The Federally Funded American Dream: Public Housing as an Engine for Social Improvement, 1933-1937

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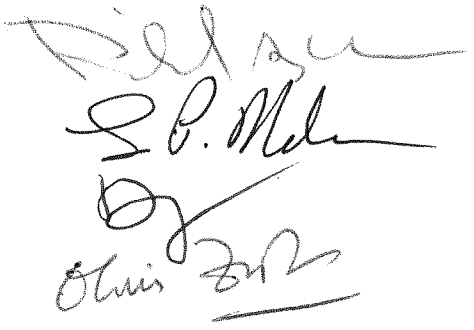

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Abstract

From the poorhouse to the settlement house, in America private groups, local and state governments had a long history of attempting to improve living conditions for the poor, but the Great Depression brought about the federal government's first foray into low-rent housing. In 1933, as a part of his sweeping New Deal initiatives, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Congress approved funding for low-rent housing and established the Housing Division within the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (or PWA) to expend these funds. The program had three essential goals; to reinvigorate the stalled construction industry; to clear inner-city slums; and to create good-quality, low-rent housing. Organized by Robert Kohn and inspired by the regionalist community-building vision of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, the Housing Division initially offered discounted loans to community groups for low-rent housing construction, but a lack of qualified applicants forced them to abandon their role as loan-provider and construct low-rent housing directly. This direct build program constructed fifty-three projects across the country and in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Although located in small towns like Enid, Oklahoma and big cities like New York, housing from fifty to sixteen hundred families, all of these projects followed a core set of principles developed by the regionalists who formed the Regional Planning Association of America and established as policy by Kohn's staff. From one-story row houses to four-story apartment buildings, high-quality construction and fully equipped baths and kitchens promised improved conditions for nearly all working class families. In addition, these projects were marked by a careful orchestration of exterior spaces, providing front and rear yards for residents. Designed as unfied communities, they tragically failed to recognize that

contemporary America, north and south, was largely divided along color lines. This inability to address or accommodate contemporary social conditions proved the central fault of the effort.

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John Dumsick, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Stewardship of Historic Sites Division.

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Abbreviations

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CHC	Central Housing Committee
CAC	Chicago Advisory Committee
CWA	Civil Works Administration
DB	Direct Build
EFC	Emergency Fleet Corporation
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
GHC	Garden Homes Corporation
HD	Housing Division
IDA	Improved Dwellings Association
JPI	Jewish People's Institute (of Chicago)
LHC	Labor Housing Conference
LD	Limited Dividend
MHC	Metropolitan Housing Commission of Chicago
NFHAC	Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAREB	National Association of Real Estate Boards
NHA	National Housing Association
NIRA	National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933
PWA	Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works
PWEHC	Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation
RFC	Reconstruction Finance Mortgage Company
RPAA	Regional Planning Association of America
RA	Resettlement Administration
SHD	Subsistence Homesteads Division
THBC	Tenement House Building Company
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
USHA	United States Housing Authority
UHC	University Housing Corporation
WPA	Works Progress Administration
WWI	World War One

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Introduction

> ... I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.
> It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope – because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern...The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.
> If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our Nation, we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunism, and Timidity. We will carry on.[1]
>
> --Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Second Inaugural Address, 20 January 1937

Inaugural addresses so often describe grand ambitions that become mere historical footnotes, forlorn testaments to both man's idealism and his inability to overcome historical inertia. Roosevelt's New Deal, however, harnessed the forces of history to bring about change, and America's public housing program, for better or for worse, is the fulfillment of his inaugural promise. The program's intentions and goals have been much changed between its inception in 1933 and today. Dedicated to "those who have too little" the earliest projects were conceived, not as barracks for the indolent, but rather ideal neighborhoods that could assuage the wounds of the slum, aid residents in their own self-remaking, and contribute to the expansion of middle-class America.

One of these early projects, Philadelphia's Hill Creek, embodies this contemporary community ideal, which extended, not just to low-rent houses, but also to residential development as a whole (Figure In-1). The modest but durable low-rise buildings represented a material improvement for residents, but were hardly innovative, merely backdrop for their grounds. It is siting that distinguished Hill Creek from other

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[1] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1937 Volume, The Constitution Prevails* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 5.

residential construction (Figure In-2). Buildings were unmoored from the street and this sundering allowed for the affordable creation of auto-free exterior spaces, public front and rear yards for the use of residents and the wider community. This arrangement allowed for a life lived outdoors, despite its presence within the dense city. Lawns were made for children to gambol and explore, for parents to chat and gossip, while the elderly watched the action and sunned themselves from benches and stoops. Sun-dappled playgrounds, clanging swings, the chiming of bike bells and the scent of cut grass, the image of these spaces evoked the sights, sounds and smells of an idyllic American life. By simply refining land-use patterns to more closely reflect residential needs, the creators of Hill Creek believed they had found a model compromise between city and country that could improve life for all Americans.

From the poorhouse to the settlement house, private groups, local and state governments had a long history of attempting to improve living conditions for the poor, but the Great Depression brought about the federal government's first foray into low-rent housing. As a part of his sweeping New Deal initiatives, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Congress approved funding for low-rent housing and established the Housing Division (HD) within the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) to expend these funds. The program had three essential goals; to reinvigorate the stalled construction industry; to clear inner-city slums; and to create good-quality, low-rent housing. Organized by Robert Kohn and inspired by the Regionalist community-building vision of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, the HD initially offered discounted loans to community groups for low-rent housing construction, but a lack of qualified applicants forced them to abandon their role as loan-provider and construct low-rent housing

directly. This direct build program constructed fifty-three projects across the country and in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (Figure In-3). Although located in small towns like Enid, Oklahoma and big cities like New York, housing from fifty to sixteen hundred families, all of these projects followed a core set of principles developed by the Regionalists who formed the Regional Planning Association of America and established as policy by Kohn's HD staff. From one-story row houses to four-story apartment buildings, high-quality construction and fully equipped baths and kitchens promised improved conditions for nearly all working class families. In addition, these projects were marked by a careful orchestration of exterior spaces, providing front and rear yards for residents. Designed as unfied communities, they tragically failed to recognize that contemporary America, north and south, was largely divided along color lines. This inability to address or accommodate contemporary social conditions proved the central fault of the effort.

The federal HD's centralized control distinguished the direct-build program from the American low-rent housing programs that it preceded and followed. Prior to the Great Depression, slum improvement and relief housing were local concerns. Cities and states worked to pass and enforce building codes that eliminated the worst conditions. A few municipal and regional programs constructed new housing for the poor, and local philanthropic groups constructed some residences. The PWA's direct build program established design standards, hired local architects and reviewed their drawings. Building from standards written by some of America's leading housing architects and planners, administered by federal PWA employees who were removed from local political concerns, the fifty-three projects constructed by the HD enjoy a high degree of physical

coherence. Although local architectural ability certainly varied, unit interiors have similar fixtures and finishes, and every project created attractive, usable exterior spaces that encouraged use and gave a distinct character to the new community. In 1937, progressive reformers finally succeeded in getting permanent housing legislation passed by Congress, and the new United States Housing Authority (USHA) became a funding agency that reviewed locally-prepared project designs for compliance with their largely-statistical standards. In many ways, the 1933-1937 direct build program represents a golden era in American public housing. Many aspects came together to enable this historical moment: rampant slum growth and severe overcrowding caused by two decades of neglect; the New Deal mandate for construction make-work, the direct build program's position as an initial, innovative effort, the heightened sympathies of a populace ravaged by poverty. The centralized control over design, however, allowed disinterested, skilled architects to replicate a specific vision for dense but open urban living across the country.

Chapter One presents the history of social reform architecture and community development prior to the Great Depression. For a century and a half, philanthropists, capitalists and social engineers had offered solutions to poor urban housing conditions. The struggle to enact and enforce building codes, largely conquered by 1901, provided the least improvement, but affected the widest number of people. Some used economies of scale to improve conditions for the select few who could tenant their buildings, while others sought to relocate unfortunates to rural areas. Although an uncoordinated story of good intentions and missed goals, the housing reform movement provided an organizational basis for later action.

Chapter Two examines the HD's limited dividend program. Rather than building housing directly, the federal government planned to loan funds to private groups, but it soon became apparent that private investment was too crippled by current economic concerns to build on the scale envisioned by the PWA, and so the HD took on direct construction. As the immediate predecessor to the direct build program, the limited dividend program shared a staff and an architectural vision with the direct build program, establishing the architectural preferences for the later period.

Chapter Three explores the bureaucratic history of the direct build program, examines the influence its turbulent tenure had upon its structures and compares these works with other New Deal community designs. The experimental nature of the New Deal meant that the HD suffered from changing leadership and fluctuating budgets. In addition, the division faced a number of legal difficulties and challenges. As a centralized group that established national standards and enforced a common vision, the direct build program performed as something of a neutral party, but their staffing, budgetary and legal challenges reshaped this vision.

Chapter Four covers the local advisory committees that aided the HD and often modified its uniform policies, particularly in terms of siting, race and project size. This phenomenon was most pronounced in mid-sized cities where real estate and business interests largely directed the slum clearance and reform housing efforts. While social workers and planners in large cities advocated for the consideration of systemic issues of need, in medium sized cities, real estate leaders chiefly directed the effort, limiting their concern to slum elimination, rather than the alleviation of poverty. In the few small cities

where projects were built, a single person or unified group, largely divorced from economic concerns, directed project development in line with HD guidance.

Chapter Five discusses the architecture of the HD. Open, communal plans encouraged community-building and well-equipped apartments provided working class families with a middle class lifestyle. Management encouraged or facilitated activities and programs that brought residents together and supported self-improvement. In this way, these projects were intended to become middle-class incubators, training residents to gain social and financial status.

Race posed a particular problem for the HD, and it chose to segregate its projects rather than adding integration onto the heavy ideological burden the program bore in many cities. Chapter Six examines the implications of race in these projects. Although still designed as middle class, nuclear family units, African-American projects failed to anticipate social improvement for their residents, rather providing vastly improved, if perhaps permanent, conditions for a lucky few residents. It was this inequality, reflective of America's central struggle for identity, which ultimately undermined the nation's public housing program.

A tremendous amount of research has been done on American public housing, but most takes a sociological or political approach, identifying "mistakes" that caused the decline of public housing in the latter decades of the twentieth century.[2] Oscar Newman's

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[2] Many great books have examined the impact of architecture and housing management on the lives of inhabitants. Jane Jacob's *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961) obviously underpins any discussion of the interaction of people and their urban environments. See also Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh's *American Project: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Ghetto* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Alex Kotlowitz *There Are No Children Here* (New York: Doubleday, 1991); and Daniel Coyle, *Hardball: A Season in the Projects* (New York, Putnam, 1993). Oprah Winfrey's

Defensible Space (New York: Macmillan, 1972) offered a trenchant critique of the hazards of social functioning in high-rise construction, but too often authors have attempted to fault physical structures while, in fact, larger and more intractable social forces contributed to America's late twentieth century public housing crisis. Few have addressed public housing from an architectural historian's perspective, analyzing these buildings without a filter of disappointment and decay. Consequently, aesthetic or functional successes have been largely ignored. Only seven of these projects have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places, despite their obvious architectural and social significance, on both the national and the local level.[3] Richard Plunz's *A History of Housing in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) discusses public housing as a part of the evolution of reform and cooperative housing in America's most crowded city. In 1978, Deveraux Bowly published *The Poorhouse* (Carbondale:

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adapted the Kotlowitz book and in 2001, Keanu Reeves and Diane Lane starred in a feature film adaptation of Hard Ball, suggesting strong popular interest in the issue.

[3] Projects are frequently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, or found eligible for listing, in the process of demolition or significant alteration, in order to satisfy mitigation requirements. The housing projects from this first period listed on the National Register are;

H-1101 Techwood Homes, Atlanta GA (listed 1976, demolished prior to 1996)
H-1302 Harlem River Houses, New York, NY (listed 1979)
H-1601 Lockefield Garden Apartments, Indianapolis IN (listed 1983, two-thirds demolished in 1983)
H-1706 Langston Terrace Dwellings, Washington, D.C. (listed 1987)
H-1801 Laurel Homes, Cincinnati OH (listed 1987, demolished 2000)
H-3403 Lauderdale Courts Public Housing Project, Memphis TN (listed 1996)
H-7901-B Cedar Springs Place, Dallas TX (listed 1991)

The limited dividend projects listed;

Boylan Apartments, Raleigh NC (listed 2007)
Carl Mackley Houses, Philadelphia PA (listed 1998)
Neighborhood Garden Apartments, St. Louis MO (listed 1986)

Other listed low-rent public housing projects include;

Atchinson Village Defense Housing Project, Richmond CA (listed 2003)
Cole Avenue Housing Project, Summit OH (listed 2007)
Fort McClellan World War II Housing Historic District, Anniston AL (listed 2006)
Garden Homes, Milwaukee WI (listed 1990)
LeMoyne Gardens Housing Project, Memphis TN (listed 1996)
Magnolia Street Housing Project, New Orleans LA (listed 1999)
Southview Housing Historic District, Springfield VT (listed 2007)

Southern Illinois University Press), a landmark inventory of Chicago's public housing. In 2004, J.S. Fuerst and Hunt supplemented Bowly's work with *When Public Housing Was Paradise* (Westport CT: Praeger), a collection of first hand accounts of life in public housing in Chicago that describes their early success and their gradual decline in the latter half of the twentieth century. In 2000, Lawrence J. Vale published *From the Puritans to the Projects* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press), focusing on Boston's history of poor relief from earliest settlement to the present, including a discussion of the city's public housing projects. John Bauman's *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987) and Don Parson's *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) present the impact of public housing on their subject cities. Gail Radford's *Modern American Housing for America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) is the seminal work of the period, examining the early public housing programs from a national perspective, focusing on the political and professional conditions that led to the construction of public housing during the New Deal. An historian's account, Radford discusses exemplar buildings from the program but does not offer a view of the program's architectural production as a whole.

Recent urban history scholarship has emphasized placing buildings within their larger setting, understanding them as the result of a myriad of local factors. Several new dissertations examine individual housing projects or cities. D. Bradford Hunt's dissertation, "What went wrong with public housing in Chicago? A history of the Chicago Housing Authority, 1933-1982," (University of California, 2000) examined the

records of the Chicago Housing Authority and identified the inadequacies of the original program. In "The city remade: public housing and the urban landscape in St. Louis, 1900-1960," (Indiana University, 2002), Joseph Heathcott similarly examines the internal problems in St. Louis' housing projects. In 2007, Kelly Anne Quinn deposited "Making modern homes: A history of Langston Terrace Dwellings, a New Deal housing program in Washington D.C.," (University of Maryland) covering the only project in the direct build period with an African-American chief designer.

Rather than focusing on an individual project or city, this study seeks to define and characterize this initial program nationally. My primary research began with the records of the HD at the National Archives and Records Administration II, at College Park, Maryland. With an idea about the personalities, processes and priorities of the national program, I selected and visited ten unusual or exemplar cities and completed local research, primarily focusing on newspaper records, photographic collections and private accounts. I was also able to visit fifteen other cities, for less extensive site research. By choosing to examine the entirety of the PWA HD's direct build program, this study sets aside a careful reading of individual buildings as outgrowths of local history and local pressures. Rather, a small group of federal employees directed these projects, in consultation with local advisory committees and this work examines the program's output as a whole, understanding each complex as the result of interactions between the federal division and local leaders, as a compromise between federal ideal and local reality. I have set aside the dominant search for the fault in America's public housing system, examining the built structures as a product of their particular historical moment instead. Although political, social and natural forces have caused many of these

complexes to deteriorate over the last seventy years, and some have been demolished, those still in operation remain some of the most popular and in-demand public housing units in America, a testament to the vision of the men and women who crafted the program and contributed to the creation of the buildings (Table In-I).

Chapter 1: An Introduction Into American Housing Reform

The Housing Divison (HD) program of the 1930's represents the merging of several different schools of thought. Initially, American reform housing borrowed concepts from more industrially-advanced England and Progressives led the fight from the nineteen century until the first decades of the twentieth. In the 1920's, these long-term housing reformers, motivated primarily by the desire to improve conditions, merged their impulses and bureaucratic intelligence with American designers who developed a vision for well-planned, livable, dense residential living, in response to Europe's architectural revolution of the post-World War One era.

British Housing Reform

> Ah! my poor dear child, the truth is, that in London it is always a sickly season. Nobody is healthy in London, nobody can be.[1]

In the 1930's in the United States, miserably poor housing conditions seemed like a perennial urban problem, merely aggravated by the poverty of depression, but they were in fact a relatively recent phenomenon. In the last century and a half, industrialization had served as an impeller for much of the world, drawing people into itself. London, for example, grew from a city of 670,000 people in 1802 to a metropolis of 8.6 million in 1939. Stables, storehouses and sheds were converted to accommodate this influx, and capitalists began constructing dense districts of cheap housing for their workers. Over the course of the nineteenth century, London and the other growing cities slowly invented and installed the large-scale systems necessary to support dense urban

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[1] Mr. Woodhouse, Jane Austen, *Emma*, Chapter 12.

life: adequate fresh water collection and delivery systems, waste disposal, building codes, public safety, transport, communication and the many other services that enable urban life. During this process, however, all residents suffered -- particularly those who could not afford private remedies or escapes. To be sure, the urban poor had always faced squalid conditions, but the growth of cities during the Industrial Revolution multiplied a small-scale problem into a great one, transforming the slum into a concern for all, threatening those beyond its borders with crime, stench, disease and misery.[2] In Britain and America, reformers took two main approaches to resolving the problem; constructing better housing within the city and building new houses at the city limits.

England's premier position in the process of industrialization forced them to take the lead in addressing and ameliorating the unprecedented ills of the growing metropolis. In 1842 the Poor Law Commissioners released the "Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population and on the Means of its Improvement." This influential work compiled surveys of local conditions, illustrated governmental lapses and called for the creation of an effective administrative structure to handle the problems of the slum.[3] The

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[2] The slum is a concept that plays an integral part in the development of reform housing and ultimately the HD's direct build program. Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* suggests the word developed its current meaning in the first decades of the 19th century, originally indicating a single room, perhaps relating to the word slumber, or related to a gypsy word for a swindle. Sometime in the 19th century, it became a recognized term for substandard residential neighborhoods. In 1932, statistician Howard Whipple Green developed the Real Property Inventory, which presented the basic statistics of Cleveland Ohio, on a census-tract basis. Nationally, analysts soon adopted Green's method to develop a numerical definition of the slums, which took into account many factors, including building condition, property values and property tax arrears. The Real Property Inventory became a popular standard and during the New Deal the federal government began funding programs to undertake similar surveys of other cities. Conscious or unconscious manipulation of these results, particularly as administered by local planners meant that African-American residential districts were declared slums with near-uniformity, as the white surveyors failed to assess grades of quality amongst the segregated minority's typically poorer conditions. In Birmingham Alabama and elsewhere, this had the unfortunate consequence of facilitating the selection of high-profile, relatively good black neighborhoods for clearance and rebuilding by the HD.

[3] J.N. Tarn, *Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain* (New York: Wittenborn and Company, 1971), 2.

report had little effect, however, and Britons continued to depend upon two, private approaches to improving urban housing. Medieval almshouses had developed into a broad category of endowed organizations including hospitals and homes for the indigent and elderly, but these tradition-bound groups proved inefficient at creating new programs for the developing industrial class of poor but working families. British reformers also developed model housing organizations, intended both to produce improved residences for low rents and to prove the efficacy of the capitalist system. Beginning in the 1840's, groups like the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes began building reform apartment blocks in London and other English cities. In the 1850's, these groups developed a typical housing type, called the Waterlow plan after one of its originators, which replaced internal circulation with open-air galleries along the main facade to improve light, ventilation and safety (Figure 1-1). One unit deep, the apartments enjoyed cross-ventilation, and extensions at the rear included all the building's plumbing facilities.[4] They anticipated a low rate of return (around five percent), but generally found it impossible to earn this figure, despite the extremely high densities many Waterlow blocks contained. These regularized one- to three-room units with access to clean water were unsanitary and crowded, but rarely suffered from a lack of tenants.[5] Neither the historic almshouses nor the model housing organizations did much to improve life for the average worker or stem the growth of the slum.

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[4] Peter Malpass, *Housing Associations and Housing Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 31. For more information on the history of almshouses, see Alfred T. White, *Sun-Lightened Tenements: Thirty-Five Years' Experience as an Owner* (New York City: National Housing Association Publication #12, March 1912), 3.

[5] Malpass, 39-40; J. White described the Waterlow-style Rothschild Building thusly; "From the outside the grim, towering buildings, especially when seen from the quarter acre courtyard, starkly stated their purpose of providing homes for the Victorian working class. Their function was to provide the

The Arts and Crafts movement developed in the mid-nineteenth century as a artistic reaction to industrialization. Leaders John Ruskin and William Morris, through their words and works, proposed reforming the process of production to holistically resolve the social, physical and spiritual problems caused by industrialization. A return to handicrafts, they argued, could bring about a cultural return to pre-industrial values; and return dignity to labor.[6] Their call to reform, however, cast a much wider net than simply reuniting the high and low arts and returning autonomy to the craftsman.

In 1865, John Ruskin loaned money to social worker Octavia Hill to fund a new kind of reform housing that focused on careful attention by managers. Just as Ruskin believed the industrial system had corrupted the worker by denying him the opportunity to create, Hill understood that the modern slum had fundamentally damaged its residents, and careful management could repair that injury. Working-class families required aid and guidance before they could take their position in decent society.[7] Rather than a structured financial program or a specific architectural form, Hill developed a new management approach. She made simple improvements to existing buildings. "It is far better to prove that you can provide a tolerable tenement which will pay, than a perfect one which will not. The one plan will be adopted, and will lead to great results; the other will remain an

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maximum number of sanitary dwellings as cheaply as possible. Ruthless utilitarianism pared away all that was not absolutely necessary to attain that end." Residents also hated the houses, based on a comment from the London Trades' Council to the Select Committee in 1882; "Dislike to what has been called the barrack-like publicity or gregariousness of the system, and their barrack-like external appearance, has developed into a deep and settled prejudice, which has certainly not been without various and ample ground for its justification."

[6] See John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: J. Wiley, 1849; reprint London: Electric Book Co., 2001); William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1891).

[7] Octavia Hill, John Ruskin and Emily Southwood Hill Maurice, *Octavia Hill: Early Ideals, from Letters* (London: G, Allen & Unwin, 1928), 131; J.N. Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas Between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 72.

isolated and unfruitful experiment..."[8] Hill hired middle and upper class women as superintendents in these rehabilitated tenements. These managers selected tenants carefully, choosing those who seemed most capable of "improvement." They then used their weekly rent-collection visits as a means to monitor and support their charges. Mangers encouraged good housekeeping, gardening, sober spending and other approved behaviors and they organized helpful programs and activities. Prompt rent payment was required and all the careful attention to residents meant that Hill's developments usually achieved the expected five percent profit.[9]

Some reformers worked on improving specific urban conditions, while others turned to planning as a means to rationalize and improve living conditions on a large scale. Town planning had a relatively brief and inconsistent history in England prior to the late nineteenth century. In the 1820's European reformers countered the industrializing city by escaping it -- establishing ideal rural communities, often in the United States, where they could live in isolation, creating *tabula rasa* modern and healthy towns. Fourier's phalansteries offered one vision for an improved modern world, while Jeremy Bentham proposed the panopticon to improve conditions for the poor. In the 1840's, British reformers began clearing land and opening parks to the public, offering patches of greenery as the universal anodyne to urban wretchedness.[10] In the middle of the nineteenth century, developers recognized a market for new middle-class suburbs on the urban fringe, like Bedford Park (1875).

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[8] Octavia Hill, *Homes of the London Poor* (1875), 193; as quoted in Tarn, *Five Percent*, 73.

[9] One assumes this means families with ambition to better themselves economically and socially. See Octavia Hill, John Ruskin and Emily Southwood Hill Maurice, *Octavia Hill,* 68.

[10] Peter Batchelor, "The Origin of the Garden City Concept of Urban Form," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28/3 (October 1969): 187.

Industrialists also opened company towns in an effort to improve the lives and the productivity of their workers. In 1889, William Lever opened Port Sunlight, a company town clustered around his new soap works (Figure 1-2). Neither a suburban enclave nor a laborer's camp, Lever envisioned his new town as an independent community and built houses appropriate for all his employees, from laborers to managers to retirees. Broad streets divided the flat terrain into distinct blocks, clustered around a public green. A dramatic boulevard served as the gateway into the community, with the church as its terminus. Some of the streets curved with the contours of the land and all were wide to admit light and air into the houses. The town had an extremely low density; between five and eight homes to an acre, with row houses defining a hard street edge and plenty of space at the rear. The low density distinguished the community from traditional villages, where a dense knot of houses usually huddled around the green, with vast fields beyond. Stylistically, the architects (including Edwin Lutyens) massed their row houses to resemble single estate houses, following a variety of established historic styles.[11]

Well-planned, livable company towns like Port Sunlight allowed employees to escape the city. Nine years after Sunlight's construction, court reporter and urban theorist Ebeneezer Howard introduced a new approach that would shrink the metropolis and reorient life to new "rurban" communities, so that most people could evade the intractably corrupt city. In 1898 Howard published *To-morrow: or a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. The book built on the reformist ideas of Edward Bellamy, Henry George and Russian decentralist Piotr Kropotkin, in opposition to the economic future laid out by

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[11] T. Raffles Davidson, *Port Sunlight: A Record of its Artistic & Pictorial Aspect* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1916), 2; Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City Before and After* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966, reprint 1992), 128.

Karl Marx. In response to the misery of the urban slum, as well as the haphazard dullness of the growing urban fringe, Howard developed a plan for a new process of land development he termed the "Garden City" (Figure 1-3). Rather than growing large cities endlessly outward, Howard proposed establishing self-contained, independent communities, surrounded by green space. When a town reached a population of about 30,000, growth would stop and they would establish an entirely new town on open land.[12] Howard included simple plan diagrams, but the book primarily addressed the political and economic structure of the new communities. Howard proposed a rational solution for the most pervasive problems of the day and tapped into the *zeitgeist*, immediately creating an international furor and inspiring the establishment of a Garden City Association in 1899. As an attempt to improve and reconcile effects of the Industrial Revolution, Howard's Garden City can be understood as Arts and Crafts urban planning.

In 1902, amidst the excitement over Howard's ideas, Quaker Joseph Rowntree hired young Arts and Crafts architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin to develop a small district around his chocolate works, New Earswick (Figure 1-4). Less a Lever-esque paternalistic endeavor, Mr. Rowntree expected rents to cover costs. This forced Parker and Unwin to learn about the economic workings of town planning, minimizing street lengths to shorten expensive underground utility lines and limit costly road construction. Analysis revealed that roads and service lines contributed significantly to the cost of a house, and the pair began disassociating the house from the street as a means to lower prices without sacrificing livability. New Earswick's plan sets buildings back,

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[12] Batchelor, 196; also see Ebeneezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1898, reprinted Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1965).

creating deep front yards, or turns homes away from the street entirely, making them accessible along pedestrian pathways.[13] New Earswick suffers from a complex and irregular lot pattern, but offers a new approach to development.

While hardly masterful, New Earswick brought Parker and Unwin to the attention of the growing Garden City movement. In the first decade of the century, Howard's Garden City Association became a gathering point for many powerful reformers and philanthropists and the society grew by leaps and bounds, attracting three hundred people to a conference in 1901 and a thousand to a conference a year later. In 1903, just five years after the publication of Howard's book, the group purchased 4,500 acres of land and hired Parker and Unwin to design Letchworth, a new town for 30,000 people, based on Howard's outline. Benefiting from their experience at New Earswick, Parker and Unwin removed some houses from the street frontage but also created a hierarchy of streets (Figure 1-5). A grand radiating street pattern funnels into a single, wide street with a central civic green space at its terminus. Beyond this system of broad throughways, short, narrow streets wind through residential areas, following contours in the land. Formal and informal planning approaches blend and the streets reveal framed views of the landscape beyond, drawing residents to the gardens surrounding the town.[14]

Constructed over the course of several decades, financed primarily by public charities, the houses at Letchworth vary considerably. Parker and Unwin designed many of the early houses and established a mixed tone of simplified traditional styles. Flat gable-ends, blank stuccoed walls and overhanging bay windows characterize the row

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[13] Creese, *The Search for Environment*, 195.

[14] Dugald Macfadyen, *Sir Ebeneezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement* (Cambridge MA: the MIT Press, 1970), 56, 110: Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (London: 1909, reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 125.

houses and semidetached structures (Figure 1-6). Limited decoration and terra cotta chimney panels with vegetative patterns loosely link them to the Arts and Crafts movement. Like Port Sunlight, Letchworth includes houses for all classes of people, from workers to managers. Parker and Unwin also developed an ambitious planting schedule, using trees and shrubbery to screen the houses, further separating them from the street. Beginning at Letchworth, Parker and Unwin established fifteen houses to an acre as the ideal density. Taking a mix of row houses, duplexes and single-family cottages as the norm, their economic analysis illustrated that fifteen units per acre best balanced costs and open space. More houses resulted in more expensive roads and less open space, while fewer houses proved uneconomical.[15] Declaring there was "nothing gained by overcrowding," Unwin proselytized this fifteen-unit per acre figure to the world.

More interested in economic and social principles, Howard never attempted a realistic design for his garden city. Moreover, hoping to thoroughly reform land settlement patterns in Britain, he wisely surrendered his vision to the larger Garden City community, to allow his ideas to be shaped by others. Letchworth, therefore, is Parker and Unwin's interpretation of Howard's ideas, their own vision of the ideal community. The use of simplified vernacular historical styles reflected an allegiance to Ruskin, Morris and the reformist Arts and Crafts, while Parker and Unwin contributed the low density, retreat from the street and prodigious plantings which would become hallmarks of garden city development.[16] In the traditional village, the distinction between town and country was usually sharp and while the town enjoyed easy access to fields and forests, it

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[15] Walter Creese, ed.. *The Legacy of Raymond Unwin: A Human Pattern For Planning* (Cambridge MA: the MIT Press, 1967), 109.

[16] David Thistlewood, "A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the Legacy of 19th-Century English Domestic Architecture," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46/4 (December, 1987): 339.

was rather crowded itself. The middle class suburbs of the late nineteenth century, like Bedford Park, attempted to mimic low-density estates. At Letchworth, Parker and Unwin mingle the rural and urban, placing homes in the landscape in a way that compromised tight villages and the faux-expansiveness of the suburb, with well-placed houses that possessed a sense of boundary -- a modern approach to community planning.

In 1904, the Garden City Association, working with the Workmen's National Housing Council, passed a joint proposal in favor of "town planning," beginning a movement that ultimately resulted in the landmark Housing and Town Planning Act passed by Parliament in 1909. The act incorporated Howard's ideas with Patrick Geddes' concept of the biologic nature of city growth and planning. It enabled local authorities to construct residences in urban and rural locations (with the power of eminent domain). Authorities were also given power to plan large sections of the city and its edges, set residential densities, regulate road widths and zone districts for specific uses.[17] Private groups would construct and manage or sell the houses, but planning authorities directed development on the broad scale. Just eleven years after the publication of *To-morrow: or a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, the Housing and Town Planning Act transformed Howard's ideal vision into Britain's official planning policy.

Continental Housing Reform

The territories now united as Germany industrialized later than England, and building on British innovation, German industrialization and urbanization took place

[17] Frank Backus Williams, "The Significance of the English Town-Planning Act of 1909," *Journal of the American Institute of Architecture* 3/5 (May 1915): 217; Tarn, *Philanthropy and Five Per Cent*, 179-180, passim.

more quickly and dramatically. In the 1860's, modernity came to the Prussian capitol of Berlin. Faced with large city blocks, builders adapted the army barracks form to create "mietskaserne" to house the growing population. Typically five-story buildings that wrapped around city blocks, mietskaserne created multiple interior courtyards (Figure 1-7). Middle class families usually resided on the street-faces of the block, while industrial workers passed through first floor passageways to access the rear courtyards. High rents caused considerable overcrowding; apartments were subdivided into one or two room units without running water, and entire buildings lacked sanitation. By the 1870's middle class reformers began to decry these filthy, labyrinthine conditions.[18]

Playing industrial catch-up to Great Britain, in the late nineteenth century German reformers appropriated aspects of the English Arts and Crafts movement, seeking out a profitable compromise between the hand and the machine. Howard's Garden City became one of the lessons absorbed and promoted by Herman Muthesius, an architect sent to England to learn its modernized ways. In 1906, industrialist Karl Schmidt built Hellerau, a garden city centered on his handcrafting manufacturer (Figure 1-8).[19] After World War One, German interest in the mass-production of well-designed objects would come to dominate architecture and planning reform movements internationally, but prior to the war, Germany's housing progressives largely followed British examples.

In 1902, Holland passed a housing act that established a governmental financing system for large, good-quality apartment complexes. This funding inspired architects and clients to plan on the urban scale, and the Amsterdam School, led by Michel de Klerk,

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[18] Brian Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997), 97-104 passim.

[19] John Maciuika, *Before the Bauhaus: Architecture, Politics and the German State, 1880-1919* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 218.

Piet Kramer and Jo van der Mey, developed in the two decades that followed the passage of the act. Rejecting the structural simplicity of H.P. Berlage's early Dutch modernism, de Klerk and his cohorts maintained the Dutch use of brick, but employed it in particularly dramatic ways to express the "tingle of the new, the shock of the sensational."[20] De Klerk's housing block on Amsterdam's Spaarndammerbuurt (1917-1920), illustrates their approach, which used brick to create biomorphic shapes and interesting curves to engage both residents and passerby (Figure 1-9).[21] Holland remained neutral during World War One, and while construction slowed during the conflict, the nation did not suffer a real break, allowing architects to evolve and develop their housing designs and become internationally-known for their mass housing.

American Housing Reform

The mid to late nineteenth century was a time of massive population growth in the United States. In 1860, nine American cities contained more than 100,000 people, but just twenty years later, twenty cities boasted that population. England's metropolises faced the task of learning to accommodate the social and physical needs of large groups of people as industrialization shifted employment from farms into factories. America took on this task but added to it the arrival of around half a million immigrants per year throughout the second half of the century. Beginning with the Germans and Irish, but then shifting at the end of the century to Eastern Europe, these new arrivals spoke different languages, ate strange foods and developed residential enclaves that seemed

[20] As stated by Michel de Klerk in a 60th Birthday tribute to Berlage. Hans Ibelings, *20th Century Architecture in the Netherlands* (New Haven: NAi Publishers, 1995), 23.

[21] For further information, see Suzanne Frank, *Michel deKlerk, 1884-1923: An Architect of the Amsterdam School* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984).

more Krakow than Chicago, more Dublin than Detroit. This massive international displacement and agglomeration created depraved conditions in low-rent areas of most major cities—the slums. Conditions included: a lack of light and air caused by buildings that covered more than ninety percent of their lot; basement apartments that flooded with the tides; a single water tap for an entire building; privy toilets that failed to connect to sewer systems; tremendous overcrowding as families coped with low wages and high rents.[22] Reformers despaired of the misery they witnessed, and as many residents were recent immigrants, these conditions became associated with their foreign origins.

Periodic epidemics, fires and civic unrest (the Haymarket Riots or the Civil War Draft Riots, for example) illustrated that the slums were not merely a section of town to avoid, but that they could reach far beyond their boundaries and threaten respectable citizens. The slum came to be regarded as a physical force, the cause of widespread sickness and social dysfunction -- a human cesspool that lowered the moral standards of even the "deserving poor."[23] By binding up the filth of the slums with their foreign residents, reformers saw a patriotic directive in their work. Slums threatened not only health and safety, but also the character and political system of the nation. In this way, progressive slum reformers became defenders of the American way.

The crowded, narrow alleys of New York's Lower East Side have become synonymous with immigrant slum housing in the second half of the nineteenth century,

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[22]Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums; Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1962), 40. Plenteous primary sources attest to the truly miserable conditions in late 19th century slums. For good secondary descriptions see Lubove, *Progressives*, 35-45; and Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1890).

[23] For a discussion of the concept of "deserving poor" in America, see Lawrence J. Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

but in fact, this was a regional anomaly, caused by New York's island nature and its status as America's leading immigrant landing point. Boston's three-deckers, Philadelphia's trinity houses and Chicago's two-flats were other regional types, but working class families in the United States often bought or rented wood frame cottages.[24] As immigrants filled cities to their bursting in this period, house building actually outstripped population gains. Plentiful lumber and the innovation of balloon framing made houses cheaper to build than ever before. Constructed primarily by small contractors with minimal heating, plumbing, sanitation or electricity, they provided only basic shelter. Legions of these houses filled the outer edges of cities, blossoming out as streetcar lines expanded out from the city center.[25]

Across the nation, these cottage types spread out from downtown. Rather than seeking a unified governmental planning policy to improve cities and their housing, the federal government avoided any role, so municipalities, regions and states led the way in developing housing and planning reforms.[26] Two major trends -- suburbanization and the company town -- provided alternative planning approaches on a national scale.

As in England, in the late nineteenth century wealthy Americans began to take refuge in leafy suburbs along expanding train lines. Although not the first, Riverside,

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[24] Many working families signed on to participate in rent-to-own schemes. In Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, after years of prompt debt-service, the tragic Rudkus family loses their home by missing a single mortgage payment.

[25] From 1890-1900, the national population rose 21%, but the number of housing units increased by 26%, despite a major depression. Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 8; Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 70-102 passim.

[26] For a full history of the streetcar suburb, see Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: the Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Illinois is one of the most significant of these railroad suburbs.[27] In 1869 the Riverside Improvement Company hired Olmsted and Vaux, planners of Central Park, to design an ideal residential community in a deep bend of the Des Plaines River (Figure 1-10). The elliptical streets create small parks at intersections; broad lawns and heavy plantings define a pastoral setting from both within and without the homes. A central green leads into downtown, establishing a center point for the community and a formal axis for a town marked by unregulated curves. Although the Panic of 1873 disrupted development and bankrupted the Riverside Improvement Company, wealthy families hired leading architects (William Lebaron Jenny, Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, for example) to design palatial mansions and substantial homes in town.[28] Riverside proved highly influential, evidence of a strong American preference to make home a rural-esque retreat, but its rustic vision was affordable only for the wealthy.

The necessities of power generation, the horrors of Manchester and other early factory cities and the benefits of Port Sunlight led many American industrialists to establish new towns for their workers, but companies approached the need for worker's housing and community in vastly different ways, particularly in terms of the owner's concern for his residents' morals. Many companies simply set aside space for the private development of housing, shops, churches and other community buildings. Others used company stores and other methods to exert control, ban unions and increase their own

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[27] Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs* defines railroad suburbs as communities centered on a railroad stop and distinguished from the inner fringe development by an independent commercial district and a greater distance from the city center.

[28] Ebenezer Howard resided in Chicago while Riverside was under development and many scholars have suggested that the village's use of landscape and irregularity to compromise between density and parkland influenced his vision of the ideal Garden City.

profits. Some owners wanted to create environments that could reform and improve their largely immigrant workforces.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the textile factories in Lowell, Massachusetts depended upon young women as a labor source. In order to convince parents to release their daughters, they established a boarding house system to protect the physical and moral safety of their young charges. At Lowell, self-interest forced factory owners to look after their workers' living situations, but in the second half of the nineteenth century, many companies built pleasant towns that used architecture, open space and civic amenities to attract and retain their workers. In 1891, Edward Dean Adams hired McKim, Mead and White, the prominent architects of Madison Square Garden, to build Echota, New York, a town for workers at the new factories in Niagara Falls.[29] Stanford White designed the facility's powerhouse, but the firm also constructed one hundred and twelve housing units and a central community building (Figure 1-11). Modest frame houses of varying sizes were united by a simplified, Georgian-accented version of the firm's signature shingle style (Figure 1-12). Ample lots, central heat, water, gas and lighting made these units more attractive than most working class homes, and the community building provided space for neighborhood gatherings and programs. The town's amenities were meant to attract and keep skilled workers, and factory owners sold the houses to residents in order to further strengthen their commitment to their jobs.

In 1880, George Pullman commissioned a new workers' town that, more than simply pleasing his workers, used Progressive-era beliefs about the reformative power of

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[29] Leland M. Roth, "Three Industrial Towns by McKim, Mead & White," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38/4 (December 1979): 322.

beauty. He hired architect Solomon Beman and landscape architect Nathan Barrett to create a new town adjacent to his factory on the far south side of Chicago. They provided Pullman with a hotel, an arcade building, a broad central green and a market house to break up a regular grid of streets, balancing a sense of urbanity with open green spaces and endowing the town with impressive landmarks (Figure 1-13). Small row houses in the Queen Anne style provided neat, sanitary dwellings. Doctors, an insurance company, a good school, gymnasiums and many social and educational clubs encouraged the development of a rich, healthy community. Pullman, however, also consciously located his factory far south of the city to isolate his workers from "baleful influences" (including the scourge of unionism) and he enacted draconian rules of conduct. He outlawed drinking and smoking within the town's boundaries, and rather than allowing workers to purchase their homes and commit themselves to a career with him, Pullman insisted on renting his properties. By 1893, Pullman was America's most respected company town, but when the panic of that year forced lay-offs and wage-cuts, Pullman refused to lower rents. This touched off a peaceful strike that eventually escalated into a national railroad boycott. Violence broke out when President Cleveland called in troops and over the course of the summer twelve people died, the company suffered $700,000 in property damages and over $5.5 million in lost earnings and wages. A federal investigation laid blame on Pullman's dual role as employer and landlord and his refusal to negotiate on rents as he cut incomes. The Pullman incident highlighted the dangers of paternalism and caused most employers to step away from personal involvement in their workers' housing, rather hiring professionals to build and manage their workers' communities.[30]

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[30] Margaret Crawford, *Building The Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company*

Suburbs and company towns represented important trends in planning reform, but most working class families resided within industrial cities, in tenement districts or in flimsily constructed streetcar suburbs. In growing metropolises, commercial buildings and substantial residences typically lined the major streets, adjacent to streetcar lines. A few blocks behind, cheaper timber-frame houses stretched out, Potemkin Village-like. These units offered working class families the unprecedented opportunity to own their home. Lacking plumbing, electricity and sewage service, however, the houses differed from farmsteads only in their density, which increased over time. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, standard lots in Chicago halved in width from fifty feet to twenty-five feet.[31] Families took in boarders or built second rental houses on their plot to cope with high costs. These crowded, under-serviced conditions fostered fire and disease in addition to the crime and delinquency endemic to overcrowding. Photographs of New York's tenement houses made for effective muckraking, but the residents of these low-rise districts lived in slums as deleterious as Manhattan's Mulberry Alley or Lung Block.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the residential construction industry continued to build houses, but shifted away from the lower end of the housing market. Material costs rose as Midwestern states were deforested and transportation lines stretched further west. Unionization increased labor costs. Educated by disasters like the 1871 Chicago Fire, cities began establishing and enforcing building codes. Heating, plumbing and sewerage became required, and these elements added at least one quarter to building costs. Bungalows supplanted small frame houses as the dominant new

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Towns (London: Verso Press, 1995), 37, id., 45; see also Stanley Buder's *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[31] Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform in Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 13.

residential building type. Sturdy brick houses with specialized kitchens and baths, bungalows boasted built-in furniture and other costly amenities, designed to appeal to the magazine-buying middle class.[32] Apartment buildings were also built; these provided new accommodations for some working class families but did not allow them to achieve the financial security of home-ownership.

Although the 1920's were a period of considerable glamour and wealth, the majority of Americans experienced tight budgets and little financial security. In 1929, a Brookings Institute study established $2,000 as a minimum family income, although sixty percent of American families earned less than that amount each year. Falling consumer goods prices allowed most people to maintain their standard of living, but housing prices did not decline and the proportion of the family budget spent on housing increased. In 1885, a family could purchase a minimal house for $1,000. In 1925, wages had doubled, but a basic bungalow cost $5,500.[33] With shrinking buying power, the quality of the working class home was already in decline before Black Thursday. After that day, the construction of cheap houses halted but the number of low-paid workers continued to rise, so these inexpensive dwellings came into greater demand, causing higher rents, overcrowding and the accelerated deterioration of these low-quality buildings.

Prior to the Great Depression, social workers and health officials principally directed American housing reform efforts. New York, the nation's densest city, possessed some of the worst housing conditions and led the country in slum-fighting activities. In the mid-nineteenth century, increased housing demand led to the development of the

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[32] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 160; Radford, 14; Clay Lancaster, *The American Bungalow, 1880-1930* (New York: Abbeville Publishers, 1985), 205.

[33] Radford, 21.

tenement, or purpose-built, multi-story low-rent apartment building.[34] This innovation dramatically worsened conditions among the poor in New York City. Gotham Court, built in 1850, is the first documented building of its type (Figure 1-14).[35] Working with the long lots of Manhattan, this tenement used narrow alleys on each side of the lot for circulation, with small two-room units opening onto the these alleys, providing a bare minimum of light and ventilation. Six floors of about twenty units each were stacked on the site, with water closets in the basements. Deplorable conditions raised humanitarian concerns, but economics favored their proliferation and by 1865 over 15,000 tenements existed in the city.[36]

The decade of the 1860's saw a significant expansion of public awareness of the slum problem and a broadening interest in housing reform. Initially, reformers focused upon using building codes to end tenement construction. Codes had a long history in New York: in the seventeenth century, the Dutch enacted building standards to discourage fire and epidemic. Characterized as a simple expansion of those accepted public-safety provisions, reformers saw building codes as the easiest legal method to overcome property-rights arguments in order to improve conditions. In 1862 New York created an independent Department of Survey and Inspection of Buildings to review new building plans. The city passed the Tenement House Act, and in 1867 it created the Metropolitan

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[34] The Tenement House Act of 1867 legally defined the tenement as "Any house, building or portion thereof, which is rented, leased, or hired out to be occupied...as the home...of more than three families living independently...or by more than two families upon a floor, so living and cooking and having a common right in the halls, stairways, yards, waterclosets or privies, or some of them." New York *Law* (1866), 980/17: 2265-2273, quoted in Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 22.

[35] Gotham Court eventually became a symbol for the slum, synonymous with the tenement, much studied and commented upon. The 1938 play *One-Third of a Nation* actually anthropomorphized the building.

[36] Plunz, 11.

Board of Health to enforce its provisions. The new act supplemented earlier structural standards to meet the specific problem of the tenement; establishing minimum life safety and hygiene standards, calling for fire escapes and establishing a minimum number of water closets per resident.[37] It also ensured that two separate departments (the Metropolitan Board of Health and the Fire Department) reviewed tenement house plans, making it more difficult for owners to bribe officials in order to avoid citation. Although the city passed these regulations, the courts seemed unlikely to support the legality of the new laws, so the Board of Health backed away from more than voluntary enforcement. As a result, the Tenement House Act failed to substantially improve slum conditions.

In 1878, the journal *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer* held a competition to design an improved, but also economically-viable tenement. The entries represented some of the American architecture profession's first attempts to deal with the practical problem of low-cost, high-density residential construction. James E. Ware's winning entry occupied ninety percent of its lot, concentrating vertical circulation at the center of the building, opening space for airshafts on either side of the stair that brought light and air into the middle of the structure (Figure 1-15). The shape of the plan led to its nickname, the "dumbbell" apartment building. Of marginal worth if built alone, the narrow light shafts promised to become amenities if paired with neighboring dumbbell shafts.

In 1879, twelve years after the neutered original Tenement House Act, the city revised the law, dramatically raising required standards, but failing to add realistic administration methods. Without new enforcement powers or significant support from the court, the law remained unenforceable. As a kind of informal compromise, however,

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[37] Ibid., 1-4 passim, id., 22.

landowners began using Ware's dumbbell design. The Board of Health raised standards again in 1887, but again the law made little effective change. For the rest of the century, the dumbbell was the standard for low-rent residential construction.

Designed to improve light and air penetration, in fact, the dumbbell created its own set of problems. The narrow light shafts collected garbage, becoming rank and unpleasant fire hazards over time; as vertical columns they spread noise and fire -- negating the benefit of increased light and air. The plan also failed to eliminate rooms without windows, or to improve access to toilets or clean water. Despite these problems, dumbbell construction continued and by 1900, New York City had more than 80,000 tenements, housing 2.3 million people, or more than half of the city's population.[38]

Jacob Riis' muckraking journalism raised awareness of the physical miseries caused by the slum and a series of Progressive tenement design competitions in the late nineteenth century established a vocabulary of reform housing for designers (Figure 1-16). The discovery and development of germ theory (beginning in the 1870's) gave scientific credence to the reform community's long-held arguments about the potential of the slums to breed disease. In the spring of 1900, the Progressive reformers of the Charity Organization Society organized a major exhibition that included photos and surveys highlighting the unsightly, deleterious conditions of the tenements, as well as comparative information showing that New York's low-rent housing was significantly worse than that in other cities and nations. Held on Fifth Avenue, in two weeks the exhibit attracted over 10,000 visitors and was described as "one of the greatest contributions, if not the greatest, ever made in this or any other country to a proper

[38] Ibid., 30.

understanding of the subject of the housing of the poor."[39] This exhibition and general reform action raised popular interest in the issue and in the fall of 1900, the New York State legislature appointed a Tenement House Commission to investigate the problem. Their study, published as *The Tenement House Problem*, provided the most complete existing survey on the evolution of the tenement house and on reform in New York City, the United States and Europe. It also included design analysis of reform models and presented several prototypes for speculative builders.[40]

As a result of all this activism, in 1901 the state legislature passed a new Tenement House Act. In this law, standards were lowered from the 1879 and 1887 acts, but the new bill had greater enforcement powers. Most of the requirements applied to new construction (as in earlier Tenement House Acts), but the act also set minimum standards for existing buildings. For new tenement construction, land coverage was now limited to seventy percent of the lot and minimum airshaft dimensions were set, creating interior courtyards more useful than dumbbell shafts. The act established deeper rear setbacks as well. For both existing and new buildings, the act set light and window requirements for interiors and corridors, aiming to improve ventilation in dim, dangerous hallways and to eliminate windowless rooms. The law also required that by 1 January 1903, landlords must close all privy toilets and install water closets, one for every two

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[39] Lubove, *Progressives*, 86; Roy Lubove, "Lawrence Veiller and the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47/4 (March 1961): 668.

[40] Robert DeForest and Lawrence Veiller eds. *The Tenement House Problem: Including the Report of the New York State Tenement Housing Commission* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903). The committee had Robert DeForest as chair, and Lawrence Veiller as secretary, two men who played significant roles in slum reform from the mid 19th century until the 1920's. DeForest was a national leader in the field and also the leader of the movement to keep government out of direct housing. In his opinion, legislating from below, eliminating the worst of housing conditions, was the only effective way to improve housing conditions in a Capitalist system.

apartments. Landowners found this final demand most difficult to comply with, as it involved the rearrangement of units and the installation of water and sewer lines within buildings. In 1903, the Tenement House Department took a non-compliant landlord to court over this provision. The department won the case at every level, including the Supreme Court, legitimizing the cause of housing reform.[41]

The 1901 act's courtyard requirements effectively eliminated single-width tenement construction, forcing "New Law" tenements to occupy at least two lots. This development priced smaller landlords out of the industry, professionalizing speculative tenement construction. More organized and confident code enforcement by the Tenement House Department brought increased control. While tenements still existed and bribery doubtlessly facilitated the retention of pre-law conditions, the 1901 law improved accommodations for the poor renters of New York City. By advocating for new codes and effective enforcement, housing reformers established minimum conditions and the court's decision empowered reformers across the country.

In 1910, the leaders of New York's housing reform movement formed the National Housing Association (NHA).[42] Robert DeForest served as chair for the new association; Lawrence Veiller was director. Both had been a part of the Tenement House Commission and had worked together on the passage of the 1901 legislation. Capitalizing

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[41] The 1887 Tenement Law was also challenged in court, by Trinity Church, and was upheld, but the requirement involved with that case was relatively minor, the provision of water storage on each floor. Andrew Dolkart, "The 1901 Tenement House Act," *Lower East Side Tenement Museum.* (http://www.tenement.org/features_dolkart.html, accessed 5 January 2009), part 6; Timothy L. McDonnell S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), 4.

[42] Robbins asserts the group formed following the 1911 meeting, but the group's Constitution and By-Laws are dated January 1910. Ira S. Robbins, "Housing Goals and Achievements in the United States," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15/3 (April 1956): 285.

on the success of New York City's code and with a firm belief in free enterprise, the group worked to advance the cause of building codes nationally. Recognizing New York as an anomaly, they advocated for the construction of small worker's cottages as the most "American" of housing types and sought technical means to lower building costs.[43] Discussion never strayed to the issues of overpriced slum land or economic inequality that were the systemic causes of poor housing conditions. These progressives, led primarily by Veiller, fought mightily for improved legislation as a means to better working class housing conditions. They preferenced small home construction but lacked a positive vision for realistic worker's housing, understanding it simply as a budgeted version of the middle class suburb.

Although DeForest, Veiller and the NHA generally remained dedicated to improving housing through enforced building codes, not all members agreed with this approach, and opinions changed over the life of the organization. Economist and social worker Edith Elmer Wood published widely on the subject of housing reform, and advocated for a more active approach to housing reform. She denied the efficacy of charitable reform housing or paternalistic factory towns, declaring that no amount of clever planning, careful budgeting or pragmatic reducing could ever produce profitable, adequate housing for the poor. She proposed that a solution did not exist within capitalism and that the government must accept a permanent role in providing decent

[43] The National Housing Association's publications reveal their preferences; Helen Parrish's "One Million People in Small Houses," (March, 1911); George M. Sternberg's "Small Houses Within the City Limits for Unskilled Wage Earners," (December 1914).

housing for the poorest of society.[44] Wood was active from the 1910's until her death in 1945, and she primarily advocated for the capitalism's inherent need for housing subsidy.

Beyond the NHA's focus on policy and economic theory, many private groups in New York built model housing projects, going beyond minimum conditions to create healthful low-rent residences. In the 1880's and 1890's, as building code efforts stalled, many Americans turned to British housing reform for inspiration. A few women reformers, inspired by the work of Octavia Hill, purchased existing old law tenements, altered them to improve conditions and established programs to instruct the residents on the niceties of modern, middle-class life.[45]

Alfred Treadway White, a wealthy civil engineer, built a pair of reform tenements called the Home Buildings, designed by William Field and Son and located in Brooklyn. Based on Britain's Waterlow plan, the Home Buildings had airy balconies and open stairs; each unit had a rear extension containing a sink and toilet. The forty apartments were rented within a week of their opening in February 1877. White then expanded his reform-tenement empire, opening the six-story Tower Buildings in 1878 across the street from the original Home Buildings. While built to be affordable for regularly-employed, low-wage workers, the buildings project style and design elements not seen in most tenements. Romanesque arches dominate the brick facades and airy, wrought iron balconies lighten the heaviness, with playful, engaging lines (Figure 1-17). In 1889, White and Field and Son built the Riverside Building, a complex much larger than his earlier projects, housing 280 apartments in nine buildings surrounding a generous

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[44] Edith Elmer Wood, *Recent Trends in American Housing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 19.

[45] Pluntz, 93.

courtyard (Figure 1-18). Despite fifteen years of management experience White refined the design of the Riverside Building in only minor ways.[46] Together, White's reform tenements attracted much praise from architects and reformers and provided a hopeful conclusion for Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives.*

At an 1888 meeting of ministers, White stated; "How are these men and women to understand the love of God you speak of, when they see only the greed of men?"[47] A wealthy man driven by his Unitarian ideals, he set rents slightly below market rates and established rent collection rules that rewarded long-term tenants and those who paid ahead. Several of his projects included a reading room, but White did not borrow Octavia Hill's management style, limiting his role to fair and reasonable treatment. Just like British model dwelling companies, White set rents to receive a lower, five percent return on his investment. Writing in 1912, after thirty-five years of managing these buildings, White found that in the first twenty-five years he had earned 4.7% profit per year, and in the last decade his profit had risen to 5.1%.[48] He hoped that his buildings would prove that one could build pleasant apartments and still earn a modest profit, a combination that would encourage other Christian investors to follow his example. White believed compassionate capitalism could solve the slum problem. He also understood speculative land costs as the chief cause of overcrowding and improved transit as a solution to problems of poverty. His vision set a precedent, and his battle cry -- Philanthropy and Five Percent -- set a standard for charitable involvement in housing until World War One.

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[46] Alfred T. White, "Sun-Lightened Tenements: Thirty-Five Years' Experience as an Owner," *National Housing Association* 12 (March 1912), 4, id., 7, id., 19; Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the tenements of New York* (New York: C. Scribner's sons, 1890), 217.

[47] White quoted in Jacob Riis, *The Making of an American* (New York: MacMillan, 1902), 248.

[48] White, 17-19.

It also illustrated the desirability of auto-free open space and proved that large-scale planning could improve the quality of low-rent housing. Inspired by White, other New York reformers built similar complexes, but the resultant buildings never composed more than a small percentage of the low-rent housing market.

Moving away from the problem of family housing, in 1896 banking mogul Darius Ogden Mills financed the construction of two identical men's hotels in Manhattan, designed by Ernest Flagg. Of fireproof construction, the ten-story complexes each broke into two square sections, with a full-height atrium at the center, connected by a narrow corridor and stair bridge (Figure 1-19). The first floors and mezzanines included shops along the street, a restaurant, a lounge, a laundry and bathing facilities for the 1,500 bedroom cubicles above. The low cost food and lodging produced a modest profit. Management enforced a set of rules intended to reform residents, including barring the men from their rooms during working hours in order to encourage employment.[49] The Mills' Hotels diversified reform housing by providing units for a subset of the slum population that otherwise became boarders in family apartments, a situation that reformers decried as a threat to health and moral rectitude. The Mills Hotels inspired other cities to open similar facilities (still termed Mills Hotels although Mr. Mills played no part in their financing) for single male lodgers.[50]

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[49] Mardges Bacon, *Ernest Flagg: Beaux-Arts Architect and Urban Reformer* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1985), 258-261 passim. The Mills family operated Mills House #1 until the 1940's, when it was converted to conventional cheap rental housing. In the 1970's, it was converted to a market rate co-op. Mills House #2 was demolished, most likely as a part of the massive Chrystie-Forsythe slum clearance project that Robert Moses completed to create the 1934 Sara D. Roosevelt Park and Playground. See Christopher Gray, "Streetscapes/Mills House No. 1 on Bleecker Street; A Clean, Airy 1897 Home for 1,560 Working Men," *New York Times*, 6 November 1994.

[50] Philpott, 101.

In 1907, a group of New York City reformers formed the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.[51] Members surveyed New York's prevailing overcrowded tenements and visited European Garden Cities. Similar to the effective 1900 exhibition, they created a show that modeled the miseries of the New York slum, contrasted against sunny pictures of Port Sunlight and new, scientific, rational German zoning maps. New York failed to take up their calls for zoning as a means to reform and protect residential neighborhoods, but their work encouraged the Russell Sage Foundation to take on the design and construction of a new garden suburb that used planning to mitigate density. Designed in 1910 by Grosvenor Atterbury, Forest Hills Gardens made direct reference Parker and Unwin's Hampstead Heath suburb project.[52]

Facing some of the most intractable housing conditions in the country, New York City's building code activism and model housing construction led the nation, informing and inspiring work elsewhere. The other large American cities had poor housing conditions as well, but they looked much different from those in New York. Most other cities followed New York's lead in building code enforcement, but local conditions and concerns caused each to develop their own approach to the problems of slum housing. A brief examination of poor housing conditions in these other major cities illustrates their unique conditions, influences and solutions.

In 1881, the state of Illinois empowered Chicago's Health Department to create a Bureau of Tenement and Factory Inspection, but (as in New York) failed to endow the

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[51] Rogers, 182. Committee members included settlement workers Florence Kelley, Lillian Wald, George Ford and Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, as well as Edward T. Devine (NY Charity Organization), John Martin (émigré municipal socialist), Paul Kellogg (editor of *The Survey*, New York's leading charity organization journal), and Frederick Howe.

[52] Rogers, 181-184 passim.

body with enforcement powers.[53] In 1889, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr founded Hull House on Chicago's West Side to ameliorate conditions and "Americanize" the immigrant masses that swirled around them in grubby, enervated misery. Over the course of several decades, Hull House became a massive institution that offered a broad array of classes and programs for immigrant families and it advocated for their interests on a local, state and national level. The institution served as a nexus for progressive thought, attracting many different leaders for speeches and discussion. It became the unofficial flagship for the settlement house movement across the country, inspiring similar institutions elsewhere in Chicago and in other industrialized cities. In addition to places of social aid, settlement houses became periscopes, allowing middle-class reformers to get a glimpse of conditions and needs within the opaque immigrant communities that many felt threatened America's moral, social, religious and political traditions.

In 1901, Hull House worker Robert Hunter published the authoritative *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*. In a survey of three typical slum districts in the city, Hunter outlined grim conditions. New York's Lower East Side boasted higher population densities, but Hunter claimed that the worst areas in Chicago were actually more crowded, since residents lived in one- or two-story houses, rather than four- or five-story tenements. Hunter estimated that twenty percent of Chicagoans lived in these truly miserable conditions and another twenty percent lived in areas only slightly better: nearly half of Chicago's population resided in conditions he likened to the slaughterhouses

[53] Philpott, 17.

where many residents worked.[54] Hunter's method was thorough and his conclusions were devastating, setting a national standard for slum surveys.

Hunter's study and New York's 1901 law ushered in Chicago's 1902 "New Tenement" ordinance. The law set standards for new construction that allowed high lot coverage and small bedrooms, but established light and ventilation requirements and dictated a toilet and sink for every unit. The law banned basement dwellings and rear lot construction. As in New York's law, it also raised standards for existing buildings, requiring a sink on every floor and a toilet or yard closet for every two units.[55]

White's 1877 Home Buildings inaugurated a reform housing movement in New York City, but labor unrest delayed such action in Chicago.[56] In 1895, businessman Edward Waller hired young Frank Lloyd Wright to design an improved tenement. Waller, the longtime manager of the Rookery Building, met Wright when he remodeled Burnham and Root's office building. Waller invested $25,000 in the plan for an apartment building, and set rents to earn a three percent return on his investment.[57] For that sum, Wright designed a two-story closed courtyard building with forty-four apartments. Entries for

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[54] City Homes Association of Chicago, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago* (Chicago: The City Homes Association, 1901, reprint New York: Garrett Press, 1970), 71; John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 6.

[55] Philpott, 103.

[56] In 1884, a Chicago citizen's committee formed to study the "Tenements of the Working Classes." Eschewing the traditional "Philanthropy and Five Percent" model as too socialistic, they commissioned four model tenement designs that would earn from six to eight percent profit while meeting minimum living standards. Two of the proposals were well ventilated and reasonably sized, but set rents too high for most workingmen; the third met the cost standards but included windowless bedrooms and other health hazards. The fourth plan was intended to occupy the alley spaces behind commercial buildings downtown. Fifty feet wide and over one hundred feet long, the building provided family apartments on lower floors and men's dormitories above. Water, heat, gas, electricity and sewerage were not included in the units, with water closets and baths available in the basement for an additional fee.

[57] Deveraux Bowly, *The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895-1976* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 2. At that time, George Pullman's earned six percent return on his workers' town.

some apartments faced the street, but most were accessed from a large central courtyard (Figure 1-20). Towers at the corners of the main facade held stairs leading to an open balcony that wrapped around the courtyard, accessing the second floor apartments. A terra cotta archway connected the street and the courtyard and bestowed a name upon the assemblage, Francisco Terrace (Figure 1-21).[58] The first of its type in Chicago, Wright's design, with its courtyard plan and open balcony circulation builds on White's buildings in New York. With a more modest scale, however, Wright's work finds monumentality in its elaborate terra cotta ornament, clearly influenced by mentor Louis Sullivan.

Philadelphia's slum problem appeared less extreme than New York's or Chicago's. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a growing transit system and a strong Building and Loan tradition meant that Philadelphia enjoyed a higher rate of home ownership than New York, Chicago or Boston, giving rise to its nickname -- "the City of Homes."[59] Fewer immigrants moved to Philadelphia than to other major cities and it lacked a dense African-American ghetto until after World War Two. William Penn's original deep lots, however, encouraged the development of high density trinity or bandbox houses along the back alleys of the city's center, hiding the worst housing conditions from sight. Although individual homes remained less crowded than slums in other cities, residents of these rear alleys suffered. Poor water supplies allowed typhoid to rage across the city and Philadelphia posted the highest rate of tuberculosis deaths in the

[58] Wright's apartment building was demolished in 1971, and the archway was salvaged and installed in a condominum complex in Oak Park, IL.

[59] John F. Sutherland, "Housing for the Poor in the City of Homes: Philadelphia at the Turn of the Century," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940*, ed. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973): 175-182 passim.

country, contributing to the city's second highest mortality rate in the nation for the years 1906-1910, surpassed only by Boston.

Reform housing in Philadelphia began in 1915, when Quakers Helen Parrish and Hannah Fox constructed model row houses for poor white families and managed them on Octavia Hill's principles. The Whittier Center Housing Corporation constructed similar buildings for African Americans, but neither group built more than a handful of units, nor inspired a larger "Philanthropy and Five Percent" movement.[60] High rates of home ownership and the hidden nature of Philadelphia's slums made it difficult to organize a serious response to the problem.

Detroit, like Philadelphia, enjoyed a high rate of homeownership, but the city included both hidden alley dwellings and large slum districts of poorly-built, poorly-serviced, overcrowded homes. Detroit's immigrant groups, particularly the Poles, developed compact and overcrowded enclaves. Most were poor, but industrial jobs were plentiful and well-paying, so homeownership rates were high.

After World War One, as in Chicago, Detroit's black community faced expansive numerical growth countered by a hardening of residential boundaries that restricted them to a few East Side districts. These areas registered low rates of homeownership and some of the poorest, most crowded housing conditions in Detroit.[61] Thriving industry generally provided African Americans with decent wages, but residential segregation meant that blacks paid as much or more than whites for vastly inferior houses. Reform groups,

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[60] John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 6.

[61] Dominic J. Capeci, *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit: The Sojourner Truth Housing Controversy of 1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 4; David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 74.

typically organized by established African Americans, followed W.E.B. Du Bois' current philosophy, training recent migrants in the ways of city life (implicitly blaming them for the problem), rather than agitating for systemic reform.

Los Angeles rarely served as an initial destination for European immigrants, and its broad expanse and large transit system meant that poor housing was more under-serviced than overcrowded. The African-American Central Avenue district was one of the poorest in the city, but the city's multiethnic Eastside distinguished it from other cities. Mexican and Chinese immigrants, rather than those from Ireland, Poland or Italy, composed poor ethnic enclaves. The relative invisibility of these groups and their exoticism stymied reform, and the governor blocked all proposed federal housing projects in the state until 1938.[62]

Cleveland passed a building code in the first decade of the twentieth century but struggled with its enforcement for ten years.[63] The city provided a wide network of public gymnasiums and community buildings to improve services in the slums, but failed to attack poor housing directly. Real estate groups dominated the government during the 1920's, focusing on issues of private development, leaving slum clearance and improved housing problems unaddressed.

As many early philanthropic experiments failed to attract investment and slums expanded apace, reformers began examining the problem from a wider, systemic perspective. Henry George's Single Tax proposal drew attention to the fundamental land value impediments to effective housing reform and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*

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[62] Don Parson, *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 18.

[63] Ronald R. Weiner, *Lake Effects: A History of Urban Policy Making in Cleveland, 1825-1929* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 132.

(1888) gave voice to anti-urbanism intrinsic in American culture. Rather than waging a seemingly impossible fight against urban slums, Boston consistently advocated removing "worthy" workingmen and their families to small, affordable houses outside the city, valuing the perceived acculturative value of land and homeownership. In last quarter of the nineteenth century, Homestead Clubs formed to aid in this process, but primarily succeeded in helping middle-class families move to Boston's expanding suburbs. In 1916 the Massachusetts Legislature allotted the Massachusetts Homestead Commission funds to build homesteads for former urban dwellers, just outside of Lowell. The commission hired planner Arthur C. Comey and the architecture firm of Kilham and Hopkins and they designed and built twelve low-cost cottages on large lots (Figure 1-22).[64] Most residents worked in Lowell's factories and an agricultural instructor taught them farming in order to supplement their industrial income with produce. Initially presented as a permanent initiative, the state discontinued it in 1919 without any further funding. In 1913, Boston began a legislative fight to enact building codes, in order to regulate the construction of fire-prone wooden three-deckers.[65] Formed in 1919, the Boston Housing Association enforced these tenement regulations, but the city's reform momentum remained on rural or suburban relocation, challenging the dominance of improved apartments on the Waterlow or Octavia Hill models, accepting the idea of pastoral home ownership as uniquely American and desirable.

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[64] Roy Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's: The Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), 5-15 passim; Richard M. Candee and Greer Hardwicke, "Early Twentieth-Century Reform Housing by Kilham and Hopkins, Architects of Boston," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22/1 (Spring 1987): 59. In 1997, at least a few of these twelve cottages survived, and local planning groups recommended their nomination to the National Register, but as of 2008, the properties had not been listed as a national register historic district.

[65] Lawrence J. Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 109, id., 171.

Washington DC faced significant and pervasive slum problems, due to the alley-dwelling pattern of residential construction developed prior to the Civil War. In 1897 the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company began constructing low-rent housing, and in 1904 the Washington Sanitary Housing Company joined in the effort. The two groups eventually operated 958 units for white and black families, earning low but steady profits on their investment. First Lady Ellen Wilson was particularly concerned about poor housing conditions and following her death in 1915, a group organized to construct a block of reform housing in her honor, designed by Schenck & Meade of New York.[66] Small homes lined the perimeter of two narrow blocks, with open space and communal facilities (playground, library, laundry, clinic, meeting rooms) at the center of each block (Figure 1-23). The two-story houses lack the scale of White's Tower Building, but they were built on the "Philanthropy and Five Percent" basis, and they consolidate their open space for the betterment of all residents.

The United States' first non-emergency, government-sponsored urban housing project took place in Milwaukee, under the patronage of socialist mayor Daniel Hoan. In 1921 Wisconsin passed legislation to create the first public housing corporation in the United States, Milwaukee's Garden Homes Corporation (GHC). The corporation purchased twenty-nine acres of land in the northwestern part of the city and broke ground on one hundred and five single and duplex houses within the year (Figure 1-24). Pro bono architect William Schuchardt designed simple, two-story, stuccoed, gabled roof units, clustered around a long green space (Figure 1-25). Initially cooperatively owned, in 1925

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[66] George B. Ford, "The Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3/8 (August 1915): 352. Although I was unable to determine the exact location of these houses, I believe they were demolished and rebuilt, and only the street name Ellen Wilson Place remains.

the residents elected to convert to individual titles.[67] Political opposition caused considerable havoc for the residents, and although the houses proved affordable and profitable, the GHC closed without further construction.

The progressive reformers of New York City led the struggle for housing improvement, and the 1901 New Law proved a pivotal moment, when popular opinion and judicial ruling supported the idea that some common interests overrode property rights concerns, allowing building codes to establish minimum standards for health and safety. The size of New York's slum problem and wealth also meant that moneyed reformers constructed many different types of reform housing. Particularly in terms of building codes, most other American cities followed New York's lead, but each faced specific conditions and sought innovative ways to minimize the growth of the slum and improve housing conditions for the "deserving poor."

World War One Forces the Federal Government to Intervene in Housing

Until World War One, housing conditions, codes and reform construction in the United States were a localized issue, but the war made housing a concern of national security. Rapid mobilization led to the quick expansion of employment in war-industry areas, causing serious housing shortages. The shipyard town of Chester, Pennsylvania, for example, had 38,000 residents in 1910, but that population had doubled by 1918, without significant new residential expansion.[68] High material costs discouraged construction while overcrowding in Chester and other war-production towns sent rents

[67] Paul Jakubovich, "Utopia Revisited: The Garden Home Housing Project in Milwaukee" *Wisconsin Preservation* (July/August 1993): 12. Today, Garden Homes are individually owned and fully occupied.

[68] Rogers, 288.

skyrocketing. Bad housing also caused a high worker turnover rate (over 700 percent annually in some places), hindering productivity. The government intervened; first by organizing a boarding program with residents, then by improving transit to nearby cities. When these measures failed to solve the issue, federal war coordinators and manufacturers discussed building temporary barracks to house their workers.

The example of ally Britain suggested a different approach, and American architects and planners advocated for a more permanent, planned solution. As England entered the war in 1914, the government constructed barracks for the influx of workers, but Unwin and the Garden City advocates saw in the program a means to expand their town planning vision. Building on the 1909 Town Planning Act, they persuaded the government to undertake permanent Garden Cities, with generous social infrastructures. Temporary barracks were typically demolished after a few years, but communities like Gretna and Woolwich, became permanent, viable enclaves, endowed with communal facilities, including club-houses, clinics and laundries.[69]

In 1915, Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* sent architect Frederick Ackerman to England to report on this approach to war housing.[70] A reformist who supported Henry George's single-tax plan, Whitaker consistently advocated for improved, comprehensive planning techniques in America, using his editorial position to publicize these new ideas to the architectural profession.[71]

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[69] Charles Harris Whitaker, Frederick L. Ackerman, Richard S. Childs and Edith Elmer Wood, *The Housing Problem in War and Peace* (Washington DC: Journal of American Institute of Architects, 1918), 35.

[70] Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's*, 39.

[71] Although *The Journal of the American Institute of Architects* included many articles on individual, major works and issues of the classically-trained architect, it also monitored planning and housing laws. A recurring "Housing and Town Planning" article, written by advocates like Carol Aronovici

Ackerman's articles offered positive impressions of the British communities and counseled for America to follow their lead.

NHA president Veiller supported permanent community construction, Whitaker's publicity campaign about the British approach and the active advocacy of architects, planners and reformers pushed Congress to adopt these recommendations. In the spring of 1918 Congress awarded $50 million to the United States Shipping Board's Emergency Fleet Corporation (EFC) to identify communities over-stressed by war workers and to design and construct new communities, with the assumption of a six percent profit on rentals. President Wilson named Robert Kohn head of the production branch and Ackerman head of design. The EFC targeted communities around private ship-building factories and the Department of Labor created the United States Housing Corporation (USHC) to build housing for workers at federal naval yards. Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. helmed the town planning division of this second group.[72]

At the EFC and the USHC, a federal staff reviewed designs by local architects for compliance with a shared set of architectural standards. The EFC proved the more efficient organization, with two-dozen communities under construction by the November 1918 armistice, while the USHC had begun fewer than ten. In addition to inaugurating federal action in housing, the work of the EFC and USHC established acceptable living standards for America's industrial workers.[73] Architectural guidelines, written by Veiller,

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and George B. Ford, presented housing issues and advocated for comprehensive urban and regional planning. Editor Whitaker also wrote on the need for the single-tax and for comprehensive planning. See Charles Harris Whitaker, *The Joke about Housing* (Norwood MA: The Plimpton Press, 1920).

[72] McDonnell, 7; Roy Lubove, "Homes and "A Few Well Placed Fruit Trees": An Object Lesson in Federal Housing," *Social Research* 24/4 (Winter 1960): 477.

[73] Lawrence Veiller "Industrial Housing Developments in America," *Architectural Record* 43 (January/June 1918): 325.

Kohn and others, avoided specific site or building design approaches, rather establishing basic minimums. To meet the pressing and varied needs of workers, they approved nine different buildings types which included houses, duplexes, boarding houses and hotels, and, where absolutely necessary, tenement buildings. They required significant setbacks to maintain open space; fences were eschewed in favor of physically contiguous open spaces. The guidelines advised planning individual units with function and furniture in mind and demanded adequate light and air for every room. They required sinks and indoor toilets for each family unit (and for each floor in communal-living situations). These World War One programs established that working class families merited open space and well-appointed interiors with modern kitchens and bathrooms -- standards that few lower or middle class families enjoyed at the time.[74]

Many cited the EFC's Atlantic Heights in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, designed by the Boston firm of Kilham and Hopkins, as one of the best projects produced in the period, embodying Veiller and Kohn's vision of an industrial working class neighborhood.[75] Built on the shores of the Piscataqua River, Kilham and Hopkins developed a modified grid plan that follows the existing topography (Figure 1-26). Two angled streets serve as the entrances to the community, stopping just before they converge on the bank of the river, and this central site, visible from throughout the complex, becomes the community center, adjacent to the public and commercial building.

Atlantic Heights consists of three hundred single and duplex houses as well as boarding and lodging houses for single workers. The architects used three house sizes and

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[74] Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 81; Candee and Hardwick, 50.

[75] Kilham and Hopkins were also responsible for the MHC's house designs.

seven different house plans, rotating orientations and alternating exterior treatments to avoid monotony (Figure 1-27). Kilham and Hopkins' designs simplified local Federal and Colonial architectural precedents, allying the community to Portsmouth's climate and culture.[76] The village created good, low-cost housing that filled the immediate need and permanently improved Portsmouth's low-cost housing stock.

Directed by Kohn and Ackerman, men who went on to develop the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works' (PWA) first public housing program, the EFC and USHC guidelines are clearly a starting point from which housing reformers were to develop. Atlantic Heights melds the English garden city and American suburban patterns to create something new. Communal space is encouraged, but each home has a clearly defined lot and the lines between public and private remain defined by street orientation. More cohesive and better appointed than typical housing developments, Atlantic Heights and the other World War One worker's villages are a modification of standard practice but not a significant revision, inspired by the ideas, but not the forms of the British garden city.

The end of the war relieved the tremendous housing shortage in Portsmouth and other manufacturing cities, as production wound down and transient workers moved away. The federal government eventually opened Atlantic Heights to all renters, but relatively high rents (without corresponding highly-paid war production jobs) kept occupancy low. In 1925 the shipyard company that had built the project went bankrupt, and under heavy political pressure to divest itself of housing properties, the federal

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[76] Candee and Hardwick, 69.

government sold Atlantic Heights at a loss to several private landlords, who were able to lower rents and fill the community.[77]

Most other EFC and USHC communities shared similar financially ignominious ends, and this legacy cast a pall on the cause of housing reform in the 1920's. After World War One, as Europe developed means for state supported housing, Veiller and the leaders of the NHA turned definitively away from their continental counterparts, labeling England's "Homes for Heroes" program as a failure from its inception.[78] Reformers retreated from direct action and state-supported housing became seemingly anathema to the American system itself.[79] The NHA continued to press the issue of building code enforcement, but as codes became increasingly accepted, the group found little cause and lost momentum, quietly folding after their final conference in 1929, when a new generation of reformers began pushing for greater federal involvement in slum problems.

European Housing Reform in the 1920's

Before World War One, Britain's Garden City led discussions of site development throughout Europe, while the Arts and Crafts, Futurism and Expressionism dominated stylistic discussions. The war halted the civilian construction industry and exposed a new dark side to industrialized power. The desperation and devastation of the trenches wrought a change in the continental *zeitgeist*. Prior to the war, America's cultural leaders

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[77] Ibid., 71.

[78] Ira S. Robbins, "Housing Goals and Achievements in the United States," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15/3 (April 1956): 285-286.

[79] At Hoover's 1929 conference, Edith Elmer Wood suggested government aid in financing costs and Harold Buttenheim acknowledged that some reformers supported the idea of government housing aid. These sparse references reveal that an ideological struggle was ongoing in the organization, although it failed to surface in more formal NHA publications.

had understood their role as interpreters of Europe's initiatives, receptacles rather than innovators.[80] After the war, European culture, particularly its architecture and urban planning, became controversial and distasteful to many Americans, creating a rift between trained and popular taste, forcing native progressives to find inspiration in the concepts, but not necessarily the forms of European works.

After the 1918 armistice, England immediately launched on their "Homes for Heroes" program, which produced 250,000 new Garden City units nationally, but rising building costs meant that it took nearly five years before most continental nations began significant rebuilding efforts.[81] Most architects, therefore, began dreaming of their new age on paper, rather than in brick, glass, concrete or steel. In 1920, Swiss architect Le Corbusier heralded this dawning with his ideal Dom-ino House (Figure 1-28). Dispensing with the Beaux Arts duty to constructional legibility, the Dom-ino expressed industrialized modernism and suggested the infinite possibilities of concrete, glass and steel. Le Corbusier's 1922 proposed urban plan, the *Ville Contemporaine*, dramatically repudiated the British Garden City (Figure 1-29). His new plan shared the Garden City's desire to escape the density of the city, but rather than placing residents within a usable landscape, he perched them high above it, in powerfully simple, high-rise buildings. Open space became an object for contemplation, rather than a place of activity, and motors, rather than feet, became the principal means to traverse the environment.

In Germany, many young architects also jettisoned links to the tainted past. Years of war had created a tremendous housing shortage across the continent and these

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[80] Rogers, 272.

[81] France lost 600,000 housing units in the war, Belgium lost 80,000 and Italy lost 200,000. Edith Elmer Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe* (New York: E.P. Sutton & Company, 1923), 8.

architects focused on the creation of functional, pleasant, low-cost houses as a means to a peaceful, just and equitable future. In 1927, the city of Stuttgart held a housing exposition at the Weissenhof Estate that best embodied these ideals. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe served as organizer of a team of sixteen international architects, who also included Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, J.J.P. Oud, Peter Behrens, Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut. Rather than taking up the current heliotropism of the popular *zielenbau* method, Mies arranged the buildings with a garden city spirit, locating the low-rise buildings along narrow streets, integrated into their sloping site (Figure 1-30). Although Mies claimed he exerted no aesthetic influence on the others, the buildings exhibited a common spirit of *sachlichkeit*, or pure objectivism (Figure 1-31). Buildings were simplified into expanses of flat white stucco, interrupted by wide plate glass windows. Guardrails were simple bent metal tubing and flat roofs served as usable open space. Far from functionalists, however, these *sachlichkeiters* understood the essential beauty of simplicity. Careful proportions, rounded corners, and deeply shadowed terraces brought drama and grace to these willfully reduced structures. The Weissenhof project fostered and illustrated a growing aesthetic consensus in continental Europe.

The Weissenhof exhibition set a visual standard for this new spirit, but Ernst May's massive rebuilding program in Frankfurt rooted the venture its social purpose. May served as Frankfurt's city planner from 1925 until 1930, and in close alliance with the mayor, he exercised broad powers of zoning, planning and financing. In his tenure, May's organization produced 5,000 new housing units in well-equipped and planned communities. This coordinated vision breathed life and purpose into the simplified forms (Figure 1-32). Preeminent American housing activist Catherine Bauer claimed that a

1930 tour of May's Frankfurt projects "transformed me from an aesthete into a housing reformer."[82]

Although much discussed in artistic circles, this new European movement largely eluded American notice until 1932's monumental exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Phillip Johnson curated the new work and unveiled it as the unified "International Style." Abandoning the "style's" theoretical and functional underpinnings as worker's housing, Hitchcock and Johnson saw in it a new aesthetic with three primary characteristics; the emphasis of volume over mass, the avoidance of axial symmetry, and the rejection of applied decoration. Divorced from the deeper theoretical intentions of Le Corbusier and the others, Hitchcock and Johnson codified a new style and made it possible to reproduce on a mass scale with just a handful of elements; smooth cladding, flat roofs, large expanses of glazing, unmarked cornice lines, unframed fenestration, an omission of historicizing elements.[83]

Although Hitchcock and Johnson focused on aesthetics, they recognized the critical role housing played in the movement by setting aside space for a separate housing section within the exhibition, organized by the nation's leading experts on European social housing; Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright and Catherine Bauer. Despite this direct connection to the European International Style, only a few of the HD's fifty-three projects (Williamsburg Houses and Westfield Acres) are clearly built in this

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[82] Catherine Bauer-Wurster, "The Social Front of Modern Architecture in the 1930's," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24/1 (March 1965): 48.

[83] Hitchcock and Johnson's International Style Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art has been accused of aestheticizing the expression at the expense of its more functionalist motivations. In her dissertation ""Housing on Trial": The Museum of Modern Art and the Campaign for Modern Housing in the United States, 1932-1952" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1988), Suzanne Spencer argues that later Moma exhibitions did much to advocate for housing.

most modern of styles. Public opposition to the expression led most local designers to select less contentious styles for the new, controversial public housing projects.

In the 1920's, Vienna's powerful socialist party led conservative Austria to legally define the city as a separate state. The socialist city enacted aggressive property taxes to fund the construction of worker's housing complexes. The Karl-Marx Hof (1927) is one of the most influential, expansive projects of the period. Less concerned than the Germans with light alignment, the tall buildings wrap around the perimeter of their block and use bridges and passthroughs to create dramatic urban vistas. Most of Vienna's inner-city projects conformed to their historic contexts. The Marx-Hof, built on land at the edge of the city, is more specifically modern in its expression. The project uses space, art and massive entryways to convey its truly monumental scale (Figure 1-33).[84] Although remarkable, Vienna's adherence to outmoded artistic standards meant that western visitors often overlooked the program.

American Housing in the 1920's

Except for the EFC and the USHC, material and labor shortages shuttered much of the housing construction industry during World War One. Following the Armistice, rampant inflation and improved building codes fundamentally changed the financial basis of home construction. It took four years for American builders to adapt to the new conditions and return to full construction capacity. A tremendous housing shortage had developed in that time, tightening the market and doubling rents in some cities. Although

[84] For information on Vienna's massive housing campaign, see Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1999). In *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), Bauer illustrates the Austrian buildings, but discussed Germany's approach more fully.

housing starts reached a peak in 1925, they were still barely keeping pace with population growth. In New York City, high property values forced builders to find a more compact way to meet rising living conditions.[85] The EFC and USHC programs had given architects the opportunity to take on the large-scale design of housing, and following the war many of these men took up the challenge of creating high-quality, moderate-income residences in New York City. At the behest of directors Kohn and Ackerman, those World War One projects emphasized planning for reasonable use and the production and coordination of open spaces in the design of a large complex of buildings. Those concerns set the stage for the creation of a new building type – the garden apartment.

English garden cities presented a new vision of urban development, but Germany offered the United States the best examples of dense urban housing that improved on the "mietkaeserne" type. In 1914 the directors of the Queensboro Corporation visited Berlin and in 1918 the corporation constructed Greystone in Jackson Heights, based on the large scale full-block apartment buildings of Charlottenburg (Figure 1-34).[86] The developers termed the complex a "garden apartment," although it failed to fully develop or enclose its garden area. Other designers began exploring the possibilities of large-scale perimeter construction, but a real design breakthrough came when Andrew Thomas submitted a plan for a tenement house competition sponsored by the Phelps Stokes Fund in 1921 (Figure 1-35).

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[85] Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), 24; Plunz, 123.

[86] Plunz, 138. Queensboro Corporation built up much of Jackson Heights with coutyard apartment buildings in the 1920's, and soon that district became an international model for the garden apartment type.

> ...all complicated plan forms suffer through plan inefficiency and added building cost to a degree that is seldom recaptured by increased ground cover or overcrowding, even on land at comparatively high value."[87]

Up to this point, tenements and luxury apartment buildings alike had depended upon setbacks and convoluted plan arrangements to maximize rentable space while meeting air and light needs. These setbacks and insets lengthened the expensive perimeter walls of the building and they also created complex corners that presented construction challenges for contractors. Thomas' simplified building form and interior plans stripped away all of these difficult elements, reducing the building to a single, regular U. This regularity, in turn, allowed for the simplification of interior plans. Thomas' scheme carefully balanced density and costs, a means to build high-quality, middle-class apartments at a profit. The open courtyard became not merely an amenity, but a key part of the arrangement. In addition, Thomas' scheme illustrated the economies promised by full-block development.

Thomas expanded the potential of his U-shaped prototype at The Chateau, a high-priced cooperative constructed for the Queensboro Corporation in 1922 (Figure 1-36). Six pairs of U-shaped buildings line the long block, defining a garden that remains open on the ends. Other designers began manipulating Thomas' U-shaped formula. In 1924, the Queensboro Corporation opened Cambridge Court, designed by George Wells (Figure 1-37).[88] Contiguous T-shaped buildings line a similar central garden, but the elimination of the space between the buildings allowed Wells to concentrate the built perimeter, increasing the open space available at the center.

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[87] Henry Wright, "The Modern Apartment House," *The Architectural Record* 65/3 (March 1929): 230.

[88] Plunz, 142, id., 146.

Well-suited to middle and upper-income units, the garden apartment type also became the form of choice for lower-rent ventures. In 1926, New York passed the Limited Dividend Housing Companies Law, which granted condemnation rights and local tax abatements to corporations willing to construct housing that limited profits to under six percent (echoing White's Philanthropy and Five Percent campaign).[89] Several unions took advantage of the program -- using their economic power to improve their living conditions, make union membership more attractive and develop a place of belonging for their members, thereby enlarging the value of membership.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union hired Springsteen and Goldhammer to construct a 300-unit complex along Van Cortland Park in the Bronx (Figure 1-38). Developing Wells' concept, the complex uses two continuous, winding, five-story buildings to define a landscaped center on all sides, with brick patterns and a grand art deco arch. The two buildings on a narrow site cover fifty one percent of the site, creating a higher density than other garden apartment complexes, but the multi-parcel nature of the project allowed the architects to create open green lawn and space for a number of community services. In addition to the courtyard, the complex included a cooperative store, community rooms, nursery, library and many other social services. More than just houses, the union's buildings were dedicated to creating an explicitly unionized community.[90] Union officials hoped these complexes would become models of the ideal cooperative world they envisioned, places of respite and training for the worker that could also increase loyalty among union families.

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[89] Ibid., 151.

[90] Ibid., 152. This project became the nucleus around which many other limited dividend buildings were constructed.

The garden apartment form balanced cost, quality, open space and American patterns of living and land development particularly well, and similar complexes were constructed in other major cities in the 1920's. In 1929 Sears founder Julius Rosenwald funded the construction of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments on Chicago's African-American south side (Figure 1-39). Designed by Ernest Grunsfeld Jr. and Eugene Klaber, several separate T-shaped buildings compose the 300-unit complex. Solidly-built masonry buildings fully serviced with water, sewer and electricity, Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments were a significant improvement in conditions for the vast majority of African-American Chicagoans. Although Rosenwald intended the complex as a philanthropic low-rent venture, professionals (doctors, lawyers, dentists, teachers) found the building better than what they could afford elsewhere. Dueling department store owner Marshall Field invested in a similar complex for white families on the north side, also opened in 1929.[91] On a national level, the garden apartment type was significant in the 1920's because it proved that such a planning scheme was both pleasant and profitable, making open space not just luxury but a critical design element.

Clarence Stein and the Regional Planning Association of America

> How can we bring the country into the city? We can do so to a limited extent by increasing the number of parks and playgrounds; by using our backyards as common playgrounds; by lining our residential streets with trees, decreasing the paved portion of the road, and using the rest for playgrounds; by using our water edge, as much as industry will permit, for parks. All this will help, but it is not a solution. As the problem of

[91] Bowly, 11, id., 13.

> combining city and country has been solved. The Garden City is the solution.[92]

The garden apartment proved a critical prototype for the HD's direct build program because it created financially-viable apartments that met middle-class expectations for quality, light, air and services while also making recreational open space a common amenity. Combining this concept of limited coverage with Ebeneezer Howard's broader planning scope fueled the thinking of the Regional Planning Association of American (RPAA), a group seeking a distinctively American response to contemporary European planning and design. Hardly a formal organization, the RPAA was a loose alliance of a number of diverse and influential thinkers developing ideas on the broad spectrum of American planning. The group convened regularly for meals or weekend retreats between 1923 and 1933 to discuss and develop their ideas and figure out how to bring them to fruition. Varied interests and specialties meant that the group thought in scales that ranged from national transportation routes to individual bathroom plans, but all were united by a handful of beliefs. Howard's Garden City formed a basis for their thinking, as did John Dewey's concepts of social process and Henry George's single tax. Building on these influences, the group believed better planning was necessary to conserve open space and halt western civilization's despoliation of nature. More than the most efficient means to deliver the maximum profit to the house builder, the group also envisioned the creation of affordable middle class neighborhoods that belonged to their location and facilitated community, linking residents to their homes in powerful

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[92] Letter written by Stein on 13 May 1917, included in Kermit C. Parsons, ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 89.

physical, social and spiritual ways.[93] Not merely dreamers, the diverse members sought to truly reorganize American land use patterns. Although unable to fully realize their broad vision, through their built work, their writing, their advocacy and their direction of several federal agencies, the ideas of this casual convening significantly impacted American development.

Architect Clarence Stein founded the RPAA in 1923, when he brought together a group of professionals, many of whom he had met through Charles Whitaker. Born to the large family of a successful casket-maker in Rochester in 1882, Stein's family moved to New York City when he was an infant and raised him in the Ethical Cultural Society. Founded in 1877 by Felix Adler, the son of the rabbi at New York City's Temple Emanu-El (the leading reform congregation in the country), the society attempted to create a rational movement (explicitly not a faith) that built upon Judaism's ethical and moral principles while stripping away the inherited traditions that distinguished it from America's Christian churches. Stein attended the society's progressive Workman's School, where many of his classmates were scholarship students, children of the working class. Teachers used the city as a teaching tool, with urban life and politics playing key parts in the curriculum. Stein's formative education attuned him to the physical, political and economic functioning of the city and imbued him with sympathy for the working class, esteem for labor and a strong sense of personal responsibility for reform.[94]

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[93] Kermit C. Parsons, "Collaborative Genius; The Regional Planning Association of America," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60/4 (Fall 1994): 478.

[94] Howard B. Radest, Toward Common Ground: The Story of the Ethical Societies in the United States (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1969), 15, id., 37; Parsons, ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein*, xxi.

At sixteen, Stein left the Ethical Cultural School when a traumatic injury recommended his relocation to Florida for recovery. He later returned to New York and worked in his father's casket company, but in 1903 he began taking classes at Columbia University's architecture school. From 1905 until 1912, Stein lived in Paris and studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Upon his return, he joined the office of Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson. Within months, Stein rose to a leading design position, working on several major projects that involved planning and community design; the San Diego World's Fair; the new copper-mining town Tyrone, New Mexico; and several California military bases. During World War One he served in the Army Corps of Engineers. Stein returned to New York following the war, and in 1919, Governor Al Smith named him chairman of the Housing Committee of the Reconstruction Commission of New York State. He became concerned with federal intervention in housing for the "poor and near poor," and began thinking about a forum, what would eventually become the RPAA, that brought together the diverse professions involved in the urban environment, including designers, engineers, sociologists, economists, politicians, union leaders and writers.[95]

Whitaker introduced Stein to a number of like-minded thinkers and the Ethical Cultural Society brought him into contact with others. Stein conceived of this new group as an atelier, a forum for conceptualizing new planning concepts, publicizing viable ideas and organizing the action of local groups. Prominent critic Lewis Mumford moved from literature to the built environment after World War One. An advocate for regional planning, an acquaintance of Thorstein Veblen and an avid follower of Geddes' biologic

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[95] Parsons, ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein*, xxiii, 76. At Tyrone, Stein had to design separate residential sections for whites and Mexicans.

analysis of regional development, Mumford became the mouthpiece for the organization. As a historian/critic, Mumford struggled with the impact of industrialization upon the built environment and joined in a common discussion on the development of a modern architectural expression to fully embody the new age.[96] Beyond buildings, Mumford published books and articles on the improvement of living conditions offered by coordinated planning, part of his larger understanding of man's digestion of the machine.

