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HOUSING CONDITIONS IN ST. LOUIS.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF SAINT LOUIS.

Citizens of the City of St. Louis have joined with Mr. Lawrence Veill~~f~~er, Deputy Commissioner of the New York Tenement House Commission, in the belief that St. Louis has no tenement problem. Regarding a housing problem the latter has remained silent, the former silently ignorant. To show that St. Louis has a very serious housing problem and a menacing tenement problem is the object of this investigation and report.

The polite other half prefers not to know of the filthy, unhealthy quarters from which its office boys, newsies, servants and fellow-workers in every walk of daily life bring contagious disease. The West End never questions where its clothes are hung to dry, where its fruit, vegetables, bread and fish might have rested before appearing in their garnishments for their own polished tables. The present report is founded upon a thorough house to house investigation and based upon its findings, if from no other desire than that of self-preservation, there should result a public demand of effort which would bring about in these districts of congestion conditions required for decency and health.

Yet there should be a higher motive for demand - a motive which gives the working class a right to live decently. Poor,

ignorant, misunderstood children of Europe, side by side with our more closely related unfortunates, are condemned to huddle together in dilapidated houses paying rents which would at least afford them modern conveniences in other parts of the city.

Because of the desire of landlords to make every inch of their lot pay a dividend, and because of the short-sighted policy of the municipality in permitting them to do so, a slum district has been started in this city which will require many millions of dollars to overcome and will cost thousands of innocent lives before any appreciable reform can be enacted.

Buildings have been jammed together regardless of lighting, ventilation or protection from fire. Foul, garbage strewn courtyards are allowed to contaminate the limited amount of air supply. In many of the yards " befo de wah" surface drainage still exists; slops thrown into porch hopper-sinks, without water connection to flush them, trickle through defective drains into the yard below; and vaults with broken drainage and nearly full, emit sickening odors which arise into kitchens and dining rooms of near-by tenements.

Often there are offensive stables with their accompanying manure pits vying with the broken wooden ash bins, overflowing with rubbish and garbage, as a feasting place for the flies which eventually find their way to the kitchens, the small shops where edibles are displayed, and even into the adjacent downtown business houses to pollute and poison wherever they go.

A single hydrant draining into a broken, half-clogged sewer sink furnishes the front and rear houses for a half block. In many cases the water supply for families on the third and fourth floors

must be carried from the yards - a wonderful incentive for cleanliness.

The foregoing general conditions together with damp cellars strewn with rubbish, unsanitary plumbing and overcrowding, will set the stage for the acts of hardship which must inevitably follow.

THE AREA INVESTIGATED.

In determining the area to be investigated the Housing Committee of the Civic League sought for a representative ^{section} where St. Louis working peoples were contending with old housing evils and threatened with new ones. There are several sections of the city such as certain blocks along the Levee, others in Mill Valley and around Union Station, and still others in South St. Louis which in themselves are worse than the final selection because of various unsanitary, immoral, or overcrowded conditions, but the desire to select a single large area which is representative and yet which contains within itself all of the problems of the housing of the poor, caused the selection of the large general area immediately adjoining the downtown business section, bounded by Seventh Street on the east, Fourteenth Street on the west, Lucas Avenue on the south and O'Fallon Street on the north. The blocks between Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue were omitted because of a predominance of business houses therein.

As a means of simplification and more graphic presentation, the single large area has been dealt with in this report under the following divisions; (1) the Jewish district; (2) the Negro district; (3) the Mixed district; (4) the Italian district; and (5) the Polish district. Nor is this division one of nationality alone, but rather

is it one of physical differences which adhere closely to such a division of peoples.

The first district - Jewish - presents a composite picture of the two and three story brick buildings, built directly against the building line on either side of the lot, the only passageway to the rear being a sort of hallway covered by the story above. The result of this crowding on the block is found in many dark, unventilated rooms. Many of the front houses contain stores, parts of which have been cut up into living apartments. The rear tenement in the Jewish quarter is usually of brick built to the same height as the front and facing on a small court between the two. The courts in the Ghetto are among the most filthy; here promiscuous dumping of garbage takes place, each tenant holding the other responsible for the dirt. Dirty meat shops and slaughter rooms, many of them marked "Kosher," together with dirty shoddy stores in general abound.

There are in the Ghetto Jews from many lands, and while the German Jews are as clean as the other Germans found scattered through the Mixed district, the Russian and Austrian Jews maintain the dirtiest apartments found in all the districts. In this section occur large families, with few boarders; dirty rag sheds incubating disease; cellars damp and foul from the storage of geese and chickens; and filthy stables and drains. On the whole, while the Jews possess the best water facilities they are the most slovenly of all the peoples. It was in the Jewish district that most of the bath tubs and water toilets were found.

The second, or Negro district, is striking in its physical aspects. Fully one-half of all the houses within its borders

are unfit for habitation due to dilapidation and infection. Two story front houses - some of them built of frame - and one or two story houses - many of them of frame - are cut up into one room apartments which have for an outlook a dirty, unpaved surface-drained yard crowded with badly constructed, foul-smelling vaults and ash bins. The superstructures of these vaults, while often dangerous, are almost invariably clean, as are the living rooms of the Negro tenant; a condition probably resulting from the domestic training of the race.

While the rooms are clean, the walls, floors and roofs are inconceivably bad. Dangerous plastering, sagging floors, bricks and boards dropping from walls and admitting light and the elements are common. Roofs leaking like sieves, and hanging paper where swarm bugs and microbes mean for the Negro tenant a life of hardship. Modern conveniences are altogether lacking and wet cellars are the natural results of broken house drains and yards having no sewer drainage.

The third, or Mixed district, possess many, if not all, of the physical aspects of the various other districts. Within it are housed Russian, Austro - Hungarian and German Jews, Irish, Germans, Italians, Negroes, Polish and a few English and French.

In this district, as in the Italian, there are many frame stables with filthy stable lots and hayloft apartments. The front tenements are most often built of frame, dilapidated and damp. There is the same noisome, disease breeding cess-pool-vault found here that is common to all of the districts. The ash bin and the garbage receptacles are as bad as those of the other districts.

In the fourth, or Italian district, the alley house is

found at its worst. Small, dark, poorly ventilated, damp rear houses shelter hundreds of Italians. These buildings are old and many of them unfit for habitation. Many of the cellars contain water during most of the year, while those which are merely "damp" are used for the storage of fruit. The living apartments above serve as homes for the fruit pedlars. In these small, crowded rear houses occur much tuberculosis, which is also true of the small rear houses in the Negro district.

Within their homes the Italians as a class are clean, and while they keep their rooms and closets clean, their ash bins and garbage receptacles are nearly as filthy as those of the Jewish district. Overcrowding within the district is quite common, especially among the single men, who unlike the other foreigners found, congregate for light housekeeping, not as lodgers with some family. In many single rooms from four to nine men may be found sleeping. The men as well as the housewives keep their apartments clean.

Many offensive stables and outhouses are found within the district. Almost every Italian family keeps one or more dogs within the apartment. It is within the Italian district that basement living and working is most common; nearly all of the dangerous cellar bakeshops being found within this district.

The fifth and last district is the Polish; where in large half-block three-story tenements, families with lodgers crowd shamefully within badly lighted, poorly ventilated rooms. The exterior physical features are much the same as those of the four other districts.

CHAPTER II

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

THE OVERCROWDED BLOCK AND CONGESTED LOT AREA.

As has been said at the beginning of this study that while the problem in St. Louis is essentially a housing problem yet does it come dangerously near being a tenement problem. A tenement house as defined by the Municipal Code is a dwelling "which, or any portion of which, is occupied by more than three families living independently of one another, and doing their cooking upon the premises; or by more than two families above the second floor, so living and cooking".¹ Think of the difficulty of trying to determine what really is a tenement house when in as many different places the following definitions are added: "Every house, building or portion thereof ----- to be occupied as the home ^{or} ~~as~~ residence of more than two families living independent of one another."² " 'Tenement house ' shall be taken to mean a building which, or any portion of which, is occupied by more than two families, ---- or by more than one family above the first story."³ According to this vague tangle of definitions there are from one-fifth to one-half of the total number of dwellings examined which might be classed as "tenements". Nearly one-third of the total number of dwellings are of three or more stories in height.

¹ Municipal Code - Sec. 94 page 453.

² Municipal Code - sec. 583 page 548.

³ Building Code - sec. 21 page 38541.

From a point of vantage one may look down upon the overcrowded block with its solid row of three story front buildings facing the street. Covered passageways leading from the street to the openings called yards present a solid resistance to the morning sun. To the rear of the lots a solid row of two and three story alley tenements, having their door steps leading into foul and narrow alleyways, present a solid resistance to the afternoon sun. The only rays which the small portion of the lot not covered with buildings can get must be forth-coming during the single noon hour. Apartments front and rear three rooms in depth must, by this arrangement, have a middle room with no direct connection with the outer air.

In many cities, notably New York and Boston, the law prohibits building upon more than sixty-five percent of interior lots and from eighty to ninety percent of corner lots. It is interesting to note that a little over one-third of the dwellings existing within the districts studied would be illegal in the cities of New York and Boston. There were found eighteen lots covered entirely by one or more buildings. No breathing space but the street and alley for a hundred future citizens. Such a house was found on Seventh Street, where a four story, double-decker, back-to-back structure, crowded with Italians, covers one-hundred percent of the lot.

The laws of Washington, Chicago and several of the smaller municipalities require a ten or twelve foot space at the rear of the lot to remain unbuilt upon. This provision prevents the dark, dirty, damp canyons found in the hearts of most of the crowded blocks in St. Louis. Many of the alley houses are dilapidated shells moved

from the front of the lot to the rear to make room for a dwellings with a greater possibility of profit. In several instances middle houses are jammed on the lots and in one instance four houses were found on one lot. In such cases the lower rooms of the middle houses might be at the bottom of a well and be afforded the same lack of light and air, the same damp mustiness.

But why exists this huddling together of peoples within apartments, of apartments within dwellings, of dwellings upon lots - making of the block a grewsome catacomb, the abode of misery and disease? What incentive can argue it, what feeling sanction it? The uncurbed, grasping human desire to fill the private coffer and the shameful municipal sanction of this desire has led the unstricted landlord to build and rebuild, add to and add to until every available foot of ground nets every available cent of profit. The poor pay a dearer rent than mere dollars and cents, they meet the demand at the sacrifice of health and decency - at the sacrifice of the health and decency of society at large.

A GLANCE AT THE REAR TENEMENT AND ALLEY HOUSE.

"My! how I should hate to live in this part of the city", and the speaker with a shiver instinctively catches his breath lest he breathe some of the alley germs as the street car hurries him past a particularly crowded alley. This may be his first ride through some of the congested districts and the glimpse may cause a second thought. If it chance to be his second ride he dismisses second thought and turns to his morning paper to read of a better world. If perchance it is his third ride he forgets to notice that the alleys are

there at all. As soon as his observation ceases, because of the repetition of the view, he resignedly gives himself and his fellow-men over to the microbes which those alleys incubate and which are carried to him in the car by every gust of passing wind.

Surely if this man, who, in his own home is surrounded by cleanliness and the virtues of home life, can pass without notice these distressing alleys on the third morning, the working ^{man} with whom these conditions are associated, whose standard of living is much lower, who has not the advantage of an hygienic education, and who has grown from early childhood to overlook the filth which the man on the car overlooks on the third morning, surely this poor foreigner cannot be expected to realize his own danger and his simple mind conceive of a community menace.

A change in conditions must come through the influence of the man who can conceive and is broad minded enough to possess a community interest and lend an uplifting hand to his state and to his brother who is less fortunate than he.

The alley dwelling and the alley tenement possess all of the dangers of the front dwellings and tenements and many more. The mere fact alone that the rents of the rear houses are reduced because of their location forces the poorest, and most often these with the lowest standard of living, to crowd together in these houses.

The cellar of the rear tenement is almost invariably damp, as a glance at the table on page 36 will show. This condition is often caused by the grading of the lot, which, in the case of surface or defective drainage directs the water toward the rear of the lot. Defective cellar walls and sunken cellar entrances admit ^{this} ~~their~~ drainage into the cellars of the rear house. These houses are most

often occupied by Negroes and Italians, if by the latter, the damp cellars are usually used for storing fruit.

In many cases the percentage of the lot built upon causes the front building to overshadow the rear building, which at best is seldom built with a view to adequate light and ventilation. Dark and poorly ventilated rooms are therefore common to the rear structure.

Because of the irregularity of construction of the alley buildings many damp walls are found in the living rooms. It is not unusual to find upon one lot a wooden stable the roof of which drains directly against the wall of a rear dwelling on an adjoining lot. Neither is it uncommon to find the first story used as a stable and the second story used as a dwelling. In one of the worst stables found, an Italian fruit vender and his family lived on the second floor, while he housed his horses, dogs and a goat, and stored his stock of fruits in the damp filthy stable below.

The alleys at best are very narrow and with a three story tenement on either side the first floors ~~is~~ seldom, if ever, feel the rays of the sun.

The state of repair of the rear buildings is usually very bad; due to the fact that construction where intended to serve as alley houses is very poor; and where in certain instances old dilapidated houses have been moved from the front of the lot to the rear to make room for new front buildings including stores.

In the rear building the usual number of rooms found in an apartment is two. The one facing the yard serves as kitchen and

In the examination of two-hundred and eighty rear houses, housing 2,479 people, only one bath tub was found and that was in the home of a landlord; only four toilets were seen; and only a very small percent of the rear houses had the use of sinks, and most of these exhibited defective plumbing.

evils

In speaking of the manifold evils of the massing of the

In speaking of the manifold of the massing of the populace Edward Marshall, Secretary of the New York Tenement House Committee of 1894, says that from personal observation and the testimony of expert witnesses the greatest evils are: "keeping children up and out of doors till midnight in warm weather, because the rooms are almost unendurable; making cleanliness of house and street difficult; filling the air with unwholesome emanations and foul odors of every kind; producing a condition of nervous tension; interfering with the separateness and sacredness of home life; leading to the promiscuous mixing of all ages and sexes in a single room - thus breaking the barriers of modesty and inducing to the corruption of the young, and occasi^sonly to revolt in crimes." ¹

¹ Report of New York Tenement House Commission 1894, page 12.

In St. Louis as well as in other cities overcrowding may be considered as a primary or secondary cause for much of the physical degeneracy. Lack of stamina, exhaustion, physical debility, diseases of the eyes caused by the lack of light, diseases of the respiratory organs due to the lack of sufficient ventilation, diseases of muscles due to dampness, diseases of the skin due to filth, diseases of congenital organs due to immorality, pauperism, poverty, drunkenness, crime and vice are most often traced as effects of overcrowding.

Overcrowding in St. Louis does not present the problem of many of the older cities like New York - that of actual numbers of human beings in large tenements - but rather with Philadelphia, London and Cleveland, this city's problem is largely one of overcrowding within what houses of whatever description are found in the congested districts under most unsanitary surroundings. If all of the houses examined had been sanitary structures six or eight stories in height and containing no more persons than the investigation shows there would be no cause to consider overcrowding and the object of this report would have been defeated. The worst form of overcrowding often occurs in the smaller houses; most often in one and two room apartments.

There exist in the districts examined 366 one room apartments serving as combination kitchen^s, bed room^s and dining rooms for the small army which inhabits them; or about 14.4% of all families live in one room apartments. This statement would seem to confine the worst examples of overcrowding to one room apartments, but however bad these may be, some of the larger apartments are worse.

