. The result has been that vent shafts are now absolutely discredited in up-to-date housing codes.

The vent Shaft and \*  
 Southern Europeans. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

As has been pointed out previously there is one question which must always be asked in

judging of the desirability of any particular structural device, namely, what are the possibilities of this thing if the building is occupied by the most ignorant of immigrants, and let by the most careless of landlords? It is plain that with the average tenant and average landlord, to say nothing of the types just mentioned, the vent shaft is liable to alarming degeneration. At the bottom it is often used as a catch all for old

furniture, mattresses, soiled clothes, and other such commodities from neighboring apartments, as may be seen in the tenements of this city, and nothing could be more suggestive of a fire carefully laid at the foot of a tall chimney than just this condition. The vent shafts in the flat at the corner of Marshall Ave. and 5th St. N. E. are thus encumbered and the windows into them appeared almost never to have been opened. A builder of this city in criticizing a newly erected apartment house expressed what he considered to be a sufficient opprobrium in the words, "They have stuck it full of vent shafts."

Courts. \*            Finally, with respect to courts, the  
 \*                        \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* remaining important factor in ventilation,  
 it may be frankly stated that Minneapolis is not abreast of the times. Her requirements are an exact duplication of Chicago requirements, but Chicago is realizing that her courts are too narrow. When Inspector Ball recommended a further limitation of lot areas for sections outside the center of Chicago, he also recommended a corresponding increase in the size of

courts. These regulations, common to Chicago and Minneapolis, require only four feet of space at the side of a building four stories high.

Lack of Privacy. \*           Objections may be made upon the  
\*                                   \*  
\* \* \* \* \* grounds of lack of privacy. In  
case the neighboring apartment is in a private dwelling  
or a tenement erected before 1908, the windows of ones  
apartment may be only four feet from the windows of ones  
neighbor's. Even in the case of two new tenements side  
by side, the distance may be only eight feet.

Insufficient light and air. \*           More pertinent objections may  
\*                                   \*  
\*                                   \* be made upon the grounds of lack  
\* \* \* \* \*  
of light and air. The newer codes demand courts three  
times as wide as are demanded by our ordinance.

Further objections to narrow courts is the fact that such spaces are prone to become littered with all manner of waste. Garbage is thrown continually into the narrow dumb-bell court beside the Hennepin Apartments, from the windows above, so the lower tenants say, and the odor is most distressing. See Illustration twenty-one for the possibilities of a narrow lot line court where



Twenty-one.  
A lot like  
court and  
a winter's  
deposit of  
garbage.



Twenty-two -  
An interior  
court where  
ten families  
frequent but  
commonly  
closed

tenants and public are both careless. Even where all concerned are careful, a long, narrow, lot line court is a catchall for filth and a manace to health. Hence not only does such a feature provide insufficient air to the adjoining apartments, but the quality of the air which it does supply is liable to be far from wholesome. Our code needs immediate revision upon this point.

\*\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* Minneapolis was startled last year  
 \* \* \* \* \* Toilet Facilities. \* by being shown a map of the city  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* which indicated the number of cases  
 of tuberculosis and the number of vaults and cesspools.  
 The latter reached a figure approximating seventeen  
 thousand. Since that time the department of health  
 has persued a policy of condeming vaults wherever sewer  
 connections are possible, and ordering in flushing  
 closets. Some of these in the poorer class of houses  
 have not been installed so as to prevent freezing, with  
 the result that unless the old vault remains the family,  
 in cold weather, is without toilet facilities of any  
 sort. However the general move is in the right direc-



tion. The most serious legal shortcomings in the case are found in the fact that we have no regulations requiring the installations of toilets in definite proportion to the number of apartments. For example, consider the case of a dwelling house which has been converted to accommodate four or six families. In case there has been an old vault in the yard and it is proposed to install flushing toilets within the house, those toilets should be installed at the rate of not less than one for every two apartments. In all new buildings each apartment should be furnished with closet facilities. This is in accordance not only with practice of more advanced cities, but with the practice of Chicago. At the same time there can be no doubt that until all apartments, old and new alike, shall each be provided with separate facilities, the spread of disease in tenements will remain largely unchecked. Our code says nothing about the matter in either old or new tenements. The only hint of such a regulation is found in the definition of apartment houses which makes the distinction between tenements and apartments

TABLE 7 - APARTMENTS BY CLOSETS SHARED  
WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

DIST. AND CLASS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	TOTAL
	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO	TO		
	1.99	2.99	3.99	4.99	5.99	6.99	7.99	8.99	9.99		
I. TENEMENTS	80	48	31	16	5	1					181
PER CENT	.44	.26	.17	.08	.03	.01					1.00
DWELLINGS	12	4	3	2							21
PER CENT	.57	.21	.14	.09							1.00
II. TENEMENTS	30	11	8	23		7	4	1			84
PER CENT	.36	.13	.09	.28		.08	.05	.01			1.00
DWELLINGS	24	10	17				7			8	66
PER CENT	.37	.15	.26				.10			.12	1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS	110	59	39	39	5	8	4	1			265
PER CENT	.41	.22	.15	.15	.02	.03	.02				1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS	36	14	20	2			7			8	87
PER CENT	.41	.16	.24	.02			.08			.09	1.00
GRAND TOTAL	146	73	59	41	5	8	11	1		8	352
PER CENT	.41	.21	.17	.12	.01	.02	.03	.01		.02	1.00

turn upon the matter of the presence of, or lack of, a toilet and both in each apartment, and then goes on to require precisely the same regulation for both types in everything else; What is in a name?

Families for closet. \* Table 7 shows how in dwell-  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* ings as many as ten families  
 are obliged to frequent one privy vault, while in tenements, in more than one third of the cases, more families on the average frequent one toilet than is allowable by the regulations of any city where this subject has been carefully legislated upon. In other words thirty-eight percent of all the families recorded are frequenting toilets in the ratio of three apartments or more to a closet. Fifty-nine percent of the families are deprived of a private water closet. In a tenement located at 301-12 Plymouth Ave., No. (Illustration 22) in which there are nine apartments upon each of the two upper floors, are two public toilets, one of which is constantly frequented by seven families, and the other by four, although additional families have access to them at will. In each of these toilets there are two

closets, separated by dwarf partitions and used indiscriminately by the male and female members of all the families at the same or different times. Such arrangements are not only unsanitary, but they are indecent, if not actually unmoral.

Contamination. \* As has been repeatedly stated in  
\* \* \* \* \* this chapter, one of the strongest  
counts against the common use of toilets by two or more  
families is the danger of spreading communicable disease.  
As an instance, there are cases in the Eastman flats  
where four apartments, each on a different floor, must  
all frequent one toilet, located, let us say, on the  
third floor. In one case where three apartments includ-  
ing four families and a number of roomers used one toilet  
in common, one of the roomers confessed with little re-  
luctance, if not with a certain species of pride to being  
affected with a sexual disease which might easily be  
transferred through contact with the closet seat. A  
picture of the filthy toilet is shown, the meagre and  
antiquated facilities being hidden behind the door, and  
a picture of a little girl who was obliged to frequent



Twenty - three - water closet for  
three families.



Twenty - four - Vaults - surface water  
garbage - narrow lot like courts  
and despoilation,

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the filthy thing, accompanies it to make the facts of the case in some degree realizable. (Illustrations twenty-three and five.)

Diffused                   \*           The second count against the  
 Responsibility.       \*           common use of toilet facilities is the  
 \* \* \* \* \*           \*           almost inevitably resulting condition of filth. Even  
 where only two families share a closet, the divided re-  
 sponsibility results in neglect. For example, consider  
 an actual case of a basement toilet shared between the  
 family on the first floor and the family in the base-  
 ment. The closet had over flowed. Scraps of toilet  
 paper and filth were left sticking to the floor , several  
 days later, when asked why she did not clean up, the  
 woman who occupied the basement said she was waiting for  
 the family upstairs to do it.

When more than two families are obliged to make use of the same closet, conditions are correspondingly more serious. In the tenement at Riverside, 1913, fourteen apartments have access to three common toilets. The latter are small unventilated cells, two of which are dimly lit by a smokey kerosene lantern hung in the par-

TABLE 8. - APARTMENTS BY LOCATION AND  
CONDITION OF CLOSET.

DIST. AND CLASS	APART- MENT	HALL	YARD	TOTAL	CLEAN	DIRTY	VERY DIRTY	VENTILATION POSSIBLE	VENTILATION IMPOSSIBLE	TOTAL
I. TENEMENTS	61	120		181	90	74	17	30	151	181
PER CENT	.33	.67		1.00	.50	.41	.09	.17	.83	1.00
DWELLINGS	9		12	21	18	3		19	2	21
PER CENT	.43		.57	1.00	.85	.15		.90	.10	1.00
II. TENEMENTS	26	52	6	84	59	24	1	37	47	84
PER CENT	.31	.62	.07	1.00	.70	.28	.02	.44	.56	1.00
DWELLINGS	7		59	66	23	28	15	62	4	66
PER CENT	.11		.89	1.00	.35	.42	.23	.94	.06	1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS	87	172	6	265	149	98	18	67	198	265
PER CENT	.33	.65	.02	1.00	.56	.37	.07	.25	.75	1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS	16		71	87	41	31	15	81	6	87
PER CENT	.18		.82	1.00	.48	.35	.17	.93	.07	1.00
GRAND TOTAL	103	172	77	352	190	129	33	148	204	352
PER CENT	.30	.48	.22	1.00	.54	.37	.09	.42	.58	1.00







Twenty five - thirty clost.



Twenty eleven showing clost and an interesting  
pile of fish.

If located inside the apartment responsibility for their abuse can be definitely fixed." Water closets located in the public halls and not only used in common by the tenants, but used by the stores below, and by anyone who happens to pass through, are a characteristic feature of Minneapolis tenements.