Frederick Ackerman, respected architect, investigator of British war communities and lead designer for the EFC, also joined the RPAA. Despite training at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Ackerman opposed the strictures that the school's dominant historicism placed on design. A student of Veblen's at the New School of Social Research, Ackerman decried style as a marker for planned obsolescence and also critically examined the system of capitalism and the detrimental effect that the "price system" had upon rational design.[97] As the RPAA's most politically radical member, Ackerman denied the possibility of solving the problem of good planning within the current economic system, and often served as devil's advocate, challenging Stein and Wright's community ideas, providing a healthy counterpoint for the group's discussions.

Member Benton MacKaye was a Harvard-trained forester and naturalist who proposed the forging of the Appalachian Trail as a means to preserve open space, create a string of trail-bound communities and unite a geographic region.[98] Although not involved directly in questions of urban planning, MacKaye's interest speaks to the broad vision

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[96] Parsons, "Collaborative Genius," 462; Hyungmin Pai, *The Portfolio and the Diagram: Achitecture, Discourse , and Modernity in America* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 2002), 138.

[97] Pai, 128.

[98] In "Collaborative Genius," Parsons states that the Appalachian Trail best fit Stein's vision for the RPAA's method -- MacKaye proposed the concept, but local groups accepted his ideas and implemented them as they saw fit.

and ambition of the RPAA. More critical to the specific housing effort, architect Henry Wright, the son of an accountant, was the RPAA's leading economic analyst, who excelled at figuring the impact of interest rates and technological improvements on housing costs.[99] In the late 1920's Wright and Stein forged a partnership, designing several residential complexes and communities that embodied and defined RPAA ideals. Realtor Alexander Bing, another Ethical Culturalist and RPAA member, founded the City Housing Corporation in order to finance Stein and Wright's projects.

Many other members contributed to the dialog and action of the RPAA. Lawyer Charles Ascher worked for the City Housing Corporation, writing the specific codes and provisions necessary for communities that shared open space. Clarence Perry published the simplified outlines of the "neighborhood unit," the model residential district that intertwined physical and social planning and formed the basis of Stein and Wright's community-building work (Figure 1-40). RPAA member and Ethical Culturalist Robert Kohn was a leading New York architect who co-authored the architectural standards for the EFC and USHC and directed the EFC housing program (and eventually served as the first director of the PWA's HD). As an early advocate for intervention in low-rent housing and planning issues, rather than building code improvement, Edith Elmer Wood was frequently associated with the RPAA. Catherine Bauer joined the group later in the 1920's, and became immensely important as co-author of 1937's permanent public housing legislation. Architects Frederick Bigger and Henry Churchill belonged to the group and went on to play significant roles in the development of planning and housing

[99] Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's*, 42.

in Pittsburgh and New York City, respectively.[100] Member Tracy Augur became chief regional planner for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). RPAA members explored the full spectrum of planning, but most coalesced around the idea of community design.

The RPAA discussed an independent Garden City that embodied distinctly American, coordinated, communal planning ideals, and Stein christened this new concept a "Regional City," to distinguish it from a British Garden City. Rather than diving headfirst into that rather large project, however, Stein and Wright decided to begin by constructing a housing complex within New York City that used Regional City ideas to improve upon current garden apartment examples. In 1924, Bing formed the City Housing Corporation and purchased seventy-seven acres of land in Queens for the construction of Sunnyside Gardens.[101] Stein and Wright planned the tract, with Stein as chief architect and Ackerman as residential architect. The borough refused to close the street grid, so the group developed improved housing on the one-block module (Figure 1-41). Breaking up the perimeter-building garden apartment form, they built low-rise row houses and garden apartments around well-scaled communal interior courtyards. A mix of unit types distinguished the complex and allowed for a varied occupancy representing the spectrum of life; single people, families and the elderly. In some respects, Stein and Wright merely digested the garden apartment form so that both interior and exterior

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[100] Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 32; John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller, "The Planning Technician as Urban Visionary: Frederick Bigger and American Planning, 1881-1963," *Journal of Planning History* 1/2 (June 2002): 128. Albert Farwell Bemis' *The Evolving House: Volume III, Rational Design* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1933), was a leading source on the mechanism of construction systems in the 1930's.

[101] Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 21-35 passim.

spaces were more usable for the individual. Banishing traffic from these rear spaces, Stein and Wright created landscaped, auto-free spaces within the busy city.[102]

Architecturally, the houses at Sunnyside Gardens are simple but substantial masonry buildings, expressing variation with cast-stone and alternative brick coursing; gable and flat roofs alternate throughout the complex. Simplified wooden entryways, porches and balustrades imbue the complex with a restrained colonial revival style, reflective of the current struggle to evolve beyond historicism (Figure 1-42). In addition to the ample open spaces, Stein and Wright set aside a three-acre park and converted an existing house into a community center to foster a thriving community. Despite these plentiful amenities, careful, economic planning and design made the houses at Sunnyside Gardens affordable to mechanics, clerks, salesmen and other non-professionals, members of the lower middle-class rarely targeted by developers. Long-time resident Mumford stated "So, though our means were modest, we contrived to live in an environment where space, sunlight, order, color – these essential ingredients for either life or art –were constantly present, silently molding all of us."[103]

With their success at Sunnyside, Stein and Wright and the City Housing Corporation turned to the larger effort of creating a full Regional City. In 1928 they purchased two square miles of New Jersey farmland adjacent to a railroad station, sixteen miles outside of New York City. Opened in 1929, Radburn became the City Housing Corporation's (and by extension the RPAA's) definitive work. Planning for apartments,

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[102] At Sunnyside Gardens, rear yards were divided into slices and owned by adjacent resident, but an easement kept the space accessible to all. After the forty-year easement expired, residents of several of the blocks opted to divide up this space for private use. Currently, however, there is pressure to return these areas to their designed openness.

[103] Stein, *Toward New Housing*, 27.

semidetached and single-family brick and clapboard homes, Stein and Wright targeted a varied, but generally wealthier group than the occupants of Sunnyside Gardens.[104] Intending to create a large city, Stein and Wright began with the construction of the first "neighborhood unit" of approximately 350 houses, with a commercial and civic center near the train station and an elementary school at the center.[105]

In the 1920's, automobiles killed more than one child a day in New York City alone, a dramatic testament to the inability of the city's grid to accommodate both people and their increasingly numerous and speedy vehicles.[106] Stein and Wright took this central conflict as the inspiration for their design.

> The backbone of all our cities and towns has been the highways, the means of getting from place to place. In this New Town the backbone of the community will be the parks. All houses will face on gardens. Every child will be able to walk to school without crossing a single road. Every house will be within a minute's walk of a park as wide as a New York City block. Here the little tots may amuse themselves in the sand. Here the younger children may play in safety. Here the grown children and adults may enjoy themselves with tennis, quoits or other sports, and here those who want quiet and escape from the mad movement of the automobile may walk for a mile or more in parks out of sight of highways.[107]

More so than Parker and Unwin's Garden City, the Regionalist City fought to tame and control the automobile. Stein and Wright created separate circulation systems for people and their cars (Figure 1-43). With only one existing through-road circling the edges of the site, narrow residential roads wind around, with cul-de-sacs branching off. These cul-

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[104] Ibid., 37-73; Plunz, 205.

[105] The City Housing Corporation failed in the Great Depression, keeping Bing, Stein and Wright from constructing more sections of Radburn.

[106] Arthur Clarence Perry, "The Neighborhood Unit," *Neighborhood and Community Planning* Regional Survey 7 (1929): 30.

[107] Clarence Stein, "Notes on the New Town Planned for the CHC," written 13 January 1928. Included in *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 150.

de-sacs protrude into the central green space, lined by houses that also serve as barriers between the streets and the central gardens. With their garages and service spaces at the rear, main facades look into open green space. Site elements and the interior arrangement of the houses make the garden-side door the formal entry into the house, with the primary views facing in that direction, creating a strong visual and physical connection with the green, auto-free expanses. Pedestrian tunnels and overpasses connect these flowing open spaces to tennis courts, swimming pools and other amenities, encouraging the use of these pedestrian zones (Figure 1-44). Using a half-mile as the maximum practical walking distance, all paths ultimately flow toward the elementary school, placed prominently on a rise of land at the end of the largest open lawn. With Stein and Wright as town planners, Ackerman reprised his role as residential architect and was joined by garden apartment pioneer Andrew Thomas and James Renwick Thomson. The similar design team assured that the architecture at Radburn resembles Sunnyside, with sturdy buildings marked by modest colonial revival details, balancing harmony and variety.

In 1929, Clarence Perry articulated his "neighborhood unit" theory, which built upon the RPAA discussions as well as Sunnyside and the plans for Radburn. Perry proposed that, while unrecognized politically, the neighborhood was an important functional system that shaped daily life, particularly for child-rearing families whom depended upon their locale for good schools, convenient shops, safe play spaces and other facilities. Recognizing and planning for these "neighborhood units" was necessary to assure their functionality. Automobile traffic was transforming the city as highways and broadways cut through the city with the permeability of solid walls. These new

barriers must be located in coordination with the neighborhoods they were, in essence, creating. Perry proposed six principles for the design of good neighborhood units:

> 1. *Size* – A residential unit development should provide housing for that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, its actual area depending upon density.
> 2. *Boundaries* – The unit should be bounded on all sides by arterial streets, sufficiently wide to facilitate bypassing all through traffic.
> 3. *Open Spaces* – A system of small parks and recreation spaces, planned to meet the needs of the particular neighborhood, should be provided.
> 4. *Institution Sites* – Sites for the school and other institutions that have service spheres coinciding with the limits of the unit should be suitably grouped around a central point, or common.
> 5. *Local Shops* – One or more shopping districts, adequate for the population to be served, should be laid out in the circumference of the unit, preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to similar districts of adjoining neighborhoods.
> 6. *Internal Street System* – the unit should be provided with a special street system, each highway being proportioned to its probable traffic load, and the street net as a whole being designed to facilitate circulation within the unit and to discourage its use by through traffic.[108]

Scalable to an urban neighborhood or an independent suburb, these principles were a flexible tool that remains influential to urban planners.

In 1930, Stein and Wright collaborated on Chatham Village, a suburban enclave in Pittsburgh that adapted Radburn's traffic-exclusion plan to a hilly site, improving it in its simplicity. Stein went on to create other community plans, particularly for the PWA Greenbelt program, but Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn were formative design experiences, and these two projects became the key precedents for the HD. Sunnyside provided the opportunity to design within the city grid, to explore the economics of dense urban development and the improvements offered by coordinated planning. At Radburn, Stein and Wright had free rein to develop their own circulation system. Houses became

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[108] Perry, 34-35.

barriers, protecting expansive traffic-free exterior spaces that offered rich amenities, providing locales for the development of a thriving community life and blending nature and city in an ideal manner. The projects of the HD used these examples as guiding images, but compromised Stein and Wright's ideal community vision with economic strictures and the realities of slum clearance.

In 1931, investment brought Stein (working without Wright), back to the beginning, Sunnyside Gardens. The City Housing Corporation had left several blocks vacant during the building campaign, including a large, square site along the railroad tracks, north of the main section (see Figure 1-41). The Society of Phipps Houses now owned the land. An organization devoted to the "Philanthropy and Five Percent" campaign, it normally built apartments for laborers on Manhattan but desired to diversify with a complex for clerical workers.[109] Sixteen four-story walk-up buildings and four six-story elevator buildings completely wrap around the perimeter of the block (Figure 1-45). First floor entryways provide street access for the landscaped courtyard at the center of the block. Turning away from the street, building entrances face onto the inner courtyard, making it a space of central importance for all residents (Figure 1-46). Each of the buildings was fifty feet wide, and the buildings covered nearly forty-five percent of the site. Sunnyside had been primarily composed of row house units, and Phipps gave Stein an opportunity to study efficient apartment design. In the walk-ups, units occupied the full width of the building, giving them at least two window faces and allowing cross ventilation. All units faced directly onto a stairhall, eliminating inefficient hallways. In the six-story elevator buildings, elevators and stairs were paired on each floor to create a

[109] Stein, 87.

modest foyer, off which all units opened. The cost of the elevator and the need for second stairwell exits complicated the floor plans and convinced Stein they were rarely worth the extra rents additional floors garnered (Figure 1-47). Phipps residents were allowed to join the Sunnyside Gardens private park on their next block, and basement rooms provided space for a nursery and other amenities. The Phipps Garden Apartments allowed Stein to study apartment design, and Phipps, along with the contemporaneous Hillside Homes (see Chapter 2), would prove influential to HD designers.

Conclusions

The PWA HD's program can be seen as the end result of a century of urban housing reform. For generations, reformers of all types had proposed, and occasionally succeeded in improving living conditions for the poor. The NHA's building code campaign most likely achieved the greatest overall improvement, making conditions slightly better nationally. Many other reformers (Octavia Hill, Darius Mills, Alfred Treadway White) developed solutions that promised substantially better conditions but failed to gain widespread acceptance, only improving life for the lucky few residents.

The HD's program occurred at a specific moment, when these reformers recognized common cause with architects and planners with a positive, new vision for residential planning. Rather than Waterlow units for the poor, or garden apartments for union members, Stein, Wright and the other members of the RPAA were re-envisioning the process of urban development across the economic scale. At Sunnyside Gardens, Radburn and Chatham Village, these men built versions of their Regional City -- entirely new communities that compromised the pedestrian and the car, the urban and the rural to

create dense, efficient towns that responded to European urban planning developments in a particularly American way. These disparate reformers realized that scaling their architectural vision to meet low-rent economics would produce, rather than cramped, apologetically compromised versions of middle-class standards, entirely new types of communities that were actually more beautiful and livable for all. The HD's promise of federal funding for such an effort allowed the realization of this vision at a vast scale, illustrating its value and setting precedents for all future housing.

Chapter 2: The Housing Division's Limited Dividend Program

> In our modern industrial civilization, the distribution of income is such that a substantial portion of the population cannot pay commercial rent, much less a commercial purchase price, for a home fulfilling the minimum health and decency requirements. This is not a local or transitory phenomenon. It is universal and permanent...[1]

For at least fifty years, beginning in the late nineteenth century, American Progressives made urban slum reform a staple of concern and action. Architects were involved in these efforts, developing plans for ideal tenements (such as the dumbbell plan), but designers played only an auxiliary role in a movement that focused on expanding building codes and improving their enforcement. Primarily concerned with housing as it related to health and welfare, these reformers can be understood as *sanitarians*. After World War One (WWI), the National Housing Association (NHA) and its focus on building codes began to fade into irrelevance as the codes became widely accepted and social reformers like Edith Elmer Wood presented slum housing as a consequence of larger economic issues. Wood called for more fundamental change in the system in order to eliminate, rather than simply ameliorate, the slum. Separately, during the 1920's, architects and planners, particularly those involved with the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), developed the Regional City, a model for improved residential development for all Americans. Aware of poor urban conditions, Regional City planners were driven, not by a *sanitarian* concern for health, but by a vision of residential planning that would improve life for all. In the early 1930's, *sanitarians* and *regionalist* planners began to recognize a common interest and in 1933,

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[1] Edith Elmer Wood, *Recent Trends in American Housing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 1.

New Deal funding created an opportunity for these two groups come together to build on their ideas.[2] *Sanitarian* social understanding merged with the *regionalist* vision to create new urban developments.

Sanitarians, descendants of the NHA and the late nineteenth-century Progressives, believed improved housing (of any kind) would effect change upon its inhabitants.[3] Links between dim, dank quarters and tuberculosis, or between narrow alleyways and crime were extrapolated to suggest that the physical environment of the slum perpetrated and abetted in its own miseries. *Regionalists*, who sought to adapt European examples for American use, were similarly attuned to the ability of the physical environment to affect conditions and behavior. It was this sense of environmental determinism that linked these groups, but while *sanitarians* worked to improve the slum, *regionalists* envisioned a means to improve residential development for all.

The 1920's were a prosperous time for the wealthy, but rising costs left most working class families struggling to maintain their standard of living. Residential construction focused on middle class, infrastructure-intensive bungalows, leaving those below the middle class with an aging stock of cheaply-built residences, old tenements or haphazardly-sectioned larger houses.[4] The decade's affluence did not filter down and *sanitarians* continued their decades-long campaign to bring attention to the problem.

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[2] John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920 1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 5. Bauman originally defined the two groups as the *sanitarians* and the *commutarians*, but I have replaced *commutarian* with *regionalist*, to simplify terminology and emphasize the group's connection to the RPAA.

[3] Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 127.

[4] Joseph Bigott. *From Cottage to Bungalow: Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago*, 1869-1929 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001), 50.

The fiscal crisis begun in 1929, however, dramatically increased the number of people feeling economically strapped and raised popular interest in the problems of substandard housing. The Great Depression virtually halted residential construction, stalling the process of residential succession and increasing overcrowding as populations continued to grow (albeit at a slower rate). Nationally, there were only 254,000 home starts in 1931, a decline of seventy-three percent from 1925's peak. Residential construction expenditures plummeted more than ninety percent between 1925 and 1933.[5] Cash shortages caused owners to defer repair projects and as incomes and rents fell, landlords halted maintenance as well.[6] Evictions left some houses vacant and destitute families doubled up to save rents. With minimal maintenance and more residents, existing slums deteriorated more quickly and previously adequate housing fell into disrepair. Urban slums gained the most attention but the rural poor also suffered from poor and deteriorated housing stock. The depression awoke many people to the existence of the slum and it left many professionals out of work. Realtors, bankers, financiers, architects and planners turned to the reform of the residential housing market to occupy time left empty by the near-collapse of the building industry. Many working families regarded their poor living conditions as one of their chief problems, cause of personal difficulties and a clear example of capitalism's inefficiencies. Even *Little Orphan Annie* and Daddy Warbucks found themselves living in a slum while hard luck and a nefarious plot forced Daddy to work as a day laborer.

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[5] "Building Forecast for 1937," *Architectural Forum* 66/1 (January 1937): 3.

[6] Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 86.

In 1932, President Hoover's Secretary of Commerce, Roy Lyman Wilbur, stated that if the private sector failed to remedy "the evil of the slums, housing by public authority was inevitable."[7] As the depression stagnated, the professional and popular press began taking notice of the growing housing problem and calling on the federal government to find solutions.

From 1925 to 1928, a period in which building starts declined, but attracted little attention, the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* included twenty-eight articles on housing in general and just five articles on public housing in particular. From 1929 until June 1932, however, the *Reader's Guide* listed forty-five articles on housing, three on housing legislation and nineteen on public housing in particular.

Lower cost apartment design captured the attention of the architectural press. In 1928, *Architectural Record* devoted its March issue to questions of apartment house design, suggesting the growing economic and social import of multiple-unit housing. Subsequently, *Architectural Record* annually devoted its March issue to apartment design. Henry Wright, site planner of Sunnyside and Radburn, authored several articles in the 1920's, outlining the specific design challenges posed by upper class apartment houses. In the early 1930's, the focus of apartment design shifted to middle and lower income units. The 1932 issue led with Wright's article "How Can Apartment Facilities Be Provided For the Lower-Income Groups", followed by " The Need For A New Housing Economy" by L. Seth Schnitman. The 1933 issue tracked the "Progress in Housing," discussing ongoing low-rent housing projects as well as efforts to survey and

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[7] *Slums, Large-scale Housing and Decentralization: Reports of the Committees on Blighted Areas and Slums, President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership*, by Abram Garfield, chairman of large-scale operations (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 155, quoted in Radford, 88.

identify slum areas across the nation. 1935's issue devoted itself wholly to the Housing Division's built work and design guidelines.

In the early 1930's the architecture profession turned to the cause of housing reform, and slowly developed common cause with *sanitarians* and others interested in the issue. By 1919, Veiller's NHA had largely conquered the battle of building codes and some members chafed under its limited agenda. In 1931, a group of *sanitarians* established the Public Housing Conference (renamed the National Public Housing Conference in 1932), as a pressure group to advance the cause of housing beyond code enforcement.[8] The National Public Housing Conference (NHPC) was founded by social workers Helen Alfred and Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch and lawyers Louis H. Pink and Ira Robbins. Simkhovitch was a personal friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Robert Wagner and other powerful New Yorkers. Alfred dedicated herself to the cause of governmental housing reform as the most efficient way to eliminate poor conditions. Several members knew Harold Ickes and he followed the organization's development and positions.[9] Inspired by member Edith Elmer Wood's writing on the topic, the group advocated for permanent government involvement in low-rent housing.[10] Alfred and Wood, in particular, wrote articles and spoke to groups, illustrating the connection between poor housing and other social ills. They worked to make social workers, unions, nurses, doctors, criminologists, economists, architects and many others aware of housing's connection to their particular concerns.

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[8] Timothy L. McDonnell S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), 54.

[9] Ibid., 55.

[10] The NPHC celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2006, and continues work with the federal government and corporate partners to increase the supply of affordable housing in the United States.

In this same period, economists and businessmen turned to housing to improve market conditions. Home construction contributed to economic stability and many analysts believed that the resuscitation of the residential construction industry would be the most effective way to end the depression.[11] In December 1931, President Hoover held the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Organized by the Department of Commerce, the conference gathered farmers, architects, contractors and financiers, among others, to discuss all aspects of the current housing problem.[12] In meetings, these experts developed broad solutions to the nation's housing problem. Called by a conservative president and attended by many real estate men and contractors, the conference remained dedicated to private enterprise. Even liberals like economist Richard Ely stated that he and his fellow committeemen were "unanimous in their opposition to the construction of homes with public funds."[13]

Rather than direct action, the President's conference led to the establishment of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which provided support to credit and home-finance institutions and worked to curtail mortgage failures. In addition, the administration created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to provide five percent interest loans with an amortization period of ten years for companies interested in building low-rent housing that limited the expected dividends on investment.[14] Largely modeled on the existing New York program (See Chapter 1), the RFC required the establishment of a

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[11] Radford, 86. Between 1922 and 1926, when house-building was at its peak, non-farm dwelling construction accounted for 38% of net capital formation in the US.

[12] Hoover announced the conference on 15 September 1931, modeling it on the November 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

[13] Radford, 87.

[14] House Committee on Financial Services, *A Chronology of Housing Legislation and Selected Executive Actions, 1892-2003*, report prepared by Congressional Research Service, 108 Cong., March 2004, 3.

state housing oversight board. Although seemingly modest in scope, the RFC carried with it major aspirations. The small-scale nature of residential construction meant that a higher proportion of its construction costs were devoted to labor. Economists felt the RFC program could invigorate private investment, kick-start dormant supply industries and dump cash directly into laborers' pockets. Improved housing was merely a secondary benefit from a program crafted to drag the construction industry out of hibernation.

New York had legislation in place to administer the RFC program and thirteen other states passed versions of New York's limited dividend law soon after Congress approved the program. Significantly, however, none of the other states included New York's property tax exemption.[15] The low interest loan and the long amortization period proved insufficient financial incentive, and in thirteen months of operation the division awarded only two loans: one for approximately $150,000 for houses in rural Kansas and a second for $8,000,000 for Knickerbocker Village in New York City.

John C. VanWart, of the Fred K. French Company and Frederick Ackerman, member of the RPAA, designed Knickerbocker Village, which was originally planned as a private housing development on the scale of French's earlier Tudor City. French lost his financial backing in the depression and he turned to the new RFC program to save his investment. Built on a slum site on the Lower East Side, the block was, in fact, the notorious "Lung Block," a section of dilapidated mansions divided into small units and

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[15] Harold S. Buttenheim, "The Relation of Housing to Taxation: Low-Cost Housing and Slum Clearance -- A Symposium," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 1/2 (March 1934): 203. In 1933, California, Florida, Illinois passed limited dividend legislation without mentioning the issue of taxes. Ohio, Arkansas, Kansas, South Carolina, Delaware, North Carolina, Texas, Massachusetts and Virginia stated that provisions of corporate law applied to the tax status of limited dividend projects. Initially, New Jersey provided a tax exemption but repealed it in December 1933. In Pennsylvania, Governor Gifford Pinchot attempted to pass legislation approving the provisions necessary to begin a limited dividend program, but he was defeated by the state legislature. McDonnell, 32.

infill shacks that boasted the highest rate of tuberculosis in the city at the beginning of the twentieth century.[16] The project demolished the pestilential site and constructed a dense garden apartment complex. Like earlier examples, Knickerbocker Village had just two winding, twelve-story buildings that hugged the perimeter of the block (Figure 2-1). Doughnut-shaped, each building enclosed a courtyard and a long playground ran between them (Figure 2-2). The twelve-story buildings, however, failed to establish a human scale, towering over and shading open areas. Federal officials opposed the height but French convinced them of its economic necessity. Most housing advocates, however, agreed that the complex was cramped and plagued with the high rents of a for-profit enterprise. Rather than relying on the familiar perimeter building formula, critics argued that lower buildings and smaller open spaces would have produced the same number of units and more usable open spaces.[17]

The RFC failed to reverse the tide of the Great Depression. In 1932, the construction industry slipped deeper into its coma: nationally, housing starts halved from the previous year. During the presidential election of that year, President Hoover ran a modest campaign that suggested the economic system would heal itself imminently.[18] Meanwhile, New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt vigorously promised action and change, a "New Deal for America." Allied to a group of academics known as the Brains Trust or Brain Trust, Roosevelt promised reform and the use of the government to actively shape the market rather than relying on Capitalism's inherent resilience.

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[16] "East Side 'Village' To Replace Slums," *New York Times*, 15 December 1931, 51; Phillip Lopate, *Waterfront: A Journey Around Manhattan* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2004), 275.

[17] Knickerbocker Village later became home to the Rosenbergs, and it was from their small apartment there that they were arrested for treason. Plunz, 210.

[18] Radford, 88; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Crisis of the Old Order: 1919-1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 431.

Roosevelt's dynamism proved more attractive than Hoover's grim determinism and hr rode to the White House in a landslide, winning nearly seventy percent of the popular vote and 472 electoral votes.

The RFC program set a precedent for a federal role in housing and increased popular and political interest demanded a national forum on the issue. In September 1932, journalist John Millar began publishing *Millar's Housing Letter*, a weekly newsletter that presented current housing issues. Millar, previously employed by *The Business Week*, lacked specialized housing expertise but believed that a periodical dedicated to housing policy would prove worthwhile and marketable. Within a few months, subscribers included philanthropists, financial institutions, city planners, real estate managers, construction firms, material suppliers, local officials and architects.[19] While suited to informing reformers in Oklahoma or Florida about successful methods of housing improvement in New York, *Millar's Housing Letter* was most critical for keeping a national audience abreast of the many, quickly-developing federal housing programs and policies of Roosevelt's New Deal.

Typically, one lead article and a number of announcements and updates composed each weekly issue of the *Letter*. Addressing subscribers from all sides of the housing issue, *Millar's* covered the full range of New Deal housing programs, including financing and loan programs for home owners, the Limited Dividend (LD) program, the Direct Build (DB) program and the Resettlement and Homestead programs. While generally supporting federal intervention, *Millar's Housing Letter* also included articles from those

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[19] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/1 (3 September 1932). Throughout its history, *Millar's Housing Letter* occasionally published lists of subscribers.

opposed to federal support in principle and in particular and offered suggestions and criticism on housing programs. Although only in existence for two years, *Millar's Housing Letter*, published during the chaotic, early days of the New Deal, reported on and shaped the housing programs.[20] On 15 January 1935, less than two months after *Millar's Housing Letter* apparently closed, the NHPC began publishing the monthly *Public Housing Progress*, replacing it as the national publication of housing reform.

As the NHPC worked with politicians and *Millar's* publicized housing reform, in New York, members of the RPAA established a central location for the study of housing. In 1933, Albert Mayer, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright formed the Housing Study Guild in New York City. An outgrowth of the RPAA, the guild operated on grants from the Lavanburg Foundation and the Housing Association of New York. It opened a library and reading room on Park Avenue. Stocked with texts on the international housing movement as well as American particularities, the Guild served as a clearinghouse for information, provided space for those pursuing *regionalist* research and served as publisher for topical pamphlets and books.[21]

The NHPC, *Millar's Housing Letter* and the Housing Study Guild illustrate the solidification of a national, activist housing movement between 1931 and 1933, marking general recognition for the need of some government regulation to solve the serious problems of urban housing. They also represent a new moment in the struggle for reform housing; the convergence of the *sanitarian* concern for health and the *regionalist* vision

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[20] For example, *Millar's Housing Letter* consistently called for a need for conditions surveys of slums in every city. Mentions appeared about approving New Deal funds to undertake these surveys, and the Civil Works Administration soon adopted surveys as part of their mission.

[21] Housing Study Guild records are currently held at the Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections. The collection index also includes a brief history of the organization.

for reform. Significantly, this vision, which venerated the creation of traffic-free landscaped gardens, was not understood as compromise housing for the economically disadvantaged, but rather as the optimum urban housing solution for people of all classes. Federal support would allow these complexes to be built nationally, as models of ideal housing. Their role as low rent units was incidental and, while not contradictory to their purpose, was not integral to their design.

Federal Reform Begins, The Limited Dividend Program

Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office on a cloudy 4 March 1933. Having run on the promise of a "New Deal for America," the former New York governor faced a nation still caught in economic free-fall. National income and industrial production were both less than half of their 1929 figures, nearly one-quarter of the workforce lacked employment and housing starts had continued to decline, now a tenth of their 1925 high. Half of all homes were technically in default and two million people (nearly two percent of the national population) were homeless.[22] Roosevelt's 1933 inaugural speech made it clear that he had a number of reforms already in mind: revisions to the banking system, the stabilization of currency, national planning and de-urbanization. The speech also left space in his agenda for an expansion of federal control into other areas.

> It is to be hoped that the normal balance of Executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.[23]

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[22] Schlesinger, *The Coming of the New Deal*, 3. To compare, 2000 estimates suggest that at least three million people are homeless for at least one night per year, or one percent of the US population.

[23] Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1933.

After his inauguration, President Roosevelt called an emergency session of Congress and began developing a series of massive bills to relieve unemployment, reform institutions and reassure fearful investors; the beginning of his promised New Deal. Mary Simkhovitch, founding member of the NPHC and director of New York's Greenwich House, wanted to housing added to the growing New Deal agenda. In early June, she traveled to Washington D.C., and after consultation with Father John O'Grady (secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities), the pair approached New York Senator Robert Wagner to propose a housing program for inclusion in the new legislation. A powerful senator and a leading supporter of the New Deal, Wagner had also been raised in the slums of New York City, suggesting his sympathy for the cause.[24] The small group "managed to smuggle low-rent housing into the Federal fold by hiding it in one of the capacious subsections of the National Industrial Recovery Act."[25]

On 16 June 1933, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), at the end of Roosevelt's Hundred Days, a season of bills that revolutionized the federal government's role in American life. The NIRA, among the most controversial, included two sections: Title I eliminated antitrust provisions to allow greater corporate efficiency. The less divisive Title II created the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) to fund a massive construction program across the country.[26] Title II, Section 202 (d) directed the Public Works administrator to develop a program for the "construction,

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[24] McDonnell, 29: for further information on Senator Wagner, see J. Joseph Huthmacher's *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York: Athenaeum, 1971).

[25] "The Housing Problem Comes of Age," *Architectural Forum* 37/5 (May 1937): 462.

[26] Hugh Gregory Gallagher, *Nothing to Fear: FDR in Photographs* (Clearwater FL: Vandamere Press, 2001), 68.

reconstruction, alteration, or repair under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects..."[27]

The NIRA provision marked a sharp break in attitudes toward federal involvement in housing. Just eighteen months earlier, attendees of all political persuasion at Hoover's home building conference opposed direct federal support, but the election of 1932 brought new, urban-oriented legislators to Congress. Roosevelt's cabinet appointees and the desperate mood of the nation demanded quick and dramatic action. This sense of emergency begins to explain the loose wording of the NIRA housing provision and the sudden openness to federal participation in a full range of "low-cost housing" activities. The RFC program chiefly intended to foster construction work, but the NIRA bill opened the government to housing construction without a specific tie to economic stimulus. It also explicitly linked low-cost housing and slum clearance for the first time.

This link, which would prove fateful for public housing throughout its lifetime, was a contentious one in the housing community. *Sanitarians*, who focused on the health threat of the slums, could not help but advocate for their elimination. *Regionalists*, however, calculated that the high costs of urban land acquisition would drive up housing costs and preferred to build at the inexpensive edges of the city.[28] Slum clearance, however, was also of popular interest to many city dwellers and proved a powerful aspect of the program that garnered it support from many other groups.

Buried within a much larger bill, the housing provision was also understood as part of the temporary, emergency PWA program, deflecting opposition from many

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[27] National Industrial Recovery Act, Statutes at Large 48, title II, sec. 202, d (1933).

[28] Kermit C. Parsons, ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 134.

entrenched interest groups that opposed federal involvement in housing. After WWI, groups like the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the United States Building and Loan League, the National Retail Lumber Dealers Association and the National Chamber of Commerce advocated for the immediate sale of the emergency housing constructed for war workers, calling the program itself an imposition on the American tradition of private home construction. The urgency behind Roosevelt's New Deal, however, weakened this opposition and solidified support for the program.

On 8 July, twenty-two days after the passage of the NIRA and two days before Roosevelt officially named Harold Ickes head of the PWA, Robert Kohn was appointed leader of the federal government's relief housing programs. A prominent New York architect, during WWI Kohn directed housing production for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. As one of the few architects in the United States who had managed a large-scale governmental housing program, this alone qualified Kohn to direct the PWA's Housing Division (HD). He was also a professional leader and a lauded designer. He served as President of the American Institute of Architects during the desperate period from 1930-1932.[29] His best-known built work was New York City's Congregation Emanu-El (1927-29), the country's flagship Jewish Reform branch congregation (Figure 2-3). The powerful building strips Romanesque elements to their essentials, overscaling the entrance porch to fill the entire main façade. More than a politician, an administrator or an engineer, Kohn was a respected modern designer and a leader in his profession.

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[29] Both the leaders of the World War One war worker's housing programs headed the HD. Robert Kohn led the Emergency Fleet Corporation's housing efforts while Frederick Ackerman as chief designer for the group, see Richard M. Candee and Greer Hardwicke, "Early Twentieth Century Reform Housing by Kilham and Hopkins, Architects of Boston," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22/1 (Spring 1987), 67.

In addition to his professional credentials, Kohn was a lifelong member of Felix Adler's Ethical Culture Movement, a founding member of the RPAA, and architectural mentor and a frequent collaborator of Clarence Stein. Kohn and Stein worked together on the design and construction of the Bronx campus of the Ethical Culture Society's Fieldston School (1926) and the pair collaborated on the campus of the Riverdale Country School (1929), located near Fieldston on the banks of the Hudson. These two campuses gave the pair the opportunity to design large complexes with programmed exterior spaces. In addition, Stein worked with Kohn on the Emmanu-El design and Kohn contributed to the street plan at Radburn.[30] Clearly, Kohn understood Stein's *regionalist* approach, and his selection suggests Ickes generally supported their well-known ideas.

Administrator Ickes quickly established the HD within his still-forming PWA. Ickes divided the nation into ten regions, headed by a director who managed all the PWA projects in the area. Housing, however, was placed outside this framework, with Kohn given full authority for the national program, to be supported but not directed by the regional administrators. Rather than developing a new approach to low-rent housing, Ickes simply liberalized the earlier RFC program. Under the provisions of his LD program, private groups could apply for eighty-five percent loans at four to five percent interest rates, with twenty-five to thirty-five year amortization periods. The program offered more advantages for public groups, which could receive thirty percent grants and seventy percent loans with the same low interest rates and long-term amortization

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[30] Kermit C. Parsons, "Collaborative Genius; The Regional Planning Association of America," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60/4 (Fall 1994): 465; *Architectural Forum* 55/8 (August 1931): 132; Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1997), 952; "Model Town of Radburn," *New York Times*, 17 March 1929, RE:13.

periods, amounting to full financial support for construction (Table 2-I). A state housing board reviewed all groups accepting the low-interest loans for the purposes of "public regulation and control."[31] The state board assured rents stayed low and private groups earned no more than six percent profit. Despite full coverage for public projects, in June 1933 no state had provisions for the creation of such bodies. It was expected that these public groups, or authorities, would develop in response to the program, but only private projects were initially expected. Ickes' LD program compromised between real estate and reform interests by accommodating both public and private applicants. The favorable terms, however, encouraged the development of public housing groups, sewing the seeds for a permanent federal role in housing.

As the project took shape, Kohn began discussions with architects and planners. In July, he met with leading city planners, including Harland Bartholomew, Russell Van Nest Black, Jacob Crane, and John Nolen. John Nolen was renowned as the designer of cities like Mariemount, Ohio and St. Louis planner Bartholomew lectured and wrote specifically on slum clearance.[32] Kohn established a consulting group to work with the HD that included Bartholomew, Black, Crane, Nolen and social work and housing icon Edith Elmer Wood. Clarence Stein, Kohn's frequent collaborator and principal author of the Regional City, also advised.

In staffing his HD, Kohn inherited some members of the old RFC but in the summer of 1933, he hired a number of new men (Figure 2-4). Charles E. Pynchon, a successful sales manager and neighbor of Ickes in Winnetka became Assistant Director,

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[31] Ralph K. Chase, "The Drafting of Housing Legislation: Low-Cost Housing and Slum Clearance -- A Symposium," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 1/2 (March 1934): 185.

[32] Michael W. Straus, and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 77; *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/6 (19 November 1932): 3.

but he left in May 1934 to lead the Subsistence Homesteads Program. N. Max Dunning, who had worked with Kohn in the construction of WWI workers' housing, was also named assistant director.[33] Kohn established four main sections for the HD: Planning, Property Acquisition, Legal and Construction. Frederick Ackerman, designer of First Houses, Knickerbocker Village and a fellow member of the RPAA, served as Chief of Planning.[34] George Warnecke led the Property Acquisition Division. Initially, C.E. Maw served as head of the HD's Legal Division, with expertise in land assemblage, but Ralph K. Chase soon replaced him. Harold Hynds was appointed head of the Construction Section, but Eugene Klaber, one of the designers of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments, took the job at the beginning of 1934. Throughout Kohn's tenure, the HD staff remained small, with fewer than forty employees.[35]

Kohn also developed a roster of consultants to provide specific or local insight and knowledge. Henry Wright and Edith Elmer Wood were among the familiar housers who were consulted.[36] Howard Whipple Green, creator of the Real Property Inventory, agreed to handle issues in Cleveland; Alfred Stern, head of the Rosenwald Foundation,

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[33] Max Dunning and M.D. Carrell to C.E. Pynchon, 15 January 1934, Folder 7, Box 23, Atlanta General Information, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII.

[34] Ackerman remained Kohn's chief assistant until he took a job as technical director of the New York City Housing Authority in March 1934. New York City Housing Authority, Memorandum No. 1, 24 March, 1934 to Housing Division, Public Works Administration and the P.W.A. Emergency Housing Corporation, Folder 7, Box 59 New York City General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[35] Warnecke left HD on 21 May 1934; Langdon Post, Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority to Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Mayor of the City of New York, 28 June 1934, Folder 2, Box 59 New York City General Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Chase, 193; George W. Warneke, "Financing Slum Clearance," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 1/2 (March 1934): 197; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/1 (16 October 1933): 6; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/53 (15 October 1934): 3.

[36] "Appointments are Made," *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (August 1933): 137.

guided efforts in Chicago; Simkhovitch advised on New York City's program.[37] These local consultants were leaders in the field but came from diverse backgrounds, *sanitarians*, *regionalists* and experts unattached to those groups. Simkhovitch, a founding member of the NHPC, was a social worker, primarily devoted to housing improvement, while Stern directed a large philanthropy. Statistician Green was also a prominent, independent figure in the national reform housing community.

Just a month before Congress passed the NIRA, rumors abounded concerning the President's promised New Deal housing program. Cleveland City Councilman Ernest Bohn encouraged the administration to make his city the Tennessee Valley of housing.[38] Just as the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) promised to illustrate the power of comprehensive regional development, Bohn proposed concentrating all housing funds in Cleveland, eliminating the city's slums completely. He claimed a blight-free Cleveland would become a kind of "city on a hill," inspiring a permanent federal program and encouraging other cities to make real changes in urban development. That plan never developed, but it illustrated Cleveland's popular interest in the issue. Motivated by civic pride, enabled by a progressive reform tradition and passionately enunciated by Bohn, Cleveland led the charge for reform housing.

Sensing a rising interest and a need to discuss the practicalities of the LD program and other New Deal housing funding, Bohn and other Clevelanders worked with nationally-known housing reformers to organize the National Conference on Slum Clearance, which took place in Cleveland on 6-7 July 1933, a few weeks after the

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[37] "$851,000 Granted for Prison Works," *New York Times*, 20 July 1933, 9.

[38] "Asks Roosevelt Pick Cleveland," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 21 May 1933, A10:1; "US May Take Over Slum Program Here," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 23 May 1933, 2:3.

passage of the NIRA.[39] The speakers delivered talks on a wide range of topics, including legislation, planning, the practical organization of housing authorities, the need for subsidy in reform housing and case studies of successful programs. Attendees included Harold Buttenheim, the editor of *The American City*; real estate lecturer Ernest Fisher; Horatio Hackett, a construction engineer from Chicago; Charles F. Lewis, director of the Buhl Foundation that funded the RPAA's Chatham Village; planner John Nolen; Alfred Stern and *grande dame* Edith Elmer Wood. The attendees also crossed the divide between the *sanitarians* of the National Housing Association and the *regionalists* of the RPAA. At the meeting, these two groups recognized a common cause and began to understand themselves as a cohesive community. Many speakers and attendees from the conference later worked for the HD and others consulted for the federal group.

In June 1933, *Millar's* began publicizing the National Conference on Low-Cost Housing, to be held 25-27 October, also in Cleveland. Presided over by John Millar, the program discussed four central topics that included both *sanitarian* and *regionalist* interests. The first day, attendees discussed the causes of the general collapse of the construction industry and architectural approaches to modern housing, including garden apartments and rural communities. While participants discussed the advantages and challenges of repair and modernization of existing buildings, new Sunnyside-style garden apartments illustrated the ideal. Talks on the second day focused on financing and how best to work with the developing HD.

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[39] "Agree US Pays or Slum Stays," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 7 July 1933, 1:2; "Puts Housing as First Public Job," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 8 July 1933, 13:1; "Bohn Urges Slum Relief at Capital" *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 13 July 1933, 14:1.

On the evening of that second day, the group established a permanent national organization, the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO). Rather than a pressure group like the NHPC, the NAHO was dedicated to developing legal, financial, architectural and managerial approaches to low-rent housing nationally and the leadership reflected its broad appeal. The group elected Bohn President and Stern Vice President. Charles S. Ascher, attorney for the City Housing Corporation and a member of the Ethical Culture Society, became Secretary and Executive Director. A friend and colleague of Stein, Ascher's position suggests the fundamental importance of *regionalists* to the new group. Men from varied backgrounds and locales composed the five-man executive committee: George Gove served on the New York State Board of Housing, Langdon Post was a housing commissioner in New York City, Horatio Hackett was a construction manager from Chicago, while Bertram Giesecke of Texas represented western housing concerns.[40] Although founded in Cleveland, the NAHO's offices opened in Chicago, near the University of Chicago School of Social Work, the Public Administration Clearinghouse and the *Millar's* offices.

As the NAHO solidified a national housing community, the HD developed a plan of action. Throughout the summer and fall of 1933, Kohn, his consultants and staff traveled the country, promoting the program, educating local groups on the application process and enumerating the HD's priorities. They publicized that modern housing;

> should not be regarded as an aggregation of houses but as complete neighborhoods, planned at one time and carried out to the mutual benefit of every neighbor. Homes should be so located as to have adequate sun and air and plenty of protected play space for children. They should be isolated from and yet quickly available to transportation. They should be

[40] McDonnell, 57.

> within easy and protected walking distance of schools and shops. Buildings should be low and well built and supplied with at least the minimum of mechanical equipment. These communities must be regarded as long-term investments with wise and kindly management and not as speculative developments whose sponsors care only for quick sale and getting out from under.[41]

Kohn's *regionalist* vision compelled and inspired the program. As HD employees spoke throughout the country, newspapers and magazines printed their words and ideas, inspiring and feeding popular interest in the issue.

By mid-August, the HD issued its first important publication, "Circular #4: Information Required with Preliminary Applications for Loans for Low-Cost Housing of Slum Clearance Projects." The publication outlined the LD program's operations and guidelines. Functioning primarily as a loan agency, the division required applicants to provide cost data and livability analysis, but only minimally monitored architectural design. They prohibited buildings over six stories and limited coverage to thirty-five percent.[42] Most importantly, the applicant needed fifteen percent of the project cost in land, cash or loan. The application required land costs, construction costs and expected rents to determine the project's economic viability. The division demanded high quality, durable construction; stipulated the inclusion of private kitchens and bathrooms in each unit and mandated fairly low densities; they set no further architectural requirements.

With Kohn and others speaking across the country, fanning already active public interest flames, a second group in Washington DC reviewed submitted applications. These technicians first referred to the discontinued RFC program to see if any proposed

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[41] Referenced as a quote by the Housing Division in Straus and Wegg, 36.

[42] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/45 (21 August 1933): 1; "Warns Profiteers on Housing Plans," *New York Times*, 11 August 1933, 30.

projects could become economically feasible with the LD program's more generous loans, and they resurrected two applications, one in New York City (Hillside Homes) and another in Philadelphia (Carl Mackley Houses). Although the program limited design review to issues of stability and durability, both of these complexes were designed by financiers and architects fully immersed in the *regionalist* vision and they met much higher design standards than Knickerbocker Village.

The HD's small review staff received 533 LD applications between September and November 1933. Despite the nation-wide educational campaign, most of the applications ignored the HD's minimal standards. Many failed to grasp the basic requirements, requesting loans for musician's studios or personal homes. Others proposed high-rise housing, justified by the high cost of land in urban areas but prohibited by HD policy. After denying these misguided applications, the staff undertook careful examinations of the remaining applications, confirming local figures and refiguring calculations. Most applicants used land as their fifteen percent equity and investigation revealed many inflated valuations; these investments would not qualify them for loans large enough to construct the proposed structures. Shady land deals suggested profiteering by real estate men or developers stuck with unusable land during the economic downturn. Inexperienced applicants often underestimated local construction costs, overestimated rents or undervalued long-term maintenance. Many applications began as private developments that investors hoped to resurrect or unload through the LD program. The over-worked staff frequently dismissed inexperienced groups that made

honest errors.[43] From more than 500 applications, the HD selected just twenty economically sound projects.

Further investigation proved local sponsors for six of the twenty still lacked the required equity.[44] On 20 August, Administrator Ickes approved loans for twelve of those twenty projects, with two more approved by November. Of the fourteen allotted funds, only half (including the two inherited from the RFC), finally qualified for LD loans, as further equity problems disqualified the other seven (Table 2-II). The seven LD projects ultimately constructed vary in terms of setting, size, density and type, illustrating that the initial program aimed for maximum flexibility rather than any specific economic or architectural agenda. Kohn believed that a lack of standardization allowed local groups to create projects that addressed their particular needs and endowed them with greater responsibility.[45] This differs from the later DB program, with its centralized control and commitment to specific, quantifiable planning and architectural principles. The HD did administer LD construction contracts, checking drawings and bids to ensure quality and rejecting some inflated construction bids.

The HD set only minimal architectural guidelines, but three of the seven constructed LD projects followed *regionalist* patterns: Hillside Homes in the Bronx, Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia, and Neighborhood Gardens in St. Louis. Two others used familiar garden apartment arrangements; Boylan Apartments in Raleigh, North

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[43] Straus and Wegg, 36, id., 39; "Warns Profiteers on Housing Plans," *New York Times*, 11 August 1933, 30; Robert D. Kohn, "The Government Housing Program," *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (February 1934): 90.

[44] Straus and Wegg, 38. Just as the more generous limited dividend program inherited two projects from the RFC program, the direct build program began with several limited dividend applications, including the three projects in Cleveland, University Homes in Atlanta and Hill Creek in Philadelphia.

[45] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/52 (9 October 1933): 2; Kohn, 91.

Carolina, and Boulevard Gardens in Queens. The other two, in Alta Vista, Virginia and Euclid, Ohio involved the construction of single-family houses on individual lots for rent or sale, without group site planning. Although the LD program allowed for a variety of economic and architectural interpretations, the *regionalist* pattern best fit LD expectations and was most frequently adopted by applicants.

Not only did Clarence Stein's *regionalist* work influence many of these projects, but also he designed Hillside Homes in the Bronx. The largest of the LD projects, Hillside included 1,416 units on twenty acres in the northern section of the borough, east of the Bronx Zoo and Woodlawn Cemetery. Stein began working on the project in 1931 for the RFC and formed the Hillside Housing Corporation to qualify for the necessary loans. The RFC failed to award the corporation a loan, but the LD staff resurrected the application. Working closely with estimators and contractors, Stein concluded that middle-income rentals of eleven dollars a month could be achieved by obtaining land for one dollar per square foot. Housing reformer Nathan Straus, President of the Hillside Housing Corporation and later director of the United States Housing Authority (USHA), owned a sloping site in the Bronx and agreed to sell it for seventy cents a square foot, and this land became the corporation's equity, qualifying it for a private LD loan.[46]

In the summer of 1932, building on his Sunnyside and Phipps designs, Stein developed plans for four- to six-story courtyard buildings, using the site's natural slope to create basement garden apartments where possible. The city planned four streets to run north-south through the vacant site, and Stein hoped to eliminate all but one street. He

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[46] Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, and Thomas Mellins. *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 100.

designed an enormous winding perimeter building west of the through street and a series of separate courtyard buildings grouped around a large playground east of the street. The LD loan was approved on 16 August 1933, but it became clear that closing the streets was a political impossibility.[47] Instead, Stein reshaped the plan with the four streets, creating five separate blocks each occupied by a single building. Despite the increased division, Stein's revised plan possesses a strong sense of hierarchy and an understanding of the value of both public and private exterior space (Figure 2-5). In the new plan, the central block becomes the focus of the project, with a courtyard building to the north of the central playground, which occupies the southern half of the block. The two blocks on either side each contain two courtyard buildings that enclose private open spaces.

Architecturally, the buildings are simple brick structures with flat roofs hidden behind parapets (Figure 2-6). Complex, decorative brick pilasters soar up the face of the buildings, dividing the facades vertically and marking stairhall locations. On the interior, Stein further refined his unit plans by eliminating some of the more complex types found at Phipps and by limiting units to a few types to simplify construction. Steel-linteled, unframed openings contain large, multi-paned, steel casement windows that open rooms to light and air. Throughout the complex, the American-bond walls are broken up with soldier, sailor and rowlock courses, while expressed basketwork, stretcher courses and offset bricks bring shade and shadow to the facades, particularly at the lower levels. From the street, pedestrians pass through dramatic ground floor entryways which define paths into and through the project (Figure 2-7). Stylistically, the brickwork references

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[47] "Hillside Housing Group," *Architectural Record* 72/4 (October 1932): 221-232 passim; *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/49 (18 September 1933): 4; Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 97.

deKlerk's expressionist brick confections (see Figure 1-9). Crisp construction details replace overt ornament, emphasizing both quality and economy.

At the northern end of the playground, toilet rooms and a small shelter fit into the hill. Adjacent to the playground, basement club and game rooms and a large auditorium provide gathering spaces for residents, reinforcing the playground as the community center. The budget at Hillside allowed for a trained recreation director, known as a "community consultant." Stein fully conceived of the project as a social, economic and architectural object. The plan develops Stein's familiar public/private exterior space pattern and creates a hierarchy of spaces, making the auto-free playground centrally important. Winding buildings with stairhall entrances eliminate interior corridors and define public and private exterior spaces. The design worked to satisfy the daily needs of the community and the individual.[48] Secretary Ickes approved final loans for Hillside Homes on 23 January 1934 and the groundbreaking ceremony occurred on 20 April. Construction moved quickly and the corporation held a formal opening ceremony fourteen months later, on 29 June 1935.[49]

Stein designed Hillside Homes for the middle-class, but the well-organized American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union of Philadelphia took on the planning of a residential project specifically for its laboring members. Enjoying tremendous power and wealth during the high-skirted 1920's, the union developed an ambitious roster of

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[48] Hillside Homes operated as a limited dividend project for a time, and then received some state housing subsidy. It fell into disrepair in the early 1990's with high crime and vacancies, but was purchased by a management group in 1994 and renamed Eastchester Heights. A modest rehabilitation and new management have improved conditions and allowed the full reoccupation of the units. John Tierney, "The Big City; Coming Closer to a Utopia in the Bronx," *New York Times* 18 March 2000, B1:1.

[49] H-1300 21 July 1934; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/33 (28 May 1934): 1; "Governor Opens Hillside Homes" *New York Times* 30 June 1935, N1.

activities focusing on physical reform, aspiring to the power and innovation of New York's Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which constructed several cooperative complexes under New York's limited dividend law during the 1920's. John Edelman, the union's director of research, was the son of a Chicago architect, and he worked to move the group into housing prior to the depression. He hired Mary Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr College to conduct a careful survey of the housing conditions and needs of union members.[50] Edelman was in the gallery as the Senate debated the NIRA, and he began an application immediately upon its passage.

The union set up a sponsoring corporation and Edelman hired young partners Alfred Kastner and Oscar Stonorov to design a complex. Both architects were born in Germany, but they represented different architectural approaches. Kastner immigrated in 1926 and worked in the office of Bertram Goodhue for a time. His independent work in the late 1920's was designed in the popular eclectic historicist mode, simplified and creatively integrating decorative elements (Figure 2-8). Stonorov, in contrast, was a committed progressive. He moved to the United States in 1929, as economic failure made the nation an increasingly difficult place to live and work. In Europe, he studied with Le Corbusier and investigated the intricate interdependency of modern European design and social reform. Kastner accommodated his partner's more *avante* architectural style, while focusing on his own interest in the economic and physical, rather than the aesthetic-political meaning of design.[51] In 1931, the pair's modernist entry won second place in the

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[50] Radford, 111-114. Edelman's father's firm, Johnson and Edelman, employed Louis Sullivan when he returned from the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* in the mid 1870's; McDonnell, 32.

[51] Speaking in the 1960's, Kastner described his career thusly;
"the average architect...and that takes (includes) Louis Kahn, who's an awful nice guy and a very good friend...But they think in terms architectural, its a great big message. They haven't got,

international Palace of the Soviets design competition, defeating both Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius (Figure 2-9).[52] The award brought the men instant recognition within modernist design circles; they moved from New York to Philadelphia and used the prize money to start their own firm.

In Philadelphia, Kastner and Stonorov became acquainted with others interested in architectural reform and housing, including Edelman, who hired them for his union's job. With help from William Jeanes, a wealthy reformer, the union acquired a vacant city block in north Philadelphia, near several hosiery factories and adjacent to Juniata Park. Stonorov developed the first design for the complex, based on German *zielenbau* examples (Figure 2-10). Three thin, ten-story slab buildings were raised on pilotis and oriented for good sunlight while accommodating the street grid. Within, vertical stairhalls connected two-story units, eliminating corridors and providing cross-ventilation for every apartment. Extensive community services were planned, including a swimming pool, tennis courts, stores, a gas station, an auditorium, clubrooms and rooftop playgrounds. The extremely modern proposal gained considerable notice.[53] Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock included the model for, what would become known as the Carl

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learned this fact that when you are building...you don't build houses for heroes. There are no heroes in the world anymore...It has nothing to do with heroes. It has to do with an understanding of urbanism...You've got to know human terms, human needs. You've got to know money...And I've probably built more, more houses, but I have built nothing fancy."
Alfred Kastner Oral History, p. 10-11, Box 13-14, Roosevelt Oral History Committee files, 1981-1983, Borough of Roosevelt Collection, Special Collections, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick NJ.

[52] Eric J. Sandeen, "The Design of Public Housing in the New Deal: Oskar Stonorov and the Carl Mackley Houses," American Quarterly 37/5 (Winter 1985): 648. "Young Architects Won Soviet Prizes," *New York Times* 2 March 1932, 5.

[53] Richard Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930's," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37/4 (December 1978): 240. Pommer suggests that Stonorov's proposal was more polemical than practical, never intended for construction.

Mackley Houses, in a 1932 traveling Museum of Modern Art exhibition in Philadelphia. In 1934, Johnson called it "certainly the most valuable thing being done in America."[54]

The Mackley design added to Stonorov's considerable reputation, but the project itself stalled, due to the union's inability to raise adequate equity to qualify for an RFC loan.[55] In June 1933, the LD program promised looser terms and the Hosiery Workers Union took full advantage of their prior organization, appealing directly to Kohn as head of the HD, and on 16 August, Administrator Ickes approved an $845,000 loan. With financing in place, the project still faced strong local resistance. Mayor J. Hampton Moore vetoed a city council motion approving the necessary closing of two streets through the site and real estate interests launched an attack on the "Communistic" enterprise. The union and its supporters mounted a well-organized defense and from late September until December 1933, the issue appeared often in the press. On 20 December, the City Council overrode the Mayor's veto, less out of support for federal housing funding and more out of a desire for the desperately needed construction jobs.[56]

In the interim, Kastner redesigned Stonorov's proposal to conform to federal and local requirements. Significantly, he compromised between Stonorov's International Style design and Stein's *regionalist* vision. Four three-story buildings replaced the three ten-story buildings, establishing a more human scale in the exterior spaces (Figure 2-11).

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[54] Johnson to Stonorov, 6 September 1934, Box 44, Stonorov Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie WY, quoted in Sandeen, 656.

[55] Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 145; "Museum of Modern Art Exhibiting PWA Models," *Washington Post*, 21 June 1936, sec. TM p. 5.

[56] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/52 (9 October 1933): 2; "Housing Bills to Become Law," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* 20 December 1933; "Housing Plans Speeded With Council Action," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 November 1933; "Housing Projects To Cost $2,000,000 Vetoed by Moore," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 21 November 1933; "Pass New Housing Bill After Veto," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 December 1933; "Prepared to Pass Budget Over Veto," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 10 December 1933; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* articles found in the Temple University Urban Archives clipping file on Carl Mackley Homes, Juniata Park Housing Corporation.

While generally running north to south through the site, the new buildings turn the corner of the block and step inward at the center, creating varied and protected, traffic-free green spaces -- establishing a hierarchy of public and private exterior areas and rejecting the undifferentiated heliocentric formalism of Stonorov's proposal. Wide-open ground-floor passageways at the center of each building connect the three separate courtyards and provide a dramatic processional through the complex (Figure 2-12).

Architecturally, Kastner's project is modern, but not International Style. The single-unit thickness and stairhall entrances eliminate corridors and provide for air circulation. Ground-floor gateways evoke LeCorbusier's *pilotis*. Federal guidelines calculated loan amortization on the basis of material, with brick given the longest (thirty-five year) period. The project needed to qualify for this duration to be financially viable, but the designers felt brick would compromise the modernist aesthetic. After protracted negotiations with the HD, they settled on concrete masonry construction with glazed-tile cladding. Rounded balconies and sun porches open units to the exterior and casement windows provide for maximum ventilation. Rooftop penthouses accommodate laundry rooms enclosed with multipaned, steel, center-pivot windows and rolling garage doors to maximize ventilation (Figure 2-13). The penthouse structures also establish a spatial dialogue with the open passageways on the ground floor, adding depth to the reading of the façades and emphasizing the center.

A play yard occupies the remainder of the rooftop area, simplifying laundry and childcare for mothers with small children. This creative concern with practical daily life distinguishes the Carl Mackley Houses from other LD projects. In addition to rooftop play areas protected by high parapets, the architects surveyed union members to

determine their most desired amenities. At the southeast and southwest corners of the site, ramps lead down to underground garages and private storage areas. A store operates at the southwest corner, adjacent to the project office. In the wide western courtyard, a community hall provides a flexible gathering space for use as an auditorium or a rainy-day recreation room (Figure 2-14). North of the community building, a swimming pool and small wading pool served as a central attraction for the complex.[57] William Jeannes, the financier of the land purchase, became the first manager and devoted himself fully to the job, working with residents to develop a roster of lectures, social activities and children's programs, as well as a tenant conflict resolution system.

Overridden by the City Council, Mayor Moore continued to oppose Carl Mackley Houses. When the corporation submitted the drawings to the building department in January 1934, Mayor Moore himself examined the plans, casting doubt on the ability of such an unconventional program to produce responsible architecture.[58] The building department forced the group to build a test wall with the new glazed tile cladding, despite the fact its installation varied little from familiar terra cotta systems.

Despite civic resistance to the project, construction moved quickly. In April, the union announced the name, Carl Mackley Houses, in honor of a worker killed during a 1930 strike. Federal funding delayed the project in the late summer of 1934, but management began approving leases in December, with a formal opening ceremony on 5

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[57] The community center continues to operate as intended, but the swimming and wading pools have been permanently closed, replaced with a playground.

[58] "Gets Permit to Build," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 7 February 1934; article found in the Temple University Urban Archives clipping file on Carl Mackley Homes, Juniata Park Housing Corporation.

January.[59] While the individual units were simple and small, the considerable amenities of the project drove the cost upward and the 284 units rented for an average of $10.50 per room, per month -- affordable for only the higher-earning members of the union. Despite the Hosiery Workers' Union's initiation of the project, it was open to applicants outside the union and forty percent of the original residents were not members.[60]

Scholars have lavished attention upon Hillside Homes and Carl Mackley Houses, largely due to the prominence of their creators. Both design teams envisioned livable, full, interactive communities of involved residents. Both were understood as ideal projects, guides for future development. Led by *regionalists*, the two projects minimized costs by purchasing outlying vacant sites. Both Stein and Stonorov wrote about their work and their theories, and both were associated with the leading housing reformers of the day. Less has been written about the other LD projects.

In St. Louis, Neighborhood Gardens followed *regionalist* planning principles and used Dutch architectural precedents, similar to Hillside Homes. The Neighborhood Association, a local, social settlement house headed by J. A. Wolf, sponsored the application.[61] The Neighborhood Association developed out of the merger of several

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[59] "Mural to Immortalize Slain Striker," *Philadelphia Record*, 15 April 1934; "Lease Model Apartment," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 January 1935; articles found in the Temple University Urban Archives clipping file on Carl Mackley Homes, Juniata Park Housing Corporation.

[60] "Workers' Housing Plant Dedicated," 5 January 1935; article found in the Temple University Urban Archives clipping file on Carl Mackley Homes, Juniata Park Housing Corporation, newspaper of origin not indicated. While the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union dissolved when the industry moved south after WWII, Carl Mackley Houses continued to operate. The buildings gradually deteriorated, roof-top laundries and the pool were closed due to maintenance and liability costs. A major fire in the late 1990's forced a rehabilitation of the complex. Architects combined units to eliminate some of the smallest apartments, enclosed porches and updated kitchens and bathrooms. The rehabilitated Carl Mackley Houses reopened in 2000 and are fully operational today.

[61] Carolyn H. Toft, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form* (18 September 1985), item 8, p. 1; document available from Missouri Department of Natural Resources, http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/86000143.pdf.

settlement house organizations, and for more than a decade, it advocated for slum clearance and housing reform along with other poverty issues. Popular opinion precluded government subsidy and in spite of Neighborhood Association advocacy, new building codes failed to substantially improve low-rent housing conditions, particularly in the slum district just north of downtown, adjacent to the industry along the Mississippi River. In 1930, Wolf and architect P. John Hoener established the Better Housing Committee within the Neighborhood Association to focus on the problem and in 1931 Wolf received a fellowship to visit low-cost housing projects in Europe.

Upon his return, Wolf worked with investors to construct a reform housing project on the financial model of Alfred Treadway White's Brooklyn buildings. Hoener's firm of Hoener, Baum & Froese developed general models for the project. With the passage of the NIRA in June 1933, the Better Housing Committee recognized an opportunity to advance their cause and applied for a loan. They selected a one-block site occupied by warehouses of the Columbia Terminals Company, a vacant area amidst the crowded slums. Friends of the Neighborhood Association invested the fifteen percent equity and Kohn's HD awarded the proposal $500,000 on 16 August. In October, the Neighborhood Association formed Neighborhood Gardens Incorporated to manage the project and they held a formal ground breaking ceremony 25 May 1934, five months after Carl Mackley Homes.[62] The project opened a year later, in May 1935.

Hoener, Baune & Froese, with Edwald Froese as the chief designer, designed the 252-unit Neighborhood Gardens complex. The principals were well known in the city for

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[62] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/48 (11 September 1933): 2. *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/33 (28 May 1934): 2.

their modernist designs. All three grew up in St. Louis and attended local schools, and all studied in Europe after the war; Neighborhood Gardens illustrates this European influence. Eight three-story, interconnected, flat-roofed buildings follow the perimeter of the one-block site (Figure 2-15). The buildings define three interconnected, landscaped garden spaces while varied setbacks interact with the street façade. A gated entryway and a first floor passageway lead from Eighth Street into the interior garden space, revealing its presence to the street. As at Hillside and Mackley, the apartments occupy the entire width of the building and public circulation occurs off central stairhalls. Only the building at the southwest corner of the site has a basement for laundry and storage, with a community center on the first floor. With central heat, incinerators, three-fixture bathrooms, well-equipped kitchens, balconies and cross ventilation, these units rivaled most middle-class residences in convenience and appearance. The Neighborhood Association staffed the one-story community center, which included an auditorium, club rooms, a library and a kitchen for use by residents and the larger neighborhood.[63]

Well appointed, with traffic-free open space, Neighborhood Gardens stood out from its surroundings. Froese further distinguished the buildings with a design clearly inspired by the powerfully modern use of brick found in Dutch reform housing (See Figure 1-9). A distinctive pattern of two courses of double-sized, shale bricks in a rowlock stretcher pattern with a single course of common brick stretchers creates a textured field (Figure 2-16). Unframed, paired multi-lite, steel, casement windows draw light and air into the building. A modest cornice line of alternating, expressed headers

[63] The community center here set a precedent for the Neighborhood Association, who later established a community center at Pruitt-Igoe public housing project, located about ten blocks west.

supports a concrete parapet cap. At some corners, four alternating, common brick courses project forward, spanning between the end windows and evoking quoining. The most elaborate brickwork marks the stair entrances, which step forward from the plane of the wall (Figure 2-17). Just below the cornice line, diagonally-set stretcher courses project forward in a triangular pattern and similarly projecting, diagonally-set bricks surround the second and third floor stairhall windows. At the street level, simple, single-story brick piers flank some entries. At others, a flat concrete overhang protects the door and a diagonally-set soldier course creates a dense and rough pattern just above eye-level while paired courses of common brick suggest pilasters on either side of the door. A deep curve in the community building marks the corner of North Eighth and Biddle Streets (Figure 2-18).[64] Neighborhood Gardens merges the *regionalist* planning approach with a modern Dutch style, creating a high-quality, innovative complex, more tactile and expressive than Hillside Homes.

Queens' Boulevard Gardens is the second largest project of the LD period, with 957 units in ten six-story masonry buildings. Diplomat and real estate investor Cord Meyer initiated the project on a vacant site in an unbuilt area of the borough.[65] Designed

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[64] Neighborhood Gardens was initially occupied in 1935, primarily by lower-middle class families who could not afford equal accommodations elsewhere. In 1953, a high-rise public housing complex was constructed just to the west of the project, and the enormous Pruitt-Igoe project opened ten blocks west shortly after. These two projects overburdened a neighborhood that was already stressed by slums and a lack of public infrastructure. The Neighborhood Association operated the complex until 1962, and it changed hands rapidly for the next decade. In 1985 the complex was placed on the National Register, but fell vacant in 1990. In the late 1990's the area around Neighborhood Gardens enjoyed a renaissance, brought about by the construction of a new stadium just south of the site, as well as the growth of the mixed-use entertainment "Bottle District" surrounding the project. In 2005, a developer rehabilitated the buildings for market-rate housing. Original floor plans have been obliterated to accommodate larger units and the garden courtyards have been replaced with parking.

[65] Henry Wright, "The Modern Apartment House," *The Architectural Record* 65/3 (March 1929): 279; "Federal Housing Standards, Part One: Federal Housing Construction," *Architectural Record* 77 (March 1935): 188. Meyer, a Forest Hills developer, had a history working with Theodore Englehardt on

by Thomas Englehardt, an experienced apartment building designer (who completed work at Forest Hills), Boulevard Gardens follows the pattern set by earlier garden apartment complexes in the region. Traditional rather than progressive, Boulevard Gardens does not ally itself with the *regionalist* movement.

Seven buildings on the Boulevard Gardens site define two expansive, formal gardens on the western edge, while three buildings are more casually arrayed in the angled eastern section (Figure 2-19). The H-shaped buildings are all six stories high, marked by breezeways on the ground floor. Limestone trim accents the grey brick façades, which are dominated by columns at the first floor breezeway, supporting a broken pediment around a second story window (Figure 2-20). The site plan at Boulevard Gardens fails to resolve its irregularity and the buildings use corridors, rather than the stairhall circulation pattern advocated by Stein (Figure 2-21). The classical pediment is aggressively traditional, although rest of each building is simple, with untrimmed windows and a blank cornice. Boulevard Gardens illustrates that Kohn and the HD approved apartment solutions that did not aspire to their own progressive tenets.

In Raleigh, North Carolina, the small Boylan Apartments complex uses garden apartment planning principles and clothes the buildings in Colonial Revival details suited to the Southern residential context. Rather than a union or settlement house organization, two brothers, William and Rufus Boylan, established the Boylan Housing Corporation as a private investment.[66] Initially intending to take advantage of the RFC loan program, the brothers personally negotiated the passage of the necessary state and city legislation. That

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speculative apartment houses. Boulevard Gardens remains largely unchanged today, although the residents individually own the apartments.

[66] Ellen Turco, "Boylan Apartments," National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form (23 July 2007), 6.

process delayed their plans and when they were finally ready to apply, the RFC program had been replaced by the HD's more generous LD program.

Rather than clearing slums, the Boylan brothers proposed to demolish their family house, which occupied half of a block, midway between the Capitol building and North Carolina State University, in order to construct the first large apartment complex in the city. The state nearly halved salaries between 1930 and 1937, forcing many white-collar workers to move to substandard apartments and the Boylan's project aimed to provide decent rental housing for these white-collar workers. The HD approved a loan of $168,000 for the Boylan Housing Corporation on 16 August 1933.[67]

The Boylan brothers hired local architectural firm Linthicum and Linthicum, known primarily for school and armory designs. They arranged three brick buildings around a central courtyard, facing narrow Snow Avenue (Figure 2-22). Each building is three stories high, with a stone stringcourse above the first floor (Figure 2-23). End pavilions step forward, topped by a wooden pediment and a cross gable roof, while the long central body of the building has a dentilated cornice and a gable roof. Two doors lead into each building; flanked by narrow sidelites and topped by a broken pediment with a scalloped wooden fanlight (Figure 2-24). Paired, eight-lite, metal casement windows with a four-lite transom punctuate the facades, topped by brick jack arches and keystones. Rear and side facades are similar but without entrance doors and with the addition of hanging metal fire escapes. Each building has a basement used for storage and utilities. The slope of the site provides space for a garden level store in the basement of the southernmost building on Snow Avenue.

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[67] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/48 (7 September 1933): 2.

The complex holds a total of fifty-four units: eighteen two-bedroom units and thirty-six one-bedroom units. Stairwells open onto wide landings at each floor that lead to three apartments, two one-bedroom units and one two-bedroom unit. Finished with plaster walls and ceilings, and wood floors, each unit has a living room, a three-fixture bathroom and a kitchen. The units are well-finished, but their arrangement betrays the architect's lack of housing experience. Only the two-bedroom units occupy the entire width of the building, while the one-bedroom units are paired, limiting cross-ventilation. Wide landings waste space and clumsy room arrangements create long hallways. More significantly, the Linthicum firm located the front doors of the northern building along busy Hillsborough Street, rather than into the courtyard. Although this allows the complex to address the busy street, without rear doors, the building also turns away from the central courtyard, the chief amenity of the site. Residents (particularly children), in the northern building cannot directly access the open space, and the northern building's rear façade diminishes the symmetry and character of the formal courtyard.

Local opposition and federal concerns about using the brothers' family property as equity stalled the Boylan project, but the HD eventually approved the project. Construction began in March 1935, two months after Carl Mackley Houses opened. Work proceeded quickly, however, and residents occupied the buildings by the end of 1935.[68] Boylan Apartments was not a slum clearance project; it aimed to house underpaid bureaucrats rather than blue-collar workers. As well-built buildings (albeit with some planning flaws), they improved conditions in Raleigh, produced a modest profit and

[68] Turco, 8. The Boylan Housing Corporation maintained ownership of the complex until 1976, when it was sold to the Joyner family. The Joyners nominated the buildings to the National Register in 2006, in preparation of a rehabilitation project that will use National Register tax credits.

became the cornerstone of a garden apartment district. The project also illustrates the flexibility of the LD program; with a limited architectural scope, the program worked with a wide variety of clients to successfully construct improved, low-rent housing.

Regionalist and garden apartment complexes composed the vast majority (ninety-five percent) of the 3,113 units financed by the LD program, but the HD also approved two small projects for single-family homes. In the rural mill town of Alta Vista, twenty-five miles southwest of Lynchburg, Virginia, the HD loaned the Alta Vista Corporation one hundred thousand dollars to construct houses for hosiery workers (stockings appear to be a theme in the LD period). A local factory converted its facilities to produce labor-intensive nylon stockings, necessitating new workers, but it proved difficult to find vacant housing in the small town. The company formed a corporation and purchased thirteen acres of land for fifty single-family houses. The inexpensive land and low-density of the town argued against apartment development, so the HD approved a plan for single-family houses on large plots. The low density also meant the buildings could use frame construction, significantly lowering construction costs and consequently, rents. The corporation hired the Lynchburg firm of Johnson & Brannon to design the houses. The architects designed just a few types, but varied the one-story unit plans, constructing both L-shaped and rectangular houses with side-gabled or cross-gabled roofs (Figure 2-25). They also alternated front porch and front door placement, further increasing variety along the street. The HD turned funds over to the Alta Vista Corporation on 3 March 1934 and the C.L. Lewis Construction Company of Lynchburg worked quickly, moving families in by 20 July, making Alta Vista the first completed LD project. Upon opening,

each unit rented for $3.73 per room, per month. Virginia lacked a state housing board, so the HD agreed to handle long-term oversight of the rental houses.[69]

The houses at Alta Vista looked quite different from the apartment projects built in New York City, Philadelphia, Raleigh and St. Louis, but they were all rental units. The remaining LD project reshaped the financial basis of the program, illustrating the HD's flexibility in this period. During the prosperous 1920's, many families purchased empty lots in expanding suburbs. The depression halted construction plans and ended speculation, so many suburbs (particularly those on the urban fringe), were left empty, supporting an expensive infrastructure while receiving only minimal "unimproved" tax revenues. Euclid, Ohio, just east of Cleveland, was one of many municipalities facing this problem, and the mayor saw a solution in the LD program.[70]

Mayor Charles Ely organized the Euclid Housing Corporation to serve as a middleman between the HD and private citizens. After receiving a large loan from the HD, the corporation offered Euclid land owners loans for the construction of single or duplex houses on cheaper terms than could be found on the private market. As the HD reviewed architectural plans and construction bids, the corporation also offered these services to its clients. George Mayer, Cleveland architect and friend of Mayor Ely, designed twenty-seven model house types, approved by the HD (Figure 2-26).[71] The

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[69] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/44 (4 August 1934): 3; Straus and Wegg, 150. Stanhope Johnson of Johnson & Brannon was a significant regional architect who excelled at the restoration/reconstruction of Colonial buildings (Patrick Henry's Red Hill), as well as the design of new Colonial Revival homes.

[70] Euclid had a history of innovative planning. In 1925, *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Company* case went to the Supreme Court and permanently established the right of jurisdictions to enforce zoning regulations. Lawrence C. Gerckens, "Alfred Bettman on "Euclid": Letters from the Bettman Files 15 September 1924 – 22 May 1935, from *Proceedings of the First National Conference on American Planning History* (Columbus OH: City and Regional Planning Department, The Ohio State University): 5.

[71] "27 House Types Shown in Euclid," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 21 January 1934, B10:5; "The Euclid Housing Plan," *Architectural Forum* 36/6 (June, 1936): 513-514.

homes ranged from four to six rooms and were expected to cost up to $5,000 each. The corporation constructed several houses at a time to lower construction costs and to ensure fair and equitable charges. Not intended for renters, these units were built for moderate-income families who paid mortgages to the corporation, eventually owning their homes.

The HD approved a million dollar loan for the Euclid Housing Corporation on 16 August 1933 and the corporation issued bids for the first group of houses in October, but the HD rejected them as too high. In November, the HD approved a second set of bids and construction began a month later. This was the first LD program to begin, just six months after the passage of the NIRA.[72] At $5,000 each, the Euclid Housing Corporation's million-dollar loan could have funded two hundred houses, but between 1933 and 1937 the corporation approved loans for only one hundred houses.

Conclusion

Kohn's LD program established minimal architectural controls and supported innovative financial programs with flexibility. While the HD was open to alternative approaches, the fact that more than sixty percent of the units produced by the LD program resembled *regionalist* work in terms of exterior planning and interior stairhall circulation suggests that both professionals and HD reviewers favored this approach. Limited to its role as a lending institution, Kohn's HD mandated affordability but set no other controls on tenant selection or management. Nationally, residential segregation was the common practice of the time. Built by local corporations for working-class families

[72] "Housing Contract Signed for Euclid," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 5 October 1933, 4:1; "Three Leases on Euclid are Closed," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 25 October 1933, 15:5; "Begin Excavation in Euclid Housing," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 15 December 1933, 2:1.

above poverty levels, white families initially occupied a vast majority of the units constructed under the LD program, despite the fact that African Americans and other minorities faced more difficult housing conditions. The HD did not feel that balancing this obvious inequity was within their powers.

Although Kohn's HD was innovative and the buildings eventually constructed proved useful and economical, the entire PWA came under criticism for its slow start.[73] Throughout the summer of 1933, the PWA allotted millions to ship builders and farmers, but none to building projects. The 16 August approvals of five LD projects were the very first construction expenditures by the PWA, and by that point many had already labeled the program a failure. A second round of housing approvals followed, but it was not until 9 September that the PWA approved a school project, the first non-housing construction project. Although housing managed to lead the PWA, its small number of approvals suggested that LD housing was unlikely to effect the large-scale construction boom that Ickes envisioned. The ratio of applications to viable projects proved that there were few private groups experienced enough to handle the construction and management of apartment complexes. Further, investment conditions made it difficult for interested groups to raise fifteen percent equity and that condition seemed unlikely to change soon. President Roosevelt spoke publicly about the lack of progress, and by the fall of 1933, it became clear that the HD would need revising -- particularly in a political climate that undervalued the PWA's mission to long-term projects and demanded immediate expenditures to stimulate the economy. Private initiative failed to adequately respond to the LD offer, so Ickes instigated major changes within the HD.

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[73] "PWA in Action," *Architectural Forum* 60/5 (November 1933): 340-341.

Chapter 3: The Housing Division Direct Build Program

Although the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) buried housing within its much larger reform programs, popular interest made housing a powerful political tool during the Great Depression. In 1937, New York City's Federal Theater Project produced *One-Third of a Nation*, the sixth of the project's Living Newspaper series.[1] Written by Arthur Arent and directed by Howard Bay, *One-Third of a Nation* was an extravaganza of a production, held at the huge Adelphi Theater with a cast of eighty and a four-story, tenement cut-away set equipped to burst into flames (Figure 3-1).[2] Focusing on New York City's particular issues, the play reached back into the past to illustrate the origins of the problem. It lingered over the physical miseries of the slum and their permanent effects on individuals, and it criticized New Deal housing efforts (as well as the new Wagner-Stegall Housing Act) as woefully under-funded -- calling for public agitation as a means to bring about change. The show ran for 237 performances, the most successful play of the Living Newspaper series. Local Federal Theater groups in New Orleans, Cincinnati and Dallas borrowed the script and adapted it to their own conditions. *One-Third of a Nation* illustrated a high-profile commitment to the issue and its popularity attests to widespread public interest and concern.

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[1] The Living Newspapers program was a collaborative project between journalists, directors and actors, who wrote and staged plays that emphasized dates, quotes and historic exactitudes. They were also consciously multi-media, with sound clips and projected images combined with songs, dances, choral speaking and other theater techniques. They typically examined an issue of the day, criticized current responses and agitated for a solution, and it was their activism, as well as their inherent visibility, that put the Federal Theater on the front lines of the reaction against the New Deal. Paramount purchased the rights to *One-Third of a* Nation, but never brought it to screen. A videotape of a UCLA 1984 stage production is available. For a fuller discussion of the Living Newspaper phenomenon, see Cheryl Marion Cardran, "The Living Newspaper: Its Development and Influence" (Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 1975), 29.

[2] Brooks Atkinson, "The Play," *New York Times*, 18 January 1938, 27. Not just any tenement, this was Gotham Court, anthropomorphized and given dialog so it could present its side of the housing story.

Through the HD's education campaign, *One-Third of a Nation* and other outlets, public demand for housing reform grew after the passage of the NIRA. Within months it became clear that the modest benefits provided by the Limited Dividend (LD) program could never inspire the large-scale urban rebuilding envisioned by Administrator Ickes or demanded by the public. Just months after the passage of the NIRA, Ickes concluded that his organization must achieve the central goals of the program on its own; to reinvigorate the economy, provide jobs, clear slums and create "decent" low-cost housing, spurring him to create a new, Direct Build (DB) program within the HD.

This switch to the DB program forced the HD to take on a much more significant role in city survey, site analysis, planning, design and management. The HD staff enforced *regionalist* design standards, rather than merely offering them as a convenient prototype. Although pressured to create construction jobs, the HD built little that first year, as it was primarily occupied by a series of bureaucratic challenges and changes, as well as the creation of a system for housing project construction. As far as possible, it deployed this uniform system in different cities across the nation, to create well-planned, well-constructed projects with similar *regionalist* characteristics.

Between the LD and DB programs, however, there was an intermediate step. On 28 October 1933, just months after the passage of the NIRA, Ickes announced the formation of the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation (PWEHC).[3] Incorporated in the state of Delaware, the PWEHC functioned as a subsidiary of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) with three stockholders:

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[3] Gilbert A. Cam, "United States Government Activity in Low-Cost Housing, 1932-38," *The Journal of Political Economy* 47/3 (June 1939): 359. The PWEHC was formally established on November 21, 1933.

Administrator Ickes, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and HD director Kohn (Figure 3-2). The Board of Directors included the three stockholders as well as Rexford Guy Tugwell (Assistant Secretary of Agriculture) and Colonel Henry Waite (Deputy Administrator of the PWA). The PWEHC was empowered to undertake the "constructing, reconstructing, altering and repair of low-cost housing or slum clearance projects, apartment houses, homes and structures of every nature and kind."[4] The program offered low-interest loans, like the LD program, supplemented with grants.

The PWEHC's broad provisions allowed it to build any type of housing, as well as any infrastructure necessary to support new units. The corporation held the power of eminent domain to speed land assemblage, and its semi-private status freed it from bureaucratic review. On 29 November, President Roosevelt allotted the new corporation $100 million. Grants to individual projects would allow the PWEHC to construct housing on its own, and to reach lower income families that neither the real estate industry nor the LD program addressed.[5] As a completely centralized organization, the PWEHC would execute projects without local contribution, but the corporation intended to stimulate the formation of local housing authorities to work as partners. Ickes felt that the recent experience of the LD program proved that private groups would never bring enough viable proposals to the HD. Rather than replacing the program; he created the PWEHC to supplement the division; to take active control of the housing problem, to lower rents and to speed the expenditure of funds. Architecturally, Ickes maintained the LD program's loose regulations, with a ban on high-rise structures but few other specific architectural

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[4] Michael W. Straus, and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 45; "Ickes Corporation to Rebuild Slums," *New York Times*, 29 October 1933, 1.

[5] Straus and Wegg, 46.

dictates. With Kohn as a key stockholder, however, the *regionalist* emphasis on low-rise, auto-free development presumably remained the primary approach.

In January 1934, Secretary Ickes hired Colonel Horatio B. Hackett to direct the new PWEHC. Hackett, a Chicago architect and engineer, was a personal associate of Ickes. A West Point graduate, Hackett began his career as an architectural superintendent at D. H. Burnham and Company. After serving in World War One and gaining fame as a football referee, he was partner in charge of construction at the Chicago architecture firm, Holabird and Root. Far from a distinguished designer or an associate of the most progressive urban planners of the age, Hackett was a forceful builder without clear ideological allegiances.[6] While avoiding direct criticism of Kohn, Hackett's appointment suggests Ickes' frustration with the HD's slow start. Perhaps Ickes hoped Hackett's strong drive to build would place pressure on Kohn's careful, methodical approach, or perhaps Hackett's selection served as a challenge to Kohn.

Because the PWECH offered grants as well as loans, it soon became more popular than the LD program, receiving the bulk of new applications. Although Hackett directed the group, HD staff handled the work and the PWEHC depended upon the existing HD for its operation.[7] In December and January, division staff began reviewing applications and issuing funds. The HD had handled many well-planned, high quality LD proposals that failed to raise the fifteen percent equity necessary for a LD loan. HD employees transferred several of these projects to the PWEHC, just as the LD program inherited

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[6] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/19 (15 February 1934), 1; "Col. Hackett, 61, Architect and War Hero, Dies," *Chicago Tribune*, 9 September 1941, 22; Straus, 47; "The PWA's Fund," *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (March 1934): 240-241.

[7] Housing Division memoranda indicate a joint staff for both programs.

RFC proposals. Meanwhile, the HD approved four new LD projects at this time, suggesting the PWECH and LD operated as complementary programs within the HD.[8]

Hackett's organization allotted portions of its $100 million budget, to various cities or to specific projects within cities. The PWEHC promised New York City $25 million and granted Denver and Omaha $600,000 each, without specific proposals. The PWEHC also took over Cleveland's multi-project LD program and approved both of Atlanta's existing LD proposals.[9] Funds for specific projects poured in from other cities, inspired by the possibility of federal grants and low-cost loans.[10] In its first six months of existence, the LD program had moved slowly; but the PWHEC built on the HD's organization and allotted funds more quickly and sometimes without specific proposals.

The LD program worked with local applicant groups while the PWEHC granted funds without local petition. Area planners or reformers typically appealed to the PWEHC, but there was no formalized group to support or advise the federal effort. As a result, Hackett organized advisory committees in each applicant city. Typically composed of businessmen, lawyers, bankers, planners, ministers, social workers and other interested figures, the advisory committees required appointment by Ickes, establishing a

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[8] The HD transferred proposals over to the PWEHC beginning around 12 December 1933; Edmond H. Hoben, Economic Analyst, to Robert B. Mitchell, Acting Chief, Branch of Initiation and Recommendation, 26 July 1934, File 11, Box 151, H-1900 General Information Denver Colorado, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII. The new limited dividend programs were Neptune Gardens in Boston, Hallet Gardens in Astoria Long Island, Hill Creek Homes in Philadelphia and Sunshine Apartments in Richmond VA. Only Hill Creek was eventually constructed, as a direct-build project.

[9] A.R. Class, Regional Project Manager to Colonel Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing, 18 July 1934, File 1, Box 153, H-2000 General Information Omaha Nebraska, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Robert D. Kohn, Director of Housing to Board of Directors, Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation, 12 December 1933, File 2, Box 28 H-1101 Techwood, Atlanta Georgia, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[10] These cities included Milwaukee, Washington D.C., Cincinnati, Nashville, Montgomery, New Orleans and St. Louis.

seriousness of purpose. These groups suffered from ill-defined roles and purposes and their actual impact varied by moment, locale and conditions, but many exerted significant influence on their city's work, localizing the HD's unified policies (see Chapter 4).

In January 1934, Republican members of Congress raised concerns about the tremendous power Roosevelt's administration had invested in private corporations. They criticized the TVA's Electric Home and Farm Authority, which financed the private purchase of appliances in order to create a residential market for electricity. The Federal Surplus Relief Corporation provided relief food supplies, but the vague language of its incorporation also allowed it to import and export any kind of goods, and to buy and sell property in order to take infertile land out of agricultural use. The Federal Subsistence Homesteads Corporation came under criticism as a nebulous but powerful corporation that lacked oversight and the PWEHC's broad powers were also identified as a matter of concern.[11] These corporations allowed the administration's programs to operate without legislative-branch oversight, raising Congress' hackles and opening Roosevelt up to accusations of wastefulness and corruption.

Congress' concerns forced President Roosevelt to respond and on 7 January 1934 he issued an executive order that brought all recovery agencies and corporations under the assessment of the Budget Bureau and the Comptroller General's Office. Private incorporation had shielded them from financial review, but Roosevelt's order now gave Comptroller General John McCarl auditing rights. McCarl, an independent appointed by Warren Harding, was known for conservative judgments and wariness about using public

[11] "Congressmen Turn Critical Eyes on Vast U.S. Spending," *Washington Post* 4 January 1934, 1.

works as a means to economic recovery. Ickes and other administration officials opposed the ruling on the grounds that it would slow relief work.[12]

After Roosevelt's decision, McCarl made a series of judgments to control the suspect private corporations. He tried to gain the right to approve all PWA expenditures, which would have been a huge bottleneck in PWA functioning, but Roosevelt denied that motion. On 16 January, nine days after Roosevelt's order, McCarl issued a letter of concerns on the PWEHC, claiming it held too much power and lacked adequate oversight. He wanted his office to approve all expenditures and the Attorney General to review all land purchases.[13] Ickes protested, stating those conditions would make slum clearance and low rent housing construction a practical impossibility and with a great deal of publicity he dramatically shuttered the PWEHC. McCarl officially ruled on the statements on 11 February, stating the PWEHC was unconstitutional. The ruling was appealed, but overwhelming pressure for relief jobs prompted Ickes to find another way to speedily disperse his housing funds.

Regardless of Ickes' officially suspension, the HD's shared staff continued to work, warily. Construction continued on the LD projects and some pre-construction work occurred on approved PWEHC projects. In April 1934, Kohn advised the St. Louis Slum Clearance Committee against submitting a proposal (for a project separate from Neighborhood Gardens), citing the uncertain state of the program and the HD's need to develop a systematic approach.

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[12] Raymond Clapper, "Officials Vexed at Roosevelt's Shift of Power," *Washington Post*, 7 January 1934, 1; Harold Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*. vol. I, *The First Thousand Days 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 135.

[13] Walter Onslow "Slum Projects Halted As Invalid by McCarl; Ickes Attacks 'Ruling,'" *Washington Post*, 17 January 1934, 1.

> We have half-a-dozen cities on the point of starting or waiting for us to start them off, and yet we are not certain we have found a good way in the procedure with which we started in Atlanta. We are convinced that we can find a less complicated method. As a result, we do not want to poke any city on to revising its plans and doing more preliminary work in getting out a definite plan for consideration when we would have to stall thereafter until better precedents have been established and cause the city all the disappointments of delay.[14]

Kohn counseled patience, and the PWEHC continued allotting funds to cities. By the end of April, they had assigned their one hundred million dollar budget to nineteen locales.[15]

The Attorney General reversed McCarl's bid for control, but affirmed that the broad provisions of the PWEHC lacked oversight.[16] On 12 April, President Roosevelt asked Ickes to close the PWEHC. The months of the LD program had proven to Ickes that private investment was unwilling to enter the housing field, and Roosevelt had eliminated the independent corporation, so with those paths blocked, Ickes decided to take on the direct construction of reform housing. Ickes decided to merge the PWEHC and LD programs, significantly revising their operating structures in the process. In the late spring, Hackett became general manger of the HD and the PWEHC and Kohn was placed second in command, stripped of much of his authority.[17]

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[14] Robert D. Kohn, Director of Housing to Eugene S. Klein 12 April 1934, File 9, Box 187, H-2400 General Information St. Louis Missouri, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[15] Straus and Wegg, 53. Allotments had been made to Atlanta, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Louisville, Montgomery, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Memphis, Nashville, New Jersey, New Orleans, New York City, Savannah, Toledo, Washington D.C. and Youngstown OH.

[16] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/15 (22 January 1934): 2. On 7 March, the Attorney General reversed McCarl's decision and found the PWEHC constitutional, but Ickes had already moved on, abandoning the organization; "Upholds Housing Corp," *Wall Street Journal*, 7 March 1934, 1.

[17] Timothy L. McDonnell S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), 37; Ickes "Final Report of the Housing Division of F.E.A. of P.W., 1937" available in the Vinton Papers, Special Collections, Cornell University, Ithaca NY.

As he undertook the DB housing program, Ickes ordered a general financial investigation of the HD.[18] A Department of Interior investigator found the Boulevard Gardens Corporation might have reported an inflated purchase price, qualifying them for a larger federal loan. This discovery encouraged Ickes to announce a general investigation into the division's finances. Kohn resigned immediately, resentful of the implication of dishonesty.

Eight other HD staff members took the moment to step down, including most of Kohn's department leaders. These included; Assistant Director Dunning; Ralph K. Chase, chief of the legal division; Eugene H. Klaber, chief of the technical staff; Jefferson M. Hamilton, Kohn's personal assistant; and staffers C. P. Grimes, Albert C. Shire, F. L. Smith and Oliver C. Winston.[19] By announcing a financial investigation, but not alleging fraud, Ickes characterized Kohn and his staff as idealistic thinkers who were tragically tricked into bad deals by the hard-driving tactics of unethical businessmen. In fact, Kohn, Chase and Klaber were long-time professionals with experience in land development.[20] The criticism, however, came at a time when many were attacking a perceived overbalance of academicians and theoreticians in Roosevelt's administration.

In addition to a purported business naïveté, Ickes may have found Kohn a political liability. On 11 April, conservative educational leader William A. Wirt testified to the Congressional Bullwinkle committee that, while advising on a number of federal school programs, he had uncovered a group of communists infiltrating the New Deal with the intention of causing the collapse of the entire American system. Wirt named seven

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[18] "Housing Merger Forseen," *New York Times*, 15 June 1934, 9.

[19] "9 Lose Posts in U.S. Housing Unit Shake-Up," *Washington Post*, 17 June 1934, 1.