Picture one apartment found on O'Fallon Street where a family of three shared two rooms with two women and twelve men lodgers; another on Biddle Street where a family of sixteen ^{was} ~~were~~ found in four very small rooms, only two of which were used for sleeping.

The lodger problem is one of the most vexing of all of the various questions relating to overcrowding. Many foreigners of all nations seem to shelter every brother who applies until every portion of the unoccupied floor space is put to use. During the course of this investigation the people seemed to think they must not appear to be too crowded so that often numbers were given which belied the existing evidence of recently occupied beds. Thus it proved very difficult to determine the actual number of lodgers. The Italians and the Polish are particularly prone to shelter great numbers of their countrymen and thus reduce their rents.

The Chicago report on Tenement Conditions in that city, ^{that} page 52, shows ^{that} while New York has the densest and most overcrowded population in the world that Chicago's population would appear from actual figures to be more crowded than the peoples of Tokio, Calcutta and other Asiatic cities. The report further shows that these cities only have a third the population per acre in their congested districts that Chicago has in her worst spots. "Of course this simply means that a comparison of people per acre in various cities gives one a very superficial idea of the real conditions of overcrowding." So many conditions effect results in density that any picture will be altogether erroneous because of numerous vacant lots, empty houses, places of business, streets and alleys, which so materially reduce the actual numbers living upon any unit of ground space.

"One-hundred years ago three percent of our population was urban; now thirty percent is found in our cities."¹

This increase is the direct result of the demand of industrial conditions on the rural and foreign populations. That the means of properly housing this great influx has not kept pace with the influx itself is directly responsible for the wretched conditions of our slum districts.

The following tables will give a general idea of the distribution of population within the districts studied:

NUMBER OF ROOMS PER APARTMENT.

Districts.	Front Building			Rear Building			Total.		
	No. Apartments.	No. Rooms.	Ratio	No. Apartments.	No. Rooms.	Ratio	No. Apartments.	No. Rooms.	Ratio.
Jewish	935	2443	2.61	189	432	2.28	1124	2875	2.55
Negro	667	1563	2.34	106	204	1.92	773	1767	2.28
Mixed	452	1140	2.50	105	222	2.11	557	1362	2.44
Italian	799	1980	2.47	182	381	2.09	981	2361	2.4
Polish	299	783	2.61	121	278	2.29	420	1061	2.52
Total.	3152	7909	2.5	703	1517	2.15	3855	9426	2.46

¹ Housing Conditions in Cleveland, page 28.

NUMBER OF ROOMS PER APARTMENT.

Districts.	Front Building.			Rear Building			Total		
	No. wells.	No. Apts.	Ratio	No. Dwell.	No. Apts.	Ratio	No. Dwell.	No. Apts.	Ratio.
Jewish	314	935	2.97	82	189	2.30	396	1124	2.83
Negro	263	667	2.53	46	106	2.30	309	773	2.5
Mixed	173	452	2.61	38	105	2.76	211	557	2.63
Italian	256	799	3.12	67	182	2.71	323	981	3.03
Polish	109	299	2.74	47	121	2.57	156	420	2.69
Total.	1115	3152	2.82	280	703	2.51	1395	3855	2.76

THE CROWDING OF FAMILIES IN ROOMS AND APARTMENTS.

The tables within this section show more graphically than words the crowding of families within rooms and apartments. While these tables give a general picture, yet, as is usually the case in averages, the true picture is hard to convey due to a wide variation in conditions. In many cases certain houses with a large number of apartments overshadow and raise the average of the small rear house with small apartments ^{or} with only one or two rooms. Again, the same is true in the average-room table which cannot show the large number of one and two room apartments nor the crowding of families and lodgers within them. In reckoning the number of rooms, bath rooms, summer kitchens, storage rooms and parlors, which, in a strict sense are not used as living rooms have been counted - thus a discount must be allowed in the number of rooms as shown which would greatly increase

the average numbers of people occupying the smaller number of rooms used exclusively for sleeping, eating and cooking. Then the single room used for sewing or tailoring has also been counted and these are frequently found. These "extra" rooms are found in the apartments of the more thrifty tenants and landlords, and when figured in an average table with the single rooms used for sleeping, cooking, eating, sewing and working presents a less crowded picture. These "combination" one room apartments of which there are 366 in the districts examined, show the worst conditions of overcrowding.

Streets.	Rooms.	Persons.	Adults.	Children.
O'Fallon	2	17	16	1
O'Fallon	1	5	1	4
Biddle	4	16	5	11
Biddle	2	9	6	3
Biddle	1	5	2	3
Morgan	2	9	5	4
Carr	1	7	7	-
Wash	9	45	45	-
Thirteenth	2	8	2	6
High	2	8	5	3
Twelfth	2	8	3	5

The above examples were selected from the investigation cards as typical of crowding conditions within the various districts.

The following list of specific examples will show the

more clearly the fearful crowding within some of these rooms:

Street	Rooms.	Persons	Floor Area Sq. Ft.	Average Per person
O'Fallon	2	17	288	16.9
O'Fallon	3	9	201	22.3
O'Fallon	2	8	184	23
Biddle	2	16	358	22.3
Carr	1	3	72	24
Morgan	1	8	144	18
Morgan	1	6	144	24

Imagine from five to ten persons in one room, adults and children of both sexes, sleeping, cooking, eating, bathing, giving birth to children, carrying on work brought into the home, caring for the sick and deformed, attending to fretting babies broken out with heat, battling with the heat of a St. Louis summer in the most pitiable fashion. The sight is not to be denied any citizen who cares to find out the true condition existing in parts of St. Louis. Consider the family as the unit of society, and then, in the light of the statistics on persons and families which follow think with what the future St. Louis must build.

CROWDING WITHIN THE DWELLING.

Districts.	Average No. Persons per Room.			Average No. Persons per Apartment.		
	Front	Rear	Both	Front	Rear	Both
(1) Jewish	1.25	1.57	1.30	3.27	3.6	3.33
(2) Negro	1.12	1.54	1.17	2.64	2.97	2.7
(3) Mixed	1.46	1.59	1.48	3.69	3.37	3.63
(4) Italian	1.51	1.68	1.54	3.76	3.53	3.71
(5) Polish	1.58	1.74	1.62	4.11	4.01	4.11
Total.	1.34	1.63	1.39	3.4	3.52	3.43

CROWDING WITHIN SLEEPING ROOMS.

Districts.	Front Building.			Rear Building.		
	No. Rooms.	No. Persons.	Ratio.	No. Rooms.	No. Persons.	Ratio.
(1) Jewish	1124	3065	2.72	212	681	3.21
(2) Negro	935	1763	1.88	123	315	2.56
(3) Mixed	626	1670	2.66	137	354	2.58
(4) Italian	922	3005	3.25	216	643	2.97
(5) Polish	382	1241	3.24	145	486	3.35
Total	3989	10744	2.44	833	2479	2.97

Of the above room totals in the Jewish district there are 371 front rooms and 100 rear rooms which are being used for

combination rooms, i.e. sleeping plus cooking, eating, business, and ect. In the Negro district out of the total of 935 front and 123 rear, there are 165 front and 50 rear combination rooms. In the Mixed district 150 of the 626 front and 62 of the 137 rear are combination rooms. In the Italian district 251 of the front and 100 of the rear, and in the Polish 145 of the front and 72 of the rear are not used exclusively for sleeping purposes.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

Front Building.

Districts.	Base- ment	Number Persons.			Base- ment	Number Families.		
		First Floor	Second Floor	Third Floor		First Floor	Second Floor	Third Floor.
(1) Jewish	32	1116	1524	425	15	265	354	161
(2) Negro	27	796	842	125	11	210	202	29
(3) Mixed	32	529	897	244	7	116	183	122
(4) Italian	12	908	1457	640	4	170	275	143
(5) Polish	3	433	602	206	2	90	132	43
Total.	106	3782	5322	1640	39	851	1146	498

The distribution of population in the rear buildings is very evenly divided between the first and second floors, there being but few three story rear buildings.

PROTECTION FROM FIRE FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.

Forty blocks of resident districts, housing 13,223

human beings in houses a third of which are three stories or more in height, with but two fire escapes on houses used for living purposes and with little or no attempt to lessen the danger from fire by proper construction, is the charge which confronts the Building Department and the people of this civilized city.

The law in St. Louis requires that every tenement and lodging house which has a height of three or more stories is to be provided with stair fire escapes, attached to the exterior of the ¹ building and staircases located in the interior of the building. The law, in addition, holds the owner, ~~le~~see or keeper responsible so that there can be no excuse to offer for this lack of proper enforcement.

2
Another law requires that tenement and lodging houses where the lower story is occupied as a store or stores, or for any business shall have the stairways leading to the basement and to the second story enclosed with approved fire-proof partitions, and stair soffits covered with approved fireproof materials. This second law is as completely ignored as the first.

The predominating type of tenement found was the three story brick structure the first floor of which was used for business purposes. Above the first floor several families ^{are} ~~were~~ housed. There being no fire escapes nor interior stairways a set of "tacked on" wooden porches provide the only means of escape. These porches, together with much of the other material are of the flimsiest and most inflammable construction. This type of building is a veritable fire-trap.

1 Building Code, sec. 98 - page 38580.
2. " " sec. 97 - page 38579.

Tenements housing from four to five families and built entirely of wood are scattered through the districts.

The general use of oil lamps and gasoline stoves greatly enhances the danger from fire.

Other dangerous conditions prevail throughout the districts. In the rear of a three story tenement on O'Fallon Street, housing eighty working people, a Polish sausage factory was found built under the "tacked on" porch - the only means of escape. Here a large vat boiled away over a very hot stove, which, being open in front was dropping live coals dangerously near a large pile of pine shavings. This pile of kindling rested against the board wall which reached to the porches above. There was no attendant save the butcher who was carrying on the sale of meat in his shop the distance of two small rooms away. In the cases of Italian bakeries in the cellars, and Jewish rag storage near sources of fire, the danger from conflagration becomes very imminent.

Too much stress cannot be put upon this lack of protection of the lives of the city's brawn and muscle. Grave tenement conflagrations have occurred elsewhere; that every condition in these districts favors a repetition in St. Louis should create an indignant public sentiment now - not a polite ignoring awaiting a holocaust to set a horrible example of what might have been avoided.

CHAPTER III.

INTERIOR UNSANITARY CONDITIONS.

CAUSES OF UNSANITARY CONDITIONS IN HOUSES.

The lack of sufficient light and ventilation, the dampness of walls, the uncleanness of rooms, defective plumbing, foul gasses and odors from artificial lighting, cooking and the excretions of the body, defective and dangerous floors and ceilings, and badly papered rooms, are the main causes of unsanitary apartments.

The first two causes mentioned are the most vital because many of the other unsanitary conditions found are due in varying degrees to darkness and lack of air. These two conditions can only be overcome by the proper enforcement of existing laws supplemented by a few minor sections. Until the greedy landlord recognizes that all of his rights have their foundation in the existence of the State and that the individual right is subservient to that of the State, or, until the State itself enforces its prerogative, we may continue to expect high blank wall tenement structures to be erected against other high blank wall tenements adjoining, cutting off light and ventilation of the smaller house sandwiched between.

Dampness of walls is largely attributable to bad drains against the walls, or to the rising of cellar dampness which is most often caused by defective drainage. Damp ceilings are most usually caused by leaking roofs. The first two conditions can be met and remedied by law enforcement - the last by mere appeal to the agent.

The cleanliness of rooms depends largely on the standard of living of the occupants. Outside cleanliness can be insisted upon by the municipality but cleanliness within the apartment is left to the individuality of the tenant - unless the accumulation of filth can be declared a nuisance in which case the Board of Health can act. The problem of keeping clean a dark, poorly ventilated room is quite different from the cleaning of a light airy room, even though the same tenant cleans both rooms.

CONDITION OF ROOMS.

Districts.	Condition of Rooms Front Building.					Condition of Rooms Rear Building.				
	Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy	Total Rooms.	Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy	Total Rooms.
(1) Jewish	294	397	48	30	1769	203	60	15	8	286
(2) Negro	1093	362	33	43	1531	82	50	4	10	156
(3) Mixed	498	210	32	74	813	121	61	6	12	200
(4) Italian	1224	328	20	50	1622	146	94	11	16	267
(5) Polish	428	141	25	45	639	95	65	16	9	185
Total.	4536	1438	158	242	6274	647	330	52	55	1094

Defective interior plumbing emitting sewer gas, or leaking from floor to floor, presents a very serious problem which the municipality seems to prefer to consider a "hands off" proposition.

Foul, musty rooms; smelling of badly trimmed coal oil lamps, the fetid odor of perspiration, leaking gas, and smells

from the kitchen, are found without ventilation or light save perhaps an interior door or window. In such rooms disease and vermin find convenient lodging. The solution of the larger problem of providing light and air would remedy these various deficiencies.

Defective and dangerous floors and ceilings are very inadequately inspected by the municipality and little relief can be looked for on the part of most owners and agents.

Badly papered rooms urge the solution of a very menacing problem in St. Louis, Especially in the Negro quarters where the conditions are found at their worst. In many rooms in this district paper found falling from the walls was common. Entire sections of the wall paper are often loose and hanging, catching and secreting microbes of every kind, bed bugs, cockroaches, and other vermin. During the course of this investigation the writer "worked" a block in the Negro district at the same time the landlord was having papering done. Negro paper-hangers were doing the work and as they labored they put up new paper over ^smasses of other paper hanging, in places, a foot or more from the wall, without making the slightest effort to fasten same to the wall. In almost every Negro house the walls of one or more rooms are botched up with newspapers or scraps of various pieces of wall paper - hot-beds of disease germs.

The following table will serve to show how really bad the coverings of the walls are:

THE PAPERED VS. THE WHITEWASHED ROOM.

Districts.	Paper.				Whitewash.				Total
	Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad.	Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad.	
(1) Jewish	206	678	160	61	202	337	92	41	1777
(2) Negro	59	195	123	84	54	124	98	49	786
(3) Mixed	81	339	101	70	121	146	80	31	969
(4) Italian	228	398	148	46	184	252	124	25	1405
(5) Polish	136	198	21	7	108	133	44	9	655
Total.	709	1808	553	268	669	992	438	155	5592

Many store rooms and small old fashion houses, which at one time were well lighted and ventilated have in more recent times been closed in by taller buildings. Many of these stores and the large airy rooms of the old fashion houses have been partitioned off time and again until many dark and poorly ventilated rooms have resulted. Sometimes rooms totally dark have been made by the tenant himself building partitions within a store room. In other cases partitions which do not reach the ceiling have caused living rooms to become saturated with the odors of the grocery, bakeshop, or dairy store in front.

A STUDY IN LIGHTING AND VENTILATION.

Because of the many churches, schools and mercantile establishments in the districts, certain of the more exclusive

resident blocks have been chosen in working out the conditions of lighting and ventilation. The blocks chosen are representative dwelling districts of the poor working classes. Block one lies partly within the Jewish and partly within the Negro districts. Block two is wholly within the Mixed district. Block three is entirely Jewish. Block four is Jewish and Polish, and block five Jewish and Mixed;

	Front Building.		Rear Building.		Total
	Number of Rooms with window space less than one- tenth of floor area	More than one-tenth	Number of rooms with window space less than one- tenth of floor area	More than one-tenth	
Block 1	43	116	16	25	200
Block 2	25	122	5	23	175
Block 3	58	242	1	13	314
Block 4	32	244	6	62	344
Block 5	43	203	5	35	286

The above table shows the number of rooms which exist within these five representative blocks in direct violation of the St. Louis ordinance requiring every rooms to have open air window space equal to at least one-tenth of its floor area. In addition to these, many rooms were found having no direct opening to the outer air.