Lack of Ventilation. \* In table 8 some startling  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* facts about ventilation appear.

In district one, eight-three percent of the tenement toilets have no ventilation except to the halls, bedrooms, kitchens, and living rooms adjoining them. One case occurs to mind where the toilet facilities had been placed in a narrow food closet. The whole contrivance ventilated directly and exclusively into the kitchen, and was absolutely dark when the door was closed. In district two, forty-seven percent of the tenement closets are similarly without ventilation. In the case of the dwellings, the toilets being mostly outside, ventilation is more or less inevitable.

Enclosed Plumbing. \* Another feature to be noted  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* is the prevalence of antiquated

and filthy plumbing. It is illegal to repair enclosed plumbing in the city, but the law is constantly disregarded. Illustration twenty-eight shows rotten enclosed plumbing at twenty-five Central Avenue.

Long Hopper \* At 1816-26, 5th St. So. may be  
Closets. \*  
\*\* seen examples of the long hopper closet,  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
the distinguishing feature of which is a long filth besmeared upright tube running down to a trap in a filthy pit beneath the floor. These closets are located in the basement and are each used by three families.

Need for Regulation. \* It is evident that this city  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* needs to reform the closet situation. The condemnation of vaults is admirable. It should not only include vaults now used where sewer connections are possible, but should be extended to vaults which are no longer frequented. Illustration twenty-nine shows such a vault which should be cleaned out, and the space filled with clean earth.

Proposed Regulation. \* More important is it to  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* insure the installation of sufficient toilets where the change from vaults is

being made, especially is this the case in houses that have been converted into tenements, and now shelter four or eight families where originally there was one. The usual regulation in other cities demands one closet for every two families in old buildings, and one for every apartment in new buildings. This should be made one for each family in every case, and should specify that the closet be located within the apartment. Care should be taken also to prevent freezing. The ordinance prohibiting the repairing of old plumbing should be enforced and long hopper closets should never be installed within the building. Finally all inside toilets should be ventilated upon a yard, street or court, and never upon a vent shaft as is now permitted.

Bath Rooms and \* This is a subject upon which  
 Hot Water. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* practically no legislation has ever  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* been enacted outside of regulating the manner of install-  
 ing such conveniences when the builder chooses to pro-  
 vide them. From table 9 we learn that only twenty-nine  
 percent of the tenement apartments have private baths.



Twenty-seven - A three deker toilet and  
no yard.



Twenty-eight - Dark closet and  
rotten enclosed plumbing.

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TABLE 9. - APARTMENTS BY BATH AND HOT WATER.

DISTRICT AND CLASS	BATH USED BY ONE FAMILY	BATH USED BY MORE THAN ONE FAMILY	NO BATH	TOTAL	HOT WATER	NO HOT WATER
I. TENEMENTS	51	13	117	181	42	139
PER CENT	.28	.07	.65	1.00	.24	.76
DWELLINGS			21	21		21
PER CENT			1.00	1.00		1.00
II. TENEMENTS	24	9	51	84	26	58
PER CENT	.29	.10	.61	1.00	.31	.69
DWELLINGS	3		63		3	63
PER CENT	.05		.95	1.00	.05	.95
TOTAL TENEMENTS	75	22	168	265	68	197
PER CENT	.29	.08	.63	1.00	.26	.74
TOTAL DWELLINGS	3		84	87	3	84
PER CENT	.03		.97	1.00	.03	.97
GRAND TOTAL	78	22	252	352	71	281
PER CENT	.22	.07	.71	1.00	.20	.80

Eight percent have baths shared with other families, and sixty-three percent have access to no bath rooms at all. Seventy-four percent do not have hot water. Only about two-thirds of those having bathrooms have hot water, which means that only about one quarter of these tenements families can bathe with convenience in cold weather.

The important fact remains that these people are just the ones who most need convenient bathing facilities. The man who shovels the coal into a basement is in greater need of a bath at the end of the day than the business man or fine lady whom the coal warms. As John Ihlder, field secretary of the National Housing Association, pointed out at the Chicago conference, the old argument that bath tubs in tenements will be used for the storing of coal, falls to the ground before the actual facts when other space is provided for the coal. London and New York and Chicago have had to supply municipal baths to make up for the absence of proper private bath tubs. What shall be the policy of Minneapolis? A iron mining town in the South has recently been reformed and converted from poverty to prosperity through a new

recognition of the rights of workmen, one of the chief of which was declared to be his right to personal cleanliness. Why should not this right be recognized in a tenement house code?

Related to Other \* It will evident at once, that  
Housing Features. \*

\* this subject is closely related  
\*\* \* \* \* \* \*

to at least two of the three characteristics of Minneapolis housing which are to be treated in the next chapter, namely delapidation and lack of water supply. The third feature to be taken up in the following chapter, embraces the lack of yard sanitation, ashes and garbage collection, and drainage, matters of civic complexion not inharmonious with an unwashed public. A summary may be delayed until these features are set forth.



TABLE 10. - APARTMENTS BY LOCATION AND  
NATURE OF WATER SUPPLY.

DISTRICT AND CLASS	APART- MENT	HALL	YARD			NONE	TOTAL
			HYDRANT	WELL	CISTERN		
I. TENEMENTS	146	35					181
PER CENT	.81	.19					1.00
DWELLINGS	12			9			21
PER CENT	.57			.43			1.00
II. TENEMENTS	64	14		6			84
PER CENT	.76	.17		.07			1.00
DWELLINGS	30	2	21	11	2		66
PER CENT	.45	.03	.33	.16	.03		1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS	210	49		6			265
PER CENT	.80	.18		.02			1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS	42	2	21	20	2		87
PER CENT	.48	.02	.24	.24	.02		1.00
GRAND TOTAL	252	51	21	26	2		352
PER CENT	.71	.14	.06	.08	.01		1.00

CHAPTER 11.

PERILOUS NEGLECT.

Water Supply, Slop Disposal, Garbage and Ashes  
Disposal, and Dilapidation.

Water Supply. \*            Table 10 reaches a problem, in  
\*                            \*  
\* \* \* \* \*            \*    some respects more real than any so  
far treated.    No one doubts the necessity of an a-  
bundant and pure water supply within easy access of  
every family, if the city is to remain sanitary and  
healthy.    Upon examining table 10 no one can doubt  
that these conditions fail of fulfillment in this city.  
It is evident that in the tenements water is everywhere,  
in some manner, supplied.    In two percent of the cases,  
however, it must be drawn from a well in the yard.  
In our city, well water is at best a precarious quantity.  
In eighteen percent of the cases, the tenement water  
supply is in the hall.    This often means in the hall

toilet. Kitchen slops and laundry suds are not conducive to clean smelling, sanitary, water closets. Outside of the sanitary considerations, it is not convenient to carry slops out to a hall toilet, or as must be done in some apartments, as at 1215 Washington, up a flight of stairs to a hall closet. No woman should be obliged so to dispose of the domestic waste water.

Well and Cisterns. \* \* \* \* \* However in the case of the dwellings still more vicious facts appear. Only fifty percent have water within the house.

Of the remaining fifty percent, to which water must be carried from the yard, twenty-four percent only are supplied from hydrants. Twenty-four percent depend upon wells, and two percent upon cisterns.

Carrying water from a well seldom means that the well is close at hand. Illustration thirty represents the sole water supply for eight houses, some of which contain three or more families. The straw about the hydrant was placed there to prevent freezing. Nevertheless a great proportion of the time from November



Twenty-nine - neglected and now  
ruined vault.



Thirty - un drained court - and  
inadequate water supply - out (141)  
door surface slop disposal.

on, hot water had to be poured over the pipe in order to thaw out the ice whenever water was desired.

Illustration thirty-one shows a cistern, sole water supply for three families. The pump is out of order and a rope and pail are used to elevate the water. If other drinking water is desired it must be carried from the nearest hydrant which is across the street and a block or so away.

Slop Disposal. \*            The absence of water in the  
 \*                                \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*                        \*            house usually means the absence  
 of a sink inside the house.    Sometimes a sink is lack-  
 ing even when water is installed.    The absence of an  
 inside sink almost invariably means throwing the waste  
 water out into the yard.    The exceptions are found  
 where an outside drainage arrangement is located in the  
 yard.    Such devices are generally flat failures,  
 especially in the winter, when they freeze.

Illustration thirty-one shows, near the center, a pile  
 of ashes which completely hides such an outdoor slop  
 catch.    It froze and was thus covered up by the tenants.



Thirty-one - a cistern water supply for three families. (rotten and full).



Thirty-two - Froyer slop catch and Froyer water supply for eight families.

1913

Frozen Slop \*            In illustration thirty-two can be  
 Catches.       \*  
                  \*        seen two out-door catch basins which  
 \* \* \* \* \* \*        are arranged to be drained by a  
 vertical pipe.    Such a pipe freezes very early in our  
 climate.        The subsequent disposal of slops is illus-  
 trated by the pile of ice and corruption below.    The  
 stench in such courts, after the spring sun has thawed  
 out the accumulations of a winter and the heat of  
 summer has putrified the deposits left in and upon the  
 soil, is something indescribable.    The only proper  
 escape from such unsanitary yards, in the case of  
 dwellings at least, is in the possession by each house  
 of its own sewer connected sink, and the accompanying  
 pure water supply.

Ashes and       \*            To the thoughtful citizen the situ-  
 Garbage.       \*  
                  \*        ation represented by illustrations  
 \* \* \* \* \* \*        thirty-four to thirty-seven inclusive  
 present a powerful object lesson in city administration.

At present the only systematic garbage and ash  
 collection in the city is that afforded by the health



Thirty-three - Frozen stop catches and  
results.