[20] In addition to educational and religious commissions, Kohn designed several Macy's department stores, including the addition to the main store and the 1947 Jamaica Queens branch.

people, including Kohn, as members of the conspiracy, and fingered conservative whipping boy Tugwell as their leader.[21] A well-known New Deal opponent, Wirt's accusations were neither confirmed nor acted upon by Congress, but the press covered the story. Others suggested that Kohn's resignation, which came after several hours of humiliating questioning, was Ickes' petty revenge on the American Institute of Architects' criticisms of a lack of early New Deal building projects.[22]

Kohn was clearly a competent professional and Wirt's accusations gained little traction within the administration. An investigation of the Boulevard Gardens land acquisition issue was announced but never completed, making it difficult to assess the validity of those claims. These issues, however, served as excuses for Kohn's dismissal, masking Ickes' notorious wrath, as well as a more fundamental problem over which Kohn had no control: the conflict between the deliberate LD program and the political need to distribute funds as quickly as possible. LD corporations depended upon local initiative and activism. The HD needed time to work with locals to develop responsible organizations and viable project proposals; this conflicted with the rapid job-creation directive that justified the passage of the NIRA and threatened to become the *raison d'etre* of the New Deal.[23] Although the PWA was specifically conceived to undertake this

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[21] Felix Bruner, "House Probers Call 6 Named by Wirt; 'Revolt Plot' Laid to Tugwell," *Washington Post*, 11 April 1934, 1. The other government officials accused by Wirt were Hildegarde Kneeland (chief of the Division of Home Economics), Henry T. Rainey (Speaker of the House), Lawrence Todd (representative of Tass Russian news agency in the US), General William I. Westervelt (former assistant administrator of the AAA), and Rexford Tugwell (Assistant Secretary of Agriculture). Wirt's allegations were countered by accusations naming him as an organizer of the American Nazi party; Ickes, *Secret Diary, Vol. 1*, 360.

[22] "Housing Upheaval," *Architectural Forum* 61/1 (July 1934): 67.

[23] Public Statement on the Abolishment of the Housing Division and the Passage of the National Housing Act, Submitted by LHC, HSG, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (Philly), 25 June 1934, Folder 10 General File, Box 2, Series 1, Ernest Bohn Collection, Special Collections, Kelvin Smith Library, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH.

type of long-term project, it struggled against popular pressure to expend its funds faster. Caught between the slow reality of community organization and the popular frenzy for jobs, Kohn and his staff became scapegoats for a conflict of political directives.

Earlier histories of this period stated that the PWEHC superceded the LD program, and that McCarl's February finding against the PWEHC forced Ickes to dive into the DB program. Primary source material illustrates, however, that these changes occurred more gradually. Ickes initially conceived of the PWEHC as a supplement to the LD, and the HD remained a central organization that staffed both programs and directed applicants to the more appropriate financing program.[24] In November 1933, for example, the corporation agreed to take on the Techwood project, intended for white families in Atlanta, if the LD program funded a project for Atlanta's African Americans.[25] McCarl's February decision held no force of law and was overturned by the Attorney General.[26] Rather than adapting the DB program at the point of a legal gun then, Ickes chose to phase out the LD and PWHC programs. The gradual nature of these changes illustrates another plaguing problem of the organization. Starting from nothing, it took time and testing to develop viable methods for the construction of housing. Constant policy changes slowed project development and delayed or discouraged applicants.

The details of Kohn's departure merit discussion because many have seen his directorship as the ideal moment in the history of federally-funded housing and the LD

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[24] "The New Plan of Action," *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (February 1934): 97.

[25] There is obvious problems to in plan, since the, on average, the poorer African-American community would be paying higher limited dividend rents than the white families in PWECH project. Robert D. Kohn, Director of Housing to Board of Directors, Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation, 12 December 1933, Folder 2, Box 28, H-1101 Techwood, Entry 2, Record Group 196, Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[26] The PWEHC was not officially dissolved until 14 August 1935; McDonnell, 38.

program as a tragic path not taken.[27] A gifted designer with close ties to the most modern planning theorists, Kohn and his HD staff fostered projects that avoided the visual and spatial penury that would later come to define public housing. As part of a new program, Kohn's projects benefited from flexibility, a sense of creativity and openness to new ideas. Although the next DB phase of the program was more carefully regulated and less open to architectural or financial creativity, it still hewed to *regionalist* neighborhood principles and produced well-designed, livable complexes. Kohn's leadership set important precedents, but was not critical to housing success.

The federal housing program evolved from a loan organization to a private corporation to a federal program that cleared slums and built housing directly. As a gradual shift couched in terms of a financial emergency and primarily directed by Ickes rather than any elected official, the process avoided much of the public opposition that would typically accompany federal expansion into private industry. Real estate professionals decried the developments, but had no platform to object. In November 1934, James Moffett of the Federal Housing Administration publicly opposed the widening of federal participation in housing, demanding a longer wait for private investment before commencing direct federal action. In the process, however, Moffett exposed personal rivalries within the administration, and the criticism earned him

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[27] On 5 November 1951 the Architects' Advisory Committee to the Public Housing Administration resigned *en masse* protesting the commission's "blind economy drive which has replaced prudence and good sense." The committee included a number of leading architects, including Hugh Stubbins Jr., Robert Woods Kennedy, Louis Wetmore, Henry Churchill, Louis Kahn, George Fred Keck and was chaired by William W. Wurster, the dean of the University of California architecture school, and Catherine Bauer's husband. Architects' Advisory Committee to the Public Housing Administration to John Taylor Egan, Commissioner Public Housing Administration 5 November 1951, Folder 17, General File: Federal Public Housing Administration Architectural Advisory Committee 1943-1951, Box 5 General Files Cleveland Homes Inc. – Committee on Slum Clearance, Series 1, Ernest Bohn Papers, Special Collections, Kelvin Smith Library, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH.

condemnation rather than consideration.[28] Without the need to petition Congress for further authority, Ickes was able to proceed despite opposition.

Hackett was appointed Director and General Manager of the HD on 20 July 1934 and his appointment spurred a general reorganization and clarification of the PWA's housing efforts. The PWEHC closed and while the current LD projects continued, no new applications were accepted. Active PWEHC projects and pending proposals were transferred to the new DB program. Because a core staff remained, however, these changes were mostly in nomenclature and file shifting.

Hackett quickly remade the division to handle construction directly. Kohn had loosely composed his HD with consultant experts establishing policy and a small, full-time staff of less-experienced architects, lawyers, economists and managers who evaluated proposals, advised and regulated applicants based on these policies. Hackett transformed the HD into a large, comprehensive organization that acquired land, cleared slums and constructed reform housing on a national scale. Lacking strong personal ties to architectural theorists, Hackett was not a *regionalist*, but in inheriting Kohn's staff he adopted and formalized their directives and preferences.

The HD's new DB program also inherited the PWEHC's financial set-up. The division provided thirty percent grants and seventy percent loans, covering the entire cost of land assemblage and construction (see Table 2-I). The loans were set at four percent interest with a thirty-five-year amortization period, assuming durable masonry construction. As with the PWEHC, cities were encouraged but not required to form

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[28] "Traditions of New Deal are Ignored by Moffett," *New York Times*, 4 November 1934, E:1; Ickes, *Secret Diary, Vol. 1*, 233-235.

formal housing authorities to work with the federal government and to manage projects after construction. These local housing authorities could then become the local housing groups that the LD program had anticipated.

The resignation of Kohn's staff allowed Hackett to remake the HD to better address the task of direct construction. Hackett established seven branches within his new HD: Initiation and Recommendation (Branch I), Plans and Specifications (Branch II), Land Acquisition (Branch III), Construction (Branch IV), Management (Branch V), Legal (Branch VI) and Administration (Branch VII); with the latter further broken into Records and Reports and Research and Information sections.[29] In addition, the PWA's Inspection Division monitored construction, handling change orders and requests for information in order to provide oversight.[30] Still operating outside the PWA's regional system, Hackett hired representatives to work with local advisory committees on projects. These representatives were typically assigned to a major city, but might also manage other projects in the area. For instance, the HD's Chicago office also handled Milwaukee's project. Beginning with the remaining HD employees, Hackett expanded the HD staff from under forty to 158 by October 1934.[31]

Hackett's reorganization shifted the ideological balance of the HD. *Regionalists* primarily composed Kohn's HD. Many of these employees stayed on after Hackett's takeover but then comprised only a percentage of the enlarged division's staff. Whereas most of Kohn's heads had been colleagues, fellow members of the Ethical Culture

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[29] A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to James S. Taylor, Associate Director of Economics and Statistics, Federal Housing Administration, 4 June 1935, Folder 7, Box 3, Series 1, Record Group 207, Central Housing Committee, Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[30] The Inspection Division records were burned at some point, leaving little direct information about the government's role during construction administration.

[31] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/53 (15 October 1934): 3.

Society or the RPAA, Hackett's branch chiefs (particularly those responsible for design review) lacked a clear allegiance to a single design approach. Assistant Director F. J. C. Dresser was a Cleveland engineer and former President of the Builders Association of Cleveland. Assistant Director Dwight Hoopingarner worked as a New York City contractor and recent head of the American Construction Council of New York. A personal friend of the President, Hoopingarner had advised him to organize private builders to solve the current housing problem and regarded direct governmental action as a last resort.[32] Robert B. Mitchell served as chief of Initiation and Recommendation (Branch I). Thirty-two years old, with training in architecture and urban planning from the University of Illinois, Mitchell was familiar with Stein and Wright's neighborhood unit ideas, but held no strong allegiance to their approach.[33] The other branch chiefs were also well-respected professionals, frequently men who had achieved considerable local success in the construction industry.[34] None however, possessed national standing or boasted careers of particular creativity or innovation, in stark contrast to Kohn's tight-knit, single-minded group.

All proposals examined by the HD were assigned a number for administrative purposes. Each city received a number in the thousands, generally based on the date of initial contact with the division. The PWEHC-approved cities of Cleveland and Atlanta came first, labeled H-1000 and H-1100 respectively. Within each city, a proposal received a number within that designation. Cedar Central, the first project in Cleveland,

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[32] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/41 (23 July 1934): 3; McDonnell, 62.

[33] "Robert B. Mitchell, 87, City Planning Scholar," *New York Times*, 10 December 1993, D:21; Robert B. Mitchell, review of *Housing for the Machine Age*, by Clarence Perry, *The Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics* 15/4 (November 1939): 493-494.

[34] J.W. Cramer -- Chief of Branch II, George Warnecke -- chief of Branch III, Harold H. Hynds,-- Chief of Branch IV Richard F. Voell – chief of Branch V, C.E. Maw -- chief of Branch VI.

was filed as H-1001 and Outhwaite Homes became H-1002. Initially, white projects were given odd numbers and even numbers were awarded to African-American projects, but this system of racial designation soon faded. All cities and project applications received a number, even if they included only a single communication.

This numbering system illustrates the significant role timing played in the initial program. Funding reductions meant that the HD fully allotted their budget in just fifteen months.[35] Cities that applied early were far more likely to receive a housing project than (perhaps better organized) cities that applied later; this proved particularly true for mid-sized cities. The HD made a conscious effort to build projects in the nation's largest cities, constructing projects in four of the five cities with more than a million people (Table 3-I). The fifth, Los Angeles, had a well-developed project that was cancelled due to state-level political opposition. If these four major cities are discounted, time becomes a more obviously significant factor. The HD built projects in nine of the ten first medium-sized cities to receive file numbers, and later applicants received projects in steadily declining numbers (Table 3-II).[36] Developing policies and budget changes meant that, rather than considering national conditions and needs, the HD rewarded cities with active, housing reform communities and supportive local governments.

The earlier LD program put the onus of tenant selection and management on local groups, but the DB program forced the HD to confront myriad management issues, including race and segregation. Throughout the nation, whites and blacks lived apart. Rather than adding the threat of integration to the HD's already-heavy political baggage,

[35] The HD's budget was fully allocated between June 1934 and September 1935 -- when the budget was cut from $450 million to $100 million.

[36] Cleveland, Atlanta, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Washington D.C., Cincinnati, Omaha, Nashville, Montgomery. Denver (H-1900) is the only city in this applicant group that failed to have a project built.

Ickes set a policy of maintaining existing racial conditions. Termed the Neighborhood Composition Rule, the policy promised that new housing projects would be racially neutral (practically, it simply eliminated the possibility of black residents in white areas). The issue is discussed more fully in Chapter 6, but was a basic assumption from the earliest moments of the program.

In addition to forcing the government to address segregation, federally owned housing also presented new legal challenges. Under the RFC, a state board ensured projects maintained low rents and limited profits, but ownership, maintenance and management devolved upon the corporations. Kohn's initial LD program included provisions for both private and local public corporations. The improved loan terms for public groups intended to inspire states to pass legislation necessary for the creation of such public groups, making local groups the owners and managers of the new projects and absolving the federal division from permanent oversight. In response to the NIRA provisions, on 4 September 1933, Ernest Bohn engineered the passage of housing authority legislation in Ohio. The new legislation allowed cities in Ohio to create housing authorities: regulated by a five-member board appointed by the mayor, each housing authority had the power to issue bonds, borrow money, buy land, exercise eminent domain, and construct and manage housing projects.[37] Cleveland established the first housing authority in the nation a month after its passage.

By April 1934, as Kohn's LD program dissolved in favor of the PWEHC, eight other states had passed housing authority legislation: New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, South Carolina and West Virginia. Provisions varied for

[37] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/47 (4 September 1933): 3; Straus and Wegg, 51.

each state; a few already had state housing boards (established earlier to resolve housing problems or in response to the RFC program), and these groups could appoint and regulate local authorities. Most states established a centralized board that approved municipal or regional housing authorities, but New Jersey created a single, statewide authority. The Legal Division (Branch VI) of Hackett's new HD worked with local and state officials to pass housing legislation throughout the country, distributing model housing laws, advising on conflicting legislation and working with officeholders to smooth the process. The passage of these bills was a lengthy process, as some state legislatures met infrequently and the new measures often faced political resistance. In December 1934, President Roosevelt threw his weight behind the effort by writing a letter to the governor of each state, suggesting that the passage of housing laws would facilitate their public works funding generally. HD staff typically accepted applications and developed housing projects regardless of a state's legal status, assuming the eventual approval of necessary legislation; however, passage increased federal confidence and support. Appointed advisory committees served as local contacts until a formal housing authority could be formed. Most states did pass the necessary bills, but multiple vetoes by California Governor Frank Merriam forced the late cancellation of projects planned for San Francisco and Los Angeles.[38]

Hackett's new HD took over the PWEHC's funding allotments, and by late June his staff was working on the PWEHC's approved projects. In April, the PWEHC had

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[38] Ralph K. Chase, "The Drafting of Housing Legislation Low-Cost Housing and Slum Clearance -- A Symposium," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 1/2 (March 1934): 187-188; McDonnell, 41; Walter Wright Alley, Executive Director Municipal Housing Commission to A.R. Clas, Director, Housing Division, 23 July 1935, Folder 5, Box 259, General Information, Los Angeles California, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

allotted funds for four former LD projects in Cleveland, and by June, title examinations, appraisals, optioning and design were ongoing for three of those sites. In Atlanta, accumulators were buying land at the former LD Techwood project for white families and at a site adjacent to Atlanta University for African Americans. On 22 November 1933, the PWEHC announced that Detroit would be the site of the first (non-LD) housing project, but disclosure of the site boundaries alerted land speculators and stalled the acquisition process. In January, the PWEHC appropriated $25 million for New York City, but federal and local officials spent months studying seven different sites and little was accomplished before the PWHEC became the HD.[39] The PWEHC had also allotted funds for projects in Chicago, Cincinnati, Denver, Indianapolis, Louisville, Milwaukee, Montgomery, Nashville, New Orleans, Omaha and Washington D.C., but land acquisition had not yet begun when the HD switched to the DB program.

Mitchell's Initiation and Recommendation (Branch I) staff adopted the fifteen cities with PWEHC commitments and evaluated other preliminary applications. They selected cities and determined the size of projects, sending forty-nine proposals to President Roosevelt for approval in the month of July.[40] Their analysis included a handful of concerns. They avoided cities too dependent upon a single industry, fearing a single business failure could devalue the government's investment. The support of the mayor, city council, local press and populace was preferred. Cities with high vacancy rates did not justify federal help regardless of conditions; they also avoided cities with extremely

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[39] Ian (Jan?) Holt, realtor to Michel (sic) Straus, Director of Publicity Public Works Administration 5 December 1933, Folder 7, Box 41 General Information on H-1201 and H-1205, Detroit MI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; New York Submission, 21 May 1934, Folder 1, Box 59 H-1300 New York, New York, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[40] Straus and Wegg, 128.

low vacancy rates because slum clearance and relocation might cause severe hardship. Legal (Branch VI) staff examined the status of the state's housing authority legislation and researched relevant laws.

In addition to these general concerns, each proposal came with its own unique conditions. Political allegiances influenced city selection, as did the expressed interest of politicians and local leaders. In 1930, Philadelphia was the third largest city in the nation, yet it received only one small project. Even factoring in the LD Carl Mackley Houses, Philadelphia built only half the housing units of the other four largest cities, per capita (Table 3-III). The city's conservative tradition discouraged the HD from granting allotments and the city's administration, headed by J. Hampton Moore, openly opposed federal housing – as illustrated by his opposition to the Mackley Houses (see Chapter 2). Ickes' broad reach and personal sensitivity also complicated allocations. In Detroit, the city opposed a PWA subway project, offending Ickes and prompting him to stall all other Detroit appropriations, including those for housing. In July 1935, Governor Huey Long's attempts to control Louisiana's PWA funds caused the cancellation of two well-developed New Orleans projects.[41]

Once the HD approved a city, Initiation and Recommendation (Branch I) employees examined sites proposed by local advocates or worked with local advisory committees to select sites. They placed emphasis on slum clearance although they also considered vacant land. When discussing slum growth, observers frequently used aquatic metaphors, as if overcrowded, deteriorated conditions were a slow-moving wave

[41] A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to the Administrator, 25 July 1934, Folder 8, Box 186 H-2301 Irish Channel Housing Project, New Orleans LA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

sweeping across a city. When discussing boundaries, the HD likened building a small project amidst a larger slum to "pouring pure water into a swamp."[42] They feared larger conditions of blight could overwhelm their small improvement. Loath to pay high prices for commercial land, the HD also avoided mixed-use areas. Reviewers refused sites adjacent to industrial areas (or areas likely to be encroached upon by industry), with their concomitant pollution, noise and heavy traffic.

The move to the DB program forced the federal HD to become knowledgeable about specific conditions in neighborhoods all across the country. Each site required access to water, sewer and electrical mains. If those systems did not exist, the HD (working with local officials) developed a plan for their installation. Some cities agreed to bear these costs, while other cities shared the costs with the HD. Federal reviewers studied transit lines and sometimes proposed changes, requiring negotiations with public or private transit companies. Reviewers examined the proximity of shopping districts, community centers, parks and recreation areas. If few stores existed, they recommended their inclusion in the new community (although they were often eliminated later in order to meet budgets). The HD worked with local recreation programs to develop project access to parks and to build community centers within projects if necessary. They developed outreach programs with local schools of social work.[43] Division officials frequently met with garbage collectors and fire chiefs to discuss project access and safety. They considered proximity to employment, and most importantly, access to local schools. HD investigators required an elementary school within walking distance (one-half mile),

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[42] Straus and Wegg, 60-61.

[43] Both the white and African-American projects in Nashville worked with the schools of social work at Vanderbilt and Fisk to develop self-improvement and recreational programs for tenants.

although junior high and high school students could travel longer distances. Negotiations with local school boards determined if nearby schools had the space to accommodate a significant increase in student enrollment, and they worked with schools to shift district boundaries as necessary. In some locations, the HD coordinated loans with the WPA for the construction of utilities, schools or school additions.[44]

In spring 1935, HD officials discovered that a member of the Denver advisory committee owned a portion of the selected site. The issue forced an investigation to determine if the site selection was unduly influenced for the member's benefit. This slowed the project's process, and in September, the HD faced a significant budget reduction and cancelled the project because it was not adequately advanced. Minor delays such as Denver's often caused the permanent suspension of projects, because Hackett's HD, as Kohn's before him, was pilloried for a lack of progress. Hackett took control of the program in June 1934 with $135 million and expected more funds, but policy and politics cut the program and its budget short. Within the year, the administration suspended all projects not under contract by 15 December 1935 – just eighteen months after the founding of the HD as a DB organization.[45]

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[44] The WPA constructed a new school within the site of New York's Williamsburg Houses. The fact that the classical revival school failed to maintain the project's International Style was much bemoaned by Talbot Hamlin and other commentators.

[45] Hyman Cunin, Assistant Architectural Engineer to Robert B. Mitchell, Acting Chief, Initiation and Recommendation, 30 November 1934, Folder 11, Box 151 H-1900 General Information, Denver CO, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Straus and Wegg, 131.

The Land Acquisition Process

From June 1934 until the end of the year, the HD staff developed the PWEHC-approved projects and reviewed new applications. Site selection and land acquisition proved time-consuming and difficult. The HD held the right of eminent domain but preferred to negotiate with owners, using condemnation as a last resort or as an expedient in the case of disputed or unclear title. Building on the Techwood LD group's previous work, Atlanta stood ahead of other cities, and on 29 September 1934, Ickes attended a ceremony marking the start of demolition at both Atlanta projects, Techwood for whites and University Houses for blacks, the DB program's first physical acts.[46]

By December 1934, the HD, local representatives and advisory committees had determined sites and acquired land in several cities. Although Cleveland stood at the forefront of housing reform, land accumulation proved slower there than in Atlanta. At Cedar Central, originally developed for an RFC proposal, land acquisition was completed, relocation was ongoing and demolition was contracted to begin imminently. At the second Cleveland project, Outhwaite, the federal government owned most of the land and relocation was ongoing; meanwhile land accumulators were negotiating options at the third Cleveland project, Lakeview Terrace. Land at both Montgomery's Riverside Heights (white) and William B. Patterson Courts (African American) was fully optioned and local architects were developing plans. In Indianapolis, the Lockefield Garden site was optioned, and the HD acquired the title in January 1935. In Detroit, New York City and Cincinnati, the local advisory groups and the HD had approved slum clearance sites

[46] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/50 (24 September 1934): 3.

and land acquisition began in early 1935.[47] The division approved three projects in Chicago: one on the north side and another on the west side, both for whites, and a third on the south side for African Americans. In October, condemnation began on the north side site, and the HD was set to begin at the west side site and the south side site in January 1935.[48] In Louisville, land acquisition and condemnation were ongoing at the large Central and Walnut site, but in December, a land owner brought his case to court, opposing the right of the HD to condemn land for housing purposes, thus halting progress. In Omaha, the Logan-Fontenelle site was selected and local HD officers were forming the design team.[49] Site studies were ongoing in Milwaukee, Washington D.C., Denver and Philadelphia.

In December 1934, as housing officials examined sites and worked through the complexities of slum land acquisition, President Roosevelt impounded $110 million of the HD's budget to free up funds needed for immediate relief.[50] His order froze all projects except some land purchases and the work already contracted for in Atlanta, Cleveland, Montgomery and Indianapolis. Understood as a temporary measure, the order had little practical effect on the division's progress and pre-construction work continued.

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[47] Dwight L. Hoopingarner, Associate Director of Housing to Property Owners, Williamsburg Housing Project H-1301, 28 December 1934, Folder 8, Box 67 Williamsburg, New York, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[48] A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to J.W. Moenisch, 5 October 1935, Folder 3, Box 100 South Park Gardens Chicago, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII. Blackhawk was eventually suspended because of local opposition and the expense of site work on the former quarry land, in favor of the Lathrop site further north. Ultimately, however, the Blackhawk site became part of the large Cabrini-Green complex. The South Park Boulevard project was vehemently opposed by white south siders who saw the project as the abandonment of their half of the city to African Americans. It would not be built during the HD period, but was constructed by the United States Housing Authority in 1939 as Ida B. Wells Homes (which were demolished in 2006).

[49] Straus and Wegg, 86; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Administrator, 5 March 1936, Folder 5, Box 157 Logan-Fontenelle or North Side Project, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[50] Straus and Wegg, 123.

Four months later, Roosevelt replenished the HD coffers and rewarded their compliance by allotting the program $450 million.

More serious than this brief de-budgeting was the outcome of the Louisville land acquisition case, which barred the right of eminent domain and ultimately curtailed one of the three main purposes of the program, forcing the HD to shift to vacant or abandoned sites. Consolidating urban lots is always a difficult process, subject to speculation and price inflation. In addition (more so than other phases of the program), land acquisition was subject to several layers of oversight and review. Understanding low land values as key to affordable rents, Ickes fiercely opposed any (real or perceived) inflation, characterizing speculation as selfish profit mongering at a time of national crisis; taking suspicion of fraud as a threat to his personal integrity.

Local groups handled much of the land acquisition work in the earliest projects and every city possessed variable conditions, but in the second half of 1934, the HD developed a standardized land acquisition approach. In order to avoid provoking speculation, strict secrecy defined the first phase. Once the HD and the local advisory committee approved a final site, the HD hired at least two local real estate agents or estimators to make independent valuations of every property on the site. Local firms researched titles, ownership and tax arrears. Appraisers assigned prices to each parcel, typically aiming for ten to fifteen percent below the assessed value. Then, local land accumulators developed a strategy and began visiting owners, discreetly offering options; which promised a small payment in return for the promise to sell property for a fixed

price by a future date (typically within three to six months). Ideally, once the HD had more than half of the properties under option, they announced the site to the press.[51]

After the public announcement, the right of eminent domain constituted a crucial weapon in the HD's land acquisition arsenal. Accumulators continued visiting owners, offering options at values below the assessment. The ability to condemn properties served as an unspoken threat to pressure owners into selling quickly. Many legal problems plagued slum properties specifically; more than half of properties investigated were in legal dispute. In casually developed areas, many slum parcels lacked clear property boundaries, or parcels overlapped. Ignorance, disinterest, or legal fees often kept beneficiaries from clearing title on an inherited parcel of land, leaving a number of people with rights to the property. Land accumulators found it difficult to locate and negotiate with absentee landlords (many of whom had virtually abandoned their unprofitable investments). Assessors deducted unpaid property taxes from values, and more so than in wealthier parts of town, back taxes often left owners actually owing money. At the site of the William B. Patterson Houses in Montgomery, seventy small, wood-framed houses stood on the site, mostly held by a single owner.[52] A disbanded cooperative society, however, owned a single parcel. All of the founding members owned part share in the property and land accumulators found and negotiated with more than a hundred former members or their beneficiaries to buy the property.

Despite the effort and delay of land acquisition, the HD avoided the hostile condemnation of sites and primarily used eminent domain to clear titles on contested

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[51] Straus and Wegg, 80.

[52] Preliminary Questionnaire completed by Mayor's Committee for Negro #2202, n.d., Folder 6, Box 180 William B. Patterson Courts Montgomery AL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

properties. Land accumulators would work out a fair price with the owners and then clear the title in court to speed the sale. In a handful of cases, if more than ninety percent of a site was optioned but a few owners proved unwilling to negotiate, the HD did condemn property. In July 1934, the HD sued for a few parcels on Cleveland's Cedar Central site. The resistant landowners claimed that housing was not a public use and named the PWEHC as the proper defendant in the case. As Ickes had already discontinued the corporation, the court bypassed the public use question and ruled in favor of the PWA.[53]

In December, the HD filed for condemnation of a site at Shelby and Walnut streets in Louisville, but one owner filed a demurrer, again questioning the validity of low-rent housing as a public use. On 4 January 1935, Judge Charles Dawson of the Federal District Court for the Western District of Kentucky found for the landowner. Dawson's decision limited "public use" strictly to government buildings and public spaces, stating the idea of "public benefit" was too broad and exposed too many properties to condemnation. On 15 July, the Sixth Federal District Appeals Court in Cincinnati upheld Dawson's decision by a one-vote margin.[54] Ickes appealed, but then withdrew the case. The Supreme Court consistently decided against the expansion of power represented by Roosevelt's New Deal programs and a Supreme Court decision could end the housing program and threaten the PWA in its entirety.[55]

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[53] McDonnell, 38; William Ebstein, *The Law of Public Housing* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), 28.

[54] Coleman Woodbury, "Condemnation of Land for Public Housing Projects" *The Journal of Urban Land & Public Utility Economics* 11/2 (May 1935): 196; McDonnell, 45.

[55] McDonnell, 54, taken from the author's interview with David Krooth. In 1937, after his overwhelming 1936 re-election, Roosevelt proposed the Judiciary Reorganization Bill of 1937, better known as the court-packing bill, which included provisions to modernize the court system generally, but its most controversial provision was to allow the president to appoint an additional justice to the Supreme Court for every sitting member over the age of seventy and one half, up to six total. In his first term, the Supreme Court had struck down many of Roosevelt's New Deal measures, and many accused the court of

More so than previous policy changes or funding withdrawals, Dawson's decision froze the HD program, stalling action between the January decision and the July appeal and forcing employees to reassess most proposed projects. Following the appeals court's ruling, the HD could no longer ask a judge to establish fair value. This placed land accumulation at the mercy of individual property owners, a situation that threatened to raise costs and push consequent rents beyond the reach of the politically acceptable lower third of the housing market. Work did continue, however, on projects that already had acquired land, including all three projects in Cleveland, the two in Atlanta, one of the two in Montgomery and the projects in Indianapolis and Milwaukee.

In other cities, however, the HD abandoned slum clearance sites. They cancelled the contested center-city site in Louisville in favor of a vacant site southwest of downtown. Washington D.C. stopped work on the slum clearance War College site in southwest. Close to the Capitol, the War College site had a well-developed site plan and good community infrastructure, but required condemnation to consolidate. In Lexington, the HD abandoned two slum clearance sites and bought a former racetrack on the outskirts of the city, building a wall between separate black and white projects. Boston property owners filed an injunction that forced the abandonment of an inner city, slum clearance site in favor of a vacant site on the south side. The division cancelled the St. Louis and Pittsburgh housing programs entirely as a result of the decision.[56] Suspending

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being obstructionist and political. The court-packing attempt was rejected by Congress and represented the most divisive losing moment in Roosevelt's presidency.

[56] H.A. Gray, Director of Housing to Mrs. W.D. Willis 20 October 1936, Folder 14, Box 128 H-1703 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington D.C., Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Housing Suit Delay Seen," *Milwaukee Journal* 20 November 1935, found in Milwaukee Housing Authority Scrapbook, Frank P. Zeidler Humanities Room, Milwaukee Public Library; Horatio Hackett, Assistant Administrator to U.S. Senator Champ Clark, 22 May 1936,

these projects meant that, in addition to a loss of time, money was spent settling HD debts with land accumulators, lawyers, real estate agents and architects.

Although forcing the HD to abandon several projects, the Dawson decision did not end all slum clearance projects. In several cities, the municipality used its right of eminent domain to assemble land, then resell it to the HD. The New York City Housing Authority bought the land for Williamsburg Houses and the Detroit Housing Commission purchased the property for the Brewster project.[57] Nashville assembled the land for Cheatham Place and Andrew Jackson Courts. It took four months of negotiations, but in January 1936, Toledo agreed to condemn the Brand Whitlock Houses site.[58]

The HD continued to negotiate for slum sites where conditions seemed favorable. In October and November 1935, after the appellate court's decision, the HD purchased two slum sites in Memphis. In Cincinnati, the city planning department had already developed a plan to clear the seriously deteriorated northwestern section of the city in conjunction with the construction of a new railroad station. The HD picked a small site

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Folder 9, Box 187 , General Information, St. Louis MO, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; P.W.A. Housing Division Relief Act of 1936, 18 August 1936, approved by A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, Folder 6, Box 78 General Information, Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[57] Nicholas Dagan Bloom, *Public Housing That Worked: New York in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), 31. The early First Houses project in New York City spurred a court case regarding the city's right to eminent domain in the case of public housing (*New York City Housing Authority v. Muller*), but in 1936 the courts found housing a natural extension of the city's other public health programs. A.W. Copp to Horatio Hackett, Director of Housing, 8 May 1935, Folder 3, Box 59, H-1300 General Information New York, NY Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Administrator, 25 September 1935, Folder 2, Box 68, Williamsburg Houses, New York City, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Housing Forces File Condemnation Suits," *Detroit News* 17 April, 1935, "Slum Decision Expected Soon," *Detroit News* 22 July 1935, available as clippings in Folder 6, Box 48, H-1201 Brewster, Detroit MI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Karen Dash, "Slum Clearance Farce," *The Nation* 142/3691 (1 April 1936): 410.

[58] Wilbur D. Shaw, Attorney to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 9 January 1936, Folder 4, Box 202, H-2601 Brand Whitlock Homes Project, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

within this larger section to serve as a nucleus for housing redevelopment. Given the city's interest on this slum site as part of a larger clearance program, the HD agreed to pay $80,000 over the assessed valuation to obtain the property for Laurel Homes. In Minneapolis, land accumulation stalled after the Louisville decision, but in late July, a Department of Justice special attorney helped the HD obtain reasonable options from the few resistant owners.[59] The HD completed eight other slum clearance projects despite the decision, but seven of these were on small sites, involving the purchase of only a few parcels of land.[60] While the Dawson decision complicated slum clearance -- one of the three purposes of the program -- overall, the HD built twenty-seven slum clearance projects, containing sixty-two percent of the program's units.

Chicago's program faced the biggest battles and was changed the most as a result of the Louisville decision. In January 1935, the HD and the Chicago advisory committee had three slum clearance projects: one on the north side and one on the west side for whites, and a third on the south side for African Americans (Figure 3-3). After the Louisville decision, the HD abandoned the north and south side sites and cancelled, then vastly reduced, the west side site due to difficulties with land acquisition. Most significantly, community opposition forced the abandonment of the south side project for

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[59] F. H. Harrison, Associate Management Supervisor, "Report on Surveys and Evacuation of the Slum Areas by the Housing Division of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works Dixie Homes – Project H-3401, Lauderdale Courts – H-3403, Memphis Tennessee," 29 April 1936, Folder 3, Box 248 H-3400 General Information, Memphis TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; City Planning Commission, "Cincinnati Basin District Proposed Redevelopment Plan, 1933," Folder 7, Box 138 H-1800 General Information, Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Harry S. Swensen, Special Attorney, Department of Justice, "Report No. 5," Folder 4, Box 282, H-4200 General Information Minneapolis MN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[60] These included Birmingham, Evansville, Atlantic City, Columbia SC, Enid OK, Schenectady, Cambridge MA and Wayne PA.

African Americans, the minority group that suffered most from substandard, overcrowded housing conditions. In 1937, Chicago still had three projects underway, but they were largely unrecognizable from the 1935 proposal.

At the west side site, land accumulators were working on a large, dense, urban site planned to become the largest project of the program with 1,689 new units (see Figure 3-3). A long-standing slum area, the individual lots were small and ownership of many lay in dispute, complicating title clearance. On 11 April 1935, Administrator Ickes suspended the west side site, blaming a cabal of greedy lawyers for falsely inflating property values. The wording of the announcement made it clear that suspension was a threat rather than an actuality. Internally, the HD formally approved the funds for the site in May, and the architects and land negotiators continued to work. Ickes' threat proved ineffective, however, and by the end of June asking prices for the parcels had not fallen enough; Ickes actually suspended the project and returned the funds to the HD.[61]

On 17 June, the private Metropolitan Housing Commission (MHC) issued a report critical of the HD's work on the west side site. Rather than chiseling owners and lawyers, the MHC blamed the division for the acquisition problems.[62] The report accused local HD representatives F. J. C. Dresser and Alfred Fellheimer of stalling, allowing property

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[61] Horatio B. Hackett, "Minutes of Meeting held in the office of Secretary Ickes on Monday, April 8, 1935," Folder 9, Box 80, H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Al Chase, "Chicago's West Side Housing Unit Abandoned," *Chicago Tribune* 14 June 1935, 1:8; "South Side Housing Project: Court Given Money; 414 Sites Taken," *Chicago Herald and Examiner* 27 June 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Chicago Slum Program Abandoned by Ickes," *Chicago Daily News*, 13 June 1935, 3; "Halts Housing," *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, 14 June 1935, 4; Al Chase, "Chicago's West Side Housing Unit Abandoned," *Chicago Tribune*, 14 June 1935, 35.

[62] Al Chase, "Civic Council Assails Ickes Housing Tangle," *Chicago Tribune*, 27 June 1935, 3; "West Side Muddle Blamed on PWA," *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, 27 June 1935, available Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

owners time to discuss and ultimately increase their asking prices. The MHC also condemned a lack of public information, claiming it created unnecessary confusion and concern among residents and made them less friendly to the pubic housing cause.

Located west of Hull House, the west side site was a well-known slum that Hull House worker Robert Hunter had studied in 1901 (see Chapter 1). Local reformers supported its clearance, and at the end of July 1935, local and federal figures found a way to make a much smaller project possible; buying a single block of the original site from the Jewish People's Institute (JPI), which then housed an unused gymnasium.[63] Rather than the mile-square site, the division exercised options on land to the immediate south and east of the JPI site, creating a twenty-four acre, irregular site (Figure 3-4).[64] After Jane Addams' death in May 1935, the HD named the project in her honor.[65]

The Louisville decision forced the reduction of the Jane Addams Houses, and it also resulted in the abandonment of the north side, Blackhawk project. The Blackhawk site lay two miles north of the Loop and ten blocks west of Lake Michigan, spanning between the Gold Coast (one of Chicago's most prestigious residential neighborhoods) on the east and the industry-clogged Chicago River on the west (see Figure 3-3). Land accumulators held more than ninety percent of the site by October 1934. The project was

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[63] "JPI Tract Purchased for Public Housing" *Chicago Daily News*, 29 July 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Al Chase, "PWA Acquires Housing Site on West Side," *Chicago Tribune*, 30 July 1935, 19.

[64] The HD went ahead with Jane Addams Houses (H-1405) without securing ownership of all parcels, a situation they consistently tried to avoid. On 2 April 1936, after foundation contracts were let, the HD owned 154 out of 187 parcels on the site. Twenty-one of the remaining parcels were in the process of purchase, but twelve remained problematic. This situation put the HD at the mercy of property owners, and allowed owners to extract higher purchase prices. A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Administrator, 2 April 1936, Folder 1, Box 90 H-1401 West Side Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[65] Ickes had stringent rules about the naming of projects. In particular, projects could not be named after people unless they were deceased.

announced to the press on 11 December but opposition arose soon after. In July 1935, the North Side Property Owners group sent a letter urging landlords to not sell their property to the HD. The letter noted that, in the wake of the project announcement, many white residents had left the area and the black population had tripled. It also urged property owners not to rent units to black families, stating that the growth of an African-American population on the site weakened arguments against the project. By August, the HD could reach agreements on only a quarter of the properties.[66] This stiff resistance, along with expensive site work, forced the HD to suspend the Blackhawk project. Instead, the HD bought a factory and showroom site from the John Deere Company, located at West Diversey and North Damen a mile and a half north (See Figure 3-3), and reassigned the architecture team to design the Julia C. Lathrop Homes there.

The resizing and relocation of the Addams and Lathrop projects caused a loss of funding and significant delays, but the cancellation of the south side project was the most devastating result of the Louisville case. Although poor housing conditions plagued working families of all races and ethnicities, residential segregation meant that African American Chicagoans faced poorer conditions, greater overcrowding, higher rents and fewer options than whites.

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[66] H-1403 Nov 2, 1935. Al Chase, "Chicago To Get Third Federal Housing Unit," *Chicago Tribune*, 11 December 1934, 2; "Housing Project Draws Property Owners' Fire" *Chicago Daily News*, 27 December 1934, available in Folder 2, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; New North Side Property Owners Association to Property Owners and Business Men of the Near North Side District, 1 July 1935, Folder 3, Box 100 H-1402 South Park Gardens, Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Herman Gastrell Seely, "Housing Plans Here Reported 'Still Alive,'" unspecified newspaper, unspecified date, available in Folder 5, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

The HD, working with the advisory committee, initially approved a black project on the northeastern corner of South Park Boulevard and Pershing Road (see Figure 3-3). The site stood at the eastern edge of the recognized confines of the Black Belt, adjacent to the white Oakland neighborhood. In December 1934, land accumulators began to take options on this site, called South Park Gardens. In May 1935, members of the MHC and the Chicago Advisory Commission issued a report on relocation that outlined the problem of residential segregation, overcrowding and the absolute dearth of alternative housing for current residents. Slum clearance would displace residents, but there really was no other available housing. The mere announcement of the project impacted black living conditions, since owners ceased repairing their buildings, although demolition was often years away. The most stable residents, those who owned their property or had regular incomes, began looking for new, long-term accommodations, causing occupant turnover. New residents, who could negotiate lower rents in return for temporary leases, were often less financially stable and crime spiked after the project announcement.

The announcement of South Park Gardens inflicted hardship on the strained African-American south side, and the MHC report discussed means to mitigate the harm. It suggested staggering demolition in order to limit the number of people displaced at one time and building temporary homes on parkland. The report emphasized that these ideas were minor fixes and that only building on vacant land could solve the Black Belt's overcrowding problem. No viable vacant areas existed within the Black Belt, however, so

it would be necessary to build in a "white" area to improve conditions.[67] Surrendering vacant boundary land to African Americans was understood to be politically impossible.

In addition to an intractable relocation problem, the South Park Gardens site faced public opposition. Intense overcrowding meant that African-American residency significantly devalued surrounding property. The site lay eleven blocks south of the northern edge of the widely-acknowledged Black Belt, but some property owners saw this as a temporary condition; they claimed that building an African-American project there would concretize the racial character of the area, stigmatize the south side and further endanger their property values (Figure 3-5). White residents of the narrow Oakland neighborhood, which lay between the eastern boundary of the site and Lake Michigan, banded with businessmen from Hyde Park (which lies twelve blocks south) to oppose the project. Organized by the Chicago Real Estate Board, opponents used the neighborhood periodical, the *Oakland Outlook*, to voice their resistance.[68]

After the Louisville decision in January 1935, the Chicago Real Estate Board, the *Oakland Outlook* and the *Hyde Park Herald* increased opposition pressure by holding mass meetings and sending petitions directly to President Roosevelt that dramatically declared, "this project will destroy the entire south side." In March, the Chicago Real Estate Board declared the South Park Gardens project economically unsound; an opening salvo in a protracted public battle. Local opponents circulated a petition asserting a litany

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[67] Arthur Bohnen Inc., "A Housing Project for the South Side, Chicago, Illinois," 24 May 1935; Al Chase, "Civic Council Assails Ickes Housing Tangle."

[68] Hyde Park is the Chicago neighborhood that is home to the University of Chicago. The South Park Boulevard imbroglio turned out to be only the first salvo in the University of Chicago's battle to maintain a white presence on the South Side. Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield's *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago* (New York: Free Press, 1955) chronicles this effort.

of common public housing complaints; there was no housing shortage in the area; private enterprise could build properties more inexpensively; the loss of taxes would undermine the economic security of the city; property owners were not consulted about the plan; and the project would fail to create jobs or stimulate the construction industry.[69]

Opponents traveled to Washington D.C. to present their opposition to the HD in April 1935, and in May the Chicago Real Estate Board wrote a letter to Ickes. The opponents saw the site as a gateway to the South Side (despite the fact that it lay more than a mile south of the Black Belt's commonly-recognized northern border) and stated that in its selection, the federal government was making a racial determination about the larger district, devaluing all the south side and ending all hope of a "better" use. Housing officials dismissed the opposition as a handful of well organized, real-estate professionals enjoying high profits from their slum properties and continued with plans for the project. South Park Gardens looked virtually assured in June 1935 when the HD took over four hundred of the parcels on the site.[70]

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[69] "Sec. Ickes and Associates Continue Stalling and Buck Passing of Housing Brief," *Oakland Outlook* 14, 3 July 1935, 1; Al Chase, "Court Rulings May Block Federal South Side Project," *Chicago Tribune* 14 July 1935, A12; "Mass Meeting Tonight: Louis T. Orr Gives 13 Reasons Against Housing," *Oakland* Outlook, 18 July 1935, 1/2; "Property Owners, Business Houses, Civic Organizations and Clubs Protest Federal Housing Project," *Oakland Outlook*, 18 July 1935, 1:4; "Mass Meeting to Protest the S.S. Housing Project," *Hyde Park Herald*, 19 July 1935, 1:6; Al Chase, "Realty Board Raps Federal Housing Unit," *Chicago Tribune*, 7 March 1935, 23; "Realty Board Raps Federal Housing Unit" *Oakland Outlook*, 14 March 1935, 1:1; "Memorandum: re. Petition Circulated by Milo B. French," n.d. (after April 13, 1935), Folder 9, Box 83 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[70] PWA Housing Coordinating Committee of Chicago Real Estate Board to Harold Ickes, Administrator, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, 15 May 1935, Folder 11, Box 93 H-1401 West Side Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; C.A. Inman, District Manager to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing 5 August 1935, Folder 2, Box 98 H-142 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Design and land acquisition continued and demolition of the westernmost section of South Park Gardens began in August.[71] Buying and consolidating the parcels, however, proved complex. Small properties, absentee landlords and disputed ownerships required careful negotiations. Eight property owners flatly refused to sell their land. In the face of these difficulties and the Cincinnati Court of Appeals affirmation of the Louisville decision, the HD abandoned project on 10 September.[72] They redirected the funds to a new white project at Trumbull Park, on the far south side of the city (see Figure 3-3). Not only did the HD fail to provide Chicago's black community with well-constructed homes, the botched attempt caused the demolition and the further deterioration of desperately needed African-American units. Some (primarily white) landowners received payment, but the black community suffered without recompense.

The Move to a Permanent Public Housing Program

Nationally, the Louisville case delayed and forced the abandonment of projects while wasting HD resources, thus drawing further criticism from the press. On 16 May 1935, as the division grappled with the decision, Administrator Ickes appointed Hackett

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[71] "...Side Housing Project: Court Given Money; 414 Sites Taken," *Chicago Herald and Examiner*; "Government Takes Title to Land; Slum Razing By PWA Starts In Few Weeks," *Chicago Herald and Examiner* 27 June, 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[72] Al Chase, "Second PWA Housing Unit Here Is Killed" *Chicago Tribune*, 26 March 1936, 27; Clark Wright, Architectural Director to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 16 October 1935, Folder 8, Box 99 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII. While not constructed as a part of the initial DB program, the project, named the Ida B. Wells Homes, was eventually constructed with funds from the Warner Housing Act, opening in 1941. Despite Wells' good design, durable construction, and historical significance as the first African-American project in Chicago, the complex was demolished in 2005-2006. For further information about Ida B. Wells Homes, see Elizabeth Milnarik's "Success of Public Housing: A Study of Intent and Form at the Ida B. Wells Homes and the Wells Extension in Chicago, Illinois" (Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1999).

the Assistant Administrator of the PWA and promoted Angelo R. Clas to director of the HD. The son of a Milwaukee architect, Clas received an architecture degree from Harvard and had worked in both manufacturing and architecture before he entered federal employment. An associate of Hackett's in Chicago, Clas came with him, initially working for Initiation and Recommendation (Branch I).[73] Clas undoubtedly was aware of the design issues of the day, but like Hackett, he had neither a personal affiliation with the RPAA, nor professional experience with the *regionalist* design approach.

Clas took over the HD not only as it reassessed the viability of its projects without eminent domain, but also as it faced a public mood rapidly shifting away from the long-term economic benefits promised by public housing, toward the more direct stimulus of the WPA and the Second New Deal. In summer 1935, the government began drawing New Deal spending to a close. On 26 August, President Roosevelt ordered that all HD projects must have signed construction contracts by 15 December 1935. In September, another order slashed the HD budget from $450 million to $100 million.[74]

In the fall of 1935, Clas and the HD employees developed a list of projects that could meet the new deadline and budget. Staffers worked desperately to get these plans ready for bidding, while placing many projects on hold (Table 3-IV). Rather than a rolling program that used the HD's branches concurrently, all of the current projects were more or less in the same phase of development, placing stress on each branch as the mass of projects moved through the phases of planning, design, construction and operation.

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[73] Order 157 16 May 1935, Folder 2, Box 1, Entry 9, "Orders Issued by Harold Ickes, Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works, 1933-1939," Record Group 135, Records of the Public Works Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Housing Upheaval," *Architectural Forum* 61:1 (July 1934): 67.

[74] Straus and Wegg, 130-131.

Shifting policies had stalled the HD in 1934 but many projects began construction in 1935. Atlanta's Techwood, the first project to break ground, began building in January 1935. By July, work was underway at four other projects; Cedar Central in Cleveland, University Homes in Atlanta, Lockefield Gardens in Indianapolis and Patterson Courts in Montgomery. In September 1935 Techwood opened some of its doors; the project included a dormitory building for adjacent Georgia Institute of Technology and this single building opened to accommodate students for the 1935 school year.[75] Between July and December, seventeen other projects began construction, with demolition ongoing at seven others. Roosevelt's required 15 December deadline proved malleable, but with the exception of Baker Homes in Lackawanna, substantial construction had begun at all the HD projects by August 1936.

On 1 September 1936, a year after the opening of the Techwood dormitory, the whole project opened, becoming the first operational federal public housing project. Seven projects opened in the first half of 1937, including University Homes in Atlanta, Parklawn in Milwaukee, Riverside Heights and Patterson Courts in Montgomery, Liberty Square in Miami, Durkeeville, in Jacksonville (Florida) and Stanley Holmes Houses in Atlantic City. At least thirteen other projects opened in the second half of 1937. Construction stretched into 1938, and Brewster and Parklawn in Detroit opened in October, the last of the division's DB projects.

Administrator Ickes paid particular attention to the naming of projects and preferred titles that referred to adjacency (Old Harbor Village in Boston), neighborhood

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[75] "First Techwood Building Finished and Turned Over to Tech Students," *Atlanta Constitution* 17 September 1935, available in Folder 3, Box 40 H-1101 Techwood Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

(Westfield Acres in Camden was on Westfield Avenue), or deceased figures (Jane Addams Houses in Chicago). The local advisory committee typically proposed several names and Ickes himself selected his favorite. Housing reformers in Oklahoma City raised Ickes' ire when they suggested Will Rogers Courts.[76] Ickes either found Rogers to be too recently deceased (1935) or lacking in historic significance, but after the local advisory committee insisted several times, he approved the name with some pique.

The 1935 decisions significantly curtailed the goals and vision of the HD, but while the eminent domain rule was permanent, the budget reduction seemed temporary and project suspension letters suggested the likelihood of their eventual resumption. The low-rent housing provisions of the NIRA had broken a significant barrier, involving the federal government in housing on a permanent basis for the first time. In the two years following the NIRA, the federal government widened its participation in housing issues. On 27 June 1934, a year after the passage of the NIRA, Congress created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Previously, home mortgages required large down payments with short, three to five year amortization periods, making it difficult for families without significant savings to buy a house. The FHA established new mortgage programs that assumed credit risk in order to shrink the size of down payments and lengthen amortization rates. In addition, the FHA created a new secondary market for the sale of mortgages, increasing available credit for home loans. The program made a house a reasonable investment for most families, a significant change that continues to play a major role in the American economy. Other programs offered affordable loans for home

[76] Victor E. Harlow, Secretary, Oklahoma City Advisory Committee on Housing, to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 8 May 1936, Folder 1, Box 386 H-8101 Will Rogers Courts, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

repair (which was desperately needed after four years of deferred maintenance) and short-term loans to avoid foreclosure.

The FHA widened the pool of people eligible to purchase homes, but it also established a tiered system of housing finance, as examined by Gail Radford in *Modern Housing for America.* The FHA provided subsidy for middle class home purchases, drawing investors to what had previously been risky, unattractive loans. These subsidies, however, were on privately constructed houses, invisible and nearly universal. Public housing, intended for the working-class, was a highly visible form of subsidy. The *regionalist* arrangement of buildings, clustered around green spaces and disconnected from the street, further emphasized the obvious distinction of the structures. The establishment of these separate assistance patterns played a significant role in the problems of public housing in the latter part of the twentieth century.

On 29 June 1936, Congress passed the George-Healy Act, intended to solve a number of problems with the HD's DB program. It was clear that the current program, which offered thirty percent grants and thirty-five year mortgages, would still fail to achieve rents affordable to the poorest Americans (see Table 2-I). The law allowed the HD to provide forty-five percent grants and sixty-year mortgages to decrease the costs and lower rents further. The George-Healy Act also cleared the way for housing projects to pay set fees for local services. Under the LD program, a local corporation owned the land and paid property taxes, but the DB program switched ownership to the federal government, which is immune to local assessment. Public housing residents require fire and police protection, utilities, schools and all the other municipal services, but in 1934, Comptroller McCarl ruled against the voluntary payment of taxes. In Atlanta, where

plans for Techwood and University Homes were well underway, newspapers suggested they would become federally-administered oases, immune from civic law enforcement, even questioning the ability of city police to pursue criminals onto project land.[77]

Creating, managing and regulating tiny cities was well beyond the HD's scope, and like other technical difficulties, the division improvised a bureaucratic solution. While unable to pay "taxes", the division negotiated an in-lieu-of-tax fee with each city. Tax collection in slum districts was usually far below assessments, so the HD argued that cities should not collect full assessments based on federal improvements, justifying a discounted assessment. The division also raised the civic cost of the slum. Studies revealed that slums used the police, fire, truancy, health and other city departments significantly more than other areas of the city, while also paying less in taxes. Howard Whipple Green first calculated the cost of a Cleveland slum, concluding that a large African-American slum (in which Outhwaite was a portion) annually cost the city $1,750,000 more than it collected in taxes (Figure 3-6).[78]

This civic cost of the slum argument allowed the HD to maintain that, in addition to the benefit of new construction jobs, solid housing stock, and payment of back taxes, their work would actually save every city considerable money in the long term. Initially, the division set the fee at the amount collected the previous year in taxes, but over time, the HD negotiated a figure of between ten and fifteen percent of the tax assessment. In

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[77] Straus and Wegg, 113; "...Controversy Over Techwood" *Atlanta Journal* 13 March 1935, available in Folder 7, Box 29 H-1101 Techwood Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[78] Rev. R.B. Navin, William Peattie and F.R. Stewart, in consultation Howard Whipple Green, "An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland," (prepared for the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, 27 March 27, 1934), 11, available in Folder 4, Box 2 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

October 1935 Comptroller McCarl, the *bete noir* of public housing's improvised approaches, found the HD's voluntary in-lieu-of-tax payments illegal. The 1936 George-Healy Act, passed three months before Atlanta's Techwood opened, legalized in-lieu payments although the amount of the payment remained negotiable. The act also confirmed that occupants would be local residents and established that eligible tenants must currently live in substandard conditions and must no more than five times annual rents, assuring that public housing would not threaten the private real-estate market.[79]

In addition to offering housing assistance to the middle class and plugging legal holes in the existing DB program, in 1934 Congress began to consider a permanent public housing program. The DB program produced buildings that would require long-term management, but as a part of the PWA, the program was temporary and the HD was beholden to the requirements of economic stimulation and slum clearance as much as to the creation of decent low-rent housing. Housing activists, regarding slum conditions as proof of the market's inability to solve the housing problem, worked to make housing a permanent government program.

Kohn's HD understood itself as a demonstration-housing program, offering a new means of planning, designing and constructing housing for everyone. Rather than a model appropriate only for the poor, Kohn and the *regionalists* adapted their wider vision to meet low-income rents, eager for the opportunity to build their communities throughout the nation. President Roosevelt and Ickes, meanwhile, primarily understood the HD as a means for job creation and slum clearance, lacking sufficient interest to put their political might behind the *regionalists*' residential revolution.

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[79] Straus and Wegg, 130, id., 155.

Following Kohn's dismissal, the *regionalist* approach remained a dominant pattern in the HD although the leading thinkers and planners were redirected to other programs (Stein, Kastner), limited to an advisory capacity (Ackerman, Bohn), or relegated to working on a single project (Stonorov, Bigger, Grunsfield). Although shut out of policy-making positions in the DB program, a new publication and the campaign to pass permanent public housing legislation reinvigorated the reform housing community. In December 1934 Houghton Mifflin published Catherine Bauer's *Modern Housing*, and the book became a manifesto for the housing movement.

Affiliated with the *regionalists*, Bauer became involved with the RPAA late and in a secondary capacity. She began her career as an art critic, but a 1930 seminar on the new workers' housing program in Frankfurt, Germany transformed her thinking (see Figure 1-32). Initially attracted to the "style," May's rational approach and the intended social function of the International Style transformed her from an art critic into a housing reformer. An award-winning essay in *Fortune* on the need for a truly modern aesthetic in housing catapulted Bauer into national prominence.[80] After further study abroad, Bauer published *Modern Housing*, which described post-war European housing developments in much the same way that Stein and the *regionalists* did; but beyond the creation of new units in a new format, Bauer claimed that European programs redefined the issue of housing. Use rather than profit dominated their new programs, a necessary shift for healthy growth in the densifying modern city. Wide-ranging, large-scale planning created comprehensive and efficient communities. Units maximized light and air; good design

[80] Peter H. Oberlander, H. Peter and Eva Newbrun, *Houser: The Life and Work of Catherine Bauer* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 91-93.

made up for compactness. The book detailed the various methods of financing different nations used to build their new housing and critiqued the American residential system for its inefficiencies and lack of foresight. To change conditions in the United States, Bauer called upon unions to take a more active role in residential planning, coordinating both subsidized and private housing efforts to achieve efficiency and quality. Illustrated with evocative photographs of housing in England, France, Germany, Austria, Holland and other nations, *Modern Housing* was the first book on the subject in a decade and presented a cogent plan that inspired and reinvigorated housing reformers. Like Stein and Kohn's *regionalism*, in European reform housing Bauer saw a better way of life for everyone, not just the working class.

Bauer identified labor unions as the ideal groups to agitate for a new system of housing, but up to that point, unionists had participated in reform housing only tangentially. The American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union constructed the LD Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia and local leaders served on some advisory committees. The American Federation of Labor (AFL), an amalgamation of smaller craft-based unions, was interested in public housing between 1914 and 1921, but turned away from that position, explicitly opposing public housing by the end of the 1920's. Building-trades members disagreed with the HD's program, calling it the first step toward federal control over the construction industry, and leaders characterized European housing as a socialist exercise, "...counter to our ideals of individual initiative and rights."[81] Although the AFL opposed federal intervention, it supported improving housing conditions for its members, giving unions some common cause with housing reformers.

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[81] *American Federationist* 39/20 (January 1932), as quoted in McDonnell, 68.

In 1934 a third housing activist group formed, joining the National Public Housing Council (NHPC) and the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO). The Labor Housing Conference (LHC) formed to shift the position of unions generally and the AFL specifically, as the most efficient means to make housing a permanent federal concern. In May 1934, John Edelman and others involved with the Carl Mackley Houses came together at the annual convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to form the LHC. Headed by James M. McDevitt, president of the Building Trades Council, the group hired Bauer as Executive Secretary. The LHC's aims are best expressed in a May 1934 letter to President Roosevelt criticizing the housing bill currently under consideration. The bill proposed a federally supported system of housing loans for middle-class families, but the LHC letter, likely authored by Bauer, stated that private construction inevitably produced low-quality, unhealthy communities. Rather than buttressing the private housing sector, the letter proposed a new method of housing delivery that involved regional and local planning to maximize the efficiency of land use and avoid the low-quality endemic to commercial construction.[82] The NPHC and the NAHO, spoke broadly and wrote articles for popular magazines and journals, but the LHC focused on educating and persuading individual labor leaders.

In the summer of 1934, Edelman and McDevitt attended the annual AFL convention in San Francisco. They presented a resolution asking Roosevelt and Congress to develop a long range plan to eliminate slums and create good housing that would rent

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[82] Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 180; James L. McDevitt, Norman Blumberg, John W. Edelman and Catherine Bauer, Labor Housing Conference to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President, 17 May 1934, Folder 11 (General File: Catherine Bauer Wurster 1937-1940), Box 2 (General Files, ASPO Reports, Minutes – Bohn, Personal Family, Ernest Bohn Collection, Special Collections, Kelvin Smith Library, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH.

for between four and six dollars, per room, per month. A second, more radical resolution (written by Bauer) proposed a new federal department of housing and public welfare which would run programs that provided for the condemnation of land and direct subsidy to lower rents on workers' housing. Neither proposals were passed at the convention, but the ideas created a constituency of sympathetic unionists. The LHC continued their campaign and in October 1935, at the next convention in Atlantic City, the AFL passed a resolution officially supporting public housing.[83] In just one year, the LHC managed to shift the massive AFL's position in support of housing.

Nationally, housing advocacy reached a fevered pitch in late summer 1934, when the NAHO sponsored a national tour for three European housing experts, just as Hackett restructured the HD after Kohn's resignation. The experts included Raymond Unwin, who (with Barry Parker), designed the first garden cities and moved England toward a coordinated planning approach on a national scale. A lecturer at Columbia University, Unwin was well known in the United States. Second tour member Alice Samuel was an experienced English housing manager, and Ernst Kahn managed a public housing project in Frankfurt, the city whose efforts had so inspired Bauer. The group visited fourteen cities across the country.[84] They toured in-progress LD and DB projects, visited local slum sites, and met with housing reformers from more than forty cities. Local HD advisory committees hosted the group, or traveled to meet with them. The NAHO and local groups publicized the visits widely in local newspapers, with stories that anticipated their visit and reported on their impressions of cities.

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[83] Judd and Detweiler, *Report of the Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor* (Washington D.C., 1934), 414, as quoted in McDonnell, 70; id., 117-118.

[84] The group visited New York, Washington D. C., Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, New Orleans, Atlanta, Knoxville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

In October, the tour culminated in a four-day meeting in Baltimore. Eleanor Roosevelt opened the session, and seventy-five housing leaders attended, including Frederick Ackerman, Catherine Bauer, Ernest Bohn, A.R. Clas, Horatio Hackett, Robert Kohn, John Millar, John Nolen, Father O'Grady, Mary Simkhovitch, Alfred Stern, Oscar Stonorov, Edith Elmer Wood and Henry Wright. Leading members of the NPHC, the NAHO and the LHC came together, joined by many local housing experts. Planners, architects, social workers, community organizers and economists attended along with federal officials from the HD, the Resettlement program, the Greenbelt program and the TVA. Highlighting the importance of the issue, Unwin, John Ihlder, and Bohn personally briefed President Roosevelt on the meeting.[85]

The meeting brought the members of the NHPC, NAHO and LHC together for the first time and, significantly, allowed them to share ideas with the HD's administrators. After the meeting, the NAHO published *A Housing Program for the United States*, outlining the plan developed at the meeting. The report advocated for permanent federal, state and local housing agencies, and suggested all these agencies were to have creative freedom in their activities, limited only by the goal of creating low-cost, high-quality houses. In addition to publicizing the problem of housing by generating press, the tour also brought disparate reformers together, providing them an opportunity to develop a common approach to the housing problem and giving an impetus for what would become a three-year campaign to found a permanent public housing program in the United States.

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[85] "Complete Program, Housing Conference with European and American Housing Experts," 27-29 September 1934, Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 3 (General Records, 1933-1937), Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; McDonnell, 81.

Encouraged by President Roosevelt's interest and the national spotlight created by the NAHO tour and meeting, housing advocates decided to make public housing a permanent federal responsibility. Passing a housing law proved an arduous, difficult process that took three years and involved defining, redefining, shifting and shaping federal housing assistance to meet the concerns and desires of innumerable political players. Father Timothy L. McDonnell presented the struggle in *The Wagner Housing Act* (1957). In the 1935 spring Congressional session, representatives of the NHPC wrote a bill and persuaded long-time ally Robert Wagner to introduce it to the Senate. The LHC drafted a competing bill and Representative Henry Ellenbogen of Pittsburgh submitted it to the House of Representatives. The NHPC bill avoided outlining processes and kept housing within Ickes' Department of the Interior, while the LHC bill defined more specific programs and sought independent status. The NHPC bill called for a one-time allotment from the Treasury, assuming the long-term financial viability of projects, while the LHC bill established a system of bonds and grants that required longer-term commitment from the government.[86] Both bills, however, died in committee.

During the Congressional recess, Ellenbogen refined his bill, putting the program within the Department of the Interior. He resubmitted it in the summer, but it again failed in committee. After the summer session, Ellenbogen and Wagner began to work together, along with Wagner's aide Leon Keyserling, to draft a coordinated bill. Consulting with Bauer and housing economist Warren J. Vinton, Keyserling wrote the legislation in the fall of 1935. Rather than courting the largest constituency possible, Wagner's new bill hewed closely to the ideas of Bauer's LHC. These activists pushed to create a program

[86] McDonnell, 88-103 passim..

based on the LD program and moved the housing program out of the Department of the Interior. On 3 April 1936, Wagner and Ellenbogen introduced their new, coordinated acts into both houses of Congress.[87]

This new legislation needed unified support because a permanent federal housing program now faced staunch opposition from influential special-interest groups, including the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the National Retail Lumber Dealers Association and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. While the PWA's HD evaded most resistance because of its nature as an emergency measure, the new program made housing a permanent, essential federal concern.[88] Several federal agencies involved with loans and mortgages, including the FHA, joined these private organizations in opposing the Wagner-Ellenbogen act.

In the face of this opposition, housing activists created a frenzy of popular support in the spring and summer of 1936. The NAHO opened a Washington D.C. office, headed by editor John Millar, to coordinate activities and to provide information and publicity. The NPHC wrote articles and mustered the support of allied special-interest groups. Bauer summoned the many housing committees of local AFL chapters. All this action culminated on 20 April, when the Senate Committee on Education and Labor held a week of hearings on the bill. Wagner and Ickes testified, followed by members of the AFL housing committee, Bauer, Bohn and Edith Elmer Wood. Clerics testified to the moral rightness of the cause and financiers spoke on their willingness to purchase public housing bonds. After some amendments from President Roosevelt and other Senators, the

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[87] Ibid., 111, id., 164.
[88] Ibid., 143.

bill passed the Senate on 16 June. Despite the momentum, the bill failed to make it out of committee in the House, largely due to the ambivalence of the Banking and Currency Committee chairman, Henry Steagall. The Wagner-Ellenbogen Act died when Congress adjourned on 20 June 1936.[89]

President Roosevelt's overwhelming reelection in 1936 proved that America supported his New Deal and this political capital strengthened the housing movement. Not merely a secondary provision of Roosevelt's administration, many now felt that poor housing, which plagued so many Americans, should become a central initiative and the housing movement regained the momentum it had lost in June 1936. During the recess many groups drafted or revised housing legislation, in hopes of becoming associated with the popular program. Secretary Ickes wrote a bill, as did Treasury Secretary Henry Morganthau. Enjoying the prior approval of the President, Wagner's bill remained the frontrunner. Wagner met with Bauer, Bohn, Vinton, Woodbury, Edith Elmer Wood, the NPHC, the HD, the Farm Security Administration and the Resettlement Administration, as well as housing managers from Cincinnati, Atlanta and New York. Keyserling, Wagner's bill-writer, incorporated these recommendations into a second draft of the bill.[90] Coleman Woodbury of the NAHO and Vinton met with administrators from other fields to refine the organization for the new department. Ickes made suggestions and worked to retain control over any new housing program.

On 5 January 1937, the first day of the new session, Wagner refrained from submitting his bill to the Senate, but four members of the House of Representatives

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[89] Ibid., 173, id., 178, id., 213; U.S. Congress, House, 74rd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 80, pt. a (16 June 1936), 9566.

[90] McDonnell, 266.

deposited housing bills to their chamber. Ellenbogen resubmitted the bill approved by the Senate during the previous session and Steagall introduced the same bill, modified to keep the housing program within the Department of the Interior. On 6 January President Roosevelt delivered his annual message to Congress, which specifically addressed the housing problem, boding well for the legislative effort.

> There are far-reaching problems with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful. For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization, but breed disease and impair the health of future generations.[91]

Wagner submitted his new bill to the Senate on 24 February, but President Roosevelt was not satisfied with its provisions. On 2 March Roosevelt, Ickes and Morganthau met with Wagner, Woodbury, Bauer and Keyserling. In addition to Roosevelt, Morganthau and Ickes had significant problems with the bill. Morganthau preferred providing one-time federal contributions, while the housing advocates wanted annual subsidies. Ickes wanted keep the program in the Department of the Interior, while most housers backed an independent housing division. These conflicts raged throughout the spring. The housing community united behind the issue of an annual subsidy. In late June, the groups created a hybrid system with an annual subsidy and alternative capital grants. The control issue, however, proved divisive. Leaders of the NPHC supported Ickes' administration while members of the LHC (particularly Bauer) pushed for independence. Ickes played rough politics, dividing and conquering the housing advocates. On 5 August the Senate passed the housing bill with an amendment from Ickes to make the new United States Housing

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[91] The Annual Message to Congress, 6 January 1937. *Public Papers of the Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 5: The People Approve, 1936* (New York: Random House Inc., 1938): 637.

Authority (USHA) part of the Department of the Interior.[92] Now fully owned by Ickes, he replaced the bill Steagall had submitted earlier with his own and pushed it through the House. The Wagner-Steagall Act (also known as the Housing Act of 1937) became law in the fall of 1937.

McDonnell's presentation of the passage of this law, along with Bauer's later articles, emphasize the compromises forced upon the housers by *realpolitik*, implicitly suggesting that subsequent problems with the program are related to the initial failure to follow the guidance of the "experts" (particularly Bauer). Historian D. Bradford Hunt has disagreed with this point of view, stating that a section-by-section analysis of the 1937 act shows that housing reformers or others with a progressive vision introduced the majority of the changes to the bill, recharacterizing Wagner-Steagall as a progressive victory.[93] Hunt's discussion implicitly relates to an assessment of the post-World War Two housing program and its purported failure. This work focuses on an earlier phase of housing, and more important here is to understand the 1937 Housing Act as a part of a reform continuum that began with the 1926 passage of New York City's housing subsidies and continued through the RFC, HD, PWEHC and USHA, to the Pubic Housing Administration, and finally to the current Department of Housing and Urban Development. The struggle for passage, moreover, occurred while the HD was building fifty-three projects and the likelihood of a permanent program forced the HD to consider its decisions as precedents that would form the basis of a long-term program.

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[92] McDonnell, 274-288 passim,; id., 290-305 passim..

[93] Catherine Bauer, "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing," *Architectural Forum* 106/5 (May 1957): 140-142; D. Bradford Hunt "Was the 1937 U.S. Housing Act a Pyrrhic Victory?," *Journal of Planning History* 4/3 (August 2005): 196-197.

In terms of architectural vision, personnel and projects, the path to the Housing Act of 1937 is one of refinement, rather than revolution. New York's 1926 limited dividend housing law proved a starting point, a means to stimulate low-rent housing. The federal RFC program widened that effort, offering low-interest, long-term loans to private groups in any state willing to oversee management. The HD's initial LD program simply made it more financially attractive, even inheriting several of the RFC's applications. The shift to a DB program at the end of 1933, conditioned by tremendous popular pressure, represents a change in policy but (as in the shift from the RFC to the HD) there was a continuity of architectural form, employees and projects. Kohn was not ushered out along with the policy change; rather he and his *regionalist* colleagues remained and shifted the HD to a direct build mission, setting up new procedures, resurrecting LD proposals that had previously failed to raise adequate financing and establishing architectural standards based on their ideals about community life. A shift in personnel occurred in April 1934 when Kohn and many division leaders resigned, but their architectural principles remained. After the 1937 act, the offices and employees of the HD were transferred into the United States Housing Authority (USHA). They remained within Ickes' purview. They continued the construction of active DB projects and initiated some projects the DB program lacked power, funds and time to construct.[94] They maintained a commitment to low-rise row house and apartment buildings grouped around community-oriented open spaces. In many ways, the progression from RFC to USHA can be understood as a single effort to determine the funding level necessary to

[94] This group includes Ida B. Wells Houses in Chicago, Red Hook, Queens Bridge and Hallet's Cove in New York City.

secure decent housing for families earning incomes in the lower third of the American average, with the assistance consistently rising to meet economic reality.

These different programs enjoyed a continuity of advocacy and architectural vision, but the 1937 Housing Act also represents a significant break, with the DB program serving as a hinge -- a short moment of change that significantly redirected low-rent housing policy. The early LD programs functioned to help private groups afford the construction of decent low-rent dwellings, without involving the government in long-term management and maintenance responsibilities. The DB program suddenly forced the HD to face these long-term commitments. Much like the World War One workers' housing programs, this shift was predicated upon a national emergency.

The specter of the Great Depression overpowered general reluctance to involve the government in housing, minimizing the influence of the opponents to federal housing action. In response to concerns about the long-term nature of housing investment, the HD created advisory committees. Initially aiding in the site selection and construction of housing projects, it was understood that these advisory committees would develop into permanent, appointed local groups, or authorities, in order to handle management and maintenance.[95] States and cities began passing legislation for new housing authorities just as Senator Wagner and Representative Ellenbogen began their campaign to establish a permanent housing program. The federal legislative struggle and the local establishment of housing authorities occurred simultaneously, each one reinforcing the other.

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[95] In some small cities, housing authorities were never established. The USHA and its successors managed Enid, Oklahoma's Cherokee Terrace until the project was sold to a private owner in the 1980's.

As a hinge -- a transition between the LD program and the USHA -- the DB program differs from both in the issue of design control. Kohn's LD provisions set out structural, architectural and financial standards that encouraged but did not compel the creation of low-scale, traffic-free complexes. The DB reviewers played a much bigger role in project design. The HD published a workbook, *Unit Plans*, which dictated individual units plans and enumerated building and site conditions. Working with local advisory committees, federal employees hired architects, determined site partii, reviewed drawings, paid the architects and maintained direct control over construction. The USHA transferred design responsibility to local housing authorities, limiting themselves to setting and enforcing standards. The USHA's permanent nature marked a break in policy, transgressing conservative opposition to federal housing involvement, but it returned to the role the HD played during the LD period in terms of design, reviewing local proposals for compliance to quantitative standards. Only during the DB phase did a centralized federal organization control the design process of public housing, shaping both the qualitative and quantitative design issues. Rooted in founder Kohn's *regionalist* vision, the DB program seeded these communal design values in cities across the country and created a cohesive architectural statement of fifty-three projects.

Regionalist Design Principles in Other New Deal Programs

Prior to the New Deal, few federal agencies involved themselves with residential issues, but Roosevelt's reforms led to an expansion of activities and the creation of many new groups that dealt with housing, directly and indirectly. Rapid growth of these programs led to confusion and wasted effort; in June 1934 Roosevelt approved the

creation of the Central Housing Committee (CHC) to serve as forum for the disparate groups involved in housing.[96] Member organizations included the Treasury, the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Federal Housing Administration, PWA (for the HD), the RFC Mortgage Company and the Resettlement Administration (which included the Subsistence Homesteads Division and the Greenbelt program). Frederick Delano, current chair of the National Planning Board and the President's uncle, was appointed head of the committee. The CHC shared information of common interest, compiled federal housing statistics, established national standards and coordinated federal work to eliminate redundancies.

The other members of the CHC dealt with aspects of the housing issue, but the Subsistence Homesteads Division (SHD) was the group most closely associated with the HD, in terms of mission, vision and staff. Many felt that urban growth played a part in the severity and desperation of the Great Depression and this concern lay near the core of Roosevelt's thinking as he took office. In his 1933 inaugural speech, he stated, "... we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land."[97] The idea of bringing people to the land evoked a long-standing American belief about the reforming power of nature. Uninspired by the possibilities of improving urban housing, Roosevelt "responded with much greater

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[96] National Association of Housing Officials, *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1936* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1936), 34.

[97] Roosevelt's Inaugural Address, 4 March 1933. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *Public Papers of the Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 2: The Year of Crisis, 1933* (New York: Random House Inc., 1938): 13.

warmth to chimerical plans to remove slum dwellers to the countryside than he did to schemes for urban renewal."[98]

Title II of the NIRA created the HD and the SHD, allotting twenty-five million dollars "for aiding in the redistribution of the overbalance of population in industrial centers ... for making loans and otherwise aiding in the purchase of subsistence homesteads."[99] During the long years of the Great Depression, Hoovervilles and bread lines had heightened the pervasive anti-urban bias of the national psyche.[100] Section 208 of the NIRA addressed these back-to-the-land sentiments; although, as with the housing provision, the rather terse language left room for interpretation and flexibility in the expenditure of funds.[101]

Headed by Milburn L. Wilson, a leader in the campaign to establish national agricultural planning, the SHD responded to calls for planning to resolve problems inherent in the 1862 Homestead Act. The act had established a blank grid over the nation, implying that all land was equally arable, but the eventual settlement of the Great Plains had made it apparent that the creation of sustainable agriculture in the West was a subtle

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[98] William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932 – 1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 136.

[99] Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithica NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 93.

[100] Although common feeling was that people were returning to the land during the Great Depression, statistics report that only in 1930, in all of American history, did rural regions gain population in comparison to urban areas. Garet Garrett, "The Hundred Days," *Saturday Evening Post* 206/7 (12 August 1933): 5. Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone, A Place on Earth: A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads (Washington D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942): 8.

[101] "M.L. Wilson Named," Architecture Forum 59/3 (September 1933): 236. Newspaper Publisher Bernarr Macfadden was regarded as instrumental in getting the $25 million appropriated, and was appointed one of sixteen members of the National Advisory Committee on Subsistence Homesteads. At the same time, he held a rather ill-considered, romantic notion of farm life, as evidenced by the following quote; "Now if this huge sum...were spent in sending the unemployed back to the land they would be permanently stabilized; they would be sure of wholesome, vital food and a place to sleep. They would be definitely settled in a house. They would not be traveling in mobs. Furthermore, the activity necessary to make a living on the land tends to make people healthy, normal and happy."

process that often required costly irrigation and transportation infrastructures. The Dust Bowl highlighted the consequences of the Homestead Act fallacy and brought momentum to the planning cause. The SHD responded to this problem, proposing a new, coordinated approach to farm settlement.

The SHD decided to pursue several types of projects: the economic rehabilitation of obsolete industrial towns, the funding of farmsteads adjacent to industrial areas (so that families could supplement factory jobs with subsistence farming), the relocation of Dust Bowl farmers to more fertile lands, and the reorganization of dispersed farming communities to create a strong residential center (relieving the isolation of farming life). The SHD built or improved nearly one hundred communities under the New Deal. Although these projects changed the lives of individual occupants, they failed to inspire widespread change and to make national agricultural planning a reality. In addition, as ambitious experiments in community development, a few projects ran over budget and became targets for critics, significantly discrediting the larger New Deal.

While economists and agricultural planners directed policy at the SHD, a familiar group of *regionalist* planners and architects hired and advised local architects. HD head Kohn reviewed the overall aims of the program, stating:

> In the main, however, the purpose of these subsistence homesteads is not to produce more crops for sale... They are to be parts of a plan to augment industrial income by the produce raised on small holdings. To make worthwhile use of leisure time, to help decentralization of industrial development, to provide a fuller use of the potentialities of the land and of the skill of men (emphasis original).[102]

[102] Robert D. Kohn, Director of Housing to Harold Ickes, Administrator, 16 June 1933, Supplemented 5 July 1933, Record Group 96 Records of the Farmers Home Administration, Textual Records, NARAII

Ackerman, director of the World War One Emergency Fleet Corporation, colleague of Stein's and the most politically radical member of the RPAA, served as a technical advisor for the SHD.[103]

Arthurdale, West Virginia was the most noted of the SHD projects, where the personal interest of Eleanor Roosevelt brought fame, but also inefficiency to a program to provide good housing and new jobs to unemployed coal miners. The SHD also built Jersey Homesteads, New Jersey (now known as Roosevelt), midway between Philadelphia and New York City. This project also gained notoriety due to its highly visible location, a failed construction system and perceived associations with social and economic subversion. Developed in a long-standing tradition of Jewish agricultural communities in America, the founders conceived of the project as a three-part cooperative community, with farmland, a coat factory and a cooperative store. The new town included forty farmers and 160 tailors, living and working together, sharing their profits. The homesteaders paid for the construction of the factory and the government funded construction of the town, expecting rents to recoup federal investment.

In 1933 SHD hired Quentin Twachtman to design Jersey Homesteads, using his patented prefabrication system to erect the buildings quickly and cheaply. The system proved to be expensive and unrealistic and two years later, they replaced Twachtman with Alfred Kastner, partner of Stonorov and designer of the Carl Mackley Houses. Kastner and his design team (which notably included young Louis Kahn) designed twelve one-and two-story concrete-block house types with flat slab roofs (Figure 3-7). The

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[103] Kermit C. Parsons, "Collaborative Genius; The Regional Planning Association of America," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60/4 (Fall 1994): 477.

twelve types, decidedly International Style in appearance, were varied to create a town of two hundred homes, along with a school, sewage plant and civic building (Figure 3-8).[104]

Kastner inherited a town plan at Jersey Homesteads, designed and refined by a series of anonymous SHD planners and engineers (under the review of Ackerman). It is of a larger scale than any HD project but maintains the *regionalist* community planning approach (Figure 3-9). South Roachdale Avenue, the main north-south road on the site, serves as the central organizing element with winding streets that follow the topography branching off on either side. Wide streams and marshland cut through the site perpendicular to Roachdale Avenue, forcing planners to cluster buildings outside the low, wet areas. East of the main road, houses line a loose grid of streets. West of Roachdale, hemicyclic Cooperative Circle leads to a number of cul-de-sacs. While referencing Ebenezer Howard's ideal village diagrams, Cooperative Circle also creates a large circular parcel between itself and the through road, occupied by the elementary school, the focus of the community (see Figure 1-3). The creek slices through the site south of the school, allowing the riverbed to become a natural amenity adjacent to school and play areas. Cooperative stores once stood on the opposite side of the road from the school, and the civic building is north of the stores along Roachdale Avenue. The factory building lies at the northeast edge of town.

The two hundred houses on large parcels are significantly different from the dense urban projects constructed by the HD, but a handful of planning principles illustrate their common *regionalist* origins. Jersey Homesteads was designed as a complete community,

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[104] For a more full description of Jersey Homesteads, see Elizabeth Milnarik "Jersey Homesteads: an Experiment in New Deal Community-Building" (Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 2004).

illustrating the savings and conveniences of rational land use planning. By establishing parcels, Kastner and his team coordinated the buildings to their sites and to the houses around them. Private entrances and exterior patios were created for each unit (even the duplexes). With the rotation of neighboring house plans, they limited the visibility of other houses. Concern with the concepts of front and rear, public and private, the encoding of space with purpose and meaning, is a *regionalist* characteristic. Existing roads and topography determined most of the plan, but the hemicyclic Cooperative Circle is an ideal element. The curve minimizes sewer and water line distances and brings a formal element to the plan, creating shifting vistas. Integrating such an element with other causal and casual street forms is often seen in RPAA work, particularly the plan of Radburn (see Figure 1-43), and in several HD projects (see Figure 5-25).

Jersey Homesteads used *regionalist* principals in the careful creation of individual public and private zones. The buildings themselves, however, were constructed in the new and contentious International Style. The Twachtman phase delayed construction and pushed costs over the project's budget.[105] The unfamiliar style of the buildings, combined with the challenging (easily construed as socialistic) nature of the community plan, led to a tremendous outcry against Jersey Homesteads and the New Deal's community-building efforts at large.

On 15 May 1935, as Hackett replaced Kohn and the HD struggled with the consequences of the Louisville decision, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act created the Resettlement Administration (RA), which consolidated the SHD with other planning

[105] The project also gained notoriety when a construction worker died after being crushed by a tree-stump remover.

agencies from different federal departments and added a new program, the Suburban Division. Inspired by Howard's Garden City vision, and a pet project of braintruster Tugwell, the Suburban Division built well-planned *regionalist* suburbs for middle-income families. Like Howard's vision, these suburbs were intended to contain a complete community unit: houses for between 3,000 and 7,000 residents, schools, civic buildings and stores (but not sources of employment for all residents). The Suburban Division (like the HD) had three distinct purposes: to create jobs, to demonstrate the advantages of garden city principles, and to provide high quality, middle-class housing. Offering an integrated version of the suburb, which would become the dominant residential form in the post World War Two era, the Greenbelts (as they became known) are the best-known New Deal communities and are regarded as the most successful *regionalist* projects.[106]

The Suburban Division, headed by John Landsill, considered over one hundred sites adjacent to major cities for Greenbelt projects. Housing economist Vinton (who also advised on the Wagner-Steagall Act) led an exhaustive analysis, finally selecting properties on the outskirts of Washington D.C., New York City, Cincinnati and Milwaukee.[107] The RA assembled four teams of architects, engineers and planners and Stein himself supervised the work.[108]

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[106] Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 119; Tracy B. Augur and Walter H. Blucher, "The Significance of Greenbelt Towns," in *Housing Yearbook: 1938* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1938), 218.

[107] Kermit Parsons, ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 170.

[108] The Greenbelt team included Wallace Richards (project coordinator), Hale Walker (town planner), Reginald J. Wadsworth and Douglas D. Ellington (principal architects), and Harold Bursley (engineering designer).

Under pressure from relief agencies with surplus workers, the SHD began Greenbelt, Maryland first. Located on land already owned by the federal government, construction began just after the program was announced and before any plans were developed, with thousands of relief workers laboring to excavate a lake at the west side of the site.[109] Rushing into construction complicated planning and led to shoddy work, wasting considerable sums of money and attracting public criticism.

Inheriting a site marked by a low, curving ridge, a pair of hook-shaped roads intersects at Greenbelt, creating a curving crescent (Figure 3-10). Narrow residential alleys pass between the two roads, creating seven superblocks. Freeing houses from direct street frontage allowed the project to save funds on infrastructure and created auto-free green spaces for play and relaxation. The school and playgrounds lie in the open field inside the curve, the highest spot in the area and the natural focus of the community. Tunnels provided street-free pedestrian access to the school. Public buildings were built along the major access road, near the commercial area that included stores, a grocery, a garage and a movie theater set along a landscaped mall.

Designers at Greenbelt mixed apartments, row houses and attached cottages to provide units for bachelors, young couples, families and retirees. Architecturally, a handful of building types and variations within those types create visual diversity within a unified composition (Figure 3-11). The Greenbelt apartment and row house buildings share the HD's building form, with long, narrow buildings, one unit deep to ensure through-ventilation. Limited to three stories, the scale of the buildings never overshadows

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[109] Joseph L. Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program, 1935-54* (Columbus OH: Ohio State University Press, 1971), 45.

the open space (which was more generous than in HD projects). Stylistically, the buildings were simple, more modernist than most HD projects (and the other Greenbelts), reflecting European examples, particularly May's housing communities in Frankfurt (see Figure 1-32). The rough brick exterior wall texture contrasts with the large, multi-paned steel casement windows. Built with flat or gable roofs, the houses depend on expressed brickwork at the corners and windows to define a simple architectural motif. The school, public and commercial buildings display a similar sense of modernist simplicity.

In plan, Greenbelt, with its curving roads set into the hillside typifies New Deal community building and the use of the curving road as an emphasis of design is particularly interesting. Two of the other Greenbelt communities, Greenhills, Ohio and Greenbrook, New Jersey (designed but never constructed), also include curving, hemicyclic streets. A series of looping, hemicyclic roads define Greenhills, and the plan for Greenbrook used a horseshoe-shaped street to form the central portion of the community (Figures 3-12 and 3-13). Considering Jersey Homesteads as well, the *regionalists'* consistent use of the hemicycle, an extended curve terminating on a through-road at both ends, deserves examination because it is characteristic of neither American community development generally nor the previous work of Clarence Stein. Frederick Law Olmsted's prototypical suburb of the 1870's, Riverside, Illinois, was dominated by elliptically curving streets, not neat hemicycles (see Figure 1-10). Even Stein's earlier work at Radburn used winding alleys and an irregular road at the perimeter, defined by the topography rather than an ideal form (see Figure 1-43).

Although the hemicycle was not common in American planning, it did appear in the radial diagrams Howard used to illustrate his community concept in *Garden Cities of*

To-Morrow (which was, itself, likely influenced by Riverside). Howard clearly noted the heuristic nature of his diagrams, but his illustrations powerfully projected his concept and influenced Parker and Unwin, the duo most responsible for bringing Howard's vision to reality. Parker and Unwin's 1906 plan for Hampstead uses a hemicycle to define an open green adjacent to the church (Figure 3-14). Their plans at Letchworth (1930) and the expanded Hampstead Garden Suburb (1930's) make extensive use of axial and radial streets to create emphasis on the landscape (see Figures 1-5 and 1-6). In addition to these precedents, centralized planning played a part in the New Deal use of the hemicycle. Federal designers frequently determined the site partii quickly and at a distance (in the Washington D.C. offices). They lacked personal, thorough knowledge of particular sites, so the curve became a clear, satisfying element around which to design a community. Reconciling an ideal element with topographic reality required extra work for earthmovers, but dealing with a superfluity of unskilled labor, this presented little obstacle. In New Deal community building, the use of the hemicycle referenced English precedents, but the peculiar design conditions of the moment facilitated its use.

The hemicycle's origins are relevant because it appears in many HD projects as well. As primarily urban, infill sites, the conditions for low-rent housing projects differ from the SHD and Greenbelt communities but they also were *regionalist* designs that integrated residences, community buildings, a project office, recreation centers and often a handful of stores. In many respects, these projects read like scaled-down Greenbelt or Subsistence Homesteads communities. Several were designed before the Suburban Division began, but many local architects submitted plans for review concurrently with the Greenbelts, suggesting a common preference for this ideal element.

The HD, SHD and Greenbelt programs serviced disparate markets -- the urban poor, the rural poor and the suburban middle-class, respectively. *Regionalist* community designers controlled all of these site plans, and all three programs illustrate their ideal vision, overcoming density through the careful arrangement and programming of front and rear. Building design maximized light and air and emphasized efficiency and simplicity. Most significantly, their site design approach created "outdoor rooms" to facilitate community life, providing comfortable, safe, usable spaces for children to play and forums for neighbors to become friends.[110]

Critics have accused New Deal communities of idealizing the middle class, with "their Heavenly City; the greenbelt town, clean, green, and white, with children playing in light, airy spacious schools."[111] In many respects, this same ideal village image also inspired the public housing projects of the period, with their neat buildings set in auto-free courtyards, ideal for play and mingling. Set in the city however, HD projects addressed and interacted with slums, segregation, factories, commercial districts -- dirty, complex urban life. The projects housed a range of low-earning (if also aspiring) residents. Significantly, the HD built for both whites and blacks, addressing the residential segregation implicit in American life. Planning and architecture link the SHD, the Greenbelts and the HD, placing all three at the center of progressive design at the period and proving that the *Regionalist* vision was the prototype for all, simply shifted and modified to meet the income targets of the various federal programs.

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[110] For a lengthy discussion of the *regionalists*, see Kristin Szylvian's "Industrial Housing Reform and the Emergency Fleet Corporation," *Journal of Urban History* 25/5 (July 1999): 647-689.

[111] Leuchtenberg, 345.

Chapter 4: Local Influence on the Housing Division's Program

In 1930, Chicago's population included the second-largest African-American community in the United States and the majority of these 233,903 individuals were consigned to live in two of the nation's most notorious slum districts. Nashville's 42,836 blacks rented poorly-serviced, crowded homes but did not face Chicago's tremendous overcrowding. Only 6,514 African Americans lived in Evansville, Indiana and their admittedly poor conditions also compared favorably to Chicago's. The centralized Housing Division (HD) recognized the need for improved housing for African Americans throughout the United States, and planned for black projects in Chicago, Nashville and Evansville. In the end, however, projects for African Americans were built in Nashville and Evansville, but not in Chicago, where the need was clearly the greatest. The HD established uniform policies in an effort to set a national standard, creating well-built, well-designed projects throughout America. This national perspective promised an escape from local political, social or racial concerns, but in fact, loosely-composed local groups exerted significant control over these projects, most significantly in terms of site selection and racial assignment, and their influence modified the HD's national standards.

Legally, the HD's centralized control set the 1933-1937 Direct Build (DB) program apart from the Limited Dividend (LD) programs that existed before December 1933 and the United States Housing Authority (USHA) program that began in September 1937. In fact, while the HD retained control over design, local advisory committees exercised considerable influence in site selection, hiring and racial assignment, making the DB program a partnership between the federal agency and the informal local groups.

This chapter explores the relationship between the HD and local advisors, particularly examining the evolution of local housing administration from loosely composed citizens groups into certified advisory committees and finally into the legally constituted housing authorities that would become the main drivers of public housing after 1937. Timing, population size and opportunity for discourse influenced the priorities and power of local influence. Large cities like Chicago enjoyed guaranteed HD funding, experienced social workers and a diverse media that provided many viewpoints. As a result, local housing leaders were able to assess many aspects of the housing and slum issue. In contrast, local businessmen largely controlled the program in medium-sized Nashville, and their interest and expertise lay primarily in real estate promotion and slum clearance. Consequently, the Nashville group was preoccupied with siting and racial assignment. In small Evansville, Indiana a single leading progressive directed the project, and his decisions typically followed HD guidelines and advice.

Direct federal participation in housing construction and management created unprecedented legal conditions and required new a series of legal provisions. As with other aspects of the HD, bureaucrats did not create anew, but built upon earlier efforts. The LD program inherited the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) program, which was based on New York's 1926 Dividend Housing Companies Law (see Chapter 2). The New York legislation provided eminent domain and local property tax exemptions to companies willing to build and operate low-rent housing; the state established a five-member housing oversight board. Each corporation required a board of directors of at least three members, approved by the state housing board. The law also set

rent limits and limited profits to a six percent maximum.[1] In 1932, the RFC program nationalized this state program and legislators in fourteen states created housing boards, but only New York approved a property tax exemption, limiting the program's financial viability in other states.[2]

In summer 1933, following the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the HD created the LD housing program, expanding the terms of the RFC loans and offering them to both private and public companies. Private groups received larger grants with longer amortization periods and lower interest rates than the RFC; figures for public groups were more generous still. In addition to the fourteen states that passed necessary laws for the RFC program, Indiana, Missouri, and Pennsylvania passed the LD legislation for private groups after June 1933.

LD programs required states to create a single oversight board, but to take advantage of the HD's more generous public-group terms, localities needed more controversial and complex legislation that provided for a permanent group to own and manage the properties. The public provisions anticipated that more advantageous loans would inspire cities and states to pass this larger legislative program, but politicians take time to enact laws; the rapid policy changes in the year following the passage of the NIRA meant that few states managed to keep up with the HD legislatively. On 4 September 1933 Ohio passed the first housing authority legislation in the nation, largely at the behest of Ernest Bohn, former state congressman, Cleveland councilman and housing activist. State and local officials appointed the members of the Cleveland

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[1] Gilbert A. Cam, "United States Government Activity in Low-Cost Housing, 1932-38," *The Journal of Political Economy* 47/3 (June 1939): 358.