Investigation sought no statistics on the actual light within the rooms but a general statement will perhaps give a picture

of existing conditions. Most of the apartments in the Jewish, Polish and some in the Italian section consist of three or more rooms. These three rooms are most often found in a direct horizontal line from the street. The room facing on the street is usually well lighted and ventilated. This also is true of the rear rooms but less often because of dark porches and adjoining buildings. The one or two rooms between the front and rear are almost without exception insufficiently lighted and ventilated. In many cases a small window on a dark porch or hallway is the sole source of light. Sometimes an insufficient skylight, not used as a ventilator, does duty. In many of these inner rooms there was not light enough to see to fill out the cards used in the house-to-house investigation. In twenty or twenty-five rooms an electric flash-light had to be used to determine the proportions of the room; this on bright days. Almost ^{all} of these dark or very gloomy rooms serve as bedrooms, with the lighter, airier front rooms as parlors. The bedroom is usually occupied by all of the family and the door leading from the bedroom to the musty parlor is kept closed. Hall bedrooms are often dark and always small, as are also the bath rooms. Bathrooms are also poorly ventilated and about half of them dirty. Whether or not this sort of lighting and ventilation occurs in a tenement - as much of it does - or in a one story building, it is equally alarming; more so because of its being a practically new and rapidly growing problem in St. Louis. It is a problem that has caused older cities much alarm, years of hard effort to remedy, and millions of dollars in the remedying. That St. Louis ^{should} ~~recognize~~ ^{the problem} and take steps to abate these conditions while it is yet in its comparative infancy

must be apparent to the most uninterested.

All of the old buildings in these districts, which were originally intended for living purposes, have large rooms; but so many have been cut up by partitions and so many places intended for other purposes are being used for housing the working classes that the problem becomes most menacing. An example of the latter fault occurs on O'Fallon Street where a man smothered to death in a room six by seven by five. This room had been built for a shed and is dark and had very little ventilation, yet two persons were eating, cooking and sleeping therein at the time of the death. Nor^{is} the problem adjusting itself in the new buildings. On Fourteenth Street there is a row of new flats with bath and other modern conveniences, yet in each of the first and second floor apartments there is a bedroom and a hall the supply of light and air for which comes through a very small insufficient and dirty air shaft. These rooms are very gloomy, and unscrupulous tenants keep the bottoms of the air shafts filthy with rubbish of all sorts, aggravated by every rain, destroying the purpose for which the shaft was built. Other newly constructed houses show evidence of the same disregard for proper light and air.

AIR-SPACES IN OVERCROWDED APARTMENTS.

The following examples show a few of the worst cases of insufficient air supply found in an examination of 9,426 rooms. There are, however, many cases similar to the ones given below which had to be eliminated because of lack of space. In most of the examples given conditions are actually worse than the figures would

seem to indicate, because in three cases rooms listed as bedrooms also served the purposes of dining rooms, kitchens, and bed rooms; and in three cases as dining rooms and kitchens. Of the fourteen rooms shown seven are light, five are gloomy and two are very dark, having no windows at all, or supplied only by a small interior window. In the one O'Fallon Street example shown a couple shared the two rooms with fifteen lodgers of both sexes. In the Biddle Street example the sixteen in four rooms were all of one family.

Street.	Number of Persons	Number of Rooms.	Cubic Feet per person All Rooms.	Cubic Feet per person Sleeping Rooms.
O'Fallon	5	2	307.2	172.
O'Fallon	17	2	135.5	135.5
O'Fallon	9	3	178.6	160.8
O'Fallon	9	3	341.1	150.
O'Fallon	9	2	193.7	137.1
O'Fallon	8	2	199.	135.
Biddle	16	4	179.	74.
Biddle	10	3	209.6	76.8
Biddle	7	2	160.	160.
Biddle	7	2	298.2	160.
Biddle	10	3	248.	152.
Biddle	6	1	144.	144.
Thirteenth	7	2	312.4	183.8
High	6	2	264.	132.

Compare the amount of air space in these apartments with the assertion of Professor³ Huxley's that 809 cubic feet of¹ air space is desirable for every human being. The New York law gives the Board of Health power to reduce the number of occupants of any room to 400 cubic feet of air space per person. Buffalo allows not less than 600 cubic feet and Washington's law says 400 feet. Compare with these St. Louis's farical provision that every tenement for twenty or more persons must have adequate space for all occupants.

Of all of the families in the Negro district 7⁴ lived in one room apartments, or 16.3% of all Negro families are housed in one room apartments. The Italians, when the lodgers so common in the section are included, approach very near this same percentage. The Jews and Polish have larger apartments but also they have larger families.

Under such "cooped in" conditions it is no wonder that on hot summer nights the forms of restless sleepers can be seen in the hallways, on the roofs and on the side walks. Morals and health suffer from this lack of privacy. In the winter economy forces the very poorest men and women to huddle together in the cheapest room obtainable, vitiating the very air by their presence, afraid to let in fresh air, when there is means of letting it in, less it reduce their scant supply of fuel, breathing again and again the foul gasses of the rooms until their bodies become as poisoned as the air they breathe. This very desire to economize pushes them over the margin of self support into sickly dependency.

THE GROWING PROBLEM OF BASEMENT LIVING
AND OTHER BASEMENT AND CELLAR PROBLEMS.

A problem which has caused much worry in larger, older cities is that of cellar and basement dwelling. Until very recently St. Louis had escaped this living underground, but within the past few years increased rents have been responsible for the seeking of cheaper apartments, and the cellars which were not originally intended for living purposes have been partitioned off without regard to the laws of health to meet the demand. These rooms are almost without exception damp, dark and poorly ventilated. Most basement apartments consist of one room which serves for eating, sleeping, cooking, storage and washing, (for the class which inhabits these "caves" usually takes in washing). Several basement rooms were found in which three-fourths of the floor area was used for storage purposes. Fortunately few children were found in these living tombs. Usually the sole occupant is a rheumatic old woman or man, half starved, half naked, their pinched blanched^{faces} picturing their futures. Often in the rear or to the side of the living room a dirty, damp coal cellar serves as a moldy drying room for the clothes washed in the living room.

The floors of basement living rooms where washing is done are usually wet from the leakage of the tubs. The wash water must usually be carried in from the yard, but this only serves to make the floors more sloppy when children are entrusted with the errand. Of the very few basement hydrants - and they often occur without sinks - four were found which drained directly over the floor

without sewer connection, depending in three cases on the board floor to soak up the waste, in the other on the dirt floor. ^{These} ~~In the~~ apartments were horridly damp and tenants claimed that complaints and requests to agents brought no results. In one basement kitchen a broken sink faucet was responsible for about two inches of water on the boarded floor. The tenant had requested the agent to fix same but failure to reply caused the abandonment of the room.

In some basement dwellings there is not denying the vault odors which escape with the sewage through saturated walls into the apartments.

In the basements ^{living rooms} examined the floors were usually of wood - sometimes boards laid on dirt floors - but of wood nevertheless. Such floors form little resistance to natural and aggravated cellar dampness. Very few basements used for living purposes had cement walls or flooring, in fact most cellar floors which were cemented were not found in living apartments. A few floors were of brick saturated with dampness.

Two bath tubs were found in basements, this out of a total of 65 baths found. These were in very dark, dirty fearfully ventilated rooms. The toilets in basements dwellings are even worse. No vaults were found but in several cases stools without flush, also used as garbage hoppers were encountered. These, and other cellar toilets with bad plumbing, stink fearfully, for there is no perfect ventilation to carry off the foul odors. These toilets placed in or near basement kitchens are almost unbearable. Of the basement rooms used for living purposes two are wholly under ground, one is one foot out, fourteen are two feet out, twenty-four are three feet out and

eleven are four feet or more above the grade of the side walk; two of which are wholly buried at the back. The New York law requires each basement room used for dwelling purposes to have at least two feet of its height above grade. Baltimore requires three feet, ¹ Cleveland four, Cincinnati three and one half and Milwaukee four.

Imagine how inadequately two windows, one by two, which will light and ventilate three rooms such as were found in a Carr Street basement. This basement dwelling had one room leading into a dark storage room, cellar fashion, which was of little assistance in supplementing the air, and of no aid to the light from the two pigeon-hole windows. Artificial lighting was resorted to by the aged Jewish couple who owned the entire building but preferred to live in the basement that they might get the higher rents from the floors above.

Almost without exception the sun's rays never enter these basement prisons. Dark corners are always convenient ^{dumping} places for all sorts of filth.

New York, Cleveland and Cincinnati, together with several smaller cities each require a minimum height of basements and cellars of seven feet or over, in most cases eight feet. ² In the examination of 107 basement rooms used for living purposes in St. Louis 46 were found to be of less than eight feet in height.

¹ Housing Conditions and Tenement Laws in Leading American Cities -
² Lawrence Veiller.

Same Work.

Many of the cellars below the regulation heights of other cities were found. In Buffalo no cellar can be used as a dwelling place or place of sleeping. In Philadelphia all cellars deprived of light and ventilation are declared nuisances and ordered vacated. In Chicago no person is to sleep in any cellar if dangerous or prejudicial to health. In St. Louis the Municipal Code merely defines a cellar as being a lower story of which one-half or more of the height from the cellar floor to the under side of the floor joists of the story above is below the grade of the street or ground at the principal front of the building, provided said grade of the ¹ground is not below the grade of the street at said front. By referring to the Municipal Code it will be seen that there is no difference in the definition of the cellar and that of the basement. Regarding legislation against cellar dwellings the St. Louis Code merely includes it under the head of general nuisances. Other states and cities, however, make a difference in their definition of cellars and basements. The definition given in the St. Louis Code is usually used to define cellars only, a basement being usually understood to mean, "a room or apartment less than one-half the height of which is below the street level."

The following table will further the details of the cellar and basement investigation:

1

Municipal Code, Sec. 94 - page 452.

STATISTICS ON CELLARS AND BASEMENTS.

Front Building.

Districts.	Total Cellars Front	Floor Material.			Moisture.		
		Dirt	Wood	Cement	Dry	Damp	Wet
(1) Jewish	302	263	22	20	125	159	18
(2) Negro	194	141	25	8	54	126	14
(3) Mixed	130	116	10	10	55	69	6
(4) Italian	242	226	6	11	120	117	5
(5) Polish	63	63	-	-	30	31	2
Total.	931	829	63	49	384	502	45

Rear Building.

Districts.	Total Cellars Rear	Floor Material.			Moisture.		
		Dirt	Wood	Cement	Dry	Damp	Wet
(1) Jewish	54	53	1	-	20	30	4
(2) Negro	25	25	-	-	5	17	3
(3) Mixed	17	15	1	2	5	11	1
(4) Italian	40	33	-	7	13	25	2
(5) Polish	16	16	-	-	8	8	-
Total.	152	142	2	9	51	91	10

Combination flooring counted under each material.

The cellar is a most handy place to chuck away all sorts of dirt and trash, and we find St. Louis cellars no exception. By most tenants the door is usually opened, the dirt thrown down, and the door slammed shut again. This single door is most often the only means of ventilation and light and when the cellar is mistreated in this way the damp steam of the cellar cannot find means of escape and the trash blocking the entrance becomes covered with mold. In most cases tenants objected to cellar inspection because no attempt had been made to keep them clean, their being considered as "catchalls". In a few cases garbage was found dumped in corners of the cellar rooms. In other instances garbage mixed with ash was thrown into wooden or brick chutes on the second or third floors which chutes emptied into the cellar. Under such treatment the cellars become most foul. A common fault found was the discarding of old bedding which because of saturation with disease, and vermin and dirt have been cast aside into this out-of-the-way out-of-sight dumping ground.

The tables given above show that out of 1083 cellars investigated 971 had dirt floors. Out of the 971 dirt floors 460 were damp. Especially is this true of the cellar under the rear house where out of a total of 152 cellars 91 were damp. In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Buffalo the law requires all cellar floors to be of concrete varying from two to ^{inches in} four thickness. In the districts examined out of 1083 cellar floors 58 were of concrete and the majority of these were in two of the best blocks in the districts.

Many of the cellars in the Italian section served as

storage rooms for bananas and other fruits - a few in the Jewish district serve for junk and rag storage. Tenants in the Negro and Italian districts complain often and bitterly about the damp cellars harboring "millions of big black bugs". Few of these were seen in the day time but in several instances an unexpected opening of the cellar door would send swarms of them scampering in every direction. These bugs at night must become a horrible nightmare when they overrun the sleeping rooms making a sharp clicking noise. Several Negro tenants said they could not sleep unless they left the lights burning in the rooms all night. Rats overrun cellar rooms and adjoining apartments carrying with them garbage which is soon abandoned to rot and spread disease.

Defective plumbing in the cellars often sends foul gases into the rooms above, and broken drains make cess-pools of the cellars. Of the 1083 cellars examined 55 were wet, i.e. containing standing water or evidences of water.

In half a block on Fourteenth Street in, ^{the} apparently well kept apartment houses every cellar was found to be damp. One had several inches of water on its dirt floor, another contained nearly a foot of very stagnant water. The occupants of both houses complained of rheumatism. Few of the cellars examined showed any evidence of every having been whitewashed.

REPAIR OF HOUSES.

When the Housing Committee of the Civic League determined upon the questions to be included upon the cards to be used in this investigation they did not feel that the state of repair

of buildings would be of sufficient importance to be included thereon, hence no statistics of actual conditions were collected. This problem became more and more grave as the investigation progressed and it was soon considered advisable to at least make an enumeration of the condition of the walls. With this in view the covering of the walls of 5592 rooms and the condition of these walls were noted. (See page 26) Out of the total number ^{of rooms} examined 3338 were covered with paper. Of the papered rooms 709 were "good" (showing no leaks or defective papering), 1808 were "fair" (showing slight leaks and breaks), 553 were "bad" (with paper hanging from damp walls), and 268 were "very bad" (or in such a state ^{that} and condemnation on the basis of security of health and safety from accidents seemed necessary). Of the total number of rooms 2254 were whitewashed 669 of which were "good", 992 were "fair", 438 were "bad" and 155 were "very bad". In the case of bad whitewash, walls crumbling from dampness, or from no attempt at repair, or walls showing no signs of renewed whitewashed within a supposed period of five years determined the classification.

From a comparison of the above papered and whitewashed rooms it will be seen that the whitewashed room is in far better condition, and it is certainly more healthful and more easily kept clean. New York, Boston and Baltimore require that all walls and ceilings in tenements be whitewashed at least once a year, stating the month in which this must be done. In Chicago and Buffalo twice a year is required, the time be^{ing} ¹ stated in the law,

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In St. Louis there is no provision of this kind and during the investigation when some old lady would say that she had been living in the house ten, fifteen or twenty years without a room having been whitewashed, the sense of sight usually verified the assertion. There is not alone one house through the walls and ceilings of which the investigator saw day light but many. It is rather the rule than the exception in the Negro dwellings along Twelfth and Wash Streets, Morgan and Lucas. In several of these houses the plastering of the ceilings had all but disappeared and the roofs leaked like sieves. On one occasion a lady told of the injury of her little girl by falling plaster as she lay in her bed. Other narrow escapes from falling plaster were not unusual complaints. In many of these houses plaster was found ready to tumble down at the least jar. Along the Spring Avenue car line on Wash Street, and the Wellston line on Morgan Street passing cars often cause the final break.

Floors in many of the houses in the more dilapidated sections are dangerous. During the course of the investigation many warnings prevented false steps on sagging floors. The defects when found on the ground floor admitted cellar odors into the living rooms.