Thirty-four - Garbage, ashes, manure,  
and the family bath tub. (1915)



Thirty-five.  
A forty-family row  
without a suitable  
yard.



2,



1.  
Thirty-six -  
Ashes, garbage  
and filth

1916



Thirty-eight. - Children of the 'Brick Block'.



Thirty seven - Garbage, ashes, and  
manure.

(147)

department. The fact that this collection had not been adequate to the needs of the situation is due to two causes,

1. failure of tenants and owners to place ashes and garbage in proper receptacles in proper condition, as required by the rules of the health department,

2. inability of the health department to care for all garbage and ashes so properly placed in cans owing to a scarcity of teams and wagons.

Because of the seriousness of the situation this spring, a law was passed by the recent legislature making it possible for the city to clean up yards and assess the cost to the owner.\* It is said that this law has already produced some good results. Upon a moment's thought, however, it is evident that it is far from a final solution of the difficulty. Even were this law effective in forcing all tenants and owners to comply with the rules for garbage and ash collection by the health department, and this is perhaps its greatest possibility of usefulness, the inadequacy of the health department service would not only remain,

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but would be greatly aggravated due to the increased burden. The facts of the matter are that with its present appropriation the health department is not financially equal to the burden of an adequate service. This matter has been discussed in full in a pamphlet issued by the Civics and Commerce Association entitled, "An Ideal Health Department," in which a plea is made for the limiting and specializing of the functions of the department, with a corresponding change in personnel. The situation points strongly to the need for an entirely new municipal garbage and ash collection.

For instance consider the alley back yard of the tenement row shown in illustration thirty-five.

*Forty* 40 families live in this row and that children have no other place to play than in the alley back yard. The condition of this yard is shown in illustration thirty-six. As all know a camera does not reproduce smells, and as all who have had experience know, a camera cannot reproduce the nauseating appearance of a pile of garbage and ashes in unholy conglomeration.

Condemnation by \*           The premises upon which the  
 Health Department. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       ashes, garbage, and manure of  
                                   illustration thirty-seven were  
 found, had been some time previously posted, condemned  
 by the Health Department.   Some feeble effort to clean  
 up resulted, the sign was torn down, and the inhabitants  
 of the converted tenement in front still remained in  
 possession of the field.   (See also illustration  
 twenty-five).   It is a fair question to ask, what does  
 condemnation by the Health Department mean?   In this  
 particular case it did not mean the putting of the  
 premises to rights.   They are still highly unsanitary.  
 Illustration thirty-four pictures the accumulation of  
 entire winter, ashes and garbage together, a bad fire  
 risk, a worse appearance, and if left until fly time,  
 a bad health risk.

Bearing upon \*           It is evident that yard sani-  
 Housing.       \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       tation has a close relationship to  
                                   the housing problem.   The housing  
 problem arises most severely in densely populated  
 districts, districts of much building and little ground



Thirty-nine - Syrian children.



Forty - more Syrian children.

area. In such locations as this the proper sanitation of yard areas is absolutely essential. New York paves tenement yards with asphalt. Minneapolis not only does not pave them, and does not as a rule drain them, but she allows them to become the depository of ashes and garbage, which in some locations are not hauled away from one year to another. See illustration twenty-four for an ash receptacle which receives a quota of garbage along with the ashes, and is cleaned out once a year, or twice at the most. No family upon the court can escape moral, if not physical contamination. On this point the children of the tenements deserve some consideration. (Illustrations thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and forty-one.)

Delapidation. \* Finally, notwithstanding the  
 \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* splendid work which lies to the  
 credit of our present building inspector in his condemnation of delapidated structures, it is necessary to comment upon this phase of the housing question. Illustrations forty-two and forty-three represent



Forty-one. Children of the Brick Blocks

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typical examples, in forty-two the delapidation being a matter of the houses themselves, in forty-three the run down appearance being due to outhouses, and piles of old boards in the yards.

Special Study. \*           The following special report of  
\*                           \*  
\* \* \* \* \*           \*           supplementary investigation cover-  
ing 119 additional houses serves to emphasize the need  
for a better water supply, a systematic reform of slop  
disposal, the reform of delapidation, and the necessity  
for a more inclusive tenement code.

"A special study of 119 houses in North Minneapolis centered upon the question of water supply gave results as follows; city water in the kitchen 69, city water in the yard 37, cisterns in yard 3, no water at all 10. As these were chosen haphazard over a large area, the percentages have significance for the whole district bounded by Hennepin and 25th Ave. No., and 6th Ave. No., and the river. That would mean that only 58% of the dwellings in this district have an adequate and convenient water supply; that 34% have water on the premises but are obliged to carry all that they use from a

hydrant or pump in the yard, and that 8% have no water on the premises whatever. A yard hydrant or well, however inconvenient when compared to water in the house is incomparably better than no water supply at all.

The following examples illustrate.

52 a--A family of seven depends for water upon a hydrant in the kitchen of a neighbor. Water must be carried fifty feet.

66 a. - A family of three, mother and two small children. Water supply two houses away, a hydrant.

73 a. - Family of six living upstairs. Water supply in a stable, 100 feet distant. Have to watch their time, as the stable is frequently locked.

119 a. - Family of six. Water supply in summer hydrant in the wall of neighbor's house, shared by six other families. Cut off in winter so that the whole group must go to a well in the next block.

10 a. - No water. Family buys ice and uses the melted ice. Costs \$3.50 for the summer. Woman not strong enough to carry water the distance otherwise necessary.

"It should be remembered that a house without water is a house without a sink. The result is that in 41% of the cases the back yard becomes a slop hole, unless perchance the house-keeper is of the more conscientious sort and carries the waste water out into the street, where to be sure, "it smells awful by spring!" Two women I have seen carrying their pails to the sewer hole at the corner of the street.

"Of the 59% with water in the apartments, 85% have sinks connected with the sewer. The remainder have to carry out all waste water in pails. In some cases there is a sewer hole in the yard, but as no one is responsible for keeping it clean, it is soon clogged and the whole yard is consequently soaked with sewage.

"Delapidation, the result of long years of neglect, is the most conspicuous characteristic of the house to be had at the laborer's rental. Some of the features abounding in every block are given. Rickety outside stairs, unroofed, covered with snow and ice in winter, up which, often, all of the water must be carried at considerable risk to the bearer; windows freeze down

in winter because of the absence of storm windows, and thaw on melting days into dampness that soaks the walls and floor; paper then hangs in streamers from the ceilings, or stands away from the walls in huge, stiff, sheets; houses where a band of frost three feet high stands out like white velvet upon the walls in the morning, and thaws into rivulets by mid-day; houses where "the potatoes freeze under the bed"; and where repairs have not been known for years.

"One house near a stable had beneath it during the spring, a pool of water that drains down from the stable yard. In the winter the pool is a block of ice. The house is always damp. Examples of similar situations abound.

"Many of the most serious aspects of the housing problem in North Minneapolis are due to the conversion of single dwellings into tenements. The outside rear staircase is one result; another is the crowded and littered hallway almost universal in such structures. Having neither basement nor attic in which to store their spare wash boards, trunks, stoves, wood, and what

not, the tenants pile everything together into the hall. These domestic mountains of disorderly conveniences are at once a necessity and a curse. The careless habit grows. The converted multiple dwellings of this district are a strong argument for a tenement house definition which shall include, not only buildings containing three or more apartments, but buildings containing two or more apartments. We need regulation to prevent the remodelling of houses for tenement purposes upon any lines except such as will make possible, orderly homes."

Legislation \*           The ordinances of the city should  
 Needed.       \*  
                  \*       demand a supply of water upon each  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       floor of the older tenements, in every  
 apartment of new tenements, and within fifteen feet of  
 every dwelling where water is not supplied within the  
 house.

CHAPTER III.

DANGEROUS TENDENCIES.

Minneapolis is fortunate in that many developments which have gone far to complicate the housing problem in other cities are here, as yet, only tendencies, tendencies which the close observer may detect, it is true, but of the existence of which <sup>*the public may excusably be*</sup> skeptical. Two of these dangerous tendencies are treated in this chapter, namely the tendency toward over crowding, and the tendency toward tenement and apartment house life.

Over crowding. \* It is difficult to gain a  
Population per acre. \* proper conception of crowding  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* from density per acre. Table

11 sums up the situation in those terms. It is evident that the largest percentage is thirty-nine and represents densities of from 100 to 149 per acre. A good

TABLE II. - DENSITY OF POPULATION PER  
ACRE IN TENEMENTS.

DISTRICT	1 TO 49	50 TO 99	100 TO 149	150 TO 199	200 TO 249	250 TO 299	300+	TOTAL
I.	1	1	8	4	1	2	3	20
PER CENT	.05	.05	.40	.20	.05	.10	.15	1.00
II.	1	1	5	3	1			11
PER CENT	.09	.09	.46	.27	.09			1.00
TOTAL	2	2	13	7	2	2	3	31
PER CENT	.06	.06	.42	.23	.06	.06	.10	1.00

standard density for two story residence district development is say forty-five per acre. This is approximately the figure adopted by most real estate promoters, The conditions of the City Club of Chicago contest, offering a prize for the best development scheme for a quarter-section specified that not more than one thousand two hundred eighty families should be provided for by the plans. This would mean a density of approximately thirty-six to the acre including the area of the streets.