[2] Ibid., 359. These states were AR, CA, DE, FL, IL, KS, KY, MA, NJ, NC, NY, OH, SC and VA.

Housing Authority on 25 October, making it the first Housing Authority in the nation and signaling Cleveland's primacy in the nation's public housing movement.[3]

The creation of the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation (PWEHC) in November assumed a private corporation would shoulder the low-rent housing burden, casting doubt on the necessity of local housing authority legislation. The PWEHC's language, however, indicated that local groups would play a critical, if currently undefined role, so many states continued to work on their pending housing authority bills. New Jersey passed a housing authority law in December and New York enabled their formation in January 1934. By the spring, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, South Carolina and West Virginia approved housing authority legislation as well.[4]

Founding a housing authority was typically a slow and uncertain process, facing political opposition and requiring negotiations, official appointments and local budget appropriations; political pressure to expend funds required the HD to take urgent action. After the PWEHC plan crumbled and the HD turned to the DB program, the federal group needed immediate local assistance. In lieu of waiting for formal housing authorities to develop, the HD appointed temporary advisory committees to consult on site selection, to suggest architects, to provide insight into local political issues, to advance the cause of public housing in the area, to aid tenant selection and to advise the HD on management. Ickes reviewed and confirmed appointments to the committees, but all parties understood these advisory committees as interim entities, serving only until the creation of legally constituted local housing authorities.

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[3] *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/47 (4 September 1933): 3; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/3 (30 October 1933): 2.

[4] Cam, 378; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/14 (15 January 1934): 6.

In cities with LD projects or proposals, citizens involved in those applications usually formed the core of the local advisory committee. Elsewhere, HD staff worked with preliminary DB applicants or with a local planning official to develop a committee of influential, sympathetic and knowledgeable citizens. The composition of these groups varied, but they usually included business and real estate men, along with judges, lawyers and military officers. Clerics, philanthropists, social workers, or local relief program administrators were typically named. Union officials and architects frequently served on the committee as well. A city employee from the planning department often became the paid executive secretary. The HD was looking for a balance between financial and social interests. In cities with black projects, the HD compelled the inclusion of an African-American, a white representative of the African-American community, or the establishment of a formal "negro sub-committee."[5]

Most cities in serious negotiations with the HD formed an advisory committee between March and December 1934 as proof of their commitment to the program.[6] These committees generally stayed in effect until the latter half of 1935, when the more formal and powerful housing authorities began to replace them.[7] After the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act in May 1937 the HD increased their pressure on cities to form

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[5] In Nashville, for example, Thomas Elsa Jones, the white president of Fisk University was an acceptable representative for African Americans. Birmingham had a Negro sub-committee of five influential African Americans. Characteristically, however, the main committee called on the sub-committee only rarely and never for substantive matters, despite the fact that the only project built in Birmingham during this period was occupied by blacks.

[6] These cities included; Milwaukee (fall 1934), Nashville (1934), New Orleans (1 May 1934), Louisville (prior to 15 March 1934), Birmingham (June 1934), Boston (17 October 1934), Memphis (August 1934), Jacksonville (5 April 1934), Lexington (June 1934).

[7] These included; Omaha (June 1935), Louisville (25 September 1934), Birmingham (13 August 1935), Memphis, (June 1935), Lackawanna (summer 1935), Cambridge (20 August 1935), Charleston (11 November 1935).

housing authorities and it worked to transfer as much responsibility as possible, as soon as possible, to these new local groups.

The HD developed the advisory committees in the first half of 1934, but Atlanta's projects were already underway by that time. Techwood Incorporated had initially proposed the LD project, and its members continued as the advisory committee for both the Techwood and University Houses projects until Atlanta established the Municipal Housing Authority in May 1934. In other cities, extant private or civic housing groups took on the advisory committee duties. The Philadelphia Housing Commission, established in 1909 as a joint effort of the city and local aid groups, became the Philadelphia Advisory Committee on Housing in June 1934. In both Montgomery and Minneapolis, the mayor appointed housing commissions to deal with declining living standards in the early 1930's and these commissions worked with the HD until the cities established housing authorities. The Maryland Emergency Housing and Park Commission investigated potential sites in Baltimore and pursued a housing project until site acquisition problems and mayoral opposition halted the effort. In Wayne, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia, the long-standing, private Neighborhood League oversaw the construction of the fifty-unit Highland Homes Project. Enid, Oklahoma never established a housing authority, depending rather on direct federal management until the small project's sale to a private owner in 1979. In Washington D.C., Congress established the Alley Dwelling Authority in June 1934. With a mandate to eliminate rear

dwellings and the power to build its own new housing, the group also served as the local advisory committee, eventually becoming the District of Columbia Housing Authority.[8]

Ready state legislation meant that cities in Ohio and New York established housing authorities early enough to avoid the need for interim advisory committees. In January 1934 the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) assumed control from Cleveland Homes Incorporated, and many members of the corporation were appointed to the CMHA.[9] Cincinnati and Toledo established Metropolitan Housing Authorities in November 1933; both were led by city planning officials and private housing reformers. Mayor LaGuardia appointed the New York City Housing Authority on 6 February 1934, drawing its members from the New York State Board of Housing and the Slum Clearance Committee of New York. In Schenectady, the mayor appointed the Municipal Housing Authority on 6 February as well.[10] Buffalo founded a housing authority in October 1934, as part of a deal to guarantee the city a HD allotment.

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[8] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/32 (21 May 1934): 8; John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 7; "West End Slum Clearance Project Money Is Allocated" *Montgomery Advertiser* Sept 27, 1934, 1; National Association of Housing Officials, *Housing Directory, with a Summary of the Housing Yearbook, 1944* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1945), 32; National Association of Housing Officials, *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1936* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials), 92; H-Maryland Emergency Housing and Park Commission to Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, 19 March 1934, Folder 1, Box 206, H-2700 General Information Baltimore MD, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII; Dale Kelso, "Cherokee Terrace Sale Closing Date To Be Set," *Enid Daily Eagle* 24 January 1979, clipping available in the "Cherokee Terrace" file at the Marquis James Room, Enid Public Library, Enid OK; National Association of Housing Officials, *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1936*, 65.

[9] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/12 (1 January 1934): 3.

[10] National Association of Housing Officials, *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1936*, 65; Miles R. Frisbie, "Annual Report of the Municipal Housing Authority of the City of Schenectady, N.Y.," 1936, Folder 5, Box 347 H-5801 Schonowee Village Schenectady NY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Federal legislation allowed states to develop municipal, regional or statewide housing authorities. Uniquely, in December 1933, New Jersey enacted a statewide housing authority. Without specifically local knowledge, however, each New Jersey city also created a local advisory group to supplement the state housing authority.[11] This arrangement allowed for state-wide prioritization in applications and a centralized relationship with the HD, but also created another level of bureaucracy. The HD proved flexible regarding the composition and dynamics of their advisory committees.

Political pressure to create jobs and spend money forced the HD to develop varied relationships with localities, and that same pressure for expediency also forced them to begin land acquisition before Land Acquisition (Branch III) had fully developed a land purchase process. Rapid policy changes in the HD's first year meant that it took some time to develop a regularized, efficient method for site selection and acquisition.

Efficiency in site selection and acquisition was necessary; lands purchased quickly and without public notice usually cost less than those bought during protracted negotiations. Although the process required speed and secrecy, the assemblage of urban property also needed the coordinated efforts of many professionals. At least two appraisers estimated prices separately while title companies or lawyers determined ownership and evaluated the legitimacy of each title. Land accumulators coordinated their visits and set a price range for each parcel; then they met with property owners to

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[11] *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/13 (8 January 1934): 8; "Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works Housing Division Statistical Section Sponsoring Committee," Folder 9, Box 318, H-5001 Stanley S. Holmes Village Atlantic City NJ, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

negotiate options without revealing the larger plan. Surveyors checked property lines and developed grade maps.

Initially, Robert Kohn's small HD worked with local representatives to acquire land, advising them on the qualities necessary for good housing but leaving acquisition up to them. A lack of land acquisition expertise on the part of locals sometimes slowed the process, raising costs. In time, however, Hackett developed a specialized land acquisition group and codified methods to limit notice and keep costs down. Cleveland, as the first city to apply to the HD, suffered from shifting policies and a general lack of systemization that delayed progress. Jacksonville, Florida, in contrast, received an allotment from the HD a year after Cleveland, but opened its project two months prior to Cedar Central, Cleveland's first housing project. While site acquisition for Cleveland's projects took over a year, Jacksonville's was completed in less than two months, benefiting from the systemization of Hackett's HD.

In Cleveland, active business leaders established the first housing authority in the nation and the federal program constructed three projects there, two for whites and one for African Americans, and these early actions meant that Cleveland initiated the land acquisition process, and suffered the delays and difficulties inherent in such an effort. A long tradition of progressive politics partially accounts for Cleveland's primacy in the movement. As the sixth largest city in the nation, an urban area driven by manufacturing and shipping, civic and business leaders understood the city's growth as integral to their own fortunes. In 1903 the city hired Daniel Burnham to recraft its lakeside into an ideal Beaux Arts civic center, one of the most complete examples of Burnham's vision in the

United States.[12] Along with a progressive civic landscape, many believed eliminating slums could strengthen the city's health, wealth and fortune.

Cleveland possessed not only a progressive citizenry, but also a number of national housing leaders. City Councilman Ernest Bohn spearheaded the local program by pushing for the passage of the Ohio Public Housing Act (1933), founding the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO) and becoming its first president.[13] He also served as the first director of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (1933-1968). Statistician Howard Whipple Green of the Cleveland Health Council pioneered the field of slum survey.[14] Green's work pointed to the existence of a growing housing shortage and established the Real Property Inventory method that became a national standard for large-scale surveys. His work translated conditions into numerical standards for slum designation, making it possible to identify housing sites quickly and accurately (see Figure 3-6).[15] Green also served as a local consultant for Kohn's HD.

Cleveland hosted a bumper crop of twenty LD corporations in 1933. Rather than evaluate each project, Kohn allotted Cleveland a total of nineteen million dollars and asked the groups select the best proposals themselves. The locals consolidated under

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[12] Thomas S. Hines, "The Paradox of 'Progressive' Architecture: Urban Planning and Public Building in Tom Johnson's Cleveland," *American Quarterly* 25/4 (October, 1973): 430.

[13] Jamie Lynn Phillips, "The Father of Public Housing: Ernest J. Bohn and the Development of the Public Housing Movement in Cleveland During the 1930's" (Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 2008), 24.

[14] "City Expects US to Act Today on Grants," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 21 September 1933, 11:1. Green's method, known as the Real Property Inventory, and published as *An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cuyahoga County Public Health Association, March 27, 1934), became the standard method for site survey, recommended by the HD for all other cities. In 1932, the National Conference on Construction encouraged all cities with more than 100,000 residents to keep a running Real Property Inventory, largely based on Green's method. *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/3 (22 October 1932): 2.

[15] "Near Shortage in Housing Shown," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 19 May 1933, 8:3.

Cleveland Homes Incorporated and selected the five strongest LD proposals.[16] Designers and land accumulators began their work, but in a city strapped by the financial demands of the depression it proved impossible to raise the needed $2,850,000 in local funds. Throughout the fall of 1933, Cleveland and the HD explored financing methods, and their failure factored into Ickes' decision to abandon the LD format. The Cleveland proposals were then transferred, first to the PWEHC, then to the DB program.[17]

In February 1934, the HD studied the Cleveland proposals and decided to allot fourteen million dollars to the four most developed projects: Cedar Central, Outhwaite Homes, Lakeview Terrace and Merrick House. Throughout the spring and summer, local newspapers wrote about the program but refrained from naming boundaries to avoid fueling land speculation or price fixing among owners. In addition, newspaper editorials shamed owners, calling attempts to negotiate prices selfish and detrimental to the patriotic cause of national recovery and civic improvement.[18]

Cleveland Homes Inc. optioned most of the crowded slum site for the Cedar Central project in 1933 and architect Walter R. McCornack had completed his designs, making the project an obvious starting point. In late March 1934, the HD hired local realtor P.A. Frye to complete the optioning. In July, the HD filed a condemnation suit to

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[16] "US Housing Here Will Be Unified," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 10 September 1933, C1:1; William J. Graves, "Public Housing in Cleveland, the Inception Years: From Cleveland Homes Inc., to Cedar Central, Outhwaite Homes and Lakeview Terrace," *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on American Planning History 24-26 September, 1987* (Columbus OH: City and Regional Planning Department, The Ohio State University), 45.

[17] "5 Housing Plans Go To Washington," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 9 August 1933, 14:1; "Government Takes It Over," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 27 December 1933, 8:1.

[18] "Housing Planned in 4 Areas Here," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 8 March 1934, 6:1; "No Room for Profiteer," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 25 March 1934, A22:1.

clear titles and force the sale of a handful of properties with resistant owners.[19] On 10 September the HD took ownership of the site, nearly a year after optioning began. Demolition started in January 1935 and contractors began excavation work in June.

Although HD officials and local leaders saw problems at Cedar Central, they proceeded because of the worthiness of the deteriorated site, the significant amount of work already completed and political pressure to begin construction. They might have acquired the Cleveland Homes options at a lower price, but expediency obliged their purchase. Federal officials also criticized the design of the project.[20] With a single, three-story building type wrapping around small open spaces, the project had high density, little architectural diversity, undeveloped relationships between public and private space and a closed attitude toward its context (Figures 4-1 and 4-2). Given political necessity, however, the HD requested only minor changes in McCornack's design.

In Cleveland, the HD worked with prior agreements, existing designs and shifting policies to get construction started quickly. In time, however (particularly under Horatio Hackett's leadership), the HD developed more effective methods for land acquisition and project initiation which made the process cheaper, quicker and more in line with *regionalist* community designs. Cleveland suffered from delays, but Jacksonville, Florida did not submit a proposal until August 1934, nine months after the opening of the DB program. By that time, the HD had developed a standardized land acquisition process and Jacksonville's project was built quickly, despite some significant complications.

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[19] "New US Housing Options Started," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 23 March 1934, 5:6; "Cedar Central Slum Plan Wins in Court," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 25 July 1934, 2:5.

[20] Warren C. Campbell to Nathan Straus, 15 December 1937, Folder 6, Box 12 H-1001 Cedar Central, Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Jacksonville's City Planning Advisory Board first contacted the HD in January 1934, and in April the city formed a Municipal Housing Board to function as an advisory committee and to undertake a survey of slum conditions. The city completed a study and submitted a preliminary questionnaire in August, supporting a slum clearance project in an African-American area known as Hansontown. The HD approved the site and allotted the project $500,000. After the Louisville decision in January 1935, the HD asked the Municipal Housing Board to investigate vacant sites but continued to pursue the Hansontown project. Talbot Wegg of the HD visited Jacksonville in April and consulted with the Municipal Housing Board on local hiring, but also visited potential, vacant sites identified by the board. In May, the HD signed contracts with title examiners and a six-member architectural team for the site; but on 27 July, just twelve days after the Cincinnati court upheld the Louisville decision, the HD suspended the Hansontown project, judging condemnation essential to its acquisition.[21]

HD director Clas then transferred the Hansontown funds to a vacant land site suggested by the advisory committee. With two owners and just two houses, located only blocks from Hansontown, the new site proved simple to acquire. In August, Rupert Sinsel, a land acquisitions manager with the HD, visited Jacksonville. The Durkee family owned all but one lot on a twenty-acre block, and Sinsel met with them and obtained an option on their property. In September, the HD signed a contract with two separate

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[21] "Municipal Housing Board Is Formed to Study Conditions," *Jacksonville Times-Union* 5 April 1934, available in Folder 3, Box 305 H-4700 General Conditions Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Resolution of Special Board of Public Works," Folder 5, Box 306 H-4701 Hanson Town Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Fred B. Bradshaw, 27 July 1935, Folder 15, Box 306 H-4701 Hanson Town Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

appraisers to establish a value for the property and transferred the Hansontown architectural team to the new project, while the city surveyed the property. Just six weeks after the cancellation of the Hansontown project, the Durkee family transferred their land to the HD. Rather than acquiring the only parcel not owned by the Durkees, the team excluded that lot from the project. The land acquisition department worked quickly and the Jacksonville architectural team rapidly adapted their Hansontown design to the new, Durkeeville site (Figure 4-3). Dividing the project into foundation and superstructure contracts in order to meet Roosevelt's 15 December deadline, the designers issued foundation drawings in November.[22] Work began in February 1936 and the architects spent the first half of the year working with the HD on the design of the superstructure, producing a complex of low-rise stucco buildings clustered around a central green space, in line with the HD's vision of a low-scaled *regionalist* community (Figure 4-4).

Foundation work ended in June 1936 and superstructure construction began in July.[23] The project opened to tenants eleven months later, on 16 June 1937 -- two months prior to the opening of Cedar Central in Cleveland.[24] Although Jacksonville applied nine months after the HD took over in Cleveland and the Louisville decision forced a last-minute site change, Jacksonville benefited from a later start date and a greater degree of HD control and competence. The Municipal Housing Board and the HD worked quickly

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[22] Rupert A. Sinsel, Land Appraiser to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 27 August 1935, Folder 16, Box 307 H-4702 Durkeeville, Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Ray O. Edwards, "Low-Rent Housing Project at Jacksonville Florida," 1936, 1, Folder 10, Box 308 H-4702 Durkeeville Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[23] Ray O. Edwards, "Low-Rent Housing Project at Jacksonville Florida," 1936, 2.

[24] "Durkeeville's First Wedding Is Held," *Jacksonville Times-Union* 24 February 1938, available in Folder 10, Box 308 H-4702 Durkeeville Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

and efficiently in the latter half of 1935 to buy the site, advise the architects, bid and contract the job.

Comparing the process of site acquisition and design development in the Cleveland and Jacksonville projects illustrates the HD's difficulties at the beginning of the program. Given little preparation time to work out an organizational system or project process, the HD's early applicants, including Cleveland, were slowed by budget fluctuations, programmatic changes and a lack of architectural control. Later cities, however, suggest the HD did, eventually develop effective methods.

Advisory Committees Reinterpret Housing Division Policy

Cleveland and Jacksonville illustrate that the timing of applications significantly affected site selection, design and construction. In addition, each local advisory committee exerted control over their projects, further varying the HD's uniform policies. Typically, advisory committees undertook four main duties: to make a case for their city's need for housing, to advise the HD in the hiring of local professionals, to promote the HD's program locally and to advise the federal staff on local conditions.[25] Advisory committees were most influential during the site selection and hiring phase. The HD depended upon the committee's knowledge of municipal politics when strategizing for zoning changes and street closures, when negotiating for in-lieu-of-tax payments and when establishing a management structure. While the HD made recommendations, they usually abided by local committee decisions, particularly on issues of politics and race.

[25] Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing to John W. Parker, Chairman, Mayor's Housing Committee, 24 January 1935, Folder 18, Box 343 H-5701 Harford Project Hartford CT, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

The multiple official purposes for the housing program complicated advisory committees' expansive duties. Legislation cited three main purposes for housing: to stimulate construction, clear slums and improve living conditions for the working class. Their order of priority, however, varied by speaker, audience and moment. The NIRA mentioned housing only as a means to provide employment and in the press, Washington emphasized housing's ability to restart the frozen construction industry. Social workers and HD employees focused on improved working-class housing. Each advisory committee, then, reprioritized these purposes themselves, meaning that while the HD was responsible for the construction of a uniform standard of building throughout the nation, they worked with local groups that had their own understanding of their purposes.

Stimulation of construction, elimination of slums and betterment of the local housing stock remained the nominal purposes, but housing projects also financially impacted their localities. Advisory committee positions were unpaid but allowed members to influence key land development decisions. While only a few real estate men saw the program as an opportunity to profit unethically on land sales, many more recognized in slum clearance a chance to remake a neighborhood, reorient racial boundaries and broadly redirect residential development.[26] As local leaders, they reasonably saw their own economic health intertwined with that of the larger community. The HD and the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA)'s

[26] Ickes was particularly concerned about profiteering in all his programs. In Denver, a project was delayed and eventually suspended because one member of the advisory committee owned a portion of the proposed site. I have only found one instance where a potential conflict of interest went undetected by the HD. In Miami, Judge John C. Gramling was a leading housing advocate while also serving as lawyer to the owner of the land that Liberty Square was ultimately built upon. Paul S. and Thomas K. Petersen. "Liberty Square: 1933-1987 The Origins and Evolution of a Public Housing Project" *Tequesta* 48 (1988 annual issue): 53-67.

Investigation Division unearthed few examples of short term profiteering or fraud, but slum clearance had direct consequences that necessarily (if not directly) benefited many, including advisory committee members.

Advisory committees ranged in size from as few as five to as many as fifty members, depending on the size of the city and local preference. Typically, the self-selected handful of citizens who advanced the original application formed the core of the advisory committee with others added to bring prestige, experience or connections. Establishing a balance between businessmen and those known for charity work was particularly important, as it made the committee a more credible force in local politics. With too few businessmen a committee was suspected of impracticality; a committee with too many businessmen could open it to charges of profiteering or fraud. Occasionally, the HD rejected members or an entire committee if it lacked this balance or if it had members with a clear personal financial interest.[27]

Chicago exemplifies the big city advisory committee, composed of powerful leaders from a wide range of fields, approved by local, state and national groups. As a medium sized city, Nashville, Tennessee appointed its advisory committee in a less critical way and its members lacked the depth of experience the Chicago committee enjoyed.[28] In small Evansville, the city's leading progressives helmed the application and were appointed to the advisory committee without question.

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[27] "Housing Official of PWA to Meet With Local Body," *Birmingham News*, 1 June 1934, available in Folder 7, Box 214 H-2900 General Information Birmingham AL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[28] "The Better Housed," *Nashville Tennessean* 7 October 1940, available at Nashville Housing Authority Clipping File, Nashville Municipal (Metro) Archives, 3801 Green Hills Village Drive.

While serving without pay, businessmen and civic boosters on the committee naturally considered the financial impacts of public housing. These businessmen depended on the healthy reputation of their city, and slum clearance and reconstruction improved their city's appearance and operations. The HD program offered free money to improve their overall community investment. In contrast, social workers, clerics, planners and settlement house managers understood the slum as a manifestation of intangible and layered social and economic problems, a problem of people, more than buildings. From their perspective, slum clearance could create as many problems as it solved, and housing should be a part of a larger plan for civic improvement.

In the eight largest cities with HD projects, ranging from New York City (six million inhabitants) to Buffalo (just above half a million residents), real estate men, housing experts and social workers fought battles on the purpose of public housing at conference tables and the in media. Fourteen projects were built in these eight cities and in each place the interests involved were politically savvy and capable of expressing their opinions to receptive, competing newspapers. Many social workers and planners on these advisory committees were friends or colleagues of HD employees, creating a rapport and a channel for casual communication.[29] In these eight cities the advisory committees negotiated and compromised between businessmen and reformers -- between an understanding of the slum as a physical entity and the result of human systems.

In the eighteen mid-sized cities with HD projects; ranging from Washington DC, with a population just under half a million, to Miami, with about one hundred thousand

[29] As Bohn once said: "[i]f we wanted to have a convention of all those working for public housing in 1934, we could have held it in a telephone booth." Timothy L. McDonnell, S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957) 42.

people, social workers and reformers were less trained and the media had fewer outlets, narrowing the forum for public discussion. The smaller number of planners and social workers lacked support systems and were often outside the personal orbit of HD officials. Fewer newspapers led to a narrower range of publicly presented opinions and positions. Without a diverse media or savvy network of housing and social reformers, business and real estate men dominated the planning process. As a result, civic boosters who chiefly valued slum clearance directed the HD program in the twenty-three projects built in these eighteen mid-sized cities.

One means to assess local intention is by comparing the ratio of projects built on vacant and slum clearance land (Table 4-I). In addition to deteriorated housing, in the 1930's, most cities also suffered from low rental vacancies and overcrowding, caused by rapid urbanization, natural population growth and a nearly twenty year cessation of working class residential construction. Overcrowding and slum conditions existed together. Demand pushed rents up, forcing families to accept smaller accommodations or to take in borders. Initially, the HD pursued slum clearance as one of the three reasons for the program (but shifted away from that after the Louisville decision), it also approved construction on open land in crowded cities -- and most cities were severely overcrowded. Construction on vacant land improved slum conditions by relieving population pressure; by creating good quality, less-expensive accommodations; and by allowing the some of the population to move up the rusty and ineffective ladder of residential succession. Building units on vacant land, however, failed to eliminate slums; deteriorated houses remained visually unchanged.

Units built on slum land versus those on vacant land indicate the preferences and prejudices of the advisory committees, which were most influential during the site selection period. In spite of the Louisville decision, which made land acquisition significantly more difficult, sixty percent of all the units constructed by the HD were on slum clearance land. Mid-sized cities, however, built the largest number of those units. In the eight cities with populations over a half a million, only forty-seven percent of the units were built on slum land, while the nineteen medium sized cities built seventy-four percent of their units on cleared land. In the nine cities with fewer than 100,000 people, sixty percent of the units were built on slum land. Four smaller cities; Camden, Wayne, Cambridge and Lackawanna, lay outside the political authority but within the media and consulting orbit of three of the eight largest cities: Philadelphia, Boston and Buffalo. Including these projects with their metropolitan regions exacerbates this disparity in slum versus vacant siting (Table 4-II).

Slum clearance was significantly more common in all cities prior to the Louisville decision, but separately examining the nine projects with land optioned prior to January 1935 reaffirms the tendency for medium-sized city advisory committees to focus on slum clearance. Although fully eighty-seven percent of these early units were built on slum clearance land, only seventy-nine percent of the large city units were on slum land (three of four projects), while all of the mid-sized sites cleared slums (three projects) and sixty percent of the small city units were on slum land (one of two projects).[30]

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[30] These projects were:

Large city

Cleveland

Cedar Central Clearance Land 650 units

Acknowledging that the extremely small sample size mitigates the power of these figures, analyses suggest that, with the HD as a constant force, advisory committees in large cities suggested, studied and advocated for vacant sites more willingly than smaller cities. The power and influence of trained planners and social workers in big cities contributed to the larger number of vacant land projects in large cities. They understood the slum not simply as a problem of construction but also as a systemic phenomenon. Rather than simple elimination, most cities required more and better houses. In medium-sized cities, however, these professionals lacked equivalent power and business-focused advisory committees held slum elimination as the chief benefit of the HD's program.

While New York City's slums were the best documented in the nation, during the New Deal -- Chicago, and more particularly, the University of Chicago, served as a nexus for housing activity. In 1929, professor Harvey Zorbaugh published *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, a groundbreaking study of Chicago's near north side that diagrammed the radial and cyclical nature of city development. The school's social work students made a laboratory of the city, studying residents and their conditions on both the micro and

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Outhwaite Homes	Clearance Land	579 units
Lakeview Terrace	Clearance Land	620 units
Milwaukee		
Parklawn Homes	Vacant Land	518 units
Medium Sized City		
Atlanta		
Techwood	Clearance Land	793 units
University Homes	Clearance Land	675 units
Indianapolis		
Lockefield Gardens	Clearance Land	748 units
Small City		
Montgomery		
Riverside Heights	Vacant Land	100 units
Paterson Courts	Clearance Land	156 units

macro scales. Louis Brownlow, previously associated with the City Housing Corporation that built Radburn, helmed the Public Administration Clearinghouse, which operated in a building adjacent to the University of Chicago campus and was affiliated with the school. The NAHO, founded in October 1933, was headquartered in this same building.[31] John Millar published *Millar's Housing Letter* in Chicago as well.[32] Ickes himself had attended law school at the University of Chicago and worked as a successful Chicago lawyer and politician.[33] Well-informed, well-trained and well-connected, Chicago's housers were national leaders in the field.

A nexus for housing study and the second largest city in the nation, Chicago groups submitted several LD proposals in fall 1933. After the switch to the DB program in December 1933, the HD guaranteed the city substantial funding, but did not appoint an advisory committee until 1935. Prior to this, the Illinois State Housing Board and the Chicago Plan Commission supported the city's application, along with independent Chicagoans like philanthropist Alfred Stern, architect John Fugard, planner Jacob Crane and economist Coleman Woodbury. Nationally known in the housing community and consultants to the HD, these men advanced Chicago's application informally, suggesting sites and seeking local approvals from the powerful Commercial Club of Chicago. In the fall of 1934, Mayor Kelly formed a housing committee, but the State Board of Housing

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[31] Timothy L. McDonnell S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), 57.

[32] The first issue (3 September 1932) was known as *Millar's Housing Report*, but it became *Millar's Housing Letter* with the second (15 October 1932) issue. From that point, the periodical was published weekly until 26 November 1934. In August 1934, the staff of *Millar's Housing Letter* moved from Chicago to Washington D.C..

[33] Ickes was born in Pennsylvania, but attended law school at the University of Chicago and worked in Chicago prior to his appointment to Roosevelt's cabinet. His wife, Anna, was a state legislator, and the couple hired Larry Perkins to design their large home, Hubbard Woods in Lake Forest.

refused to accept it because the overall group lacked housing experience. In the first months of 1935 Ickes finally approved the fifty-member Chicago Advisory Committee (CAC). Nationally, this was the largest advisory committee with some of the most prestigious members.[34] At Administrator Ickes' insistence, ailing Hull House founder Jane Addams served as honorary chair, although she died just months after her appointment. Members Edith and Grace Abbott were nationally known social workers, widely published on problems of childhood poverty, immigration and education reform. Alfred Stern directed the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, particularly known for its support of African-American education and housing. The chairman of the Chicago Board of Trade, the president of the American Construction Council, a former ambassador to Sweden, the president of Carson, Pirie, Scott and the chairman of Inland Steel also brought their business acumen to the committee. Walter Dill Scott, the current president of Northwestern University, contributed both his academic training and the business and real estate experience necessarily gained by the leader of a major urban university.

Unusual in its size and level of expertise, the CAC was fairly typical in its distribution of representatives from various professions and interest groups, illustrative of the ideal committee composition as envisioned by the HD. The committee also included seven clerics, including a Catholic priest, a rabbi, and several Protestant ministers. Five professional social workers along with the leaders of the United Charities of Chicago and the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare served on the board. Four academics from the

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[34] Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing to the Administrator, 31 December 1934, Folder 6, Box 85 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chicago General Advisory Board, 19 April 1935, Folder 1, Box 86 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

University of Chicago and Northwestern were members. A judge and two lawyers were appointed and the committee included two real estate men and two union leaders. Perhaps due to Administrator Ickes' long-term conflict with *Chicago Tribune* editor Colonel Robert R. McCormick, the committee did not include any representatives of the press, which was typical elsewhere.[35] Dr. Midian Bousfield was the lone physician and the only African American on the committee, a "race man" habitually nominated by Chicago's political establishment for such positions.[36]

On 27 October 1933, just two months after the HD began taking LD applications and more than a year before the CAC was formed, the Illinois State Housing Board met with the Commercial Club of Chicago, the same powerful civic organization that hired Daniel Burnham to produce his 1909 plan for the city. The attendees evaluated a housing report prepared by Jacob Crane and Coleman Woodbury. Crane, president of the American City Planning Institute, was a national leader in housing reform, and economist Woodbury was secretary of the Illinois State Housing Board.[37] Their report evaluated the feasibility of slum clearance and reform housing construction; calculating the price range of slum land that would yield a feasible LD project and identifying viable sites in that range. Comparisons of conditions and costs led to the identification of two potential areas for new housing, one for whites on the northwest side of the city and a smaller project for

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[35] Harold Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*. Vol. I, *The First Thousand Days 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 210.

[36] Chicago long employed such "race men" who were African Americans who could be trusted to support the white agenda with minimal resistance.

[37] Alfred K. Stern, Chairman State Housing Board to Robert D. Kohn, Director Housing Division, 1 December 1933, Folder 4, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/36 (18 June 1934), 2; *Millar's Housing Letter* 1/45 (21 August 1933), 5.

African Americans on the southwest side (Figure 4-5). It was one of the few reports that considered the city as whole during the LD phase and one of the most complete analyses of the entire HD period. The Commercial Club endorsed the plan, assuring their powerful support. Submitted just as the HD abandoned the LD arrangement, these proposals failed to gain traction but became favored sites in the DB phase.

In January 1934, seventeen civic, real estate and building organizations formed the Metropolitan Housing Council (MHC). Helmed by Crane and John Fugard, president of the Illinois Society of Architects, the group gave interested parties a forum for discussion on local slum clearance and public housing issues.[38] Initially serving as a *de facto* advisory committee, the MHC became an independent advocate group, publishing studies on the topic and criticizing the HD and its local actions.

As Kohn's HD began developing plans for the DB program, leaders in Chicago returned to the two sites approved by the Commercial Club in October. The first was a large site on the west side near Hull House, a neighborhood dominated by Italian immigrants. A second, smaller slum clearance project was proposed for an area at the northeastern corner of the Black Belt. Both sites were primarily residential, with a high percentage of dilapidated homes, but also with easy access to public transit, employment, schools, churches and stores. In late January, Chicago activists submitted a formal proposal for the west side site, but it went well beyond the scope of the DB program. On

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[38] Maurice Fischer, "Act to Form Metropolitan Housing Body," *Chicago News* 20 January 1934(?). available in Folder 9, Box 83 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII. The Illinois Legislature passed the Adamowski-Ickes Bill, enabling the creation of housing authorities, in early 1934. Until 1935, Harold Ickes' wife, Anna served in the Illinois legislature, and was a leading proponent of her husband's programs. *Millar's Housing Letter* 2/21 (5 March 1934), 1.

one hundred acres of slum land, the project included 4,784 housing units, one hundred stores, a hotel, and a six-hundred-car underground parking garage (Figure 4-6). In February a slightly more modest proposal was submitted for the south side: a 1,500-unit complex along the eastern edge of the Black Belt.[39]

Funding and federal policy questions kept things in flux throughout the spring of 1934, but the HD quickly cast doubt on the feasibility of January's massive proposals. F.J.C. Dresser and Albert Fellheimer established a regional office for the HD and worked with local activists to develop a number of smaller projects more reflective of the HD's goals and budget. At a MHC meeting on 7 March, they decided to select three to four sites for possible acquisition. By 18 April, the group had three sites: the massive one near Hull House on the west side, the one at the northeastern corner of the Black Belt (known as South Park Gardens because of the western boundary street) and another on the north side, known as Blackhawk (named for a street running diagonally through the site) (Figure 4-7). Lying near the river, north of the Loop, the Blackhawk site was part of the pervasive slum Zorbaugh had studied in *The Gold Coast and the Slum*. General boundaries were established for the three areas, and the HD hired realtors and land negotiators to investigate ownership and begin optioning. The HD also explored a plan to clear four blocks on Maxwell Street, a long-standing informal market about a quarter mile southeast of the Hull House site. The plan included the construction of a market

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[39] Digest of Information on Areas in Proposed Chicago Housing Program, 11 January 1934, Folder 3, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Huge Housing Plan Submitted to Washington," *Chicago Tribune* 25 February 1934, A10; A Housing Project for Chicago, 23 February 1934, Folder 3, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

complex that would use rental profits to subsidize the housing project, illustrating the flexibility of the HD during this early period (Figure 4-8).[40]

In Washington, HD officials approved the south side South Park Gardens site, but raised concerns about the Hull House site. The land would be expensive and the area lay close to heavy industry, with its concomitant smoke and noise. In addition, the site lacked a natural boundary on the north, and HD planners feared it would blend into the slum beyond. Few of the extremely poor Italian and Negro residents of the site would be able to afford the subsidized rents in the new buildings and some officials believed that these populations were inherently ill-suited to apartment living. At the same time, Hull House workers had drawn attention to the west side slum for years and many local political and charitable groups strongly supported it regardless of the HD's opposition.[41]

Throughout the spring of 1934, Dresser and the regional HD staff worked on the three main sites, but continued to investigate others. They studied a mile-square slum site north of the Loop, about one mile west of the river. They considered Riverview Park, an

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[40] Minutes, Chicago Meeting, 7 March 1934, Folder 1, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; C. Warnecke for the Administrator to Alfred K. Stern, 18 April 1934, Folder 10, Box 80 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "A Market Project for Chicago," n.d., Folder 3, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[41] Coleman Woodbury to George W. Warnecke, Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation, 30 April 1934, Folder 2, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; G. Warnecke, General Advisor to Colonel Hackett, 7 May 1934, Folder 1, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago, IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; C .E. Pynchon to Colonel Hackett, 4 May 1934, Folder 1, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

amusement park, as a large single holding with little required clearance.[42] While other sites failed to get beyond early stages, Riverview remained active, a fallback proposal and bargaining chip that the HD raised repeatedly as an easy alternative if slum clearance negotiations elsewhere became intractable.

In the summer of 1934, despite their concerns about the west side site, the HD began working in earnest on the project. In addition, plans progressed on the south side South Park Gardens project and the north side Blackhawk site. In June 1934, Ickes officially allotted Chicago twenty five million dollars for public housing construction. With money available, the HD hired surveyors, lawyers, appraisers and negotiators and these men began visiting the owners of properties in the three areas. They assembled design teams for each of the sites in the fall of 1934. By October land accumulators held options on ninety percent of the land at the Blackhawk site and condemnation proceedings began. In December, enough land had been optioned at the Hull House and South Park Gardens sites, allowing the newly formed CAC to lift the veil of land-acquisition secrecy and formally announce all three projects.[43]

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[42] G. Warnecke, General Advisor to Honorable Harold L. Ickes, 8 May 1934, Folder 1, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[43] Resolution of the Special Board for Public Work, 1 June 1934 (President Approved 7 June 1934), Folder 5, Box 47 H-1201 Brewster Detroit MI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Al Chase, "Clark Wright Architect for Housing Project," 31 December 1934, 23; F.J.C. Dresser to Colonel Hackett, 6 December 1934, Folder 11, Box 101 H-1403 Blackhawk Park, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; M.D. Carrel, Associates Projects Manger to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 2 November 1935, Folder 4, Box 94 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "100,000 New Chicago Jobs" *Chicago Herald and Examiner* 13 December 1934, available in Folder 1, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago Il, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

In the first part of 1935, site acquisition proceeded and the design process began. By spring, however, the realities of land acquisition, slum clearance and public opinion forced the HD to completely revise their roster of public housing sites. The Louisville decision withdrew the HD's power of condemnation, weakening their land acquisition bargaining position. On 11 April, Ickes abandoned the west side Hull House site, intended to become the HD's largest project nationally, claiming that landowners were inflating their asking prices. In the next few weeks, a number of alternative projects were proposed to use the Hull House allotment. Factory and shipping companies proposed the construction of 500 single-family homes near the Indiana state line. The HD considered the Deering Tractor Works, located on the east bank of the Chicago River at West Diversey Avenue, as well as an additional site on the far south side, just south of the city's Trumbull Park and near Lake Calumet (Figure 4-9). They revisited the Riverview Park property and discussed a golf course and an unbuilt school site as well.[44]

The high-profile Hull House site, which became known as Jane Addams Homes after her death in May 1935, however, remained of primary interest to local reformers and they continued to press for it. In the spring, Chicago leaders developed a new plan for the west-side site, despite HD discouragement. At the end of July, the CAC arranged for

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[44] Al Chase, "Chicago's West Side Housing Unit Abandoned," *Chicago Tribune* 14 June 1935, 1; "West Side Muddle Blamed on PWA," *Chicago Herald and Examiner* 27 June 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Chicago Slum Program Abandoned by Ickes," *Chicago Daily News* 13 June 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Al Chase, "Chicago's West Side Housing Unit Abandoned," *Chicago Tribune* 14 June 1935, 35; Al Chase, "Civic Council Assails Ickes Housing Tangle," *Chicago Tribune* 17 June 1935, 3; Al Chase, "Announce $1,500,000 Home Building Program for Calumet," *Chicago Tribune* 23 June 1935, A12; F.J.C. Dresser, Associate Director of Housing to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 23 May 1935, Folder 6, Box 80 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

the purchase of a single block occupied by the abandoned gymnasium of the Jewish People's Institute's (JPI). Then they acquired affordable sections of land to the south and east, knitting together a project of 1,027 units that lacked the cohesiveness and unity favored by the federal designers (see Figure 3-4). Despite changes, the architects adapted quickly, producing new drawings for the reconfigured site. Demolition began in November and the foundation contract was let at the beginning of December 1935.[45] Demolition and foundation work occurred in 1936, and on 7 October the HD signed a superstructure contract for the project. Construction took nearly a year, and the HD announced rents on 18 November 1937.[46] The first tenants moved into Jane Addams in December 1937, about two years after construction began and more than a year after Atlanta's Techwood project opened.

The HD hired prominent, influential architects to work on the Jane Addams Houses, suggesting there was significant professional interest and prestige in the project. The HD selected the team, and then the designers chose their chief architect, named the senior men and junior men, hired draftsmen and named themselves Associated Architects. The HD agreed to incremental payments keyed to design submittals, but the Associated Architects faced substantial start-up costs, including office rent, materials, secretaries and salaries for the hourly drafting staff. The architectural team used their own

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[45] A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Administrator, 15 November 1935, Folder 8, Box 103 H-1406 Julia C. Lathrop Chicago IL, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[46] "Rents Announced for Chicago Housing Projects," Housing Division Press Release, 18 November 1937, Folder 1, Box 88 H-1400 General Information, Chicago IL, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

savings or took out loans to cover these costs. Team members shared this debt and the final profits, with the chief and senior members more invested than associated members.

The team elected John A. Holabird, a leading figure in Chicago architecture, to serve as chief architect. Holabird was the son of William Holabird, partner in Holabird and Roche, the firm that made significant contributions to the Chicago School skyscraper.[47] Prior to World War One, the younger Holabird attended West Point and studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he met John Wellborn Root Junior, the son of Daniel Burnham's partner. After serving in the war, the pair returned to Chicago and joined Holabird and Roche in 1919. The senior partners died in the mid 1920's and, hybridizing the finest Chicago School pedigrees, the firm then transformed into Holabird and Root.[48] The pair enjoyed considerable success in the 1920's, building the Art Deco Palmolive Building in 1929 and the Chicago Board of Trade in 1930 (Figure 4-10). Holabird served as one of the lead designers for the 1933-34 Century of Progress Fair and the firm designed the fair's Chrysler Building.[49] Taking up the Jane Addams design just after he finished his high-profile Century of Progress work, Holabird brought prestige and an understanding of contemporary architecture to public housing in Chicago.

The senior architects under Holabird were also experienced Chicago designers. A bit younger than the others, Ernest Grunsfeld was well suited to the commission. Trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, in 1929

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[47] Werner Blaser ed., *Chicago Architecture: Holabird and Root, 1880-1992* (Basel: Birkhauser Verlag, 1991), 29.

[48] For a full history of Holabird and Roche and Holabird and Root, see Robert Bruegmann's three volume *Holabird & Roche, Holabird & Root: An Illustrated Catalog of Works* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991).

[49] John Zukowsky ed., *Chicago Architecture 1872-1922: Birth of a Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 221.

Grunsfeld and his partner Eugene Klaber designed the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments for Alfred K. Stern at the Rosenwald Foundation (see Figure 1-20). While not a housing expert, Elmer C. Jensen was an established member of the local architectural scene. He had briefly partnered with William LeBaron Jenney and operated the descendant firm of Mundie and Jensen from 1907 until 1936.[50] Philip B. Maher, son and partner of George B. Maher, maintained a private practice after his father's death in 1926 and was particularly known for the plan of Gary, Indiana and Gary City Hall. The lead architects were well-established men with considerable and varied experience.

The junior members of the Associated Architects included older men heading into retirement and young architects with few built structures to their names. Melville Chatten graduated from the University of Illinois in 1896. From 1915 to 1927, he partnered with Charles Hammond. Dwight Perkins joined the firm in the 1920's and the group built office buildings like the iconic North West Tower in Wicker Park (1929).[51] While Chatten brought forty years of experience to the project, John O. Merrill was born the year Chatten graduated from college. In 1939 Merrill joined Louis Skidmore and Nathaniel Owings, establishing a partnership that would become a leading force in architecture internationally. As chief, John Holabird directed this mixed team in the design of a starkly modern complex, distinguished by careful proportions, simplicity and monumental open spaces that contributed to the larger urban pattern.

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[50] Carl Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 85.

[51] John Zukowsky and Martha Thorne, *Masterpieces of Chicago Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 2004), 85.

Siting and planning at the Jane Addams site suffered from continual changes and the piecemeal land acquisition process. The JPI block was designed as an independent unit (Figure 4-11), only minimally related to the larger project (Figure 4-12). Playful animal sculptures and spray fountains furnish Animal Court, the project's central space, a designed area furnished for both beauty and functionality (Figure 4-13). This courtyard is defined by three-story apartment buildings at its corners and four two-story row house buildings in between. A four-story apartment building stands at the northern edge of the block, with a wide breezeway on the first floor leading into the main space, and serving as a grand urban gesture, the icon for the entire complex (Figure 4-14). This type of gateway appears often in HD projects, likely influenced by the grand apartment blocks of Red Vienna (See Figure 1-33).[52] With nearly fifty-one units per acre, the density of the block is higher than typically preferred by the HD.[53]

While Animal Court is clearly bounded and protected from traffic, the paths between the buildings create sight lines to the street, opening the space to passerby. This openness, however, undermines the private nature of the row houses' rear yards. Open to the street, the architects failed to add design elements to discourage pedestrians from using these rear areas to access the central play space. The corner apartment buildings located their entry doors on the street or facing the main path, leaving some rear areas underutilized. In general, however, the site plan of this block maximized its tight site,

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[52] In Chicago, this breezeway arrangement also evoked Frank Lloyd Wright's Francisco Terrace (1895).

[53] H-1401 had more than fifty units to an acre, making it among the four densest projects built in this period, just behind the two New York City projects and the hillside project in Schenectady.

creating a dramatic and usable exterior space that protected playing children from cars while also communicating with the larger neighborhood.

In contrast to the regular boundaries of the JPI block, the larger site lacks cohesion, only visually united to the JPI block that clearly constitutes its center. The site includes a block to the east and half of the block west of the JPI site, excluding an area with mixed residential and industrial buildings just south of Vernon Park. The project also includes a three-block wide area one block south of the JPI site. The project omitted a number of existing structures, including the West Side Auditorium at the corner of Taylor and Racine Streets and the Jacob Riis School at the center of the project between Throop and Lytle Streets. While the auditorium and the school block the flow of the project, they also serve civic functions. More problematic is the area of existing slum structures that remained between Taylor and Edgemont Streets, bounded on the west by Throop Street and Loomis Street on the east. This block of dilapidated houses, apartments, shops and stables brought unsanitary conditions into the heart of the project (Figure 4-15). HD officials were frequently wary of undifferentiated borders between their projects and slum areas and this situation exemplified that condition. In addition, several major city streets passed through the project, particularly busy Taylor Street. The advisory committee fervently supported the west side site and their passion pressured the HD to carry on with Jane Addams Houses despite these significant practical problems.

With these various intrusions, Jane Addams Houses lacks a sense of unity. North of Taylor Street, west of the JPI block, two apartment buildings share space with the project's heating plant. These two residential buildings have little green space around

them and the industrial heating plant makes the rear yard generally undesirable. The central entrance to A-17 aligns itself with one public walkway of the JPI block, but otherwise these two buildings fail to relate to that adjacent block. East of the JPI site, six courtyard buildings sit on a rectangular site of much lower density than the JPI block. In a heavily built neighborhood, these buildings use open space to monumentalize the project. Large courtyards face both Vernon Park and Taylor Street, while a central walking street aligns with an axis that runs through the JPI block. Another axis is created north of this wide allee, tying the two sections of the project together more satisfactorily than with the western block.

South of Taylor Street, the irregular nature of the site is particularly problematic. A single Addams building, A-22, stands on the south side of Taylor Street, with its entrance courtyard aligned with building A-2 on the JPI block. The West Side Auditorium, the Jacob Riis School and the slum block isolate this building from the three blocks of the project that lie to the south of Taylor Street. The project office is located in the basement of this building, a good connector for the north and south sections of the project, and also an indication of the building's special status.

Three courtyard buildings on the eastern block create two internal, buffered play areas. Three of the four apartment buildings on the central block also create a protected courtyard, while building A-21 on the north defines an axis with the western block, a continuation of dead-end Edgemont Avenue. Most problematic is the southwestern block, the narrow site that lies west of Throop Street and south of Edgemont Avenue, south of the slum remnant. The three buildings on this block create a narrow central courtyard;

they present a blank face to the dilapidated buildings across Edgemont Avenue, although two narrow first floor breezeways physically connect them. The central courtyard at the JPI block is the project's most highly finished exterior space, but the majority of the residents (those living in the ten buildings south of Taylor Street), had no direct access to this space and lacked comparable facilities in their own sections.

The irregular boundaries of the Jane Addams Houses separated the portions of the project, but architectural style united them. Dark red brick exteriors, flat roofs, unmarked parapets topped with simple tile copings, steel casement windows and crisply defined, simplified details created a visual unity distinct from the surrounding wooden buildings. The JPI block enjoyed a considerable variety of massing, with two-story row houses mixed with the three-story and four-story apartment buildings (Figure 4-16). Three-story apartment buildings, however, composed the entirety of the other blocks. In the apartment buildings, raised, setback stair towers were finished with inset, rounded metal balconies or with vertical glazing (Figure 4-17). The verticality of the stair towers punctuated the severe horizontality of the buildings in a simple and powerful way.

The well-connected and balanced housing reform community of Chicago worked with the HD, targeting not only the physical slum, but also the causes of the slum phenomenon. Not merely receivers of federal housing orders, the advisory committee controlled site selection, insisting on the Addams site despite acquisition problems and HD opposition. Working with the federal group, the committee also hired a team of prominent, experienced and progressive architects. This group brought prestige to the project and developed a design that suffered from some functional large-scale problems

but also used the most modern planning and design to create a complex that operated well on the individual scale. Into a ramshackle neighborhood of decaying, crowded wooden buildings, Jane Addams Houses brought modern art, classical proportion, durable construction and, most significantly, usable open spaces to enjoy.

Unlike Chicago, mid-sized Nashville's local advisory committee lacked a diversity of voices, particularly those well-trained in social work and slum development. While influential, the Nashville advisory committee failed to extensively study sites or to consider viewpoints different from their own. Nashville's program was not significantly challenged by court decisions or popular pressure. Without well-trained, outspoken social reformers or planners, Nashville's housing program attacked the plant, rather than the roots of the slum, consistently preferenced whites over African Americans, and real estate interests over social improvement.

Nashville, like many other towns in the 1930's, faced difficulties posed by suburbanization and the subsequent loss of their tax base -- problems that would become urbanism's central crisis after World War Two. From 1920 to 1930, many white families moved out from the center of the city, while Nashville's black population remained in three residential areas. Conditions for both poor whites and blacks were miserable, with families living in small, frame buildings lacking full baths, plumbing or electricity. Blacks, however, also suffered more from overcrowding as their population grew but their residential boundaries remained fixed.[54]

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[54] Nashville Housing Projects Factual Data, 13 April 1934, Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Chicago exemplifies the big city advisory committee, composed of community leaders from a wide range of fields, approved by local, state and national groups. As a medium sized city, Nashville appointed its advisory committee in a less critical way and its members lacked the CAC's depth of experience. On 12 December 1933, a group of Nashvillians came together and formed the University Housing Corporation (UHC), a LD group that proposed two projects to the HD: one north of downtown in the notorious Cab Hollow slum (for white residents), which became known as Cheatham Place. The second was an African-American project, located adjacent to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, which the group ultimately christened Andrew Jackson Courts (Figure 4-18).[55] The group did not undertake a formal survey of Nashville's housing conditions or apply Green's Real Property Inventory, but simply selected what they believed to be the city's most prominent slums. The proposals included schematic drawings and an estimated four million dollar budget, prepared by the architecture firm of Marr and Holman. Harold Hynds, Chief Construction Engineer for the HD, found the designs in need of considerable restudy. More significantly, however, the Nashville group proved unable to raise the fifteen percent equity. When the HD switched to its DB program, the

[55] The Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee also selected the names for the two projects, approved by the HD in January 1936: Cheatham Place for the white project, named after a street on the site, which was, in turn, named for General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham, a reluctant but decorated Confederate General and the great-grandson of General James Robertson, the founder of Nashville. They named the African American project Andrew Jackson Courts, in honor of the former President and local hero. Gerald Gimre, City Planning Engineer to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 29 January 1936, Folder 1, Box 160, H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

members of the UHC then transformed themselves into the appointed Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee (NFHAC). [56]

Although membership changed slightly over time, a core group of men composed the advisory committee for most of the 1930's. E.E. Murrey served as President of the UHC and then chair of the NFHAC. As vice president of the Nashville Trust, Murrey was a successful financier who headed a number of local civic groups. Dr. Thomas E. Jones, president of Fisk University, joined the advisory committee as a representative for the black community although he himself was white. Gerald Gimre was the planning engineer for Nashville's City Planning and Zoning Commission. The NFHAC also included A.J. Dyer, a civil engineer and chair of the city's City Planning and Zoning Commission; leading banker P.D. Houston and land appraiser Major Vincent E. Stack were also members.[57] In the fall of 1934, under pressure from both the HD and local African-American groups, the NFHAC asked black lawyer J.C. Napier to join their ranks. Initially formed as a LD corporation, minutes and memos suggest that the Murrey, Houston and Stack -- two bankers and a land appraiser – dominated the group. The CAC provided a forum for discussion of the slum as a financial and social force, but the NFHAC lacked a diversity of views, primarily considering the slum as a simple problem of built structures.

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[56] Eugene Klaber, Office Memorandum 15 December 1933, Folder 1, Box 169 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "The Better Housed," *Nashville Tennessean* 7 October 1940, available in the Nashville Housing Authority Clipping File, Nashville Municipal (Metro) Archives, 3801 Green Hills Village Drive.

[57] Members Biographical Data, Nashville Housing Committee, n.d., Folder 1, Box 162 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

The HD revived the UHC's proposals under the DB program. Kohn visited Nashville on 16 March 1934 with a tentative two million dollar budget, half of the original request. Rather than undertaking a formal survey, or suggesting the city prepare a survey, Kohn concurred on the NFHAC's site selections. He recommended reducing both projects, but after noting that African-American Nashvillians suffered from more dilapidated and crowded conditions, Kohn advised allotting three quarters of the money to the black project and only a quarter to a smaller white project, but local leaders never instituted Kohn's suggestion.[58]

In the summer of 1936, the HD pressured the group to reconstitute itself as an official housing authority, which would require the city to pass a number of laws. The advisory committee refused, suggesting that current politics did not favor the creation of such an entity. Not until November 1938, following the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act, did Nashville finally create the Nashville Housing Authority.[59] The new group, however, still largely drew its members from the NFHAC, making the change, again, a matter of power and appellation, rather than of leadership or vision. The evolution of the LD corporation into the advisory committee and then the housing authority allowed a

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[58] Robert D Kohn, Director of Housing to Housing Division, 16 March 1934, Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Resolution for the Special Board, 1 June 1934, Folder 13, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[59] Minutes of Meeting (Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee), 1 July 1936, Folder 19, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; J.R. Basinger, Management Supervisor to Nathan Straus, United States Housing Authority, 10 November 1938, Folder 1, Box 162 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN: R.F. Voell, Director of Federal Management to Administrator, 3 January 1938, Folder 3, Box 162 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

self-selected group of men to direct slum clearance and public housing in Nashville from 1933 until the 1940's.

At the beginning of April 1934, planner Gimre brought Kohn and the HD revised site plans for both Cheatham Place and Andrew Jackson Courts. Although Kohn had advocated for a greater number of African-American units, the new plans contained more white units, in part due to the nature of the two sites. At the Cheatham site, irregular streets and rolling topography pushed the planners to purchase a large piece of land. In contrast, the Andrew Jackson site was wedged between two universities and a railroad line. Rather than suggesting a new survey that might reveal more appropriate sites, Kohn and HD staffers worked with Gimre's plans. They eliminated buildings and changed boundaries, using a rough mental calculus to bring both projects to budgets of one million dollars each, ultimately assigning 314 units to Cheatham Place and 240 units to Andrew Jackson Courts.[60] Instead of allotting the overcrowded African-American community nearly three quarters of Nashville's units, Kohn's unwillingness to oppose local inclination led him to accept a program with nearly three quarters white units.

Besides Kohn, Fisk president and NFHAC member Jones fought for racial parity and urged the group to develop a connection between the African-American project and his school. He suggested that the HD build on two sides of a large lot he hoped to buy for an athletic field, believing this arrangement would persuade his reluctant board to purchase the land. The other NFHAC members did not agree with necessity of the

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[60] Visit of Mr. Gerald Gimre to the Housing Division 3-4 April 1934, Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Gerald Gimre to Administrator, 28 August 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

request and it was never seriously considered. Later, Jones called on HD director Clas to expand the Jackson project to include the site of Pearl High School, which stood at its center but would soon be relocated to a new building. Jones rebuffed Clas' statement that the HD could not assume the additional cost by reminding him that Cheatham Place had been recently expanded to improve its entry sequence. Jones also encouraged the HD to transfer ownership of an unusable portion of the Jackson site to the Nashville Park Commission so the city might provide recreational facilities at no cost to the project.[61] While a representative of the African-American community, Jones was a white man and the director of Fisk University. His advocacy lacked first-hand knowledge of black needs and his plans and concerns for his school necessarily modified his view.

In addition to Dr. Jones' compromised role as representative of the African-American community, the Nashville Negro Board of Trade demanded inclusion in the project plans. In the fall of 1934 the group wrote the HD, suggesting that without a strong African American on the board, the black community would distrust the effort, block slum clearance and ultimately refuse to tenant the new buildings.[62] In response, the NFHAC invited lawyer J.C. Napier to join their ranks. The Negro Board of Trade also

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[61] Gerald Gimre, City Planning Engineer to Robert D. Kohn, Director Federal Emergency Housing Corporation, 24 April 1934 Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Thomas E. Jones, President Fisk University to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 14 October 1935, Folder 1, Box 170 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Administrator, 19 March 1936, Folder 11, Box 170 H-2101 Andrew Jackson Courts, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; T.N. King, District Manager to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 17 April 1936, Folder 11, Box 170 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[62] Robert Weaver, Associate Advisor on Economic Status of Negros to Horatio B. Hackett, 4 September 1934, Folder 3, Box 166 H-2101 Cheatham Place Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

demanded black involvement in all phases of the project, requesting the hiring of African-American designers, contractors and laborers, but this proved less successful.

The NFHAC and the HD refined site boundaries and began the process of land acquisition in the latter part of 1934. Although lacking a larger survey of Nashville's residential conditions, Kohn and his staff never discussed changing the two sites selected by the UHC. Cheatham Place stood northwest of downtown, in an area known as Cab Hollow. An infamous slum, the area was a gently sloped valley between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, in the deep bend of the Cumberland River. Nearby industries, including a large cotton mill on the east side of Eighth Avenue, had fostered a district of wood frame worker's cottages in the area. The collision of two street grids and the sloping topography created an inefficient land use pattern (Figure 4-19). First settled as a residential district in the 1890's, by 1914 the area was in decline, evidenced by a number of boarding houses and a charity mission (Figure 4-20). Located a few blocks northwest of the new State Capitol, Cheatham Place became part of a larger New Deal redevelopment program for the capitol district.

Cheatham Place cleared a lost valley of irregular streets, but the black site, located west of downtown, was in the center of Nashville's African-American community. Sloping down to the south, the site is one block southeast of Fisk University and only two blocks from Meharry Medical College. Pearl High School, the city's only secondary institution for blacks, stood at the center of the site (although it became a junior high school when the upper school moved to a new building in 1937). A creek and a train yard formed the southern boundary, with lumberyards and cotton mills located on the other

side of the tracks. The Jackson site was built on gently sloping ground with a regular street grid; a functionally simpler site (Figure 4-21). Like Cab Hollow, this area was first developed in the 1890's, but was built up more densely, with most lots occupied by front and rear houses (Figure 4-22).

Newspaper accounts regarded the elimination of Cab Hollow as a welcome relief, the improvement of an isolated, ruined area which most readers only experienced as they drove by on Eighth Avenue.[63] In contrast, Andrew Jackson Courts is located adjacent to its community's most revered institutions: Fisk University, Meharry Medical School and Pearl High School. Most of Nashville's black residential areas qualified as slums in the eyes of the white men leading the UHC and the group failed to undertake a Real Property Inventory to quantify housing conditions. Rather than selecting some of the worst black housing sites, they chose an area distinguished by its central location. The project created a healthy core to improve living conditions and to inspire development throughout the district. White Nashvillians had a full spectrum of housing conditions and Cheatham Place cleared a pocket of poverty. As a much greater proportion of African-American housing in Nashville could be defined as a slum, Jackson Courts reinvigorated the segregated community's heart rather than eliminating its poorest conditions.

A well-connected group of civic and social leaders composed the NFHAC and their positions meant that, in large part, they could speak for the city, simplifying the HD's negotiations. Murrey and Gimre often ensured city support for various issues, like a low in-lieu-of-tax rate. The city approved Cheatham's street closures, deeded the HD the

[63] "Up from Cab Hollow," *The Nashville Tennessean* (editorial), n.d., available Folder 1, Box 163 H-2101 Cheatham Place Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

resulting open space and agreed to pave and maintain new streets; assuming costs other cities forced the project to pay.[64] The influential NFHAC helped the city and HD settle these issues unusually easily and with little public notice or controversy.

In November 1934, Richard Voell of the HD came to Nashville to finalize the selection of architects for both projects. The firm of Marr and Holman had prepared the UHC drawings, but the HD and Gimre found their work unsatisfactory and did not wish to involve them further.[65] Although Division protocol directed employees to consult informed third parties on local designers' reputations, Voell spoke with NFHAC members and Emmons Woolwine, a young architect already hired to serve on the design team. Woolwine's gave candid opinions of his peers and his advice led the group to select Richard Clark to head the alliance, with Henry Hibbs, Eli Tisdale, Francis Warfield and Woolwine himself as senior designers.

As in Chicago, the architects selected in Nashville had designed some of the city's more important buildings. Born in Scotland, Clark came to Nashville in 1920 and founded the successful firm of Asmus and Clark. Woolwine judged him a careful coordinator, not prone to design innovation. Hibbs attended the University of Pennsylvania, and after ten years in New York he moved to Nashville to oversee the construction of George Peabody College for the New York firm of Ludlow and Peabody. Hibbs remained after construction ended; in 1929 he began planning a new campus for

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[64] A. C. Mayger, Acting Chief of Branch 2 to Paul M. Pearson, Assistant Director of Housing, 10 February 1937, Folder 7, Box 170 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[65] Gerald Gimre to Administrator, 28 August 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Scarritt College. This work won awards and established him as a premier Southern campus architect. Tisdale earned a degree from the Georgia Institute of Technology and served in the Army Engineer Corps in World War One, spending three months at the Ecole des Beaux Arts following the Armistice. Woolwine praised him as a competent designer, but suggested that he lacked leadership ambition. A graduate of Vanderbilt University, Warfield specialized in structural engineering.[66] Woolwine himself, a Nashville native, studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and worked in Washington D.C. until 1928. In partnership with New York architect Frederic Hirons, Woolwine won the 1929 competition for the Davidson County Courthouse. Although Woolwine was the youngest member of the Nashville Allied Architects, the courthouse commission placed him among his profession's local leaders.

A successful African-American architecture firm, McKissack and McKissack, also operated in Nashville. Born in Pulaski County, Tennessee in 1879, Gabriel Mose McKissack completed an architecture correspondence school degree. At the age of twenty-one, he began working as a draftsman and in 1905 he established a practice in Nashville. From 1909 to 1912 Mose McKissack and Company designed and built homes, libraries, churches and schools for African-Americans in the area. In 1912, Calvin Lunsford McKissack joined his older brother in the firm. Calvin graduated from Fisk University in 1909 and also completed an architectural correspondence program. After a brief stint in Texas and Oklahoma, Calvin returned to Nashville and the pair opened

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[66] Joseph L. Herndon, "Architects in Tennessee until 1930: A Dictonary" (M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, May 1975), 43; Richard F. Voell, Assistant Project Manager to R.B. Mitchell, Acting Chief Initiation and Recommendation, 13 November 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Herndon, 93; id., 185; id., 192.

McKissack and McKissack. Calvin also taught architecture at the Tennessee State Agriculture School and at Pearl High School. While the bulk of the firm's commissions came from the African-American community, they also designed homes for a developer at Belle Meade, the white subdivision around Nashville's country club.[67]

McKissack and McKissack campaigned for HD work in the fall of 1934, appealing directly to D.C. because they (rightly) believed local officials would oppose their inclusion. In September, the Nashville Negro Board of Trade sent a letter to Hackett in support of black representation in all aspects of construction. McKissack and McKissack then sent the HD a memorandum outlining their qualifications and past experience. Dr. Robert Weaver, Roosevelt's advisor on Negro issues, sent Hackett a letter advocating for the firm, but Hackett replied that his Division would defer to the wishes of the local officials. Ickes himself pushed Hackett on the issue, writing a letter supporting the African-American firm.[68] During his November visit, Voell advocated including McKissack and McKissack among the senior partners, but members of the NFHAC (particularly chairman E.E. Murrey) opposed them, initially arguing that placing African Americans in a position of parity would cause conflict, then suggesting McKissack and McKissack lacked training and skill. After visiting a handful of their buildings, Voell

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[67] Herndon, 129-131.

[68] Nashville Negro Board of Trade to Harold Ickes, 4 September 1934, Folder 4, Box 171 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Gerald Gimre to Administrator, 28 August 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing to Robert C. Weaver, Associate Advisor on Economic Status of Negroes, 7 September 1934, Folder 3, Box 166 H-2101 Cheatham Place Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; HLI (Ickes) to Col. Hackett, 1 September 1934, Folder 1, Box 169 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

wrote a memorandum to the Division in which he seemed relieved to declare the firm aesthetically deficient and eliminated them from the association on that basis.[69] Meanwhile, the firm was designing the new Pearl High School building, also funded by the PWA, suggesting that other federal officials had found them competent for major design work. While HD officials clearly understood that there was a federal mandate to include African Americans, they refused to press the issue with local advisory committees. Ultimately, McKissack and McKissack were made junior members for the Andrew Jackson Court project only. With the distribution of the billable work at the discretion of Chief Architect Clark, however, the McKissacks publicized the project but were assigned less than a week of billable work.[70]

This reluctance to offend, dictate to or direct local advisory committees was common throughout the program. In many places, including Nashville, the HD built upon locally proposed LD projects. The locals, therefore, possessed a sense of ownership over the projects and resisted changes to their vision. The HD was under tremendous pressure

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[69] Richard F. Voell, Assistant Project Manager to R.B. Mitchell, Acting Chief Initiation and Recommendation, 13 November 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII. The conflict regarding McKissack and McKissack's inclusion on the team was a large issue that the NFHAC resisted. A 1 September 1934 memo from Ickes, suggested that there was no reason not to give preference to blacks. "The group is discriminated against 90% of the time, why shouldn't we discriminate for them here?" The HD failed to push the issue with the local group, and an opportunity was lost. Despite that fact that eighteen of the forty-eight projects built in the continental United States were for blacks, only one, Langston Terrace in Washington DC, had an African-American chief architect.

[70] Despite the agreement, the Nashville Allied Architects only passed on forty dollars worth of drafting work to McKissack and McKissack. In 1936, after design had been completed, McKissack and McKissack appealed to the HD to make sure they got a portion of construction administration work, and that their names should be included on the bronze plaque installed at the project. They did not recieve any work or fees, but the Housing Division did include their names on the plaque. J.W. Cramer, Chief of Branch 2, Plans and Specifications to Director of Housing. 25 April 1936, Folder 1, Box 172 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

to allocate their funds quickly and needed the cooperation and good will of the local groups in order to pressure the city officials for favorable decisions on zoning, street vacations, in-lieu-of-taxes figures and infrastructure matters. Cmmittees publicized and supported projects, shaping public opinion; disillusioned groups could stall or stop these negotiations. Also, while the HD was a centralized national program, most housing leaders advocated for local autonomy, understanding the DB phase as an unfortunate first step. Advisory committees held no legal authority but, as the selection of architects in Nashville clearly illustrates, they had the power to shape their projects.

The Nashville Allied Architects began their work at the end of 1934, but specific details of the projects did not appear in the press until June 1935, when land acquisition was nearly completed. Vincent Stack, land appraiser and member of the UHC and the NFHAC, conducted title searches, appraised values and took options for both of the sites with little direction from the HD. Except for a few properties added to improve Cheatham Place's entrance sequence, both sites were fully acquired by August 1935. At Cheatham Place, the NFHA and the HD aided displaced families in relocation and demolition began in the fall. Black families faced greater difficulties in finding new accommodations, so relocation lagged at Andrew Jackson Courts. Fisk University aided in process but the last families did not leave the site until the fall. In December 1935, just before the HD deadline, they signed a foundation contract for Cheatham and demolition began at the finally vacated Jackson Courts site.[71]

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[71] P.W. A. Housing Division Relief Act of 1935, 18 August 1935, Folder 6, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; V.E. Stack, Land Appraiser to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing,

Contractors finished foundation construction on both projects in late summer 1936.[72] In June, the HD opened Cheatham's superstructure bids and they came in about seventeen percent over budget. The HD deemed the overage fair and they provided an additional allocation.[73] In July, when they opened the bids for Andrew Jackson Courts, however, they came in at nearly twice the estimate, imperiling the project. The designers made some changes and reissued for bids in September, but the new bids were still too high. With rumors of cancellation spreading, chief architect Clark took the plans to Washington D.C. and spent nearly one month redesigning the project with HD staff. They switched from masonry to frame construction with a brick veneer. The team made some adjustments to decrease plumbing and sewage runs and eliminated the central steam plant in favor of several smaller, gas-fired heaters. Wedded to the foundations already constructed, all one-story buildings were raised to two full stories, increasing the number of units on the site from 240 to 398 and allowing the HD to increase the allotment by anticipating higher rental returns. Dr. Jones protested that the new heating scheme would cause higher pollution levels, but did not mention concerns about the less-durable construction system or the forty percent increase in population.[74]

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3 August 1935, Folder 4, Box 170 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[72] Cheatham was finished in August, Andrew Jackson Courts in September.

[73] The bid came in $300,000 over budget. Ultimately, the project cost two million dollars. Minutes of Meeting (Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee), 1 July 1936, Folder 19, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[74] Andrew Jackson Courts Housing Project, 1 October 1936, Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Minutes of Meeting of Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee, 4 November 1936, Folder 3, Box 172 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

The addition of 158 new units and the switch to wood frame construction decreased the per unit cost at Andrew Jackson Courts but also created a project that was more crowded and less durable. The land coverage rate was twenty five percent, the upper limit acceptable, while the buildings at Cheatham Place covered just twenty percent of their site. Units per acre at Jackson Courts were also increased, and while less dense than average for the program nationally, they were seventeen percent higher than at Cheatham Place.[75] In addition, frame construction meant that Andrew Jackson Courts units cost twenty five percent less than those at Cheatham Place. Despite these obvious inequalities, the HD compromised its standards to reduce costs. The new plans were approved in late 1936 and superstructure construction began in early 1937.[76]

At Cheatham Place, designers eliminated a number of extant streets to increase the efficiency of the site, although the shifted boundary streets made it impossible to eliminate all the acute angles (Figure 4-23). Bounded by Ninth Avenue on the southwest and Eighth Avenue on the northeast, Delta Avenue and Cheatham Street bisect the project, meeting southeast of the project's center. Buildings along Ninth Avenue face each other, perpendicular to the street, creating a pattern of wide, common front yards and narrower rear yards. Along Eighth Avenue North, the triangular shape of the site led designers to mix courtyard row houses and linear buildings that take advantage of the deeper lot. Rear spaces in this section are less regular and appear more residual than designed. The buildings, however, carefully define these irregularly shaped rear spaces.

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[75] Andrew Jackson Courts had 18.95 units/acre, while Cheatham Place had 15.7 units per acre. Jackson rates 31st in terms of this statistic, with Williamsburg the most dense at 77.24 units/acre.

[76] Meeting Minutes from the Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Committee, 4 November 1936, Folder 3, Box 172, H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts, Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Delta Avenue laterally bisects the centerpiece of the complex, the horseshoe-shaped, sloping green area that falls to the northeast, lined by buildings and trees (Figure 4-24). A curving line of residential buildings close off the northeast end, while the community center stands at the southwest. With front doors facing Ninth Avenue, a balcony opens from the rear of the community building, a platform to admire the greensward.

Large open spaces and a majority of one-story buildings mean that density at Cheatham Place is low. One-story buildings with studio and one-bedroom apartments and two-story buildings with two and three bedroom row houses compose the project. Of the sixty–six residential structures, only one-third have two stories. Along busy Eighth Avenue, the courtyard buildings have two-story center sections with one-story wings. Elsewhere, one-story sections buttress two-story buildings, visually establishing a center, while also keeping larger family units at some distance from the streets. Setting the taller sections of buildings back from the street diminishes the project's sense of scale.

Architecturally, Cheatham Place largely conforms to a simplified Colonial Revival style common in New Deal work. Brick side gables and pitched roofs top brick masonry buildings, evoking colonial architecture in their materiality and simplicity (Figure 4-25). On the one-story buildings, the gable roof continues beyond the building line to cover wide porches covering all unit entrances, supported by paired wooden posts. Most two-story buildings have copper clad pavilion-hipped entrance porches, also supported by paired wooden posts. Rear kitchen doors open to back alleys, without porches or other decorative elements. Sited on hilly ground, many buildings step down to follow the topography. The need to adapt the buildings to the grade partially explains the

architectural diversity of the complex, with twenty-one distinct types for only sixty-six residential buildings. Although composed of common materials and simple decorative elements, variety in massing avoids a sense of monotony at Cheatham Place. The brick community building, sited at the head of the glade, also references colonial domestic architecture, with its central, gabled-roofed, center flanked by protruding flat-roofed wings (Figure 4-26). Entry doors have inset lintels stating their original functions: "clinic" and "office" and copper sconces extend the colonial idiom.

A compact site and cost overruns meant that Andrew Jackson Courts is a less generous complex than Cheatham Place. Designers did not close existing streets on the site, although the railroad tracks block through traffic (Figure 4-27). The architectural team used courtyard and linear buildings at the site, as at Cheatham Place. Composed entirely of two story units, however, Andrew Jackson Courts looks quite different (Figure 4-28). Two-story, courtyard arrangements dominate three of the four project blocks. Along narrow Blank Street, courtyard buildings house large units, but the open spaces are narrower and shallower than at Cheatham Place. The more accommodating courtyard clusters along busy Jackson Street house smaller units, as well as the project office and maintenance building. The southeastern corner of the site is similar to the western half of Cheatham Place: long, winding rows that switch orientation to create communal front and rear areas. Between buildings Forty-nine and Fifty-four and Forty-eight and Fifty-five, the designers define an open axis that directs the eye towards the project's open land to the south. Private exterior spaces are well defined in the courtyard sections of the project, but Pearl Junior High and its playground made it impossible to fully separate private rear

yards for some buildings on this block. The rear of buildings Fourteen, Fifteen, Sixteen and Twenty-nine are exposed to Sixteenth Avenue, and the rear of buildings Forty-eight, Fifty-five and Fifty-six face Pearl's playground. While the backyards of a handful of buildings in the southeastern block of Cheatham Place face existing structures, none of the buildings suffer from a similar lack of private rear space.

Clark and the HD architects sacrificed space definition to density at Andrew Jackson Courts (Figure 4-29). Compared with the expansive and site-specific design at Cheatham Place. The HD enforced a careful sense of scale between buildings and exterior spaces, but the allee and courtyards at Andrew Jackson feel cramped, as their two-story buildings were originally designed to be partially one-story. Rather than setting the houses in wide green spaces, with scattered play areas, open space at Andrew Jackson Courts is concentrated on two lots at the southern edge of the site, across Hamilton (now Herman) Street. Originally these lots were considered unsuitable because of their slope and proximity to the creek and rail yard; but houses and offices were later constructed there, leaving the complex without any significant open space to compare to Cheatham Place's rolling, central glade.

Andrew Jackson Courts is, like Cheatham Place, built in a modified Colonial Revival style, although flat roofs modernize and enliven the reference (Figure 4-30). Paired, square posts topped with modest echini support the front porches. Although the walls are veneer, rather than solid masonry, the brick exteriors are simple and neat. Buildings are segmented: sections step down with the slope of the site and end portions step forward or back to establish depth and variety.

The redesign at Andrew Jackson Courts forced the addition of second floor apartments on what were to be one-story structures, necessitating new stairways. In these buildings, the main entrance stairs extend beyond the face of the building, requiring shallow brick enclosures around each second floor stair. These entries are awkward and diminish the usefulness of the front porches (Figure 4-31). The separate office at Jackson Courts includes a small meeting room, but there is no larger community space or health clinic. Rather than communal laundry facilities, each unit includes a sink for clothes washing, and private rear yards accommodate drying lines.[77]

By September 1937, construction at Cheatham Place was largely finished but it lay vacant until the HD announced rents for both projects on 19 November 1937.[78] They set rents at Andrew Jackson Courts eighteen percent lower than those at Cheatham Place, in recognition of the average lower earning power of blacks in Nashville. Newspaper articles announced the rents and publicized the acceptance of formal applications; the staff of social workers then began reviewing applicants. On 1 February 1938, the first thirty-seven families moved into Cheatham Place and on 3 March the NFHAC held a formal opening ceremony. The YMCA band entertained and NFHAC Chair Murrey and

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[77] In time, few things have changed at Andrew Jackson Courts. The open space along the southern edge of the site has been built up with an office complex and more housing, and the imposing three-story brick Pearl Junior High School has been replaced with a newer, lower school building. Most significantly, pitched roofs have been added to porches and main roofs throughout the complex. Vinyl siding covers the new eave ends,. Wood windows have been replaced with dark one-over-one metal double-hungs. New metal doors have replaced wood ones, and ramps, guardrails and handrails throughout the site improve safety and access but create a rather chaotic atmosphere.

[78] "Tentative Rents for New Housing Projects Given," *The Nashville Banner* 19 November 1937, 20. It is interesting to note that the newspaper presented the rents for Cheatham by the month, while they calculated rents at Jackson Courts by the week. The federal authorities established both rates monthly, so it is unclear if the Advisory Committee or the reporter made this change.

Mayor Cummings spoke, along with John C. Green, the project's new manager.[79] Stalled by the problems with the superstructure bids and the subsequent revisions, construction at Andrew Jackson Courts lagged behind Cheatham Place. On 15 May Andrew Jackson Courts was still not completed, more than three months after the first white families moved into Cheatham. The first tenants eventually moved in on 16 June.[80]

Although occupying only an advisory position, the NFHAC exercised considerable power and influence on Nashville's early housing program. Dominated by business leaders, the NFHAC's direction (particularly in regards to site selection and boundary definition) reveals a bias toward slum clearance as the primary purpose of the program. In terms of hiring, they resisted racial consideration, even in the face of protests from HD and PWA officials, including Ickes. Without significant opposition or analysis from private groups or the media, the NFHAC's business-focused appointees shaped the project to meet the city's needs, as they perceived them.

In Chicago, several independent private groups dedicated themselves to following the decisions of the HD and the CAC. The state housing board oversaw the program, commenting on activities and approving the composition of the CAC. Opponents organized under the Chicago Real Estate Board, using that group's contacts and membership lists to rally support (see Chapter 3). The group wrote protest letters to Administrator Ickes and President Roosevelt, and their opposition gained legitimacy

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[79] United States Housing Authority, "Dedication of Cheatham Place Homes," 6 March 1938, Folder 1, Box 163 H-2101 Cheatham Place Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[80] "Andrew Jackson Courts to Stage Open House," *Nashville Globe* 15 May 1938, 1.

through its apparently broad and wide base.[81] Another group, the Citizens Housing Committee, formed in support of the African-American project. It held a rally and corresponded with the administration, but little is known of the group's leadership or composition.[82] Organized in early 1934, the MHC was a private group formed by seventeen social, civic, real estate and construction organizations. Staffed by social workers and housing experts, the MHC aimed to use the group's collective experience to achieve consensus in housing questions in order to improve the city's housing stock. Many major decisions were also presented to the Commercial Club of Chicago, gaining the support of this large group of influential businessmen.

These groups communicated their opinions in the city's diverse press outlets. Between 1934 and 1938, Chicago had at least six major newspapers. The *Tribune* was the main paper, with Colonel Robert McCormick serving as editor. McCormick's strong isolationist and conservative views earned him the readership of the city's elite and led him to a highly critical stance of President Roosevelt, Ickes and the New Deal at large.[83] The *Daily Times*, the *Daily News* and Hearst's two Chicago papers (the *American* and the *Herald-Examiner*) took a more populist editorial position that supported Roosevelt and his policies.[84] The *Chicago Defender*, at that time a weekly publication, was the nation's leading African-American periodical. It supported the New Deal and consistently drew

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[81] "500,000 Voters Condemn Federal Housing Project," *Oakland Outlook* 1 August 1935, 1:5.

[82] President Roosevelt to Citizens Housing Commission, 16 November 1935, Folder 12, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[83] Ickes and McCormick had a highly contentious relationship. For example, see Ickes, *The Secret Diary* Vol. I; 515.

[84] Hearst's papers weakened their support of Roosevelt after 1934 as a result of Hearst's rejection of specific policy decisions made by the president. Overall, the Hearst network of papers declined in the 1930's as Hearst's increasingly irrational editorial voice made itself heard.

attention to the housing plight of the city's hemmed-in black community. In addition to these citywide publications, many neighborhoods and special interest groups published their own daily or weekly newspapers.

The Chicago newspapers covered the HD program in detail. The *Tribune* alone published nearly 150 articles on the topic between 1933 and 1938, many by real estate reporter Al Chase. Despite frequent editorial swipes at Ickes' personal integrity and competence, the *Tribune* generally supported the housing program. Articles covered the advantages of all three of the housing program's stated purposes: slum clearance, job creation and improved housing. They also discussed the housing shortage facing the city. Coverage by the other major newspapers was similarly thorough and positive, sometimes criticizing the HD's methods but rarely questioning the desirability of public housing.[85]

The city-wide dailies supported housing, but a pair of neighborhood papers, the *Oakland Outlook* and the *Hyde Park Herald*, played a significant role in rallying opposition to the South Park Gardens project site (see Chapter 3). The *Oakland Outlook*, in particular, advertised opposition events, declared the site was located in downtown and, with no responsibility to journalistic integrity, created an image of a solidly opposed citizenry resistant to an irrational federal venture that would force the wholesale abandonment of the south side by whites. Articles exhorted readers to support the opposition and quoted critical speeches at length: "The government apparently intends to spend seven million dollars for a permanent memorial to the colored race." Despite a

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[85] Al Chase, "Chicago Housing Shortage is Set at 69,000 Units," *Chicago Tribune*, 3 January 1934, 24; "West Side Muddle Blamed on PWA," *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, 27 June 1935, available in Folder 2, Box 98 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

well-documented housing shortage, another opponent declared, "The project is unsound economically, there is no occasion for any more housing by the government for either white or colored. It's too bad the government knows more than Chicago taxpayers."[86]

In the fall of 1935, as the *Oakland Outlook* published its invective, *Chicago Real Estate* issued an in-depth series of articles by James Burke.[87] Rather than blaming the negro ghetto on the inherent inferiority of its inhabitants, Burke asked his real estate brethren to acknowledge the facts and implications of residential segregation. He stated that the deterioration and overcrowding of the African-American ghetto also encouraged a lack of investment and the decline of the larger south side. Burke firmly refuted claims of plentiful vacancies in the city and claimed the city's black residents required vacant land construction. The articles were also a call to action for real estate men:

> Again, what are we doing to help them? This race of people had been promised and pillaged- they have been exploited by the politicians and promised and persuaded by the selfish individual and today they are here in great numbers, yes, in multitudes, and we don't know what to do with them. We don't know where to keep them, or where to chase them. We don't want to house them where they want to be housed, and we make no provisions to house them elsewhere.[88]

Published in a real estate trade publication, Burke's rational (if still prejudiced) approach reached a small -- but influential -- group of professionals. It did nothing, however, to counter the emotional claims of the *Oakland Outlook.*

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[86] "Mass Meeting Tonight: Louis T. Orr Gives 13 Reasons Against Housing," *Oakland Outlook*, 18 July 1935, 1/2; "Realty Board Raps Federal Housing Unit," *Oakland Outlook*, 14 March 1935, 1/1.

[87] James Joseph Burke, "What Shall We Do With the Negro?" *Real Estate*, 31 August 1935, 6; James Joseph Burke, "Save Chicago's Southeast Side!" *Real Estate*, 7 September 1935, 9; James Joseph Burke, "Rehabilitation or Deterioration," *Real Estate* 21 September 1935, 7, id. 15; James Joseph Burke, "Build Back to Prosperity," *Real Estate*, 12 October 1935, 5-6.

[88] James Joseph Burke, "What Shall We Do With the Negro?" *Real Estate*, 31 August 1935, 6.

In the spring of 1936, the *Chicago Defender* published a series of four articles by Robert Taylor, the African-American manager of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments. Titled "The Problem of Better Housing," Taylor's columns presented a timeline of the recent history of the public housing movement in America and the critical role of federal subsidy in low-cost housing construction. The articles also outlined the particular housing challenges facing blacks and called for African-American support of the pending federal housing act.[89]

Chicago's diverse media gave voice to the numerous parties involved in the city's public housing program. Newspapers offered frequent updates of the process and the *Defender* and *Chicago Real Estate* turned considerable space over to articles by experts in the field. Even the *Oakland Outlook*, which abandoned objectivity, provided an outlet for an particular point of view. This multiplicity of viewpoints impacted the thoughts and actions of the CAC and the HD. Slum clearance proved infinitely more difficult in such a resonant chamber, forcing the HD to seek out vacant or underused sites for construction. Intense oversight meant that all three original project sites were significantly altered or abandoned completely. Most significantly, the suspension of the South Park Gardens project, largely due to an inability to acquire a few parcels of land on a politically charged edge of the Black Belt, proved temporarily disastrous, causing the further deterioration of already miserable conditions rather than the improvement of black

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[89] Robert Taylor, "The Problem of Better Housing," *Chicago Defender*, 23 May 1936, available Folder 3, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; Robert Taylor, "The Problem of Better Housing," *Chicago Defender*, 30 May 1936, available Folder 3, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

housing. For better or for worse, Chicago's lively media allowed large numbers of citizens to voice concerns and shape the program.

Although a state capitol, with less than one twentieth of Chicago's population, Nashville lacked housing organizations and a diverse media to offer a serious critique of the housing program. The NFHAC was the only civic group dedicated to housing. No state board studied housing problems or oversaw the NFHAC's actions. The Negro Board of Trade communicated directly with the HD, advocating for African-American participation, but making no criticisms of the larger program.[90]

In the period from 1933 until 1938, Nashville had two daily newspapers: the liberal *Tennessean*, published in the morning, and the more conservative evening *Banner*. The *Globe and Independent* was a weekly African-American publication. While the Chicago papers reported on each incremental advance of the housing program, the Nashville papers printed only a handful of articles on the initial phases of the projects. Notices appeared on final approvals, rent schedules and open houses – primarily events that required public participation. Most notices remained neutral in tone, but on 16 May 1938 the *Tennessean* evidenced support for the public housing effort when it published an editorial entitled "Why Dawdle on Housing?" The column was unstinting in its praise for Cheatham Place and Andrew Jackson Courts, calling Cheatham "the most notable advance in housing, of any kind, this city has seen in a decade."[91] It went on to criticize

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[90] Nashville Negro Board of Trade to Harold Ickes, 16 August 1934, Folder 1, Box 169 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[91] "Work to Start at Early Date, Cost $1,482,000, Payroll $411,000," *Nashville Banner*, 21 June 1935, 1; "Tentative Rents for New Housing Projects Given," *The Nashville Banner*, 19 November 1937, 20; "Why Dawdle on Housing?" editorial, *Nashville Tennessean*, 16 May 1938, available Folder 4, Box

the city's administration for failing to appoint a Housing Authority in order to show enthusiasm for the public housing program and to invite further federal funding. Neither paper criticized the subjective method of site selection or the negotiations for infrastructure and in-lieu-of-tax fees. [92]

The Nashville projects faced less public exposure and criticism, but were not constructed appreciably faster than those in Chicago. Both cities received initial allotments in the spring of 1935 and opened their projects to tenants at the end of 1937 and in the first half of 1938. Without strong, specifically focused local organizations and a competitive press, the NFHAC and the HD were able to execute Nashville's projects largely as initially conceived by the UHC. These projects, therefore, reflect the biases of a small group of self-appointed men. Neither addressed the city's rising housing shortage, and in nearly every quantifiable statistic; cost, density, amenity, adjacency, the white Cheatham Place is superior to the more crowded Andrew Jackson Courts. Unchallenged by the public or the media, control of Nashville's housing program remained the province of well-connected businessmen interested in maintaining social expectations.

Advisory committees in large cities were composed of experts from a variety of backgrounds and white businessmen dominated middle-sized city advisory committees. The HD also built eleven projects in small cities such as Evansville, Indiana with a population just over one hundred thousand (see Table 4-II). Usually, these advisory committees, like those in mid-sized cities, were composed of well-connected civic

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171 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[92] While the lack of a complete index for any of the Nashville periodicals makes these conclusions tentative, a search of two separate clipping archives turned up only a handful of articles.

boosters without particular training. In several of these locales, including Evansville, a long-established charitable group drove the projects, rather than a recently formed group of business-oriented citizens. These influential civic groups led the campaign, and their opinion carried significant weight in the city. As a result, the proposals were executed with little public modification, and largely in concord with HD policies.

The existence of a housing project in Evansville is a testament to the city's unusually extensive reform history. At the turn of the century, Evansvillian Mrs. Albion Bacon Fellows was a national figure, the rare non-New Yorker in Veiller's NHA. Fellows led the charge to pass Indiana's 1913 Housing Legislation and attended Hoover's 1931 Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Between 1904 and 1916, a Chamber of Commerce-sponsored committee headed by Fellows and industrialist Richard Rosencranz proposed many reforms for Evansville's slum areas. In 1904, the city passed a housing code and the new building inspector began condemning unfit habitations, primarily in African-American sections of town.[93]

As early as 1910, Fellows and Rosencranz concentrated their reform efforts on Baptisttown, a neighborhood northeast of downtown. At the intersection of the river-oriented downtown and the cardinal-oriented streets beyond, the angular lots and narrow alleys of Baptisttown left the district isolated, awkward and increasingly African American. An early private plan to clear and rebuild the site failed to find financing. Fellows and Rosencranz blocked repeated mayoral plans for the demolition of the area

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[93] NHA #2, 1910; Ira S. Robbins, "Housing Goals and Achievements in the United States." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 15/3 (April 1956): 286; David E. Bigham, *We Ask Only A Fair Trial: A History of the Black Community of Evansville, Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 113; for further information on Albion Fellows Bacon, please see Robert Barrows, *Albion Fellows Bacon: Indiana's Municipal Housekeeper* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

for a park because of a lack of alternative housing for the displaced. In 1916, Rosencranz headed the "Baptisttown Committee" which developed a ten-year redevelopment plan. In 1924, the city moved all African-American pupils out of the integrated Evansville schools and enrolled them in the new Lincoln Elementary and High School in Baptisttown, reinforcing the residential segregation of black families in the area.[94]

Bacon and Rosencranz organized the Baptisttown Rehabilitation Committee in the fall of 1933, recognizing the financing possibilities offered by the new LD program. The group hired St. Louis architect Earl O. Mills to design a project for a six-block site. Mrs. Bacon died in December 1933 but Rosencranz and the Rehabilitation Committee continued the effort. The Evansville Planning Committee submitted Miller's plans and a survey of current conditions to the HD in April 1934, just as Roosevelt put an end to the PWEHC. The HD acknowledged the application but took little action until August, when HD economic analyst Edmond Hoben visited the city. Hoben examined the proposed site and two decades of local studies. He recommended minor changes to boundaries but approved the project and the site.[95]

In spring 1935, the HD assembled a small architectural team, headed by Edward J. Thole, assisted by Edwin Berendes and Ralph Legeman (the bulk of Evansville's architectural sector), to construct a 138-unit complex to be named Lincoln Gardens. HD

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[94] Bigham, 219.

[95] Barrows, 167; "Baptisttown Plans Advance," *Evansville Press* 23 April 1934, available in microfilmed clipping file, Lincoln Gardens, Evansville Public Library; Robert B. Mitchell, Acting Chief of Initiation and Recommendation to Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing, 26 July 1934, Folder 13, Box 270 H-3801 Lincoln Gardens Evansville IN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Housing Project Action Seen in Next Few Weeks," *Evansville Courier*, 14 August 1934, available in microfilmed clipping file, Lincoln Gardens, Evansville Public Library.

land acquisition staff visited and local appraisers began negotiating for options. Demolition began in January 1936 and the foundation work began in June.[96]

On 31 January 1936, the HD appointed the Evansville Advisory Committee on Housing, replacing the Baptisttown Rehabilitation Committee. Chairman Rosencranz and the HD were committed to particularly low rents for this project, with $5.00 per room per month as a maximum. Most cities acknowledged that few displaced by slum clearance could afford the rents in the new project, leaning on the idea of residential succession to achieve an overall improvement. With 1,815 African American families in town and 138 planned units however, eight percent of the city's black families needed to qualify for occupation, making realistically affordable homes necessary.[97] Rosencranz' insistence on this figure was the only issue he pressed with the HD.

The architects issued their drawings, and on 21 October bids came in forty percent over budget.[98] Thole significantly redesigned the project; as at Andrew Jackson Courts, they switched to frame construction, added some second floor units and eliminated the central steam heating plant. The advisory committee also worked with the city, negotiating for a lower in-lieu-of-tax fee. The added units qualified Lincoln Gardens for more funding, but now with 191 units, more than ten percent of Evansville's African

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[96] A.R. Clas, Chief of Branch I – Initiation to Director of Housing, 24 June 1935, Folder 3, Box 273 H-3801 Lincoln Gardens Evansville IN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; PWA Housing Division Relief Act of 1935, 18 August 1935, Folder 6, Box 78 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[97] Bigham 115; J.G. Marr, Associate Engineer to Assistant Chief of Branch I – Initiation, 9 October 1936, Folder 24, Box 270 H-3801 Lincoln Gardens Evansville IN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[98] H.A. Gray, Director of Housing to Administrator 21 January 1937, Folder 24, Box 270 H-3801 Lincoln Gardens Evansville IN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Lincoln Gardens Housing Project Bids Thrown Out," *Evansville Press*, 21 October 1936, available in microfilmed clipping file, Lincoln Gardens, Evansville Public Library.