Stairways in the Negro district are as a whole most dangerous. To traverse them in the day time requires the utmost caution, but at night when no artificial light lends its aid the attempt to climb or descend these steps is often perilous. In a house on the corner of Twelfth and Wash Streets there is a hall stairway which really requires artificial lighting in the day time,

but which artificial lighting is not be found. This stairway slopes toward the outer edge at a sharp angle, the boards are worn and loose, the broken banister is of little value. Three Negro families use this stairway. In one family the bread winner suffered from a broken leg caused by a misstep on the stair, in another a child had been injured from a fall on the step. There is a rear stairway at this same house which is little less dangerous than the one in the hall. Cellar stairways are also in dangerous condition due to ~~the~~ rotting frame work and no attempt at repair. Often cellars have been abandoned as storage places for fuel because of defective stairways making access to the fuel almost impossible.

Many of the old frame houses which seem to be "befo de wah" relics appear never to have been repaired since ante-bellum days. In some instances ~~frame~~ weather-boarding has fallen away leaving the plaster exposed to the ravages of the elements. Such houses have no legal existance in other of the largest cities of our country, that they do exist in St. Louis is further evidence that the city honestly believes it has no housing problem.

DANGEROUS ATTICS.

That part of the tenement structure, the attic, which is most often completely ignored presents a problem of its own. The attic like the cellar is considered a convenient place of storage and a means of easy disposal of trash. Cramped, unfinished attics become therefore stacked with innumerable inflammable materials. That there ^{are} ~~is~~ not more fires started in the attics can hardly be considered the fault of the children ~~whith~~ whom playing ^{with} matches is a

favorite pastime, nor that of the bum who seeks the attic to pass a night and must have a final pipe before "retiring". The attic is one ^{of these} possessions in common which is seldom clean, and in many cases, especially in the Polish section, dogs and cats are housed therein. The foul litter which accumulates from these animals makes a fearful odor which in a few cases, where there are interior stairways leading to the attic, finds its way into the living rooms into the living rooms below.

Most of the attics serve as drying rooms for laundry.

DEFECTIVE HALLS AND PASSAGEWAYS.

The dark hallway, overrun with neighborhood cats and dogs, unlighted at night, containing leaking sinks, and a place of meeting for immoral purposes, is only found in St. Louis in spots. This hallway, strictly speaking, is a part of the tall tenement which is only in the making in this city. That it is a future problem and that there are a few of such hallways in the districts examined is food for serious thought. It is far easier at this date for the city to profit by the inevitable experience of the older cities than it will be to suffer the experience.

Passageways present the same abuses, eliminating the defective sink. Both present the abominable ^{practice of the} use of the floors and walls for toilet purposes. The passageway of the alley tenement suffers the most from this nuisance. The same dilapidation of walls, ceilings and floors exist here that is found in individual apartments.

In many instances the passageway becomes more menacing than the hallway because it is often damper, a condition resulting

from defective drainage. The sun seldom, if ever, enters here and the passageway fails to dry out; especially is this true where the passageway suffers from garbage dumping. In many places the passageways are entirely below the level of the street running under the house to the yard. These passageways are the dampest and are often poorly ventilated. These sub-cellars become the favorite play grounds of the younger children.

THE CONDITION AND NEED OF PLUMBING.

Any discussing of existing conditions of toilets with proper plumbing must necessarily be limited because of the limited number of water closets found, and because of the few types existing in St. Louis. In the following discussion the word "toilet" will be taken to mean an individual stool having, or supposed to have, water connection.

In the Jewish section, where most of the modern conveniences were found, 43 toilets served for 58 families. The best showing of any of the districts, in spite of the fact that 737 families in the same district are without toilet accommodation. Briefly stated, there are 43 toilets with 58 families of 315 people, or an average of one toilet for every 7.4 persons having the use of these toilets. In the Negro district 40 toilets are found being used by 31 families of 79 people. This district houses 452 families, or 1790 people. An average of one toilet for every 2 people having access thereto, and of 46 if the total Negro population be considered. In the Italian district 53 families out of a total of 592 families, or 315 people were using 67 toilets, an average of 1 toilet for

every 4.7 people, having the use of toilets. In general it may be stated that the majority of the toilets found are in a few well housed blocks or in apartments used by the owners of the tenements. Averages present but a meagre view of the lack of sufficient toilet accommodations for the tenements.

The following table will show the number of toilets in each district, the number of persons and families using, the location and condition of same:

STATISTICS ON TOILETS.

Districts.	Number of Toilets	Location					No. of pers. using	No. of fam. using	Condition			
		Apart.	Hall	Cellar	Porch	Yd.			Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy
(1) Jewish	43	29	4	2	4	4	315	58	39	2	2	-
(2) Negro	40	33	-	4	-	3	79	31	35	3	-	2
(3) Mixed	52	22	4	2	21	3	351	70	45	6	-	1
(4) Italian	67	46	2	-	17	2	315	53	57	10	-	-
(5) Polish	2	-	-	-	-	2	16	2	1	1	-	-
Total.	204	130	10	8	43	14	1076	214	177	22	2	3

It is to be noted that 20 of the toilets in the Negro district were found in isolated houses inhabited by other peoples.

Most of the toilets found and ^{listed} ~~entered~~ under apartments were located in bath rooms or partitioned hall rooms, usually dark and poorly ventilated. The plumbing in these cases is as a whole good, because of the general use of the flush tank and basin. Most

of these toilets were well trapped and ventilated; a few horrible exceptions emptying their foul odor into the adjoining rooms. A few toilet stools which were incased in wood were found damp and ditty. In some cases interior toilets were used as garbage cans, not infrequently destroying the purpose for which the toilet was intended. Several toilets were found in kitchens and dining rooms, the same partitioned by light frames which do not reach the ceiling. Most of the toilets found in the yards and on the porches, and a few of those in saloons and stores were of the inferior hopper type. The walls of the bowl of the hopper toilet are perpendicular, the flushing usually dependent upon a spring valve or a movement of the seat or bar. The sanitary ^{Condition} of this type depends largely on the condition of the trap, which, in the case of inferior toilets, is usually located only a short distance from the lower edge of the hopper walls. In the case of the hopper vaults in the yards and those found in the "pier vaults" the trap is usually found below the grade of the yard. A few of the out-door toilets are of the bowl type which in most cases are flushed by the relieved pressure of the seat or by direct pressure of a rod. Both types of flushes quickly become inadequate because through ^{rough} treatment by children and improper protection from freezing the ^hmecanism soon refuses to perform the most important work of cleansing. Especially is this true in winter when the bowls often become pits of filth. In the valve-flush hopper and bowl toilet corrosion is often found. This corrosion gradually lessens the flow from the valve until the arrangement as a flush becomes practically useless and the direct contact between the filth of the stool and the source

of water supply for living purposes becomes a great danger.

In a few "pipe valve" closets the valve opening does not distribute the water over the surface of the basin but directs the flow in one spot. This crude method of flush is all but useless to begin with and rapidly becomes defective by the accumulation of filth. The "school sink" and the "pan" types of water closets, more or less common in other cities, fortunately are lacking^w the districts examined. On the other hand there are an alarming number of hopper stools and bowl stools without any means of flushing. These are found chiefly on Fourteenth Street where the condition of the toilet depends altogether on the one family in each house using it. The difficulty of pouring water through these stools is easy of demonstration and every tenant using them was disgusted with the attempt to keep them clean. Very fortunately in this block, these were kept as clean as conditions seem to warrant. At a house on Wash Street, however, the conditions were reversed where similar toilets in a "pier vault" were found in a sickening condition as they were in several other instances. There was not a tank-flush toilet found in the yards of all the territory examined. Most of the hopper and bowl toilets found out-of-doors were encased in rotten wooden boxing which made the proper examination of connections impossible.

Many of the toilets found in saloons and stores were in a much more filthy state than many of the old yard privy vaults. Broken bowls, defective flushes, and general misuse caused toilets to be covered with a half-inch or more of slime, and seats showed disgusting treatment, defying all laws of health or any kind of

plumbing no matter how sanitary. The toilet apartments are most often ^{stuffy} little boxed off rooms without ventilation or light. In several, artificial lights were found burning on bright days. Such interior toilets seem to have been overlooked or ignored by the health department.

The toilet in the cellar should be declared a nuisance in this city as it has been in other cities. When found, the plumbing is almost invariably defective and the surroundings damp, with no light or ventilation to make them less so.

While there are but a few toilets and ^{an} even smaller number of baths in the districts examined the number of sinks found more nearly supply the needs of the working people. A given water supply does not necessarily mean an adequate or sanitary supply. Of the sinks found about 15% were without trapping, and fully 75% were unventilated. The trap is a letter "S" crook in the waste pipe which, when properly constructed and ventilated, holds in its lower bend enough water to prevent the rising of sewer gas through the sink into the room above. If the waste pipe into which the trap empties becomes filled with water a vacuum is formed which syphons the trap. To prevent the escape of sewer gas which would follow, ventilators or vent pipes are so constructed ^{that the} ~~and~~ air passes from below the trap to the outside. A revent connects the ventilator with the top of the trap to admit air so that a vacuum cannot be formed below the trap. A waste drain without a trap admits extremely dangerous gases into the house; the trap without a revent is likely to do the same thing. That 90% of all of the families in these districts should be subjected to more or less sewer gas out

of the total number of families having sinks should be a problem of the greatest magnitude for the Board of Health and Plumbing Commissioner. There is no law, as there should be, that the plumbing inspectors should make continual inspection - not merely a single inspection upon the completion of a house as is now the case. The sanitary inspectors have far more than they can now accomplish without entering a single house. The following tables will show the number of apartments having water and its location:

NEAREST RUNNING WATER.

Front Building.

Districts	Number of Aparts Front	Nearest Running Water.					
		Within Aparts.	Hall	Porch	Next floor	Yard	Next Yard
(1) Jewish	935	505	25	184	26	179	6
(2) Negro.	667	234	20	61	56	276	30
(3) Mixed.	453	299	7	36	15	75	20
(4) Italian	799	409	29	190	28	137	5
(5) Polish	299	114	3	123	2	67	-
Total	3152	1561	84	594	127	734	61

Rear Building.

Districts.	Number of Aparts Rear	Nearest Running Water.					
		Within Apart.	Hall	Porch	Next Floor.	Yard	Next Yard.
(1) Jewish	189	41	1	43	-	102	2
(2) Negro.	106	10	-	6	-	84	6
(3) Mixed.	105	24	-	27	-	53	1
(4) Italian	182	44	-	52	-	78	8
(5) Polish	121	4	-	46	-	73	-
Total	703	123	1	174	-	390	17

About one-third of the sinks are boxed in. These are usually damp and filthy. The iron sink with the wooden rim seems to be the favorite style with the tenants. This wooden rim becomes saturated and quickly rots causing a place for the accumulation of dirt. Most of the sinks were found in a fair condition. Many containing^{ed} garbage, but in few cases was this more than a day old and caused no smell.

The sink in the hallway, in the cellar, or on the porch which is used in common by several families is not as clean as that found within the single apartment. There exists in this city what we shall be pleased to call the "hopper slop sink", one or more of which are found at almost every house. This hopper slop sink is a nuisance of the first order. Being of funnel shape, it is made of painted tin, open at the top with a coarse sieve at the entrance

to the tin waste pipe which is usually found in a broken, leaking condition running ^{along} the porch supports to the sewer below which drains into the nearby vault. All of these sinks are found on the porches. This direct connection with the vault furnished foul gases with this "modern improvement" for each floor. About three-fourths of these "hopper sinks" have faucets opening above them, the other fourth are without water connection. Where there is a water connection it is often left running and sewer gas enters it; where there is not, the accumulation of refuse in these hoppers becomes very offensive. In a few instances the defective drains of these sinks open on the surface of the yard or court below and the filthy deposit is either soaked ^{up} by the ground or runs slowly across several feet of yard space to a near-by sewer or vault. At a house on Biddle Street two of these "hopper sinks" and three other sinks - serving as the entire waste drainage for the house sheltering fifty persons - empties into a tin house-drain which in turn empties about four feet from a hydrant sink in the yard, - this hydrant the sole water supply for the first floor - the waste running into this sink is carried on into a dark filthy vault built under the porches. Direct sunlight never touches this very damp and ^{filthy} vault.

Of the slop sinks of this type none were found trapped or vented.

The condition of the yard water supply is treated in the next chapter under "Filthy Yards and Courts".

The statement that ^{many} houses contain water supply does not diminish the importance of the statement that most of those which have to depend on the yard or the next yard supply are found in

a horrible state of filth. In fact 1202 of all of the water fixtures were found in the yards and courts. The difficulty of keeping clean where one hydrant is the sole water supply of four or five houses is apparent even^{the} the tenant possess^a a natural desire for cleanliness, which seems to be inherent in a small ^{number} ~~majority~~ of cases in these congested districts.

Often yard hydrants and sink faucets are found broken and running. In other cases landlords have cut off the supply rather than meet the expense of repair.

THE NEED OF BATHS.

All of the houses of the districts were inspected with a view to determining the exact number of bath tubs; out of a total of 1395 houses, which contain 3855 apartments, 66 tubs were found. Only one bath was found in the rear houses for a population of 2479, and 65 in the front houses serving a population of 10,744. One bath to every 2479 people in the rear houses and one for every 165.2 persons in the front buildings. Even this ^b apparent lack of bathing facilities does not give a true picture of actual conditions for of the total 66 baths, 25 were found in two especially well constructed and equipped blocks.

The investigation had proceeded for fifteen and one-half blocks before a single bath tub was found. There was but one tub found in the small Polish district. Only 12 in the Italian district, four in the Negro district, 35 in the Jewish district and 15 in the Mixed district. Most of those found in the Jewish district

were in houses occupied by the owners. A total count shows that 96.26% of the working people have no opportunity in their^{own} homes to bathe.

Many bath tubs when found were not used for bathing purposes but instead served for storage purposes, or, covered with boards, for tables and beds. Many were only used in summer as there was no hot water connection, some of these served as handy winter slop basins. In a few cases the bath tub faucet furnished the household water supply. The tubs themselves were most often of metal kept in a cleanly condition. Bad odors in several cases told of defective plumbing.

Imagine a poor working man returning home in the evening worn out by a hard day's work and carrying bucketful after bucketful of water from the yard to the third floor for a dishpan bath! That's exactly what many of them would have to do. How often those of the better housed take a bath under such conditions, had they never in their lives experienced the satisfaction of a real tub bath?

The privacy of the bath is at a premium when a family of twelve returns in the evening to a two room apartment. Generally, under such conditions, the people do not take baths, especially in the winter. This statement can be more fully appreciated when is mentioned the custom of sewing the clothes on children at the first approach of winter and their remaining sewed therein until the following spring is well advanced. During this period the children develop forms of scaly skin diseases from accumulated dirt.

The following table shows the population having and

not having bath tubs.

Districts.	Having Bath-tubs.		Having No Bath-tubs.	
	Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.
(1) Jewish	213	5.6	3533	94.4
(2) Negro.	38	1.8	2040	98.2
(3) Mixed	79	4.	1945	96.
(4) Italian	160	4.4	3648	95.6
(5) Polish	5	.29	1722	99.71
Total	495	3.74	12728	96.26

In closing this chapter a few of the personal comments made on the cards at the time of the investigation regarding interior unsanitary conditions might be of interest:

O'Fallon Making sausage in back room with fire falling from stove near kindling and wooden wall. Awful stench. Filthy.

O'Fallon Defective sink on second floor leaking through into kitchen below.

Biddle. Geese in living room. Filthy.

Biddle Filthy dog in baby's cradle.