Comparisons. \*           The densities of overcrowded dis-  
 \*                               \*  
 \*\*\* \* \* \* \*            \*           tricts may be judged from the fig-  
 ures given in the City Homes Association investigation of  
 Chicago. (Tenement Conditions in Chicago, p. 55)  
 Blocks are there given as varying from one hundred ninety  
 to four hundred fifty-seven per acre. Of course it  
 must be remembered that a high density over a whole block  
 is much more significant than a high density upon a sin-  
 gle lot. Under any conditions however a density of over  
 three hundred per acre in a two or three story building  
 is significant. Such densities can be found in our city.  
 They represent ten percent of tenements studied. In



forty-six percent of the cases the tenements have a density of over one hundred fifty per acre. These figures at least show that the transition to a dense population could easily occur in some portions of the city.

Overcrowding in Apartments. \* \* \* \* \* Approaching the subject from the point of view of the apartment we have table 12 which relates the families by number of members to the apartments by number of rooms. From this table it appears that there are quite a number of one, two, and three room apartments accommodating families up to seven members in size. Table 13 reduces table 12 to percentages. Apartments which average more than one and one-half persons per room may be considered crowded. Apartments which average two persons per room are badly crowded. # It is evident that upon this basis thirteen percent of the tenement apartments are crowded, and seven percent are badly crowded. Of the dwelling apartments, thirty-two percent are crowded, and nine percent are badly crowded. Exceptionally bad cases

# See Tenement Conditions in Chicago, p. 60.

TABLE 12.- SHOWING SIZE OF FAMILIES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF ROOMS.

DISTRICT AND CLASS	FAMILY OF TWO		FAMILY OF THREE		FAMILY OF FOUR			FAMILY OF FIVE				FAMILY OF SIX					FAMILY OF SEVEN							FAMILY OF EIGHT								TOTAL		
	Rooms		Rooms		Rooms			Rooms				Rooms					Rooms							Rooms										
	1	2+	1	2	3+	1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4	5+	1	2	3	4	5	6+	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	1	2	3	4		5	6
I. TENEMENTS	2	1041	3	1032	1	6	17	18	2	1	7	3	2	1	1	8	9	1	1	3	6	1	3	1	1	181								
I. DWELLINGS	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	21										
II. TENEMENTS	1	4	20	7	11	5	2	8	2	8	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	5	2	3	1	84												
II. DWELLINGS	3	12	3	4	4	1	3	2	5	1	2	2	1	3	4	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	66								
TOTAL TENEMENTS	3	14	61	3	17	43	1	11	19	16	2	3	7	11	3	1	2	9	11	1	1	3	11	1	5	4	1	1	265					
TOTAL DWELLINGS	4	16	3	4	6	1	4	3	5	2	2	3	1	3	5	3	4	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	87						
GRAND TOTAL	3	18	77	6	21	49	2	15	22	21	2	3	9	13	6	2	5	14	16	3	4	1	1	4	12	2	1	7	6	3	1	1	2	352

TABLE 13.-APARTMENTS BY AVERAGE NUMBER OF  
PEOPLE PER LIVING ROOM.

DISTRICT. AND CLASS	LESS THAN ONE PERSON PER ROOM	1 TO	1.5 TO	2 TO	2.5 TO	3 TO	4 AND OVER	TOTAL
I. TENEMENTS	83	70	16	8	2	2		181
PER CENT	.45	.39	.09	.04	.02	.02		1.00
I. DWELLINGS	7	7	3	3		1		21
PER CENT	.33	.33	.14	.14		.05		1.00
II. TENEMENTS	40	36	3	4	1			84
PER CENT	.41	.43	.04	.05	.01			1.00
II. DWELLINGS	26	28	8	3	1			66
PER CENT	.39	.42	.12	.05	.02			1.00
TOTAL FOR TENEMENTS	123	106	19	12	3	2		265
PER CENT	.47	.40	.07	.05	.01	.01		1.00
TOTAL FOR DWELLINGS	33	35	11	6	1	1		87
PER CENT	.38	.40	.12	.07	.01	.01		1.00
GRAND TOTAL	156	141	30	18	4	3		352
PER CENT	.44	.40	.09	.05	.01	.01		1.00

can be sighted in sufficient numbers to make these figures impressive. Some of these will be taken up in the following discussion of space in sleeping rooms.

Overcrowding in	*	Just what standard to adopt as
Sleeping Rooms.	*	
	*	the number of feet of cubic air
* * * * *	*	space desirable in sleeping rooms

is somewhat of a question. Chicago, New York, Minneapolis, most cities in fact, require four hundred cubic feet for an adult and two hundred cubic feet for children under twelve years of age. Later legislation provides for the reduction of the numbers in overcrowded apartments so that each adult shall have six hundred cubic feet of air space, and each child under twelve years, four hundred. Table 14 is made upon the latter basis, considering every child under twelve as two-thirds of an adult. In the tenements twenty-seven per cent are below the standard, in the dwellings forty-four percent are below. It is evident both from this table and the preceding one that more room overcrowding is to be found in the dwellings than in the tenements. On the basis of four hundred cubic feet air space to an

TABLE 14. - APARTMENTS BY AVERAGE SLEEPING ROOM  
CUBIC AIR SPACE PER INDIVIDUAL.

DISTRICT AND CLASS	0 TO 99	100 TO 199	200 TO 299	300 TO 399	400 TO 499	500 TO 599	600+	TOTAL
I. TENEMENTS			6	16	11	14	134	181
PER CENT			.03	.09	.06	.08	.74	1.00
I. DWELLINGS		1	2	5	3	5	5	21
PER CENT		.05	.09	.24	.14	.24	.24	1.00
II. TENEMENTS			2	10	6	6	60	84
PER CENT			.02	.12	.07	.07	.71	1.00
II. DWELLINGS		1	5	5	8	3	44	66
PER CENT		.02	.08	.08	.12	.04	.66	1.00
TOTAL TENEMENTS			8	26	17	20	194	265
PER CENT			.03	.10	.06	.08	.73	1.00
TOTAL DWELLINGS		2	7	10	11	8	49	87
PER CENT		.02	.08	.11	.13	.09	.56	1.00
GRAND TOTAL		2	15	36	28	28	243	352
PER CENT		.01	.04	.10	.08	.08	.68	1.00

adult and two hundred to a child fifteen% of the total apartments are overcrowded in respect to sleeping space.

It is evident that a tendency toward overcrowding is already becoming a fact in this city of hitherto broad spaces and well distributed population. Land is rising in price and the inevitable concentration begins to follow.

Bohemian Flats. \* As the Southern European popu-  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* lation increases in the city, we may expect results which are increasingly serious out of proportion to the mere increase in numbers. A glance into twenty-three houses on Bohemian Flats below Washington Avenue bridge is enlightening. These people are mostly Slovak, and from year to year lease the ground upon which their poor shacks are built. Of twenty-three of these families, ten were below the four hundred standard, and nineteen were below the six hundred standard. Five families of eight live in apartments of two rooms, and one family of seven. When these and the hundreds of others of their kind are driven out of the flats by the rising of the river upon the near

TABLE 15A.- SIZE OF FAMILIES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF ROOMS.

No. IN FAMILY	2			3			4			5					6					7							TOTAL					
	1	2	+	1	2	3	+	1	2	3	4	+	1	2	3	4	5	+	1	2	3	4	5	6	+	1		2	3	4	5	6
RENTED		2	9		1	2	6		1	2	2						1						1								1	28
SUB-RENTED	1	2	10	4	5	3		3	1	1				2							1	1	1									44

TABLE 15B.- APARTMENTS BY AVERAGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER LIVING ROOM.

APARTMENTS	1-	1 TO 1.49	1.5 TO 1.99	2 TO 2.49	2.5 TO 2.99	3 TO 4	4+	TOTAL
RENTED + OWNED	16	10		2				28
PER CENT	.57	.35		.08				1.00
SUB-RENTED	3	14	3	16		5	3	44
PER CENT	.07	.32	.07	.36		.11	.07	1.00

TABLE 15C.- APARTMENTS BY AVERAGE SLEEPING ROOM CUBIC AIR SPACE PER INDIVIDUAL.

APARTMENTS	0-100 CU. FT.	100-199 CU. FT.	200-299 CU. FT.	300-399 CU. FT.	400-499 CU. FT.	500-599 CU. FT.	600+ CU. FT.	TOTAL
RENTED + OWNED					2	2	24	28
PER CENT					.07	.07	.86	1.00
SUB-RENTED		2	3		5	3	31	44
PER CENT		.05	.07		.11	.07	.70	1.00

completion of the new navigation dam, what will it mean for the tenements we have been studying? These people inevitably seek the lowest rents, and Minneapolis will begin to know what it means to have a foreign population in tenements, a small population to be sure, but one which is certain to grow with the years.

Light House- \* A real and present problem in  
keeping. \*  
\* overcrowding is found in rooms devoted  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
\* to light housekeeping. The tables

under 15 show a comparison between light housekeeping apartments in the Eastman flats and the Eastman flat apartments which were included in this study. There are twelve light housekeeping families of two members living in one room, three of four members in one room and two families of five in two rooms. These are from a total of forty-four and represent twenty-two cases of severe crowding. Altogether fifty-four percent of the forty-four apartments are crowded to exceed more than two people per living room. This crowding is the worse because of the fact that the one or two rooms are used for all living purposes. This is in accordance



with a principle laid down in a recent study of families in furnished rooms in Chicago, where, because of the fact that in light housekeeping one room is likely to be kitchen, diningroom, living-room and bed-room, overcrowding to the extent of only eighteen percent of the cases was considered a serious matter. # Upon this basis the light housekeeping problem in this city, is, in proportion to its extent, every bit as serious as the Chicago problem, if indeed it is not more so.