Americans would be expected to live in the project. In March 1937, HD staff assumed project redesign after Ohio River floods devastated Evansville and forced the closure of local offices. New bids cut costs by a quarter and the superstructure contract was finally signed on 20 May, more than six months after the foundation work was completed. Rosencranz played a particularly important role in this budget-cutting phase. He proposed a number of means to reduce costs and he consistently insisted on the $5.00 maximum, pressuring the HD to provide subsidy to lower costs. Lincoln Gardens opened on 10 June 1938 and, with affordable rents, the project was soon fully occupied.[99]

Composed of nineteen buildings on a single block, the units at Lincoln Gardens mostly address the street and the single space behind them becomes an amorphous exterior private zone for all residents. Two driveways pass through the site, providing limited parking (Figure 4-32). Wood framed with brick veneer, the buildings are architecturally simpler than other projects of the period, lacking Jane Addams' dramatic verticals or Nashville's nods to the colonial revival. These buildings appear nearly astylistic; with flat roofs, unmarked brickwork, unframed fenestration, flush concrete windowsills, metal copings on the low roof parapet and no awnings or porches (Figure 4-33). At the rear, wooden exterior stairs provide exiting for the second floor apartments necessitated by the budget crunch (Figure 4-34). While lacking in architectural refinement, Lincoln Gardens was constructed for just $5,325 per unit, making it among the least expensive projects built by the HD, and it provided well-equipped houses for ten

[99] "Contract Awarded On Lincoln Gardens," *Evansville Press*, 20 May 1937, available in microfilmed clipping file, Lincoln Gardens, Evansville Public Library; "All Invited to Inspect Apartment Units Now Ready For Occupancy," *Evansville Courier*, 10 June 1938, available in microfilmed clipping file, Lincoln Gardens, Evansville Public Library.

percent of Evansville's African-American community. Beyond the elimination of deteriorated building stock, years of redevelopment work trained Rosencranz to understand the needs of occupants as central to the purpose of housing, and his social position made it possible for him to set policy and negotiate favorably with the HD and the city of Evansville.

Large city projects were influenced by a wide variety of concerns and voices, and in medium sized cities a small group of businessmen typically dominated the decision-making process, but in a few small cities, a single person was able to individually shape projects to meet local concerns. HD chief Hackett established systems of site selection, land acquisition, hiring, design and construction to create projects of uniform quality across the nation. With a permanent public housing program on the horizon, these projects were to act as models for later housing, which would be chiefly controlled by local groups. In fact, however, local political, financial and social interests consistently and significantly reshaped the execution of the HD's uniform national policy, and these local concerns would prove a detriment to public housing in subsequent decades.

Chapter 5: The Architecture of the Rising Middle Class

> Living as you do in this monument to social engineering and progressive liberalism you will be uniquely competent to present to your friends and to the public the liberal viewpoint on the important issues confronting our people today.[1]

In his greeting to the residents of Williamsburg Houses in New York City, Senator Wagner expressed his belief in the power of these buildings to transform and persuade, the ability of these sturdy, light-filled apartments to buttress a political position. Although perhaps less interested in the politics of their residents, the Housing Division (HD) designers who oversaw these projects also believed in the transformative power of their complexes. Building upon the *regionalist* vision of Stein and Wright, the HD constructed forty-eight projects that were all of high-quality construction.[2] By dint of their value, planning and management, the *regionalists* leading the program believed these projects could serve as a step between the slum and the suburb, aiding residents in their upward climb into the middle class.

Although less paternalistic than Octavia Hill's management-intensive program, HD projects were similarly devoted to reforming those "debased" by the slums. In order to achieve this, the HD merged two key elements: good interiors and good exteriors. Well-equipped living quarters allowed families to live in contemporary middle class conditions; these units were set into the landscape in an intentionally unified manner and provided with facilities for like-minded residents to come together to make friends and

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[1] "Senator Wagner Sends Greetings to the Projector, "*The Projector of Williamsburg Houses* 1/1 (15 December 1937), 1.

[2] The five projects built in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands differ in terms of design standards, but their planning is still influenced by the Regionalist image. See Appendix B for more information.

improve themselves. By merging these aspects, designers hoped to raise living standards and widen the door into the middle class.[3]

In order to realize their goal while also depending upon local architects for design, the HD first had to establish a means to communicate their vision. Robert Kohn, the initial chief of the HD, friend and frequent collaborator of Clarence Stein, built on Stein's *regionalist* community design principles for his public housing venture (See Chapters 1 and 2). Stein, working with Henry Wright reduced costs as much as possible at Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn, but their private status meant that they were only affordable to the middle-class. Unlike Kohn's earlier World War One community designs, Stein's post-war projects abandoned an emphasis on street access and demanded a more careful coordination between public and private space in order to maximize the usefulness of the land. In adopting Stein and Wright's *regionalist* community planning ideas, Kohn simply scaled their middle class vision to meet the low-rent realities of the program, rather than fundamentally rethinking their assumptions.[4]

Horatio Hackett, the HD's second director, adopted Kohn's standards, codifying them in *Unit Plans*, a manual of design guidelines distributed to local architects.

> Both housing and community building are new subjects in the architect's curriculum; and previous experience in laying out abstract street systems or building solitary buildings, even if they were skyscrapers, was absolutely no qualification for the new task.[5]

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[3] "Good Housing Foe of Communism, Sir Raymond Unwin Tells Key," *Atlanta Constitution*, 22 September 1934, available in Folder 1, Box 25 H-1100 General Information Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII.

[4] Primarily, they made units smaller, increased unit/acre density and eliminated many community facilities.

[5] Albert Meyer, Henry Wright and Lewis Mumford, *New Homes for a New Deal* (New York: The New Republic, 1933), 28.

A handful of design principles dictated building plans throughout the program – buildings are a single unit deep, assuring light penetration and cross ventilation. Apartment buildings avoid using internal corridors, with apartments entered directly off stairhalls. Each unit consists of a living room, kitchen and bathroom. Some projects include small studio units that have only those three rooms, but most also have between one and three bedrooms.[6] Ceiling heights are uniformly eight feet (lower heights are found in some basements). Interior finishes are simple, durable and easily cleanable.

Every unit has a three-fixture bathroom – with a toilet, bathtub and sink.[7] An electric or gas stove, sink and refrigerator are installed in kitchens and many also include built-in cabinets.[8] In the 1930's, only fifteen percent of American homes had both an electric stove and a refrigerator, suggesting that the bathroom and kitchen facilities outlined by *Unit Plans* represented the most modern conditions and promised the most practical improvement for new residents. The HD faced pressure to lower costs, but they remained committed to these standards and never considered reducing these amenities.

These standards surpassed many reform housing precedents. In 1920's Vienna, for example, the Social Democratic builders included running water, a private toilet, a

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[6] The HD set maximum and minimum occupancy for units, based on number of rooms (room count does not include bathroom, so rooms = kitchen + living room + number of bedrooms);

2 room	Studio	1-2 people
3 room	1 bedroom	2-3 people
4 room	2 bedroom	3-5 people
5 room	3 bedroom	4-7 people

"Standards of Eligibility and Conditions of Occupancy," 3 March 1938, Folder 4, Box 131 H-1706 Langston Terrace Washington DC, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[7] Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 72; Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, *Homes For Workers: Housing Division Bulletin No. 3*, (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), 11-12.

[8] A handful of projects included less modern elements. Ice boxes were installed in both Riverside Heights and Patterson Courts in Montgomery, at Miami's Liberty Square and Wayne's Highland Homes.

coal stove and a hot water heater in every unit, but no refrigerator. Bathtubs were sometimes installed, but were located in the kitchen (adjacent to the hot water heater), rather than in the water closet.[9] In her comments to federal housing officials, Hull House founder Jane Addams emphasized the need for sanitary conditions over amenities such as refrigerators or ranges.[10] Many existing American low-rent residents shared toilets or kitchens and HD architects might have designed reasonable, sanitary common facilities, but this was never pursued as a cost-saving measure. To justify these unusual luxuries, HD publications stated that bulk purchasing made appliances a relatively small portion of the total cost and represented a major advance for homemakers.[11] This explanation, however, fails to cover items like multiple plumbing and sewerage lines and stacks, which did add significant cost. Rather than truly low-rent units, the HD worked to make middle-class standards affordable to aspiring lower wage, workers and, in the process, set baseline expectations nationally.[12]

In defining the simple, single-family unit, the HD built upon several decades of active research. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth, assembly line techniques vastly reduced the costs of most consumer goods, but

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[9] Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1999), 187.

[10] M.D. Carrell, Regional Projects Manager, "Memorandum: Regarding persons suggested for Chicago Advisory Committee," Folder 6, Box 85 H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[11] Straus and Wegg, 72. For example, in the "Preliminary Tentative Financial Analysis" for the South Side Project, H-1402 (not completed under the Housing Division program, but built shortly after, in 1938, as Ida B. Wells Homes in Chicago), gas ranges and refrigerators added only two percent to the cost of the project; "Preliminary Financial Analysis," 1 February 1935, Folder 4, Box 94, H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[12] At the time, people recognized that these housing units would accommodate the upper part of the lowest third of earners – those closest to the middle range. Roosevelt's second inaugural address etched the concept of "one-third of a nation" into history, but the idea of thirds was a standard means of thinking about the American economy. Edith Elmer Wood, in particular, used the convention in *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner* (1919).

house building remained resistant to the processes and consequent savings of large-scale production. In 1921, the Federated American Engineering Societies estimated that fifty-three percent of building costs represented waste and inefficiency.[13] The standardized plans produced by the HD built upon a long term campaign by industrialists and reformers to lower construction costs by rationalizing house design to its minimum, essential elements. This included both establishing basic living requirements and eliminating construction waste.

After World War One, the prototypical small suburban home captured national interest.[14] Publishers, industrialists, reformers and the government examined the specific challenges of the modest house. In 1923, federal and private groups collaborated on the construction of a model home on the Mall, near the White House, ringing in a national campaign to rationalize and modernize middle class houses.[15] *House Beautiful* and other ladies' magazines idealized the small home as a means to save time and effort while enjoying modern comforts. The *Small House*, a monthly journal on the problems in modest home construction, published between 1922 and 1932, further attests to popular interest in the topic. Articles discussed cost-saving materials, clever plans and good construction practices. Published by the Architects' Small House Service Bureau, the journal provided inexpensive house plans designed by architects for maximum efficiency

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[13] Albert Farwell Bemis, *The Evolving House, Vol. III, Rational Design* (Cambridge MA: The Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1933), 225.

[14] Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), 58.

[15] Laura L. Thornton, "Home-making the Nation: The Image of the American Home in the 1920's" (Master's Thesis, University of Virginia, 2004), 13.

in use and construction.[16] Advertisers touted Murphy Beds and other space-saving products.

The new modern, small house boasted an efficient plan that minimized circulation space. Characterizing them as holdovers from the large house with servants, single use zones were abolished in favor of multipurpose spaces. Although much of the rigorous study of house plans occurred in the late 1930's (after the HD set their standards), the HD eliminated dining rooms from their projects. For many residents, this was a controversial condition that marked their new homes as clearly modern.[17]

President Hoover's 1931 Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, which initiated the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, also established a Committee on Physical Standards and Construction. Rather than setting strict numerical standards, the group set performance-based guidelines that allowed for design flexibility while also demanding consideration for issues like light and air. In the late 1930's and 1940's, this idea of the minimum house would become much more engineered, but in the early 1930's, as the HD prepared its standardized plans, it was understood as a spirit of efficiency that maximized the functionality and flexibility of living spaces.

More so than overall house design, efficient kitchen design had enjoyed a long history and was consequently more advanced in the 1930's.[18] Working with her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, in 1869 Catharine Beecher published *The American Woman's*

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[16] *Small House* 3/9 (November 1924), full issue.

[17] Ira Walborn, "Inadequate Laundry Needs, Narow Doors to Harass Cedar-Central Residents," *Cleveland Press* 26 February 1937, available Folder 5, Box 9, H-1001 Cedar Central, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[18] Henry Wright, "The Modern Apartment House," *Architectural Record* 65/3 (March 1929), 216.

Home.[19] The book discussed the traditional inefficiencies in kitchen design and called for a rationalization of "women's spaces" to minimize the drudgery of housework and recognize the value of the woman as a multi-faceted home manager (Figure 5-1).[20] In 1919, Christine Frederick published *Household Engineering: Scientific Management in the Home*, which again called for a rationalization of kitchen design as a part of a campaign to professionalize homemaking and reevaluate the contributions of women. In the 1920's proponents of industrial time-motion studies (Frederick Taylor or Frank and Lillian Gilbreth for example) used assembly line methods to further refine kitchen design.

The efforts of these early reformers helped bring about a rationalization of domestic kitchens. Beecher described dingy service spaces divided between windowless basements and first floor crannies arranged with little thought to practical use, assuming cheap domestic help (the residences of the working class did not merit her analysis). By the first decades of the twentieth century, progressivism, time-saving appliances and the decline in servant labor encouraged many middle-class homemakers to handle a greater proportion of their household chores.[21] Armed with reformers' diagrams and studies, the middle-class, standardized American kitchen became vastly more efficient. The HD directed the design of an economical kitchen, but failed to endorse any particular model or require specific adjacencies. Minimal, but well designed and cleanable, these kitchens

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[19] For more information on Beecher's work, see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1981).

[20] Beecher's niece, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, advanced Beecher's argument in the first two decades of the twentieth century by calling for a collectivization of housework by entire communities, in an effort to bring industrial time and money savings into the home. Her proposals included group kitchens, but they did little to influence the dominant pattern of single family homes.

[21] Clark, Clifford Edward Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 132.

were a significant improvement for most residents, who previously cooked in casually equipped rooms with out-of-date appliances (Figure 5-2).

Despite the influence of European (particularly German) post World War One reform housing upon the *regionalists*, the heavily touted Frankfurt kitchen (Lihotzky, 1926), with its expensive cabinetry, had little influence on HD kitchen design (Figure 5-3). The competing Munich kitchen (1928), which was based on the culturally-specific *wohnkuche*, combined living and cooking space and had similarly little impact on the DB's prototypical kitchen design.[22]

What to Build? *Unit Plans* and the Housing Division's Design Standards

> ...the effort has been to present typical layouts... in the belief that the architects will use them as aids to develop their own ideas.[23]

In March, 1935 Horatio Hackett's HD published *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low-Rent Housing* (*Unit Plans*).[24] Building upon Kohn's Regionalist influence and the professional discussion of minimum residential requirements, the book began with nine pages of priorities, standards and definitions. It included nine sample site plans, along with a host of typical building details. Most significantly, *Unit Plans* contained forty-two standard plans. Despite the admonition for creativity and flexibility in Hackett's introduction, many architects simply

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[22] The strip kitchens in some apartment buildings resemble the Munich kitchen, but the Munich kitchen was less well-known and much less admired by American reformers, as it primarily rationalized an existing spatial relationship. Leif Jerram, "Kitchen sink dramas: women, modernity and space in Weimar Germany" *cultural geographies* 13/4 (2006): 541.

[23] Horatio Hackett, introduction to the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low-Rent Housing* (Washington D.C.: GPO, May 1935), i.

[24] Similar material also appeared in the March 1935 issue of *Architectural Record*, which was dedicated entirely to housing.

copied these plans, often labeling them in their construction drawings by the name given them in the book. *Unit Plans* communicated the HD's *regionalist* vision and construction standards to the independent local architects that executed the designs.

Published just weeks before Senator Wagner introduced his first permanent public housing bill (See Chapter 3), *Unit Plans* outlined the HD's design principles to facilitate the DB phase and to create standards ahead of the expected permanent program. Issued ten months after Hackett took over the HD, *Unit Plans* guarded against waste and error, but also facilitated standardization. Time-strapped architects usually adopted the unit plans with little modification in order to ease design and speed the review process. They then shaped their building and site designs around these basic blocks.

In both Europe and the United States, unit plan design was an obsessively detail-oriented pursuit. On the scale of a thousand-unit complex, a few inches of exterior wall or a door swing can save significant sums of money or improve livability for thousands. In addition, units need to arrange themselves into usable buildings. Functionality on the individual and community scale, financial viability, and design effect were all carefully considered, turning the process into a careful, complex balance of numbers and priorities. *Unit Plans* codified the most current thoughts on efficient residential design, setting standards that condensed hundreds of complex decisions into a handful of rules.

Years of research by *regionalists* and other designers indicated that building widths of approximately thirty feet balanced light penetration and space requirements most efficiently.[25] Each unit included a kitchen, living room and bathroom, as well as a

[25] In 1929, Wright cited between twenty-eight and thirty-two feet as the ideal building depth. Henry Wright, "The Modern Apartment House," *The Architectural Record* 65/3 (March 1929), 228.

coat closet, linen closet and closet for each bedroom. In some apartment buildings, a kitchenette in the living room replaced a separate kitchen (Figure 5-4). Minimum room dimensions and door widths were set. Although Hackett encouraged creativity in most elements, he did mandate the use of a standardized HD bathroom design, including materials, dimensions and fixture placement. *Unit Plans* also included a few requirements and relationships for each space. As federal property, local building codes did not apply, and in their stead, *Unit Plans* set reasonable and efficient standards.[26]

Unit Plans, as suggested by the title, was first and foremost a manual for individual apartment design, and the book included more than forty plans. The HD defined three separate building types; the apartment house, the row house, and the flat, and all but three of the plans followed the basic through-building rule.

Defined as stacked, single-height units with a single entry off a stair hall, *Unit Plans* included thirty-two different apartment house types. Apartments ranged from studios to three bedroom units. Stairhall access eliminated inefficient corridors and maintained the basic through-building principle. Floors were typically identical, to take advantage of stacked plumbing and sewer chases. With only indirect access to the exterior (through the stairhall), apartments were the least desirable type of unit for families, but they also used land most efficiently, compelling their use in costly urban areas. The HD set a four-story limit to these buildings and prohibited elevators due to

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[26] This issue first came to a head in Cleveland, where local building commissioner E.S. Walters and city law director Alfred Clum asserted that the HD's projects were substantively different than military bases (the facilities the HD was likening their projects to for code purposes). The HD legal division, however, stood their ground in asserting their immunity from local code review. Joseph S. Ruble to Horatio Hackett 9 May 1935, Folder 3, Box 1, H-1000 Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; response A.R. Clas to Joseph S. Ruble 14 May 1935, Folder 3, Box 1, H-1000 Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

installation and maintenance costs. Twenty-seven of the forty-seven continental projects included apartments, but with many units per building, they were numerically the most common type in this period (Table 5-I).

Fitting these units into larger buildings required knowledge and experience, and *Unit Plans* illustrated two or three separate units clustered around a single stair hall, creating "ribbons," "tee" sections, or "ells," which then could be combined and strung together to form longer buildings. Ribbons were the simplest -- long narrow rows of units, with two apartments per floor. Tee sections took advantage of deeper sites and usually had three apartments on each landing (see Figure 5-4 and 5-5). Ells turned corners and included three apartments per landing (Figure 5-6). HD also illustrated a few combinations of these three main types. A single "cross" plan essentially mirrored a tee plan, allowing access to four units off a single stair hall (Figure 5-7). *Unit Plans* also included one example of a gallery apartment type, with an exterior stair leading to an open gallery accessing individual units (Figure 5-8).[27]

Unit Plans suggests adding partial penthouse units atop some apartment buildings where structure and access required rooftop stair runs, minimizing their additional cost. Benefiting from sun exposure from three or four sides, the units are also four flights up, a level historically recognized as difficult to rent.[28] A handful of projects contained penthouse units, including Harlem River Houses in New York City, Julia Lathrop Homes in Chicago and Langston Terrace in Washington D.C..

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[27] Only Memphis' Dixie Homes used this building type.

[28] At New York's Lavanburg Homes, they could only rent fourth floor apartments to social work students. Abraham Goldfeld, *Administration of a Small Project: Handbook of Operation of Lavanburg Homes* (New York: Fred L. Lavanburg Foundation, 1940), 4.

Unit Plans presented four row house plan types. Defined as units with private front and rear entries, row houses were typically, but not necessarily two stories (Figure 5-9). The living room stood at the front of the first floor, with the kitchen and a utility room to the rear. *Unit Plans* illustrated one single-story studio row house, but a stair in the living room usually led up to two or three bedrooms and the bathroom on the second floor. *Unit Plans* included thirty-two apartment types, but it defined only four row house types, indicating fewer options in the design of these units, and built examples conform closely to the standard included in the book. Appropriate in areas with lower density, easy access to the exterior made row house units most similar to single-family houses, and were characterized as best suited for children. Included in forty of the forty-eight continental projects of this period, two-story row houses were integral to the low-scale nature of most complexes, but composed fewer actual units than the apartment type.

Unit Plans provided six flat types, defined as one-story units with a private front entrance but no rear door (Figure 5-10). Second floor flats have a private stair leading up from the first floor and are the only units that merit a doorbell, according to *Unit Plans*. Beyond the entry issue, flats largely resemble apartments. Private exterior access made these units slightly more desirable than apartments, but without a second level, they were less house-like than row houses. Most frequently included as first floor units in apartment or row house buildings, flats exist in just nineteen of the forty-seven projects, the least popular and numerically significant unit type.

Unit Plans also reveals a series of unwritten rules and preferences beyond those explicitly presented. The kitchen and living room typically lie adjacent to the main entry, with more private bedroom and bathroom spaces at a distance, down the hall or up the

stairs. This functional arrangement created zones of use and limited noise disruption between units. As apartments were typically mirrored around stairwells, the kitchen and living rooms were adjacent to the kitchens next door, above and below. Sleeping rooms were adjacent as well, placing waking activities away from sleeping ones. Short hallways move circulation out of rooms, allowing for the efficient use of space and increased privacy. Kitchens and bathrooms, with their irregularly-shaped windows were usually located at the rear of the building, creating formal, regular front elevations, relegating small windows and more private uses to the rear. HD reviewers checked that door and window locations allowed for several possible furniture arrangements in each room.

The repetition and universality of individual units meant that plan types presented in *Unit Plans* proved useful tools for designers more or less knowledgeable of current housing design. Site plans, however, necessarily adapted to specific parcels, local traditions and climates, were less conducive to standardization. *Unit Plans* included a single page of text on approaches to site planning (Appendix C). Emphasizing Parker and Unwin's philosophy of the inefficiency of direct street access, it discussed road closure as a key tenet of the program and outlined the practical and legal complexities involved. *Unit Plans* instructed designers to determine unit types and coverage based on land costs and estimated rents, and stated that where financially possible, a combination of apartments, row houses and flats was the most successful planning approach. Low-rent status meant that projects averaged twenty-five units per acre, far above Parker and Unwin's fifteen houses per acre dictate. Landscape, paving design and maintenance were taken into account as well. Following these basic site design considerations, *Unit Plans* included nine site plans, a mix of ideal and actual (but unnamed) sites with altered and

refined building arrangements, along with commentary.[29] The examples range from a twenty-four block campus occupied by apartment houses to a three block row house design (Figures 5-11 and 5-12).

Unit Plans also included ten pages of construction details. As many buildings included an incinerator, a section and other details elaborated on their construction. After a discussion on the need to generally conform to local building codes, sixteen pages of structural details guided the engineering work of the project.

Following the structural details, *Unit Plans* included comparative elevations and sections of an ideal apartment entrance (Figures 5-13 and 5-14), concluding;

> One is distinctly expressive of low-rent housing in that every line conveys basic economy while expressing mass beauty, whereas the other may be classed as an "architectural masterpiece" not in the least characteristic of the purpose for which it was created.[30]

Both examples included a recessed entry, but the pejorative "architectural masterpiece" includes an additional entrance portico, supported on Doric columns, topped by a decorative ironwork faux-balcony. Stone steps lead up to the portico and the window above includes a classical terra cotta surround. Decorative curving muntins distinguish the transom. While simplified, the "economic" solution was not an expression of bare necessity. Stripping away the portico, ironwork and expensive stonework, concrete risers lead up to recessed entry doors, distinguished by a wide and deep terra cotta door frame. A sloped lintel tops a detailed entablature. Set against the plain brick body of the building, the terra cotta stands out by virtue of its texture. Simple, straight muntins divide

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[29] The section included an idealized version of Indianapolis' Lockefield Gardens plan, along with Chicago's South Park Gardens and several purely speculative sites.

[30] Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, *Unit Plans*, Details Introduction Page.

the transom, with no need to correspond with curving ironwork. Good proportions and high quality materials express a durable dignity that illustrates current American attempts to develop an evolutionary modernism, defining beauty through use.

The last section of *Unit Plans* illustrated much of the HD's Regionalist design agenda by criticizing ineffective, or flawed unit plans. The six examples were limited to apartment buildings, suggesting this type posed the greatest complexity for designers. The first example presented a deep building two units in width, violating the fundamental through-building architectural dictate of the program. Long plumbing runs, inefficient circulation, a lack of lighting and awkward divisions of space marred other examples. Although not specifically mandating the design of single-unit wide buildings, *Unit Plans* fails to offer successful examples and criticizes the only one included. As many selected architects lacked experience in apartment building design and they faced short deadlines, they adopted the approved "successful" approaches, rather than exploring alternatives, and in this way, the *regionalist* approach became standards among HD projects.

Unit Plans proved influential, but the book was issued in March 1935 – a year after the HD switched to the DB program. Eight projects had already made significant design progress by that point.[31] These included the three projects in Cleveland, the two in Atlanta, Lockefield in Indianapolis and the two in Montgomery. They all fit the HD's overall guidelines but vary in some details, particularly in their interior plans.

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[31] Cleveland - Cedar Central (H-1001), Outhwaite (H-1002), Lakeview (H-1003)
Atlanta – Techwood (H-1101), University Homes (H-1102)
Milwaukee – Parklawn (H-1502), architectural agreement signed February 1935.
Indianapolis – Lockefield Gardens (H-1601)
Montgomery - Riverside Heights (H-2201), Paterson Courts (H-2202)
Miami - Liberty Square (H-4602)
Columbia SC - University Terrace (H-5201)

In Cleveland, local architects began designs for both Cedar Central and Outhwaite Homes as limited dividend projects and their apartment and row houses lack some of the refinements made in *Unit Plans*, particularly in their privacy and functional organization. In both projects, some units have bathrooms and bedrooms adjacent to the front door, forcing visitors to move beyond them to reach the more public living rooms and kitchens. At Cedar Central the kitchen was often located on the front side of the building, accessing the exterior porch, a location and amenity more appropriate to the living room (Figure 5-15). Apartments at Outhwaite suffer from zoning issues, and some corner row houses include a dining room. Three-story sections of some Outhwaite row houses include flats on the first floor, with two-story row houses above, similar to the plan illustrated in *Unit Plans*. While *Unit Plans* improves on the units at Cedar Central and Outhwaite, the projects' flat and row house combination plans likely influenced the HD's approach.

Joseph Weinberg and Conrad & Teare, in consultation with Frederic Bigger, designed Lakeview Terrace, Cleveland's third housing project. Bigger was a member of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) and one of America's leading planners. Hired to advise on the development of the steeply sloped site, his influence extended to the well-composed unit plans. Lakeview's apartment units resemble *Unit Plans* in a nearly-canonical way.[32] The row houses also look like the guide, although some corner units include dining rooms or a bedroom on the first floor. Lakeview's steeply pitched site, however, necessitated adaptation. Some buildings innovate on the combination row house and flat building type (Figure 5-16). Entering from the street on

[32] John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller. "The Planning Technician as Urban Visionary: Frederick Bigger and American Planning, 1881-1963," *Journal of Planning History* 1/2 (May 2002), 124.

the second floor, stairs lead down to the first floor of two-story row houses or up to third floor apartments, with no doors on the entry landing. The row houses have separate entrances on the rear, but are not through-building units on this level, as communal laundry rooms occupy the hill-side area. Architect W.G. Teare later stated the HD borrowed this combination flat and row house building type, although the *Unit Plan* example more closely resembles the Outhwaite arrangement.[33] Acknowledging each stair hall section as an independent unit, Lakeview's apartments position entry stairs on alternating sides of the building, allying each space with a smaller group of tenants and eliminating dead exterior areas (Figure 5-17).

In Atlanta and Indianapolis, single-width buildings and stairhall entries maintain the HD's most critical design directives, but again, apartments fail to create a clear zone of publicity near the entry and some row houses include a dining room. The two Montgomery architecture teams spent time at the HD's offices in Washington DC while the staff wrote *Unit Plans*.[34] This direct collaboration resulted in plans largely consistent with HD standards. Rather than kitchens and utility rooms, some row houses at Riverside Heights had a separate dining room, or a single large kitchen. In some corner row houses at Patterson Courts, the stairs run perpendicular to the party wall, serving as a divider between the living room and kitchen.

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[33] Lawrence Gerkens, "An Informal Oral History Interview with Wallace G. Teare: Recollections of Lakeview Terrace, One of the First PWA Housing Projects, and Associated Historic Personalities," in *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on American Planning History* (Columbus OH: The Society for American City and Regional Planning History, 1988): 344-45.

[34] "West End Slum Clearance Project Money Is Allocated" *Montgomery Advertiser* 27 September 1934, 1; A.R. Clas, Assistant Director of Housing to Walter A. Ausfeld, 4 February 1935, Folder 13, Box 174 H-2200 Montgomery AL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Unit Plans illustrates, not only changing tastes, but also the *regionalist* grounding in environmental determinism. Stein and Wright's thorough economic analysis allowed funds for high-quality, well-designed buildings, but also demanded practical benefit from every amenity. The progressive era belief in the power of beauty to transform was refocused on practical means for improvement. By their figuring, fully-equipped modern kitchens simplified the homemaker's life, giving her more time for other tasks or for enjoyment. Landscaped open spaces brought residents into contact with assuaging nature and playgrounds kept children out of the street. Social rooms gave tenants spaces to convene, develop a sense of community and improve themselves. European modernism allowed the *regionalists* to reinterpret the progressive era's beauty as good, simple and appropriate design.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the HD picked sites in collaboration with local advisory committees or housing authorities, and their selection reflected myriad political, social and financial considerations. In addition to these intangible factors the HD established a series of specific physical requirements for each site. Necessaries included physical viability and access to utilities (electrical, sewer, water supply lines). The watertable was studied, as was the location in relation to the city plan (if one had been developed) or likely growth patterns. Distances to existing transit lines and places of employment were examined and route changes were often requested. The HD consulted with school administrators to refigure existing boundary lines to provide classroom space for new residents. The HD also checked distances to churches, playgrounds, parks, community centers, stores and places of employment.

Unit Plans provided plans, but as the title itself suggests, it offered little guidance on site design. HD architects worked closely with local designers to develop site approaches, allowing the local teams to develop unique plans that also reflected the *regionalist* vision of livable community. Without *Unit Plans*-style directives, federal designers visited sites, communicated with local designers, made preliminary sketches and reviewed and critiqued plans in order to develop designs in line with their goals.[35]

HD designers had a specific image in mind when directing site design. Resonant of Sunnyside Gardens and Phipps Garden Apartments, low-scaled buildings defined comfortably contained open spaces (See Figures 1-42, 1-46). Grass, shrubs and trees marked a stark contrast to the uncoordinated slums surrounding clearance projects. Closing streets allowed designers to disassociate individual buildings from the road and created traffic-free open spaces, allowing for bucolic, safe play and gathering spaces. During the day, a mother could send her children outdoors with little fear for their safety and in the evening adults could gather and mingle in pleasant courtyards.

Unit Plans offers little specific direction for site design, but adapting Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" to housing projects, the HD developed a series of rules and principles. These guidelines made the best use of the land, encouraged residents to build strong communities and to improve their existing neighborhood. Site plan analysis allows for the identification of some of these unwritten principles.

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[35] Straus and Wegg, 68.

1. Building siting should minimize unused or inaccessible exterior space. This exploits valuable open space and avoids creating unobserved exterior spaces.[36]

2. Closing the existing street grid eliminates busy through roads, adds land to the site and allows for the design of roads best suited to the site's contours and the low-rent, small-unit purpose, rather than the industrially or commercially-scaled grid in most cities.

3. While *Unit Plans* defines no specific ratios, projects display a common sense of scale and containment; the creation of perceptible outdoor rooms. Tall apartment buildings create larger open spaces while low row houses define more modest spaces. As the HD suggested twenty percent land coverage universally, projects with three- or four-story buildings typically have a few large open spaces, while one- and two-story projects were designed with smaller open spaces.

4. Buildings define "outdoor rooms" of a public or private character. Apartment and flat buildings (lacking rear entrances) have front stairhall entries that access multiple units. Front entries establish the main, public façade and are located to make use of the land most efficiently. Two adjacent apartment buildings typically locate their front entrances on alternate façades, so each would have a private front yard, most commonly used only by that building's residents (Figure 5-18). If their entrances were set on opposite, facing facades, many people would use the same entry space, increasing the number of regular users of the space and making it more difficult for residents to

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[36] For more information on this means of site analysis, see Jane Jacobs', *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), as well as Oscar Neuman's *Creating Defensible Space* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1996). Jacobs first discussed the power of passerby to create safety on the street, and Neuman's work uses NYC crime statistics to prove her point, illustrating inherent problems in high-rise design. Although both of these methods were articulated after the HD period, many of their principles are included, suggesting that the *regionalist* had some sense of the impact on use patterns on community.

recognize their neighbors and regulate behavior. This would also create inefficient, under-observed rear areas.

Row house units have front and back doors, so these buildings were arranged with both public and private exterior areas. In a series, adjacent buildings locate their front doors on opposite facades, pairing their front and rear areas (opposite of the strategy used in apartment buildings). Typically, front spaces addressed the street, were wider or more open, inviting visitors and passerby. Without using gates or fences, designers arranged buildings and other elements to physically narrow the entry to rear spaces in order to discourage casual access. Private areas are exclusive to residents, rather than to individual units, but they are legitimately used by only a small number of people, further breaking the project into smaller, humane sections and providing space for laundry-drying, intimate chatting and supervised play.

5. Even where not completely bound on all four sides, most outdoor rooms are defined by their buildings, making it simple for mothers to instruct their children on the boundaries of their play and increasing resident identification with their home space.

6. Projects limit traffic and create internal, traffic-free outdoor rooms, but they also relate to their neighborhood. Front entrances of buildings at the edges of the site face the street, creating pedestrian traffic flow and maintaining the broader residential pattern. Some projects include stores or other public facilities, accessible from major streets. While establishing a sense of containment, major open spaces are usually visible from the street, informing passersby of their presence and unique character (Figure 5-19).

7. Occupied by nuclear families of a prescribed size, more bedrooms translate into families with more children. With an overriding concern for the safety of children,

designers clustered units with a large number of bedrooms as far away from edge streets as possible. Small apartments typically line the edges of a project, while more family-friendly row houses occupy the interior, at a greater distance from streets.[37]

8. *Unit Plans* presented formulas for limitlessly stringing together row houses or apartment stair hall sections, necessitated by the through-building dictate. This tended to create long, winding buildings that impeded pedestrian circulation. Influenced by Vienna's housing, first floor breezeways were sometimes employed to ease circulation through the site and improve neighborhood connections (See Figures 1-33 and 4-14). In addition, these passageways became attractive, dramatic, civic gestures.

These mostly unarticulated planning guidelines set a standard that enabled diverse local architects to design forty-eight projects of a minimum quality. Many surpassed this to create functional, beautiful communities. From Boston to Dallas, local architects drew up site plans satisfying the HD's Regionalist concerns about functionality, safety and community building. These basic rules, however, tended to emphasize the individual building over the group. The HD also challenged designers to knit their buildings into a cohesive whole, rising above individual experience to create a larger identity for the complex. Rather than mere access, the HD asked local designers to create interesting, dynamic exterior spaces to draw residents out of their homes. Landscaped with lawns, trees, bushes and plantings, these spaces put residents in touch with nature and provide a stage upon which to build a community. Working with HD schematic plans, local

[37] Nationally, many children were killed by automobile traffic while playing. Alfred Treadway White frequently cited his large courtyards as a preventative to automobile/pedestrian accidents. Abraham Goldfeld, manager of the Lavanburg Homes, claimed that New York suffered one pedestrian death per day, and playing children were the most frequent casualties.

architects developed systems of unification independently, but they can be categorized into a handful of approaches.

1. Outdoor Rooms

Thirteen of the projects built in this period use their buildings to define several separate outdoor rooms without a strong sense of project unity.[38] Baker Homes, in Lackawanna New York, exemplifies this type (Figure 5-20). It follows the space design dictates carefully, but fails to link the created rooms. Identical two-story buildings accommodating row houses and flats alternate their front and rear entrances to create a community with clearly public and private zones. The regular nature of the site allowed designers to define public and private, with no odd edges or undefined areas. The outer two blocks are biaxially symmetrical, with three buildings on each end and longer paired buildings perpendicular to them at the center. Buildings are segmented and step in at the ends, making the openings to public walkways wider and private rear zones narrower. The arrangement creates a large private, bounded outdoor room at the center of each flanking block. The middle block reverses the pattern set by the edge blocks, with buildings lying perpendicular to those in the adjoining blocks. Building B2 establishes a termination point for the public access way between Buildings A2 and A3, and this arrangement is repeated at the three other corners of the symmetrical plan, but the plan includes no other spatial connections. The similarity of the buildings informed viewers of a connection between the structures, but the site plan fails to unify them spatially.

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[38] a. H-1002 Outhwaite Homes b. H-1101 Techwood (w/o street closures) c. H-1102 University Homes (w/o street closures) d. H-1201 Brewster (w/o street closures) e. H-1302 Harlem River Houses f. H-2102 Andrew Jackson g. H-2202 William B. Paterson Courts h. H-3801 Lincoln Gardens i. H-5401 Cherokee Terrace j. H-5801 Schonowee Village k. H-6202 Baker Homes l. H-8101 Will Rogers m. H-9001 Highland

In many cases, a difficult site or an inability to close streets kept architects from developing a hierarchical system for the project. Neither of the limited dividend corporations that initially sponsored Techwood in Atlanta planned on closing existing streets, so the complex has pleasant, usable open spaces on existing blocks, but makes no gesture to knit the blocks together (Figure 5-21). Group 109 includes a well-appointed apartment building, with a corner pass-through treated as a simplified, rectangular turret (see Figure 5-19). Set back from the street with a wide lawn, the building serves as a motif, but does not spatially unify the project. In other locations, designers established visual links in spite of physical discontinuity. Detroit's Brewster maintained the existing street grid, with seven separate blocks of buildings (Figure 5-22). Designers mirrored buildings across streets to spatially connect the project's open spaces.

2. Strong Axis

Four architectural teams chose to use a strong axis as the chief organizing element.[39] The "outdoor room" plans lacked unity and a sense of motion, implicit in the concept of the axis. The best examples of the axis-type project began with a longitudinal site with an end point blocking circulation (a school building or rail road line) to create dramatic, one-way views and to draw people up the main path, while also creating green space. These strongly unified schemes make it difficult to establish individual outdoor rooms, but also create good spaces and powerful views that express unity.

Lockefield Garden Apartments in Indianapolis is the most dramatic example of the axial approach (see Figure 5-23). Identical three-to-four-story apartment buildings sit

[39] a. H-1601 Lockefield Gardens b. H-3401 Dixie Homes c. H-6703 Kenfield d. H-8501 New Towne Court

at an angle to the street grid, defining a wide central allee. On the north, the axis terminates in a single apartment building, while on the south it ends at the school beyond. Paired row houses flank the school, largely unconnected to the apartment portion of the complex. The view down the allee creates a powerful image, communicating the scale of the complex. This singular element, however, makes it difficult to define the intimate outdoor rooms also prized by the RPAA and the HD guidelines. The front entries to each apartment building bleed into the more significant allee. In addition, the angle and arrangement mean that most apartment entries face the interior of the project, leaving the street edges blank and making the project a forbidding neighbor.

Four projects use a dominant axis to organize themselves, while six other projects used an axis for visual impact but not for practical organization, as the projects spread out with little relation to this iconic element.[40] In Chicago, site acquisition problems forced the HD to abandon a slum site on the near north side, so they purchased an abandoned tractor factory further north for Julia C. Lathrop Homes (Figure 5-24). Bisected by busy Diversey Parkway, the site bends at the middle, following the course of the Chicago River, which runs along its western edge. The architecture team, headed by luxury apartment guru Robert Degoyler, developed two separate axes. The entrances for the three and four story apartment buildings address the streets, turning the rear axes into private, traffic-free gathering spaces for residents. Apartment buildings M, N, S and T create a connection across Diversey and a sense of enclosure, but they fail to adequately address the shift. While nearly all the buildings address these two axes (except for the

[40] a. H-1406 Lathrop, b. H-1408 Trumbull, c. H-1502 Parklawn, d. H-1801 Laurel Homes, e. H-3001-C Hill Creek, f. H-4201 Sumner Field

small row house section in the northwest corner), the architecture fails to unify them, creating two separate building assemblages.

In Philadelphia, Walter H. Thomas and the other designers at Hill Creek faced a challenging site that sloped steeply down on the north, west and south. In response, they created an open axis in the flattest, center section of the site (Figure 5-25). Along Adams Avenue, the small administration building stands at the center of the allee, and building pairs 11 and 24, and 8 and 26 define the space to the west. A community center was to have been built on the western edge of the axis, but limited funds forced its cancellation. Rather, as the land falls off to the west, the axis remains open to a view of a large playing field and Tacony Creek beyond. Elsewhere on the site, row house and apartment buildings create discrete clusters of front and rear spaces, making efficient use of the difficult terrain but lacking spatial connection to the central allee.

3. Cross Axes

Long, rectangular sites lent themselves to axial organization, but in seven projects, designers used crossing axes to connect disparate building clusters and to create a central outdoor room that became an expression of the community.[41] For example, at La Salle Place in Louisville, most buildings have simple one-story entry porches, but a long east-west axis and a shorter, but more visible north-south axis each terminate in residential buildings with two-story front porches (Figure 5-26). As the grandest architectural gestures in the complex, these buildings stand out (Figure 5-27).

4. Object Organization

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[41] a. H-1205 Parkside b. H-2502 LaSalle Place c. H-2503 College Court d. H-2601 Brand Whitlock Homes e. H-4702 Durkeeville f. H-5001 Stanley S. Holmes Village g. H-7901-B Cedar Springs

Some sites lent themselves to an axial design, and other designers forcibly wove a strong axis into a resistant site. In eleven cases, architects chose to organize a project around an iconic space or object.[42] This emphasis on a specific space or building usually failed to establish a sense of unity but created a visual identity. Land acquisition proved difficult at Chicago's Jane Addams slum site (see Chapter Three) and the HD ultimately acquired six blocks in piecemeal fashion (see Figure 4-12). In addition, the federal group did not close all streets, leaving John Holabird and his team with a divided site. Rather than attempting any unified scheme, the designers created six separate blocks of buildings built in a simple modern style. Some were visually linked with a shared axis or matching facades, but existing buildings just as often interrupted any sense of flow.

While failing to physically connect the area, the architects created an outdoor room, Animal Court, which stands among the best designs of HD and the New Deal as a whole (see Figure 4-13). Between Taylor Street and Gilpin Place, Lytle and Sibley Streets, a mix of row houses and apartment houses cluster around the space. Entering from the north, visitors pass through a wide, first floor passageway, a dramatic urban gesture highlighted by the stark simplicity of the unadorned brick buildings. Rather than a lawn, visitors encounter the Animal Court, a primarily hard-surfaced area finished with brick, concrete and sand. Water jets set into the pavement cool playing children on hot days and provide the underserved neighborhood with a needed amenity. A large, centered limestone sculpture of a bull and an antelope faces the entry, with three sets of paired

[42] a. H-1001 Cedar-Central b. H-1003 Lakeview Terrace c. H-1401 Jane Addams Houses d. H-1706 Langston Terrace e. H-2101 Cheatham Place f. H-2201 Riverside Heights g. H-2902 Smithfield Courts h. H-3302 Old Harbor Village i. H-3403 Lauderdale Courts, j. H-4602 Liberty Square k. H-9602 Fairfield Homes.

pieces lining the courtyard behind.[43] The smaller works are stylized depictions of a doe, ram, wooly sheep and bear, along with paired horses, and entwined snakes. Their bulky simplification fits into the contemporary New Deal style and is well-suited for a children's playground, both childlike and stylistically sophisticated. Sharply bounded by apartment buildings and row houses, Animal Court has a strong sense of containment and scale. The curving animals contrast with the stark angularity of the buildings to create a truly human space within the dilapidated slum. Providing a safe, beautiful and well-appointed play area for neighborhood children, Animal Court also illustrates the fundamental concerns of the HD. With a fractured site blocking the development of a unified scheme, the designers created a supremely usable single space, one that could serve both as an iconic image and a physical center. In the process, they also created one of the New Deal's aesthetic triumphs.

5. Other

Although *Unit Plans* implicitly criticized German precedents by stating that orientation to light should play only a part in the development of the site plan, Williamsburg Houses in Brooklyn and Westfield Acres in Camden follow the pattern set by German *zielenbau* examples, shifting buildings to receive maximum light in the winter and maximum shade in summer.[44] At Williamsburg, the tight spaces between the buildings and sidewalks are angular and irregular, but on the interior of the block it becomes impossible to perceive the shifted axis. Camden's larger site means that the

[43] Emannuel Viviano is given credit for the central piece, while Edgar Millar is believed to have created the six paired sculptures.

[44] Contemporary critic Talbot Hamlin criticized Williamsburg's orientation as capricious, and Pommer called it a stylistic, rather than functional decision.

buildings were separated, taking on the appearance of buildings in a field, rather than a tightly interlocking set of solids and voids (Figure 5-28). As these are also the two International Style projects constructed in this phase, the *zielenbau* siting was definitely related to designers' aesthetic choices.

In four projects, the unity of the site plan was compromised by a need to divide white and black residents (see Chapter Six).[45] At University Terrace in Columbia, South Carolina whites occupied the row of apartment buildings on the north end of the project and a wide service drive and open space separated them from the African-American row houses arranged to create outdoor rooms at the southern end of the block (Figure 5-29).

The HD's site plans were both written and implied, and necessarily related to local conditions. Building design, however, was more carefully described in *Unit Plans* and other design documents. The HD dictated masonry construction for most projects as a means to outlast their sixty-year amortization periods. *Unit Plans* included sections and details to aid in design, and the federal group avoided steel to simplify design and construction.[46] Most commonly, terra cotta tile or concrete block compose the structural walls, with a brick veneer. Only at Andrew Jackson Courts in Nashville, Lincoln Homes in Evansville and Baker Homes in Lackawanna did the HD approve brick-clad frame construction. In Nashville and Evansville they switched to frame construction to cut costs, and low-bearing pressure soil forced them to use wood in Lackawanna. With the exception of a handful of stucco-finished buildings, brick dominates these complexes.

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[45] H-2001 Logan-Fontenelle, H-5103 Bluegrass Park/Aspendale, H-5201 University Terrace, H-8901 Meeting Street Manor and Cooper River Courts.

[46] M.A. Gray, Director of Housing to Hon. John F. Aszkler, Mayor of Lackawanna, 23 December 1936, Folder 13, Box 354 H-6202 Nelson Baker Project Lackawanna NY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII. At the Baker Homes, the HD resisted using steel, in spite of the fact that the Bethlehem Steel Plant lay adjacent to the project.

Most have metal exterior doors and wood interior ones. The largest number of projects included metal casement windows, maximizing light and air penetration, although wood double-hungs were also common.

On the interior, HD set minimum room sizes; 150 square feet for living rooms and 100 square feet for bedrooms. Each bedroom has a closet (with or without a door), and each unit has a separate coat, broom and linen closet.[47] Unit finishes include plaster walls and ceilings with wood or asbestos floors. Waterproof plaster and tile cover surfaces in kitchens and bathrooms. Glazed tile, cement floors and steel stairs finish the much-used communal stairhalls. Row houses were typically constructed on slabs, but deeper apartment building foundations allowed for the inexpensive creation of basements. In apartment buildings, mailboxes were typically inset into the wall at the entry level, while row houses and flats had exterior mailboxes or mail slots cut into their front doors.

Of the forty-eight projects the HD built in the continental United States, flat roofs covered the buildings in thirty-four, while ten had pitched roofs and four projects mixed flat and pitched roofs. Flat roofs were most common for taller buildings where the roofline was largely invisible from the street, but twenty-six projects included flat roofs on low, one- or two-story buildings. This was an unusual in residential construction and evoked the contentious International Style. A low-sloped slab roof was less expensive (initially) than a wood-framed gabled roof, and in some projects it allowed row houses to match adjacent apartment buildings.[48]

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[47] Straus and Wegg, 72.

[48] The Housing Division consciously calculated long-term costs of nearly every element of their buildings, but failed to recognize (common during this period), the long-term maintenance problem posed by the low-sloped roof in rainy, cold climates. In many projects (University Homes, Andrew Jackson

Concerned with functionality and durability, HD reviewers exerted minimal influence on architectural style, leaving that selection to local designers. Prior to the 1930's, federal architecture was typically classical. The New Deal represented a vast expansion of the building types the federal government constructed, as well as the beginning of a national movement toward modernism.[49] While some major New Deal structures were designed in full-bodied Classicist styles, most illustrate a simplification of historicist styles.

HD's large complexes stood out starkly from their surroundings. The buildings were unmoored from the street and defined large green spaces in dense urban districts. Physically and functionally distinct, architects often used familiar styles to normalize these projects (Table 5-II). Restrained by budget and a contemporary preference for simplicity, the style was typically communicated through a handful of elements. Designers used brick and cast stone coursing to add detail and interest to the masonry mass of the buildings. Porches or roofs over entry doors are necessary elements that also communicate style in their material and detailing. Entrance landings, guardrails, addresses, mailboxes, exterior lighting and other details also express a unified appearance. With a few, integral elements, most projects communicate a recognizable style that contextualized the buildings into the larger language of residential construction. The Art Moderne was the most common choice, with crisp horizontals softened by rounded elements (Figure 5-30). The Colonial Revival, so popular with American

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Courts, Dixie Homes, Lincoln Gardens, Cherokee Terrace) pitched roofs have been added to these buildings to improve drainage.

[49] Lois Craig and the Staff of the Federal Architecture Project *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Building* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1978), 281.

residential architecture, was nearly as common as the Art Moderne (see Figure 4-25). Particularly popular in smaller cities, the Colonial Revival contextualized these unfamiliar buildings into the larger tradition of American residential architecture. In Florida and Texas, architects selected the Spanish Colonial Revival to reflect regional origins (Figure 5-31), while in Milwaukee Parklawn's Arts and Crafts style associates the project with the city's dominant German immigrant community (Figure 5-32).

More attributable to the high-style residential designer of the project, than to any regionalist feeling, Chicago's Julia C. Lathrop Homes is the HD's most highly-finished project, designed in the Georgian style. The designers used colonnades, brickwork, porch details, doorway surrounds and finials to create elaborate buildings and unique entryways.[50] Three- to four-story brick apartment buildings surround two major open spaces, one north of busy Diversey Parkway and the other to the south (See Figure 5-24). Colonnades span between buildings along these major spaces, formalizing the entry (Figure 5-33). Brickwork expresses watertables, stringcourses, quoins and cornices (Figure 5-34). Quoining and varied parapet treatments mark stairhall entrances. Octagonal windows draw interest to stairhalls, and several types of decorative finials mark the corners of buildings (Figure 5-35). Designers took particular care to design a variety of door surrounds; classical lintels, classical pediments, modernized pediments, semi-circles and heavy keystones all decorate various entrances (Figures 5-36 through 5-38). Two-story buildings with protruding entryways or porches inspired other entry

[50] Robert S. Degolyer head of Blackhawk Park Associated Architects (Everett Quinn, Thomas Tallmadge, Charles White, Hubert Burnham, Roy Christiansen, Vernon Watson, Bertram Weber, Hugh MG Garden, Max L. Lowenberg, Ernest Mayo, E.E. Roberts, Edwin H. Clark, Israel S. Lowenberg, Peter Mayo, Elmer C. Roberts)

approaches, particularly with varied decorative guardrails (Figure 5-39). This emphasis on variety provided interest from the street, but also helped residents identify their unit, providing evidence of careful, individual consideration in the large complex.

Europe's International Style -- the artistic force pushing for a minimization of historicist reference -- was rooted in notions of housing, so this was a particularly appropriate idiom for the HD program, but only two projects of the period selected this contentious new design approach.[51] In New York City, rather than selecting a team from the more than one thousand qualified local professionals, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) asked a number of local professional groups to set up a selection policy for the designers of Williamsburg Houses in Brooklyn.[52] The group solicited applications and created a list of preferred applicants, and the NYCHA hired a chief and executive committee from the list.[53] The NYCHA named Richmond H. Shreve, principal of Shreve, Lamb and Harmon, as chief. Inheritor of the Carrere and Hastings firm, Shreve had just finished the Empire State Building (1931) and ranked as one of the city's most esteemed architects. The NYCHA appointed William Lascaze principal designer.[54] In 1931, working with George Howe, Lescaze built Philadelphia's PSFS Building, which was one of only five American buildings included in Hitchcock and Johnson's

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[51] New York City, Williamsburg Houses (H-1301), Camden NJ, Westfield Acres (H-6001).

[52] Brooklyn Chapter, American Institute of Architects, New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects, New York Society of Architects, The Architects Club of Brooklyn, Staten Island Society of Architects, Bronx Society of Architects to Langdon Post, New York Housing Authority, 5 April 1934, Folder 1, Box 59 H-1300 General Information New York City NY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[53] Richmond H. Shreve- Chief, Williamsburg Project Associated Architects. Executive Committee: James F. Bly, Matthew W. Del Gaudio, Arthur C. Holden, William Lescaze, Samuel Gardenstein of Holmgren, Volz and Gardenstein, John W. Ingle Jr., G. Harmon Gurney of Gurney and Clavan, Paul Trapani, Harry Leslie Walker.

[54] Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and Thomas Mellins. *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 49; Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, "New York Housing: Harlem River Homes and Williamsburg Houses," *Pencil Points* 19/5 (May 1938): 286.

International Style (1932), cementing Swiss-born Lescaze as one of the nation's leading modernists.[55] Lescaze's inclusion indicated that professionals and the NYCHA approved the use of the International Style. Housing was integral to the European design approach that Hitchcock and Johnson codified into a style with their Museum of Modern Art exhibit, and the design of such a prominent project in the International Style would advance the embattled aesthetic.

The site plan at Williamsburg Houses clearly betrays its *zielenbau* influence, with buildings canted at a fifteen-degree angle from the street grid to suggest a correspondence with angles of light. The buildings ally themselves to the new style just as clearly (Figure 5-40). Hitchcock and Johnson identified three main principles in International Style design; the emphasis of volume over mass, the prominence of horizontality and irregularity to express function, and the elimination of applied decoration.[56] Corner windows and the variety of wall materials emphasize the volume of the building, undercutting the sense of mass that these four-story masonry buildings might have presented (Figure 5-41). Wide terra cotta lintels define the floors and emphasize the horizontal. The yellow and beige contrast with the blue terra cotta panels at the stairhalls

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[55] The other American buildings included in the International Style exhibit were; Frank Lloyd Wright's, Roberts, Robie, Millar and Jones Houses, along with his own Taliesin; Bowman Brothers' Business Block, Architects' Offices, Apartment House and Prefabricated House; Howe & Lescaze, Chrystie-Forsyth, Translux Theater, F.V. Storrs, Oak Lane Country Day School, Hessian Hills; Stein and Wright's Radburn plan and Sunnyside Gardens. In Cleveland, the exhibition included a Standard Oil Filling Station in Cleveland (Clauss & Daub), McGraw Hill (Hood & Fouilhoux), Harrison House (A. Lawrence Kocher & Albert Frey), Lovell House (Richard Neutra), Biological Laboratory of the Highlands Museum (Tucker & Howell, Oscar Stonorov consultant). Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992, 68.

[56] Hitchcock, Henry Russell and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (New York: Norton, 1932), 29.

(Figure 5-42). Applied ornament is clearly eschewed, but door finish, site lighting and building addresses were designed to accent the composition (Figure 5-43).

Hitchcock and Johnson took pains to differentiate their new International Style from simple functionalism, and three projects built by the HD are so simple that they serve as object lessons in elimination.[57] At Minneapolis' Sumner Field Homes, the modestly detailed profile of the porch roofs attempt to relieve the stark functionality of the flat-roofed brick buildings (Figure 5-44). Simple English bond brick walls on low concrete foundations, without brick detail at corners, windows or doors, go unrelieved by a narrow concrete cornice.[58] In general, time, more than cost, seems to have dictated the need for extreme simplicity. Lincoln Gardens, in Evansville, the cheapest of the three functionalist projects is only the twelfth cheapest project built during the period (considering cost/unit without land acquisition costs), and only four projects were more expensive than Sumner Field Homes. Rather than a need to economize, the interval between the hiring of architects and beginning of construction was short for these projects and the teams (particularly in Minneapolis) were rather small. The HD hired the four-man team for Sumner Field Houses in January 1936, and the group issued foundation construction drawings in March, giving them less than three months to establish building locations and basic outlines. They prepared the superstructure drawings in five months, issuing them in August 1936. The four principals hired draftsmen to aid

[57] 1. Evansville, Lincoln Gardens 2. Minneapolis, Sumner Field Homes 3. Atlantic City, Stanley S. Holmes Village.

[58] In time, the cornice was covered/replaced by aluminum and the buildings were demolished in the 1980's-1990's.

them, but the design of fifty buildings in just eight months likely left them with little time to consider awnings, rooflines and the other details that suggest a style.

Architecture teams appointed by the HD typically hired their own consultants, which included structural engineers, plumbing engineers and landscape architects.[59] In lieu of a trained landscape designer, Liberty Square in Miami employed Exotic Gardens Inc., a local nursery and city parks departments handled plantings at a few other projects. Landscape design proved minimal for many of these projects. HD reviewers advised simple, easily-maintained designs. Some projects even planned for partial or total resident care of their outdoor spaces.[60] The HD found themselves over-budget on many projects and it proved less painful to simplify planting schemes than to eliminate units or other built features. Consequently, many plans were changed and landscape designs are less faithful to original construction documents than other aspects of design.

Although many projects shrank their landscape budgets, *regionalists* idealized the creation of auto-free open spaces and plantings played a key role in these designed spaces. Philadelphia's Hill Creek illustrates a typical landscape plan (See Figure In-1). Open lawns serve as front yards, and the axis between the Administration Building and the unbuilt Community Building is the project's major formal space, finished with grass and edged with bushes. Play and sitting areas occupy rear areas. These small playgrounds, minimally furnished with benches and sand boxes, were intended for the project's younger children. Baseball fields and larger open spaces to the north of Hill Creek provided recreational space for older children. Built on outlying vacant land, Hill

[59] Some projects failed to specify a landscape architect.

[60] Omaha's Logan Fontenelle (H-2001) and Nashville's Andrew Jackson Courts (H-2102) were two of the projects that budgeted for residents to handle landscape work.

Creek's designers took care to incorporate existing, mature trees into their design, but most projects also planted new trees. Designers sometimes created varied paving plans, but these plans were typically simplified in construction; hard surfaces were generally limited to concrete and brick, with softer surfaces eliminated. Large projects included streetlights along roads and paths. Trash cans were deferred as cost saving measures, but federal administrators quickly regretted the omission and began installing them in 1937.[61]

Although the HD's projects varied widely on the exterior, *Unit Plans* and a centralized review process established a high degree of interior uniformity. In terms of materials, size, arrangement and finishes, little distinguished the units at Williamsburg Houses in Brooklyn from those at Cherokee Terrace in Enid, Oklahoma. This equality of rented space was achieved although the projects were located in different regions; influenced by different advisory committees; constructed in different climates on land of ranging values; designed by teams of architects with varied training and experience; and constructed by large and small contractors.[62] HD employees also hoped *Unit Plans* would go on to serve as a design manual for the expected permanent public housing program, where local groups would handle design and construction.

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[61] The USHA (which replaced the HD in 1937) conducted a general survey of the projects regarding rubbish and found most had purchased cans. John A. Simms to Nathan Straus, 28 April 1939, Folder 4, Box 311, H-4702 Durkeeville Jacksonville FL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[62] In many cities, small local contractors were awarded the project work, but several major contracting corporations took advantage of their size and won bids across the country. The massive George A. Fuller Co. (based in Washington DC and Chicago) built Cedar Central (H-1001) and Outhwaite Homes (H-1002) in Cleveland, Trumbull Park (H-1408) in Chicago and Parklawn in Milwaukee (H-1502). T.L. James & Co (Rushton LA) built widely in the south, including Riverside Heights (H-2201) and William B. Patterson Courts (H-2202) in Montgomery, LaSalle Place (H-2502) in Louisville, and Memphis' Lauderdale Courts (H-3403). J.A. Jones of Charlotte constructed Atlanta's Techwood (H-1201) and Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court (H-8901-B) in Charleston. N.P. Severin Co. (Chicago) built University Homes (H-1202) in Atlanta and Indianapolis' Lockefield Garden Apartments (H-1601).

Efficient, well-endowed units and beautiful grounds created a positive environment for the aspiring residents of the HD's new projects, but the complexes also included a number of amenities that extended the *regionalist* vision of community. Stein had long recognized that a good neighborhood required more than simply good houses. In 1917 he outlined the redevelopment of New York City's Chelsea district for the Ethical Cultural Society's City Club thusly:

> There is a school in Chelsea Park, and some day it will fall to pieces. It should not be rebuilt in the park. The space it covers is badly needed for additional playground space…this new school belongs at the side of Chelsea Park. It should form the center of a group of public buildings that should be run as a single unit. At one side should be the public bath and gymnasium...At the other side the auditorium and library, and perhaps the neighborhood theater. These buildings should be used by old as well as young, for clubs, social and political meetings, and voting places...(they) will be at the center of a group of public and semipublic buildings...which will be coordinated both in use and appearance. They will form a center which will be a symbol of the cooperative spirit of Chelsea, of the best that is in Chelsea.[63]

More than five years before the formation RPAA, Stein already envisioned and articulated this comprehensive view of community design. Sunnyside Gardens was adjacent to a commercial district and included a private park with extensive recreational facilities. Open space connected every Radburn house to the grade school -- the town's central organizing element, and a commercial district was built at the edge of the site. The LD Hillside Homes project included a large community building adjacent to the playground at the center of the main block, and rents supported the employment of a full-

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[63] Clarence Stein, "Talk at a Neighborhood Meeting, 19 April 1917," included in Kermit Parsons ed., *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein: Architect of the Planned Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 84.

time activity coordinator. Stein's words and designs reveal interest in the "symbols of the cooperative spirit," and HD projects maintain that *regionalist* concern.

Each HD project needed management and maintenance spaces. If stores and community recreation facilities were not already accessible, the HD required their construction. Some of these non-residential buildings were utilitarian, tucked into the rear of a project, but many were formal office and community buildings located in the most prominent spots in the complex (Table 5-III). Consequently, designers gave them significant aesthetic consideration, making them unique, distinguished elements.

Each project required a rent collection and management office, and while some dense, expensive sites located their offices in basements or converted ground-floor units, more than half of the projects constructed a separate office building. Several combined the office with other spaces to create a community node. Free-standing office buildings for management existed in twenty-six HD projects, typically sited in a prominent, central location. They typically consisted of a lobby, front office for secretarial work and rent collection, a private manager's office, toilets and a small conference room. In comparison to the residential row houses and apartment buildings, the small scale of the offices distinguished them and allowed architects a means to reinforce the overall style. The finest details in a project were frequently reserved for this building. The Community Building at Nashville's Cheatham Place stands at the open end of the central horseshoe, with a rear patio overlooking the rolling central glade (see Figure 4-26). In addition to the office, the building includes a meeting room and a health clinic.

At least ten projects included commercial space, typically located along the edge of the project to attract outside customers as well as residents. In Indianapolis' Lockefield

Gardens, a curving one-story commercial strip spans the distance between two buildings and obscures a significant grade change from the street. The rounded storefronts are simple, in keeping with the Art Moderne style of the complex, and a passageway through the store row leads into the residential space beyond, creating a monumental entry for the project (Figure 5-45). Project offices are located on a partial second floor above the stores, accessed by a stair off the passageway (Figure 5-46). Barbers, butchers, grocers and druggists rented the shops, providing residents with their immediate shopping needs.

Community activity buildings were also built, independent of management offices, in at least nine projects. The community building at Lakeview Terrace is an exceptionally detailed Art Moderne structure, with monumental works of art on the east and south façades (Figures 5-47 and 5-48). A curved entryway leads into the building, with the gymnasium/theater on the right, and the rounded, glass-blocked nursery on the left (Figures 5-49 and 5-50). A mural adorns the south wall of the nursery (Figure 5-51). Playrooms, a clinic, office, kitchen and club rooms occupy the rest of the building. Lakeview Terrace was geographically isolated, so its designers created a generous community space to accommodate activities for residents of all ages. As centers of activity and community, these buildings received considerable architectural elaboration, an indication of the centrality of community to the HD's mission.

Only a handful of projects constructed a separate community building, but most included gathering spaces within residential buildings. Small row house complexes adapted a single unit to serve as a meeting space. Westfield Acres in Camden located social rooms on the first floor of their pilotied buildings (Figure 5-52); an extensive nursery school complex occupied the first floor of one building at Harlem River Houses

in New York City. In addition to laundry rooms, drying rooms, pram rooms and other functional spaces, apartment building basements usually included social rooms of varying elaboration. The simplest included a large room, a closet and toilets. Many projects, however, designated crafts rooms, meeting rooms, wood shops, and nurseries. Large open areas in the basements of Williamsburg Houses provided play space on cold or rainy days (Figure 5-53). Communal kitchens allowed residents to prepare group meals for events.

Separate heating plants provided steam and often hot water to thirty-one projects in this period. While normally utilitarian and located on the boundaries of each project, their high vent stacks dominated the skyline (See Figure 5-54). These buildings often included storage space, facilities offices and maintenance areas. Even in projects built in historicist styles, these rectilinear buildings with metal mutli-lite windows were largely utilitarian. Nine projects, particularly those without a central boiler house, included separate maintenance buildings for staff offices, workshops and store rooms. Twelve projects included garages for residents' use, and these were minimal structures normally located along the street edges. Indianapolis' Lockefield Garden Apartments took advantage of a grade change to set garages a story below entry level, and Lathrop Homes used garages to enclose the central open spaces of the project.[64] Several projects (without incinerators) included small buildings for trash collection, and LaSalle Place in Louisville has a brick pergola that once accommodated project mail boxes (Figure 5-55).

Many low-income mothers (particularly African Americans) took in laundry to earn additional money, so residents needed functional clothes-washing areas. Facilities

[64] Today more residents of low-rent housing projects have cars than in 1933, and a lack of parking has proven one of the main challenges for these projects over time. Many green spaces have been converted to parking, to the detriment of the planned communal spaces.

vary in each project, according to building height and climate. Thirty-four projects accommodate laundry facilities in apartment basements, usually shared by occupants and adjacent row house dwellers.[65] Nine smaller projects provided a laundry tray for the kitchen sink, and erected exterior clotheslines for drying. These were primarily small, two-story projects in warm climates where basements were structurally unnecessary and outdoor clotheslines were feasible much of the year.[66]

Just as the HD used *Unit Plans* to establish a cohesive design vision for the national program, the federal group recognized the need for a unified management approach for their buildings. The specialized problems of philanthropic housing complexes had illustrated the importance of management in low-rent projects, but only a few people had relevant management experience. Facing a pressing need for new managers, the HD and the Resettlement Administration (RA) joined with the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO) to develop a management training school.

The first and only session of the class began in late 1935 and ended in the spring of 1936.[67] The NAHO solicited applications from active housing reformers and subjected applicants to a stringent review process; ultimately accepting thirty-three students. They first met in Washington D.C. for five weeks of lectures and conferences. Experienced housing managers spoke and classes covered maintenance problems, education, recreation and public health programs. Accounting techniques were taught, as well as a

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[65] Row houses at Lakeview Terrace in Cleveland have individual basements that were likely used for cold-winter drying. Obviously, washing machines and dryers have made hand-laundry outmoded, so laundry facilities have been significantly altered over time.

[66] The Baker Homes likely included a laundry sink in the kitchen, but a deep frost line meant that each row house had its own basement for drying.

[67] Donald Slesinger, "Training for Housing Management," in *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1936* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1936), 143.

discussion of politics and publicity. The group then embarked on a six-week internship, where students traveled separately to at least three model housing, limited dividend or resettlement projects to learn about the practical issues facing housing managers. They then reconvened in Washington for five weeks to discuss their internship experience and receive more in-depth training on maintenance and community development. Just as the HD used *Unit Plans* and their review process to enforce a single vision of public housing across the nation, housers in the HD and the NAHO developed a single management philosophy, which emphasized the importance of both physical and social management, not only maintaining the quality of service, but also working with residents to build a social foundation for their project.[68]

Resident Design – The Tenant Selection Process

> Several things can be said about those initial families…They conceived of themselves as upwardly mobile, middle-class families, who expected to be in public housing for the short term. Home ownership was a high priority.[69]

The HD projects varied in size, but all were designed as *regionalist* communities, with a common, if conceptual, client in mind. At Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn, private financing meant Stein and Wright designed medium-priced units to accommodate

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[68] In 1938, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) joined with the Civil Service Commission and New York University to present a second management training class, with a series of twenty lectures by housing experts. Topics included the history of housing reform, current housing legislation, maintenance issues, and the organization of community activities. Attended by 1,500 students, the class lacked the focus of the initial offering. Abraham Goldfeld, "Looking Back and Ahead in Housing Management," in *Housing Officials Yearbook, 1938* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1938): 202-210.

[69] Winston Kennedy, manager of several early Chicago Housing Authority projects, as quoted in J.S. Fuerst, *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2003), 26.

the full range of the middle-class. The inclusion of apartments and row houses of various sizes was supposed to ensure that the units were affordable to most people, but it primarily attracted a diverse middle class community of single people, families and the elderly. The HD retained Stein and Wright's basic community concept, reducing and simplifying to meet the low-rent dictates of their program.

In constructing high-quality units to be rented at low costs, the HD created an imbalance in the marketplace and raised the ire of many local landlords concerned about federally subsidized competition. In response, the HD promised rigorous applicant screening. All tenants would currently live in a substandard home, and the HD established income maximums to limit residency to families "who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise...to build an adequate supply of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings for their use."[70] Some authorities developed additional criteria.

Although smaller and denser than Stein and Wright's middle-class projects, and subsidized by the federal government, the HD's financial arrangement meant that the projects would never accommodate the very poorest Americans. The HD used experience, economies of scale and the power of federal bargaining to keep costs low, but they still needed to repay loans, manage tenants and maintain their buildings. At the inception of the DB program, projects were built with thirty percent grants and seventy percent loans. As projects developed, however, it became clear that even the thirty percent subsidy and the generous loan would not reduce rents enough to reach below the middle class. In 1936 Administrator Ickes increased the federal subsidy by providing forty-five percent grants and lengthening the amortization period to sixty years (see Table

[70] *Housing Act of 1937* v. 50, 888, sec. 2(2).

2-I). This lowered costs and subsequent rents somewhat, but not enough. In January 1937, Comptroller McCarl denied Ickes' petition to sever the link between rent and amortization, forcing the independent calculation of rents in each project, based on final construction costs.[71]

Rents on the DB projects averaged between six and seven dollars, per room, per month. Typical slum rents hovered around four dollars per month, and mean incomes of the period suggested that the *average* family, spending twenty percent of their income on housing, could afford to pay twenty dollars a month in rent, in total. If most Americans could qualify for a two-bedroom (four room) unit, the truly poor were largely shut out of these projects.[72] Ultimately, most people spent much more than twenty percent for housing, and the DB's projects accommodated the wealthiest, most persistent of the working class.[73] White husbands were commonly employed as skilled factory workers, clerks, truck drivers, barbers, butchers, motormen or salesmen.[74] African-American families usually listed more service-oriented occupations (janitor, porter, cook) with a

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[71] Not only did this process keep the HD from accommodating lower incomes, but it also caused considerable practical difficulties. Social workers could not begin interviewing applicants until rents were set, thereby determining the wage levels eligible. Rents could not be set until construction work was very close to completion, to determine full costs. Many projects sat empty for several months while the HD calculated costs and social workers began the first round of evaluations.

[72] The average family income in 1935-36 was $1,160. At the time, a 20% expenditure on rent was seen as the maximum to be safely spent, meaning that the average family would safely spend $19.33 dollars per month on rent.

[73] In 1928, blacks in Harlem were spending from 40-45% of their income for rent. John T. Metzger, "Rebuilding Harlem: Public Housing and Urban Renewal, 1920-1960," *Planning Perspectives* 9/3 (July, 1994): 257.

[74] "Parkside Homes: Nationalities Represented at Parkside," 25 April 1939, Folder 10, Box 57 H-1205 Parkside Detroit MI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; "Colonists at Parklawn Bless U.S. and Move In, - 30 Families Strong, " *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 30 May 1937, available in Parklawn scrapbook, Milwaukee Housing Authority; Brewster Homes to Detroit Housing Commission, "Inter-Office Correspondence," 1 March 1939, Folder 7, Box 53 H-1201 Brewster Detroit MI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

higher proportion of working wives.[75] Rather than housing the destitute poor, the DB program targeted families on the border between the lower and middle classes, one of several groups that residential construction had neglected in the last three decades.

Local opponents often raised the fact that the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA)'s public housing program failed to house the truly poor as a basis for its repudiation. The HD could have used their $100 million budget to erect sanitary, Spartan barracks that would have cleared slums and achieved truly low rents, but neither Ickes, Kohn, Hackett nor any other housing leader ever considered lowering the middle class, nuclear family expectations of the *regionalist* vision. HD officials offered a variety of justifications for this. Firstly, projects needed to maintain their viability for the length of their mortgages and bare units would become unappealing as living standards rose. Secondly, with thirty-five, then sixty-year amortization periods, these projects needed to retain structural viability. Poorly-built or poorly-planned projects threatened to become white elephants long before rents repaid loans.

The HD set substandard current housing conditions and income minimums and maximums as baseline requirements for residents. What constituted a substandard home? By HD definition, substandard units were; unfit; in need of major repairs to overcome hazards; without running water; lacking an interior toilet or bath; without adequate heating; not wired for electricity; lacking adequate light or ventilation; overcrowded (more than one person per room); possessed of rooms under specified sizes; or located in

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[75] Charles Walte Jr., Chief Management Aide to Charles E. Prinz, 13 September 1940, Folder 1, Box 193 H-2500 General Information Louisville KY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

deteriorated or dangerous neighborhoods.[76] Some of these qualifications (water, electricity, overcrowding) were clear-cut, but others (unfit, bad neighborhood) could vary by locale and were open to interpretation by reviewers.

Income constituted the HD's second chief restriction. Income needed to be between one-third and one-fifth of the rent, factored with family size and local cost of living. The HD included, not only the main breadwinner's salary, but also the income of other family members (a mother taking in sewing work or an child's paper route, for example), and management checked annually with employers to insure incomes were still within limits.[77] These requirements, however, were problematic as proved a disincentive to ambition, since a small increase in income might lift a family over the income limit, but still leave them unable to afford comparable private housing. Project rules dictated how many people could live in each apartment, so a large, low-earning family could not move into a smaller unit in order to meet income minimums. Conversely, a small family could not normally rent a larger-than-warranted unit. Income requirements were enacted to avoid landlord opposition, but they proved complex to track, difficult to enforce, and a deterrent to personal ambition.[78]

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[76] "Door Is Open To Parklawn," *Milwaukee Journal*, 17 April 1937, available in Parklawn scrapbook held by the Milwaukee Housing Authority.

[77] A few years after most of these projects opened, the country began increasing production for World War II and many people were able to get better paying, more regular work. Although earning over the maximum level, these families were not able to find comparable accommodations elsewhere. To avoid moving families back into the slums and undermining military preparedness by forcing war workers to relocate, the USHA refrained from evicting over-income residents until after World War Two.

[78] Elizabeth Wood, initial head of the Chicago Housing Authority, suggested that the income limit rule fundamentally damaged America's public housing system by forcing aspiring families, typically community leaders, to move, undermining the health of the neighborhood. In addition, as there was a significant gap between the standards families enjoyed in the project and what they could afford elsewhere, many were reluctant to leave. Some families avoided taking additional jobs. Many deceived management, and tenants sometimes ratted out their neighbors—creating a noxious atmosphere. See Elizabeth Wood's,

When a reviewer visited a family's home to qualify it as substandard, she (for they were nearly always women) also used it as an opportunity to assess the applicant family's character as well.[79] She observed the mother's interactions with her children, rated the décor and cleanliness of the home, and graded the health and behavior of the children. Reviewers requested police and health department records; they solicited opinions of a father's dedication and reliability while checking on his salary. Many housing authorities created point systems for ranking their applicants, preferencing the poorest people living in the dingiest quarters who were, by dint of their ambition and innate standards (as evidenced by housekeeping and work habits), the most deserving of a public housing unit; the most likely to absorb the lessons these housing complexes were designed to teach; the most likely to contribute to the new community; and the most likely to successfully use these projects as a springboard to middle class respectability.[80]

As a project reached completion, rumors typically spread that residents of DB projects would face stringent and intrusive rules. Publicity materials distributed by the HD assured potential residents that there would be no curfews or inspections beyond typical privately-managed building rules. This however, was somewhat disingenuous. Income limits required management to review resident incomes yearly. Although not mandated by the HD (or later, the USHA), many residents remember housekeeping inspections by local managers. Rather than simply establishing rental procedures and

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The Beautiful Beginnings: The Failure to Learn (Washington DC: National Center for Housing Management, 1982), 21-24 passim..

[79] "Feminine Social Workers to Pick FHA Tenants," *Chicago American*, 23 November 1937, available in Folder 4, Box 84 H-1400 General Information Chicago, IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[80] "Pick Tenants for Parklawn," *Milwaukee Journal* 14 March 1937; available in Milwaukee Housing Authority scrapbook, Frank P. Zeidler Humanities Room, Central Library, Milwaukee Public Library.

community rules, leases outlined a comprehensive vision of who was to reside there; independent nuclear families, without boarders, friends in need, or shirttail relatives. Parents were to have a private sleeping room; children were permitted to share bedrooms, but above a certain age, management mandated separation by sex.[81] Low-wage families typically survive illness, unemployment and misfortune by moving into smaller quarters or leaning on family and friends, but project rules significantly hampered a resident's ability to cope with poverty or aid their network, and in turn, reap benefits in case of their own emergency.[82] They also, however, enforced and inculcated the middle class values that underlay these built environments.

Real estate concerns sliced off the upper range of potential HD renters, while the need to pay off loans cut the poorest out, leaving a fairly narrow slice of the population eligible for public housing; steady, high-earning members of the working class who could afford to abide by middle class mores. Despite these restrictive conditions, only a few cities encountered difficulty in renting their units.[83]

> Another thing about Techwood; you have so many interesting things to do that you never have time to worry. We find that when we don't worry,

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[81] In one small city, the newspaper wrote with great enthusiasm about a family that had constructed a demising wall in their small second bedroom. Temporary, sturdy and opaque, management approved the construction, allowing the family to stay in their home as their son and daughter grew older.

[82] Carol Stack, *All Our Kin* (New York: BasicBooks, 1974), 33.

[83] H.A. Gray, Director of Housing to Richard Rosencranz, Chairman Evansville Advisory Committee on Housing, 24 April 1937, Folder 25, Box 270 H-3801 Lincoln Gardens Evansville IN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII; William H. Fort, Resident Manager to Arthur Mitchell, Congressman, 14 April 1939, Folder 4, Box 171 H-2101 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

> nothing really bad ever happens to us anyway, so life has taken on a new meaning.[84]

Uttered by a Techwood resident in March 1937, four years after President Roosevelt reassured the nation that "...the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," the statement testifies to the power of Techwood to alleviate one woman's fears. *Regionalists* working within and without the HD dedicated themselves to the creation of successful DB communities. They used good buildings, attractive open spaces and dedicated managers to enable carefully-selected tenants to create a most elusive and beneficial effect – the happy and healthy residential community. Acknowledging the failure of environmental determinism, the inability of physical objects to bring about personal change, aspects the *regionalists* championed provided *means* for change. Physical design elements equated to social experiences. Sandboxes and playgrounds equaled childhood friendships, while basement community rooms produced teen dances and romances. Clotheslines equaled wives chattering, wood shops meant men bonding over soapbox racers, park benches amounted to elderly people watching children play in the sun. Supply these facilities, and tenants would be prone to use them as prescribed.

The classes, programs and group activities at various DB projects attest to a sense of community and suggest the DB projects did successfully incubate happy, healthy *regionalist* neighborhoods. For a short time, the WPA paid recreation directors in a few projects, but managers typically encouraged tenant initiative.[85] There were a handful of

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[84] "Low Rent Happy Homes at Techwood," *Atlanta Journal*, 14 March 1937, available in Folder 6, Box 32 H-1101 Techwood Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[85] Set in a large mixed-race slum that was transitioning into an all-black area, Cincinnati's integrated Laurel Homes suffered from the most significant inter-project racial strife in this period. HD social worker Dorothy Cline worked to get WPA funds to pay recreation leaders to organize events to

community amenities that were driven by management. Harlem River Houses and Lakeview Terrace were built with nursery schools, and managers worked with residents and philanthropists to fund these facilities. Hospitals, public health departments and charities ran health clinics in at least eight projects (Figure 5-56). Usually aimed to provide preventative care to children, the clinics encouraged healthy diets and frequent check-ups to discourage childhood scourges. Residents and managers worked with public libraries to open branches in at least four projects.[86] In Milwaukee, the city parks department maintained the main playground and the city paid for a recreation director for the adjacent community center (Figure 5-57). This degree of city participation, however, was unusual.

In the main, residents developed programs and funded facilities themselves, with guidance and assistance from management. The ephemeral nature of community activities is difficult to track over time, but in 1938-1939, HD Associate Management Supervisor Jean Coman visited the DB projects to assess and direct their recreational development.[87] Her reports suggest residents from many projects worked with management and their neighbors to quickly develop full rosters of activities. The HD paid for the construction of basement rooms, and architects labeled them in plan; community

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diffuse the tension. See Dorothy Cline's *Report of Findings Submitted to CMHA: Analysis of the Administration and Operation of the Community Relations Program, Laurel Homes, and Cincinnati Ohio.* 16-24 May 1939, Folder 1, Box 150 H-1801 Laurel Homes Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[86] "...of 18 Years Operation," *Louisville Times*, 21 Feb 1955, Housing Problem Clipping Book Number 5, Louisville Free Public Library; William H. Fort, Resident Manager to William A. Griffey, Fisk University Library, 24 June 1939, Folder 1, Box 173 H-2102 Andrew Jackson Courts Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[87] "Woman Play Boss Is Here," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8 October 1937, available in Folder 9, Box 387 H-8101 Will Rogers Courts Oklahoma City OK, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

room, play room, craft room. The HD did not, however, equip these spaces, so when the first residents moved in, they were empty -- rooms to accommodate their own interests and opportunities to contribute to their new community.[88] The first residents, therefore, frequently rallied to raise funds for furniture, sewing machines, rugs, lathes and the other supplies necessary to furnish the meeting rooms, craft rooms, nurseries and wood shops.

The Projector of Williamsburg Homes, *Julia Lathrop News*, *Cheatham Place News*, *Parklawn Community News*, *Techwood Progress*, *Lockefield News*, *Hill Creek News*, *The Lakeview Terrace Breeze*, *The Cedar-Centralite*; these newsletters were typically written and assembled by residents, funded by local merchant's advertisements, and run off on the office's mimeograph machine. They attest to the joint nature of a public housing community's life, run by residents, but aided and abetted by management. Published poems and drawings gave residents a creative outlet, but community activity announcements were their *raison d'etre*. The variety of activities attests to residents' interests. Brownies and Boy Scout troops formed. Cooking classes brought residents together and allowed them to expand their talents in their new, well-equipped kitchens. Mothers in many projects recognized their common cause by organizing nurseries in social rooms, staffed by teachers or mothers, funded by tuition. Bands, choruses, drama leagues, Merry Stitchers clubs, dancing classes, puppetry classes, home economics classes and social clubs aimed to provide activities for all residents. Garden clubs, bicycle clubs, softball leagues and basketball teams took advantage of project open spaces and

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[88] R.F. Voell, Director of Federal Management to Warren C. Campbell, 11 January 1939, Folder 2, Box 6 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

access to nearby parks. These groups built community, provided entertainment and offered opportunities to learn and hone skills and talents.

Men's clubs or civic clubs frequently became the de facto leaders of a project, working with management or with city officials to settle disputes between neighbors or to redirect traffic patterns to improve safety. In several projects, residents opened cooperative stores and divided profits among the shareholders. Tenant regulations forbade many of the coping mechanisms that the working class used in times of need, including the taking in of boarders or the doubling up of families. Residents in several projects, therefore, organized emergency aid clubs or credit unions in their stead. Aid clubs organized meals for bereaved families and took up collections when a problem left them short on rent day. Credit unions accepted deposits from members and allowed them to take out small loans when needed, at nominal interest rates. Fund managers developed banking and accounting skills, and members, who lacked the money to attract the interest of commercial banks, got in the habit of saving money. Small loans could pay rent when a paycheck was short or a doctor's bill came due. These groups awarded thrift and taught these rising members of the middle class how to manage their developing largess.

Conclusion

The *regionalists* envisioned their distinctive development pattern as a means to accommodate families of all classes in pleasant, efficient surroundings. They imagined an ideal community of involved, happy residents and sought to provide the facilities they believed could aid the realization of this vision. Applying this ideal to specifically low-rent housing did little to change the physical form of these projects, but it did redefine the

aims and goals of the Regionalist vision. Rather than simple satisfaction, these projects sought to reform their lower class residents to meet their middle class surroundings. Lease restrictions blocked residents from continuing their working-class coping mechanisms, forcing them to comply with middle class mores. Programs included baseball and dancing, but also well-baby clinics and cooking classes that instructed wives on the use of their new kitchen equipment. In most cities, the DB units were highly coveted, and initial residents felt honored and singled-out by their selection. This sense of exclusivity fed into residents pride and interest in their new community. HD-dictated design and management worked with community programs to prepare working class families to take their place in the middle class.

Chapter 6: Race in Design During the Direct Build Phase

Segregation dominated residential patterns throughout the United States in the 1930's, and in an effort to minimize local opposition to a politically contentious new initiative, the Housing Division (HD) pledged to maintain existing racial divisions in their projects. Although making the federal government responsible for enforcing racist attitudes, this also meant that, for the first time, architects had the opportunity to design large residential complexes for African Americans. Across the races, HD established equal interior conditions, with similarly sized rooms equally finished, but site and architectural design – the elements chiefly guided by local advisory commissions and designers -- reveal that the predominantly white local leaders understood the white inhabitants of public housing as deserving, viable aspirants to the middle class, and their time in the project as an opportunity to learn middle-class homemaking and community-building skills. African American projects, however, often lacked similar architectural design elements and centralized community facilities, suggesting the mainly white designers believed their black residents had little hope of similar class advancement. Rather than stepping stones to a single-family house, these units were a dead-ended reprieve from the degrading miseries of the slums.

This chapter begins with the HD's policies on race and the larger history of residential segregation in the United States. It documents a minor, but persistent trend toward under-funding in African-American projects. An examination of black, white and integrated projects reveals the powerful biases revealed in project planning. In some locales, architects used planning and design to communicate a sense of hierarchy,

confirming a secondary status for African-Americans. Other cities avoided overt architectural messages, but designers expressed their beliefs about white and black poverty through planning and community facilities.

The projects built in this first phase were intentionally segregated, but the methods varied. In some cities, the HD and local advisory committees constructed separate "white" and "negro" complexes; in towns with just one project, architects designed a clear boundary, or management grouped African Americans into a small section of the larger white project.[1] Segregationist policy gave architects the unusual opportunity to design residential structures for African Americans, a group that typically built houses for themselves or inherited the white community's residential cast-offs.[2] HD standards and specifications meant that the interiors of these projects were similar, but planning, style and details revealed racial attitudes and affected their urban impact.

In this period, "white" was a fairly specific designation, and many European immigrant groups were not automatically considered members. The HD and local advisory committees discussed separate status for distinct groups of people; Italians, Irish, Poles, Jews, Mexicans, and African Americans. Despite these commonly-recognized divisions, the HD generally took a bilateral stance on the issue of racial housing, lumping all European ethnic groups into the white category, in contrast to

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[1] If there was not a clear line established in the design, management typically limited African American residency to 5% of the population.

[2] There were obvious exceptions -- houses built specifically for African Americans in areas like Harlem's Hamilton Heights or Chicago's South Park Boulevard. Madame C.J. Walker, hair-care entrepreneur, was well-known for her lavish Manhattan townhouse. In addition, Rosenwald's Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments (1929, Eugene Klaber and Ernest J. Grunsfeld) were intended for African-Americans. Most of these structures, however, resembled white residences. While there was little precedent for African-America residential design in 1933, segregated schools had a long tradition of communicating

African Americans.[3] The five small projects constructed in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands accommodated "natives," the island's chief impoverished population. The Dallas Advisory Committee considered building a separate project for Mexicans, and they constructed Mexican Village a few years later.[4]

Early on in the history of the Direct Build (DB) program, Ickes established the Neighborhood Composition Rule, which stated that new housing would maintain the racial character of a neighborhood.[5] While couched as a policy to simply maintain current conditions, in practice it actually exacerbated existing injustice. The policy intended to limit local opposition to the public housing proposition by maintaining the status quo at the neighborhood level. Also, the projects designed in this phase created usable exterior spaces for play and community building. More so than in other residential districts, therefore, neighbors were expected to interact; segregation would simplify the creation of these new communities. Challenged by some local African-American organizations, the policy was not formally opposed on the national level and was generally pursued nationally until after World War Two.[6]

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white and black status in design. For further information on Negro school design, see James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[3] Asians received little notice, partially because the projects in California never progressed to a point where tenancy of minorities came under discussion.

[4] The Dallas Housing Authority finally constructed Little Mexico Village in 1942.

[5] Deveraux Bowly, *The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895-1976* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 41-42.

[6] The forced integration of public housing, which generally began as soldiers returned from World War Two, was the source of great friction and conflict. When Chicago's Trumbull Park was finally integrated in 1953, the neighbors rioted for eighteen months, breaking windows, taunting the handful of black residents and threatening them with serious physical harm. The African-American families in the project required twenty-four hour police protection for nearly two years. Frank Brown's *Trumbull Park* (Chicago: Regenery, 1959) is a fictionalized account of the conflict.

The HD's policy conformed to the Roosevelt Administration's ambivalent approach to race, reflecting the divisions within the Democratic Party as it had existed since the Civil War. An uneasy alliance of northern liberals and white Southerners, the hobbled party forced leaders, including Roosevelt, to compromise between the principles of liberalism and power, and Roosevelt felt the general poverty of the nation superceded any particular suffering of its African-American residents. Roosevelt's failure to act on the rather clear-cut issue of anti-lynching legislation is the clearest illustration of this position. In a 1934 meeting with Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Roosevelt stated,

> I did not choose the tools with which I must work. Had I been permitted to choose them I would have selected quite different ones. But I've got to get legislation passed by Congress to save America. The southerners by reason of their seniority in Congress are chairmen and occupy strategic places on most of the senate and house committees. If I come out for the anti-lynching bill now, they will block every bill I ask Congress to pass to keep America from collapsing. I just can't take that risk.[7]

Roosevelt depended on southern Democratic support to carry out his relief programs, and he believed any threats to the Jim Crow system would leave him powerless.

The Roosevelt Administration enabled and buttressed segregation by developing separate frameworks for relief distribution. New Deal agencies frequently formed separate "Black Divisions" and hired black sociologists, lawyers, social workers and other "social engineers" to administer those funds. Segregated and explicitly unequal, these divisions did create a tier of white-collar positions for the black educated class and

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[7] Although lynching was overwhelmingly an action a white mob took upon an African American accused of a crime or sexual impropriety, the legislation was finally brought to Congress after a mob lynched two white kidnappers in California. Southern opposition to the law implied an ownership of the tactic, regardless of the target. Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), 169.

guaranteed some funding for African Americans who were often refused local relief. Roosevelt also organized the informal "Black Cabinet," composed of race leaders like Ralph Bunche and Mary MacLeod Bethune, which enjoyed the support of Eleanor Roosevelt and worked to alleviate African-American poverty and political oppression.[8]

Eleanor Roosevelt acted as a special intercessor for African-American issues, negotiating minor concessions from her husband. The master of the politically possible, in turn, used his wife as a foil. Her more progressive attitudes endeared the couple to African Americans and northern liberals, while providing Roosevelt political space to good-naturedly disavow his wife's statements.[9] Unwilling to take direct action against the principles of segregation that relegated southern blacks to permanent peonage, Roosevelt's segregated New Deal meritocracies, particularly in their first phase, offered some material aid and brought legitimacy to the African-American leaders who administered the programs.[10] In this way, the HD's Neighborhood Composition Rule conformed to the administration's approach to race, offering African Americans improved conditions without challenging the larger system that created them.

Public Works Administrator Harold Ickes appeared interested in improving racial fairness. Ickes had served as president of the Chicago chapter of the NAACP and he also dictated the construction of integrated bathrooms in the new Department of the Interior

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[8] Karen Ferguson, *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 6; Frank Freidel, *F.D.R. and The South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 87.

[9] The National Archives Housing Division files contain many letters from African-American groups sent to Eleanor Roosevelt, appealing for her particular assistance in gaining entry into segregated housing projects. The fact these letters were sent to her suggests that her interest was commonly known.

[10] Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue, Volume One: The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 42.

building, a controversial decision in 1936 Washington.[11] Bound by the theoretically neutral Neighborhood Composition Rule, the HD encouraged local leaders to consider their African-American constituencies but consistently capitulated to local advisory commissions on racial issues, serving as a conscience rather than as an enforcer (see Chapter Four).

In addition to conforming to the larger New Deal stance on race, the Neighborhood Composition Rule followed a long history of segregation in model and relief housing. The Mills Hotels accepted all nationalities and creeds, but refused to rent rooms to African Americans, "because the hotel is managed upon a business principle, and we cannot afford to do anything which would interfere with business."[12] Management expected that even the most poverty-stricken, white workingman in New York City would reject clean, healthful surroundings if it meant living adjacent to black men. Julius Rosenwald's Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments were built on Chicago's South Side for African Americans, while the North Side's Marshall Field Apartments housed low-income white families. Segregation in reform housing was a national standard.