Biddle Walls rotten from dampness and windows broken.

Carr Bath tubs used as tables and slop sinks.

Carr Egg shells and garbage in toilet without flush.

Carr Toilet in kitchen making entire room smell bad.

Wash Hen and chicks running loose in living room.

Wash Water standing on basement floor. Filthy. Cellar back of basement very damp, dirty and badly ventilated. Bad odor from sink.

Morgan Vermin on beds and floor. Walls wet and sagging.

Morgan Building shaky. Passing car caused one-half inch crack to appear in second story wall. Used for living purposes.

High Three or four dogs and one-half dozen bird cages in single living room.

N. Eleventh Sanitary conditions horrible. Filth everywhere. Inmates all apparently consumptive.

CHAPTER IV.

EXTERIOR UNSANITARY CONDITIONS.

THE IMPORTANCE OF OUTSIDE SANITARY CONDITIONS.

The foul privy, the wet, unclean yard, and the decaying matter in garbage box and ash bin usually point with a bold finger to unsanitary and dirty interiors. Such parts of the surroundings as are used in common by six or eight families have a tendency to reduce the cleanest household of the six or eight families to the level of the dirtiest. Nor [^]this effect on the standard of living the only result, far more serious is the seemingly unwarranted attack on the health of the family which is brave enough to add dusting and scrubbing to its manifold daily labors. The fever and tubercular bacilli which lurk in the dirty yard below is no respecter of persons - the clean suffer because of the careless ignorance of the dirty.

The landlord cares not that the people suffer as long as his unrelenting agent turns over the rent. The agent extorts the weekly or monthly payments wishing ^{only} to retain the patronage of the employing landlord. By way of example of the treatment these poor working people receive at the hands of the agents; promise after promise is made on the part of the agent to remedy horrible conditions - at each exacting of the rent comes the renewed promise only to be forgotten when the agent rounds the corner. On the other hand many agents very abruptly and in a manner disheartening tell the tenants to move if they don't like existing conditions. During the course of this investigation

agents have been heard to abuse tenants beyond a medium degree of self respect. Upon one occasion an agent was heard to say, " If you don't like it get out! You get the money that last tenant owes us and perhaps I'll fix that wet wall in the kitchen. How do I know you won't quit us too?" This to a poor widow with five children who was paying eighteen dollars a month for a shack which should have been condemned long since.

Again, Janitors, rarely encountered, are poorly paid, or are given a room free of rent for their service of keeping clean the premises. The agent seldom looks to see how well the duty is performed, and the slum janitor follows his own standard of cleanliness. Even where janitors have endeavored to carry out instructions they ^{have been} ~~are~~ met on all sides by the abuses of the tenants, or with the indignant, "I didn't do it" and after several attempts to detect the tenants guilty of throwing garbage into the ash bin the effort to keep things clean lags and the only reward for the janitor is a "cussing" from both tenant and agent.

Only a wide awake municipality can reach and remedy the causes of this filth and protect the unguilty from the results of these yards and courts used in common.

FILTHY YARDS AND COURTS.

Under the inadequate enforcement of lax sanitary laws, yards and vacant lots become the natural dumps for old mattresses ^{fowls,} decomposing vegetable matter, the blood and feathers of slaughtered and accumulations of rags and other rubbish. Dead rats scattered about

the yards are often found. These accumulations are often found directly under the windows of occupied living rooms above. Here the unguilty and guilty suffer alike. The "greenhorn", as the other tenants call a new arrival from Europe and the careless often follow the line of least resistance by stepping out onto the second or third porch and throwing much of the "small slop" into the yard below.

Most vacant lots have no sanitary or natural drainage for their uneven surfaces. These lots, covered with puddles of water, often become neighborhood dumping grounds. Old vehicles, barrels, iron and rags from nearby junk shops, find a final resting place in these municipal sore spots.

664 yards serve a total of 1395 dwellings, an average of 2.1 dwellings for each yard. The following table will show that the drainage is somewhat varied. In some cases the entire yard depends on surface drainage, in others there is combination drainage:

Districts	Dirt	Paved (Material)			How Drained.		Condition.			
		Brick	Stone Cement	Surface	Yard Sink	Hyd. Sink.	Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy
(1) Jewish	71	164	53	88	79	93	97	52	24	10
(2) Negro	97	121	19	60	104	43	73	65	30	9
(3) Mixed	42	75	23	56	41	43	56	23	16	8
(4) Italian	58	104	22	66	43	72	56	47	19	16
(5) Polish	14	55	21	31	18	44	32	24	3	4
Total.	282	519	138	301	285	295	314	211	92	47

Where more than one material was found both (in a few cases several) were counted. Yards, parts of which were drained in different ways were counted under each.

The drainage of the yard is a very serious problem in St. Louis. Very often the hydrant sink intended to relieve conditions only aggravates. The hydrant sink is a sewer connection directly under the flow of the hydrant, usually boxed. The sink is often surrounded by broken, uneven bricks for a radius of three or four feet. These bricks after a short time sink below the level of the sewer opening, causing stagnant pools of wash water, slop and offal to become horrible breeding grounds of disease. The boxed in hydrant often leaks within the boxing causing the damp, rotting wood to become offensive. Instances of the complete stoppage of the hydrant sink caused by clogging from garbage, rags and rubbish are not uncommon. In such cases the waste water must seek its way across the yard, often to empty into the vaults through a hole under the door sill, or traverse the entire length of the yard, through the passageway of the rear house, to the alley or stable.

In many yards the hydrant sink is near the vaults which act as cess-pools for the waste, with the sewer connection serving as a ventilator for the vaults. The sewer gas which these sinks often emit is sometimes taken into the sole water supply for the house through the leaking hydrant above. Tenants fear to report leaking hydrants to the Health Department because once this department notifies the agent or owner of the repair he must make, the water is ordered shut off rather than meet the expense of repair. Time and again tenants have had to resort to the water supply in other yards because of such a repair.

Another means of drainage is the yard sink, a sewer having an opening in the yard but without a hydrant flush; the yard sink is worse in many cases than the hydrant sink because of this lack of flush. At one place on Wash Street two Negro families used the yard sink as a toilet because the nearest privy was half a block distant.. Much to the credit of these two families the sink was kept as clean as circumstances would permit.

The halls and passageways have been treated in a former chapter but a word about the sanitary condition of these will not be amiss. The dirt or brick floor of the passageway leading from the street into the court yard, but more often the one leading through the rear building from the yard to the alley is sometimes used as a public garbage box and rubbish dump. Garbage, rags, ashes and other dirt was found covering the floors of passageways into which the sun's rays seldom or never entered because of the extension of the second stories; more evidence of the desire to utilize all of the possible floor area for personal gain. Fortunately passageways are not commonly used for dumping but are usually kept clean and even^{though} there is a lack of light there is a natural ventilation. In a few^{cases} passageways entirely blocked by the storage of bottles were found in the Jewish section. In these cases the passageways of the rear house usually suffered. In one or two instances children were permitted by more ignorant parents to use the passageways as toilets.

Another and more menacing kind of passageway is the one leading under the house. This is most often the only entrance ^{for those} living

above the first floor. These underground passageways are usually very dark and very damp. After a rain the floors become covered with varying depths of water determined by ^{the} means of drainage of the sidewalk and yard above. The ventilation is not as good in this passageway as in the one above ground. The rain drainage from the house is often defective running, either from leakage or directly, into these underground passageways, into cellars, or across the surface of the yard.

Many rooms were found with walls rotting from dampness caused by the discharge of rain conductors of adjoining houses or ^{directly} stables against these walls. Complaints of dampness were numerous and with evidences of this condition came complaints of rheumatism, consumption and other diseases caused and aggravated by dampness.

The number of sinks and basins found in the houses, and especially those found on the porches of the alley houses discharging water into the rain pipes was surprising. No attempt was made to ascertain exact figures from this rain-pipe-sink drainage but a conservative estimate will place the proportion of sinks on alley house porches which drain into rain pipes at 80%. This defective drainage is more or less responsible for the dampness of cellars under alley houses.

OFFENSIVE SHEDS AND OUTHOUSES.

Congested districts always house many pedlars, hucksters and expressmen. The chief asset of this class of poor is a horse and cart. Peddling fruit and vegetables and odd jobs of hauling are not very lucrative pursuits, hence this class must look

for the cheapest and most dilapidated stables and sheds for housing their stock. Old sheds with bad drainage are commonly used, these, seldom clean, harbor a fetid mass of manure and urine often made more offensive by the drainage into them of wash water and other waste. Even in the more prosperous Jewish quarters the stables of rag and junk collectors are kept in the most offensive condition. Stable yards, damp and filthy, discharge foul gases into the living rooms, into the front house on the one side and the rear house across the alley on the other.

Sometimes living quarters are found directly over offensive stables, and in other instances in addition to housing three or four horses, a goat and a few dogs, the stable will serve as a storage room for the fruit and vegetables which the pedlars above offer to their unsuspecting customers. In a few cases the stable rooms and stalls have served as sleeping quarters for unmarried men.

Nearly ^{all} of the manure is dumped into ~~an~~ inadequate wooden bin^s, which, having one end open easily loses ^{their} ~~its~~ contents. This overflowing bin is usually outside of the stable and serves as a scratching pen for tramp chickens and other fowls. Frequently there is no attempt at providing a bin, the manure being dumped in a pile just outside the door; seldom in the alley, often in the yard.

When asked how often this manure is hauled, Hebrew pedlars shrugging their shoulders would say, "Every day, every day"; when the conditions would warrant the assertion that once every six months would be a conservative estimate. On other occasions they

would smile and with the greatest satisfaction assure one that it was hauled every two or three months.

The following table gives a statement of the number of stables and horses found within the different districts.

Districts	Number Stables.	Number of Horses Housed
(1) Jewish	39	60
(2) Negro	10	15
(3) Mixed	23	57
(4) Italian	29	114
(5) Polish	12	51
Total	113	297

The above figures do not take into account the many stables of a semi-public nature nor those of manufacturing concerns and business interests within the districts, but merely of private stables in the rear of private dwellings.

Hardly ^{less} offensive than the stables are the tumbled down sheds which line one or both sides of most of the small back yards. These sheds, with no ventilation, no light, the roofs rotting under rain-soaked garbage and rubbish, the interiors stuffed with teeming, molding rags and trash are veritable microbe incubators. Fortunately this trash shed does not appear as often as the less offensive, but damp, coal and kindling shed.

Many yards^s are almost entirely covered with this type of "junk heap" shed. In such a district where sheds are of so little use and so mistreated, how much better that the ground which they cover be given over to play ground space for the little ones who resort to the public streets and alleys for room to play; ~~are~~ ^{or} worse still paddle about in the filth and pools of water, and sleep ^{about} the hydrant sink and garbage boxes. But who knows but once the grasping landlord found the shed could be sacrificed he would build upon the space taller buildings and rob his tenants of more and more light and air.

UNSANITARY YARD VAULTS.

In its evolution from a southern village St. Louis has retained the privy vaults characteristic of its old self. Or rather, let this statement be modified to read, 'retained them as they were in ante-bellum days in those districts which at that time made up the village and which have since become the districts of the poorer working classes'. That little attempt at legislation and no attempt at enforcement against these privy cess-pools has been made since St. Louis has grown from the village to the position of fourth city in these United States, would seem that the city has grown in body but has retained ^{or} the mind of the village. Perhaps as in other matters of housing ~~that is~~ ^{its} poor the city prefers to remain ignorant.

Over three-fourths of the toilet accommodations in the districts investigated were privies. There may be two kinds of privies; the vault without sewer connection being merely a hole dug

in the ground, and the vault with sewer connection, seldom flushed and often clogged. This sewer connected vault is most often more offensive than the one built without regard to connection.

The vault has grown with the ash bin in favor as a general cess-pool, garbage box and rubbish receiver. Filled with a heterogeneous mess of refuse the sewers have soon become ineffective and the two kind of privies produce in common a foul vault gas which permeates the block crowded with bakeshops, butcher shops, fish markets, private kitchens and living rooms.

Where the vaults are sewer connected and flushed, as they are intermittently by drainage from the roof or from the nearby hydrant sink, the sewers are very rarely ^{trapped} and the vault sewer only adds the gas of the main sewer to that of its own. A few privies were found built in sheds and stables, others in extensions of the main buildings, and still others directly under the second story living rooms.

No attempt was made to obtain statistics regarding the use of the vault as a cess-pool; but in an alarming number of cases the vault sewer acted as the main drain for the system of roof, yard and interior drainage. On Tenth Street an old well was found ~~serving~~ ^{trapped} the purpose of a vault. In a few cases garbage hoppers attached to the superstructures were used as the sole means of garbage disposal. More often evidence of the vaults being used as garbage receivers was furnished by seats strewn with scraps of decaying vegetable and animal matter.

These open cess-pools are an evident menace to the health of the entire commonwealth. That they are directly responsible

for the fever rates in these districts and indirectly responsible for the general city fever rate, goes without discussion.

The common little house fly which wisk~~s~~ about the kitchen may have recently been attracted by the discharge of a typhoid fever patient thrown into one of these open vaults. Or it might have found its way into the nearby (or distant) meat shop or grocery store spreading death as it goes. In this city there has been no attempt on the part of the municipality to say how many families may use a vault. Even where conditions are bad in other cities restrictions of this sort limit the number of families using a "compartment" to two or three and the number of compartments over a single vault to two. On O'Fallon Street there is a tenement where 134 persons, plus passersby, are using four compartments over a single vault. Often eight, ten, and twelve compartments are found over one vault. In many parts of the city figures show conditions equally as distressing. The superstructures of these vaults are often in the most filthy condition. It is not an uncommon thing to find floors wet and reeking in foulness, and seats and walls covered with foecal matter. In several instances floors covered with an inch or more of such filth were found. In other instances superstructures were found with the entire bench-seat broken away and fallen into the vault, leaving dangerous holes in the floors where the children are wont to play, and is not uncommon to find rickety floors and bad walls serving as danger signals for those who enter.

Such compartments as the writer deemed nuisances were reported to the Board of Health, many of which were turned back into

the office marked "no cause for complaint". Upon appoint^{ment}, with the regular sanitary inspector of the district the writer revisited some of these "no cause for complaint" privies only to find them steeped in the same filth. The inspector admitted that these superstructures could and should be ordered clean but that in the complaints he understood the vaults were filthy and so did not consider the filth of the superstructures after finding the sewers open.

Many of the worst compartment privies were in saloon yards, where patrons and loungers after having dirtied one compartment would forsake it for another. The families for perhaps half a block would share these closets with the saloon trade. Where several families were found using one compartment the doors could not be locked, and thus from one closet to the other these patrons move until all have become filthy. Even were there no outsiders, where there is division of responsibility there also filth ^{is} ~~was~~ often found.

Almost without exception urinals were without doors or screens and complaints from tenants relating to indecent exposures and vicious^{sexual} language are the usual accompaniment of these damp malodorous urinals.

There need be little comment on the frame placards advertising patent medicines for, and describing the diseases of men, which are hung in all public, many semi-public, and some private privies, corrupting the minds of young children as soon as they are able to read the attractively colored cards.

There exists in St. Louis a type of vault peculiar

to southern cities known as the "pier" or "tier" vaults. This kind of vault is usually made of brick, built in two, three or four stories; the upper compartments connecting by bridge with the rear porches of the several floors of the main building and serving as separate compartments for the families living on those floors. Thus it can be seen that there will be three or four compartments, one directly over the other, and all directly over the one vault in the yard below. While the receptacles in each are of the open hopper type yet there is seldom a flush and a hopper soon becomes very dirty. This closet is usually clean when connected with a flush, and well constructed - the form of construction serving to carry off odors over the tops of houses - but where there is an absence of water flush the pier vault becomes altogether disreputable.