The Tendency           \*           These facts ought to be suf-  
 Substantiated.       \*  
                              \*           ficient to prove that overcrowding  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
                              \*           is not a matter which our city may  
 safely ignore. Before her standards are forced lower  
 Minneapolis should adopt the six-hundred cubic foot  
 standard for sleeping space, and should endeavor to  
 maintain it. Veiller lays down a valuable principle in  
 these words, "It is a very wise maxim never to set your  
 standards lower than the standards that are actually  
 adhered to at the time the law is enacted. ##" Minne-  
 apolis should by every possible means strive to maintain  
 her present standards of density. Nothing could be

# Am. Journal of Soc. Vol. XVI, No. 3, Nov. 1910, P. 308.

## Housing Reform, p. 96.

TABLE 16A. - CHARACTER OF RECENT HOUSING CONSTRUCTION.

YEAR	NUMBER OF FLAT AND APARTMENT BLDGS.	NO. OF FLAT AND APARTMENT HOUSE APARTS.	NO. OF DUPLEX AND DOUBLE HOUSES	NO. OF DUPLEX + DOUBLE HOUSE APARTS	NO. OF SINGLE APARTMENT DWELLINGS	TOTAL APARTS
1907	51	338	113	216	1903	2476
PERCENT		.14		.09	.77	1.00
1908	58	433	216	432	2237	3102
PERCENT		.14		.14	.72	1.00
1909	55	312	248*	456	2643	3183
PERCENT		.10		.07	.83	1.00
1910	76	589	162*	324	2419	3332
PERCENT		.18		.10	.72	1.00
1911	99	706	94*	188	2292	3186
PERCENT		.22		.06	.72	1.00
1912	127	1202	135	270	1921	3393
PERCENT		.35		.08	.57	1.00

\* 3 DOUBLE HOUSES INCLUDED.

TABLE 16B. - TYPE OF APARTMENTS AND FLATS BUILT IN 1912.

SIZE	2-STORY 4 FLAT	2-STORY 6 OR 8 FLAT	3-STORY 6 TO 61 FLAT	4-STORY LARGE	TOTALS
MATERIAL	FRAME BRICK VENEER	FRAME BRICK VENEER	BRICK AND JOIST - SLOW BURNING	FIRE PROOF	
NUMBER	91	4	30	2	127
PERCENT	.72	.035	.23	.015	1.00

more calculated to develop to their utmost the possibilities for ill in the mistakes in past construction which have been discussed in the preceding pages, than a dense, foreign population. So too nothing could so turn the tendency of present construction, which is now to be discussed, into a source of civic shame.

Increasing Vogue \*           The tendency of modern build-  
of \*  
Apartment Houses. \*       ing is strongly toward the apart-  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       ment house type. As every one

knows the name apartment house is simply a polite term for tenement. Apartment houses are the tenements of the rich, or well to do, and may be quite as serious a social problem in their own way as tenements are in another. Table 16 presents the present trend of construction. It shows that in 1909 approximately as many new family apartments were built as in 1912. It also shows that in 1912 almost four times as many of these were in apartment houses as in 1909. It shows more over that the increase in apartment house building has been a steady one until in 1912, 127 flats and apartment buildings were erected, containing more than

one third of the 3,393 apartments constructed during the year. As has been pointed out, these flats are sufficient to accommodate a city of over seven thousand inhabitants for a life time. This question is the more serious because of the increasing demand for the small two or three room suite, with kitchenette and disappearing beds, apartments which it has been pointed out are dangerous because of their inadaptability to the use of the average family.

The Craze. \*            Why is Minneapolis thus turning  
\*            \*  
\* \* \* \* \*        toward the flat? Why are small  
apartments rented for high sums before they are finished?  
Why is the double house next to the one in which ~~this~~  
this paper is being written, to next year be turned into  
a four flat apartment house and arranged to accommodate  
four families in the space occupied by one? The modern  
"bachelor's apartment" of living room, bath, and  
kitchenette, are they not to be reserved for the un-  
married? Already hundreds of families in this city are  
living in apartments of one room, a bath, and kitchenette.  
The bed slides into the wall. One climbs a flight of

steps into his bath tub, and steps into a dressing room arranged over his sliding bed. Is space so at a premium in our city? These are all fair questions.

Its Affect. \*           What is the effect upon the newly  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       organized family when they set up  
 housekeeping in kitchenette apartments and are told  
 that children are taboo? Or again, what does it mean  
 to a child to grow up in an apartment house where his  
 home is like everyone else's home except for the number  
 on the door? The long boasted American democracy and  
 individuality may well take thought for its life among  
 such conditions.

A Social Problem. \*           It is evident that these  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*       developments represent a social  
 problem rather than a legal one. Reform is here a  
 matter for agitation in women's clubs rather than in a  
 council lobby. To ask the question, Is this movement  
 away from the soil, away from the lawns and gardens, a  
 wholesome one? is to answer it.

An Economic       \*           To some extent, of course, the  
 Problem.           \*           tendency presents an economic problem,  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

too complicated for discussion here. Single taxers find in it ground for a reiteration of their theory. No doubt the truth is not all against them. In spite of the acres of undeveloped property within the city, rents in modern houses are high, and as anyone knows who has made the seach, modern houses are scarce. This practical problem of high rent for a modern dwelling, which the young couple must face, and the corresponding relief from both expense and responsibility offered by "apartments", are real reasons for the kitchenette home. The danger is that the force of these reasons may be deemed sufficient to permanently estrange a growing family from proper individual surroundings, or indeed a family of two from the children which should properly be theirs. The economics of housing is a large subject.

The Practical           \*           For the purposes of our study  
 Issue.                   \*  
                           \*           it is enough to conclude that  
 \* \* \* \* \*               \*  
                           \*           a tendency toward crowding, and  
 a disproportionate construction of multiple houses, are  
 dangerous to the best interests of our city.   Among

the chief weapons of militancy against these tendencies are strict regulations of room occupation, and lot occupation, as suggested in this and the preceding chapters, as well as an effort through the papers, churches, and women's clubs to educate the public away from the apartment house craze. A final line of construction as well as of preventative action remains to be discussed in the remaining chapter on City Planning and the Small House.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OPPORTUNITY.

#### Housing and City Planning.

Throughout the preceding pages the effort has been constantly made to put the emphasis upon the constructive side, to suggest not simply reform, or indeed conservation, although both of these are highly necessary, each in its own field, but progress of a more obvious and more inspiring nature. Through the very nature of the case, since we have so much to make right that is wrong, before giving all the attention to making better what is already good, this attempt to be highly constructive has often failed of realization. However we come now to a subject which lends itself almost wholly to constructive treatment, namely, housing as affected by the city plan. This is not to say that our city is ideal in laying out or that bad housing has



not already resulted from the nature of the plan, or again that to manipulate and guide the development of this plan so as to make it most favorable to the growth of proper housing conditions, will be easy. It is to say this, that such bad housing conditions as have already resulted from the manner in which the city is laid out, are no more than a necessary index to those tendencies which must be determined in order to enable the housing expert, the city planner, and the city at large, to determine what is the best method of procedure in the housing field. The close relation of the method of laying out of streets and lots to the housing problem is now for the first time becoming apparent in Minneapolis. Hitherto the growth of the city has been extensive. Now is becoming evident the tendency toward a more intensive development. It is this pressure of intensive development which already begins to call attention to the possibilities of many of the city subdivisions, on the one hand, as potential slums, on the other as areas of ideal housing. For instance, to anticipate, Dr. Karl Hegeman, the German city planning

authority remarked upon passing through what today is the most crowded district of single dwellings in the city, "These streets may become either a slum or a garden city, as the people choose." This possibility of making even the worst residence districts of the present, garden cities, and the further fact that many of the present residence districts exceed the standards of garden cities, is at once the opportunity and the pride of our city.

The General \*            The general character of the city's  
 Situation.    \*            development may be seen from the

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*            following table which compares the  
 density of population per acre, and the number of  
 families per dwelling, in thirteen of the more important  
 American cities.

City.	Area in Square Miles.	Popu- lation.	Population per acre.	Number of families to one dwelling.
New York.	316	4,766,883	23	3.33
Chicago	191.5	2,185,283	17.1	1.92
Boston	47	670,585	22.2	1.66
Cleve- land.	46	560,663	18.5	1.38

City.	Area in Square Miles.	Popu- lation.	Population per acre.	Number of families to one dwelling.
Phila- delphia.	129.5	533,905	5.7	1.10
San Fran- cisco.	46.	416,912	13.6	1.33
New Or- leans.	196	339,075	2.7	1.09
Kansas City, Mo.	58	248,381	6.7	
Kansas, Kansas.	17	82,331	7.5	1.07
St. Paul	56	214,744	6.	1.24
Denver	60	213,831	5.5	1.17
Columbus	22	181,511	22.	1.08
Minneapolis	53.25	301,408	8.8	1.32
Average			12.2	1.48

The comparison between number of families and number of houses by wards in Minneapolis is as follows:

1st	ward,	families	per	house	- - - - -	1.48
2 d	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.23
3 d	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.37
4th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-2.08
5th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-2.64
6th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.61
7th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.22
8th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.28
9th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.36
10th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.42
11th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.80
12th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.09
13th	"	"	"	"	- - - - -	-1.07

Apparently, since the average for twelve of the cities in the table is 1.48 families per house, Minneapolis with 1.32 is below the average, and more nearly like San Francisco and Cleveland with their rates of 1.33 and 1.38, than any of the others, in this respect. The average of the thirteen densities again is 12.2 persons per acre. Minneapolis reduces this to 8.8, comparing most closely with Kansas City, Kansas,

Philadelphia, famous for working men's homes, sets a better mark in both respects than that set by Minneapolis, namely a density of 5.7 persons per acre, and an average of only 1.10 families per house.

Large Lots. \* The outstanding characteristic of  
 \* \* \* \* \* the layout of Minneapolis land, hous-  
 ingwise, is the generous proportions of the building  
 lots throughout the city. In general these range in  
 frontage from forty to fifty feet, and in depth from  
 one-hundred twenty eight to one hundred eighty feet.