The Neighborhood Composition Rule conforms to historic patterns and administration policy, but several other factors encouraged the dictate as well. First and most importantly, in a nation that practiced residential segregation, the policy aimed to minimize local opposition to projects. Second, statistically, African Americans suffered worse housing conditions at all economic levels and if housing were assigned fairly, they

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[11] Jeanne Nienaber Clarke, *Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 45.

[12] Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform in Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 101.

would occupy nearly all the units constructed, far beyond their proportion in society. This condition would fail to improve housing for low-income white families, would limit the political effectiveness of the overall program and would decrease its chances of renewal. Third, the ideal scenario was that those displaced by demolition would return to the new, improved homes. Although HD officials realistically understood that only a few of the displaced slum dwellers could afford even the subsidized rents in the new projects, maintaining the racial character of the neighborhood supported that ideal scenario. Finally, the policy assumed poor white families would refuse to apply for housing without a guarantee that they would not be living with African Americans.

The Neighborhood Composition Rule made race one of the HD's primary considerations. The initial questionnaire completed by interested cities asked for the local white and black populations, called for conditions assessments of both types of neighborhoods and requested site proposals for both black and white housing projects. This process required every city to consider housing for both races. Facing advisory committees usually dominated by white community leaders driven chiefly by business concerns (see Chapter Four), the HD used the information from the preliminary questionnaire to advocate for units for the African-American community, but it also established segregation as a baseline assumption for the program.

An expedient adopted to overcome local opposition, the staff of the HD understood the conflict between the Neighborhood Composition Rule and the Fourteenth Amendment. They usually avoided clearly defining the rule in the press, rather using coded statements to suggest racial stability, but their tone varied by locale. In

Birmingham, where zoning legally defined sections of the city for white and black occupancy, newspaper headlines such as "Group Plans Family Units for Negros" openly stated the racial assumptions of the program.[13] Cleveland required a different approach: the HD and the local advisory committee assumed segregation but avoided stating it in public. In January 1935 the HD provided a story for the *Plain Dealer* that incidentally made the segregated nature of the projects plain. The article inspired a furor and the city council threatened to block the projects permanently. Councilman Ernest Bohn, also the head of the housing authority, made an immediate trip to Washington. After meeting with Ickes, Bohn stated (falsely) that the HD "never had any intention of adopting a race policy." Ickes wrote concerned individuals denying segregationist intentions.[14]

The HD applied the Neighborhood Composition Rule throughout the country, and as with many policies, what seemed simple in the abstract was far more complex in practice. Determining race based on neighborhood character was never a clear-cut decision and realistically became a tool for the free manipulation of populations, rather than a fair reflection of the citizenry.[15] The policy influenced site selection, forcing race into a discussion that should have centered on matters of condition, amenity and

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[13] "Group Plans Family Units for Negros," *Birmingham News* 22 May 1934, available in Folder 7, Box 214 H-2900 Birmingham AL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II. Although Birmingham built only an African-American project, various white projects were also proposed and considered. For a discussion of racial zoning in Birmingham, see Charles E. Connerly, *"The Most Segregated City in America" City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

[14] "US Moves for 20 Slum Clearing," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 19 January 1935, 15:3; "Council Protests 'Racial Housing,'" *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 22 January 1935, 15:6; "No Race Division in Housing Here" *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 27 January 1935, A2:2; Administrator to Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, President, Cleveland Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 31 January 1935, Folder 13, Box 3 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

adjacency. The policy assumed that most new housing would be built on slum clearance land, and it made no provision for projects built on vacant sites. Without an existing population, advisory committees selected the race for vacant-land projects based on adjacency or preference, rather than rational policy.

Crowded slums tended to be predominantly white or black, but they were rarely completely segregated. A neighborhood might be eighty percent white, but the project replacing it would be completely white, excluding the minority twenty percent and actually eliminating the limited integration of these areas. In Montgomery, the Mayor's Committee for Housing specifically examined several black areas that lay within white residential sections as advantageous locations for a white project, an opportunity to perfect the separate racial spheres in the city. Some areas were historically assigned to one racial group, but others were in transition between races (typically from white to black), and the community's attitudes had not changed to reflect the new reality. In Chicago, a project for African Americans met with fierce opposition from white leaders who had not yet accepted the current boundaries of the city's Black Belt (See Chapter Three).[16] In Cleveland and Atlanta, white projects replaced mixed areas as a means to halt the transitioning of a district adjacent to downtown.

Not only did the Neighborhood Composition Rule maintain segregation, but also it failed to fully address the realities facing the HD and their field representatives. Rather

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[15] Elizabeth Wood, of the Chicago Housing Authority, admitted to gerrymandering the boundaries of her projects in order to include African-Americans and force integration where possible.

[16] William Nicrosi, Chairman Mayor's Committee for Housing, to Robert D. Mitchell, Assistant to Chief of Technical Staff, 4 May 1934, Folder 11, Box 174 H-2200 General Information Montgomery AL, , Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II;

than simply complying with neighborhood conditions as the policy intended, it required advisory committees and the HD to make racist planning decisions. Overall, the issue of race laid a film over the analytic process of site and tenant selection, influencing judgment and forcing officials to dissemble to the public, diminishing the credibility of the overall program at a time when public housing was a contentious issue.

Another problem lay in the implementation of the Neighborhood Composition Rule. HD officials worked with local advisory committees, which were usually comprised of important (and mostly white) planners, reformers, businessmen and political leaders (See Chapter Four).[17] The relationships between the HD and the local advisory committees were complex. Often developing out of Limited Dividend (LD) corporations, advisory committees were initially promised significant influence, but were gradually phased out as Hackett's more formalized division enforced uniform policies and standards, upsetting the powerful local leaders. Although advisory committees depended on the HD for funds, the HD relied on the locals for political insight and social influence. They were reluctant to challenge or contradict strongly-held local opinions and normally deferred to advisory committee decisions on racial matters.[18]

HD officials worked with local leaders to select sites, but frequently the advisory committee picked locations before official visits, and if feasible, the HD accepted those sites without extensive study, deferring to local knowledge, but also to local opinion and

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"Mass Meeting Tonight: Louis T. Orr Gives 13 Reasons Against Housing," *Oakland* Outlook, 18 July 1935, 1:2.

[17] African-American leaders or their representatives were sometimes included in these Advisory Committees, although they were often non-voting representatives.

private motivation. As discussed in Chapter Four, city size impacted the expertise and the intent of advisory committees, particularly in regards to critical site selection decisions. In large cities, professional social workers and a diverse press could force a compromise between business and social concerns. Smaller cities lacked audible planning and social work communities, allowing real estate interests to direct decision-making. The HD pressured for feasible, fair locations, but advisory committees accepted that counsel at will. In many cases, HD employees actively avoided intervening, calling race and siting a local matter.[19] The Neighborhood Composition Rule was a flexible tool that facilitated the reshaping of racial districts without oversight, allowing locals (particularly in medium-sized cities) to define racial boundaries in a way that had less to do with actual conditions or the greater good and more to do with their own finances or the best interests of the city, as they perceived them.

Rooted in the need to avoid conflict, the Neighborhood Composition Rule set a significant, long-lasting precedent. Although residential segregation was the practical rule throughout the United States, enforced with terrible violence in many places, it lacked official standing. Restrictive covenants existed and racial zoning occurred in many cities, but these were constitutionally questionable.[20] In these projects, the federal government formally acknowledged, legitimized and participated in residential segregation. By constructing permanent residential complexes that were racially coded, the projects

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[18] Richard F. Voell, Assistant Project Manager to R.B. Mitchell, Acting Chief Initiation and Recommendation, 13 November 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[19] Ashley H. Doty, Associate Management Supervisor to R.F. Voell, Director of Federal Management, 10 February 1938, Folder 5, Box 158 H-2001 Logan Fontenelle Omaha NE, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

provided the opportunity to reshape the racial landscape of the city, and in many cases, local sponsors used that power to buttress the white downtown at the expense of African Americans. Any housing program in the 1930's would have had to develop a racial policy, but the segregationist stance taken by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) enforced the status quo, establishing American public housing as a force that perpetuated unequal conditions, rather than a tool for social change.

The Neighborhood Composition Rule accommodated long-standing existing patterns of segregation, but these conditions differed by region. In former slave-holding states, racial divisions were based on a half-century of Jim Crow laws, but varied by the timing of urban development. A block-by-block census of residents in old, southern cities like Charleston, New Orleans, Washington D.C. or Baltimore might suggest that these areas were quite integrated. In fact, whites typically lived in houses facing the street, relegating rear or alley dwellings to African Americans; and for these blacks, living conditions had changed little since emancipation. Their cramped homes lacked light and air circulation, as well the modern sanitary services necessary for healthful urban living. In newer parts of these cities, as well as in more recently established cities (such as Atlanta, Memphis and Birmingham), civic leaders used zoning to relegate blacks to undesirable lands: flood-prone valleys, industrial edges, or areas abutting train yards.[21] In addition to regrettable siting, these neighborhoods compared unfavorably in terms of

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[20] Wendy Plotkin, ""Hemmed In": The Struggle Against Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post WWII Chicago," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94/1 (Spring 2001): 39.

[21] Connerly, 20.

infrastructure and building code enforcement.[22] As these cities expanded throughout the first half of the twentieth century, city officials and planners consciously used roads, parks and other urban elements to concretize their boundaries, perpetuating and buttressing segregation.

In the 1930's, the North theoretically supported integration but realistically practiced a more veiled form of segregation, all the more virulent for its *sub rosa* nature. Prior to World War One, northern cities were generally integrated, as small black populations lived amongst the European immigrant communities that attracted the bulk of attention from reformers. In 1910, Chicago reported just five census tracts -- four south of the Loop and one on the west side -- with a Negro population over fifty percent. Concentrations existed, but the majority of African-American Chicagoans did not live in these areas and no clusters were solely black (Figure 6-1). Most black families lived in casually-subdivided homes or overcrowded, under-serviced wood-framed houses, but their conditions were not markedly worse than those of European immigrants.[23]

The nature of African-American residential communities in great northern industrial cities changed dramatically during the First World War. From 1916-1919, black migration from the South exponentially increased. American involvement in the war cut off immigration and much of the labor force was sent to fight overseas while war-supply industries increased production. In dire need of workers, industries identified

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[22] In 1937, the Jefferson County Board of Health in Birmingham AL first performed a survey of the city. It revealed that, while blacks made up just under forty percent of the population, they occupied over seventy percent of the houses lacking an individual toilet, running water, a bathtub or electricity; Connerly, 27.

southern sharecroppers as a source of available labor, and factory agents visited the rural South, boasting of the glittering possibilities of northern life. These recruiters were scarcely necessary, as the *Chicago Defender*, a nationally distributed African-American newspaper, publicized job opportunities and high wages; the paper itself testified to a vibrant and independent black Chicago. National scope and a clear editorial agenda led the newspaper to preach the doctrine of northern migration with headlines declaring "MILLIONS TO LEAVE SOUTH," and stories comparing the movement to the "flight from Egypt" or the "Black Diaspora." Chicago's black population nearly doubled in those three years, and other northern industrial cities experienced similar growth.[24]

The *Defender's* tale of northern freedom, excitement and independence failed to mention the personal costs at which these gifts came. Most recent arrivals had been farm workers living tradition-bound lives not much different from peasants or slaves; northern life suddenly recast them as an urban proletariat. Rather than a life based on agricultural cycles and personal relations, the ceaseless factory clock, personal ambition and an unspoken urban etiquette regulated one's day. With freedom came a stripping of community bonds and the disappearance of a social safety net. Some settlement houses opened, catering to these new arrivals, but African-American churches, the Urban League

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[23] Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 132; Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906) provides an evocative description of immigrant housing conditions.

[24] William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 77, id., 90.

and YMCA groups also created and expanded their social programs to provide community and support systems.[25]

When World War One ended in 1918, white soldiers returned home, soul-hardened from the bloodiest conflict in modern history. American industrial production declined and veterans flooded the market, causing unemployment to rise sharply in the spring of 1919. Union-led protests that seemed to mirror the Russian Revolution struck fear into the hearts of American capitalists and politicians, and they answered these protests with the undue force of frightened authority. This spirit of violence frayed racial seams as well, since many white veterans blamed blacks for their lost jobs and sought to revoke their modestly improved social and financial status. Lynching increased twenty percent in 1918 and twenty percent again in 1919, and as the weather warmed in the late spring of 1919, the violence reached a peak: on 10 May, two black men died in a race riot in Charleston, South Carolina, inaugurating what became known as Red Summer. Race riots occurred in Longview, Texas; Elaine, Arkansas; Washington D.C.; Chicago; Omaha and Knoxville that summer, a hot season of bloody conflict.[26]

The 1919 race riots unraveled the seams of a nation only recently united by a common enemy and the results proved enduring and devastating. In Chicago and other northern cities, the violence pressured African Americans to seek refuge in numbers and move to known black communities. These once-casual enclaves developed hardened boundaries. The black ghetto, enforced by fear of unchecked white violence, was born (Figure 6-2). In Chicago, a 1919 report reflected the reality of the new ghetto, calling

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[25] Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 64.

attention to uniformly poor, crowded and costly conditions in African-American areas. Strangely, the report blamed African-Americans for paying extravagant rents rather than recognizing high rents as a market-based result of the controlled boundaries of black neighborhoods. It called for the city at large to avoid hysteria and violence and to make the "colored region" as beautiful as the rest of the city.[27]

Job opportunities for African Americans dried up after the Armistice but the flood of migrants from the South to the North did not. Boll weevil infestations decimated cotton crops and agricultural innovations minimized the number of pickers needed. Sharecroppers had been pulled North during the war. Afterward they were pushed out of the South, following relatives and the faint hope of work. While black populations grew steadily, the newly-hardened boundaries of the black ghettos in Chicago and other northern industrial cities expanded only slowly, causing tremendous overcrowding and high rents within established black neighborhoods. This overcrowding, in turn, brought further complexity. More than an abstract objection to living adjacent to African Americans, integration now meant overcrowding, deterioration and a consequent devaluation of adjacent property values. Whites living on the edges of the black ghetto defended their own hard-won investments with racist threats and intimidation, while real

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[26] See Tuttle for a full description of the Chicago Riot.

[27] Tuttle, 66; Duke, Charles. *The Housing Situation of the Colored People of Chicago with Suggested Remedies and Brief References to Housing Projects Generally* (Chicago: April 1919), Folder 8, Box 99 H-1402 South Park Gardens Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Arnold Hirsch's, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) discusses how post World War Two public housing transformed this situation in the "second ghetto."

estate men realized massive profits from 'block-breaking,' which involved serving as a front man for African-American homebuyers in white areas.[28]

These charged and violent conditions continued in the period between World War One and the Great Depression, but four years of economic collapse brought new pressures to bear. Residential construction ground to a near halt between 1929 and 1934 and most building owners deferred maintenance, speeding the deterioration of houses and apartments. Surveys of the period show that throughout the nation, on average, African-American living conditions were more deleterious than those of white families.[29] Facing higher living costs for lower quality houses, African Americans also earned substantially less than whites. In 1940, the first year in which the census registered incomes, a black man earned forty-four percent of what his white male counterpart earned.[30]

Race and the Housing Division

The HD and local advisory committees recognized the disproportionately bad African-American housing conditions by assigning more units, per capita to blacks than whites. Nationally, this first phase built thirty two percent of their units for African Americans at a time when "Negros" made up just under ten percent of the population.

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[28] Lemann, 81-82.

[29] Chicago and Cleveland had a history of in-depth civic surveys, but housing officials (supported by the editors of *Millar's Housing Letter*) pushed the PWA to fund surveys, based on Howard Whipple Green's Real Property Inventory method, across the country. Eventually, a CWA program was established, and the program organized more than sixty-three surveys nationally. Endless surveys catalog the miserable conditions of black and white slums in this period, but the opening chapter of Brown's *Trumbull Park* evocatively describes the daily living conditions of the slum, if only to indicate the miserable situations that spurred African-American families to face the naked aggression involved in integrating public housing,

[30] Thomas N. Maloney, "African Americans in the Twentieth Century," in *Economic History Service Encyclopedia of Economic and Business History* http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/maloney.african.american, accessed 9 January, 2009.

Local advisory committees primarily determined racial assignments, so this overrepresentation is not based on a national quota or any HD policy. Rather, it is a tendency by local (nearly always white) leaders, to acknowledge that residential segregation relegated most African Americans to unhealthy, overpriced and crowded conditions, and that their poor housing diminished the overall quality of their city.

Projects in twenty cities accommodated only white or black families; eleven cities built only white projects, while nine cities built only black projects (Table 6-I). Sixteen cities provided public housing for both whites and blacks during this DB phase. Eight of these cities built separate black and white projects, while eight others built a single "integrated" project. The small number of projects prohibits convincing statistical conclusions, but a per capita analysis study suggests a trend. Southern cities overrepresented African Americans in their public housing, with from 1.34 to 2.4 times the black housing units, per capita. Northern industrial cities, however, built black units far beyond the African American percentage of their population (Table 6-II). Cleveland, built 3.875 times more black units than white units, per capita, and at Minneapolis' Sumner Field Houses, African Americans were assigned thirty one times more public housing units than whites, per capita.

The relatively recent nature of black migration to the North likely contributed to this regional variation. Southern cities had large and historic African-American neighborhoods, and while they were overcrowded and underserved, conditions were relatively stable, taking on the mantel of tradition. White civic patterns had developed to avoid black districts, allowing African-American slum conditions to fade from white

consciousness. In the North, however, the African-American ghetto had formed and hardened recently, and painful expansion battles continued to be fought on its edges. Many homeowners and businessmen were suffering from the economic losses caused by those changes. In addition, these ghettos were not necessarily in unused pockets or urban corners, but along important corridors or adjacent to significant features, putting their shabby, disturbing conditions on display for white passersby.

Among cities that built only white or black projects, it is difficult to assess trends in the numbers of assigned units. Many of the cities that built exclusively white projects had African-American populations at or below the national average of ten percent. The black populations of Boston, Enid, Schenectady, Buffalo and Cambridge were at or below five percent. African Americans comprised nearly seven percent Chicago's population and the city worked to build a black housing project, but local opposition and land acquisition problems delayed the project until 1939 (see Chapter Four). Ten percent of the populations in Camden and Oklahoma City were black, but neither applied for an African-American project. Philadelphia and Dallas (both cities where political and popular opinion opposed public housing) had black populations just over ten percent but neither advanced proposals for African-American housing projects.

Of the nine cities that built only African-American projects, most were southern cities with significant black populations. In Washington D.C., Birmingham, Miami, Jacksonville and Atlantic City, African Americans comprised between twenty-two and thirty-eight percent of the populace. Both Toledo and Evansville had minimal black populations (between four and six percent), but they were small, wealthy, industrial

towns interested in the focused reconstruction of a specific slum. Census information is lacking for the unincorporated town of Wayne, Pennsylvania, but the wealthy, active residents of the suburban Main Line community organized to eradicate its only small, seriously deteriorated, mixed-race slum.[31]

Ickes' Neighborhood Composition Rule intended to limit local opposition, but some advisory committees saw in the policy a means to further entrench segregated patterns. African-American projects further trapped blacks into certain districts, but white projects could also strengthen the principle of separate systems. William Nicrosi of the Montgomery Advisory Committee justified the need for white projects, explaining that the recent depression had forced many poor white families to move into cheaper black residential areas, posing the threat of "race decay."[32] The Neighborhood Composition Rule strengthened local systems of segregation for both blacks and whites.

Racial assignments affected a wide range of issues, including location, siting, planning, style and community amenity, but HD design standards and model plans meant that unit interiors were standardized regardless of race. This uniformity guaranteed basic conditions and meant that costs varied more by land acquisition than by racial assignment. The African-American Harlem River Houses in New York City cost $7,350.17, while the white Riverside Heights in Montgomery cost only $4,160 per unit, for example. Land acquisition was one of the most significant costs for projects, and there

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[31] Preliminary Questionnaire for Wayne PA, 17 April 1935, Folder 10, Box 405 H-9000 General Information Wayne PA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[32] William Nicrosi, Chairman Mayor's Committee for Housing to O'Brien, Division of Investigation Atlanta, 17 July 1934, Folder 9, Box 180, H-2202 William B. Patterson Courts Montgomery AL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

were significantly more African-American projects built on high cost slum clearance land (Table 6-III). Without land cost, it would seem African American units cost nine percent less than average, thirteen percent less than white projects, and seventeen percent less than integrated projects. Decisions made by the HD and local advisory committees consistently, if only slightly, under-funded black projects. Two of the three projects the HD reduced to frame construction (Jackson Courts, Nashville and Lincoln Gardens, Evansville) housed black residents.

African-American projects included high-cost slum clearance land more often than white projects because there was a general reluctance to assign vacant "good" land (normally at the city's edge) to African Americans, thus tainting an expanding section of town with the crowding and low property values associated with black districts at the time. Again acknowledging the small sample size available, fifty-six percent of the white projects and forty-three percent of the integrated projects were built on vacant land. Only twenty-nine percent of the black projects were similarly sited.

African-American Design History

While under-funded, the HD's African-American projects also represented one of the earliest large-scale efforts by architects to design new houses for blacks. In the antebellum period, most plantation slaves lived in simple wood framed houses or in dwellings they improvised themselves, although a few planters built more substantial slave quarters as a part of an overall landscape effect (Figure 6-3).[33] Urban slaves often

[33] For the most complete discussion of the architecture of plantation slavery, see John Michael Vlatch's, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

slept within the main house or outbuildings; some wealthy families constructed rear wings or barracks to accommodate their servants (Figure 6-4). Following the Civil War, housing conditions for most blacks changed little, although they were now required to rent their minimal living quarters. In urban areas, African Americans often found themselves living in houses cast off by whites. Owners divided single-family houses into myriad apartments, with few concessions made for cooking or bathing facilities. As African-American communities in urban areas developed into independent black enclaves in the first decades of the twentieth century, architects and builders began constructing new, distinctively African-American, commercial and residential buildings – opportunities to express a separate, black, architectural identity.

When commissioning new buildings, African-American clients often hired black architects or builders if possible. Training for black designers resembled the education of white architects of the time: many had taken some college courses and had some office training while a prestigious few enjoyed university degrees and European training.[34] Most cities with a sizable black community had an established African-American builder or architect, but through the 1930's African Americans comprised a miniscule proportion of the licensed architects in the United States.[35] In 1919, Vertner Tandy (New York State's first licensed African-American architect) constructed Villa Lewaro on Irvington-on-Hudson, for Madame C.J. Walker, the millionaire beauty product entrepreneur (Figure 6-

[34] Many African-American architects received training at the International Correspondence School (Scranton, PA). Howard University was developing its small architectural program in the 1930's, with Hilyard Robinson as chairman. Other black universities, including Tuskegee Institute and Fisk University, offered a few training courses. Cornell University, Ohio State University and the University of Illinois were some of the schools that most commonly trained African-American architects. See Dreck Spurlock Wilson, ed. *African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary 1865-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2004), xi.

5). An estate designed by and built for blacks, Villa Lewaro was likely America's most lavish example of African-American residential construction. In the 1930's, African American Paul Williams began a long and successful career in California. During the New Deal, he was the preeminent black architect in the United States, with commissions from both the white and black communities.[36]

Although African Americans worked in the design profession and New Deal programs had a clear mandate to hire minorities, the HD employed only a few in the construction of their complexes.[37] Hilyard Robinson, the head of Howard University's architecture program, served as the chief designer of Langston Terrace in Washington, D.C.. Assisted by Williams and Irwin Porter, Robinson was the only African American to helm the design and construction of a DB project.[38] John Louis Wilson (the first African-American graduate of Columbia University's Architecture school) served as assistant chief architect for New York City's Harlem River Houses. In Nashville, the firm of McKissack and McKissack worked on the Andrew Jackson Courts project in a marginal

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[35] In 1940, African Americans were 0.4% of the licensed architectural community. Wilson ed., x.

[36] Beverly Lowry "A Mansion for Madam C.J. Walker" *Preservation* 50/3 (May/June, 1998): 76. For an examination of Paul William's career, see Karen Hudson, *Paul R. Williams, Architect: A Legacy of Style* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993).

[37] Robert C. Weaver, Advisor on Negro Affairs to Robert B. Mitchell, 12 February 1935, Folder 1, Box 124 H-1700 General Information Washington DC, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Albert I. Cassell, Architect to Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing, 15 October 1934, Folder 1, Box 124 H-1700 General Information Washington DC, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[38] While a well-trained designer, Robinson had little construction experience. Memoranda suggest the HD added Williams to the team to build confidence in Robinson's ability, but there is little evidence he contributed substantively to the project. Wilson claims that Vertner Tandy (African American) and Alexander Trowbridge (white) were also senior partners in the project, but HD memoranda made no mention of these men. Kelly Anne Quinn, "Making Modern Homes: A History of Langston Terrace Dwellings, A New Deal Housing Program in Washington DC" Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2007, 56.

capacity (see Chapter Four). Charles Sumner Duke and several other African Americans worked on Chicago's South Park Gardens project before its cancellation.[39]

Race in Site Selection

The HD's Neighborhood Composition Rule was discriminatory in principle and became even more so in practice. Some projects were located to shore up a white presence in inner city neighborhoods as whites began to abandon central cities for the suburbs. The critical site selection and race assignment processes usually took place with little public notice or discussion. African-American groups in Milwaukee and a few other cities protested racial assignments, but Cleveland was the only city to take serious issue with intentional segregation.[40] The HD and Cleveland leaders located their projects with clear racial assignments in mind, and surveys revealed inconsistency in the application of the Neighborhood Composition Rule. The site for Cedar Central, one of two white projects in the city, was seventy-four percent black and twenty-six percent white, according to a 1934 survey.[41] Since 1920, the Cedar Central neighborhood had been gradually abandoned by whites and then overcrowded with a mix of races after 1929 when families were forced to double-up to afford rent. This area was just southeast of downtown, and installing a white project deterred residential succession, with its

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[39] Wilson, 128.

[40] Arlene Holst to Eleanor Roosevelt, 15 March 1937, Folder 3, Box 111 H-1500 General Information Milwaukee WI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[41] In the 1920 census, the population of the area was closer to 50% white, 50% African-American, but was undergoing rapid racial change as the Depression simultaneously depopulated slum apartments and led to the doubling up of families. "An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland (1934)," Folder 1, Box 1 H-1000 Cleveland Estates, Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

concomitant loss in property values (Figure 6-6). Rather than a means to minimize protest, Cleveland used the Neighborhood Composition Rule to manipulate the racial landscape of the city, privileging downtown real estate interests.

In November 1934, Cleveland's League of Struggle for Negro Rights sent a letter to the HD, formally requesting a policy of integration and fair employment practices for managers and workers in the projects.[42] In January 1935, however, a HD statement published in the *Plain Dealer* made it obvious that the projects would be segregated, and a public outcry ensued. City councilmen Payne and Finkle blocked the passage of a bill approving the vacation of the streets through the projects in protest. The measure passed, but forced the HD to delay the opening of construction bids at Cedar Central project from 23 April until 1 May.[43]

Although HD officials formally and repeatedly denied intentions to segregate Cleveland's projects, internal correspondence continued to assume the racial sorting. In early 1937, as the projects neared completion, a memorandum clarified the means that Cleveland leaders developed to maintain segregation:

> They (the housing authority) desired Outhwaite to be opened before Cedar Central, being of the opinion that if Outhwaite rents were fixed at a lower rate than those in Cedar Central, and Cedar Central opened later, it would be much easier to settle in a practical way the difficult race problem.[44]

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[42] "Resolution Proposed by the Slum Committee of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights," received by the HD on 19 November 1934, Folder 12, Box 3 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[43] "File No. 107345" City Council Resolution, 21 September 1937, Folder 1, Box 4 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; "Council Dispute Holds Up Housing," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 18 April 1935, 5:5.

[44] Paul M. Pearson, Assistant Housing Director to Director of Housing, 1 February 1937, Folder 3, Box 1 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Robert B. Mitchell, Acting Chief Branch I to A.R. Clas, Assistant Director of Housing, 14 December 1934, Folder 2, Box 7 H-1000 H-1001 Cedar Central

Despite that fact that contractors were struggling to finish both projects before the school year began, they delayed work at Cedar Central so Outhwaite could reach a similar level of completion.

Cedar Central and Outhwaite both officially opened on 16 August 1937, although the contractor had finished fewer than a quarter of Outhwaite's units. Within weeks it became obvious that, despite all official denials, the CMHA was segregating the projects. Tenants accepted to Cedar Central and Outhwaite were uniformly white or black, and the African Americans working at Cedar Central were transferred to Outhwaite as it began operations. City councilmen launched a new investigation into the situation, and on 12 October the manager of Outhwaite met with the council and stated that any appearance of segregation was caused by the implementation of the George-Healy Act, which limited families to those making five times the monthly rental. Lower rents at Outhwaite meant that lower-earning African-American families could afford apartments there, while rental limits naturally directed higher-earning whites toward more expensive Cedar Central. The council remained unconvinced and demanded documentation on any families that applied to Cedar Central but then transferred their application to Outhwaite. In December, the CMHA reported that approximately 350 African-American families applied to Cedar Central and that most of those eligible for housing voluntarily transferred to Outhwaite. The report failed to explain why the CMHA staff suggested the switch. At that time, about fifteen African-American families lived at Cedar Central and

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Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

about fifteen white families lived at Outhwaite.[45] HD projects rarely supported such minimal integration, and it can be understood largely as a function of the City Council scrutiny. It is also unclear how long the CMHA maintained those numbers.

Cedar Central and Outhwaite lie only few blocks apart on the east side of the city, and discussions over segregation were limited to those two projects. Lakeview Terrace, west of downtown, did not open until October 1937. From the beginning, its tenants were white, and the project escaped the notice of councilmen or integrationists. It is difficult to ascertain why segregation at Outhwaite and Cedar Central created such a furor, as racial motivations are often implied and understood rather than clearly reported upon or transcribed. First, it seems that the decision to rent Cedar Central to whites, in spite of the African-American majority on the site, ran counter to the Neighborhood Composition Rule.[46] Also, Bohn was currently locked in a political war to end Councilman Finkle's majority voting block on the city council. Finkle's championship of the opposition might have been partially motivated by a desire to discredit his rival.

Cleveland was not alone in using public housing to reshape the racial landscape at the edges of downtown. In Atlanta, real estate owner Charles Palmer initiated a white housing project during the LD phase. While moved by the misery he saw in the slum,

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[45] "Housing Units Get 30 Tenants Today," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 16 August 1937, 7:5; Chester A. Gillespie, President, Housing Committee of the NAACP to Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, 23 September 1937 Folder 1, Box 2 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Warren C. Campbell, Housing Manager to H.A. Gray, Director of Housing, 12 October 1937, Folder 5, Box 5 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 167; Voell to Ickes (Dec 20, 1937), H-1000 Race NARA II.

[46] "An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland (1934)," Folder 1, Box 1 H-1000 Cleveland Estates, Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

Palmer also stated "I'd like to get after the Techwood Drive area to help stabilize values not far from our office buildings..."[47] His proposal, which later became Techwood, demolished eight blocks of the dilapidated, racially-mixed Tech Flats area to make way for a white project north of downtown and south of Georgia Tech (Figure 6-7). By improving the commuting experience for those traveling from the north and east, Palmer also felt, the racial "stabilization" of this valley promised to open vast sections of the city beyond to profitable white investment.[48]

Some white projects worked to establish a white presence in areas transitioning to African-American tenancy, but black projects often stabilized the center of the community rather than its edges. Poverty and residential segregation meant that most African-American residential districts were classified as slums, regardless of the class of blacks living there. Nearly all African-American neighborhoods suffered a lack of public infrastructure and the deteriorated, aging buildings typically lacked adequate plumbing and heating. As a result, when selecting African-American sites local and federal officials typically picked small slum areas with natural boundaries, where the limited number of reform housing units could produce a visible improvement. They also tended to select high-profile sites, adjacent to schools or African-American commercial districts. Whereas white public housing aimed to improve or solidify a community's edges, black public housing used paved streets, level sidewalks, street lighting, adequate drainage and sanitation to improve the center of a community.

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[47] Mr. Palmer owned three of the city's major office buildings. Charles Forrest Palmer *Adventures of a Slum Fighter* (Atlanta: Tupper and Love Inc., 1955), 14; Larry Keating and Carol A. Flores. "Sixty and Out: Techwood Homes Transformed by Enemies and Friends," *Journal of Urban History* 26/3 (March 2000): 277.

In Atlanta, Palmer selected the Techwood site to exclude African Americans; while the black community located University Homes in a small residential valley caught between Atlanta University, Morehouse College and Spellman College (Figure 6-8).[49] A slum area of modest size and defined boundaries, University Homes remade the area, providing decent homes and improved surroundings for the schools. The project promised to serve as a field school for sociology and social work students. University Homes also allowed Atlanta's blacks to further enhance their separate community.

Plans for University Homes developed in 1934, as just W.E.B. DuBois, the nation's preeminent African-American intellectual, broke with William White and the NAACP, an organization he had co-founded in 1909. Their dispute developed out of the issue of segregation. White insisted that segregation was inherently inferior and objectionable, while DuBois saw in separatism a means to create both economic and social independence.[50] After the break, DuBois returned to the sociology department at Atlanta University. Largely directed by John Hope (president of Atlanta University), University Homes is the residential expression of DuBois' vision of a community of respite; an area of high-quality African-American homes, schools and businesses, where

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[48] Ferguson, 170; Palmer, 14.

[49] Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, also served as a trustee for the University Homes Advisory Committee. M. Drew Carrell and N. Max Dunning, "Memorandum and Report on Techwood and University Housing Projects, Atlanta GA," 9 January 1934, Folder 7, Box 23 H-1100 General Information, Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[50] As editor of *The Crisis*, in January 1934 DuBois wrote an editorial insisting that the "race-conscious black man cooperating together in his own institutions and movements...will eventually emancipate the colored race." Southern congressmen used the quote in Washington D.C. to justify segregation and wage differentials in New Deal programs. This exposure was, perhaps, the straw that broke the camel's back, in regards to Du Bois' aggressive and outspoken tenure as editor of *The Crisis*.

blacks could create an economically independent community, grow spiritually and intellectually and operate outside the daily injustice conferred by white society.

Atlanta's University Homes, lying amidst three major African-American institutions of higher-learning, exemplifies a broader tendency to locate public housing adjacent to black institutions. In Nashville, the African-American project, Andrew Jackson Courts, lies adjacent to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. Pearl High School, the city's leading black high school, originally lay within its bounds (Figure 6-9).[51] Dr. Thomas Jones, a white Quaker and President of Fisk University, served as a member of the Nashville Federal Housing Advisory Commission and saw the development of the project as complementary to the development of his own campus.[52] In Montgomery, black William Patterson Courts lay adjacent to Alabama Teacher's College and the project was named after the school's founding president (Figure 6-10).[53] In Louisville, Kentucky, College Court stands across the street from Louisville Municipal College for Negros, an institution opened in 1931 as the black branch of the University of Louisville.[54] In Columbia, South Carolina, University Terrace was an integrated project that stood adjacent to schools for both races (Figure 6-11). Located on a single city block near downtown, the University of South Carolina lay north of the project while the city's African-American high school bordered it on the south. White residents of the project

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[51] A new Pearl High School was built with federal funds a few blocks away and the old building became an elementary school for the area. It has since been demolished and replaced with a modern school.

[52] Charles S. Johnson, Department of Social Science, Fisk University, "A Social Study of Negro Families in the Area Selected for the Nashville Negro Federal Housing Project," 1934, Folder 1, Box 160 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[53] The school is currently in operation as Alabama State University. http://www.alasu.edu/about/ accessed April 11, 2007.

lived on the north side, with blacks on the south. In Cleveland, the African-American Outhwaite Homes was adjacent to an elementary school, a junior high school, a high school and a community gymnasium (Figure 6-12).

Local advisory committees and the HD considered a myriad of factors when selecting project sites, but comparing white and African-American projects suggests specific tendencies that affected the two kinds of projects differently. White residential districts included a full spectrum of housing conditions. The HD needed clearly-bounded sites, so planners tended to focus on pockets of poverty, areas that lacked easy access or functional import. In selecting African-American sites, however, planners were faced with neighborhoods that appeared to be in uniformly poor condition, without clear boundaries. Locating a project adjacent to a school provided an edge and improved the area around an important functional center.

Segregated Projects

Racial assignment was usually one of the initial considerations of a project and impacted every subsequent design decision. In the South, projects normally used planning, density and style to express a visual hierarchy, clearly indicating the superiority of the white project over the African-American one. In the North, issues of race were expressed less explicitly, primarily through planning and siting.

In Montgomery, housing advocates received funding for two projects: Riverside Heights, intended for white occupancy, and William B. Patterson Courts for African-Americans. Funds for both projects were appropriated in the spring of 1935 and design

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[54] J. Blaine Hudson, "The Establishment of Louisville Municipal College: A Case Study in Racial

occurred concurrently.[55] Construction at black Patterson Courts, however, began in the summer of 1935, a few months before white Riverside Heights got underway, and consequently, Patterson Courts opened in February 1937 while Riverside Heights did not accept tenants until June. Site size and architectural design distinguish the two complexes, but the buildings are very similar in plan and layout. Although construction at Riverside lagged, the HD's design reviews for both teams of architects occurred together, so the similarities in planning and design between the two projects are likely less one of one team incorporating the other's system, and more a result of a shared dialog that occurred at meetings with the HD in Washington D.C..

Riverside Heights is located on the site of an aging farm, in an area of shuttered cotton mills at the west end of the city.[56] With the rapid demise of the cotton industry in Montgomery during the 1930's, the adjacent factories were closing and the site was nearly suburban, ideal for residential development. At the north end of the site, a steep hill leads down to the Alabama River, providing Riverside Heights with its name, cool breezes, tall trees and a pleasant topographic variety. A bus line connects the project with the city while the river provides an escape from urban density.

Designed by prominent local architects Walter Ausfeld and Harry Jones, Riverside Heights included eleven brick, pitched roof buildings containing ninety-eight units and a total expected population of about 250. Low, one-story buildings, primarily composed of studio and one-bedroom units, surrounded the edges of the site. Two-story,

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Conflict and Compromise," *The Journal of Negro Education* 64/2 (Spring 1995): 111.

[55] Robert Mitchell, Acting Chief, Branch of Initiation and Recommendation to Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing, 16 November 1934, Folder 18, Box 161 H-2100 General Information Nashville TN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

C-shaped buildings with one-, two- and three-bedroom units created a wide, automobile-free courtyard at the center, ideal for playing and socializing (Figure 6-13). Locating large units at the center of the complex ensured that the majority of the children in the project would live around the courtyards, protected from boundary street traffic. Each unit had front and rear doors, and the front and rear yards were clearly defined by building and site arrangement (Figure 6-14). Porches at the front and rear of each building created sheltered exterior spaces, stages for community building and also a regional signifier. Simplified Doric columns support the front porches, allying the complex with the Colonial Revival (Figure 6-15). A simple gesture, the columns, porches and pitched roofs contextualize the buildings, placing them within southern, residential building traditions. Although funded by a new federal program and unmoored from the street grid, these were familiar house types.

A model for that residential tradition lay on the site, as the original plantation house, the Kohn house remained when HD acquired the property. Rather than demolishing the historic structure, the designers incorporated it into the project, using it as offices and a community center. Doric columns support the front porch, although the historic columns are fluted and the columns in the main project are not (Figure 6-16). The HD added a wood-framed children's nursery at the house's rear. Other amenities included tennis courts, a baseball field and a separate laundry building.

The capacious, contextualized Riverside Heights design contrasts with Montgomery's black complex – William B. Patterson Courts. Carl Cooper and Moreland

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[56] "Montgomery, Alabama," 1910 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, v. I, p. 25.

Smith designed Patterson Courts for a slum site adjacent to Alabama State Teacher's College.[57] Located in the southwestern part of Montgomery, Patterson Courts lay in a shallow valley, and while the site enjoyed a greater connection to the city, it possessed none of Riverside Heights' natural advantages. Riverside Heights had a regular, rectangular site, but angled Decatur Street and the vagaries of slum clearance set irregular boundaries for Patterson Courts (Figure 6-17). The sharp angle at the southwestern corner of the site was problematic and the northern edges were irregular, devoid of a barrier to divide them from the slum neighborhood beyond.

At Patterson Courts, sixteen residential buildings accommodated 150 units and an approximate population of 410. On a smaller site, with about forty percent more residents than Riverside Heights, the population density at Patterson Courts is more than twice that at the white project. Rather than developing a planning system suited to the peculiarities of the site, Cooper and Smith used the same courtyard building arrangement found at Riverside Heights, but the increased density and the site irregularity resulted in a less-resolved design. The largest buildings are (as at Riverside Heights), C-shaped, creating courtyards, but the dimensions of the site forced the narrowing of those courtyards and made it impossible to build a row of buffer units along the street. The larger units are located around these courtyards, but the children in these buildings are not buffered from traffic, negating that benefit of the arrangement. Most units have front and rear entries, but the courtyard arrangement locates many of those rear entries at the edges of the site, facing major through streets -- an awkward condition that encourages residents to use

[57] "Montgomery, Alabama," 1910 Sanborn Fire Insurans, v. I, p. 48.

their rear doors, rendering the front courtyards unused, unobserved and less safe. In addition, in some cases, front and rear yards adjoin without clear physical division. Rather than developing a building plan that addressed the challenges of the difficult site, Cooper and Smith utilized the courtyard system with disappointing results.

As in planning, the architecture of Patterson Courts is similar to Riverside Heights, but is significantly less developed (Figure 6-18). The masonry buildings were flat-roofed (pitched roofs were added later to improve drainage). Porches wrap around the fronts and rears of the buildings, providing social spaces and a means to catch breezes on hot evenings. Metal trellises, rather than Doric columns, support the porches. While pleasant, especially when plants wrap their way up the metal skeletons, the trellises and the flat roofs clearly distinguish these buildings from the wider tradition of southern residential architecture (Figure 6-19). Siting and density set Riverside Heights apart from typical residential development, but Doric columns and pitched roofs familiarized the buildings, while Paterson Courts lacked clear connection to the residential tradition.

The buildings at Riverside and Patterson Court were generally similar, but Riverside cost significantly more. Materials and methods for the two projects matched. The black project included the construction of a new office, but the rehabilitation of the historic Kohn House and the frame nursery school addition at Riverside likely required a similar expenditure. The main difference, however, was the quantity of land purchased: Riverside Heights has nearly two times more land per unit than Patterson Courts. Units at Riverside Heights cost $4,030 each, while units at Patterson Courts, each cost just

$3,346.[58] The price differential is made more remarkable by the fact that the HD acquired Riverside Heights from a single owner, a situation not prone to speculation. Patterson Courts, however, had irregular lots and many small owners. Acquisition of this site involved complex negotiations, a situation open to speculation.

Similar in terms of function, the Patterson Courts project clearly lacks amenity. An irregular site, a higher population density, flat roofs and metal trellises, rather than gable roofs and Doric columns, all suggest a lack of status, a differentiation from larger residential building traditions. Cost differences support that assertion: Patterson Courts cost seventeen percent less than Riverside Heights, on a per unit basis. The conception was the same, but planning and architectural detailing rank Riverside Heights above Patterson Courts, reflecting the public's comfort with the Jim Crow system that structured Southern society. HD reviewers examined the plans, but Patterson's density fell within their standards and they failed to offer stylistic criticism.

The columns and trellises in Montgomery are only the most explicit example of the visual differentiation of the black and white projects in the same city. In Atlanta's white Techwood project, handsome brick buildings ranging from two-story row houses to four-story apartment buildings stood on broad lawns, set back from the street. Simplified Georgian porches, corner towers, entryways, cornice lines and quoins distinguished these sturdy masonry structures (Figure 6-20, see 5-19). The African-American University Homes complex is about ten percent more dense. The buildings are smaller, limited to two-story apartments and row houses. They abut the street directly, lacking Techwood's

[58] Radford, 78.

generous open spaces (Figure 6-21). Despite these differences, expenditures at the two projects were nearly equal, with white Techwood costing two percent less than University Homes. Techwood's graceful proportions and simple, but effective details create a pleasing appearance; in contrast, University Homes is ill-planned and awkwardly-designed.

In Nashville, the same architectural team designed Cheatham Place for whites and Andrew Jackson Courts for African Americans, and they established a visual hierarchy between these projects as well. An ample and beautiful site distinguishes Cheatham's Colonial Revival one- and two-story row houses and apartments (see Figure 4-25). Many of the homes face into a large horseshoe-shaped green space, with the Office and Community Building at the open end (See Figure 4-26). The wood-framed buildings at Andrew Jackson Court are crowded onto a site nearly twice as dense as Cheatham Place and the African-American project cost one third less than the white complex (see Figures 4-28 and 4-29).

Louisville also employed the same architectural team for both white LaSalle Place and African-American College Court. Both the black and white projects are sturdy masonry structures with well-proportioned Colonial Revival details. Wide-open courtyards and double-height pedimented facades distinguish white LaSalle Place (See Figure 5-27). Front porches, first-floor passageways and arched gateways grace the black College Court complex. The black project, however, is significantly denser, with forty percent more units per acre than at the white project (Figure 6-22). Per unit, the black

project was only six percent less expensive than the white project, but when the land costs are eliminated, College Court cost ten percent less than LaSalle Place.

Southern cities generally established a clear hierarchy between their white and African-American projects; in the North racial attitudes were obvious in planning, but less explicitly so in the design. In Cleveland for example, white projects took a defensive attitude toward their slum surroundings, offering protection for residents who designers believed were destined to escape the slums and enter the middle class. Architects predicted no such social improvement for residents of the black project, and created an open project that reached out to the larger community.

Cedar Central was the first project in Cleveland, built on a racially-mixed residential and commercial slum site. Designed by local architect Walter R. McCornack, the site at Cedar Central is a long, narrow rectangle and designers arranged the buildings to create a series of protected internal spaces that run east-west through the site (see Figure 4-1). The narrow, winding buildings create zones of greater or lesser publicity along the site. The central, protected green space is accessible to all residents and most of the buildings also face into a front courtyard, a public zone usually traversed only by residents and guests of one or two buildings. The buildings turn away from the street, presenting the public with blank or chaotic rear facades without rear entrances (see Figure 4-2). The apartment buildings serve as barriers to auto traffic and fail to beckon pedestrians into the project. Cedar Central takes on the spirit of a fortress, turning its back to the street and offering passerby few clues about the generous gathering spaces within. Diagonal sidewalks on the western side of the site invite entry, but the buildings fail to

address the street on the other three edges, actively discouraging foot traffic and engendering a feeling of seclusion.

Architecturally, the twisting buildings at Cedar Central are simple, marked by minimal Art Moderne elements. There are several types of buildings, but all are based on a single module -- a three-story structure, winding along the block to create specific site conditions, with articulated stair towers marking corners and centers (see Figure 5-30). Variegated red brick walls produce a pleasantly varied texture that defines the primary surfaces. Corner entry towers with multi-lite windows at the stairs define a strong vertical axis, while rounded balconies establish the dominant motif; a smooth metal curve resolving the brick buildings' sharp corners. Steel, multi-lite casement windows bring light and air into the buildings. Low, concrete parapets hide low-slope roofs and reinforce the streamlined feeling. Cedar Central presents a blank face to the larger community, but produces satisfying enclosed exterior spaces that foster a sense of belonging and facilitate the creation of a real community by residents (Figure 6-23).

Of the three initial public housing projects in Cleveland, Outhwaite Homes was the only one intended for African-American occupancy. With 579 units sprawling across a large and discontinuous site, Outhwaite is a broad and expansive project with slightly fewer houses than at Cedar Central (see Figure 6-12). With irregular borders, Outhwaite spans between three schools and a community center. Throughout the planning process the designers pushed the HD to acquire more land and regularize the edges of the project. Ickes, however, refused to pay for the high-priced commercial lands directly bordering

Woodland Avenue on the south and East 55th Street on the east.[59] The boundary dispute did not alter the basic organization of the buildings as, rather than developing a strong center of its own, Outhwaite took the school facilities and playing fields as their middle point, surrounding them to the east, south and west.

Outhwaite Homes breaks down into three sub-sections, distinguished by building and unit type. At the western edge of the site, three-story buildings accommodate one- and two-story units that mix studio flats with larger two- and three-bedroom apartments. These long buildings wind along the site and create a series of varied exterior spaces, with buildings abutting the street directly, stepping back, or vanishing into deep courtyards (Figure 6-24). Open, first-floor gateways enliven the space; without rear exits all spaces flow into one another, equally public in their nature. Along the southwestern edge of the site, low row houses buildings with large units are set back from busy Woodland Avenue. The buildings twist and turn, creating cruciform public open spaces and wide rear spaces (Figure 6-25). The existing elementary school breaks the flow of Outhwaite Homes and a small cluster of buildings lie to the east, discontinuous from the larger project. In this separate area, three-story apartments create broad public courtyards, oriented to East 55th Street, the eastern edge of the project (Figure 6-26). Small apartment units in this eastern section establish an adult occupancy, while the large units in the western half of the site set a large youth population. A complex assemblage of

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[59] Ernest Bohn, Councilman 20th Ward to Harold Ickes, Administrator Public Works, 18 July 1936, Folder 3, Box 1 H-1000 Cleveland Estates Cleveland OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II. In this memorandum, Bohn tries to persuade Ickes to acquire a few parcels of land he had previously rejected as overpriced, in order to regularize the boundaries of the Outhwaite project. Those properties were not purchased, and the project has rather ragged

buildings, Outhwaite Homes occupied the spaces between a series of existing public facilities, knitting together a public presence and serving as a node for improvement in the district. While Cedar Central seeks to escape from its slum setting, Outhwaite integrates itself into the larger community, improving conditions at the heart of the district, revitalizing rather than evading its surroundings.

Architecturally, Outhwaite Homes are a series of two- to three-story buildings with parapets and low-slope roofs, unified by a handful of versatile architectural elements (Figure 6-27). Dark brick bands suggest bases, quoins and stringcourses, enlivening the red brick walls. Decorative brick capitals, banding, and geometric balconies create a feeling of unified variety. Flat roofs and multi-lite, steel casement windows contribute to the Art Moderne style established by the polychromy and detail. Through both setting and architecture, the designers created satisfying compromise between unity and variety.

Outhwaite Homes and Cedar Central offer no clear message about social status. Both are distinguished and well-executed examples of the Art Moderne, relying on simple geometries to create striking compositions. Both wind their buildings along the site, using them to define public and private exterior spaces. Per unit, African-American Outhwaite cost sixteen percent more than Cedar Central.[60] Rather than architectural or economic cues, however, planning distinguishes these projects. At Cedar Central, the buildings barricade the project from the larger community. This could result in the creation of a strong community within the project, a feeling of belonging for current residents, and newsletters, theater and art programs suggest that the project achieved just

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southern and eastern borders. This is just one of many memorandum that attest to Ickes hard-line stance on land acquisition.

that.[61] Such an inward-looking project, however, failed to improve the larger neighborhood. Cedar Central ameliorated slum conditions by creating a livable oasis that contrasted with its grim surroundings.

Outhwaite, in contrast, filled the spaces between existing public facilities. Rather than promoting a sense of exclusive belonging, this project is an integral part of a larger neighborhood -- a means to clear slums and create a healthy urban node around which the larger African-American community in Cleveland could organize itself. The HD laid broad sidewalks, regularized setbacks and eliminated dark, and dangerous corners, thus improving conditions for the wide population of mothers and children that passed through the area daily on the way to school and the Portland Outhwaite Recreational Center. The winding courtyards provide traffic-free green spaces for residents' play and relaxation, and clear pathways through the site invite passersby.

One might suggest the planning difference between Cedar Central and Outhwaite comes from the (unacknowledged) placement of the white project within a predominantly black neighborhood; but an examination of Cleveland's third project refutes this assessment. Lakeview Terrace, one of the best-designed projects of the DB phase, is located on a steep site at the edge of Lake Erie, in a dominantly white slum area (Figure 6-28). A shipyard and the lake to the north and west, the Cuyahoga River to the east and a busy bridge-approach boulevard to the south isolate this site from the larger city. Planners saw this as an opportunity to create a complete community, and accommodated this

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[60] Radford, 78.

[61] The collected papers of Ernest Bohn, the first director of the Cleveland Housing Authority, are held in the Special Collections Library at Case Western Reserve Library. Series 5, Box 5, Folder 1 contains numerous copies of the *Cedar Centralite*, which is the tenant-complied periodical of the project.

seclusion by including stores, a community center, playfields and a nursery school (Figure 6-29). Designers at Lakeview Terrace used geography where McCornack used blank walls to create a sense of isolation and exclusivity.

The subsidies provided by the HD program allowed for reduced rents in the new complexes, but even this financial assistance could not lower rents enough to accommodate the poorest slum-dwellers. Instead, the new units rented to the upper third of the poorest class, those actively aspiring to middle-class respectability. Designers perceived these white project residents as socially distinct from the slum families living adjacent to them. More so than whites, however, the African-American residents of Outhwaite Homes represented the middle class of Negro society. Blacks earned lower average wages, so many white-collar and professional earners remained eligible for the low-rent apartments. On average, African Americans suffered more from crowded, deteriorated housing conditions, and so the extremely modern facilities at Outhwaite were an improvement for all but the wealthiest. Rather than recognizing the middle class status of Outhwaite's residents and creating an exclusive community, however, the white designers created a complex that lacked physical distinction from its larger district. This decision reveals designers' blindness to the hierarchy in African-American society.

In Detroit, the HD built the Brewster project in a black slum just north of downtown. Blacks in Detroit faced an extremely tight housing market, and relocation proved both a political and practical problem.[62] Planners received permission to close

[62] Karen Dash, "Slum Clearance Farce," *The Nation* 142/3691 (1 April 1936): 411. This article contended that the slum clearance process in Detroit was being mishandled, while also making the larger point that the new housing would not be affordable to those displaced. The HD vigorously denied the charge of mishandling relocation (but not, of the project's lack of affordability), but the article, in one of

only three minor streets within the site, so major streets bisected the project both north-south and east-west, creating an extremely open and permeable complex (see Figure 5-22). In contrast, the white Parkside project was located on vacant land near several automotive factories and adjacent to Chandler Park, several miles from the city center. The park formed the northern boundary of the complex and the designers eliminated several planned streets from the site. The Parkside buildings formed a central plaisance that ran east west through the site and was hidden from the larger district (Figure 6-30). As in Cleveland, designers built African-American Brewster into the fabric of the community, while they created a separate enclave for the residents of white Parkside.

"Integrated" Projects

In eight cities (Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Omaha, Minneapolis, Lexington, Columbia, Charleston and Stamford), the direct-build housing projects were integrated, although the true degree of racial freedom varied. In Charleston, Columbia and Lexington, integration was in name only. Funding and land acquisition problems forced these cities to group their black and white projects, but designers clearly divided residents by race. In Milwaukee, Cincinnati and Omaha, Minneapolis and Stamford, the projects lacked designed separations, but managers grouped the African-American minority into a general area. The HD and the press usually documented this casual arrangement in the initial phase, but it is difficult to track minority occupancy after the project's opening.

America's leading liberal journals, forced the HD to make extra-special efforts for the projects in Detroit. Only in Detroit and Chicago did the Housing Division seriously consider building temporary relocation housing. Only in Detroit did they actually select a site -- the vacant House of Corrections site owned by the city. Neither city, however, actually constructed such housing.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Courts housed both black and white tenants. Initially, the project was intended to house only African Americans, who clearly suffered the worst housing conditions in the city. Rather than living in concentrated slum areas, however, most blacks in Charleston lived in former slave residences dispersed throughout the white residential neighborhoods. Without obvious African-American slums to clear, the HD purchased a mostly vacant site north of downtown.[63] After the site was acquired, Mayor Burnet Maybank demanded a switch to white occupancy, suggesting only whites could pay the rents necessary to make the project economically feasible, but also betraying the pervasive reluctance to situate African Americans on open land. On the northern edge of downtown, it is likely Maybank also wished to avoid creating a black district close to the center of Charleston. The local and federal groups compromised, splitting the project between the races, with about one-third white and two-thirds African American.[64]

Textual information fails to indicate how management divided Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Courts, but evidence suggests that the three blocks west of Hanover Street (which included the main office, community center, maintenance building and the central green space) were the white portion of the project -- Meeting Street Manor (Figure 6-31). The two more-densely built blocks east of Hanover Street lay adjacent to shipping facilities and likely comprised black Cooper River Courts.

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[63] One of the five blocks acquired contained an existing African-American slum. Chief of Branch I – Initiation to Director of Housing, 5 July 1935, Folder 19, Box 400 H-8901 Meeting Street Manor and Cooper River Court Charleston SC, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

A generous central green distinguishes the white side of the project, with buildings set at an angle to draw pedestrians from Meeting Street (Figure 6-32). Cooper River Courts lacks a unified open space. Long barracks-like rows of buildings occupy the northern block, while designers used the courtyard pattern to organize the white southern block. In both sections, the buildings are limewashed brick one- and two-story row house and apartment buildings with gabled roofs (Figure 6-33). Long porches and Colonial-inspired awnings accent the main facades throughout.

University Terrace in Columbia, South Carolina rented units to both black and white families (See Figure 6-11). Located on a single city block in a slum area, the University of South Carolina was located just north of the project and the city's African-American high school lay directly south. An isthmus of slum near the center of town, the site was an obvious candidate for clearance. Architect James Urquhart grouped three buildings for white occupancy to the north of the site, along Divine Street, directly adjacent to the University of South Carolina. Five buildings in the middle and south of the site, adjacent to the high school, were designated for black families, with an alley between the two. The northern buildings for whites were three-story apartments with inset porches and cast stone watertables, stringcourses and sills (Figure 6-34). Black families occupied two-story row houses and apartments that stepped down the hillside (Figure 6-35). Enlarged stoops covered by flat-roofed, concrete awnings marked the entry to the black units, with rear porches and stairs accessing second floor apartments. Architecturally, the apartment buildings possessed a greater sense of balance and mass,

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[64] Burnet R. Maybank, Mayor, to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 7 February 1936, Folder 14, Box 400 H-8901 Meeting Street Manor and Cooper River Courts Charleston SC, Entry 2, Record Group

but the lower-scale black units were mostly row houses, generally considered the most desirable type of family unit.[65]

Charleston and Columbia used site features to build a figurative wall through the project, while in Lexington, Kentucky designers constructed an actual wall. The African-American and white projects in Lexington lie adjacent, on the site of a former horse track (Figure 6-36). The city initially proposed a number of slum clearance sites but decided to purchase an abandoned racetrack following the Louisville decision (see Chapter Four). In possession of a single large site, the Lexington Municipal Housing Commission and the HD decided to build two separate projects side-by-side: Aspendale for whites, and Bluegrass Park for African Americans.[66] On the north side, an access road led into Aspendale, with an oval road that defined circulation. One- and two-story masonry row houses line the main street, creating a substantial central park area. A separate road led into Bluegrass Park to the south. As at Aspendale, a single curving road passed through the site and accessed all of the buildings; but rather than lining the road, the buildings at Bluegrass Park clustered on the western edge, leaving the eastern end open to the field beyond. On an extremely large site, these buildings provided areas for recreation, but did not create the bounded exterior space favored by the program organizers and seen at

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196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[65] Leopold Haas and D.L. Stokes, for the Committee to Col. H.B. Hackett, General Manager Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation, 21 March 1934, Folder 7, Box 23 H-1100 General Information Atlanta GA, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[66] Robert B. Mitchell, Acting Chief Initiation and Recommendation to Herbert A. Berman, Chief Legal Branch, 8 January 1935, Folder 7, Box 323 H-5100 General Information Lexington KY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; H-5103 "Units' Names Are Reversed" *Lexington Leader*, 16 April 1936, Folder 20, Box 324 H-5103 Blue Grass Park – Aspendale Project Lexington KY, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

Aspendale.[67] The project office and the heating plant were located in Aspendale while the maintenance building lay in the rear corner of Bluegrass Park. A satellite office occupied a single unit in Bluegrass Park for African-American rent collection and small meetings. A heavy woven wire fabric fence, set into shrubbery, divided the two projects, with a gate near the shared heating and maintenance plant.[68]

Architecturally, Bluegrass Park and Aspendale differed little. The designers created seventeen different building types for the forty-eight residential buildings on the site. Only one type was used in both Aspendale and Blue Grass Park, but the lack of overlap is because one- and two-bedroom, one-story units dominated white Aspendale, while two-story row house units were more common in African-American Bluegrass Park. Buildings on both sides were similar, with brick masonry walls, gabled roofs, flat-arched voussoirs and brick keystones over main doors (Figure 6-37). Decorative metal trellises supported Colonial-inspired copper canopies at the central entries of the two-story row houses. The Aspendale main office was the most detailed building in either project, with brick quoins defining the central, cross-gabled section of the building. A fan lite and sidelites emphasized the main door and an elaborate lantern hung over the stairhall door to the left (Figure 6-38). In Lexington, designers did not visually distinguish between the races, but used a wall to physically divide them.

While several southern cities designed their integrated projects to clearly maintain a division between populations, a few northern cities (Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Omaha, Minneapolis and Stamford), integrated their projects more casually, typically assigning a

[67] Bluegrass Park/Aspendale (H-5103) has the lowest unit density of the DB phase.

corner or section to African Americans. Although lacking designed barriers, these projects still circumscribed black movement. Such a casual arrangement was also subject to the vagaries of leases, management opinion and tenant turnover.

In Milwaukee, officials requested a single white project on vacant land, and did not make the racial character of the project public. In July 1937, a month after the first occupants moved into Parklawn, local African-American leaders contacted Eleanor Roosevelt, complaining that management failed to approve any black tenant applications. Blacks comprised 1.3 % of Milwaukee's population, so officials decided to allot African-Americans 1.5 % of the units (a total of eight units). They located them all in a single building (the specific building was not indicated).[69] In 1941, however, the USHA directed local management to increase the number of African Americans to 5.7% of the Parklawn population, or thirty units, to equal the percentage of blacks living in substandard housing in the city.[70] No information survives about where these families were accommodated within the project. Photographs of black and white children playing together suggest social mixing occurred – at least for the cameras (Figure 6-39).

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[68] The fence at Bluegrass Park/Aspendale was not removed until 1974. "Fence between white, black housing projects removed," *Lexington Leader*, 30 January, 1974, 2.

[69] Colored Voters Group to Eleanor Roosevelt, 16 July 1937, Folder 7, Box 116 H-1502 Parklawn Milwaukee WI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; "Six Negro Families Get Quarters in Parklawn," *Milwaukee Journal* 21 September 1937, included in the Milwaukee Public Library, Frank Zeidler History Room, Newspaper Clipping file "Parklawn;" The article also reports that the *Observer*, the magazine of the Milwaukee Urban League commented "Although the leaving of six families from the sixth and tenth wards will have little effect in lessening the housing pressure, it is after all a fine gesture." This quote speaks to the relative powerlessness of African-American advocacy groups, even in liberal Milwaukee at this time.

[70] F. Charles Starr, Region V to Lee F. Johnson, Assistant Administrator for Management, 15 November 1951, Folder 9, Box 112 H-1502 Parklawn Milwaukee WI, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

Cincinnati initially requested two projects, one in the redeveloped center of the city for whites and another on the suburban edge for African Americans.[71] At the time, Cincinnati suffered particularly bad slum conditions; one study suggested that their conditions were the worst, nationally, west of New York City. Surveys identified the low-lying Basin area just northwest of Downtown as the most unhealthy and dangerous. Laurel Homes, the white project, was part of a planned twenty-two-block redevelopment of the Basin, an effort that also included the construction of Fellheimer and Wagner's Central Terminal (Figure 6-40). Located on the north side of the new boulevard that extended east from the station (Lincoln Park Drive), Laurel Homes was meant to solidify a white presence in the integrated slum. Beginning as a huge project with a ten million dollar budget, the HD eventually reduced it to a six million dollar, thousand-unit project (Figure 6-41). To keep this site, the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority abandoned a separate black project on vacant suburban land, leaving the overcrowded African-American population with no new housing options, although the Laurel Homes slum clearance displaced a large number of black families. They investigated integrating Green Hills, the new Greenbelt community outside of Cincinnati, but rents proved prohibitive. Under intense and persistent pressure from the African-American community, the housing authority decided to open thirty percent of the Laurel Homes

[71] "Reasons for Recommending the Lockland Site," 31 August 1935, Folder 9, Box 139 H-1800 General Information Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II. It was an accepted fact that African Americans simply had to travel further for housing.

units to blacks.[72] African-Americans occupied the buildings north of Armory Avenue, with whites living to the south.[73]

Laurel Homes lacked clear boundaries to separate it from the surrounding slum, so safety was a particular concern for residents and in the first years the project employed guards to supplement regular police patrols (unusual for HD projects). The integrated nature of the project itself intensified tensions, as white guards ejected blacks from project spaces, even if they were tenants. The white manager employed an African-American aide for black residents. Most activities were segregated, although the integrated school created some opportunities for children and their parents.

In Omaha, local sponsors proposed a site that wrapped around an existing city park, and chief Kohn suggested using the open space as a divider between the black and white sections of the project (Figure 6-42). Discussion continued, but no decisions were made. Shortly before the 1 March 1938 opening of the project, African-American community leaders met with local and HD officials to request color-blind admissions.

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[72] Bleeker Marquette, "Slum Conditions of Cincinnati Said to be Worse than in Most Cities West of New York," *Cincinnati Times-Star* 18 September 1933, 26:1; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to Stanley M. Rowe, 30 September 1935, Folder 1, Box 151 H-1802 North of Lockland Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; A.R. Clas, Director of Housing to the Administrator, 15 October 1935, Folder 4, Box 139, H-1800 General Information Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Theodore E. Barry, President Cincinnati NAACP to Horatio B. Hackett, Housing Division Director, 13 August 1934, Folder 7, Box 138 H-1800 General Information Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; George Wells, Housing Manager to H.A. Gray, Director of Housing, 16 September 1936, Folder 4, Box 149 H-1801 Cincinnati Basin Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[73] Dorothy Cline, "Report of Findings Submitted to CMHA: Analysis of the Administration and Operation of the Community Relations Program, Laurel Homes, Cincinnati Ohio," 16-24 May 1939, Folder 1, Box 150 H-1801 Laurel Homes Cincinnati OH, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Ohio, *Cincinnati: A Guide to the Queen City and Its Neighbors* (Cincinnati: Wiesen-Hart Press, 1943), 228.

Local officials feared the policy would discourage white residents from applying, and the HD regional staff refused to press for integration. The southwestern section of the project (Block Two), which lay adjacent to Omaha's black commercial district, was scheduled for early completion. As in Cleveland, the Omaha Housing Authority decided to offer first occupancy to African Americans in order to direct their applications to Block Two. African-Americans who requested units in other parts of the project would be forced to wait and apply later.[74] The local officials believed few African-American families would be willing to take such a chance in order to make a political point.

In Minneapolis, the HD cleared an eleven-block slum site for the Sumner Field Homes, removing 400 families.[75] The displaced faced a severe housing shortage and blacks suffered tighter conditions than whites. In 1935, the site housed sixty-five black families, but after the HD announced the project the black population swelled to nearly 200 families as imminent demolition caused a drop in housing maintenance, property values and rents.[76] F. Stewart Chapin, a professor of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Minnesota and a member of the advisory committee, completed several

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[74] A.R. Clas, Regional Project Manager to Col. Horatio B. Hackett, Director of Housing, 18 July 1934, Folder 1, Box 153 H-2000 General Information Omaha NE; Ashley H. Doty, Associate Management Supervisor to R.F. Voell, Director of Federal Management, 10 February 1938, Folder 5, Box 158 H-2001 Logan Fontenelle Omaha NE, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[75] "More Housing Projects here," *Minneapolis Journal*, 10 March 1939, available in Folder 4, Box 287 H-4201 Sumner Field Minneapolis MN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II.

[76] Benjamin H. Ritter, Management Supervisor to A.R. Clas, Director of Housing, 10 November 1935, Folder 1, Box 284 H-4201 Sumner Field Minneapolis MN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II. The memorandum suggests that figure is 65, but later newspaper reports suggest the figure was closer to half the population. See "Interview with David Driman, Reporter for Minneapolis Journal, at the office of City Editor, 24 April 1936," Folder 5, Box 287 H-4201 Sumner Field Minneapolis MN, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARA II. It is likely that white families, with greater choice,

surveys of the residents of the site. Because of the extreme housing shortage and Professor Chapin's study, the Minneapolis Advisory Committee contacted and admitted eligible displaced white and black residents into the new project. The housing authority used Sumner Field at the center of the project to segregate the complex (Figure 6-43). Whites lived west and south of the park, while African-Americans occupied the single block east of the park, adjacent to the Phyllis Wheatley Settlement House.[77]

Race and the International Style

International style modernism was a contentious proposition in 1930's America; highly regarded by the artistic *avant guarde*, dismissed as an unfortunate fad by some architects, abhorred by much of the public. Critic Talbot Hamlin reviewed the International Style as an academic exercise; "Of course there is a system in the plan, but it takes a most carefully trained and sophisticated, expert eye to discover it – it is a system to bring pleasure to the esoteric few."[78] Housing played a key role in the development of the International style, and many housers saw the issues as inextricably intertwined, but the style itself carried with it much cultural baggage. The HD offered no stylistic guidance, and the New Deal at large typically built in the simplified historicist styles that were the current native compromise between tradition and modernity. A few architects did build HD projects in the International Style, and a review of the use of modernism in regards to race illustrates the contentious position it held at the time.

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began leaving the site as soon as plans were announced. The tight housing market, then, led African-Americans to occupy the doomed units, increasing their percentage on the site by 1936.

[77] Ladu Jada Gubek, "Harry Davis: Reflections on growing up in the Sumner neighborhood," *Insight News* (Minneapolis African-American Newspaper), 3 April 2007, http://www.insightnews.com.

Popular criticism of the International Style as base reductionism has some applicability to public housing in this period. In some cities, designers employed so-called International Style elements, particularly flat roofs, without the benefit of the careful proportions and high quality materials that raise the style above an exercise in editing. In several cities flat roofs were employed in the African-American project, but not the white project, suggesting the establishment of a hierarchy and the willingness to disassociate black projects with familiar residential prototypes. In Montgomery, African-American Patterson Courts used flat roofs and abstracted trellises – but sloppy site planning and niggardly proportions mar the function and appearance of the project. The flat roofs and exposed slab porches that originally existed at University Homes in Atlanta use a modern vocabulary without carefully studied proportions. Andrew Jackson Courts in Nashville and the buildings assigned to African-Americans at University Terrace in Columbia, South Carolina display a similar use of flat roofs and stark wall surfaces.

In other cities, however, modernist elements and race interacted in a more intricate way. In February 1938, low-income families began moving into the two new public housing projects in Memphis, Tennessee. Some families took up residence in Lauderdale Courts, an assemblage of spare one-to-four-story brick buildings. While clearly in the simplified mode common in the New Deal, Lauderdale Courts employs a few traditional architectural elements, such as pitched roofs and copper-roofed porches -- contextualizing the buildings as Southern residential structures (Figure 6-44). Smaller apartment units cluster together on the western side of the project, facing small boundary

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[78] Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, "New York Housing: Harlem River Homes and Williamsburg Houses," *Pencil Points* 19/5 (May 1938): 287.

streets, while the larger row house units on the east side are arrayed around a modest horseshoe-shaped green space. With the rental office and community building at the center, this open space serves as the functional center, the iconic heart of the complex.

One mile east of Lauderdale Courts, Dixie Homes opened at the same time. Rather than the modest traditionalism of Lauderdale Courts, the same designers created a fully modern expression at Dixie Homes, with flat roofs with rounded corners that mirrored the dramatically curving balconies dominating the facades (Figure 6-45). Erasing the existing street grid, the architects created a new, hemicyclic street that intersected a wide grassy allee, knitting the rounded apartment section and row house sections together and creating a tremendous vista from the main entrance (Figure 6-46).

With an understanding of the implicit inequality of segregation, one might conclude that African Americans were assigned to Lauderdale Courts, the modest, traditional, and typical project without a larger urban vision, while the privileged whites lived in the *avant guarde*, sweeping, Dixie Homes. In fact, the opposite is true. Many design teams experimented with International elements as an excuse to minimize design, but at Dixie Homes chief architect J. Frazier Smith and his team designed a blazingly creative modernist complex; carefully proportioned, communicating a sense of volume over mass, and using integral elements, rather than applied decoration for ornament. Perhaps the team exploited the African-American community's lack of influence by building their project in the exciting, but unpopular new style. Maybe they felt the new "International" approach was better suited to a group of people with origins outside Europe. Whatever the architects' intentions, the new medium was not a merely an excuse

for reductionism: Dixie Homes became one of Memphis' strongest examples of the International style, drawing considerable professional interest and acclaim.[79]

Memphis built its white project in a traditional style and reserved its most *avant* architectural gesture for its least powerful citizens, but New York City reversed this pattern. Harlem River Houses, designed for African-Americans, most resembles the garden apartment blocks perfected in Queens in the 1920's (see Chapter One). Located along the west bank of the Harlem River, south of the Polo Grounds, three winding, five-story brick buildings (the tallest permitted by the HD) create protected exterior spaces (Figure 6-47). Brick bands define the raised basement and establish bases for the buildings. Glazed storefronts and simple concrete awnings occupy the first floor façades, while long vertical windows at the stairwells establish a verticality that balances the long horizontal buildings (Figure 6-48). Harlem River Houses builds on New York's long tradition of simple, functional and graceful apartment buildings.

In stark contrast, Williamsburg Houses, constructed for white families in Brooklyn, was wildly innovative, the most strongly International Style project built by the HD (see Chapter 5). Initial plans aligned the Williamsburg buildings with the street, but Lescaze rotated them fifteen degrees, disconnecting the project from the surrounding street grid and allying it with the German, heliocentric *zielenbau* planning that the HD's *Unit Plans* mentioned but did not recommend (see Figure 5-40).[80] The shifted planes are

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[79] Eugene Johnson and Robert D. Russell Jr., *Memphis: An Architectural Guide* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 127.

[80] Richard Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930's," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37/4 (December 1978): 253-254. Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and Thomas Mellins, *New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 498. Pommer criticizes the orientation as an attempt to

not particularly perceptible from within the spaces, but the angle prevents the project from responding to the existing street grid.

In contrast to Harlem River Houses' perimeter buildings of familiar dark brick, the pinwheel-plan Williamsburg Houses use wide concrete stringcourses to break up the buff brick walls and establish a dominant horizontal motif (See Figure 5-41 through 5-43). Prussian blue terrazzo cladding marks the stairhalls, but separate windows on each floor (rather than a continuous window strip) break up the vertical. Corner windows define the volume, while minimizing the sense of mass of the buildings.

Architecture critic Talbot Hamlin noted the contrast between the two projects;

> In entire conception it (Williamsburg Houses) is the direct converse of the Harlem project. Instead of the informal formality of the smaller group, the Williamsburg project has constantly sought for a more mechanical regularity modified by a consciously sought complexity. Instead of the quiet continuity of Harlem, in Williamsburg one had definitely separated buildings, repeated in similar positions across the sweep of the lot. Instead of the repose of the continuous red wall, Williamsburg seems obstreperously striped. Where, in Harlem, there seems a lack of imagination in detail, Williamsburg shows almost an excess of imagination, so that details are sometimes erratic. So different are the two groups in effect that is seems almost impossible to believe that the unit plans and basic arrangements of which they are made up are almost identical; yet such is the fact.[81]

The largest project built in the period, located in the heart of America's art culture, the choice of style at Williamsburg Houses expressed confidence in embattled modernism. The race of the inhabitants was a factor primarily because the larger white project provided a bigger canvas for those ideas. In Memphis, the lower public profile of Dixie

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resemble European examples, without the purpose of improving light penetration into units. Additionally, Hamlin's review for *Pencil Points* claims the orientation actually aligned with prevailing winds to create uncomfortable conditions in the courtyards.

[81] Hamlin, 286.

Homes allowed the designers to experiment with the controversial new approach. In New York, however, the very publicity of the Williamsburg site demanded architects employ the International Style as a means to prove its viability and defy the prevailing American ambivalence to the new design approach.

Conclusion

Race underlay and undercut every decision the HD made. The need to segregate, and to dissemble about that arrangement, compromised the HD's decision-making process and reputation. Design analysis reveals the assumptions that local designers held about the purpose of public housing for the races. White projects provided a stepping stone into the middle class, providing families with a means to reform their ways of living and build a community of ambitious social climbers destined for the middle class. African Americans, however, were given less hopeful individual prospects. Designers understood these projects to be, less a means to improve individuals that had little hope of true equality, and more a way to strengthen the community at large, offering physical improvements for their wider sub-community.

Conclusion

Stein, Kohn and the *regionalists* conceived of their planning approach as an ideal for all Americans, and they understood the Housing Division (HD)'s direct build program as a diffuser, a means to spread their gospel across the nation, turning these projects into models for future development. Community-building, implicit in these arrangements, benefited the middle-class, but took on a didactic, reformatory tone when applied to the aspiring working class.

Couched in low-income terms, these communities additionally set national living standards, making private, fully-equipped bathrooms and kitchens basic qualifications for a decent household. The aspiring working class families who qualified for these projects enjoyed a new way of living that provided the accoutrements of the middle class home, along with the community and programs to encourage them economically and socially upward. More so than slum clearance or job creation, the administrators of the HD's direct build program aimed to create nurturing communities to serve as incubators, through which generations of working class families could pass on their way to middle class stability. As much as razing buildings, they wished to eliminate the slums through depopulation. Oral history accounts, as well as the stories of people I've encountered in my research, suggest that these projects served this very function for some time, becoming welcoming communities for lucky, ambitious families.[1] Even today, the direct build projects that remain are livable areas, sought after by public housing residents.

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[1] See J.S. Fuerst, with D. Bradford Hunt, *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2003).

Segregation, determined by Secretary Ickes without any significant debate was nearly a footnote in the policy of the HD, but it fundamentally undermined this optimistic scenario. Public housing, along with many other New Deal programs, raised conservative hackles as a bow to socialism, an offense to the American Capitalist system. Ickes' Neighborhood Composition Rule was enacted to winnow public housing's potential offenses by eliminating racism as a reason for opposition.

In the hands of interested local advisory committees, however, public housing became not a means to evade racism, but rather a tool to enforce it. Although rushed timelines and shifting policies sometimes diminished the efficacy of the HD, their guidelines and standards for planning, design and management offered a neutral policy based on rational physical conditions that proved largely effective. In many cities however, local committees manipulated HD siting policies so that projects became means to eliminate black pockets in white neighborhoods; to buttress downtowns by entrenching a white presence nearby; to generally perfect segregated spheres. Anxious to build, HD officials failed to challenge these devices. The neighborhood composition rule also put the federal government in charge of enforcing a practice previously maintained by tradition, social pressure, vigilantism and local laws of questionable validity.

Racism impacted siting, but it also shaped project planning, altering the functioning of projects. White projects, predicated on social improvement, were internally-focused incubators, encouraging the development of resident families, who would soon build up the habits, skills and finances required to launch themselves into homeownership, to take their place among the middle class, to achieve the American Dream. Seventeen projects, however, were designed for African Americans, and their

(mostly) white planners and designers, blind to the hierarchy of African-American society, anticipated no such success for their residents. Rather, black projects became islands of stability and civilization amidst the wilds of the slums. Located adjacent to schools and other public functions, they served to improve the physical conditions around these institutions and the community in general, rather than to nurture residents. Further, three of the eight integrated projects were designed with separation, rather than community, as a fundamental value.[2] Of the forty-eight constructed projects, only the twenty-eight white projects were really designed to fulfill the program's goals.

Later critiques have frequently stated that public housing "failed" because its initial function as transitional incubator was thwarted by a generation of poor (read black) families who opted to take up lifetime residence. In fact, however, the very siting of the initial African-American projects betrays their role as storehouse. Although conditions were superior to the surrounding slums, these were, in many ways, gilded cages for black families with a much narrower path to middle class stability.

Today, in 2009, public housing has become largely a discredited notion, a political impossibility due to our nation's lack of faith in ourselves, our belief in the inevitable corruptibility and inefficiency of the individual and the bureaucratic system. Rather than state-run, profit-less housing institutions, for the past twenty years we have been shifting federal housing support toward subsidizing private enterprise, essentially using taxpayer funds to run for-profit management companies. Corruption and selfishness, however, are not the essential characteristics I have encountered in the files

[2] Bluegrass Park/Aspendale, Lexington KY; University Terrace, Columbia SC; Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court, Charleston SC.

and memoranda of the HD. While I encountered few saints, the common sinners responsible for the policies and administration of the program were seeking to create quality communities, rather than line their pockets. Secretary Ickes, the "Aggressive Progressive," perhaps enhanced their honesty with his vigilant (and sometimes intrusive) oversight, but the dogged frequency of correspondence (often issued on weekends and holidays), suggests a group of well-intentioned people working hard to achieve their common goals.

I laud these government employees in order to raise a hopeful note for our time, to suggest an alternate path for the future. Our recent economic collapse was triggered by the overexpansion of homeownership. Unwise mortgages fed a housing bubble that inflated values, falsely buoyed the economy and made home buying the only ambition for all people, regardless of their financial preparedness. Inevitably, however, the bubble burst, and defaulting mortgages kicked off a larger international economic collapse, with major investment indexes losing nearly half their value in the past sixteen months.[3] Clearly, risky loans can never make homeownership affordable or safe for all people and we must develop other attractive housing options.

Although not of the duration or severity, something in our current turmoil mirrors the Great Depression, with a bust coming after a long boom, and the new New Deal that is currently emerging from Washington D.C.. We, however, also face shrinking resources and environmental degradation, global challenges with devastating consequences that few could have imagined in the 1930's. Even more so then, the *regionalist* community model

[3] New York's Dow Jones record high was 14,087.55 on 1 October 2007. On 13 February 2008 it closed at 7,850.41, a loss of 45%. Tokyo's Nikkei stood at 14489.44 in the summer of 2008, but closed at 7750.17 on 16 February 2008, a loss of 47%. In June 2008, London's FTSE hit 6376.50, but in December it closed at 3780.96, down 41%.

seems appropriate for our time -- compact, livable residential communities that integrate nature and urbanism in a more efficient way than suburbia.

Racism was, in many ways, public housing's fatal flaw, a deep-seeded societal value that inhibited rational planning and transformed the program into a tool to buttress separate, decidedly unequal spheres. In this respect, however, things have truly changed since the 1930's. Although racism has not evaporated, the civil rights struggles of the later half of the century made Americans more aware of its pernicious effects. I wish to avoid ahistorical overstatement, but it is difficult to interpret the 2008 election of Barack Obama to the presidency as anything but evidence of real reform, proof that separate spheres based on color are no longer relevant in America at large.

And so, on this point of hopeful optimism, I propose that Americans are finally ready to accept the *regionalist* residential model. These complexes balance community and private life as well as building and open space, both enduring national ideals. In addition, as dense, but livable urban neighborhoods, they use land efficiently and allow residents to decrease their consumption of material resources. Perhaps now, nearly ninety years after Clarence Stein formed the Regional Planning Association of America and that brilliant group began outlining their ideal America, do we find new relevance in their vision. These early, direct build public housing projects were models of their residential development and as the most varied, numerically significant and geographically dispersed examples of this ideal, perhaps now they can finally serve their intended function as models of ideal living for all.

Appendix A: Catalog of Built Structures

Images and statistical data on each project constructed by the Housing Division's Direct Building program, including an incomplete accounting of art works included in the projects.

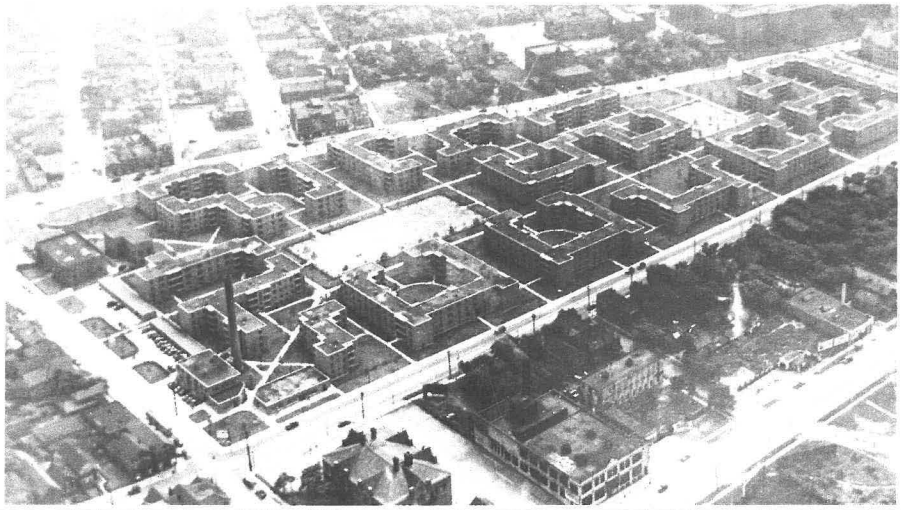
H-1001	Cedar Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York City	NY
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York City	NY
H-1401, H-1405	Jane Addams Homes and Extension	Chicago	IL
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI
H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA
H-3302	Old Harbor Village	Boston	MA
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN

H-3600	Caserio La Granja	Caguas	PR
H-3600-SJ-A	Caserio Mirapalmeras	San Juan	PR
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL
H-4900-C-B	Bassin Triangle	Christiansted, St. Croix	VI
H-4900-F-A	Marley Homes	Frederiksted, St. Croix	VI
H-4900-ST-A	H.H. Berg Homes	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	VI
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village	Atlantic City	NJ
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY
H-6001	Westfield Avenue	Camden	NJ
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC
H-9001	Highland Homes	Wayne	PA
H-9601	Fairfield Homes	Stamford	CT

Cedar Central Apartments

H-1001 Cleveland OH

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Initially conceived as a limited divided project, sponsored by Cleveland Homes Inc., transferred to Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority in October, 1933.								
Construction Begun:	24-Jun-35			Date Opened:	16-Aug-37				
Race:	White	Details:	Political pressure initially forced minimal integration of the project.						
Site:	Mixed race slum clearance								
Construction Details									
Units:	650	White:	630	Black:	20	Native:	0	Population:	2,000
Acres	18.9	Buildings:	19	Rooms:	2,296	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Apartment Exterior Doors:	4 lite glazed wood	Row House Entry Doors:	N/A	Unit Doors:	6 panel wood	Interior Doors:	Single Panel metal		
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.71	After Service Charge:	$7.35	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$3,312,730.00		Land Cost:	$589,212.55		Construction Cost:	$2,359,722	Landscape Cost:	
Design Details									
Design Team:	N/A								
Chief Architect:	Walter R. McCornack	Senior Designers:		Junior Designers:				Landscape Architect:	
Foundation Contractor:	N/A	Superstructure Contractor:	George A. Fuller Co., Washington DC	Landscape Contractor:	Clauss Brothers, Chicago				
Community Details									
Office:	Office in Building Basement								
Community Building:	Planned, eliminated. Community spaces in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:	Yes, in freestanding buildings at southeastern corner of site.				
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	Yes			Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:	Existing library on site								



Outhwaite Houses

H-1002 Cleveland OH

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Initially conceived as a limited divided project, sponsored by Cleveland Homes Inc., transferred to Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority in October, 1933.							
Foundations Begun:	N/A		Construction Begun:		November, 1935	Date Opened:	16-Aug-37	
Race:	Black	Details:	Political pressure initially forced minimal integration of the project.					
Site:	Cleared primarily African-American slum							

Construction Details

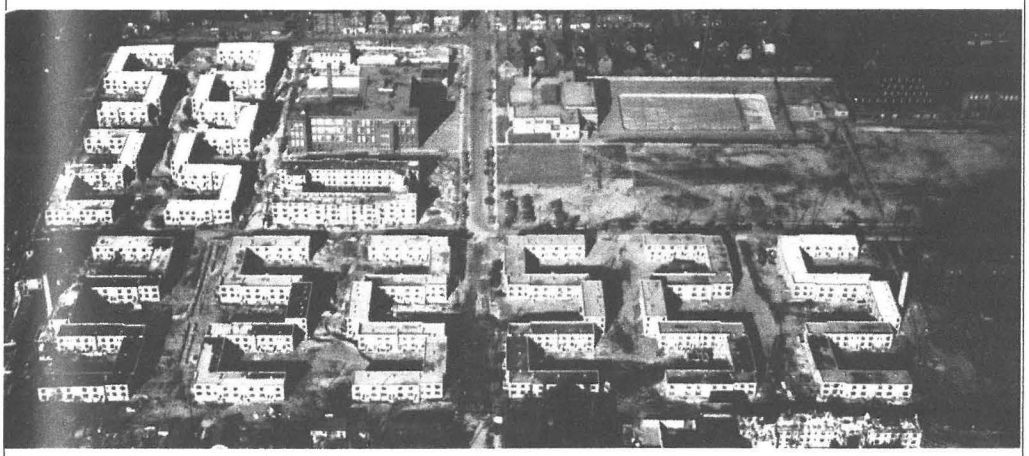
Units:	579	White:	20	Black:	559	Native:	0	Population:	1,975
Acres	21	Buildings:	17	Rooms:	2,166	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment and flat buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	3 lite glazed wood	Row House Entry Doors:	3 lite glazed wood	Unit Doors:	Single panel metal	Interior Doors:	2 panel wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.78	After Service Charge:	$6.58	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$3,381,510.00		Land Cost:	$716,980.00		Construction Cost:	$2,421,959	Landscape Cost:	$48,900

Design Details

Design Team:	N/A				
Architect:	Maier, Walsh & Barrett				
Foundation Contractor:	N/A	Superstructure Contractor:	George A. Fuller Co., Washington DC	Landscape Contractor:	State Contracting Co., Baltimore

Community Details

Office:	Office on second floor of commercial building at north edge of site						
Community Building:	Social Rooms in basements						
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:	Yes, at northern edge of site		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	Yes	Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:	Garages						

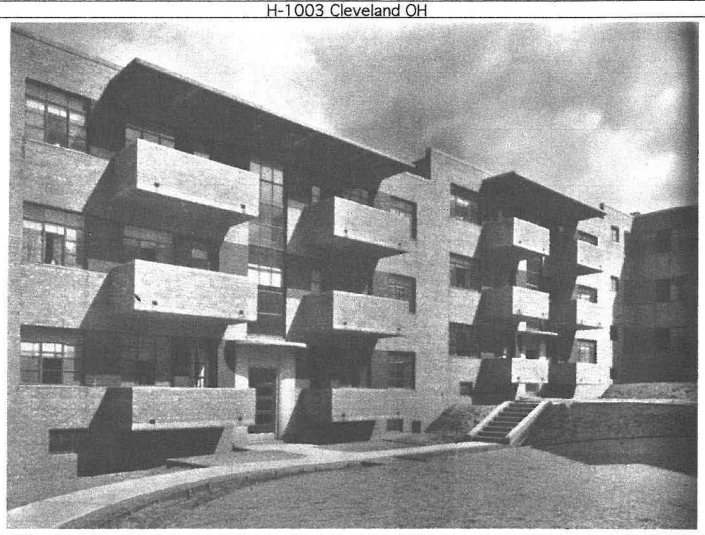


Art Details

Piece:	Mural				
Materials:					
Artist:		Location:	Meeting Room, Office	Status:	Partially Obscured

Lakeview Terrace

H-1003 Cleveland OH



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Initially conceived as a limited divided project, sponsored by Cleveland Homes Inc., transferred to Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority in October, 1933.							
Foundations Begun:	N/A		Construction Begun:	10-Dec-35		Date Opened:	11-Oct-37	
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Clearance of primarily white slum area							

Construction Details

Units:	620	White:	620	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	2,100
Acres	19.3	Buildings:	46	Rooms:	2,311	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	2-3 story apartment and flat buildings			2-3 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	4 lite glazed wood	Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.84	After Service Charge:	$7.37	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$3,684,300.00		Land Cost:	$521,590.00		Construction Cost:	$2,860,848	Landscape Cost:	$59,774

Design Details

Design Team:	N/A				
Chief Architect:	Joseph L. Weinberg, Conrad and Teare, Frederick Bigger, consultant				
Foundation Contractor:	N/A	Superstructure Contractor:	Madison Construction Co., Minneapolis	Landscape Contractor:	

Community Details

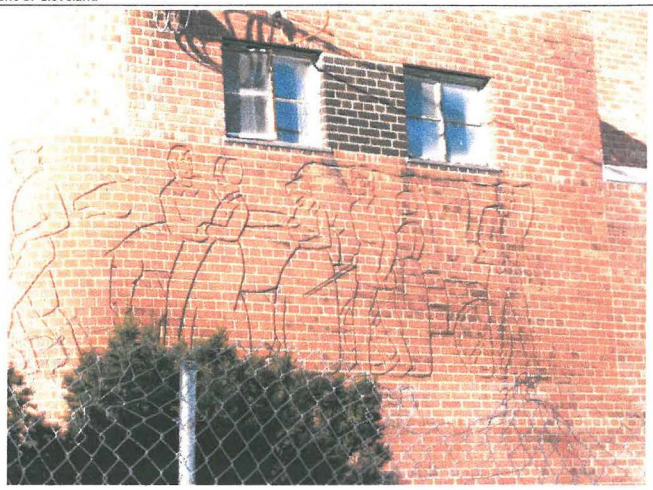
Office:	Office as a part of commercial building at south entry to project							
Community Building:	Freestanding community building with auditorium, nursery, kitchen, meeting rooms							
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:	Yes, two freestanding buildings line southern entry to project			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	Yes		Laundry:	Basement Facilities
Amenities:	Garages, social units in apartment building basements							

Lakeview Terrace

H-1003 Cleveland OH

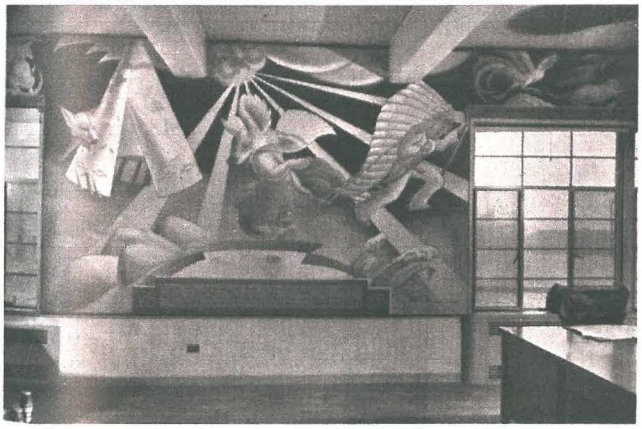
Art Details

Piece:	Settlement of Cleveland



Materials:	Inscribed into brick wall				
Artist:		Location:	East façade, Community Building	Status:	Extant
Piece:	Paul Bunyan				

Materials:	Glazed tile				
Artist:	William McVey	Location:	North façade, Community Building	Status:	Extant
Piece:	"How the Bear Lost His Tail"				



Materials:	Interior Mural				
Artist:	William Millikin or Earl Neff	Location:	Nursery, Community Building	Status:	Unknown

Techwood

H-1101 Atlanta GA

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Initially conceived as a limited divided project by Techwood Inc., transferred to the Techwood Housing Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:	N/A		**Construction Begun:**		January, 1935		**Date Opened:**	1-Sep-36	
Race:	White	**Details:**							
Site:	Clearance of a primarily African-American slum site.								