The out floor water closet, which occurs only at rare intervals, has been treated in connection with general plumbing.

Day after day of inspection never failed to bring forth bitter complaints of sickening vault odors in the kitchens and sleeping rooms of unfortunate tenants. No man can go into these districts daily without becoming hardened by the repeated appeals for remedied conditions. Nor can he fail to recognize through sense of smell how just are these complaints. On the other hand there is no excuse when, after repeated reports from the tenants, the municipality refuses to heed when there are laws in the Municipal Code which say, "Any owner, leasee, tenant or agent of any building or lot of any ground in the city who shall maintain or allow to exist, about or on, said building or lot of ground any privy, privy vault, commode, cess-pool or water closet, which shall be found in an overflow-

ing, leaking, full, filthy, stinking, insecure, defective, or unlawful condition, shall be deemed ^{guilty} of a misdemeanor --- and every day on which a violation of this section exists as to any premises shall constitute a separate and distinct offense."

The following statistics on yard vaults give a clearer picture of existing conditions:

Districts	Number of Vaults	Number of Persons using	Number of Families Using	Condition.			
				Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy.
Jewish	523	3610	829	399	87	23	14
Negro	336	1917	614	250	38	13	35
Mixed	242	1666	393	163	45	16	18
Italian	513	3318	691	268	138	23	84
Polish	204	1740	365	120	65	-	19
Total	1818	12251	2892	1200	373	75	170

The totals given under vaults refer to the number of superstructure compartments.

THE GARBAGE BOX AND THE ASH BIN.

The accumulation of garbage in yards, alleys, courts, cellars, and innumerable outof-the-way places is a vital question of municipal sanitation, the evils of which cannot be overestimated. This special problem is not alone of the congested districts; but is present in these districts in an aggravated form.

Garbage receptacles furnished by the owner or agent,

and originally intended to serve as such were very seldom found. Instead baskets, buckets, pans, tubs, boxes and in fact any receptacle of any material, size or shape which would serve as a flimsy excuse to sanitary inspection, served for garbage dumping. These stinking, leaking receptacles are scattered over yards, courtyards, cellars, side-walks, alleys and porches and serve as play grounds for swarms of flies, neighborhood dogs, cats and rats. The right to this play ground is often disputed by the children of the tenement. Not content with these feeding grounds tramp dogs and cats pull and drag bits of garbage from the receptacles to more remote parts of yards, alleys and streets where they are abandoned to fester in the sun. The vast majority of the receptacles used were in a broken, overflowing condition. In some cases where badly broken they were totally useless.

In several cases receptacles in adjoining yards were used; in others tenants claimed that they burned all refuse or fed it to chickens or horses. In a few cases dumps of garbage were found in fire places, indoor toilets, and bath tubs. Most of the refuse was dumped into the porch hopper slop sinks, where it washed down into the vault; or, perhaps less often because farther away, the closet served as a catchall.

Fortunately in only five cases was garbage found dumped in the cellars. In three ^{of these} cases it was emptied into a brick ash chute from the three stories above and allowed to run through to the cellar. In one case it was found in a cellar toilet, having no flush. In many cases there is no attempt to conceal dumping of garbage in yards and courtyards.

In the few attempts to have stationary receptacles which

are usually built of wood in oblong open box shape - in only a few cases is there a lid - the box has failed to meet the approval of the garbage collector, who merely takes away the uppermost waste, leaving the bottom covered ^{with} a most ^{to} putrid deposit which eventually dries into a crust becoming thicker and thicker. Stirred into smelling by each rain these boxes become sickening. This condition of half cleaning is true of all receptacles used for garbage purposes.

In every case, even where there is an attempt at provision of garbage receptacles, the ash bin serves as a depository for garbage, ashes, and all sorts of rubbish. In this mixed state the garbage remains, piling higher and higher, growing more unbearable each day until the bin overflows and the landlord either voluntarily or by order of the Board of Health has it removed.

In spite of the fact that ^{the} Municipal Code makes it the duty of the police and sanitary officers to report ashbins containing garbage and rubbish, and a misdemeanor on the part of the owner, agent, ¹ lessee or tenant to permit same, a sanitary officer told the writer that he could not serve notice or take action unless the ash bin were full or overflowing. The present Code also says that without exception ² every part of the city must have daily garbage collection. In the districts investigated there is a more or less regular collection two or three times a week, but in numerous individual cases tenants complained of a more irregular collection.

¹ Municipal Code sec. 579 page 547; sec. 581 page 548; sec. 8 page 986.

² Municipal Code sec. 691 page 570;

STATISTICS ON GARBAGE.

Districts.	Receptacle.						Where placed.			
	Box	Barrel	Bucket	Basket	Ash Bin	Dumped	Yard	Alley	Street	Porch
(1) Jewish	51	32	74	5	24	10	85	75	28	1
(2) Negro.	89	17	52	10	4	7	129	34	8	10
(3) Mixed	26	18	43	6	9	5	43	49	10	1
(4) Italian	36	46	26	2	17	17	87	43	10	2
(5) Polish	14	22	23	2	3	1	29	29	7	-
Total	216	135	213	25	57	40	373	230	63	14

Table Continued.

Condition.			
Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy.
97	39	42	18
101	49	22	7
45	31	20	11
62	48	18	21
27	18	7	13
332	185	109	70

Where receptacles were placed in various places by different tenants each place is counted.

In many cases dry goods and piano boxes, old sheds and fence corners were considered suitable ash dumps, when any contact with any form of combustible material in the ash receptacles is forbidden by the municipality.¹ 63.2% of a total of 524 ash receptacles were of inflammable material, and 13.8% of the various forms of disposal were dumps beside wooden fences or wooden sheds, or within wooden sheds.

More frequently than in the case of garbage, ashes were found in dumps in the cellars. Most often brick chutes from upper stories furnished a easy means of cellar dumping. At one three story double house, front and rear, on Wash Street a wooden chute conducted the ashes from the upper porches to the courtyard below. Tenants complain^d because this chute had become clogged causing them to throw all refuse from the porches to the courtyard. This courtyard, in which the sun shines for barely an hour each day, was indescribably damp, filthy and ill smelling.

The following table tells more clearly the problem of the ash bin:

Receptacle.			Where placed.				Condition.			
Districts.	Wooden Bin	Brick Bin	Dumped	Yard	Alley	Cellar	Clean	Dirty	Very Dirty	Filthy

(See Next Page)

1

Municipal Code sec. 215, page 474.

Districts	W. B.	B. B.	Dum.	Yd.	Alley	Cel.	Clean	Dirty	V. D.	Filthy
Jewish	116	47	23	168	15	3	65	34	69	18
Negro	54	14	11	78	-	1	17	22	36	4
Mixed	44	26	13	63	15	5	21	20	24	18
Italian	71	25	18	102	12	-	45	28	25	16
Polish	46	9	7	60	2	-	26	13	16	7
Total.	331	121	72	471	44	9	174	117	170	63

COMMENTS

ON EXTERIOR CONDITIONS.

- O'Fallon Filthy hydrant sink in brick shed.
- O'Fallon Tenants throw "small slop" over porch into yard causing foul odor and filthy yard.
- O'Fallon Urinal on dirty brick pavement of yard.
- Biddle Dogs and cats make feeding ^{ground} of this yard. Hydrant broken and running.
- Biddle Much rubbish and filth on roofs of sheds.
- Carr Tenants complain of Italians using floor of cellar as toilet.
- Carr Large hole in yard where vaults are caving in. Vile Smell. Small children playing around defective vault.
- Carr Butcher pours blood in dirt yard allowing it to soak in. Hydrant banked with feathers and filth.
- Carr Urinal drains through yard to hydrant sink.
- Carr. Vaults filthy - floor and seat covered with water and offal. Rats seen running into them.
- Carr Garbage scattered in alley. Tenants say garbage men call for the garbage not oftener than every two weeks.
- Carr Vaults shallow and bad smelling. Sewer broken causing pools of water to stand in yard.

- Wash Rotten fruits and garbage dumped in stable lot. Vaults filthy. One seat gone leaving large opening in floor.
- Wash Small yard almost impassable for ashes, rubbish and filth. Vaults filthy.
- Wash Yards extremely filthy almost entirely covered by two feet of ashes, garbage and rubbish. Stable under rear house very bad smelling and dirty. Fruit kept here. Dirty dog kennel. Very bad odor.
- Wash Yard covered with broken glass, dead rats, bottles, ashes and slop. Great odor.
- Fourteenth Very dirty toilet without flush in cellar.
- Fourteenth Air shaft between flats. Most of them filthy, and tenants complain of bad air.
- Fourteenth. Water in filthy cellar. Bad tier vaults without flush. Straw dumped about wooden ash bin.
- Thirteenth Rear of house falling. Used for living purposes. Very dangerous.
- High Yard paved with brick - very dirty. Drained from corner of house into cellar.
- Lucas Garbage man has not called for three years at this house.

CHAPTER V.

RENTS.

THE ST. LOUIS RENT PROBLEM.

That the increase in St. Louis real estate values ^{has} ~~can~~ fill the pockets of many owners of property since 1904, the year of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, is a most generally accepted statement; that the same increase which has made the rich richer has also made the poor poorer, is a statement ^{which} ~~may~~ appear exaggerated on first thought. The tenement landlord who was already exacting ten, twelve and fifteen percent interest on the value of his investment joined with the new order of things and raised his interest to fifteen, twenty-five and thirtyfive percent. This necessitated a curtailing of other expenses, which could ill afford to be cut, if the tenant wished to retain the apartment ~~in~~ which he had been living. The majority of the tenement ~~teners~~ were able by certain privations to retain their "homes"; the minority, who were already ^{they} paying all ~~it~~ could afford, were forced to remove into the more unsanitary, less expensive rooms of the rear tenement. Those who already occupied these rear tenements moved into the cellars, stables and other out houses never intended for living quarters.

Examples where percents on the investment are exceedingly high are often found. Dilapidated shells, unfit for ~~un~~habitation, without any of the most usual conveniences - no heat, no light, no water, no fire protection, no privacy, broken windows, leaking rooms, falling paper and plaster, and sagging floors - the landlord's idea of

all the tenant deserves to call home.

The following statistics will show more graphically the enormity of rents in the congested districts when compared with some of the other tables in this report which acquaint the reader with a necessarily incomplete picture of what the tenant really receives for his money:

Districts.	Classification of Rents Paid .					Average Rent.	
	\$10 or Over	\$8 to \$10	\$6 to \$8	\$4 to \$6	Under \$4	Per Apart	Per Room.
Jewish	313	198	200	110	66	\$10.53	\$4.19
Negro	174	102	156	77	27	\$10.75	4.49
Mixed	146	60	82	43	65	7.23	3.10
Italian	263	161	124	73	19	10.26	4.34
Polish	88	96	96	61	24	9.02	3.73
Total	907	590	647	366	315	\$10.18	\$4.36

Rents in these districts continue to rise and yet hear the landlord appealing to the municipality that he must protect himself and his rights - that he cannot ^{afford} to give his tenants justice. That is all his tenants ask - justice, not charity.

Mr. Frederick C. Howe, a student of the municipality, feels the gravity of the situation when he writes, "The city of tomorrow will be a place in which to live. It will supply so many things and ^{at} so slight a cost from the common purse that the problem of existence, even to the poorest, will be greatly simplified. Then

man's work will serve him, not enslave him. For the ideals of that city will not be dividends upon property so much as dividends - in the form of happiness - on life. It is an ideal which calls to the service of humanity the great agencies of production that are now lost to us through monopoly in private hands. We need only summon to the aid of the city the discoveries that are now known, and the talent that we now have, to change the city of today from the abode of much misery ~~if~~ ^{and} suffering to the greatest agency for happiness the world has ever known. All this involves a reversal of our ideals of government from a mere agency of property into an agency for humanity. It involves a conception of the city as an entity, a political and industrial democracy, designed for the use of people rather than for the protection of privilege and property.

"It is this dignity which privilege enjoys that explains the ⁰p_overty, the misery, and the corruption of the city. Every where privilege and property are exalted above human life. Humanity is subordinated to inanimate things. The right of the slum lords to his rents is a higher right in the eyes of the law than the right of the helpless tenement dweller to sun-light, fresh air, and freedom from contagious disease. --- It is the subordination of every other consideration to the superior rights of property that explains the present condition of our cities. We have not yet learned that property is but an agency, a means of happiness, not an end and object for which society is organized. In Great Britain, as well in America, the land, the slums, the franchise corporation, have been given protection, while humanity dies of disease or starves of hunger. Throughout all of our thought runs the assumption that government is a pro-

pector of property, rather a means of promoting the well-being of the people. Not until this ideal passes will the city begin to realize its possibilities. Not until then will its ultimate program be open to adoption."

Mr. Robert W. DeForest, Chairman of the New York Tenement House Commission, found that when he tried to enforce sanitary changes at the expense of the landlord he had a lot of litigation added to his effort; in commenting on the attitude of the landlords he says, "Such landlords forget that they, ^{by} ~~are~~ their predecessors in ownership, have for a long time held their property subject to this right on the part of the community to protect itself, and that the possibility of new changes being required by the community for its protection has been one element in determining the price at which such property has been bought and sold."

BUSINESS INTERESTS vs. PHILANTHROPY IN THE
PROVISION OF BETTER HOMES.

If the tenement landlord would be satisfied with the same amount of interest on his investment that he would get from the management of the more elaborate apartments in the better parts of the city, or the interest which ^{would} accrue through the usual loan of his money, the tenement problem would at once be divested of its menacing trappings and the working peoples would receive that for which the payment of rent entitles them.

The every day man of business is apt to look upon the investment in "model tenements" as a matter outside the scope

2. The British City - Frederick C. Howe, page 343

2. The Department of Defense - National Intelligence Council

of business; shelving it to the interest of philanthropy. If this same man is seeking a safe and sane investment and is content to accept his annual interest of from four to six percent there are few more flattering locations in the City of St. Louis than the district between Lucas and O'Fallon, and Seventh and Fourteenth Streets; flattering because in addition to his conservative interest his capital is ever growing, due to the rising value of the land itself.

Experiments galore, some few failures, many economically and socially successful, have been tried in the improvement of housing conditions in the large cities of America and Europe. Of the many efforts of relief most have been supervised by companies incorporated with a view to the work. This incorporated company is an outgrowth of the earlier association having a philanthropic interest uppermost. These same philanthropic associations demonstrated that the sanitary "model" tenement could be made a financial success and investors took up the work.

New York, America's greatest tenement center, has also been its greatest center of interest in improved housing. As early as 1897, the date of erection of "The Monroe" in New York City, the economic and social interests were blended, purely from a business standpoint. The plan of The Monroe followed somewhat closely that of the Riverside Buildings erected in Brooklyn in 1876-78 by Mr. Alfred T. White, later Commissioner of Public Works in that city. The Monroe has paid about 7% on the investment, The Riverside a little over 6% . Other New York model tenements and their interests are:

Improved Dwellings Association Buildings which limited the stockholders to dividends of 5%, the which has been paid since their opening; The Cutting Building 4%; The Tenement House Building Company and Association 5%; Miss Collins' Tenements, which were not constructed as model tenements but which were purchased by Miss Collins, renovated and reconstructed, 5.5%; City and Suburban Homes Company, a more recent organization which limits its dividends to 5%. The foregoing, excepting the last named, were early attempts to combine business and good living, they have been followed by many very successful efforts in New York and elsewhere. In speaking of the effects of these model tenements the New York report says: (1) That good dwellings reduce the death rate - (2) that they tend to increase the morality and self respect of the people living in them - (3) that they favorably effect surrounding neighborhoods - (4) that they pay,¹ when properly managed, fair profits to their owners.