Wide Streets and \* The streets throughout the  
 Many Alleys. \* city are likewise wide, sixty  
 \* \* \* \* \* feet as a rule, in business  
 and residence districts alike. Moreover this width is  
 being increased where traffic demands, or it is desired  
 to provide an ornamental boulevard. Correspondingly  
 at least two-thirds of the city has the alley system,  
 alleys from ten to twenty feet wide, but in the main  
 fourteen and sixteen feet wide, extending through the  
 center of the blocks parallel to their greater dimension.  
 It is thus evident that the original standard of Minne-

apolis in respect to ground occupation was very high, a standard which now prevails along mile after mile of the city streets. The general effect of this liberal land policy is most inspiring. Together with the park system now being so artistically and enterprisingly promoted, it presents a civic asset of untold value in physical, esthetic and moral terms.

Compromise \* As was inevitable, however, this  
 Building. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* high standard began to be compromised

\* \* \* \* \* \* upon the arrival of such land values as made more intensive building desirable. The first method of compromise to become general throughout the residence districts is seen in the duplex house, or St. Louis flat, as it is known in other cities. At one time this form of multiple house which accommodated one family up and one family down can be said to have been the characteristic multiple dwelling of the city. From table 16 one can obtain an idea of the rapidity with which the building of multiple dwellings has increased since 1907 and the relative importance of the duplex. In that year there were 113 duplexes erected.

In the two years following, this number greatly increased so that in 1909 there were more than twice as many built, namely 228. This was the gala year for duplex construction. The building of flats and apartment houses fell from the mark of the previous year and only exceeded by four structures the mark of two years before, while on the average they contained enough fewer apartments to reduce the total number of flat apartments from 338 to 312. The next year saw the turning of the tide. Apartments and flats began a steady climb, and the duplex construction fell off until in 1911 it had gone down to 94. In 1912, 135 duplexes were constructed, and the unprecedented number of 127 flats and apartment houses. #

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# An interesting phase in the evolution of Minneapolis housing is found in a further development of the duplex. It is quite customary in this city to arrange a third flat above the second floor of duplex houses, in the attic in fact. The Building Inspector framed an ordinance prohibiting the installation of cooking

This increasing use of the land, of which the duplex now represents the entering wedge, and the apartment house the extreme result, spells peril to the hitherto high standard of lawns and gardens. The man who erects an apartment house in the midst of a fashionable residence district capitalizes his environment. He capitalizes the abundance of air, the street vistas, the grounds, gardens, fashionable and artistic dwellings, and the social psychology which says that it is the correct thing to live in that particular portion of the city.

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conveniences in such a flat, the idea being that three families in a two story house meant both overcrowding and danger from fire. This ordinance was carried into court and during 1912 a decision was rendered declaring it unconstitutional. The amendments of this spring include a provision that all such two story houses in which cooking appurtenances are installed above the second story shall come into the apartment house class. This is calculated to discourage the tendency.



His suites are rented before they are finished, and the tenants move in before the plaster is dry upon the walls. The builder can ask large rents and get them. At the same time he has made the district less desirable to the dwellers in private residences, he has pointed the way for other investors to high profits, and he has set a new land income standard and taxation standard for the entire neighborhood. After the first experiment, the change of a purely residence district into an apartment house district is liable to be rapid.

Thus through an evolution in the type of structure, the sure and steady pressure of the economic world is robbing this city of lawns and terraces, and substituting the grim facade of the tenement. This is one method by which the large building lot of Minneapolis ceases to be a civic asset. #

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# Before passing on to the complementary phase of the present development which is destroying the beauty and wholesomeness of Minneapolis housing, it will be well to have a parting word to say in respect to the types of apartment houses now being erected in this city. The tone of this chapter will as a whole reflect the

Rear Housing. \*            Another main source of peril to  
 \*            \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*    the present generous Minneapolis  
 lot is found in the development of rear housing.  
 Illustrations forty-four and forty-five present the  
 situation in a nutshell.    Forty-four shows a cellar  
 over which is to be built a large front house to com-  
 pletely hide the small house to the rear.    Not even an  
 alley communicates with what will be the rear house.  
 At the right are seen the barns and chicken houses of  
 the neighbors, of which the woman in the little house al-  
 ready complains.    She has but shortly come from Den-  
 mark and the ways of America are still a source of dis-  
 may.    "You are too slack", she says.

Illustration forty-five shows a rear tenement  
 moved onto the lot behind the huge, unsightly one in  
 front.    This rear building and the one on the street

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attitude of Dr. Werner Hegemann of Berlin who recently  
 spent two days in Minneapolis in the interest of city  
 planning and housing.    He deprecated the present rapid  
 building of apartments.    "It looks," he said, "as though  
 your city were to be like all American cities, good at



Forty-three. Dilapidated negro  
quarters.



Forty-four. The process of making  
new housing. (189)

taken together exceed by far the percentage of lot occupation even now allowable in this city of excessively high percentages. The undesirability of rear housing does not need to be commented upon to be appreciated. Such houses are hidden from the street, must accept some ones back yard as their front yard, are often deprived of sufficient light and air, attract an undesirable class of tenants, and are difficult of sanitation. For example, the occupants of the rear tenement shown in illustration forty-five are obliged to be their water from a well-situated only a short distance from an ancient privy vault, or else in the butcher shop before

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first, then bad, and finally like Chicago and New York, very bad. And what is most discouraging, the people do not shrink from the conditions of Chicago and New York. If the people of Minneapolis were to vote today to decide whether or not, in the wink of an eye, Minneapolis should be given the size of Chicago with all of the evils present with that size, an overwhelming majority would vote so to do." When he saw the long narrow halls in



Forty six - rear tenement.



Forty - six - Built up alley with houses  
facing stables. (190)

closing hours at night and after opening hours in the morning. The structure is cold and delapidated. People in the front tenement throw down ashes and garbage into the yard. The refuse from the butcher shop reeks there in the summer. It is no wonder that the people who inhabit it are of a sort notorious throughout the neighborhood.

Alley Housing. \* Similarly building upon alleys  
 \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* is a method of utilizing the large

---

the great new apartment house at the corner of Lyndale and Forrest Ave. So., he said "These are Kaserne, barracks," and he took a picture outside, to show the huge blank unfinished wall of this human stable as it boldly thrust itself upon the row of neighboring residences, neat, modest, comfortable houses, upon their generous, old time lawns.

The *great* fact is this. The present type of Minneapolis apartment house is absolutely barbaric architecturally, and socially. Architecturally, two chief characteristics are to be noted. First, the practice of not finishing the sides and rear of the dwellings to corres-

Minneapolis lot in the interest of greater income and worse citizenship. Illustration forty-six shows such an alley bordered by stables on one side and by dwellings on the other. It is filthy and when fully built up will present problems of a nature to concern Chicago. Why more of the fourteen to twenty feet wide alleys of Minneapolis are not built upon than now are is due to the extensive nature of the past development of the city.

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pond to the front. At once the cry is unwarranted expense. Dr. Hegemann suggests less ornament in front and more uniformity all around. One might also say less ornament and more taste.

The second chief cause is an utter lack of any sort of grouping. Even where three or four tenements are erected upon the same or adjoining lots by one promoter, the individualistic arrangement is maintained. Gaps are left in the front, and the buildings are extended back upon the lots, thus producing (1) a hideous succession of red and yellow brick surfaces to the view from the street, (2) a dismal outlook from the windows

The causes underlying this extensive development are many and complex. Not least among them may be considered our rapid transportation facilities which are no doubt better than they otherwise might have been because of the proximity of St. Paul and the resulting more extensive mileage, introducing a certain efficiency and economy of large scale service. However, these causes cannot always be so potent. At the rate of in\*

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at the sides of the units onto narrow courts and blank walls, and a (3) senselessly small yard area at the rear. Obviously the only correct method of dealing with this sort of construction, if it must be at all, is to present a uniform front to the street, provide a more shallow structure and a useful yard at the rear. The social implications of tenement construction have already been commented upon. It is apparent that not only are social ideals primitive in this city, where the housing question is concerned, but architecture itself is absolutely barbaric.





crease which held between 1900 and 1910, in fifty years Minneapolis will be a city of 1,800,000 and St. Paul a city of 1,200,000. Together the population will total 3,000,000 and it will be together, together, if something is not done of a preventative nature, as Chicago is together, crowded together. What of the hundreds of miles of Minneapolis alleys then?

Prophetic \* When one glances over the map  
 Developments. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* of Minneapolis his eye catches  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* many breaks in the uniformity of  
 the city plan. some of these, inconspicuously small  
 as they are, may be considered highly prophetic. For  
 instance at 32'd Ave. No. between 3'd and 4th streets  
 a real estate company has widened a fourteen foot alley  
 into a thirty foot street, and then laid out a ten foot  
 alley on either side, half way down the original lot  
 length. Plate VII gives the idea. The scheme is then  
 to provide houses upon lots 34x70 feet as shown in the  
 black row of diagrams, accommodating four rows of houses  
 where there were two rows before. This is obviously  
 one means of escape from the building upon alleys. The



Forty-seven - widened alley and  
experimental housing.



Forty eight: Ten foot service alley  
between thirty and sixty foot  
streets. 196

too narrow alley is widened to become a street, a narrow street to be sure, but one sufficiently wide to register a great improvement over a fourteen foot alley. It can be advantageously paved, and lighted, and laid with sewer and water. Other such developments are to be found at 28th Ave. No. between Washington and 3'd St., just below Lake St. between Pillsbury and Blaisdell, and between North Lyndale, Dupont, sixth Ave. No. and Western. These developments are interesting because while they threaten the future of the large lot, they register what is in many respects an improvement over rear housing. It will be well to obtain a definite idea of the housing upon them, and the peculiar problems presented in the development.