Construction Details

Units:	793	**White:**	793	**Black:**	0	**Native:**	0	**Population:**	
Acres	25	**Buildings:**	23	**Rooms:**	2,124	**Coverage:**	25%		
Unit Types:	3-story apartment buildings			2 story row houses		1 Dormitory building for adjacent Georgia Technical University			
Construction Type:	Masonry			**Roof Type:**	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	Paired Glazed Paneled with transom	**Row House Entry Doors:**	5 paneled wood	**Unit Doors:**	2 panel wood	**Interior Doors:**	Flat paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.52	**After Service Charge:**	$7.33	**Service Charge:**	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$2,960,500.00		**Land Cost:**	$505,320.00		**Construction Cost:**	$1,997,424	**Landscape Cost:**	$59,330

Design Details

Design Team:	N/A				
Chief Architect:	Flippin D. Burge and Preston S. Stevens			**Landscape Architect:**	Alexander and Strong
Demolition Contractor:	Goldman Wrecking Co.	**Superstructure Contractor:**	J.A. Jones Construction Co., Charlotte NC	**Landscape Contractor:**	Harkney Brothers Nursery, Charlotte NC

Community Details

Office:	Office on second floor of commercial building								
Community Building:	No. Social rooms in basements								
Heating:	Steam purchased from municipal plant				**Stores:**	Yes, with offices above			
Stove:	Electric	**Refrigerator:**	Electric		**Incinerators:**	X		**Laundry:**	X
Amenities:	Wading Pool								

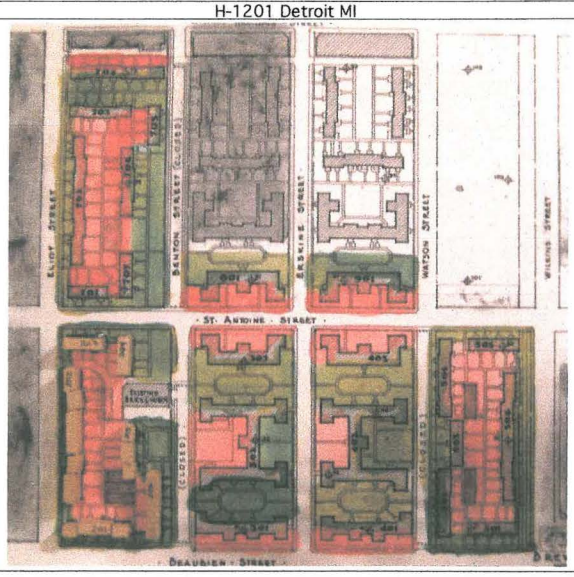
University Homes

H-1102 Atlanta GA

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Initially conceived as a PWEHC project, then sponsored by University Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:	N/A		**Construction Begun:**		18-Apr-35		**Date Opened:**	17-Apr-37	
Race:	Black	**Details:**							
Site:	African-American slum clearance area.								
Construction Details									
Units:	675	**White:**	0	**Black:**	675	**Native:**	0	**Population:**	
Acres	19	**Buildings:**	17	**Rooms:**	2,342	**Coverage:**	25%		
Unit Types:	1 and 2-story row houses			Flats					
Construction Type:	Brick and tile			**Roof Type:**	Flat, pitch added later				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		**Row House Entry Doors:**		**Unit Doors:**		**Interior Doors:**			
Windows									
Window Type									
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.11	**After Service Charge:**	$6.87	**Service Charge:**	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$2,592,000.00		**Land Cost:**	$311,898.00		**Construction Cost:**	$1,876,765	**Landscape Cost:**	$37,689
Design Details									
Design Team:	N/A								
Architect:	William A. Edwards and William J. Sayward								
Demolition Contractor:	C.E. Miller, Harris Wrecking Co.	**Superstructure Contractor:**	N.P. Severin Co., Chicago		**Landscape Contractor:**	Ashford Park Nurseries, Atlanta			
Community Details									
Office:	Free-standing office building at center of project.								
Community Building:	No								
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant				**Stores:**				
Stove:	Electric	**Refrigerator:**	Electric		**Incinerators:**			**Laundry:**	
Amenities:	Library. University Homes drawings not available, so most original conditions unknown.								

Brewster

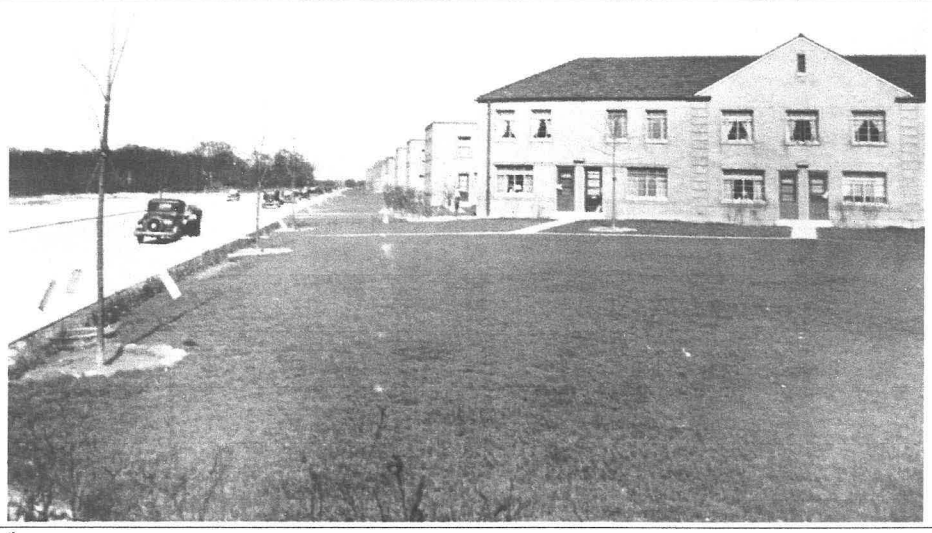
H-1201 Detroit MI



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Detroit Housing Commission								
Foundations Begun:	August, 1936		**Construction Begun:**		3-Jun-37		**Date Opened:**	15-Oct-38	
Race:	Black	**Details:**							
Site:	African-American slum clearance area.								
Construction Details									
Units:	701	**White:**	0	**Black:**	701	**Native:**	0	**Population:**	
Acres	27	**Buildings:**	35	**Rooms:**	2,360	**Coverage:**	33%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			**Roof Type:**	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	5 lite glazed wood	**Row House Entry Doors:**	2 panel, 9 lite wood	**Unit Doors:**	2 panel metal	**Interior Doors:**	2 panel wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double-hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:		**After Service Charge:**	$6.37	**Service Charge:**					
Total Cost:	$5,500,000.00	**Land Cost:**	$570,964.00	**Demolition Costs:**	$7,640.00	**Construction Cost:**	$2,971,000	**Landscape Cost:**	$39,760
Design Details									
Design Team:	Brewster-Eastfield Partnership								
Chief Architect:	George D. Mason		**Assistant Architects:**		Henry F. Stanton, Harry Muehlman				
Foundation Contractor:	Martin & Krausmann, Detroit		**Superstructure Contractor:**	George A. Fuller Co., Washington DC		**Landscape Contractor:**	State Contracting Co., Baltimore		
Community Details									
Office:	Free-standing office building.								
Community Building:	No, social units in basements								
Heating:	Purchased steam				**Stores:**	Yes, freestanding building			
Stove:	Electric	**Refrigerator:**	Electric		**Incinerators:**			**Laundry:**	Basement Facilities
Amenities:									

Parkside

H-1205 Detroit MI



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Detroit Housing Commission						
Foundations Begun:	29-Jun-36	Construction Begun:	11-Jun-37	Date Opened:	15-Oct-38		
Race:	White	Details:					
Site:	Vacant						

Construction Details

Units:	779	White:	779	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	23	Buildings:	57	Rooms:	2,827	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat and Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:		After Service Charge:	$6.77	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$4,500,000.00	Land Cost:	$170,000.00	Foundation Costs:	$154,158.00	Construction Cost:	$3,466,000	Landscape Cost:	$54,429

Design Details

Design Team:	Chandler Park Partners				
Chief Architect:	George D. Mason	Landscape Architect:	R.H. Wilson, E.A. Eichstaedt, T. Glenn Phillips		
Foundation Contractor:	Walbridge, Aldinger Co., Detroit	Superstructure Contractor:		Landscape Contractor:	

Community Details

Office:								
Community Building:								
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:				
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement
Amenities:	Basement Social Rooms							

Williamsburg Houses

H-1301 Brooklyn, New York, NY

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	New York City Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936		Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	30-Sep-37	
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Primarily white slum clearance site								

Construction Details

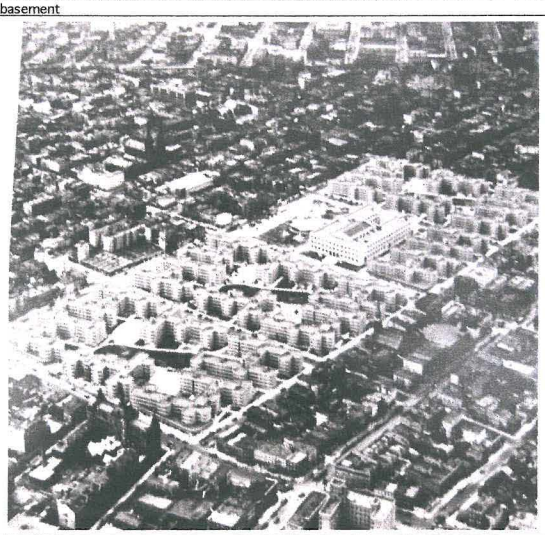
Units:	1622	White:	1622	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	21	Buildings:	20	Rooms:	5,688	Coverage:	30%		
Unit Types:	4 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$7.12	After Service Charge:	$8.52	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$13,459,000.00	Land Cost:	$3,872,522.00	Foundation Cost:	$297,902	Construction Cost:	$8,187,206	Landscape Cost:	$46,433

Design Details

Design Team:	Williamsburg Project Associated Architects				
Chief Architect:	Richmond H. Shreve	Senior Designers:	James F. Bly, Matthew W. Del Gaudio, Arthur C. Holden, William Lescaze, Samuel Gardenstein of Holmgren, Volz and Gardenstein, John W. Ingle Jr., G. Harmon Gurney of Gurney and Clavan, Paul Trapani, Harry Leslie Walker	Landscape Architect:	Vitale and Geiffert, Gilmore D. Clarke
Foundation Contractor:	Wallin Concrete, New York	Superstructure Contractor:	Starrett Brothers and Eken Inc., New York Ciy	Landscape Contractor:	

Community Details

Office:	Office in Building 10 Basement							
Community Building:	Meeting and activity spaces in building basements							
Heating:	Oil-fired group plants			Stores:	Yes, basement and first floor of buildings along edges of site			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement Facilities
Amenities:	Health clinic, library in basement							



Harlem River Houses

H-1302 Harlem, New York, NY

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	New York City Housing Authority						
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936		**Construction Begun:**	August, 1936		**Date Opened:**	4-Sep-37
Race:	Black	**Details:**					
Site:	Vacant						

Construction Details

Units:	574	**White:**	0	**Black:**	**574**	**Native:**	0	**Population:**	
Acres	9	**Buildings:**		**Rooms:**	1,940	**Coverage:**	25%		
Unit Types:	4-5 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			**Roof Type:**	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		**Row House Entry Doors:**		**Unit Doors:**		**Interior Doors:**			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$7.10	**After Service Charge:**	$8.52	**Service Charge:**	Heat and hot water were included in base rent. Service charge covered light, refrigeration and cooking				
Total Cost:	$4,219,000.00	**Land Cost:**	$1,118,940.00	**Foundation Cost:**	$248,026.00	**Construction Cost:**	$2,445,614	**Landscape Cost:**	$29,410

Design Details

Design Team:	N/A				
Chief Architect:	Archibald M. Brown	**Assistant Chief Architect:**	John Louis Wilson (African-American)	**Senior Designers:**	Horace Ginsberg, Charles F. Fuller, Frank J. Forster, Will Rice Anon, Richard W. Buckley
Foundation Contractor:	Carleton Co., New York	**Superstructure Contractor:**	Caldwell-Wingate Co., New York	**Landscape Contractor:**	

Community Details

Office:	In Basement								
Community Building:	Social Rooms in Basements								
Heating:	Oil-fired heating plants in 3 basements				**Stores:**	Yes, basement and first floor of buildings at edges of site.			
Stove:	Gas	**Refrigerator:**	Electric		**Incinerators:**			**Laundry:**	Basement Facilities
Amenities:	Extensive nursery, health clinic								

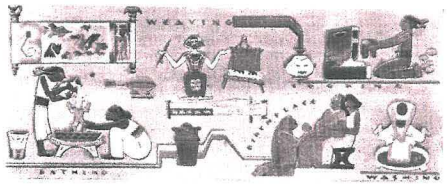
Harlem River Houses

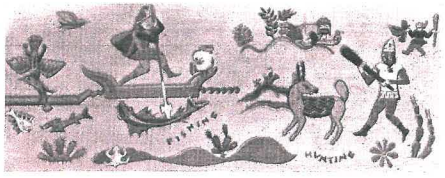
H-1302 Harlem, New York, NY

Art Details

Piece:	Bear cub sculptures				
Materials:					
Artist:	Heinz Warnecke, assisted by T. Barbarossa, F.	**Location:**		**Status:**	
Piece:	Penguins				

Materials:	Black Basalt				
Artist:	Heinz Warnecke, assisted by T. Barbarossa, F.	**Location:**		**Status:**	
Piece:	Negro Laborer				
Materials:					
Artist:	Heinz Warnecke, assisted by T. Barbarossa, F. Barthe, F. Steinberger	**Location:**	Mounted on exterior wall, adjacent to breezeway	**Status:**	Extant in place
Piece:	Mother and Child				
Materials:					
Artist:	Heinz Warnecke, assisted by T. Barbarossa, F. Barthe, F. Steinberger	**Location:**	Mounted on exterior wall, adjacent to breezeway	**Status:**	Extant in place
Piece:	Child with a Dog				
Materials:	Pink and Black Marble				
Artist:	Heinz Warnecke, assisted by T. Barbarossa, F. Barthe, F. Steinberger	**Location:**		**Status:**	
Piece:					





Materials:	Murals				
Artist:	Algot Stenbery	**Location:**	Nursery School	**Status:**	Unknown

Jane Addams Homes and Jane Addams Extension

H-1401 and H-1405 Chicago IL

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Chicago General Advisory Board on Housing						
Foundations Begun:	16-Nov-35		Construction Begun:	August, 1936		Date Opened:	December, 1937
Race:	White	Details:					
Site:	Cleared a long-standing, primarily Italian slum area						

Construction Details

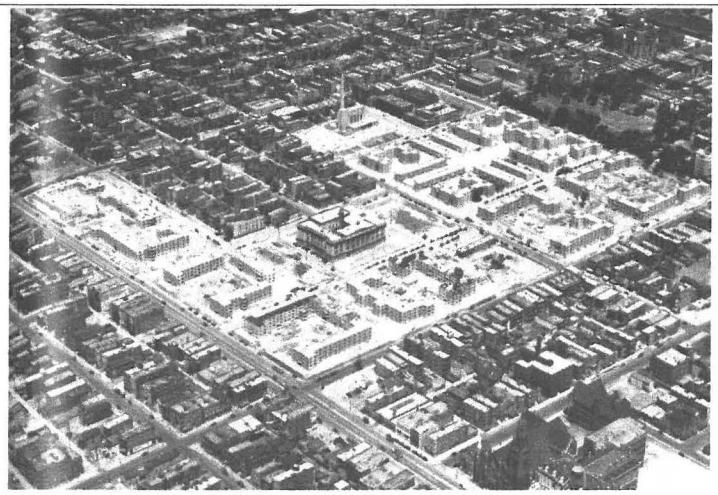
Units:	1027	White:	1027	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	18	Buildings:		Rooms:	3,571	Coverage:	33%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	brick and tile			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.43	After Service Charge:	$7.30	Service Charge:	gas cooking, heat, hot water, electricity				
Total Cost:	$5,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$1,237,013.00	Foundation Cost:	$113,672.00	Construction Cost:	$4,929,231.79	Landscape Cost:	$18,863

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects						
Chief Architect:	John A. Holabird	Senior Architects:	JA Armstrong, Elmer C. Jensen, Philip B. Maher, Ernest A. Grunsfeld Jr.	Junior Architects:	Melville Clarke Chatten, John O. Merrill, Chester H. Walcott, Ralph D. Huszagh, Frederick M. Hodgdon	Landscape Architect:	Franz Lipp
Demolition Contractor:	Handled by WPA	Superstructure Contractor:	Maurice I. Bein, Malkov Lumber Co Inc. and Maurice L. Bein Inc., Chicago.			Heating Plant Contractor:	Dahl-Stedman Co., Chicago

Community Details

Office:	Office in building basement, separate entrance.								
Community Building:	Social Rooms in basements								
Heating:	Central heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:									

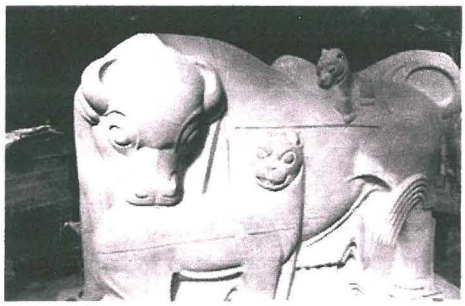


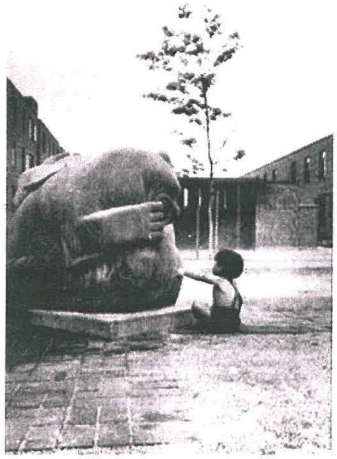
Jane Addams Homes and Jane Addams Extension

H-1401 and H-1405 Chicago IL

Art Details

Piece:	Animal Court, collection of seven concrete animal sculptures set around spray pool.

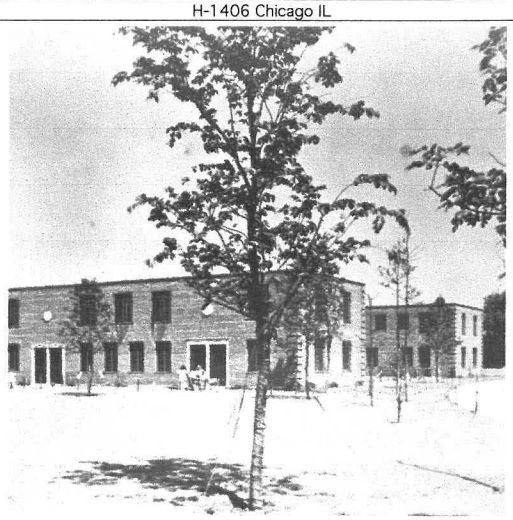




Materials:	Concrete				
Artist:	Central figure, Emmanuel Viviano/Charles Bahl. 6 animal pairs, Edgar Miller	Location:	Animal Court, within the Jewish People's Institute block	Status:	Project demolished, figures salvaged.

Julia C. Lathrop Homes

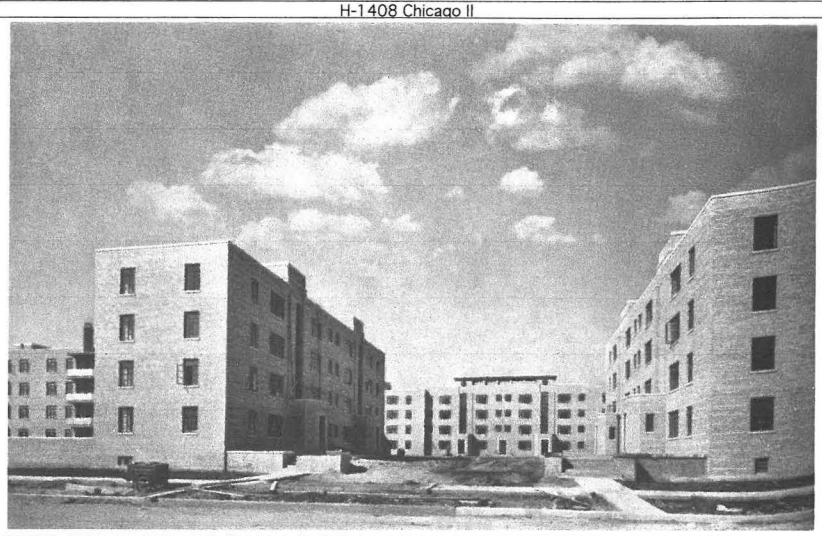
H-1406 Chicago IL



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Chicago General Advisory Board on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936		Construction Begun:		September, 1936		Date Opened:	March, 1938	
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Site abandoned by Deering Tractor Works factory and showroom								
Construction Details									
Units:	925	White:	925	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	4,500
Acres	35.3	Buildings:	24	Rooms:	3,254	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3-4 story apartment buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings				2 story flat buildings	
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.43	After Service Charge:	$7.30	Service Charge:	gas cooking, heat, hot water, electricity				
Total Cost:	$6,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$599,989.00	Foundation Cost:	$191,233.00	Construction Cost:	$4,309,912	Landscape Cost:	$86,000
Design Details									
Design Team:	Blackhawk Park Associated Architects								
Chief Architect:	Robert S. Degolyer	Associated Architects:	Everett Quinn, Thomas Tallmadge, Charles White, Hubert Burnham, Roy Christiansen, Vernon Watson, Bertram Weber, Hugh MG Garden, Max L. Lowenberg, Ernest Mayo, E.E. Roberts, Edwin H. Clark, Israel S. Lowenberg, Peter Mayo, Elmer C. Roberts					Landscape Architect:	Jens Jensen
Foundation Contractor:	Mid-West Construction, Chicago	Superstructure Contractor:	North Sector- Henry Ericsson Co., Chicago. South Sector- US Fireproofing Co., Chicago						
Community Details									
Office:	Freestanding single-story office								
Community Building:	Social Rooms in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant					Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric			Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:									

Trumbull Park Homes

H-1408 Chicago Il



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Chicago General Advisory Board of Housing								
Foundations Begun:	4-Mar-36		Construction Begun:		3-Aug-36		Date Opened:	8-Apr-38	
Race:	White	Details:	Project a result of the late-cancelled South Park Gardens project for African-Americans						
Site:	Vacant								

Construction Details

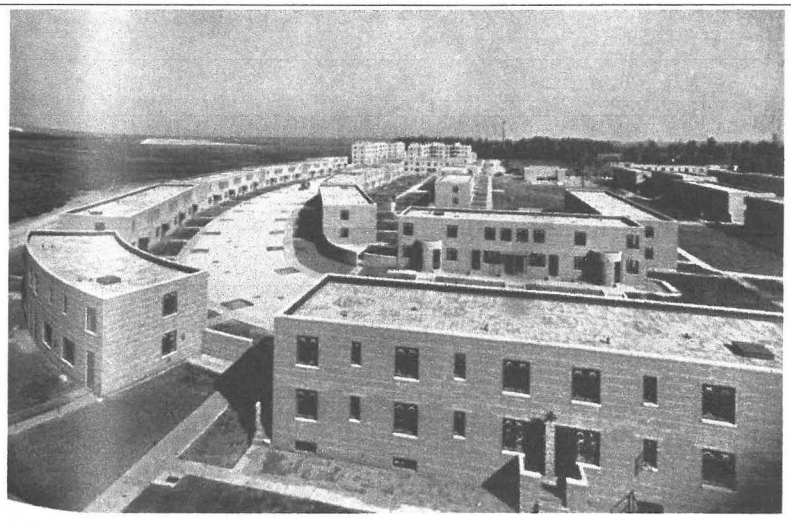
Units:	462	White:	462	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	21	Buildings:	53	Rooms:	1,733	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	4 story apartment buildings			2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.43	After Service Charge:	$7.30	Service Charge:	gas cooking, heat, hot water, electricity				
Total Cost:	$3,250,000.00	Land Cost:	$73,115.00	Foundation Cost:	$127,950.00	Construction Cost:	$3,383,838	Landscape Cost:	$63,891

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects				
Chief Architect:	John A. Holabird	Designers:	JA Armstrong, Elmer C. Jensen, Philip B. Maher, Ernest A. Grunsfeld Jr., Melville Clarke Chatten, John O. Merrill, Chester H. Walcott, Ralph Huszagh, Frederic M. Hodgdon		
Foundation Contractor:	Henry Ericsson Co., Chicago			Superstructure Contractor:	George A. Fuller Co., Washington DC

Community Details

Office:	Freestanding single height office building.						
Community Building:	Social units in basements						
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:							



Parklawn Homes

H-1502 Milwaukee WI

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Milwaukee Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:			Construction Begun:		5-Mar-36		Date Opened:	29-May-37	
Race:	Integrated	Details:	Primarily white						
Site:	Vacant								

Construction Details

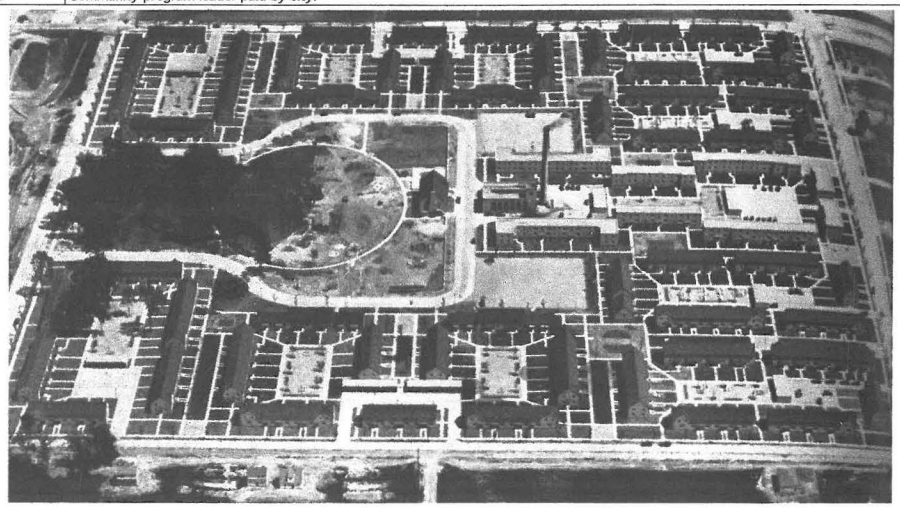
Units:	518	White:	513	Black:	5	Native:	0	Population:	1,985
Acres	40	Buildings:	62	Rooms:	2,018	Coverage:	17%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings		1-2 story row houses						
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double-hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.38	After Service Charge:	$7.46	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$2,800,000.00	Land Cost:	$89,400.00	Construction Cost:	$2,087,197	Landscape Cost:	$64,201		

Design Details

Design Team:	Allied Architects of Milwaukee						
Chief Architect:	Gerritt J. Degelleke	Senior Designers:	Alex. Bauer, Harry Bogner, Peter Brust, Rubens F. Clas, Alex Eschweiler, Wm. G. Herbert, Leigh Hunt, Robert Messmer, Richard Philipp, Thomas Rose, Fitzhugh Scott, HW Tullgren, Bruce Uthers			Landscape Architect:	Franz Lipp (chief), Phelps Wyman
Foundation Contractor:	N/A	Superstructure Contractor:	George A. Fuller Co., Chicago IL		Landscape Contractor:	Robert Bruce Harris, Chicago	

Community Details

Office:	Office in Community Building						
Community Building:	Yes, includes auditorium, offices and meeting rooms.						
Heating:	Central coal-fired plant			Stores:	Yes, in freestanding buildings at southeastern corner of site.		
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:	Community program leader paid by city.						



385

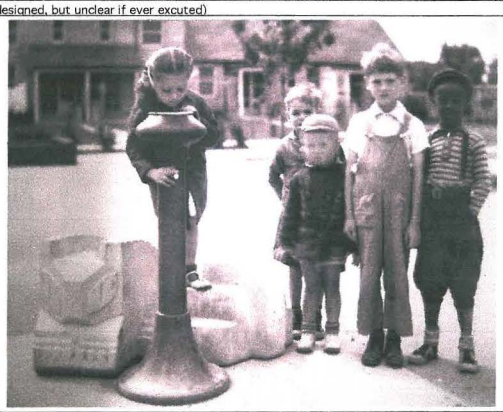
Parklawn Homes

H-1502 Milwaukee WI

Art Details

Piece:	Rip van Winkle				

Materials:	Hammered Copper and Carved Stone Detail				
Artist:	Henry Bolmes and Ruth Blackwell	**Location:**	Installed on Garage Building	**Status:**	Unknown
Piece:	Climb-Upon-Us-Cat (Pony designed, but unclear if ever excuted)				



Materials:	Carved Stone Water Fountain Step				
Artist:	Ruth Blackwell	**Location:**	At water fountain	**Status:**	Unknown
Piece:	Bird				

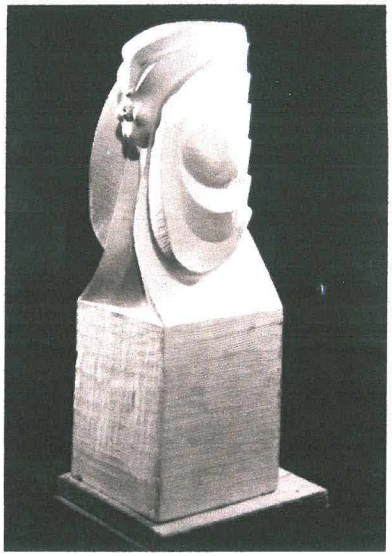
Materials:	Symbol and Birdbath				
Artist:	Ruth Blackwell	**Location:**	On Garage wall	**Status:**	Unknown
Piece:	Climb-Upon-Us-Walrus (designed, but unclear if executed)				
Materials:	Carved Stone Water Fountain Step				
Artist:	James L. Gehr	**Location:**	at water fountain	**Status:**	Unknown

Parklawn Homes

H-1502 Milwaukee WI

Art Details

Piece:	Four Winds Sculpture Collection (4 pieces)

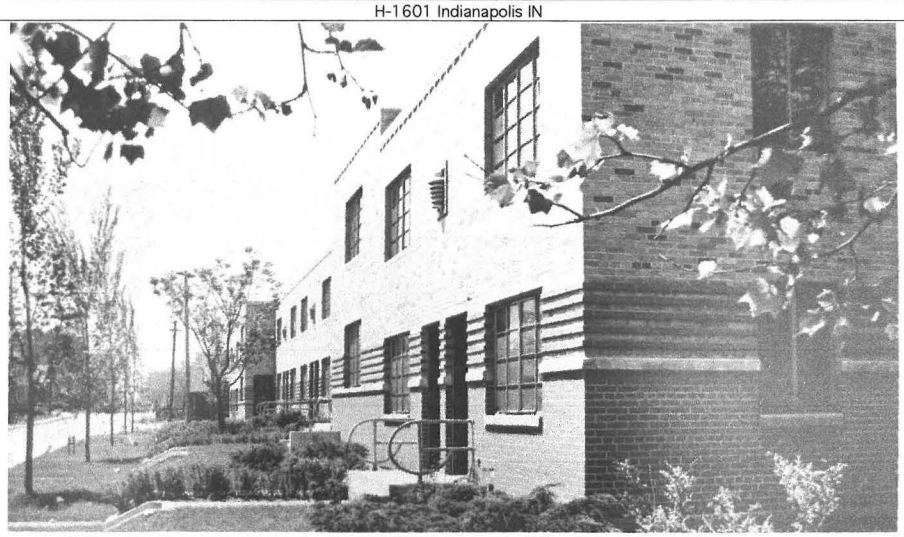


Materials:	Stone Sculpture				
Artist:	James L. Gehr	**Location:**	At park	**Status:**	Unknown
Piece:	Fishing and Music, Recreations sculptural pair				

Materials:	Stone Sculpture				
Artist:	Karl Kehlich	**Location:**	At park	**Status:**	Restored

Lockefield Garden Apartments

H-1601 Indianapolis IN

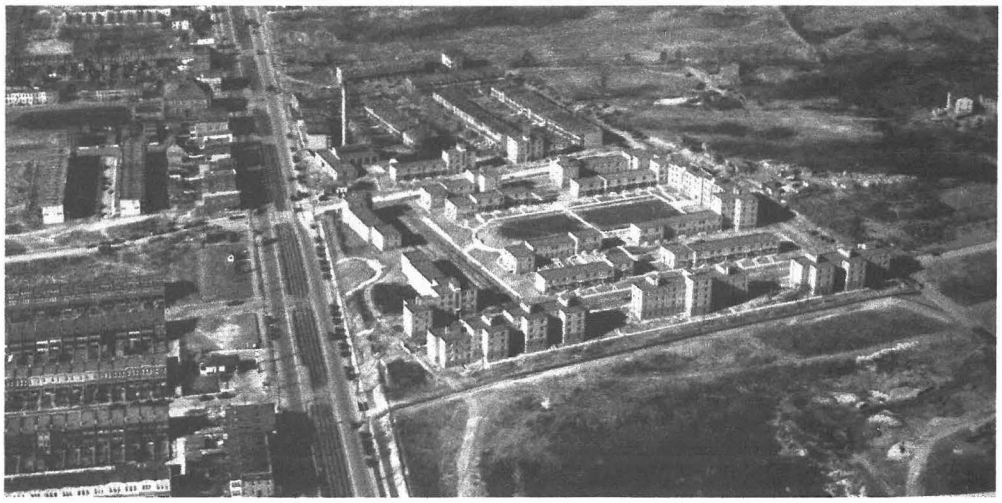


Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Indianapolis Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	N/A	Construction	December, 1935			Date Opened:	February, 1938		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Slum clearance								
Construction Details									
Units:	748	White:	0	Black:	748	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	22	Buildings:	24	Rooms:	2,538	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.43	After Service Charge:	$6.56	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$32,070,000.00		Land Cost:	$364,339.00		Construction Cost:	$2,281,475	Landscape Cost:	$51,156
Design Details									
Design Team:	N/A								
Architects	William Earl Russ and Merritt Harrison				Landscape Architect:	Lawrence Sheridan			
Foundation Contractor:	N/A	Superstructure Contractor:	N.P. Severin Co., Chicago		Landscape Contractor:	W.A. Natorp Co., Cincinnati			
Community Details									
Office:	Office on second floor of commercial building								
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Steam purchased from Indianapolis Power and Light Co.				Stores:	Yes, with offices above			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:	Library, garages, storage								

Langston Terrace

H-1706 Washington DC

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Washington Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	26-Feb-36	Construction Begun:		10-Nov-36		Date Opened:	30-Apr-38		
Race:	Black	Details:	Only project principally designed by African-Americans						
Site:	Vacant								
Construction Details									
Units:	274	White:	0	Black:	274	Native:	0	Population:	845
Acres	14	Buildings:	15	Rooms:	903	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	3-4 story apartment buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.40	After Service Charge:	$7.45	Service Charge:	electric lighting, refrigeration, cooking heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$1,864,946.00	Land Cost:	$82,950.00	Foundation Cost:	$60,154.00	Construction Cost:	$1,384,032	Landscape Cost:	$24,840
Design Details									
Design Team:	N/A								
Architects	Hilyard Robinson (chief), Paul Williams, Irwin S. Porter								
Foundation Contractor:	Charles H. Tompkins, Washington DC			Superstructure Contractor:	Coath & Goss Inc., Chicago				
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement facilities
Amenities:	Library								

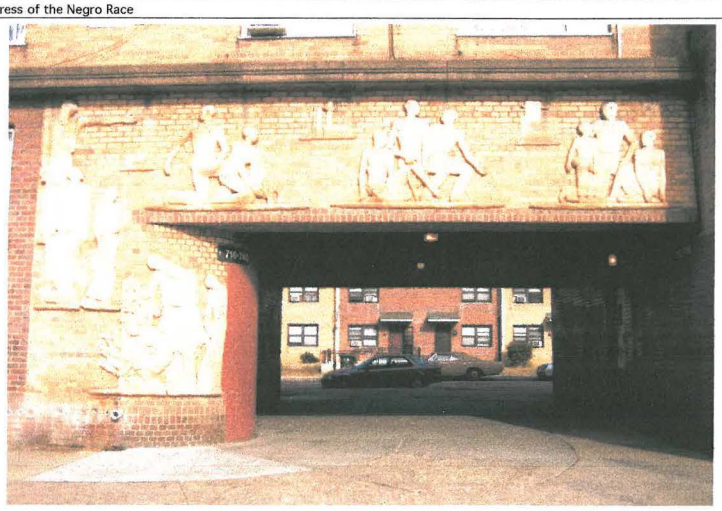


Langston Terrace

H-1706 Washington DC

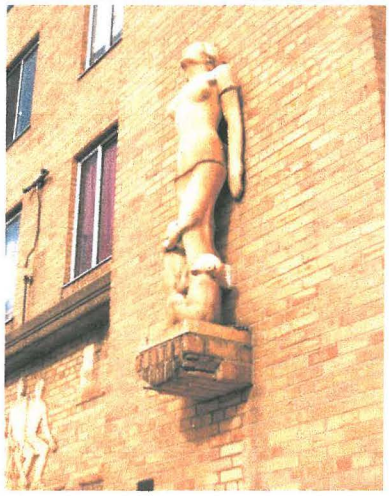
Art Details

Piece:	Progress of the Negro Race						



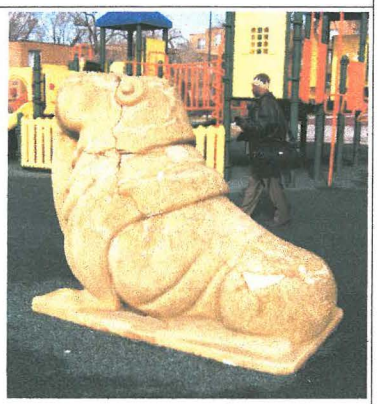
Materials:	Terra cotta relief panels						
Artist:	Daniel Olney	Location:	Adjacent to breezeway		Status:	In place, deteriorated	

Piece:	Black Madonna						



Materials:	Mounted sculpture						
Artist:	Daniel Olney	Location:	Adjacent to breezeway		Status:	In place, deteriorated	

Piece:	Animal sculpture						



Materials:	cast concrete						
Artist:		Location:	In playground		Status:	In place, deteriorated	

Laurel Homes

H-1801 Cincinnati OH

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	21-Aug-36	Construction Begun:		June, 1937		Date Opened:	16-Jul-38		
Race:	Integrated	Details:	Initially intended as a white project, blacks resided in northern portion of project						
Site:	Mixed slum site. Part of larger slum clearance initiative.								
Construction Details									
Units:	1039	White:	727	Black:	312	Native:	0	Population:	3,170
Acres	24	Buildings:	15	Rooms:	3,362	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3-4 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:		After Service Charge:	$6.38	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, gas for cooking, electricity for lighting and refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$7,086,000.00	Land Cost:	$1,804,721.20	Foundation Cost:	$226,919.00	Construction Cost:	$4,261,906	Landscape Cost:	$47,286
Design Details									
Design Team:	Associated Architects for Cincinnati Housing								
Chief Architect:	Frederick W. Garber	Associate Architects:	Charles F. Cellarius, Eldridge Hannaford, Marshall Martin, Standish Meacham, Walter Lee					Landscape Architect:	Richard E. Grant
Demolition Contractor:	Broadway Housewrecking and Material Co., Cleveland OH. Cleveland Wrecking Co. of Cincinnati			Foundation Contractor:	Torson Construction, Cincinnati	Superstructure Contractor:	David Gordon Building and Construction Co., Cincinnati		
Community Details									
Office:	In Basement								
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement laundries
Amenities:	Library								

Logan Fontenelle

H-2001 Omaha NE

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Omaha Housing Authority							
Foundations Begun:	August, 1936	Construction Begun:		March, 1937		Date Opened:	1-Mar-38	
Race:	Integrated	Details:	African-Americans located in section of project					
Site:	Racially mixed slum site							

Construction Details

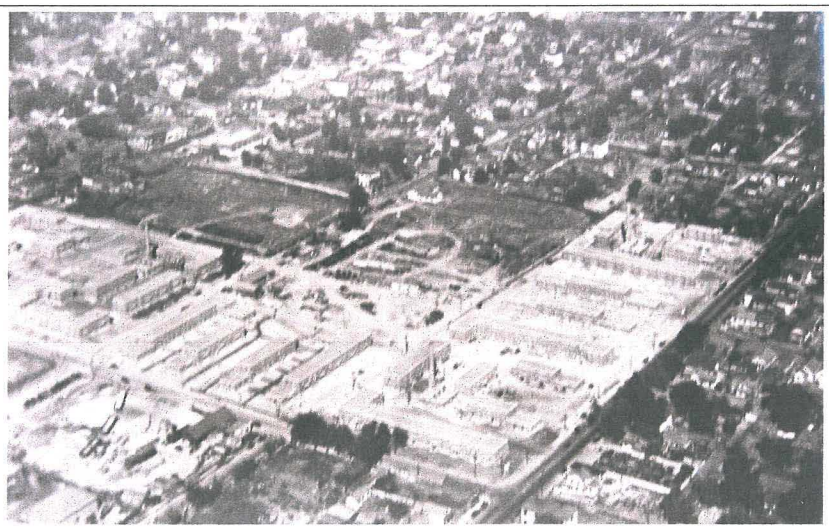
Units:	284	White:	172	Black:	112	Native:	0	Population:
Acres	16	Buildings:	29	Rooms:	1,114	Coverage:	19%	
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			1-2 story flat buildings				
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat			
Doors								
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:		
Windows								
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements							
Per Room Rents								
Before Service Charge:	$4.66	After Service Charge:	$6.78	Service Charge:	heat, water, gas, electricity, refrigeration			
Total Cost:	$1,955,000.00	Land Cost:	$232,895.00	Foundation Cost:	$118,301.00	Construction Cost:	$1,273,307	Landscape Cost: $26,235

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects of Omaha						
Chief Architect:	William L. Steele	Associate Architects:	George B. Prinz, Noel Wallace, Harry Lawrie, JM Nachtingall, FE Henninger Sr.			Landscape Architect:	Ernst Herminghaus
Demolition Contractor:	American Lumber & Wrecking Co., Minneapolis			Foundation Contractor:	Peter Kiewit Sons' Co., Omaha	Superstructure Contractor:	Peter Kiewit Sons' Co., Omaha

Community Details

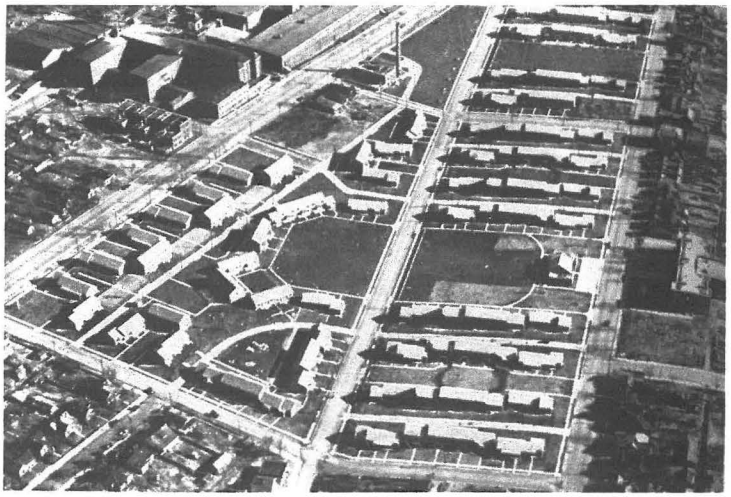
Office:	In Basement							
Community Building:	Social units in basements							
Heating:	Individual coal heaters				Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:
Amenities:								



Cheatham Place

H-2101 Nashville TN

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Nashville Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	May, 1936	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Feb-38		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	White slum clearance site								
Construction Details									
Units:	314	White:	314	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	20	Buildings:	60	Rooms:	1,045	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Brick and tile			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.06	After Service Charge:	$6.79	Service Charge:	electric light, cooking and refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$2,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$240,410.00	Foundation Cost:	$71,806.00	Construction Cost:	$1,387,316	Landscape Cost:	$43,860
Design Details									
Design Team:	Nashville Allied Architects								
Chief Architect:	Richard R. Clark	Associate Architects:	Henry Hibbs, Eli Melvin Tisdale, Francis Warfield, Emmons Woolwine						
Foundation Contractor:	V. L. Nicholson Co., Nashville, Foster & Creighton Co., Nashville			Superstructure Contractor:	Foster & Creighton Co., Nashville				
Community Details									
Office:	Freestanding Office								
Community Building:	Meeting room in office building								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:									



Andrew Jackson Courts

H-2102 Nashville TN

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Nashville Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	June, 1936	Construction Begun:		1-Jan-37		Date Opened:	16-Jun-38		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Black slum clearance site								

Construction Details

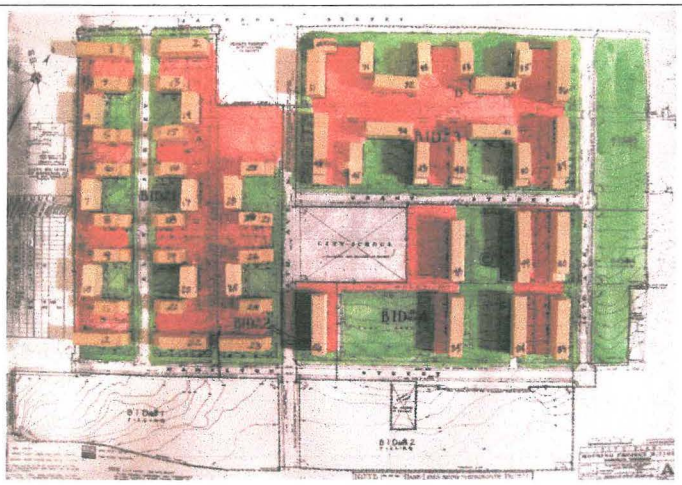
Units:	398	White:	0	Black:	398	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	21	Buildings:	49	Rooms:	1,261	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Frame			Roof Type:	Flat (pitch added later)				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double hung?								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.06	After Service Charge:	$6.79	Service Charge:	electric light, cooking and refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$1,890,000.00	Land Cost:	$190,251.00	Foundation Cost:	$116,856.00	Construction Cost:	$1,227,191	Landscape Cost:	$43,860

Design Details

Design Team:	Nashville Allied Architects				
Chief Architect:	Richard R. Clark	Associate Architects:	Henry Hibbs, Calvin McKissack, Gabriel Moses McKissack, Eli Melvin Tisdale, Francis Warfield, Emmons Woolwine		
Demolition Contractor:	Sharp and Bowman, Nashville			Foundation Contractor:	Bush Building Co., Nashville

Community Details

Office:	Freestanding Office								
Community Building:	Meeting room in office building								
Heating:	5 group coal fired heating plants				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:									



Riverside Heights

H-2201 Montgomery AL

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Montgomery Advisory Committee on Housing							
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:		December, 1935		Date Opened:	1-Jun-37	
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Abandoned industrial site							

Construction Details

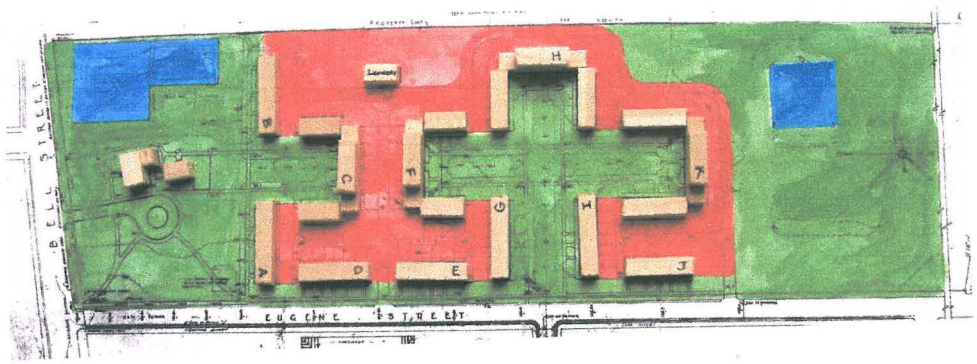
Units:	100	White:	100	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:
Acres	14	Buildings:	11	Rooms:	324	Coverage:	17%	
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings							
Construction Type:	Brick and tile			Roof Type:	Pitched			
Doors								
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:		
Windows								
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements							
Per Room Rents								
Before Service Charge:	$5.50	After Service Charge:		Service Charge:	none, all utilities paid by tenant			
Total Cost:	$416,000.00	Land Cost:	$19,000.00	Construction Cost:	$320,853	Landscape Cost:	$11,264	

Design Details

Design Team:								
Architects:	Walter Ausfeld and Harry Jones							
Superstructure Contractor:	T.L. James & Co., Rushton LA			Landscape Contractor:	Davenport Guerry Ornamental Nurseries, Macon GA			

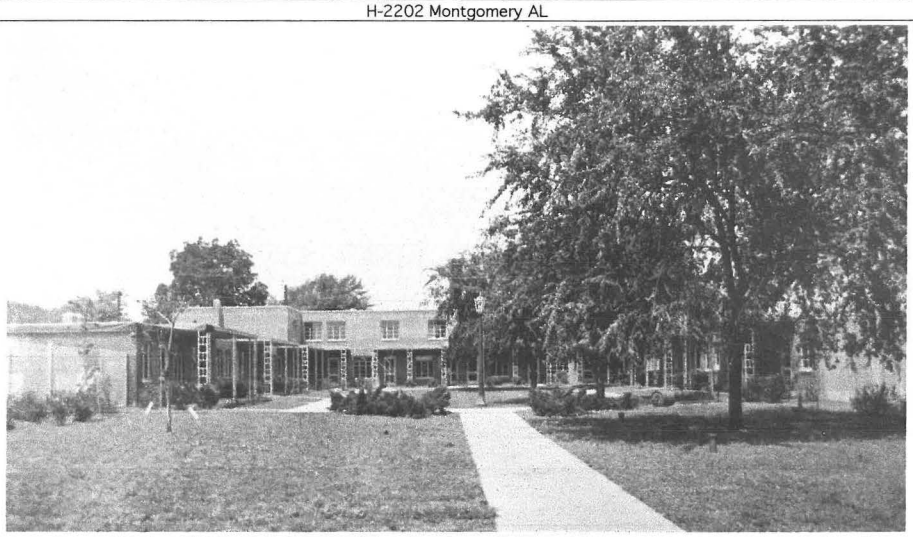
Community Details

Office:	Office in historic Kohn Mansion							
Community Building:	Meeting room in Kohn Mansion							
Heating:	Individual coal stoves				Stores:	No		
Stove:	Coal	Refrigerator:	Ice Box		Incinerators:	No	Laundry:	Central Building
Amenities:	Nursery, playing fields							



William B. Patterson Courts

H-2202 Montgomery AL



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Montgomery Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:		17-Apr-35		Date Opened:	27-Feb-37		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Cleared an African-American slum site								
Construction Details									
Units:	156	White:	0	Black:	156	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	7	Buildings:	17	Rooms:	524	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Flat (pitch added)				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$3.97	After Service Charge:		Service Charge:	none, all utilities paid by tenant				
Total Cost:	$506,000.00	Land Cost:	$43,490.00	Construction Cost:	$374,494	Landscape Cost:	$13,344		
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Architects:	Mooreland G. Smith and Carl B. Cooper								
Superstructure Contractor:	T.L. James & Co., Rushton LA			Landscape Contractor:	Davenport Guerry Ornamental Nurseries, Macon GA				
Community Details									
Office:	Freestanding one-story building								
Community Building:									
Heating:	Individual coal stoves				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Coal	Refrigerator:	Ice Box		Incinerators:	No		Laundry:	
Amenities:									

LaSalle Place

H-2502 Louisville KY

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Louisville Committee on Housing							
Foundations Begun:	5-Dec-35	Construction Begun:		27-Jul-36		Date Opened:	27-Dec-37	
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Vacant							

Construction Details

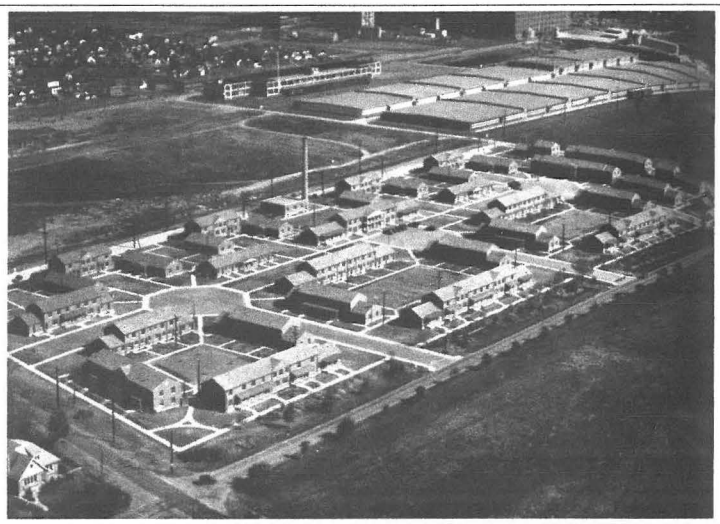
Units:	210	White:	210	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:
Acres	14	Buildings:	35	Rooms:	797	Coverage:	20%	
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings							
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Pitched			
Doors								
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:		
Windows								
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements							
Per Room Rents								
Before Service Charge:	$4.70	After Service Charge:	$6.26	Service Charge:	light, gas, refrigeration, cooking, heat and hot water			
Total Cost:	$1,350,000.00	Land Cost:	$65,000.00	Foundation Cost:	$55,591.00	Construction Cost:	$975,677	Landscape Cost: $24,170

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects				
Chief Architect:	E.T. Hutchings	Associate Architects:	Hermann Wischmeyer, Thomas Nolan, Brinton Davis, Alfred Joseph, Arthur Tafel, Stratton Hammon, Gaarwood Grimes, Alfred Weinedel, Fred Elswick	Landscape Architect:	Carl Berg
Foundation Contractor:	Henry Bickel Co., Louisville		Superstructure Contractor:	T.L. James & Co., Ruston LA	

Community Details

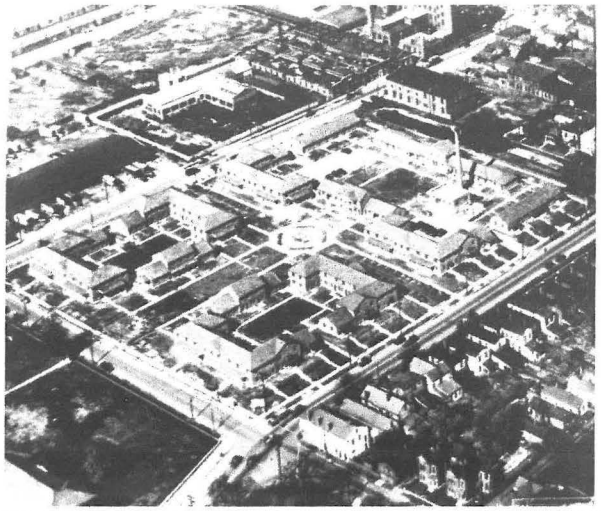
Office:	First Floor of residential building							
Community Building:	Meeting room in building with office							
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas		Incinerators:			Laundry:
Amenities:	Library							



College Court

H-2503 Louisville KY

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Louisville Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	2-Jan-36	Construction Begun:		December, 1936		Date Opened:	27-Dec-37		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								
Construction Details									
Units:	125	White:	0	Black:	125	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	5	Buildings:		Rooms:	407	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.70	After Service Charge:	$6.13	Service Charge:	gas cooking, refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$758,000.00	Land Cost:	$66,750.00	Foundation Cost:	$33,486.00	Construction Cost:	$545,166	Landscape Cost:	$8,800
Design Details									
Design Team:	Associated Architects								
Chief Architect:	E.T. Hutchings	Associate Architects:	Hermann Wischmeyer, Thomas Nolan, Brinton Davis, Alfred Joseph, Arthur Tafel, Stratton Hammon, Gaarwood Grimes, Alfred Weinedel, Fred Elswick					Landscape Architect:	Carl Berg
Foundation Contractor:	J.U. Schickli & Bros., Louisville			Superstructure Contractor:	Coath & Goss, Chicago				
Community Details									
Office:	First Floor of residential building								
Community Building:	Meeting room in building with office								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:									



Brand-Whitlock Homes

H-2601 Toledo OH

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority							
Foundations Begun:	August, 1936	Construction Begun:	December, 1936		Date Opened:	July, 1938		
Race:	Black	Details:						
Site:	Slum							

Construction Details

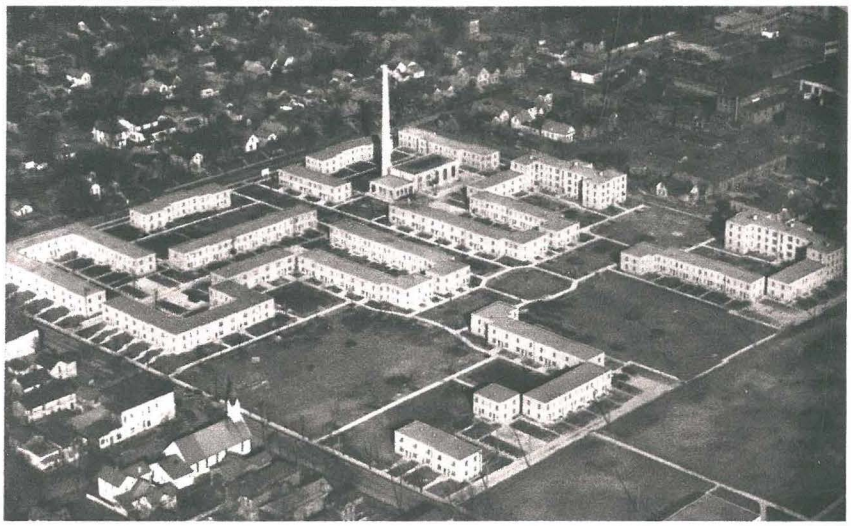
Units:	264	White:	0	Black:	264	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	13	Buildings:	19	Rooms:	907	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house and flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.03	After Service Charge:	$7.14	Service Charge:	electric light, refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$2,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$331,678.00	Foundation Cost:	$59,379.00	Construction Cost:	$1,277,667	Landscape Cost:	$28,130

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects of Toledo						
Chief Architect:	Harold Munger	Associate Architects:	Charles Langdon, Carl C. Britsch, Otto Hohly, Thomas D. Best, Karl B. Hoke, John J. Hayes, Frank Lange				
Demolition Contractor:	Cleveland Wrecking Co., Cincinnati			Foundation Contractor:	Roche, Connell and Laud Construction Co., Cincinnati	Superstructure Contractor:	Ring Construction Co., Minneapolis

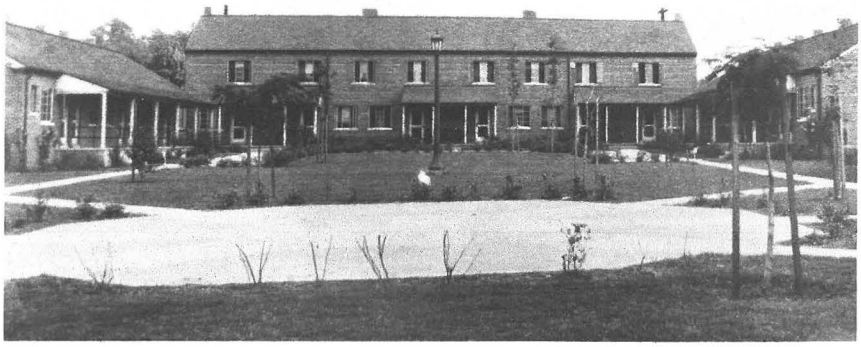
Community Details

Office:	First Floor of residential building								
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Individual Coal stoves				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	Basement laundries
Amenities:	Nursery, kindergarten								



Smithfield Courts

H-2902 Birmingham AL



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Birmingham Housing Committee								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		September, 1936		Date Opened:	February, 1938		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Slum								

Construction Details

Units:	664	White:	0	Black:	664	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	28	Buildings:		Rooms:	1,588	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			1-2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Flat and Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type									
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.50	After Service Charge:	$5.00	Service Charge:	electric and refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$2,500,000.00	Land Cost:	$458,600.00	Foundation Cost:	$118,200.00	Construction Cost:	$1,603,913	Landscape Cost:	$39,978

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects for Smithfield Court							
Chief Architect:	D.O. Whilldin	Assistant Chief Architect:	Jack B. Smith	Senior Architects:	Eugene H. Knight, Bem Price, Harry B. Wheelock, George P. Turner	Junior Architects:	James L. Gatling, Edgar W. Stanford, Marshall E. Van Arman, P.S. Mewhinney	
Foundation Contractor:	Southern Construction Co., Birmingham			Superstructure Contractor:	Algernon Blair, Montgomery			

Community Details

Office:	In community building.							
Community Building:	Yes, with auditorium, recretion and meeting rooms. Was to be eliminated until Birmingham's African-American community insisted.							
Heating:	Central gas-fired heating plant				Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:
Amenities:								

Hill Creek

H-3001 Philadelphia PA

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Philadelphia Housing Advisory Committee							
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		7-Aug-36		Date Opened:	April, 1938	
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Vacant							

Construction Details

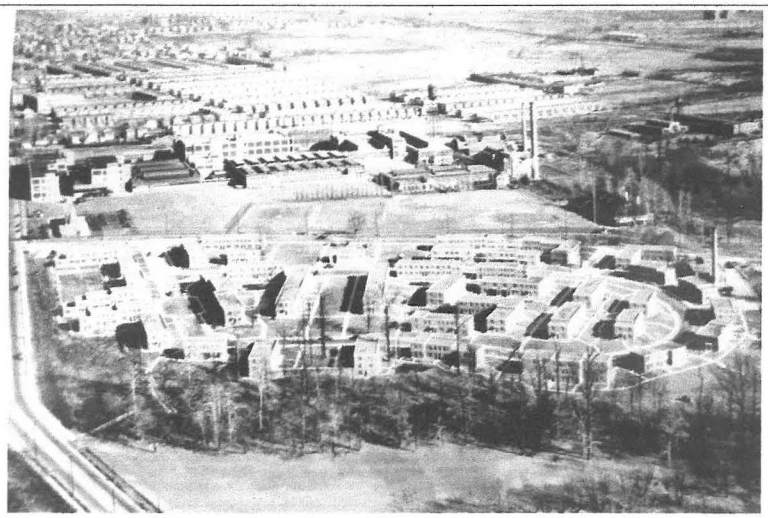
Units:	258	White:	258	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:
Acres	23	Buildings:	38	Rooms:	999	Coverage:	15%	
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings				
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Flat			
Doors								
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:		
Windows								
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements							
Per Room Rents								
Before Service Charge:	$5.08	After Service Charge:	$7.25	Service Charge:	electric light, refrigeration, heat and hot water			
Total Cost:	$2,110,000.00	Land Cost:	$100,000.00	Foundation Cost:	$93,231.00	Construction Cost:	$1,513,001	Landscape Cost: $47,300

Design Details

Design Team:	Allied Architects of Philadelphia						
Chief Architect:	Walter H. Thomas	Senior Architects:	Robert McGoodwin, Edmund Gilchrist, Harold Saunders, Walter Antrim, Donald Folsom, Clarence DeArmond				
Demolition Contractor:	Cleveland Wrecking Co. of Cincinnati			Foundation Contractor	Wark & Co., Philadelphia	Superstructure Contractor:	Turner Construction Co., Philadelphia

Community Details

Office:	Yes, freestanding building								
Community Building:	Planned, but not constructed								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	Yes, at northwest corner of site.			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	2 laundry buildings
Amenities:									



Old Harbor Village

H-3302 Boston MA

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Mayor's Advisory Committee, Boston Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		June, 1936		Date Opened:	11-Sep-38		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								

Construction Details

Units:	1016	White:	1016	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	33	Buildings:	36	Rooms:	3,903	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Flat and Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.93	After Service Charge:	$6.75	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, electric lighting, cooking and refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$6,353,861.00	Land Cost:	$523,513.00	Foundation Cost:	$520,664.00	Construction Cost:	$4,733,365	Landscape Cost:	$60,700

Design Details

Design Team:	The Seventeen Associated Architects				
Chief Architect:	Joseph D. Leland	Senior Architects:	Felix Burton, Walter Campbell, James Ford Clapp, Davis W. Clark Jr., Howard Clinch, Frank Crimp, Maurice Feather, F. Trevor Hogg, Niels H. Larsen, J. Lovell Little, George McLaughlin, Eleanor Manning O'Connor, Alexander Scholtes, William Stanley Parker, Charles A. Whittemore		
Foundation Contractor:	New England Construction Co., C.J. Maney Co.			Superstructure Contractor:	Matthew Cummings Co., Boston

Community Details

Office:	Freestanding office								
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:	basement laundries
Amenities:									

Old Harbor Village

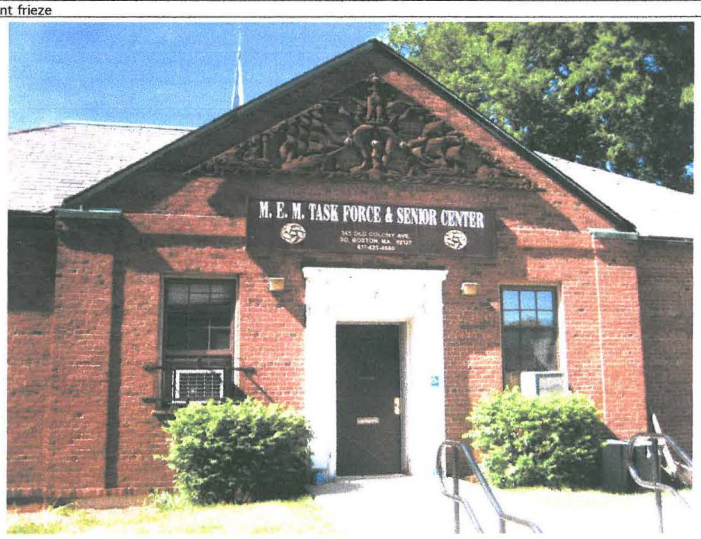
H-3302 Boston MA

Art Details

Piece:	Worker's Family

Materials:	Sculpture					
Artist:		Location:	Main open space		Status:	Missing
Piece:	Mural, http://www.wpamurals.com/wpabios.html					

Materials:						
Artist:	Arthur W. Oakman	Location:			Status:	
Piece:	Nautical pediment frieze					



Materials:						
Artist:		Location:	Former Office		Status:	In Place

Dixie Homes

H-3401 Memphis TN

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Memphis Housing Authority							
Foundations Begun:	June, 1936	Construction Begun:		December, 1936		Date Opened:	February, 1938	
Race:	Black	Details:						
Site:	Clearance of African-American slum site.							

Construction Details

Units:	633	White:	0	Black:	633	Native:	0	Population:
Acres	35	Buildings:	76	Rooms:	2,004	Coverage:	17%	
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings				
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat (pitch added later)			
Doors								
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:		
Windows								
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements							
Per Room Rents								
Before Service Charge:	$4.61	After Service Charge:	$5.78	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, gas for cooking and refrigeration and electricity for lighting			
Total Cost:	$3,400,000.00	Land Cost:	$471,006.00	Foundation Cost:	$354,772.00	Construction Cost:	$2,104,439	Landscape Cost: $57,298

Design Details

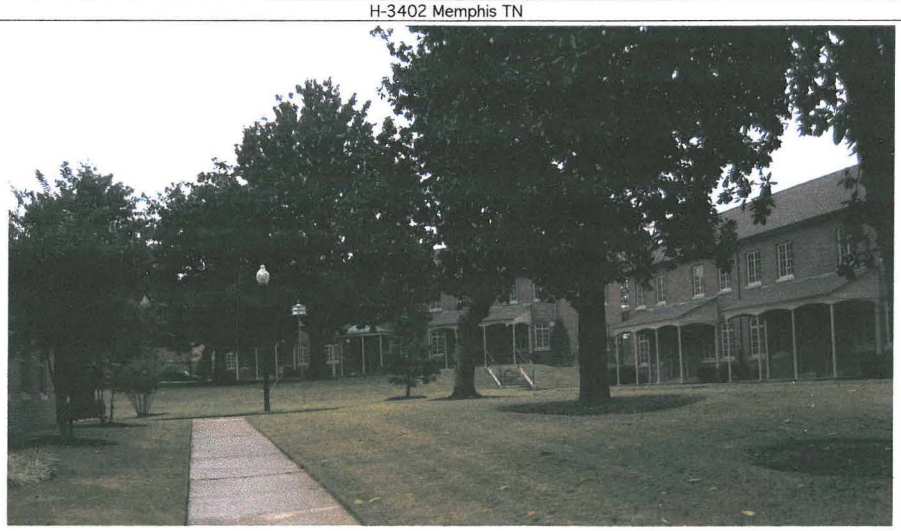
Design Team:					
Chief Architect:	J. Frazier Smith	Senior Architects:	Richard Regan, Walk C. Jones, Everett Woods, Estes Mann, Edwin Phillips, Anker Hansen, Dudley Emerson Jones, Herbert Meredith Burnham, Louis G. Carlisle	Landscape Architect:	John F. Highberger
Demolition Contractor:	Harris Wrecking Co., Chicago	Foundation Contractor:	S&W Construction Co., Memphis	Superstructure Contractor:	S&W Construction Co., Memphis

Community Details

Office:	Freestanding office							
Community Building:	Social units in basements							
Heating:	Central coal-fired heating plant				Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric		Incinerators:			Laundry:
Amenities:								

Lauderdale Courts

H-3402 Memphis TN



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Memphis Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	June, 1936	Construction Begun:		December, 1936		Date Opened:	15-Jan-38		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Clearance of slum site evenly divided between whites and African Americans								
Construction Details									
Units:	449	White:	449	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	26	Buildings:	63	Rooms:	1,574	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			1-2 story row house buildings					
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Apartments- Flat, Row Houses- Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double-hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.61	After Service Charge:	$5.78	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, gas for cooking and refrigeration and electricity for lighting				
Total Cost:	$3,128,000.00	Land Cost:	$485,764.00	Foundation Cost:	$249,896.00	Construction Cost:	$2,052,854	Landscape Cost:	$47,850
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Chief Architect:	J. Frazier Smith	Senior Architects:	Richard Regan, Walk C. Jones, Everett Woods, Edwin B. Phillips, William J. Han ker, George Awsumb, W.C. Lester					Landscape Architect:	John F. Highberger
Demolition Contractor:	Harris Wrecking Co., Chicago	Foundation Contractor:	S&W Construction Co., Memphis			Superstructure Contractor:	T.L. James & Co., Rushton LA		
Community Details									
Office:	Freestanding office								
Community Building:	Community House with social rooms								
Heating:	Central gas-fired heating plant				Stores:	No			
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas		Incinerators:			Laundry:	central laundry
Amenities:									

Caserio La Granja

H-3600 Caguas, Puerto Rico

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration								
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:				Date Opened:			
Race:	Native	Details:							
Site:	Vacant, land donated by municipality								
Construction Details									
Units:	65	White:	0	Black:	0	Native:	65	Population:	
Acres	10	Buildings:	29	Rooms:	287	Coverage:	11%		
Unit Types:	1 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:	Board	Interior Doors:	Board		
Windows									
Window Type	Shutters, no windows								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$2.24	After Service Charge:	$43 yearly fee	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$275,000.00	Land Cost:	$0.00	Foundation Cost:		Construction Cost:		Landscape Cost:	
Design Details									
Design Team:									
District Manager:	H.I. Hettinger	PWA Housing Staffers:	Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap						
Contractor:	Force account construction directed by Housing Division								
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:	Community House with social rooms								
Heating:	None				Stores:	3			
Stove:	Charcoal burner	Refrigerator:	None		Incinerators:			Laundry:	central laundry
Amenities:	Nursery School								

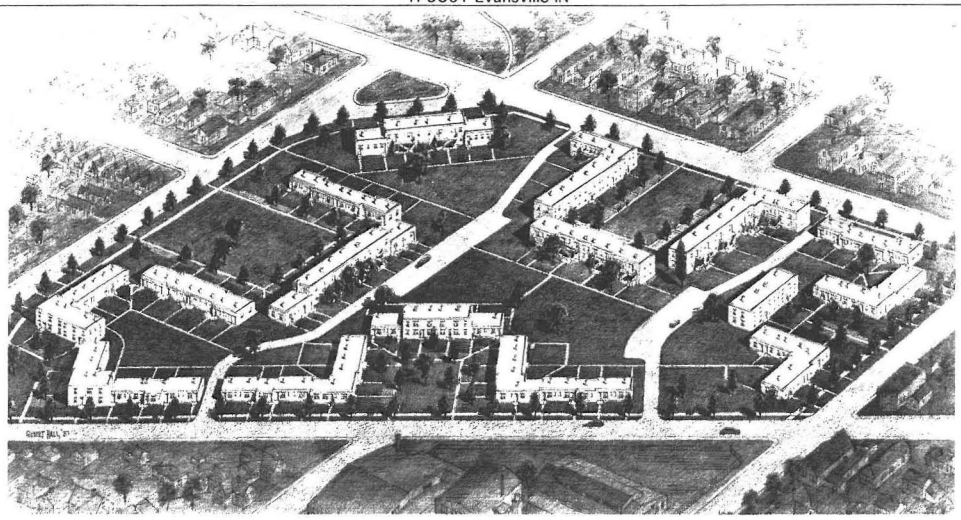
Caserio Mirapalmeras

H-3600-SJ-A San Juan, Puerto Rico

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Island Governor and Puerto Rico Housing Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:				Date Opened:			
Race:	Native	Details:							
Site:	Vacant, land donated by municipality								
Construction Details									
Units:	131	White:	0	Black:	0	Native:	131	Population:	
Acres	13	Buildings:	44	Rooms:		Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Shutters, no windows								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$2.30	After Service Charge:	$52 yearly fee	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$500,000.00	Land Cost:	$0.00	Foundation Cost:	$35,101.00	Construction Cost:	$263,856	Landscape Cost:	
Design Details									
Design Team:									
District Manager:	H.I. Hettinger	PWA Housing Division:	Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap						
Foundation Contractor:	Salvador Quinones, San Juan			Superstructure Contractor:	Salvador Quinones, San Juan				
Community Details									
Office:	Freestanding building								
Community Building:	Community House with social rooms								
Heating:	None				Stores:	Yes			
Stove:	Charcoal burner	Refrigerator:	None		Incinerators:			Laundry:	central laundry
Amenities:									

Lincoln Gardens

H-3801 Evansville IN



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Evansville Housing Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:	June, 1936	Construction Begun:		January, 1937		Date Opened:			
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Clearance of African-American slum site								

Construction Details

Units:	191	White:	0	Black:	191	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	8	Buildings:	16	Rooms:	563	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat (pitch added later)				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double-hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:		After Service Charge:		Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$1,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$161,186.00	Foundation Cost:	$72,889.00	Construction Cost:	$483,333	Landscape Cost:	$24,722

Design Details

Design Team:					
Chief Architect:	Edward J. Thole	Senior Architects:	Edwin Berendes, Ralph Legeman. Flood florce Housing Division to take on latter stages of design.		
Demolition Contractor:	Riverside Lumber & Equipment Co., Evansville			Foundation Contractor:	AG Ryan & Sons, Evansville

Community Details

Office:	Converted unit								
Community Building:	No								
Heating:	Individual coal heaters			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Trays provided for kitchen sinks		
Amenities:									

Sumner Field Homes

H-4201 Minneapolis MN

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Minneapolis Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	June, 1936	Construction Begun:		September, 1936		Date Opened:			
Race:	Integrated	Details:	African Americans resided in the easternmost block of project						
Site:	Clearance of a racially-mixed site								

Construction Details

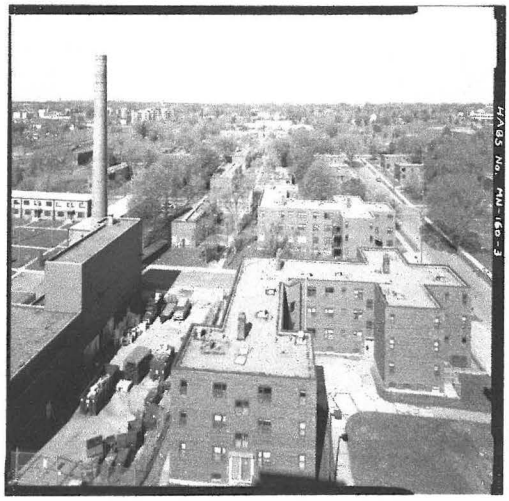
Units:	451	White:	326	Black:	125	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	23	Buildings:	48	Rooms:	1,708	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings			2 story row house/flat buildings					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type									
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.40	After Service Charge:	$6.48	Service Charge:	gas, light, water				
Total Cost:	$3,632,000.00	Land Cost:	$729,529.00	Foundation Cost:	$195,392.00	Construction Cost:	$2,222,000	Landscape Cost:	$55,727

Design Details

Design Team:	Associated Architects of Sumner Field Housing Project				
Chief Architect:	WH Tusler	Senior Architects:	EH Hewitt, RT Jones, GR Magney		
Demolition Contractor:	Rose Brothers Lumber and Supply Co, Minneapolis, Harris Wrecking, Chicago			Foundation Contractor:	Johnson, Drake & Piper, Minneapolis

Community Details

Office:							
Community Building:	Basement social units						
Heating:	Central, coal-fired heater			Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement laundries
Amenities:	Philis Wheatley Community Housing located on site.						



Liberty Square

H-4602 Miami FL

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Miami Advisory Committee on Housing								
Foundations Begun:	January, 1936	Construction Begun:		May, 1936		Date Opened:	6-Feb-37		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Vacant. Selection of vacant site for black housing very controversial.								

Construction Details

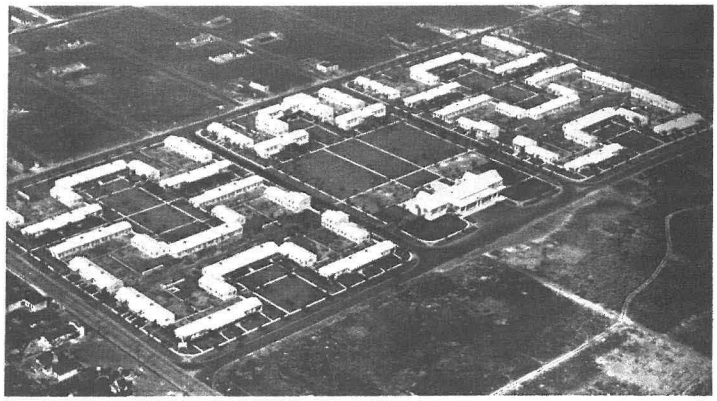
Units:	243	White:	0	Black:	243	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	63	Buildings:	36	Rooms:	860	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row houses								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.99	After Service Charge:		Service Charge:	all utilities paid by tenant				
Total Cost:	$969,880.00	Land Cost:	$12,796.00	Foundation Cost:		Construction Cost:	$810,016	Landscape Cost:	$29,710

Design Details

Design Team:	Allied Architects						
Chief Architect:	P.E. Paist	Senior Architects:	HD Steward, B.L. Robertson, Walter C. DeCarmo, Vladmir Virrick, Sheldon Tucker			Landscape:	Exotic Gardens Inc., Miami
Superstructure Contractor:	Walter Butler, St. Paul			Landscape Contractor:	Exotic Gardens Inc., Miami		

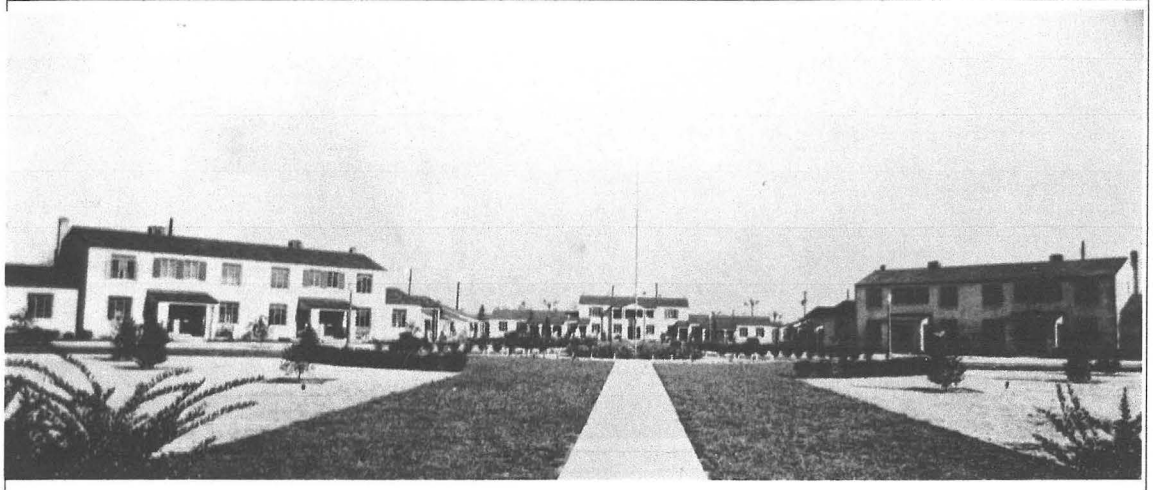
Community Details

Office:	Office in Community Building								
Community Building:	Freestanding structure with gymnasium, meeting rooms								
Heating:	None			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Kerosene	Refrigerator:	Icebox	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:	Day nursery								



Durkeeville

H-4702 Jacksonville FL



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Municipal Housing Board of Jacksonville								
Foundations Begun:	February, 1936	Construction Begun:		July, 1936		Date Opened:	19-Jun-37		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Vacant. Original slum clearance site abandoned after Louisville decision.								

Construction Details

Units:	215	White:	0	Black:	215	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	20	Buildings:	34	Rooms:	701	Coverage:	17%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row houses								
Construction Type:	Concrete Masonry Unit			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.24	After Service Charge:	$5.06	Service Charge:	light, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$948,000.00	Land Cost:	$35,000.00	Foundation Cost:	$39,692.00	Construction Cost:	$746,666	Landscape Cost:	$28,210

Design Details

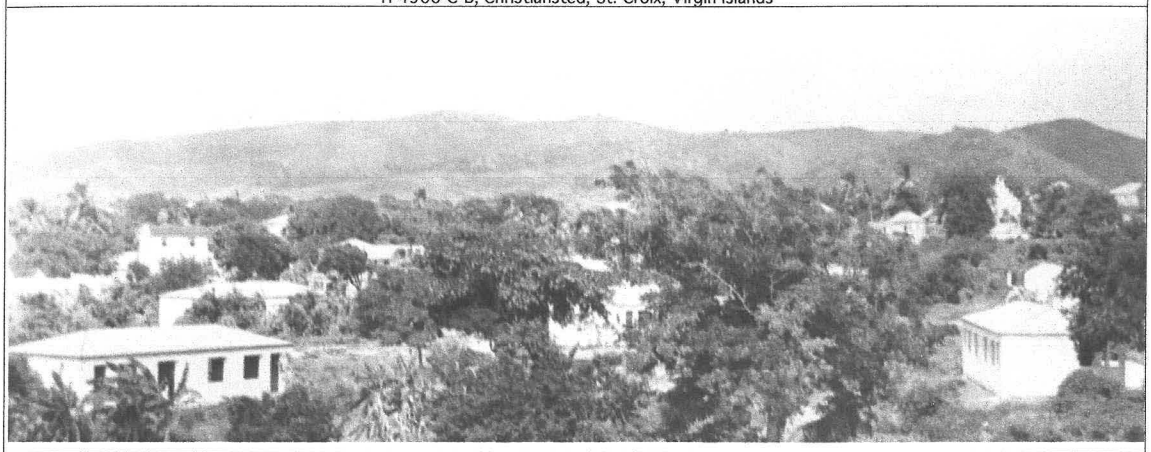
Design Team:	Six Associated Architects								
Chief Architect:	Mellen C. Greeley	Senior Architects:	W. Kenyon Drake, Lee Roy Sheftall			Junior Architects	S. Ralph Fetner, Olof E. Segerberg, Ivan H. Smith	Landscape:	Herbert S. Flint
Foundation Contractor:	H.S. Baird Inc., Jacksonville			Superstructure Contractor:	H.S. Baird Inc., Jacksonville				

Community Details

Office:	Office in Community Building								
Community Building:	Freestanding structure with gymnasium, meeting rooms								
Heating:	Individual coal stoves			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Coal	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:	Pavillion at middle of project.								

Bassin Triangle

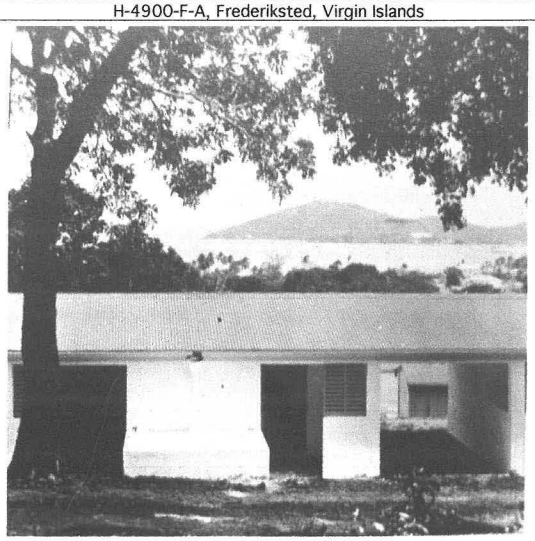
H-4900-C-B, Christiansted, St. Croix, Virgin Islands



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Adivsory Committee on Housing in St. Croix and St. Thomas								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:				Date Opened:	1-Sep-37		
Race:	Native	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								
Construction Details									
Units:	30	White:	0	Black:	0	Native:	30	Population:	
Acres	5	Buildings:		Rooms:	54	Coverage:	11%		
Unit Types:	1 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:					
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Shutters, no windows								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$2.40	After Service Charge:	$28 yearly fee	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$41,800.00	Land Cost:	$2,000.00	Foundation Cost:		Construction Cost:		Landscape Cost:	
Design Details									
Design Team:	PWA Housing Division Design Team								
PWA Housing Staff:	Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap								
Contractor:	Force account construction directed by Housing Division								
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:									
Heating:	None				Stores:				
Stove:	Charcoal burner	Refrigerator:	None		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:	Cistern dug for water								

Marley Homes

H-4900-F-A, Frederiksted, Virgin Islands



Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Adivsory Committee on Housing in St. Croix and St. Thomas								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		5-May-36		Date Opened:	1-Sep-37		
Race:	Native	Details:							
Site:	Vacant, donated by municipality								

Construction Details

Units:	40	White:	0	Black:	0	Native:	40	Population:	
Acres	16.75	Buildings:	20	Rooms:	76	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:					
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Shutters, no windows								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$2.40	After Service Charge:	$28 yearly fee	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$64,892.00	Land Cost:	$0.00	Foundation Cost:		Construction Cost:		Landscape Cost:	

Design Details

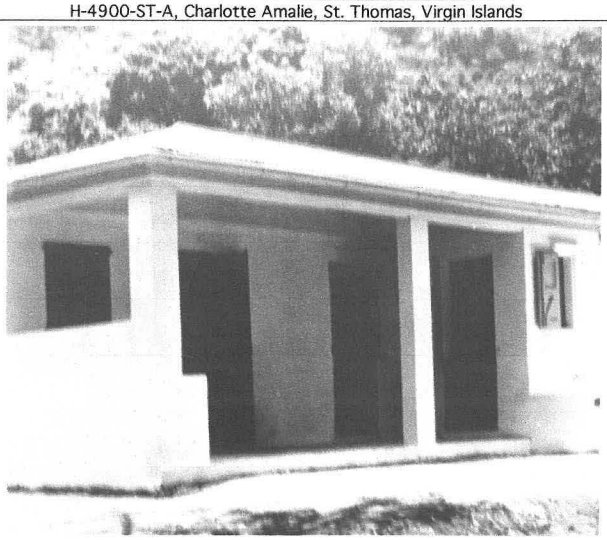
Design Team:	PWA Housing Division Design Team
PWA Housing Staff:	Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap
Contractor:	Force account construction directed by Housing Division

Community Details

Office:									
Community Building:									
Heating:	None				Stores:				
Stove:	Charcoal burner	Refrigerator:	None		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:	Cistern dug for water								

H.H. Berg Homes

H-4900-ST-A, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Adivsory Committee on Housing in St. Croix and St. Thomas								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Sep-37		
Race:	Native	Details:							
Site:	Squatter slum land, donated by municipality								
Construction Details									
Units:	58	White:	0	Black:	0	Native:	58	Population:	
Acres	14	Buildings:	30	Rooms:		Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1 story row house buildings								
Construction Type:	Reinforced Concrete			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Shutters, no windows								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$2.40	After Service Charge:	$28 yearly fee	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$109,140.00	Land Cost:	$0.00	Foundation Cost:		Construction Cost:		Landscape Cost:	
Design Details									
Design Team:	PWA Housing Division Design Team								
PWA Housing Staff:	Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap								
Contractor:	Force account construction directed by Housing Division								
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:									
Heating:	None				Stores:				
Stove:	Charcoal burner	Refrigerator:	None		Incinerators:			Laundry:	
Amenities:	Cistern dug for water								

Stanley S. Holmes Village

H-5001 Atlantic City, NJ

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	New Jersey State Housing Authority and the Atlantic City Civic Committee for Better Housing								
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:		December, 1935		Date Opened:	16-Apr-37		
Race:	Black	Details:							
Site:	Slum Clearance								

Construction Details

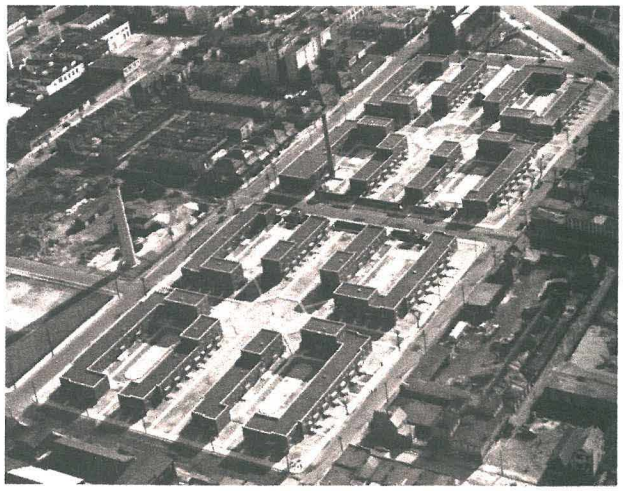
Units:	277	White:		Black:	277	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	7.6	Buildings:	16	Rooms:	928	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	2-3 story row house and flat buildings								
Construction Type:	Brick and tile			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	N/A	Row House Entry Doors:	9-lite, single-paneled wood	Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:	2-paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casement								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.51	After Service Charge:	$8.08	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$1,700,000.00	Land Cost:	$246,250.00	Demolition Cost:	$1,350.00	Construction Cost:	$1,119,977	Landscape Cost:	$22,313

Design Details

Design Team:							
Chief Architect:	J. Vaughan Mathis	Senior Architects:	Vivian Smith, Herman Turon	Junior Architects:	Charles H. Adams, A.L. Brooks, Bertram Ireland, R. Bayne Williams, William Windy		
Demolition Contractor:	Harris Wrecking Co., Chicago			Superstructure Contractor:	John McShain Inc., Philadelphia	Landscape Contractor:	Greenbrier Farms Inc., Norfolk

Community Details

Office:	Office in converted unit								
Community Building:									
Heating:	Central coal-fed heating plant			Stores:					
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:	Walls lining through street that bifurcates project.								



Art Details

Piece:	Murals				
Materials:					
Artist:	Aaron Douglas	Location:		Status:	Unknown

Bluegrass Park/Aspendale

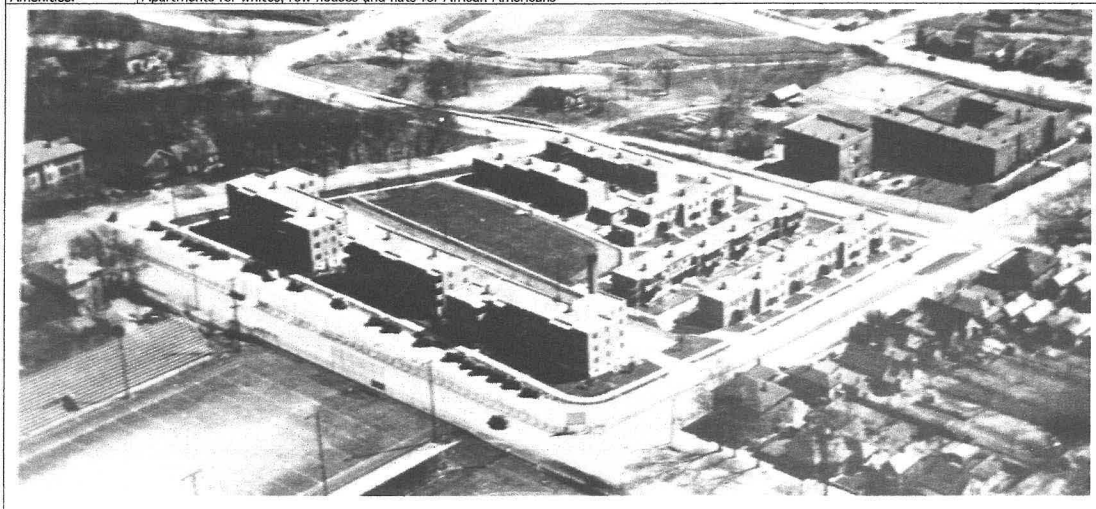
H-5103, Lexington KY

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	City of Lexington Municipal Housing Commission								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	8-Dec-37		
Race:	Integrated	Details:							
Site:	Vacant, after Louisville decision forced the cancellation of a slum clearance site, they purchased a former horse-racing track								
Construction Details									
Units:	286	White:	144	Black:	142	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	68	Buildings:	48	Rooms:	947	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	1-2 story row houses								
Construction Type:	Brick and tile			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	N/A	Row House Entry Doors:	6-lite wood	Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:	6-paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Wood double-hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.13	After Service Charge:	$6.80	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, gas for cooking, electricity for lighting and refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$1,704,000.00	Land Cost:	$41,884.00	Foundation Cost:	$78,950.00	Construction Cost:	$1,301,044	Landscape Cost:	$38,856
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Chief Architect:	Hugh Meriweather	Assistant Chief Architect	John T. Gillig	Architects:	(Check notes) -Obidaiah Bass, William B. Brock II, H.A. Churchill, John J. Curtis, L.K. Frankel, Wayne Haffler, Robert McMeekin, John Moore, John F. Wilson.				
Foundation Contractor:	Gilson-Taylor Inc., Lexington			Superstructure Contractor:	Walter Butler Co., St. Paul MN				
Community Details									
Office:	White section has 2-story freestanding office with meeting space. Black section has office within a converted unit.								
Community Building:	Meeting rooms in white section office								
Heating:	Central coal-fed heating plant			Stores:					
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:	Wall with locked gate divides black and white sections of project.								