The City of Washington has two companies which are doing much toward the betterment of housing conditions of the working people of the National Capital; these companies are the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, and the Washington Sanitary Housing Company. The former is profiting to the extent of 7% on its capital of nearly one million dollars invested. The latter is declaring 6% dividends on a somewhat smaller investment.²

¹ Tenement House Committee Report of 1894 - page 119.

² History and Development of the Housing Movement in the City of Washington, D. C. - George M. Kober, M. D.

In London over one hundred million dollars has been invested ⁱⁿ homes for wage earners. Much of this improvement has been done by the municipality, and the Church of England which found itself in possession of the worst slum section of the English metropolis. This work assumed gigantic proportions when twenty-two acres of the most crowded London slum district was demolished and the Church assumed the role of builder and landlord. This move was not purely ^{one} of philanthropy but one of 4% interest on the investment. Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Author of "The British City", makes the statement on page 222 of that work that, "The Council has also razed slum areas and ~~are~~ erecting model homes for one hundred thousand of its people. About the city, areas of land have been purchased on which cottages are to be built for the better-to-do classes. London is going to be its own landlord. Not much has been done as yet, it is true, but a big start on the housing question has been made."

Other cities, notably Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati, Philadelphia and Baltimore, together with many foreign cities have housing companies, which, in the main, are operated as purely commercial organizations. That most of these have been financially successful follows from Dr. F. R. L. Gould's statement before the New York Tenement House Exhibition that, ¹ "Upward of one hundred millions of dollars have been invested in improved housing in the largest European and American cities; and 88%, that is, eighty-eight million dollars, is now earning and always has earned a commercial profit."

1

Tenement Conditions in Chicago - page 176.

6%, that is, six millions of ~~the~~ dollars, has returned a savings bank rate of interest, and only six million dollars out of the whole one hundred million dollars have been invested less profitably".

The following general provisions have been adopted, by the majority of the model tenement homes companies, where properly enforced have brought about the desired response from tenants; (1) Dismissal of all undesirable tenants - (2) Tenants held for preventable damage - (3) Tenants in turn responsible for condition of halls, stairs and closets - (4) Tenants held for proper disposal of garbage, ashes, and refuse - (5) Tenants held for care of pipes in cold weather - (6) No animals allowed on premises - (7) No lodgers allowed within the apartments. Many of the building companies encourage thrift among their tenants by allowing a small discount per week on rental if four or more weeks are paid at one time in advance. Some pay annual dividends to those tenants who have remained through the year without violation of any rule. This dividend usually equals two or three weeks rent.

Bad management of the model tenement, and for that matter all tenements, has been responsible for most if not all the failures which have resulted in tenement house reform. The standard of living of the tenants is low, it is true, but the examples afforded by the work of Miss Collins' of New York and Miss Octavia Hill of London demonstrate that much of the existing conditions is not alone due to the tenants, who with the assistance and under the training and watchfulness of these women have brought cleanliness out of filth, respectability out of degradation. These efforts have brought about

sanitary changes without raising the rents - depending upon the ability to keep all apartments and stores rented at all times which have proven true. In New York, as in other cities, there has been this second remedial course taken; the course of reclaiming old tenements and putting them in a condition fit for habitation.

Various industrial organizations, for example, the N. C. Nelson Company of St. Louis and LeGlaire, Ill.; the National Cash Register Co. of ⁴D_Aton, Ohio; the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., located at various points in that city; The Plymouth Cordage Co., of North Plymouth, Mass., have provided sanitary homes for their employ^es, which employ^es can, if they so desire, buy in their homes at the same time they would be paying rents in other quarters. These homes are usually situated on or near the grounds of the manufacturing plant.

Still another solution^{to} of housing of the working people is the dependence upon ~~the~~ Rapid Transit to and from established suburban colonies. By means of rapid transportation the employee is hurriedly transported to and from his work and at the same time is living in healthful surroundings in his suburban home. While rapid transit may be an important factor in the solution of the housing problem the working people can never be dissociated from the downtown congested districts. The proximity to their work, the associations formed in the districts occupied by their own countrymen, the glare and rumble of the downtown light and noise all tend to make the problem of suburban settlements a very delicate one. No matter with what perfection these suburban colonies are maintained there still must remain down-town housing in congested quarters. It

is looking toward the improvement of these down-town districts that the would-be tenement house reformer must devote most of his attention.

Mr. Lawrence Vellier, of New York, puts forth a valuable suggestion regarding the reclaiming^d of the congested slum districts. His plan "contemplating^g the condemnation by the city of a whole block as a park from which a strip of land forty feet deep on each side should be sold to a private company, who would erect model tenements, under certain restrictions." ¹ "This", says Mr. Vellier, "seems the most hopeful plan ever^x suggested. The company paying for only forty feet and being permitted to occupy all of it, can pay a good price and still make 6% to 7%. The land being only forty feet in depth, the building would be only two ~~feet~~^{rows} deep, and it would not be possible to have any dark rooms. The city selling two-fifths of the land to this company would certainly get back two-fifths of the cost. As a matter of fact, it will get back more, for they who sell the outside for more than the inside, so that the city gets a hundred^{and twenty} ^{four hundred} ~~by a hundred~~^{and} ~~and~~ ^{feet} of ~~twenty~~ park land, and also gets model tenements at the same time. There is no reason why this could not be repeated all over the city of New York wherever parks are needed."

Mr. Ernest Flagg also offers a good suggestion to the philanthropist and commercial builder, ² He says, "It seems to me that the builders of the model tenements lose sight of the chief benefit which ought to accrue from their labor; that is to say, the influence their work might have on the ordinary builder in raising the standard ¹

¹ Tenement Conditions in Chicago - page 177.
² "Charities" - Oct. 6, 1906, page 77.

of tenement construction. The number of people ^{or} ~~are~~ families which can be directly benefitted by the philanthropic ^{building} of model tenements is ~~in~~ insignificant and always will be so when compared with the great mass of the tenement population; but if by the building of superior houses the ordinary builder can be persuaded or forced to improve his methods, the benefit will be great and wide-spread. If the model houses are so extravagantly ^vplanned that they cannot pay the usual return on the investment, then they have failed at a vital point. They may be admired; they may make a large number of people more comfortable than they otherwise would be, but here the good will end, for they will not be copied by the man who is in the business to make a living, and the influence they can exert toward raising the general level of such buildings will be slight. If, on the other hand, buildings can be put up which are better than the ordinary and which will yield the ordinary rate of income on the investment, not only will they be copied by the general builder, but the greatest obstacle to the raising of capital for the work of tenement house reform will be removed."

Within the districts examined there has been but one attempt to provide a "model" tenement. This house has been well constructed, fire proofed, provided with ~~sa~~aths, ash chutes, garbage receptacles, proper light and ventilation and means of privacy, and yet because of improper management the investment has not been altogether successful.

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL, PHYSICAL AND MORAL DISEASE.

SICKNESS AND DEATH RATES IN THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS.

Mr. Jacob Riis, social worker of New York in speaking of a clean and healthful race, says, "You can't raise people in pig styes and then expect them to act like men". This holds in St. Louis as well as it does in New York.

"It has long been known that rickets, scrofula, and other chronic forms of tuberculosis are far more prevalent in dark, damp and insanitary houses. The children are anaemic and as puny as plants reared without the stimulating effects of sun light. Add to this the fact that dampness abstracts an undue amount of animal heat, lowers the power of resistance and favors the development of catarrhal conditions which render the system more vulnerable to tuberculosis infection, and we have a reasonable explanation why these diseases prevail especially in basements or houses below grade and otherwise unfit for human habitation. The death rate is often double and treble that of other localities and while there are doubtless other factors which determine the frightful mortality, none are more potent than deficient sunlight and ventilation. The ubiquitous tubercle bacillus, clinging to floors and walls in carelessly - expectorated - sputum would be destroyed in a few hours of sunlight, but finds in damp and badly ventilated rooms suitable environment for its vitality and growth. Diphtheria, cerebro-spinal-meningitis,

acute and chronic rheumatism and bronchial affections are also more frequent in unsanitary dwellings. That the same is true of infantile diarrhoea is doubtless due to the fact that the construction of the buildings does not protect from the heat of summer, and the enervating effects of heat and the more speedy decomposition of food (especially of milk) in such an atmosphere, combined to carry on the slaughter of the innocents." ¹

The above general statement is applicable to St. Louis, or any other city which permits the herding of a part of its people in filth, dampness and darkness. During the course of this investigation no attempt to ascertain the exact ^{conditions} of health was carried out, but in general, notice was taken of those houses in which disease was found and search for the cause was usually brief. Filth - so antagonistic to the sensitive human organism stood forth doing sentinel duty. The fearless enemy of all save Cleanliness who invariably withers the death clutch of the destroying tenacles.

Once a contagious disease springs up in a particularly *filthy* locality it spreads with a frightful rapidity because of the intimacy of the people of the tenement houses. Children play in the streets with scores of the other neighborhood youth until they become too ill to be on their feet. The cleanly suffer for the filth of their neighbors. An example of this spreading of disease was noted in which children throughout an entire block were affected with diphtheria. The disease having taken its course had about died out, one little girl started a whooping cough crusade in which nearly every child in the block was taken with the disease, there being no attempt whatever of isolation.

The spread of such diseases as scarlet fever, small-pox, diphtheria and measles, is carefully guarded by the Health Department, but the spread of that particularly dreadful ^{tenement} house disease Tuberculosis, goes on unchecked. Those unfortunates who are possessed with the disease have never known the principles of hygiene which alone might effect their cure. Steeped as they are in ignorance and filth they spread broad cast the death warrants of their ^{fellow} men. These dread germs are not restricted as the vicious prisoner within the walls of the State, but are allowed to wander at large to the utmost ends of the city, with little or no attempt at detection or arrest, mowing down more innocents than all of the accidents of the city have ever sacrificed.

There are certain houses within the districts examined which have no claim for existance yet their walls and floors, covered with sputum and filth, continue to snuff out the lives of those who inhabit them. Houses were found where many persons in different apartments were suffering ^{from} this disease. As far as could be determined these houses were never disinfected by the Health Department who either refused to see or preferred to remain in ignorance of existing conditions. The alley houses in the Negro and Italian districts are especial harbingers of the various forms of tuberculosis.

Dr. S. A. Knopf, before the New York Tenement House Exhibition of 1900 in a very instructive paper, said, ¹ "If I should be asked what conditions are most conducive to the propagation of tuberculosis and especially pulmonary consumption, I would have to reply, the conditions that prevail in the old-fashioned tenement-
1 Tenement Conditions in Chicago - page 152, also pamphlet - Tuberculosis in the Tenement - page 1.

houses as they still exist by the thousand in this and other large cities. In these tenements there are not only a greater number of consumptives than the same area elsewhere, but the proportion is actually greater per number of inhabitants. Thus they not only contain countless centers of infection for old and young and multiple foci of reinfection for those already afflicted. But these dwellings with their bad air, dampness and filth make a cure of ^{the} diseases impossible and a lingering death for ^{all} those infected by the germ of tuberculosis a certainty. If any one thinks me an alarmist, let him glance at the charts exhibited in this building. There he will see that there ^{are} _^ houses in which can be counted as many as twenty consecutive cases of tuberculosis during the last four years. This number represents, however, only the cases reported to the Board of Health. Now, you must not think for a moment that these represent the actual number of cases of tuberculosis existing in that particular tenement. They are only the ones where the disease had so far advanced that medical aid became imperative, a physician had to be called in, and the case was reported. But how many of the moderately advanced cases are made known to either physician or Board of Health? I venture to say those not reported are more numerous than the reported ones. They constitute that case of pulmonary invalids who are still able to work, and who imagine themselves to be suffering only from chronic bronchitis and the equally large number of children ^{suffering} _^ from tubercular manifestations other than pulmonary. To ^{the} _^ uninitiated it may sound like a paradox when I say that the tubercular invalid who is still up and about, per-

haps supporting his family is often the greatest danger to the community, to his friends, his neighbors, and to those who may succeed in the tenement he lives in. It is this class of consumptives, which, from either ignorance or carelessness spread their disease broadcast, depositing their infectious sputum everywhere without any regard to the danger."

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the relation of overcrowding to sickness and the death rates. "The death rate, it must be remembered, everywhere increases where overcrowding prevails. Russel in his Statistics of Glasgow, 1871 to 1880 has shown that the mortality is largely determined by the number of occupants to a room. When the average number to each room ^{was} ~~is~~ only 1.31 the general mortality was 21.7 per thousand, and when the average number of occupants was 2.05 for each sleeping apartment, the mortality reached 28.6 per thousand. Körösi, of Budapest, has proved that the mortality from infectious diseases is increased in proportion to the number of occupants of houses. It is only twenty per thousand when the number of occupants to each room does not exceed two, but is twenty-nine per thousand with three to five occupants, thirtytwo per thousand with six to ten occupants, and seventy nine per thousand when there are more than ten occupants to each apartment. Crowd-poison is, therefore, a distinct evil of these alley houses, coupled, as it is, with insufficient light, impure air, and a greater chance for the spread of contagion."

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The History and Development of the Housing Movement in the City of Washington, D. C. - page 13a.

President Roosevelt considers the subject of sufficient importance to treat it somewhat extensively in his Message of December 1904. An extract from that Message points to the serious effects of over-crowding on the health of the community.¹ "We should not permit over-crowding in cities. In certain European cities it is provided by law that the population of towns shall not be allowed to exceed a very limited density for a given area, so that the increase in density must be continually pushed back into a broad zone around the center of the town, this zone having great avenues or parks within it. The death rate statistics show a terrible increase in mortality and especially in infant mortality, in over-crowded tenements. The poorest families in tenement houses live in one room and it appears that in the one room tenements the average death rate for a given number of cities at home and abroad is about twice what it is in a two room tenement, four times what it is in a three room tenement, and eight times what it is in a tenement consisting of four rooms or over. These figures vary somewhat for different cities, but they approximate in each city those given above; and in all cases the increase of mortality and especially of infant mortality, with a decrease in the number of rooms used by the family and with a consequent overcrowding is startling. The slum exacts a heavy total of ^{death from} those who dwell therein; and this is the case not merely in the great crowded slums of high buildings in New York and Chicago, but in the alley slums of Washington. In Washington people cannot afford to ignore the harm that this causes.

¹
The History and Development of the Housing Movement in Washington,
D. C. - page 56.

No Christian and civilized community can afford to show a happy-go-lucky lack of concern for the youth of today; for, if so, the community will have to pay a terrible penalty of financial burden and social degradation in the tomorrow."

There is direct connection between the disease of the underworld and the unsuspecting public in general in the system of sending out various articles of food and clothing to be worked in the tenement homes. In "The Battle with the Slums" Mr. Jacob Riis makes a graphic statement in speaking of a tenement clothing sweat-shop - "The scourge of consumption, which doctors and Boards of Health ^{with} wrestle in vain, while dying men and women sew on coats with their last gasp' - and sew the death warrant of the buyer into the lining, is ^a ~~the~~ threat, the gravity of which we have hardly yet made out."