Nature of the	*	The dwellings upon the 32'd
Housing.	*	
	*	Ave. No. district occupy thirty-
* * * * *	*	nine percent of the lot, are five

room bungalows for the most part, accommodate sixty people per acre, and rent for eleven dollars per month each. Illustrations forty-seven and forty-eight present streets and alleys. There is very little room for



Forty-nine - Tinsley Place 30 ft street.



Fifty - Scanty garden space on  
30 ft. street development.

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gardens, since sheds are located in the rear. The toilets being located in these sheds, there is for the time being, and element of necessity in the presence of these structures over and above their use as fuel depositories.

Findley Place.       \*       Just south of Lake Street  
                           \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*       \*       between Blaisdell and Pillebury  
 Avenues, is the second of these districts of widened alleys. Illustration forty-nine and fifty show street and yard development. The ten foot alleys are omitted in this scheme, the houses are more substantial than in the first, and partly as a result of this fact and partly as a result of the more desirable locality, no doubt, the rents are somewhat higher.

The North               \*       Finally, for our notice at  
 Jewish District.       \*  
                           \*       least, the district between North  
 \* \* \* \* \*       \*       Lyndale and Dupont, and Sixth  
 Ave. No. and Western, is similarly laid out with alleys widened into thirty foot streets. As in the Findley Place development, the ten foot alleys are lacking here also. Illustrations fifty-one and fifty-two present



Fifty-one, Jewett Place - 30 ft. street,



Fifty-two - Scanty rear yards on  
30 foot street development. (200)

street and yard aspects. It was of this district that Dr. Hagemann said, "It has the possibilities of either garden city or slum." Illustration fifty-two reveals the fact that slumification has already proceeded to some extent. The violations of good housing rules most responsible for this condition are,

1. building upon too great a percentage of the lot,
2. placing houses too close together,
3. building in such a manner that the space un-  
built upon is not contiguous space, with the result that  
it is useless for lawns, gardens, etc; in other words  
an uneconomical use of the land,
4. general delapidation,
5. general lack of sanitation.

Examples. \* Illustration fifty-three is calculated  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* exemplify the first of these points. It  
is a photograph of a house upon a lot twenty-five feet  
by seventy-five feet. The house is twenty-five feet  
wide and lacks only the ten and one-half feet in front  
of extending the full length of the lot. It covers  
eighty-six percent of the lot area. There is no yard in  
the rear.



Illustration fifty-four presents the result of a three foot space between houses. The court is even more filthy than the camera could bring out. Referring again to illustration fifty-two will emphasize the third point. The sheds and out houses are so numerous and so ill placed, that a decent patch of green, or a modest garden, otherwise possible, is absolutely prevented. The picture also suggests the delapidation. Fifty-three shows the ill kept condition of one vacant lot, and the imagination may be called upon to furnish a picture of inhabited ones.

Street to Street \* A type of tenement encouraged  
 Tenements. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* by the seventy foot lot is  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* shown in illustration fifty-five.

It runs straight through from street to street, having thus two frontages and absolutely no yard. This building could not be exactly duplicated under our present laws, but similar ones of a not materially better could, and no doubt will be, erected.

Common \* While the North Lyndale district  
 Character. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* is the one from which the above ex-



Fifty-three  
no rear yard  
on 25 x 70 lot.



Fifty-four,  
narrow and  
fittly lot-  
line case  
on 25 x 70  
lot development.

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amples of housing malpractise are all drawn, all four of the districts investigated show similar signs of degeneration upon all of the points mentioned, except that against the two districts in the North Washington vicinity the charge of houses being placed too close together cannot be brought.

By Whom \*            These districts have drawn a varied  
 Inhabited \*            population.    In the two north ones  
 \* \* \* \* \* \*            just mentioned live laboreers, and me-  
 chanics.    They find the rent comparatively low, and  
 know the pleasure of fresh air.    They stay.    The  
 South Lake street district is also the home of laborers  
 and mechanics.    By those situated on the neighboring  
 larger lots, it is, however, considered not quite the  
 thing to live on Findley Place.    A bit of social dis-  
 dain has fallen upon the neighborhood.    It is even  
 thought to be less humble to live upon a small lot on  
 the side facing the sixty foot street, than on a small  
 lot facing the thirty foot street.    Lately negroes have  
 begun to come in.    It is pertinent to remember that the  
 alleys of Washington D. C. are inhabited by negroes.

A Young \*           The North Lyndale district is the  
 Ghetto.   \*  
           \*           home of the greater part of the Jewish  
 \* \* \* \* \* \*           population of the city. They have  
 succeeded in making in making it the worst possible for  
 Minneapolis at the present stage of development.  
 Stables, ragpicking sheds, piles of junk, salt baths,  
 tenement dwellings, and ill smelling out-houses fight  
 for the ground. Add a story or two, and one has Chicago.

Not an Inevitable \*           The degeneration of these  
 Condition.       \*  
                   \*           areas need not be considered  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*           an inevitable result. Some  
 of the causes which have been active in producing doubt-  
 ful and bad conditions upon them follow. Not all of  
 these causes are necessarily to be taken as active in  
 any one of the sections, but all of them have been active  
 in one or more of them.

1. The fact that the comparative, rather than abso-  
 lute size of the lot is small has tended to attract a  
 population of a character consonant with lower social  
 and economic standards.

2. The lack of regulation of the construction of

single dwellings becomes more acutely felt upon small lots, where the temptation is to try to build a large lot dwelling upon a small lot space.

3. Cheap construction has hastened delapidation and meant cold and unstable housing from the first.

4. When foreign population has been attracted, through the lower standards, it has retarded the occupation by others.

5. The whole atmosphere of the districts suggests carelessness on the part of tenants and owners alike, indicating a lack of pride and self respect in relation to the up keep and appearance of things. A good set of housing regulations, and a general density of population such that the lot area might seem comparatively large instead of comparatively small, would change the whole apparent character of the districts. In other words, it must not at once be assumed that these areas set an absolutely low standard in lot area. Dr. Hagemann, from crowded Berlin pronounced them potentially, Garden Cities, and spoke of them as ideal.

Better Treatment. \*            With Garden City principles in  
\*  
\* \* \* \* \*

mind one can very shortly suggest decided improvements over the method of lot occupation now found upon the areas. For instance, let us develop the possibilities suggested in Plate VII. The black row of diagrams in the upper square represent the present method of development upon the area above 32 'd Ave. No. As previously explained the lots are thirty-four by seventy feet, and the houses are roughly twenty-five by forty feet occupying thirty-nine percent of the area. The second row of diagrams represents the houses transformed into double houses, still one story in height and still occupying thirty-nine percent of the lot area, but so arranged upon two lots as to leave a front lawn eighteen feet deep, and a rear lawn twenty-two feet deep. The sheds and toilets are now transferred to basements and bath rooms and the same distance, approximately, is retained between adjacent buildings, except, of course as two of the former houses are now combined in one. Here the chief advantage is in arranging for contiguous space. The third row, however, shows a still greater improvement. Here the houses are slightly increased

in floor space, but reduced in lot occupation through being raised to two stories. The percentage of occupation is now twenty-five, having a front lawn of eighteen feet and a rear yard twenty-seven feet deep. This scheme would separate rear building lines sixty-four feet, and front building lines sixty-six feet. The ten foot service alley could be retained or not, as desirable.

	*	
Thirty foot	*	The fourth row of lots
Residence Streets.	*	
	*	shows a further development.
* * * * *	*	
	*	The sixty foot street is

narrowed to thirty feet, and the fifteen feet thus available for building purposes is added to the lots which have frontages on the street. An even division of this available space to both rows of lots between the former sixty foot street and the already thirty foot wide street, would result in a depth of seventy-seven and one-half feet, and would afford back yards of thirty four and one-half feet with front yards of eighteen feet. The lower block in the diagram is thus laid out. The capacity of this sort of housing is easily sixty per

acre on the basis of the old lay out, net, street and alleys out. Whether this is such housing as will be worthy of being taken as a standard does not yet appear. Two things may be said of it. It represents an advance over the present occupation of the districts in mind. It represents this advance through the adoption of the double house, and the narrow residence street, both of which are highly characteristic of Garden City development.

Regulations Needed.	*	At least three sorts of
Encourage Garden City	*	regulations are necessary
Development.	*	
* * * * *	*	to properly regulate the

dwelling house situation, making what is a safe assumption, namely, that properly developed residence districts are Garden City districts.

1. Regulation of the percentage of lot to be covered. As the experience of the North Jewish district shows the regulation of this percentage in dwellings is as necessary as the similar regulation in tenements. Columbus and Duluth achieve the result through specifying size of yards and distances between houses.



2. Regulation of the distances between houses upon adjoining lots and across streets. This virtually means fixing the front and rear building lines for every block, and regulating the width of lot line courts. German cities, under the direction of the city planner, have determined lines for each lot denoting the extreme front and rear limits of building operations upon the lot. Distance between dwellings has already been legislated upon in America. With present standards in mind such distance need not be less than eight feet in this city. Duluth says five feet for a two story house, the distance to increase one foot with the each additional story. Minneapolis can improve upon this.