Fortunately there do not exist many sweatshops in the districts examined in this city but from the stand point of danger to the health of the buyer the many trades carried on within the homes is exceedingly dangerous to the St. Louis public. A word in definition will perhaps enlighten the ^y ~~lame~~ ^{man}. The "sweat shop", strictly speaking, is a living room of a tenement dwelling wherein the family, together with outside help, carries on its trade and domestic work. The "work carried on within the ^{home} ~~house~~" excludes the outside help but is identical with the sweat shop in every other respect. It can readily be seen that the difference is merely one of nomenclature so far as the health of the outside public is concerned.

Garments of all kinds are being finished in St. Louis amidst the rankest filth and most grewsome disease. Every one of the pieces carries disease into the home, the store, on the street, and in the car - and is no respecter of persons in its menace.

Far more serious is the direct transmission of disease through the manufacture of food stuffs within the walls of the tenement.

"Many of us have watched some small children on a hot summer's day eating with evident enjoyment the ice cream sandwiches bought from the street pedlars, with a feeling of trepidation and wonder as to how many germs and how much dirt¹ were being swallowed with a mouthful of cool pink cream".

The Italian vendors sell the highly colored cream sandwiches for a penny each. The cheapest sort of inferior coloring is used and the cream is usually a concoction containing little or no cream, prepared in some filthy Italian apartment or basement. This is usually prepared^{only} in small quantities. Usually no great care is taken of the utensils and they become poisonous with germs.

The wholesale and retail milk, butter and ice cream business, carried on on a larger scale than the business of the Italian pedlar, is confined almost wholly within the Jewish section. It is difficult to conceive of the filth which abounds at ~~most~~^{many} of these places of supply. The milk supply is kept in dirty, damp cellars, the floors of which are muddily from spilled milk and water drained from the ice boxes. These ice boxes are never aired, seldom properly drained, and usually horribly dirty. Ask any careful house-wife about the ~~necessity of the clean, well aired ice box and compare her answer~~
1 "Carities" Feb. 10 1906. "Manufacturing of food in the Tenements" -

necessity of the clean, well aired ice box and compare her answer with the condition found in most of the slum milk stores. The quality of the milk and butter to begin with is such as would not be permitted in the better parts of the city.

The Jewish ice cream manufacturers are even more dirty than the Italian. During the investigation of a half block on the northeast corner of _____ and _____ streets the writer learned much of a Jewish ice cream "room" before reaching the place itself. The inhabitants of the block were Negroes, who, cleanly themselves, bitterly the "Jew man" on the corner for his filthy place. They claimed that the place became so foul that the stench on warm evenings almost drove them from the neighborhood. One glance through the back door verified the accusations of the neighbors. The floor of the wholesale creamery within was covered with a half inch of extremely ^{filthy} water. The wooden floor could seap up no more of the dampness and the walls were doing their utmost to gather the overflow but in vain. There was a hydrant in this room but no drain and the level of the floor being below that of the front room and the back yard the water could not drain out. ^{Water from} the hydrant was running on the floor at the time of inspection. It is almost superfluous to comment on the condition of the cellar or upon the quality of the cream this man was selling to the retail dealers of the neighborhood.

The cooking and handling of candy in alley houses, or in rear basement rooms, presents sights which would hardly appeal to the large class which eats ^{to} sweets in ignorance of their manufacture.

The manufacture of macaroni is not very common in

St. Louis, especially within the home, but this product is most often handled with dirty hands and machinery and hung to dry in all sorts of dirty places where dust and germs and flies are wont to congregate. Most cellar and alley house bakeries are dirty beyond description - the ventilation is poor, the walls, floors, ovens and mixing utensils and furniture are covered with a crust of all sort of bakery refuse. In the rear of a bakery on Biddle Street the single vault used by all of the families in the house was found against the oven; the wall of the oven formed the back wall of the superstructure over the vault. Fortunately there are a few bakeries in the districts which are scrupulously clean but most of them tend toward the opposite extreme.

In a rear house on Thirteenth Street four men were found making tamales. The roomsⁱⁿ which they were working was black with age and accumulated dirt, several dogs and cats lounged on the floor which covered with bits of tamale meat and other garbage. The room also served as a kitchen, and the general household of the four inhabitants. The four men ^sper³ping and dirty were hunched over a filthy table wrapping the meat in dirty corn husks; one or two were chewing tobacco, another seemed to have a skin disease. They boasted of the high quality of the product, adding that people who ate their tamales were never ill.

CRIME AND INTEMPERANCE IN THE TENEMENTS.

The absence of home life and the influence of the street and alley associations of the youth of the slum districts

will inevitably break down, to a greater or lesser extent the restricting barriers of society and produce crime. The tales of exploit, real or imaginary of the boasting slum "hero" poison the ideals of the growing boy until the daring of his own imaginary escapades take form and start him on a life of crime. In the congested districts where the only places of meeting, other than the street and alley, are the corner saloons frequented by gamblers and prostitutes, the pliable mind of the young man eighteen or twenty years of age is apt to succumb to the enticement of these learned pupils of crime, even though he has escaped the glare of the young bravado, ^{he} ~~he~~ becomes a tool of the evil caprices of his captors.

The Italians, Russian and Austrian Jews, and the Polish, coming to us as they do from their rural surroundings, ignorant, but with honest principles, seek out the districts offering the smallest rents and settle there soon to lose their children to the evil glare of the new surroundings.

Gambling and vile language is a part of the early training of the little girls and boys of five and six years of age. Gambling in various apparently innocent forms furnishes exciting play, and bad language is made a part of the vocabulary before the meanings of words are thought of or questioned. All kinds of immoral show sets the young minds questioning and the answers are never long in coming from the corrupt adult.

The Chicago report on Tenement Conditions ¹ uses a quotation of Dr. Elisha Harris, corresponding secretary of the ¹ Page 149, also How the Other Half Lives page 1 - Mr. Jacob Riis.

Prison Association of New York, before the New York Legislative Committee of 1866 as being applicable to conditions in Chicago today - the same quotation, word for word, is just as forcible in describing ~~the~~ conditions in the St. Louis slum of today. Dr. Harris says; "The younger criminals seem to come almost exclusively from the worst tenement house districts. When ~~this~~^e riot occurred in 1863, every hiding place and nursery of crime discovered itself by immediate and active participation in the operations of the mob. Those very places and domicles, and all that are like them are today nurseries of crime, and of the vices and disorderly courses which lead to crime. By far the largest part, eighty percent at least, of the crimes against property and against the person are perpetrated by individuals who have either lost connection with home life or never had any, or whose homes have ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent, and desirable to afford what are regarded as ordinary wholesome ^{influences} of home and family." The same report also quotes Dr. Frederick Wines as follows: "Insanitary conditions, especially in the most crowded ^{centers} ~~sections~~ of population, are a cause of crime, because they weaken the vitality of those who might otherwise successfully contend against these criminal tendencies."¹

The Chicago report, further, paints a picture identical with the life in the very bad congested districts of St. Louis and other large cities. It is a well known law, ^{that} given the same causes under like conditions, ~~and~~ the same effects will tend to follow. If the reader has not looked upon this picture in St. Louis let him not

pass over the passage lightly but ponder what can be done to reclaim to society all of the vigor which is lost in criminal tendencies. The picture, as has been said, is typical; "Crowded in the tenements ~~houses~~ where the bedrooms are small and often dark; where the living room is also a kitchen, laundry, and often ^a ~~the~~ garment making shop, are the growing children whose bodies cry out for exercise and play. They are often an irritant to the busy mother and likely as not the object of her carping and scolding. The teeming tenements open their doors and out into the dark passageways and courts, over the foul alleys and upon broken sidewalks, flow ever renewed streams of playing children. Under the feet of passing horses, under the wheels of passing street cars, jostled about by the pedestrian, driven on by the policeman, threatened by the grocer, without rights any where, they annoy every one. They crowd about the music, or drunken brawls in the saloons, they play ~~hide~~ and seek about the garbage boxes, they "shoot craps" in the alleys, they seek always and every where activity, movement, life."

"This using the main open spaces as play grounds is critically called the 'street habit'. But both it and the "gang habit" are at first perfectly innocent and natural results of the crowded tenements and of the universal necessity for play. In the failure to satisfy this need of the children with properly equipped ^{municipal} play grounds the street habit and the gang habit have become the causes of a large percentage of juvenile crimes. Sneak

thievery and many other forms of vice and wickedness run their course in these gangs of the tenements with the epidemic power. For to contagious disease of all sorts tenements furnish the line of the least resistance.

"Now a healthy expression in play of the mental, physical, and moral faculties of the children of the tenements is at present almost impossible. In consequence they break windows, they ring door bells, they steal, they annoy every one, they especially rejoice in "making it warm" for the unpopular neighbor who displeases^{them}. Without the saving influence of an attractive home or play ground they obtain from street life the mental and moral food they require. It impresses itself upon them and they reproduce it all; gambling, drinking, the vaudeville, the fighting, the torch light processions, whatever they see, good or bad alike, they imitate."

"It is in this spirit of play that the children commit most of their petty crimes. When one of them is caught stealing he^{is} brought to the juvenile court. He is taken away^{from} ~~of~~ father and mother and the tenement and sent to the John Worthy School, where he ~~is~~ put behind iron bars and uniform guards are placed over them, just as if he were a wild animal. And this^{is} often the innocent beginning of a life of crime. For the cause of it all we must go back partly at least to the overcrowded, yardless, and homeless tenement. The boys become criminals because it can almost be said that in these districts the only thing to ^{do} ~~be~~ worthy of a boy's spirit are those things which are against the law. At any rate the victim

of overcrowding sees little difference between the laws which prevent him from "flipping" on and off street cars or playing ball in the streets, and those which prohibit truancy, stealing and ~~so~~ ^{etc} ~~forth~~. He does see that whatever depends upon bravado, which all boys love, is looked down upon by the policeman. The causes of crime are many, but among the important ones are the evil associations of the tenement, the bad sanitary conditions, the collapse of home life, and lastly the yardless tenement itself."

Intemperance is found in the tenement districts in its most aggravated forms. The men who inhabit these districts, are, in the main, day laborers and men who do work which calls for the greatest amount ^{of expenditure} of physical energy. They return to their hot, uninviting "homes" in the evening only to find them mockingly unpleasant; the park is too far distant to walk; the theatre is too expensive; the only recreative stimulant left to the dull existence is the open hospitality of the corner saloon or club. Here, the winter evenings are passed in warmth, the summer evenings under the cooling breeze of an electric fan. This ^{is} "comfort", and the cordial greeting of the bar-tender is not without its momentary value. Gay men and women add a touch of excitement to the dull mind in the worn body. Either because of good fellowship, or to brace ~~up~~ the tired nerves, added to the feeling that there is a certain something due the bar-tender for his hospitality, the lack of resistance fails to check the frequenter in his carouse until he has squandered all of the day's wage, or his little girl or boy comes to take him home. The women who live in these districts are not of the "green house"

breed; they do physical labor which brings with it the same exhaustion and the same desire for stimulant; it happens then, not infrequently that the mother is ~~lead~~^{accustomed} home by the child which is growing to the life of the ~~debauchery~~^{day} and soon joins the parents in their waywardness.

Dr. Norman Kerr in speaking of the causes of intemperance says, "Bad hygienic conditions, illventilated and overcrowded dwellings, from the viciated state of air within them, occasions languor and sluggishness which leads to functional derangement and ~~produces~~^{br} a profound feeling of depression which, in many cases, predisposes to and excites to intemperance in alcohol. This is a purely physical process, the blood is imperfectly aerated and charged with excess of carbonic oxide." ¹

Many complaints from neighbors in the districts examined tell of the "hubbub" kept up until the early hours of the morning by other tenants who bring bucketful after bucketful of beer into their apartments and surround themselves with friends and neighbors to drink the night away - elevating examples to the curious children looking on who should long since have been in health-giving repose. An ^accurate statement regarding the actual drunkenness in the districts examined is impossible but it is quite certain that other badly housed sections of the city have the problem in a more serious form.

The general remedy will be found when the working people are properly housed and afforded places of wholesome ^oamusement and recreation.

1

Housing Conditions in Cleveland - page 35, also Inebriety, page 167.

According to the statement of one of the officials of the Carr Street Police Station fully forty percent of the city's crime occurs within the district, the greater part of which was covered by this investigation.

POVERTY AND PAUPERISM FOSTERED BY
BAD HOUSING CONDITIONS.

Various causes work toward poverty in a city like St. Louis. Bad housing conditions bring about forms of physical degeneracy which act directly in causing families on the margin of existence to overstep that margin into dependency. High rents in instances of low wage, often, in the case of ^{the} slightest accident or illness of the bread winner, cause self-supporting families to seek aid. Intemperance, immorality, bad climatic conditions, defective sanitation, the death of any member of the family, labor disturbances, loss of employment, a general rise in the price of commodities such as coal and ^{etc} ~~so forth~~; all are contributing causes of poverty which act and react upon each ^{other} in causing dependency.

Unguided, promiscuous charity often defeats its own purpose by causing more dependency and suffering ^{is} and ^{is} therefore worse than no aid at all. Charity, to accomplish its intention, must be scientifically dispensed, for once a family in need applies for help, that family, if the least bit unscrupulous, will in many cases apply again when the need is not so urgent. "Why not give up the struggle any how and live off of sweet charity?" It is an easy question to ask of the simple mind, ^{dull} ~~dull~~ by a bare existence, and often as easily solved by affirmative reasoning. Again, a neighbor

who is straining night and day is solely tempted to follow in the footsteps of his friend who is living off of charity. Charity is not to be discouraged but must be carefully guarded that it does not spread the most dangerous disease of dependency among those who are physically and mentally able to support themselves. This last figure, the one willing repeats his cry for aid when he needs it not, is considered the pauper; although the state considers all those who apply for public aid, paupers. Because of this legal definition many hesitate to apply to the public coffers for aid preferring the comparatively lesser^s "disgrace" of appealing quasi-public or private Charity Organizations.

That unsanitary housing conditions figure largely in determining dependency is shown in the statement of Mr. W. H. McClain, Secretary St. Louis Provident Association, that the society considers the districts covered by this investigation to be the poverty districts of St. Louis.

PROSTITUTION IN THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS.

New York has had to deal with the most perplexing problem of prostitution in her tenement houses; many other of the older cities have been confronted with the same problem. As yet St. Louis is practically free from this problem but "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure". St. Louis has several instances of prostitution within her tenements, ~~many~~ many houses of prostitution within her tenement districts, and a very grave "lodging house" guise.

The prostitution ^{with} in the tenement exerts an evil influence over all of the tenement ^{and} in the same and adjoining houses; her greatest influence whether conscious or unconscious, is felt by the young girls of the neighborhood: A girl of twelve or fifteen years of age considers her own dall existence, her daily toil in a nearby factory - or if under the working age of fourteen she thinks of the domestic drudgery imposed upon her at home - then she looks across the hall, or from her window into that of the nearby house, and questions how other girls live in apparent ease and luxury. The burden of labor soon galls, and ^{the} glare of the new life appeals until the lack of resistance fades away and society yields, without protest, another of her children to ^{the} ~~that~~ army of vice.

An example of the knowing mind of the young girl was encountered in the Jewish district. A little girl of thirteen or fourteen in speaking of the occupants of a rear building said, "Mister, there ain't but one Nigger man lives there, but he has a different women come and stay with him". This with a knowing smile and utter lack of modesty. A younger Italian girl who was with her wanted to know about the man. This dangerous moral laxity exists throughout the districts where prostitutes operate.

The Police Department has done much toward keeping the professional from street advertising but a city ordinance which prohibits enticing and crying of wares from doors and windows has gone without regard in the "red light district" found within the districts examined.

The problem of prostitution in the congested districts, because of its open association and temptations of the young, presents one of the greatest problems with which society has to deal.

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