3. Regulation of the width of street in reference to the character of the neighborhood, and future probabilities. To the mind trained to Garden City ideals the sixty foot residence street with its expanse of paving and useless boulevard borders is a foolish waste of good land and money. Even where the large lot standard is maintained the waste is painfully evident. Where the smaller lots are developed, with the alley

widened to a thirty-foot street as per Plate VII, the additional ground gained in reducing the sixty foot street to thirty is sufficient to change the entire complexion of the lay out. This matter of narrower streets for residence purposes than for traffic purposes is fully one-half of the Garden City principle. There is only one condition under which the boulevard is then made use of: namely, in case there is a probability that the residence street will in the course of time be forced to carry more traffic than the narrow limit would easily accommodate. Boulevards are then allowed, with the thought that when necessary they may be torn up, the street paved fullwidth, and made a traffic artery. Minneapolis has hundreds of miles of residence streets laid out sixty feet wide, and hundreds of miles of sixty foot streets now unbuilt upon, but intended solely for residence purposes. From the point of view of the Garden City planner all this is ignorant wastefulness. For us the chief question is, what is the bearing of this wide street development upon the ultimate condition of our residence districts. Surely, if

the thirty-four by seventy foot lot is to be the escape, as it is now one means of escape, from the alley problem, the wide street is fully under suspicion, of since the space made available by the reduction to thirty feet is an extremely valuable addition to the yard area.

On the other hand, to say that the thirty-four by seventy lot is the ultimate solution of the alley problem, or of any phase of the housing problem, would now be extremely premature. We have still to meet the question, do the size of lot suggested, and the type of house which could be economically erected upon it, meet the requirements of health and well being of the people. They are an improvement over some present conditions, granted, but how much of an improvement, and of what real character? Making the assumption that such housing would afford housing conditions of such quality as to insure a proper environment for human well being, there are still many factors involved which argue against an out and out adoption of the scheme under discussion.

First among them is the danger of setting up as a standard something lower than the highest standard possible in this city. In such matters we must not be content with a minimum. Second, is the danger that lies in promoting a standard appreciably lower than that at present set by the community for itself. Some of the contrast between the gardens shown in illustration fifty-six and the back yards one block down the alley, illustration fifty, is due, as has been pointed out, in all probability, to a lack of pride on the part of the tenants of Findley Place. One's pride goes when he consciously adopts lower standards. There is a practical psychological danger in adopting a standard below the community standard, whether the latter is always realized in practice, or not. The advantages of a star hitch are both direct and indirect, direct in the added **physical** resources, indirect in the heightened self respect.

The Economic Basis. \*           Undoubtedly the economic issue  
 \*                                   \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*           \*           is the one upon which most  
 similar questions are ultimately <sup>chiefly</sup> solved, although the

solution is affected by a myriad of other considerations of fashion, fancy, and ideal, and intelligence. Consequently one of the most vital aspects of the question of the future size of the Minneapolis lot, is what can people afford? We are thinking of the average laboring man with a family. Our question is, what can he afford? So far as information is now available, no one knows. The average laboring man of North Minneapolis lives in the poor old dwellings described in Chapter 11, and pays from eight to fifteen dollars per month rent. His brother lives in the neat cottages now being constructed out Minnehaha way and buys his house on the installment plan. His brother may by <sup>or he may be above the average by</sup> inherent ability be a step above the average, <sup>^</sup> virtue of an incentive born of his home buying. If it can be shown that the average laborer cannot afford to supply himself with a modern cottage and all that this implies, upon a larger lot than those of Plate VII, and that if not given an opportunity to so do he will be driven in increasing numbers into houses built upon alleys, and into tenements, then the scheme described, or a similar

one of an economical garden city type, should by all means be vigorously promoted. One can safely go a step further. If the average laborer cannot pay enough rent for his house of the older type upon the old fashioned large lot, so that the landlord can afford to keep the house in ~~indecent~~ condition, then the more modest lot division should be adopted. There is one proviso.

The Neglected Issue. \*           With this we may be reminded  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*           of our primary assumption that  
 the thirty-four by seventy lot can meet the demands of an absolute standard, both physical and moral. The great question before the modern city is the question of physical and social prepotency. A quotation from Mr. Henry Vivian of England found in Housing Betterment for March, 1913, puts the matter well. "If we could put a ring fence around the average city like Chicago or Liverpool \* \* \* for a few years, they would all go down. The modern city is not life-producing. In America today if you were to stop the supply of new blood, those great cities would dwindle and die. The



Fifty-five - Street to street tenement on narrow and shallow lot development.



Fifty-six. Ideal garden development on large lot

modern city can only live, under present circumstances, by using up the energy of other districts. But we believe it is possible to develop a modern city that shall be life-producing, and give its people all that comes from association with one's fellows, all the educational development and the intellectual life and social sense. You should not lose contact with fresh air and nature. We have arrived at such a stage in England that there is not enough to supply the wastage of city life. We have now to see that towns themselves shall be health producing.

Physical Standard	*	However we must emphasize
Not Sufficient.	*	
	*	the social and moral factors as
* * * * *	*	well as the physical. In other

words, the conditions of good housing are such conditions as contribute adequately to strong bodies, clear minds, and sturdy characters. If these conditions cannot all be realized upon the small lot, no idealist, or practical citizen either, can afford to consider the further development of such areas. The only escape from the alley problem under such circumstances would



be an absolute prohibition of building upon the rear of ~~the~~  
*present large* a lot, or other than an accredited street.

A Relative \* A minimum standard in housing must,  
Standard. \*  
\* of course, be a relative standard.  
\* \* \* \* \*

It will vary with climate, and with the degree of culture, and even the occupation of the people. In a discussion between authorities probably no unity of opinion could be reached except through a process of determining upon the objectionable features. At the same time the fact must remain that at any moment, at any place, for any people, there is a certain standard of housing which cannot be lowered without seriously endangering the well being of the individuals concerned. Perhaps it is foolish to speculate about something so difficult of determination. It may be better to be content to strive only for the best which, under present conditions, is possible. But what if the best possible does not fulfil the conditions of a proper minimum standard?

The Problem in \* The question is simply this,  
Brief. \*  
\* how much land and what character  
\* \* \* \* \*

of housing can the average laborer afford, and afford in such a way as to promote the economic activity necessary to provide it for him? This, in case it realizes the conditions of a minimum standard as outlined, should be adopted as a minimum. In case it does not, the question passes beyond the scope of simple housing, and becomes a question of the economic order, and housing activity must be content to attempt to repair the devastations of social injustice, to make what can be made of a losing game, the end of which is racial failure, unless, of course, the economic order can be so changed as to increase the opportunities of the humble. This has been the province of the co-partnership housing of England, and similar German enterprises. On the other hand, if that which the laborer of today can afford sets a comparatively high standard, every effort should be made to retain that standard at its best, in the interest of both natural, and human resources.

and human  
 Needed \*  
 Investigations. \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

From this discussion, at least  
 two important conclusions can be

gathered. Minneapolis now faces the problem of properly influencing housing, not only through an adequate housing code, but through a proper and constructive regulation of streets and lot dimensions. In order to accomplish this properly, the economic aspects, and the physical and social implications, need deep study and thorough investigation. No one today knows just what the future policy of the city ought to be, except that it should be a constructive policy, a positive policy rather than a negative policy. There should be positive guidance, rather than negative checks. Only thus will the city make the most of an unusual opportunity. This positive policy can be outlined only after careful and painstaking analysis of both present probabilities and future possibilities, in relation to the necessities of human life and advance.

## CHAPTER V.

### CONCLUSIONS.

It is possible to be quite brief in summarizing the preceding discussion. Chapter I develops the need for an up to date housing code. The evils found in this city are characteristic of all American cities. They are to be met first of all in the manner characteristic of the earliest American reforms, namely through an adequate and up-to-date housing regulations. In many respects our city may be able to set a standard higher than that of other cities. Where ever possible this should be done.

Chapter II emphasizes the need of extending the water supply to many homes now bereft of this necessity. This is a matter capable of treatment in a hous-

ing code. In a tenement water should enter every apartment, and in dwellings it should at least be furnished in the yard at a convenient distance from the house. This is a principle accepted by advanced housing codes. An efficient garbage and ash collection is also an essential part of housing economy. Community action in this field is evidently more economical than individualistic action. The health department cannot now carry the burden. A new service is necessary.

Chapter III emphasizes the tendency to overcrowding, and the increasing tenement construction. Both of these matters can be influenced through a better housing code. The latter is also somewhat open to influence through the new state law which gives the city council power to restrict apartment house construction to certain districts, as it sees fit. A greater need is for a healthy public opinion which will of its own power discourage the construction of apartments since by their very nature, they represent the greatest possible deviation from the hitherto high standard of Minneapolis housing.

Finally Chapter IV emphasizes the desirability of the regulation of housing from the point of view of lot division and street development. The need for studies which will reveal the possibilities of the working-man's pocket book, and the housing necessities of the working classes, is urged, all with a view to constructive action. Today no supervision upon the ~~fact~~ <sup>leaving out of new sections,</sup> of the city over the city plan, is by any means constructive. The sole significant rule, outside of a general insistence upon the rectangular system, seems to be the prohibiting of alleys less than fourteen feet wide in new lay outs. In general the land promoter suits his own convenience in the plotting of new sections, the city council is guided by convention. The city planner sees deeper, Minneapolis needs to consult the wisdom of practical city planing. This the great opportunity before her of constructive work. With an up to date housing code, a better system of sanitation, and an effective ambition to improve and develop a practical city plan, Minneapolis can become one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful of American cities. This is opportunity.

## SUGGESTED INVESTIGATIONS.

1. What are the considerations, social, economic, and otherwise, which influence people to live in apartment houses?
2. What can the average laborer afford in the way of housing in Minneapolis today,
  - (a) When he rents?
  - (b) When he buys?
3. What are the economic aspects of the thirty foot street districts of this city,
  - (a) To be landlord?
  - (b) To be tenant?
4. What has copartnership housing to offer Minneapolis?
5. What are the possibilities of improvement in the present type of apartment house?
6. What are the possibilities of improving the present types of dwellings?
7. What are the possibilities of the double house?

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