University Terrace

H-5201, Columbia SC

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Columbia Municipal Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	16-Aug-37		
Race:	Integrated	Details:							
Site:	Primarily African-American slum clearance site								
Construction Details									
Units:	122	White:	48	Black:	74	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	4	Buildings:	8	Rooms:	415	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	3-story apartment buildings			1-2 story row house buildings			2 story flat buildings		
Construction Type:	Brick			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Row House Entry Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Unit Doors:	2-paneled metal	Interior Doors:	2-paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.73	After Service Charge:	$6.09	Service Charge:	apartments have electric refrigerator and range, row houses have electric refrigerator and coal range				
Total Cost:	$706,000.00	Land Cost:	$49,468.00	Demolition Cost:	$1,750.00	Construction Cost:	$528,938	Landscape Cost:	$8,947
Design Details									
Architect:	James B. Urquhart			Landscape Architect:	Briggs and Stelling, New York City				
Foundation Contractor:	M.B. Kahn Construction Co., Columbia			Superstructure Contractor:	T.A. Loving & Co., Goldsboro NC				
Community Details									
Office:	White section has 2-story freestanding office with meeting space. Black section has office within a converted unit.								
Community Building:	Social units in apartment basements (whites), 1-story unit converted to social unit for row house and flats (African-Americans)								
Heating:	coal			Stores:					
Stove:	Apartments- electric, row houses- coal ranges	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	In Apartment Buildings	Laundry:	Basement laundries for apartment buildings		
Amenities:	Apartments for whites, row houses and flats for African-Americans								



Cherokee Terrace

H-5401 Enid OK

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Enid Housing Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		December, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Oct-37		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Slum clearance								

Construction Details

Units:	80	White:	80	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	5	Buildings:	8	Rooms:	311	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row houses								
Construction Type:	Hollow Clay Tile			Roof Type:	Flat (pitch added)				
Doors									
Row House Entry Doors:	3-lite, 4 paneled wood			Interior Doors:	3 paneled wood				
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.52	After Service Charge:	$7.04	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$435,100.00	Land Cost:	$55,078.00	Foundation Cost:	$28,349.00	Construction Cost:	$363,748	Landscape Cost:	$12,747

Design Details

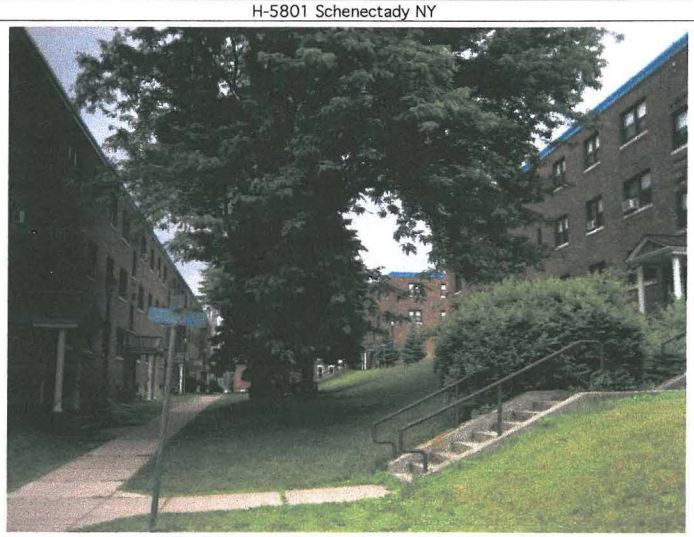
Design Team:							
Chief Architect:	George Blumenauer	Architects:	B. Gaylord Nofsger, W.T. Schmidt (Schmitt)			Landscape Architect:	Hare and Hare
Demolition Contractor:	Public Works Administration	Foundation Contractor:	DC Bass & Sons Construction Co., Enid		Superstructure Contractor:	DC Bass & Sons Construction Co., Enid	

Community Details

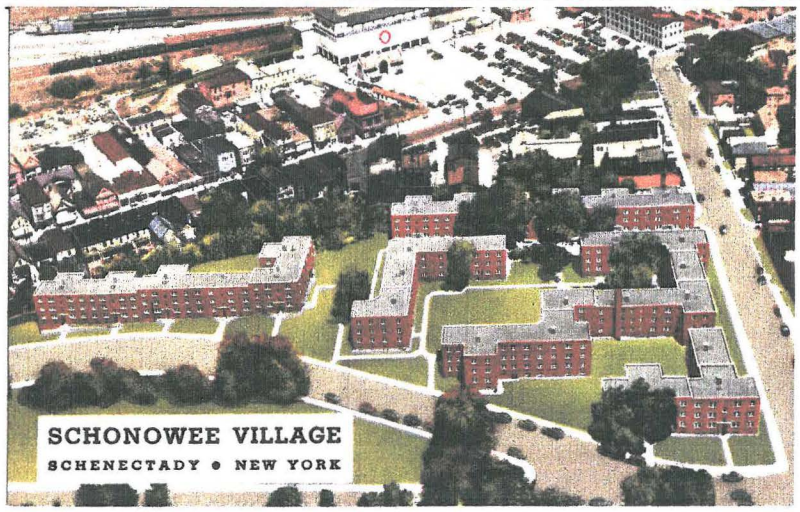
Office:	Maintenance in basement, office in converted one-story flat.								
Community Building:	social unit in converted first-floor flat								
Heating:	Central gas-fed heating plant			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:									

Schonowee Village

H-5801 Schenectady NY



Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Schenectady Metropolitan Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	February, 1936	Construction Begun:		11-Jun-37		Date Opened:	16-Jul-38		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Slum clearance								
Construction Details									
Units:	219	White:	219	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	7	Buildings:	5	Rooms:	717	Coverage:	15%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Row House Entry Doors:	3-lite, 4 paneled wood			Interior Doors:	3 paneled wood				
Windows									
Window Type	Wood Double-Hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.84	After Service Charge:	$7.68	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, gas for cooking, electricity for lighting and refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$1,500,000.00	Land Cost:	$246,050.00	Demolition Cost:	$4,177.00	Building Cost:	$1,200,000	Landscape Cost:	$12,625
Design Details									
Design Team:	Associated Architects for Project H-5801								
Architects:	R.L. Bowen, J.W. Montross			Landscape Architect:	Hare and Hare				
Demolition Contractor:	Hanrahan Brothers, Schenectady			Foundation Contractor:	Hanrahan Brothers, Schenectady			Superstructure Contractor:	A.E. Stephens Co., Springfield MA
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:	social units in basements								
Heating:	3 coal-fired group plants			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	Yes	Laundry:	Central laundries in basements		
Amenities:									



Westfield Acres

H-6001 Camden NJ

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Camden Labor Housing Committee, New Jersey State Housing Authority, Camden Housing Advisory Committee							
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		Fall, 1936		Date Opened:		
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Vacant							

Construction Details

Units:	515	White:	515	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	25	Buildings:	24	Rooms:	1,852	Coverage:	15%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors	metal with porthole window			Apartment Doors:	3 paneled wood			Interior Doors:	Single paneled wood
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.89	After Service Charge:	$7.32	Service Charge:	electric light, cooking, refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$3,116,160.50	Land Cost:	$66,000.00	Foundation Cost:	$154,414.00	Superstructure Cost:	$2,454,543	Landscape Cost:	$44,494

Design Details

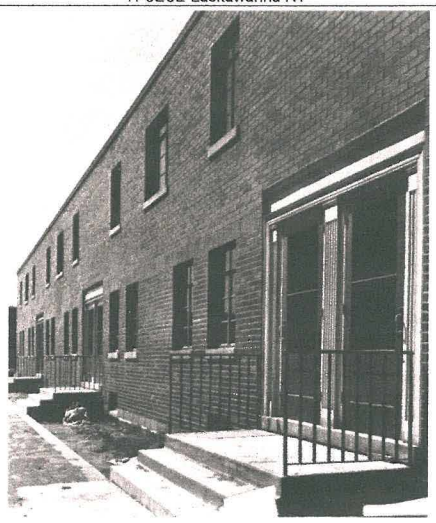
Design Team:					
Chief Architect	Joseph N. Hettel	Architects:	Clarence L. MacNelly, F. Herbert Radey, Arthur Gill, Oscar Stonorov, Herbert Moffitt, Howard Hall, George Neutze, Joshua Jefferies	Landscape Architect:	Frederick A. Eckhart
Foundation Contractor:	Turner Construction Co., Philadelphia		Superstructure Contractor:	Anthony P. Miller Inc., Atlantic City	

Community Details

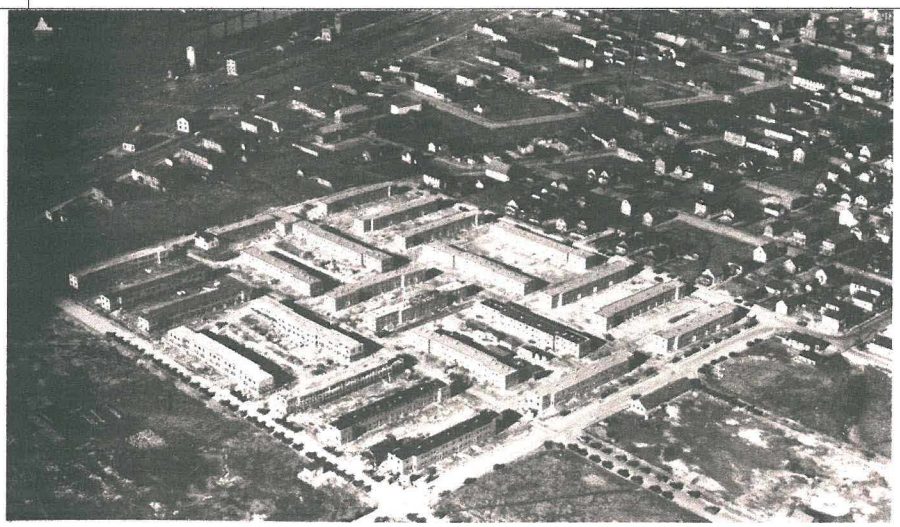
Office:	Planned, not constructed. Office operated out of first floor unit.						
Community Building:	Social units in basements						
Heating:	Central oil-fired heating plant			Stores:	Newspaper stand in apartment breezeway		
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:	Yes	Laundry:	Central laundries in basements
Amenities:	Plans also included separate auditorium, swimming pool and nursery.						

Baker Homes

H-6202 Lackawanna NY



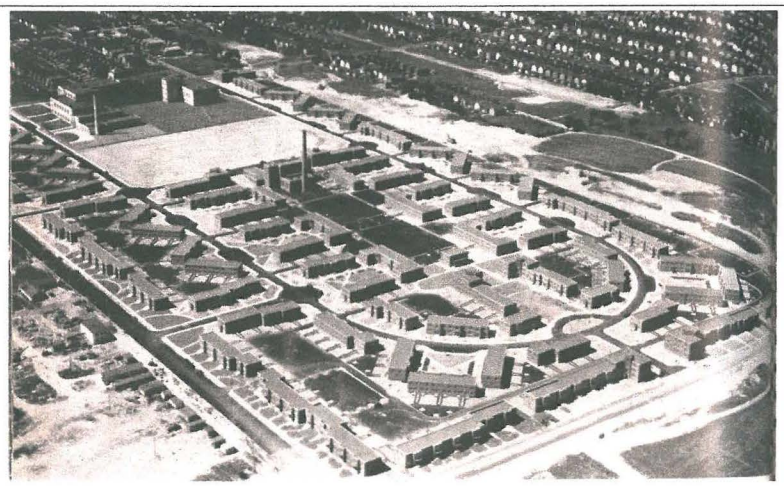
Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Lackawanna Municipal Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:		Construction Begun:		9-Jul-37		Date Opened:	1-Jul-38		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								
Construction Details									
Units:	268	White:	268	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	1,100
Acres	12	Buildings:	24	Rooms:	1,110	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	2-story row houses			2-story flats					
Construction Type:	Frame			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors				Apartment Doors:				Interior Doors:	
Windows									
Window Type	Wood, Double-Hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:		After Service Charge:	$4.02	Service Charge:					
Total Cost:	$1,610,000.00	Land Cost:	$73,925.00	Foundation Cost:		Superstructure Cost:	$1,329,000	Landscape Cost:	$23,111
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Chief Architect	Harry F. Hudson	Architects:	Paul H. Hudson, James W. Kideney						
Superstructure Contractor:	Fleischer Engineering & Construction Co.								
Community Details									
Office:	Yes, freestanding one-story building								
Community Building:									
Heating:	Individual coal heaters			Stores:					
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:									



Kenfield

H-6703 Buffalo NY

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	18-Feb-36	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Oct-37		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								
Construction Details									
Units:	658	White:	658	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	1,100
Acres	65	Buildings:	73	Rooms:	2,756	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	2-3 story apartment buildings			2-story row houses					
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors				Apartment Doors:				Interior Doors:	
Windows									
Window Type	Wood, Double-Hung								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.19	After Service Charge:	$7.00	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$4,500,000.00	Land Cost:	$284,885.00	Foundation Cost:	$174,680.00	Superstructure Cost:	$3,759,384	Landscape Cost:	$58,950
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Chief Architect	Chester Oakley	Assistant Chief Architect:	Robert North	Senior Architects:	Mortimer J. Murphy, Paul F. Mann	Junior Architects:	Fred R. Hopkins, Earl Martin, Louis Greenstein, George J. Dietel, Albert A. Rumschik		
Foundation Contractor:	John W. Cowper Co.			Superstructure Contractor:	Fleischer Engineering & Const. Co.(St. Paul) and Joseph A. Bass Co., Buffalo				
Community Details									
Office:	Office in section of boiler plant								
Community Building:	Yes								
Heating:	Central coal-fired boiler plant			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement laundries		
Amenities:									



Cedar Springs Place

H-7901-B Dallas TX

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Dallas Housing Advisory Committee							
Foundations Begun:	18-Jan-36	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	19-Sep-37	
Race:	White	Details:						
Site:	Vacant							

Construction Details

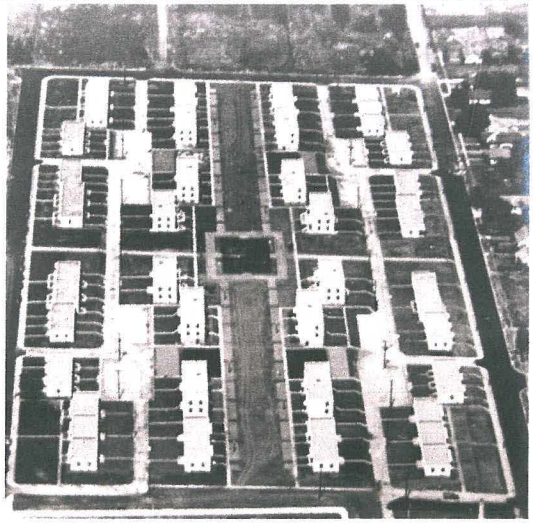
Units:	181	White:	181	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	1,100
Acres	22	Buildings:	28	Rooms:	598	Coverage:	10%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house and flat buildings								
Construction Type:	Concrete masonry unit			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors				Apartment Doors:				Interior Doors:	
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$6.34	After Service Charge:	$7.92	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, refrigeration and cooking				
Total Cost:	$1,020,000.00	Land Cost:	$69,360.00	Foundation Cost:	$55,494.00	Superstructure Cost:	$724,592	Landscape Cost:	$23,358

Design Details

Design Team:							
Chief Architect	Walter C. Sharp	Assistant Chief Architect:	Roscoe P. DeWitt	Partner Architects:	Anton F. Korn, Arthur Thomas, Lester Flint, Ralph Bryan, Grayson Gill, Herbert Tatum	Landscape Architect:	Wynne B. Woodruff
Foundation Contractor:	P. O'B. Montgomery, Dallas			Superstructure Contractor:	A.J. Rife Construction Co., Dallas		

Community Details

Office:	Office in community building						
Community Building:	yes, includes auditorium/gymnasium, meeting rooms						
Heating:	Central gas-fired boiler plant			Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	
Amenities:							



Will Rogers Courts

H-8101 Oklahoma City OK

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Oklahoma City Advisory Committee								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Sep-37		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								

Construction Details

Units:	364	White:	364	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	1,100
Acres	22	Buildings:	85	Rooms:	1,232	Coverage:	10%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row house and flat buildings								
Construction Type:	Tile			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors				Apartment Doors:				Interior Doors:	
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite steel casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.38	After Service Charge:	$6.71	Service Charge:	heat, hot water, light, cooking, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$2,000,000.00	Land Cost:	$109,920.00	Foundation Cost:	$144,220.00	Superstructure Cost:	$1,435,583	Landscape Cost:	$34,760

Design Details

Design Team:							
Chief Architect	J.O. Parr	Assistant Chief Architect:	George Winkler	Senior Architects:	Leonard Bailey, CL Monnot, WT Schmitt	Junior Architects:	John C. Hope, Martin Lawrence, B.G Nofsger, Lee Sorey
Foundation Contractor:	Leo Sanders, Oklahoma City			Superstructure Contractor:	Leo Sanders, Oklahoma City		

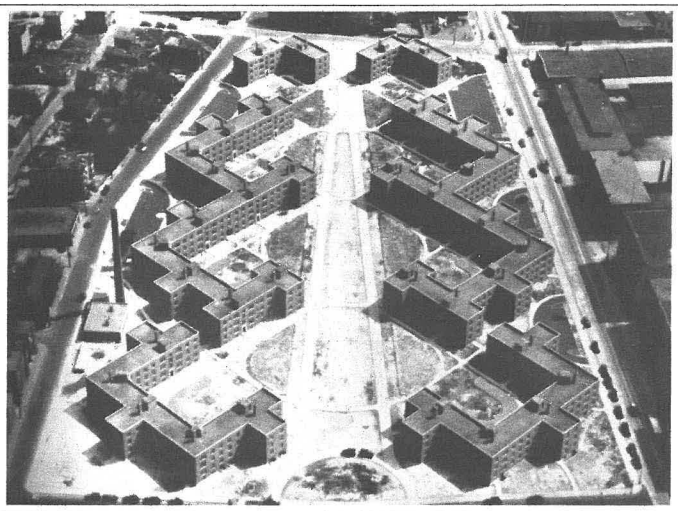
Community Details

Office:	Office in converted one-story flat						
Community Building:	Social units in converted one-story flats						
Heating:	Gas			Stores:	No		
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas	Incinerators:		Laundry:	
Amenities:							

New Towne Court

H-8501 Cambridge MA

Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Massachussetts State Board of Housing and the Cambridge Housing Authority								
Demolition Begun:	December, 1935	Foundations Begun:	1-Jun-36	Construction Begun:	August, 1936	Date Opened:	1-Oct-37		
Race:	White	Details:							
Site:	Slum clearance								
Construction Details									
Units:	294	White:	294	Black:	0	Native:	0	Population:	1,100
Acres	9	Buildings:		Rooms:	1,172	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	3 story apartment buildings								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Stairhall Entrance Doors				Apartment Doors:				Interior Doors:	
Windows									
Window Type	Multi-lite metal casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.64	After Service Charge:	$6.75	Service Charge:	gas cooking, refrigeration, heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$2,500,000.00	Land Cost:	$833,080.00	Foundation Cost:	$63,712.00	Superstructure Cost:	$1,282,782	Landscape Cost:	$17,503
Design Details									
Design Team:									
Chief Architect	Henry C. Robbins	Assistant Chief Architect:	C.L. Churchill	Architects:	Andrew Hepburn, John Ames, Charles Greco, I Howland Jones, Isidor Richmond				
Demolition Contractor:	Chelsea Building & Wrecking Co. Inc., Brockton			Foundation Contractor:	M. Spinelli & Sons Co. Inc., Boston			Superstructure Contractor:	John Bowen Co, Boston
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Central coal-fired boiler plant			Stores:	No				
Stove:	Gas	Refrigerator:	Gas	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement laundries		
Amenities:									



Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court

H-8901-B Charleston SC

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Charleston Municipal Housing Authority								
Foundations Begun:	March, 1936	Construction Begun:		Fall, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Aug-37		
Race:	Integrated	Details:							
Site:	Mostly vacant site with one block of African-American slum clearance								

Construction Details

Units:	212	White:	76	Black:	136	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	16	Buildings:	42	Rooms:	700	Coverage:	25%		
Unit Types:	1-2 story row houses								
Construction Type:	Masonry			Roof Type:	Pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Row House Entry Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Unit Doors:	2-paneled metal	Interior Doors:	2-paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.93	After Service Charge:	$5.89	Service Charge:	hot water, light, refrigeration				
Total Cost:	$1,305,000.00	Land Cost:	$40,099.00	Foundation Cost:	$123,580.00	Superstructure Cost:	$965,218	Landscape Cost:	$16,450

Design Details

Chief Architect:	Samuel Lapham Jr.	Architects:	David Hyer, Henry Burden, Stephen Thomas
Foundation Contractor:	Tidewater Construction Co., Norfolk	Superstructure Contractor:	J.A. Jones Construction Co., Charlotte

Community Details

Office:	Separate offices for black and white sections. Both in converted one-story units								
Community Building:									
Heating:	Individual coal heaters			Stores:					
Stove:	coal	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:			
Amenities:	Abrupt slope divides white and African-American sections								

Highland Homes									
H-9000 Wayne, PA									
Project Details									
Local Sponsor:	Wayne Advisory Committee on Houseing								
Foundations Begun:	January, 1936	Construction Begun:		August, 1936		Date Opened:	Spring, 1938		
Race:	African American	Details:	Seemed to accommodate Italians as well.						
Site:	Slum clearance site								
Construction Details									
Units:	50	White:	0	Black:	50	Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	2	Buildings:	5	Rooms:	168	Coverage:	20%		
Unit Types:	2 story row house and flat buildings								
Construction Type:	Brick veneer on hollow clay tile			Roof Type:	Flat				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:		Row House Entry Doors:		Unit Doors:		Interior Doors:			
Windows									
Window Type	Wood Casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$4.55	After Service Charge:	$6.86	Service Charge:	heat and hot water				
Total Cost:	$344,000.00	Land Cost:	$46,650.00	Foundation Cost:	$19,433.00	Superstructure Cost:	$229,167	Landscape Cost:	$4,211
Design Details									
Chief Architect:	H. Bartol Register and Edward Krimmel			Architects:					
Foundation Contractor:	McCabe Brothers Co., Bala-Cynwyd PA			Superstructure Contractor:	Edward Fay & Son, Philadelphia				
Community Details									
Office:									
Community Building:									
Heating:	Central coal plant for heat and hot water			Stores:					
Stove:	gas	Refrigerator:	ice boxes	Incinerators:		Laundry:	Basement laundry rooms		
Amenities:	Social units								

Fairfield Homes

H-9601 Stamford CT

Project Details

Local Sponsor:	Mayor's Housing Committee of Stamford								
Foundations Begun:	December, 1935	Construction Begun:		July, 1936		Date Opened:	1-Sep-37		
Race:	Integrated	Details:							
Site:	Vacant								

Construction Details

Units:	146	White:		Black:		Native:	0	Population:	
Acres	5	Buildings:	8	Rooms:	499	Coverage:			
Unit Types:	3-story apartment buildings			1-2 story row houses					
Construction Type:	Hollow clay tile			Roof Type:	Flat and pitched				
Doors									
Apartment Exterior Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Row House Entry Doors:	3-lite, 2 paneled wood	Unit Doors:	2-paneled metal	Interior Doors:	2-paneled wood		
Windows									
Window Type	Metal multi-lite casements								
Per Room Rents									
Before Service Charge:	$5.82	After Service Charge:	$8.77	Service Charge:	heat, light, cooking, refrigeration and hot water				
Total Cost:	$884,000.00	Land Cost:	$65,900.00	Foundation Cost:	$36,786.00	Superstructure Cost:	$650,361	Landscape Cost:	$13,790

Design Details

Architect:	William J. Provoost				
Foundation Contractor:	Frank Palmer, Stamford	Superstructure Contractor:	C.J. Maney Co., Inc and New England Foundation Co. Inc., Boston		

Community Details

Office:									
Community Building:	Social units in basements								
Heating:	Central oil-fired heating plant			Stores:					
Stove:	Electric	Refrigerator:	Electric	Incinerators:		Laundry:	central laundries in basements		
Amenities:									

Fairfield Homes

H-9601 Stamford CT

Art Details

Piece:	Democracy of the Machine					
Materials:	eight cycle mural					
Artist:	James Daugherty	Location:	Community Room		Status:	Lost
Piece:	Opposing figures?					

Materials:						
Artist:		Location:	Central Courtyard		Status:	Salvaged?

Appendix B: Projects in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands

The Housing Division (HD) constructed forty-seven projects in the continental United States, two in Puerto Rico and three in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Both territories were under control of Harold Ickes' Department of the Interior during the New Deal. Ambitious and territorial Ickes recognized the ability of PWA projects to bind him more tightly to the two areas and build up the power of his Department of the Interior. These projects have been largely omitted from discussion in the main text because they differ so markedly from the continental projects. Working with governmental appointees motivated by the political remaking of the island (rather than at the behest of a leading group of residents), local citizens did not influence site selection, project construction or tenant selection to a significant extent. Appointees from the mainland and the HD made the decisions, and local advisory committees simply approved those plans. The provincial government's process of land acquisition meant that the HD accepted state-approved sites without undertaking slum surveys. Constructed in a different climate, without much urban infrastructure (paved streets, water or sewage), the residences are drastically simpler than those the HD constructed elsewhere. While less elaborate, with HD staff directly designing them, site plans conform to the *regionalist* principles, revealing flexibility within the HD's planning system.

Secretary Ickes described the slums of Puerto Rico as "the worst I've ever seen."[1] In the 1920's the territory experienced significant urban growth as tobacco and other industries expanded, but the island lacked a system for infrastructure expansion. Districts

[1] "Housing" *El Mundo* 16 January 1936. Folder 5, Box 262 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII.

of under-serviced houses sprang up, with new arrivals to San Juan and other cities squatting on open lands. These families lived in one or two room metal buildings drawing water from wells and sharing rear pit toilets. The depression hit the island particularly hard, affecting seventy-five percent of the population at the worst moments. A severe 1932 hurricane wreaked further damage, destroying crops, industry and the flimsy shacks many residents called home.[2]

The federal government established the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) as a separate New Deal arm that aimed to reorganize the island as thoroughly as the TVA remade the Tennessee Valley. Director Ernest Gruening assessed the unique needs of the island and advocated for economic restructuring, land reform, rural electrification and public works investment to stimulate the economy. The HD first considered Puerto Rico in the middle of 1934; the HD's Walter Trevvett visited the island in December 1934, consulting with PRRA leaders and examining sites in several cities.[3] In September 1935 the HD officially allotted funds for two projects; one in the capitol of San Juan and a second in the hard-hit tobacco-harvesting town of Caugas (the first and fourth largest cities on the island, respectively).

The HD approved a slum site in San Juan, and assembled a team of architects from the eleven professionals working in San Juan. Their designs were approved, but

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[2] San Juan Information Outline, 10 August 1935, Folder 9, Box 264 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARAII.

[3] Ickes Order 84, 10 July 1934, H-3600 March 30, 1936, Folder 11, Box 262 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

ultimately discarded for plans by HD staff.[4] Current residents of the San Juan site were squatters without legal right to recompense, but crowded conditions meant their relocation represented a significant hardship, stalling site demolition while vacancies were identified for the displaced. Despite these significant delays, construction began in January 1936.[5] After investigating local contractors, the HD undertook construction itself. Low average wages meant that construction workers were paid less, but costs needed to be kept to an absolute minimum, in order to remain affordable to natives. The HD worked to use materials from the island, but some supplies needed to be shipped from the United States, driving costs up. The project's one hundred and thirty one units opened in September 1937.

Caserio La Granja in Caugas opened its sixty-five units in September 1937. Built on a hilly site donated by the city, the project's siting closely resembles the HD's continental projects (Figure B-1). On the interior, however, Caserio La Granja is designed on a significantly different model. Based on local tradition, the HD created independent, single-story units with a central living room. Small units included just this single room, but larger units had one to three bedrooms flanking the main room, with independent exterior entrances (Figure B-2). Kitchen and bathroom facilities stood at the front side of the house, accessed from the deep entry porch between them. Although different in layout, this native organization achieved maximum cross-ventilation and light penetration. The simple, shed-roofed buildings were constructed of reinforced concrete

[4] District Manager H.I Hettinger officially designed the small Caugas project, while Olivia Fountain, JE McCann, John Desmone, NH Black, Max Sade, SL Tesone, WP Crane, GFR Heap were responsible for designing the San Juan project.

[5] H-3600 advertisement for bids 12 February 1936, Folder 14, Box 268 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

slabs. Shutters, rather than glazing, occupied windows, maintaining airflow throughout. Each unit was supplied with lighting, but no refrigerator. A charcoal burner set into the concrete slab served as a stove. Floor drains suggest the toilet room also accommodated showers. Stores, a management office, an open laundry building and a community center provided additional services for residents. Located far from a sewer system, the HD also constructed a simple collection and filtrations system in Caugas.[6]

As the HD developed plans and constructed their small projects in Puerto Rico, the PRRA developed a much larger program of slum clearance and suburban construction. The organization created several large new residential developments, including 416-unit model town Eleanor Roosevelt, located near San Juan and the 373-unit Juan Morel Campos community near Ponce.[7] The construction of these large complexes forced the PRRA to develop a management organization, and it soon took over management of HD's small units on the island.[8]

The Virgin Islands (St. Thomas, St. John, St. Croix, Water Island and several smaller islands) shared Puerto Rico's depression-era poverty, overcrowding and natural disasters, but the tiny territory was vastly smaller than Puerto Rico and the government did not mount a reconstruction campaign as thoroughgoing as the PRRA.[9] In one of his initial allotments, Ickes approved $45,000 for the Virgin Islands, but the HD took little

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[6] Hettinger to Marcano, 19 January 1937, Folder 8, Box 267 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[7] "The PRRA Confronts The Housing Problem" *El Mundo* 20 June 1937, Folder 6, Box 268 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[8] Memo to transfer PR projects from USHA to PRRA, after 1 December 1937, Folder 7, Box 268 H-3600 Puerto Rico General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[9] The landmass of the Virgin Islands is 3.8% of that of Puerto Rico.

action on the funds.[10] Alfred Baruch, the engineering advisor to the government of the Virgin Islands began agitating for housing in his territory at the beginning of 1935, and he requested housing for locals and for tourists, to be built following local traditions. Site selection discussion took several months and in November, Trevvett visited the islands and made final recommendations on three sites; two on St. Croix and one on St. Thomas. HD staff designed all three projects, and the government handled construction on a Force Account basis. Construction on all three projects was coordinated, and they all opened in September 1937, simultaneous to the two Puerto Rican projects.

Forty-unit Marley Homes, located in Frederickstadt, on a vacant site along the western coast of St. Croix, also uses a curved street and a pedestrian axis, taking particular advantage of the costal site (Figure B-3). Paired units line the curved access road. A wide axis pierces through the curving access road at an angle, with sidewalks leading down to the ocean. Duplex units line the front and rear exterior areas and the units do not depend on the street grid for access.

Local advisors suggested the HD follow local precedent in design. Most residents lived in lightly-built single room houses, with cooking facilities built into the doorway to avoid overheating interior spaces. Private yards, latrines and cisterns were critical elements in the typical Virgin Islands home.[11] Although sturdily-built, the units at Marley Homes are some of the most basic constructed by the HD and vary slightly from those seen in Puerto Rico. A deep porch leads into the living room and principle living space.

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[10] Special Board Resolution, 1 September 1933, Folder 24, Box 312 H-3900 Virgin Islands General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

[11] Knott, James "Urban Housing in St. Croix", 14 November 1935?, Special Board Resolution, 1 September 1933, Folder 15, Box 314 H-3900 Virgin Islands General, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

Bedrooms are accessed off this main space, although most have one or two independent exterior doors as well. Double-stacked bedrooms suggest cross-ventilation is not as critical as in Puerto Rico. Units have no toilet or bathing facilities and individual cisterns collect water for each unit. Coal burning stoves are set into the concrete slab of the stores room, which is accessed independently from the front porch, removing all cooking facilities from the main living space. Reinforced concrete walls support wood-framed gabled roofs, finished with corrugated steel (Figure B-4). Windows substitute tightly-locking shutters for glazing to allow maximum air penetration. Rather than using prefabricated doors, windows and other elements that would need to be shipped from the mainland, the HD indicated board and batten doors that could be built on site, minimizing importation and maximizing the work available for the local population.

In Christiansted on the north shore of St. Croix, the small Bassin Triangle accommodates thirty units. The HD purchased a vacant site for two thousand dollars. Paired houses line a single curving street, a few blocks south of the coast (Figure B-5). Bassin Triangle and the H.H. Berg Homes, located in Charlotte Amalie on the island of St. Thomas largely resembled Marley Homes in design terms.

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Figure In-1: View Hill Creek, Philadelphia PA. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1423, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration Still Picture Research Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.

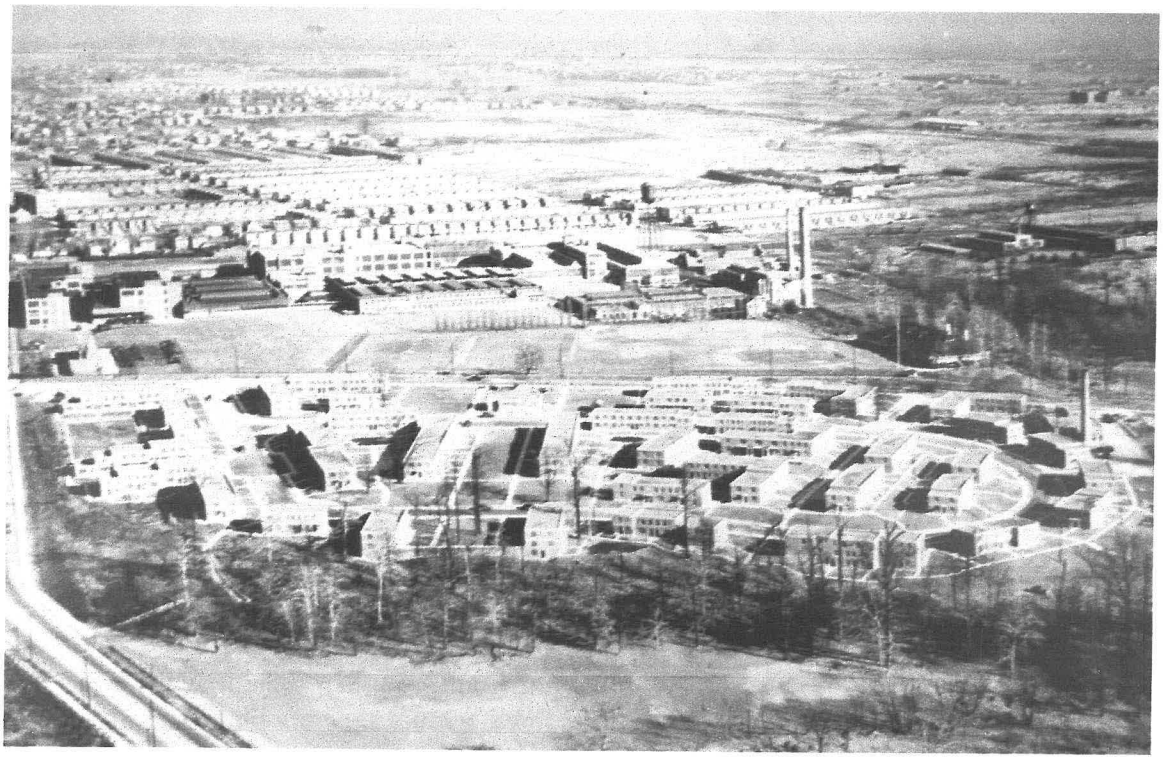


Figure In-2: Site plan, Hill Creek. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1423.

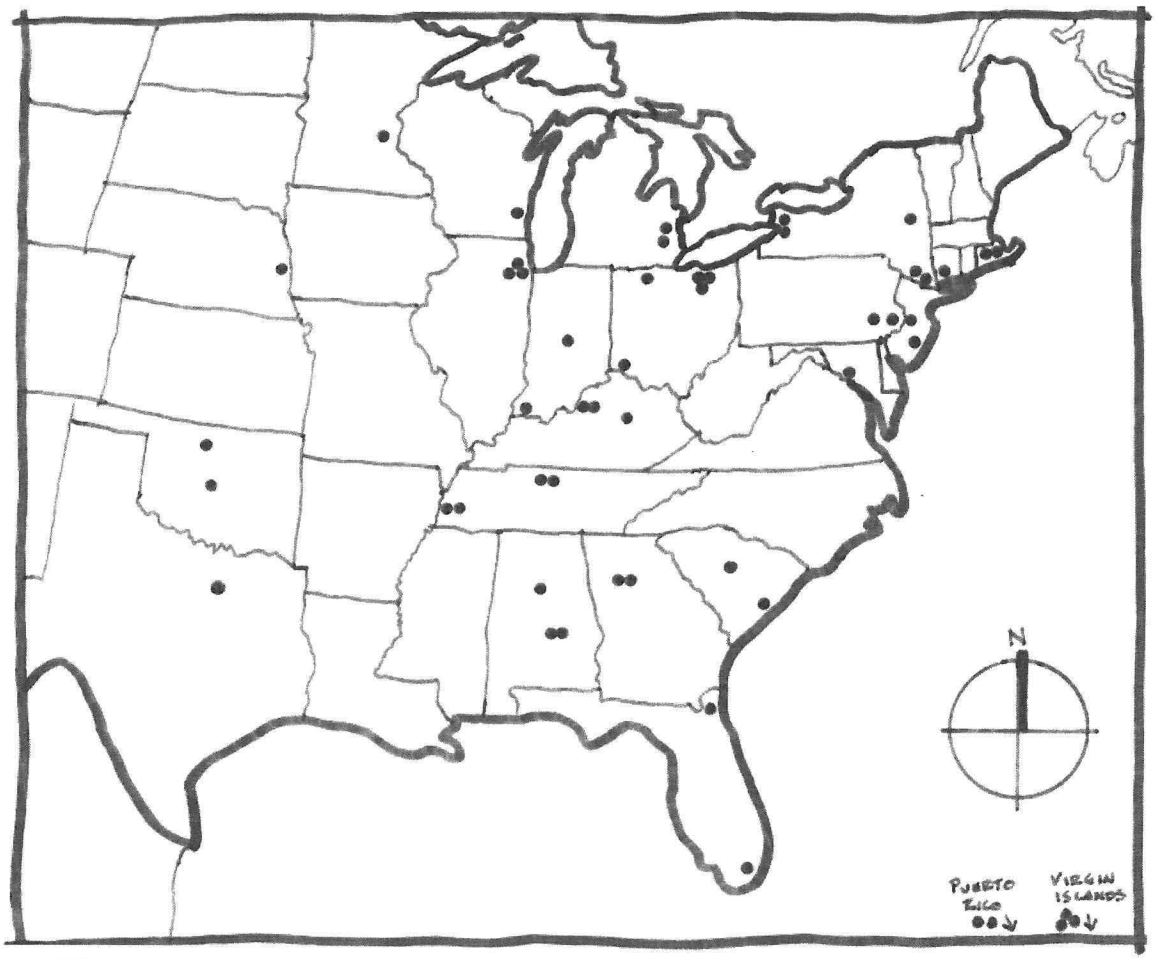


Figure In-3: Location of Housing Division's fifty-three Direct Build Projects. Image by author, 2009.

Figure In-4: A page from an architecture coloring book. The mistakes of the American public housing program are well-known, even to the coloring-aged public (Start Exploring Architecture, 17).

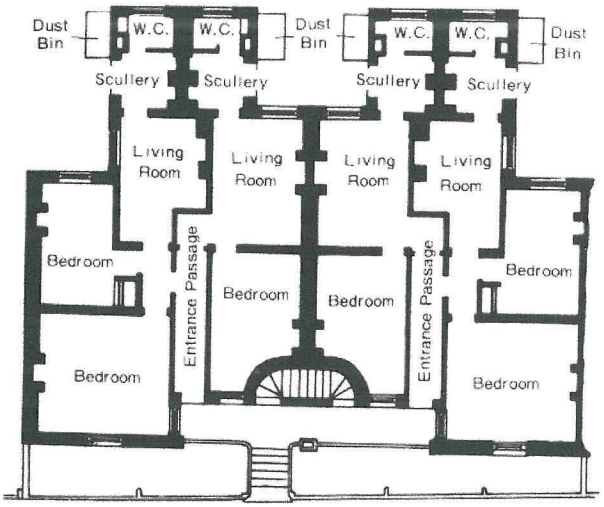


Figure 1-1: Plan of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, example of the Waterlow Plan.
J.N. Tarn, *Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain* (New York: Wittenborn and Company, 1971), 53.

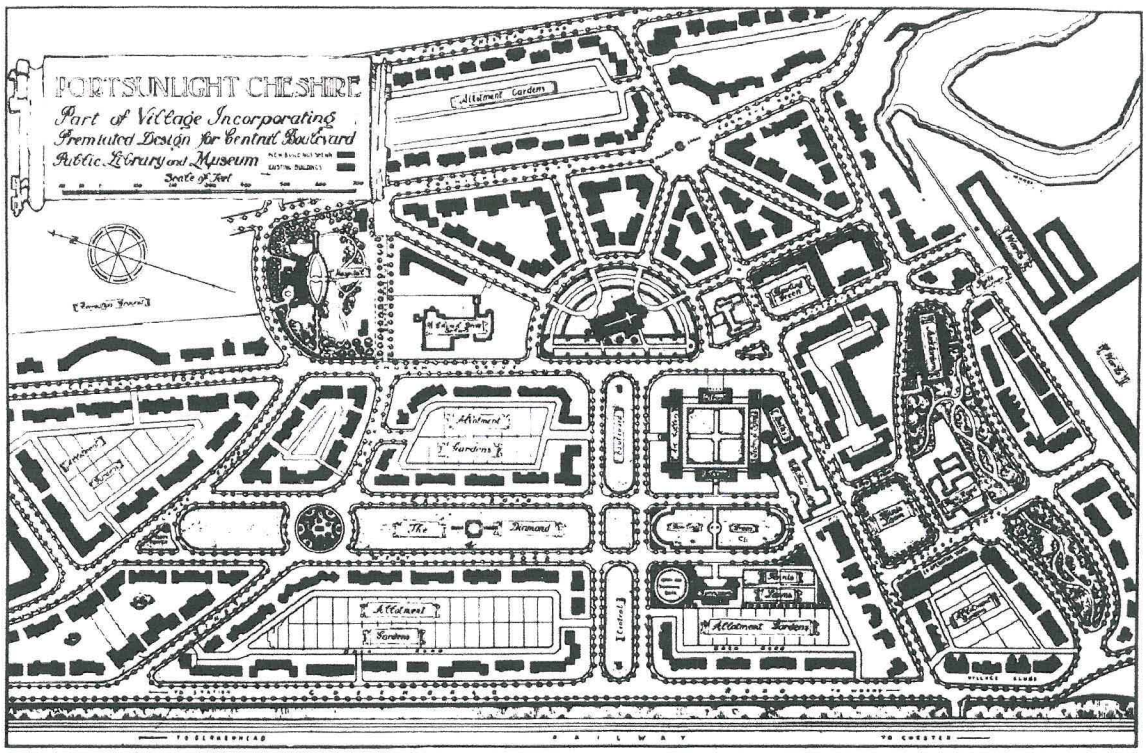


Figure 1-2: Plan of Port Sunlight, 1889.
Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City Before and After* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 134.

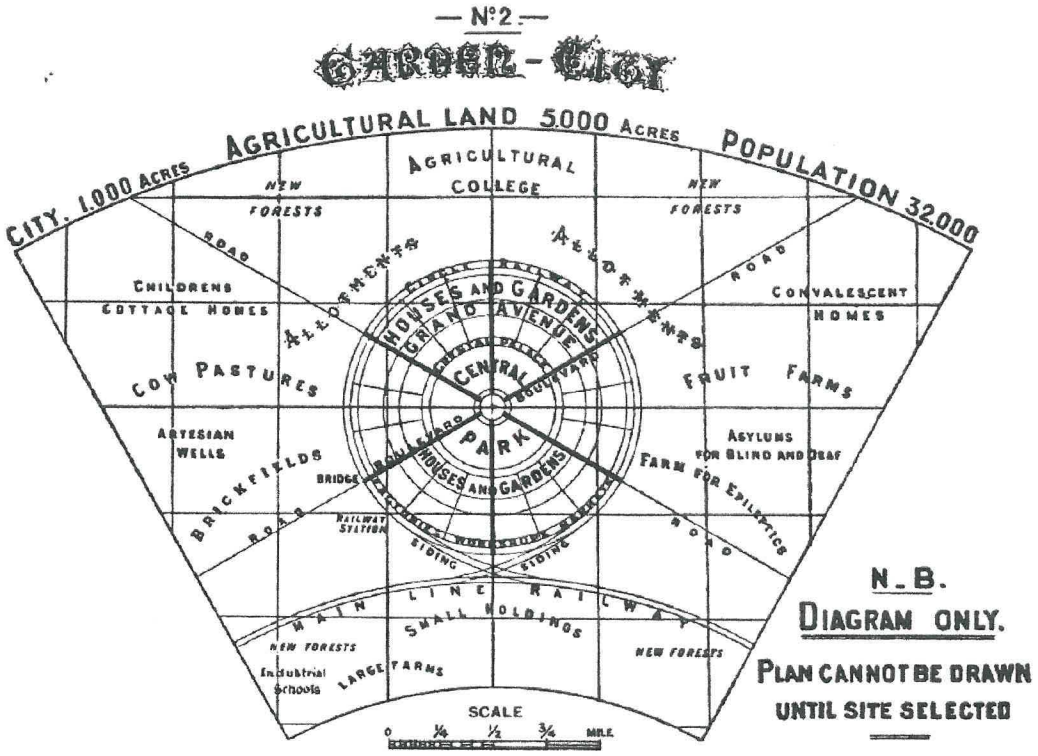


Figure 1-3: Diagram of the proposed Garden City, 1898. Please see diagrammatic note. Ebeneezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1898. Reprint Cambridge: The MIT Press: 1965), 52.

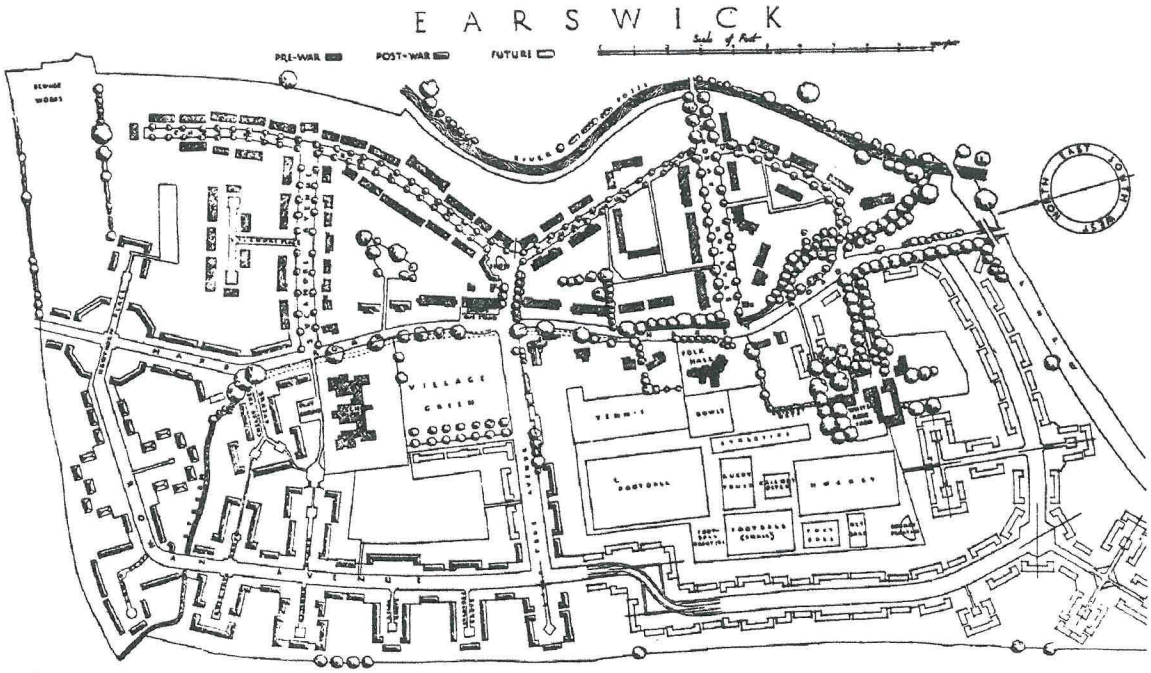


Figure 1-4: Plan of New Earswick by Parker and Unwin, 1902. Creese, 194.

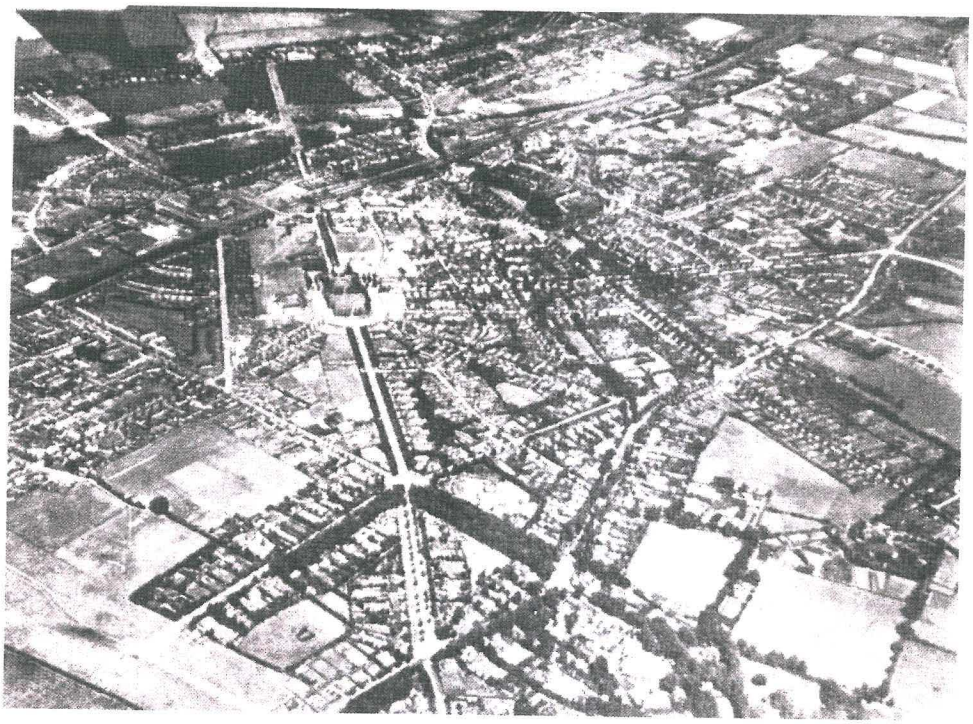


Figure 1-5: Aerial View, Letchworth, designed 1903.
Creese, 208.

Figure 1-6: View, Letchworth, designed 1903.
Creese, 212.

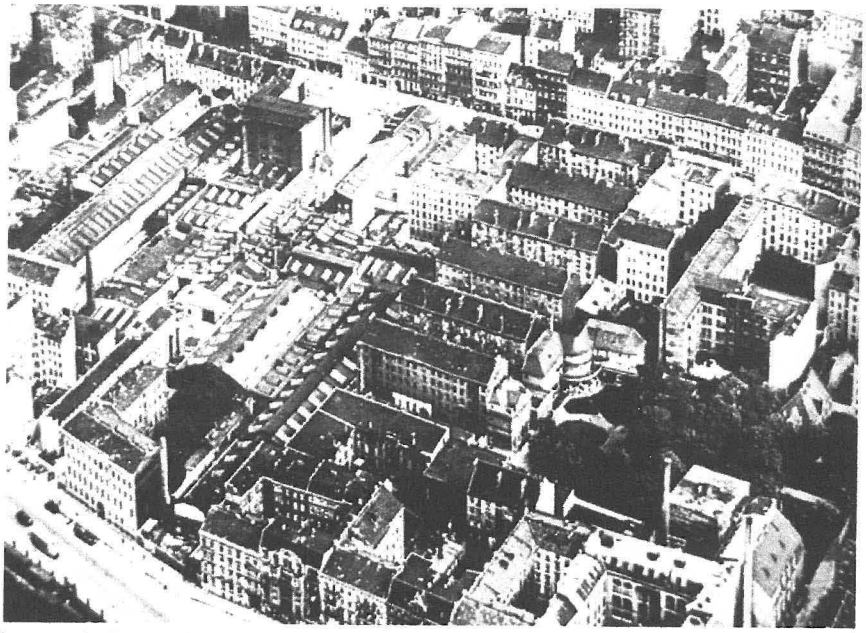


Figure 1-7: Aerial view, mietskaserne in Wedding section of Berlin. Kurt Wernicke, *Weddinger Feldmark* (http://www.berlin3v.dk/hints.htm).

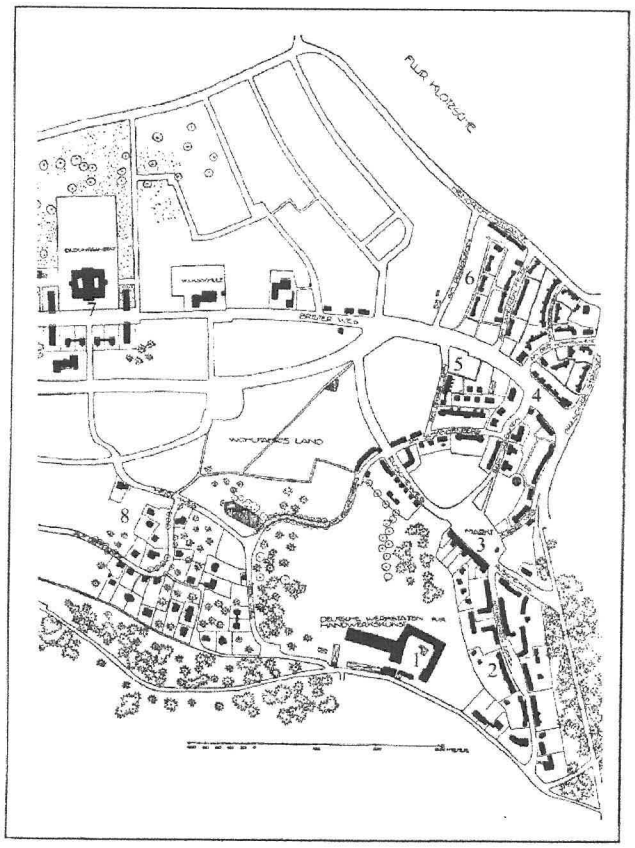


Figure 1-8: Plan, Hellerau, 1906. John Maciuika, *Before the Bauhaus: architecture, politics and the German state, 1880-1919* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 228.

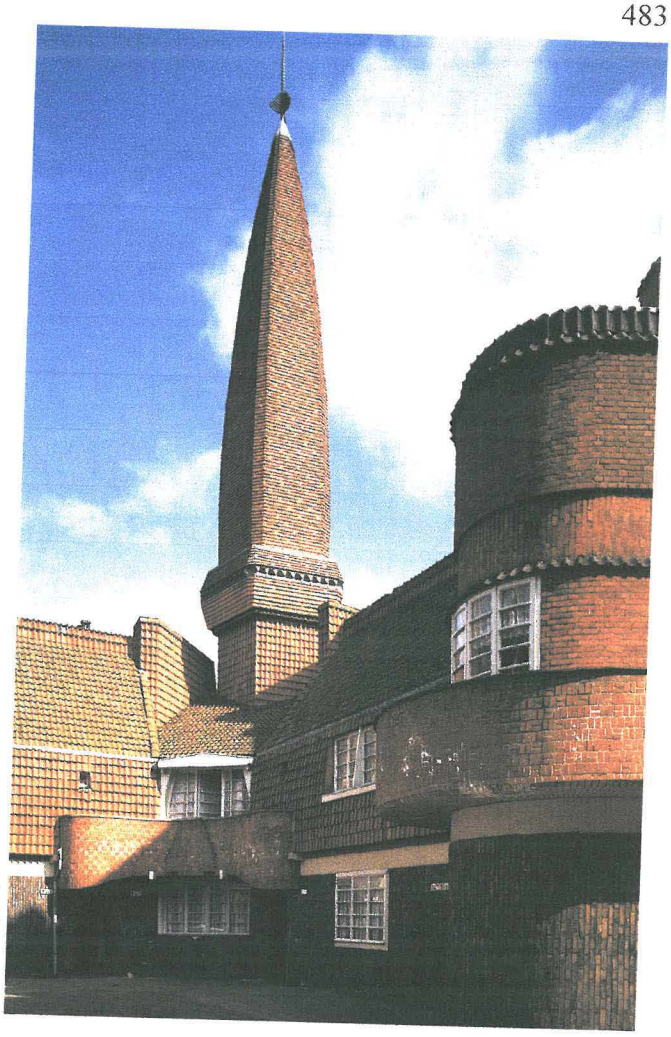


Figure 1-9: Spaarndammerbuurt, 1917. Hans Ibelings, *20th Century Architecture in the Netherlands* (New Haven: NAi Publishers, 1995), 39.

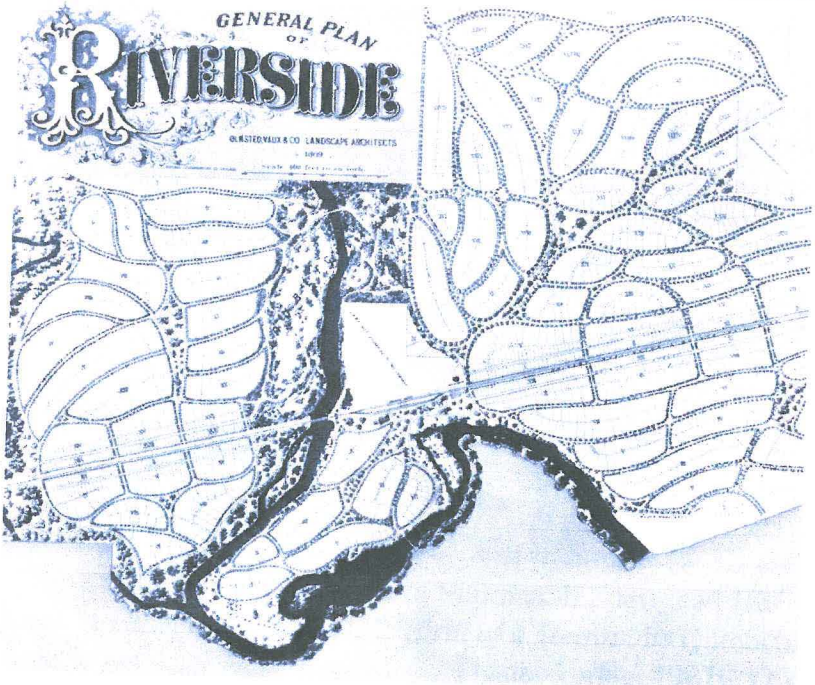


Figure 1-10: Frederick Law Olmsted, Plan of Riverside, IL, 1869. Artstor, The Image Gallery, University of California San Diego.

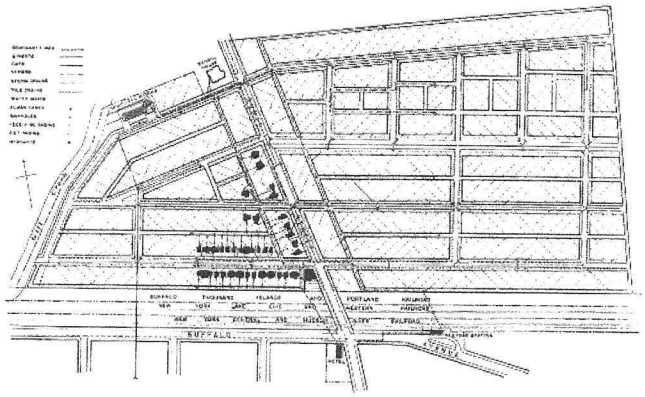


Figure 1-11: Plan of Echota, NY, 1891.
Leland M. Roth, "Three Industrial Towns by McKim, Mead & White." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38/4 (December 1979): 324.

Figure 1-12: View of Echota, NY.
Roth, 327.

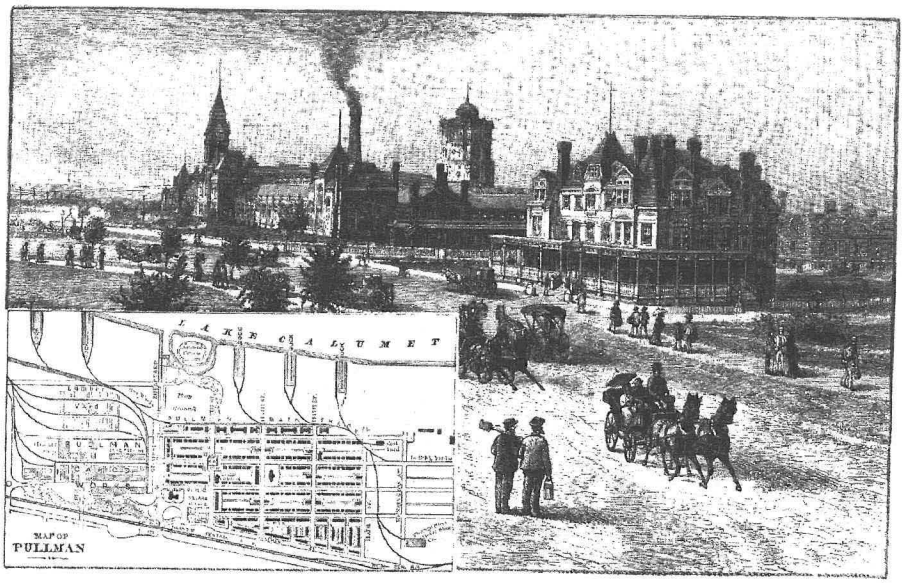


Figure 1-13: View of Pullman, IL, designed 1880.
John Zukowsky, ed.. *Chicago Architecture 1872-1922: Birth of a Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 176.

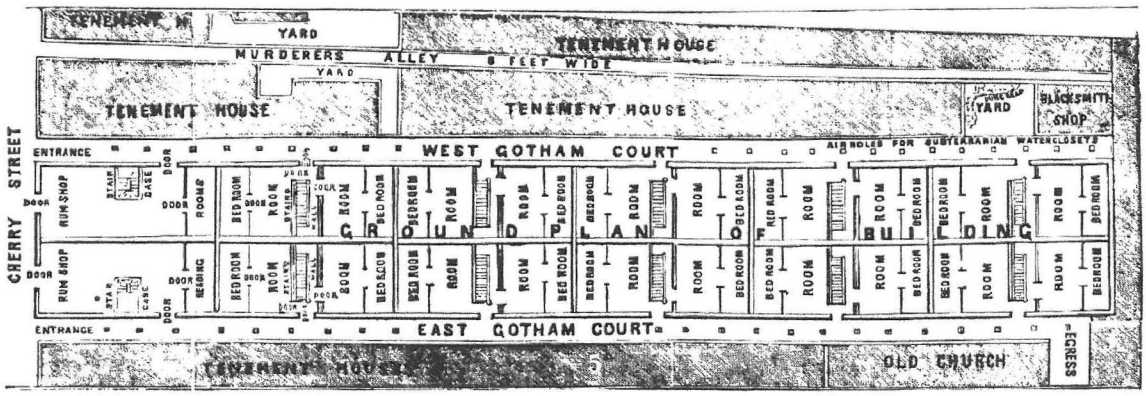


Figure 1-14: Plan, Gotham Court, 1850.
Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 25.

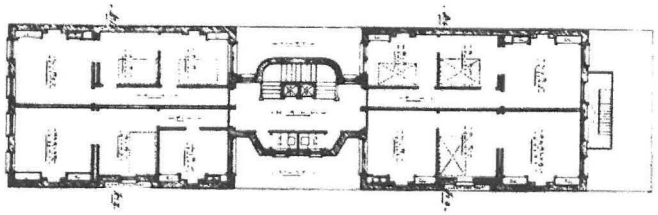


Figure 1-15: James E. Ware's dumbbell plan, 1878.
Plunz, 25.

Figure 1-16: Photo of boarders crowded into their room.
Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: studies among the tenements of New York* (New York: C. Scribner's sons, 1890), 64.

Figure 1-17: Facade, Alfred T. White's Tower Building, Field and Son, 1878. Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins and David Fishman. *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999), 879.

Figure 1-18: Interior Court, Alfred T. White's Riverside Building, Field and Son, 1889. Alfred T. White, "Sun-Lightened Tenements: Thirty-Five Years' Experience as an Owner," (*National Housing Association* 12, March 1912), 8.

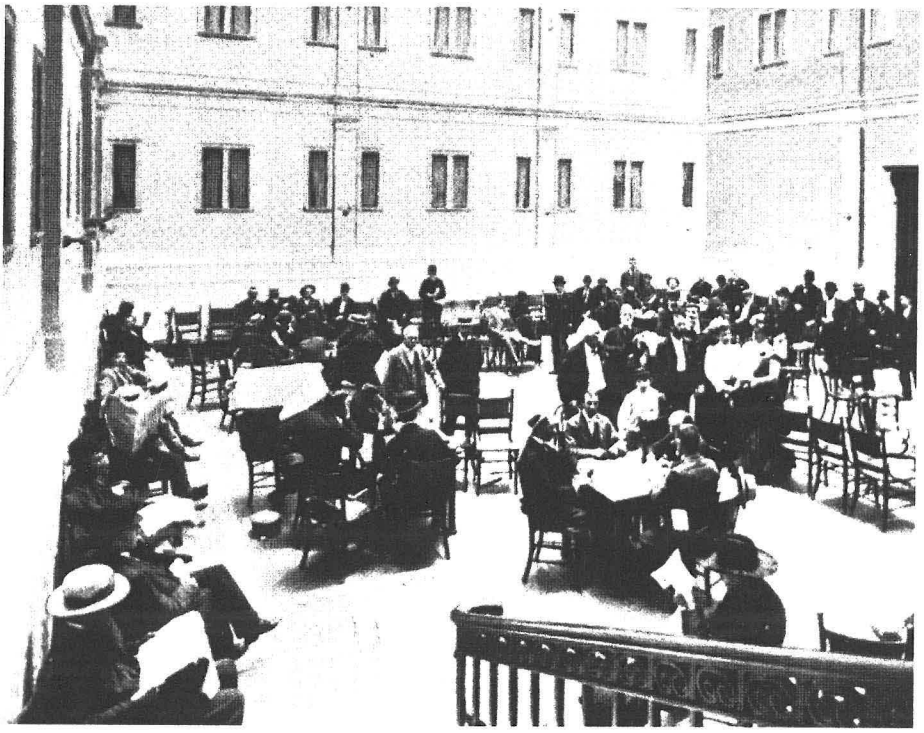


Figure 1-19: Mills' Hotel, Ernest Flagg, 1896.
Mardges Bacon, *Ernest Flagg: Beaux-Arts Architect and Urban Reformer* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1985), 257.

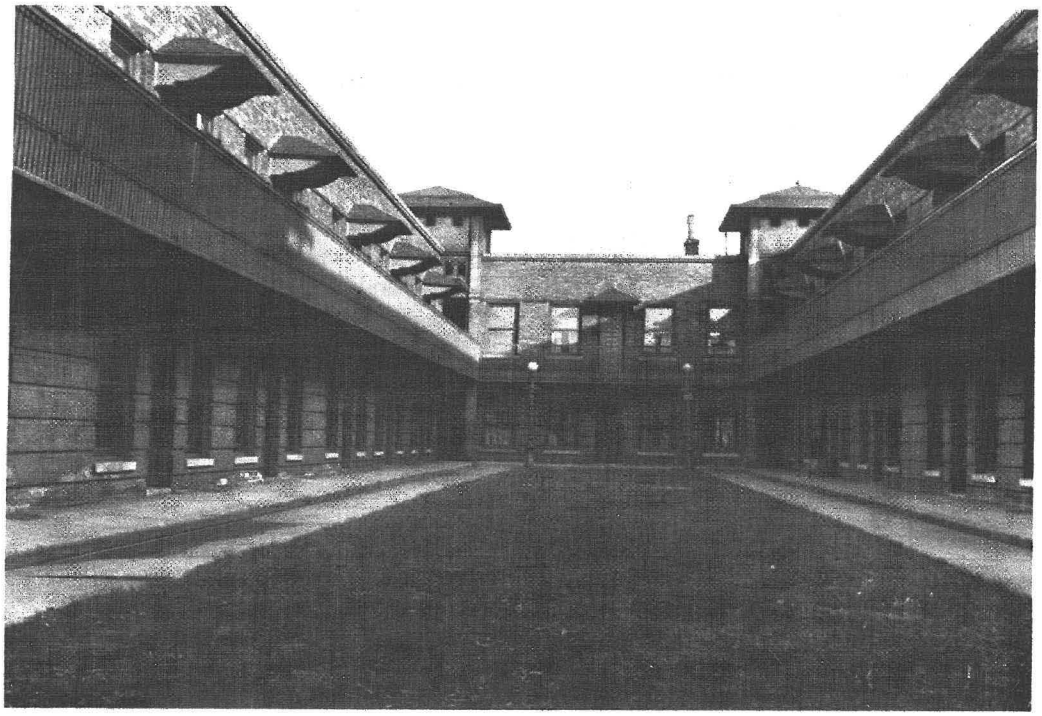


Figure 1-20: Courtyard view, Francisco Terrace, Frank Lloyd Wright, 1895.
Deveraux Bowly, *The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895 1976* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 2.

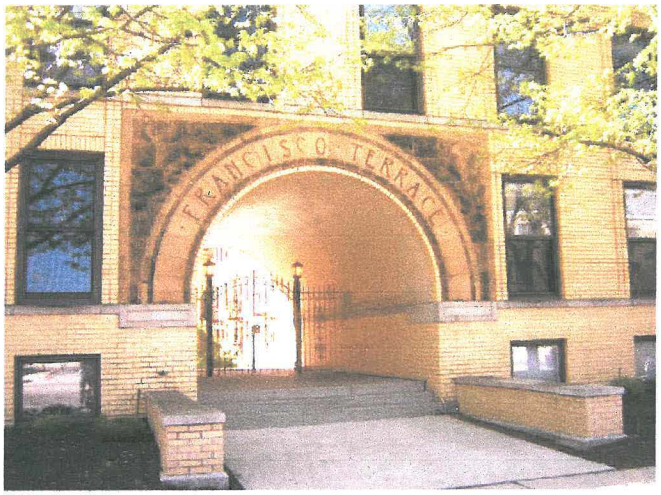


Figure 1-21: View, Francisco Terrace, Frank Lloyd Wright, 1895. Photo by author, 2007.

Figure 1-22: Massachusetts Homestead Commission houses in Lowell, Arthur C. Comey, Kilham & Hopkins, 1916.
Richard M. Candee and Greer Hardwicke, "Early Twentieth-Century Reform Housing by Kilham and Hopkins, Architects of Boston," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22/1 (Spring 1987): 63.

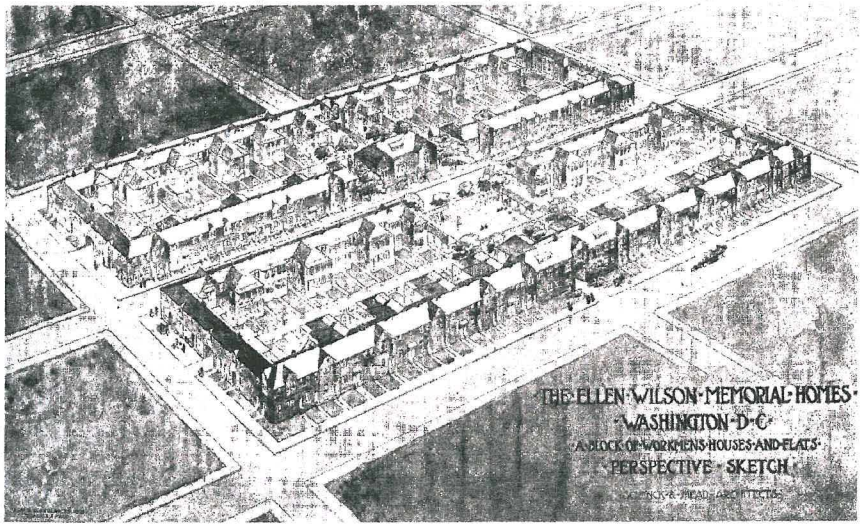


Figure 1-23: Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes, Schenck & Meade, 1915. George B. Ford, "The Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 3/8 (August 1915): 352.

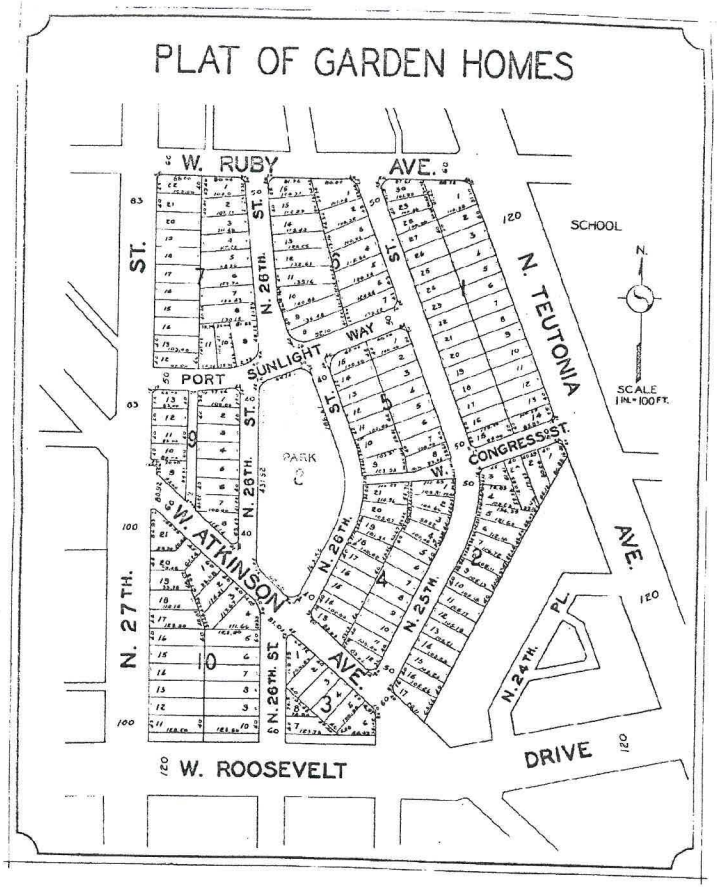


Figure 1-24: Site Plan, Milwaukee Garden Homes, William Schuchardt, 1921. "The Milwaukee Garden Homes Housing Project," Milwaukee Public Library, Frank P. Zeidler Humanities Room, Clipping File for "Garden Homes."

Figure 1-25: Milwaukee Garden Homes. Photo by author, 2005.

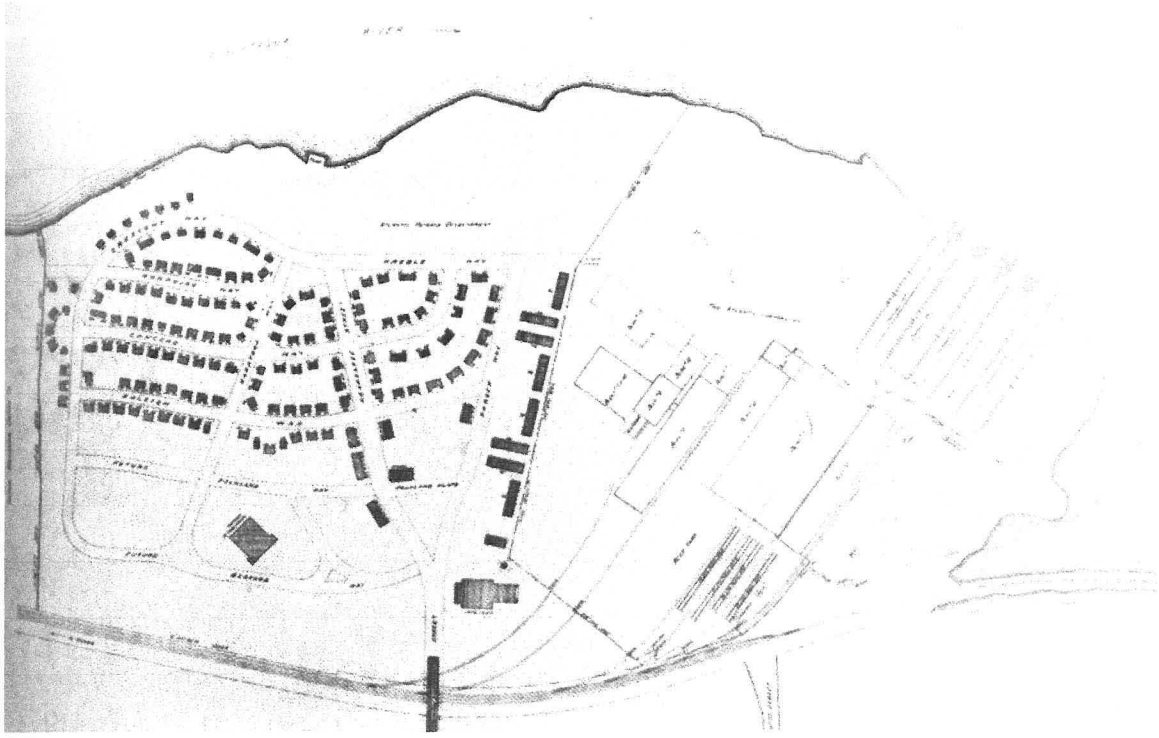


Figure 1-26: Plan, Atlantic Heights, Kilham and Hopkins, 1918.
Candee, 67.

Figure 1-27: View, Atlantic Heights, Kilham and Hopkins.
Candee, 66.

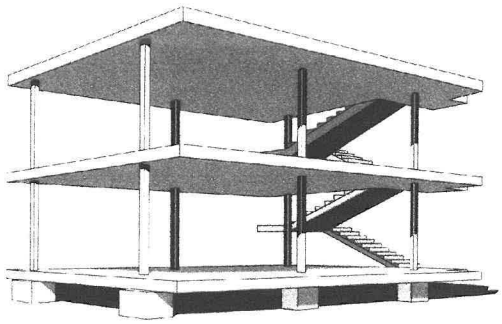


Figure 1-28: Dom-ino House, Le Corbusier, 1920.
University of Virginia Art Department ARTemis Archive, JD07.007.231.

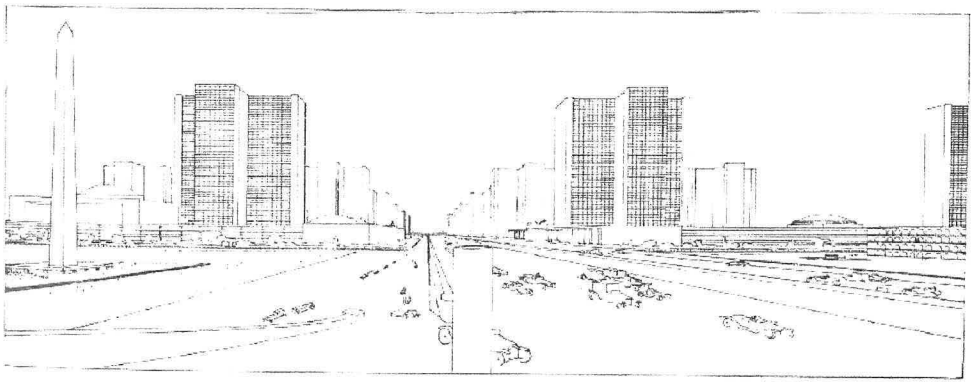


Figure 1-29: Rendering, Ville Contemporaine, Le Corbusier, 1922.
Spiro Kostoff, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 707.

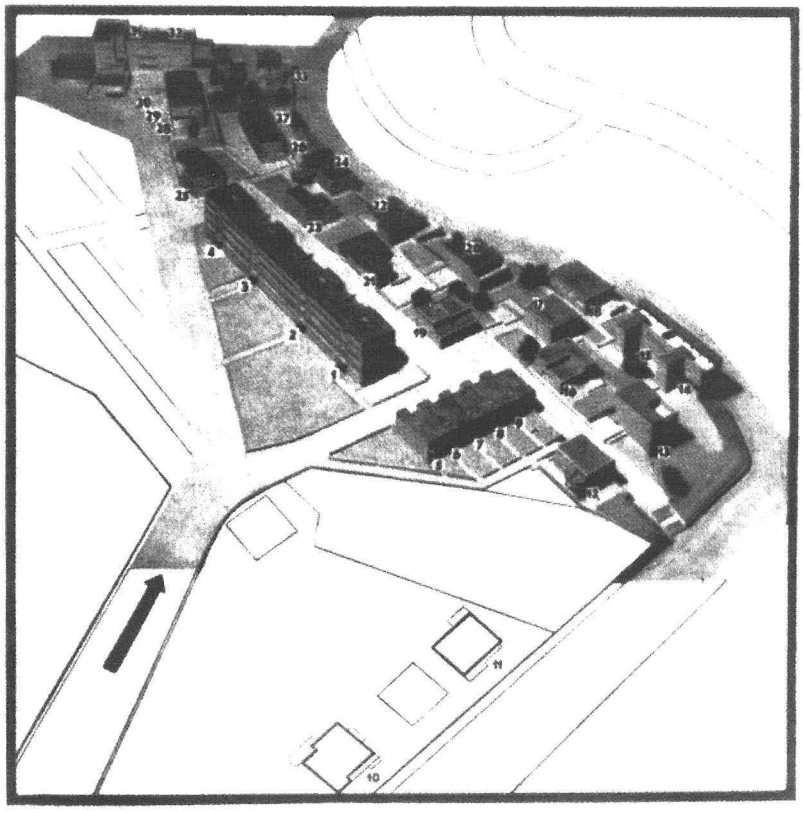


Figure 1-30: Weissenhof Estate, site plan by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, 1927.
Richard Pommer, and Christian F. Otto. *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1.

Figure 1-31: View, Weissenhof Estate, site plan by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, 1927. Note the importance of lighting, shade and shadow in these compositions. Pommer, 3.

Figure 1-32: Housing Project, Frankfurt, 1925-1930. Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 29.

Figure 1-33: Karl Marx Hof, Karl Ehn, 1927.
Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1999), 325.

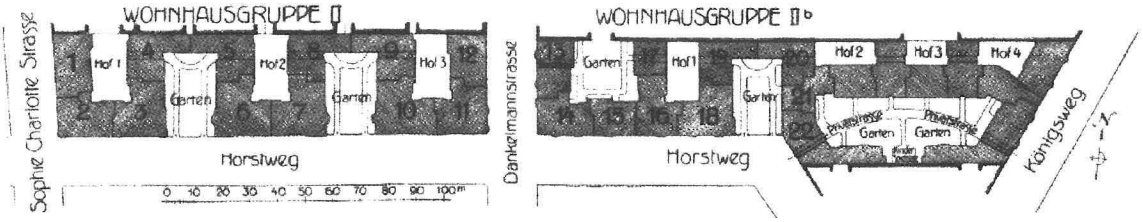


Figure 1-34: Charlottenburg block that inspired the Queensboro Corporation.
Plunz, 138.

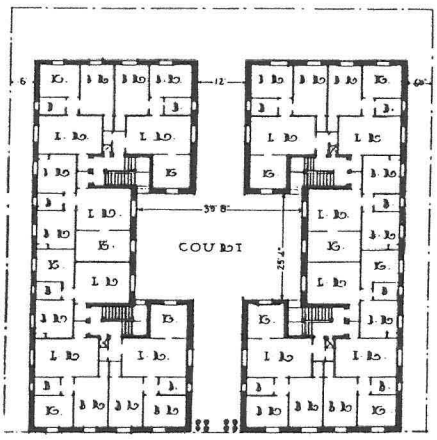


Figure 1-35: Andrew Thomas plan, Phelps Stokes Fund competition, 1921.
Plunz, 136.

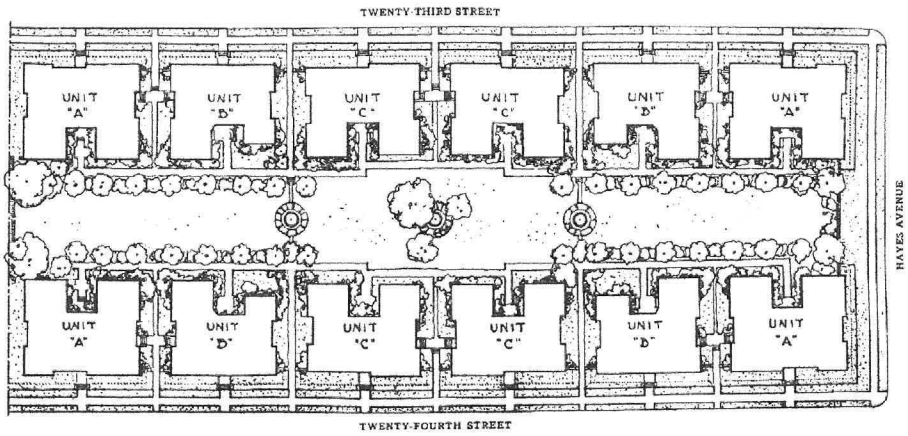


Figure 1-36: Site Plan, The Chateau, Andrew Thomas, 1922
Plunz, 143.

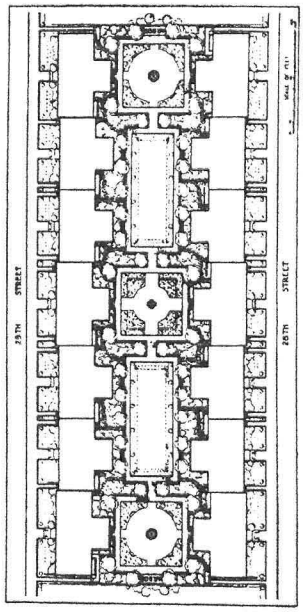


Figure 1-37: Site Plan, Cambridge Court, George Wells, 1924
Plunz, 146.

Figure 1-38: View, Amalgamated Clothing Worker's Union Apartment Building, Springsteen and Goldhammer, 1926.
Plunz, 166.

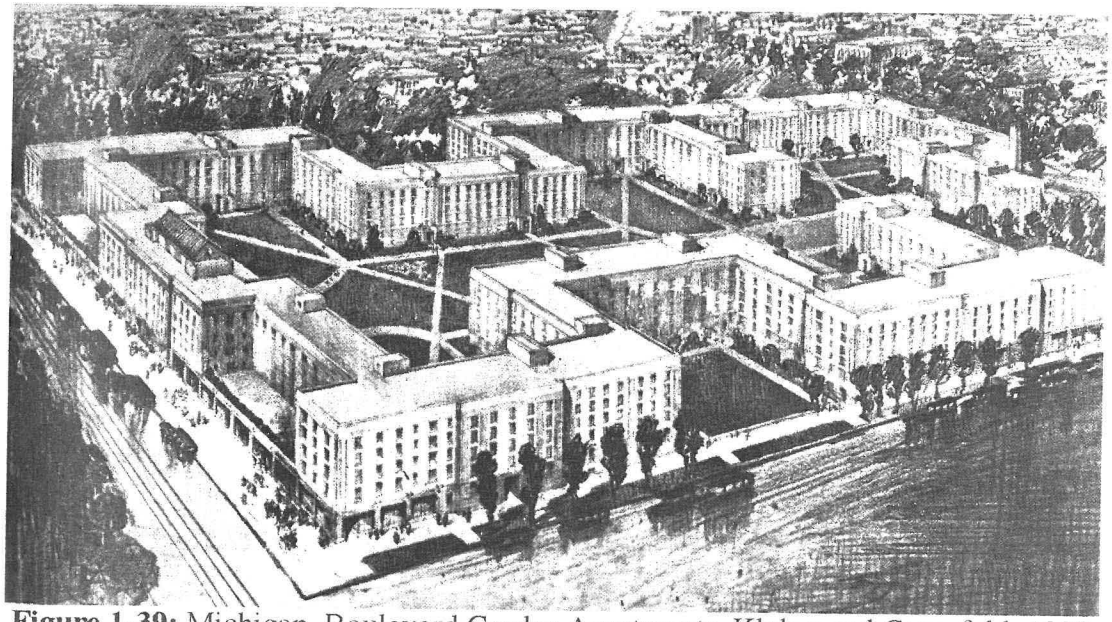


Figure 1-39: Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments, Klaber and Grunsfeld, 1929. Bowly, 9.

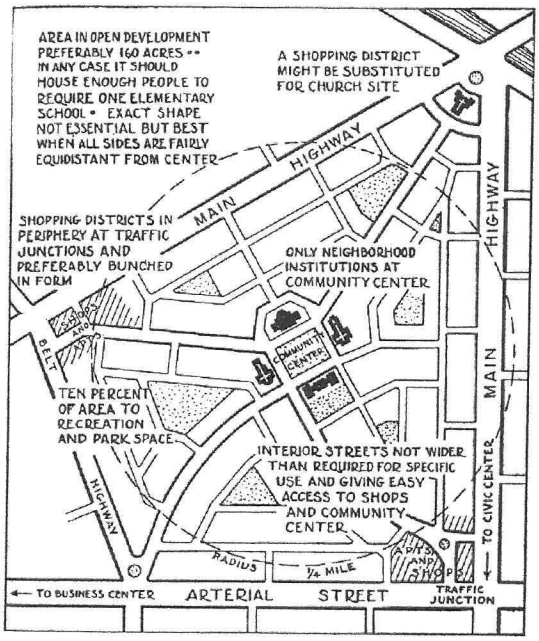


Figure 1-40: Neighborhood Units, Clarence Perry. Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), 32.

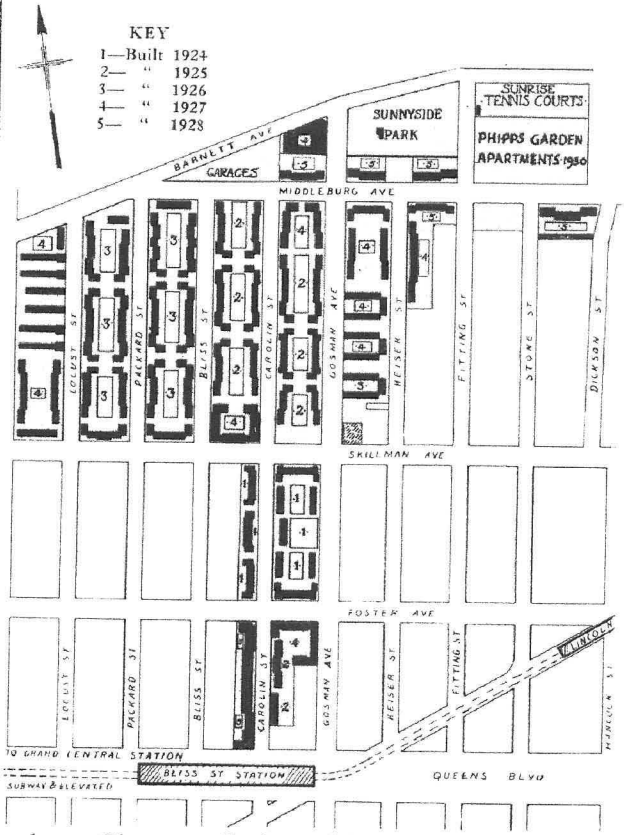


Figure 1-41: Plan, Sunnyside Gardens, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, 1924. Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 23.

Figure 1-42: View, Sunnyside Gardens.
Stein, 32.

Figure 1-43: Plan, Radburn, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, 1928.
Stein, 49.

Figure 1-44: View, Radburn.
Stein, 71.

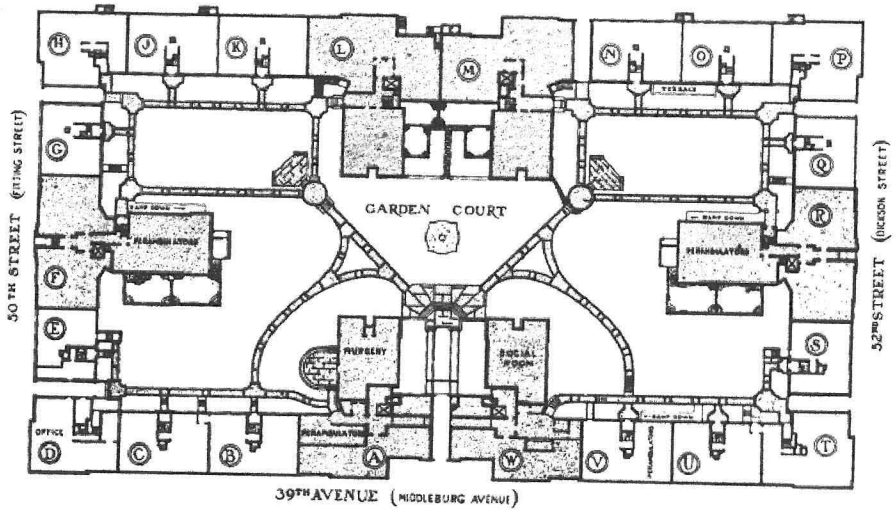


Figure 1-45: Site Plan, Phipps Garden Apartments, Clarence Stein, 1931.
Stein, 90.

Figure 1-46: Interior garden view, Phipps Garden Apartments. Stein, 86.

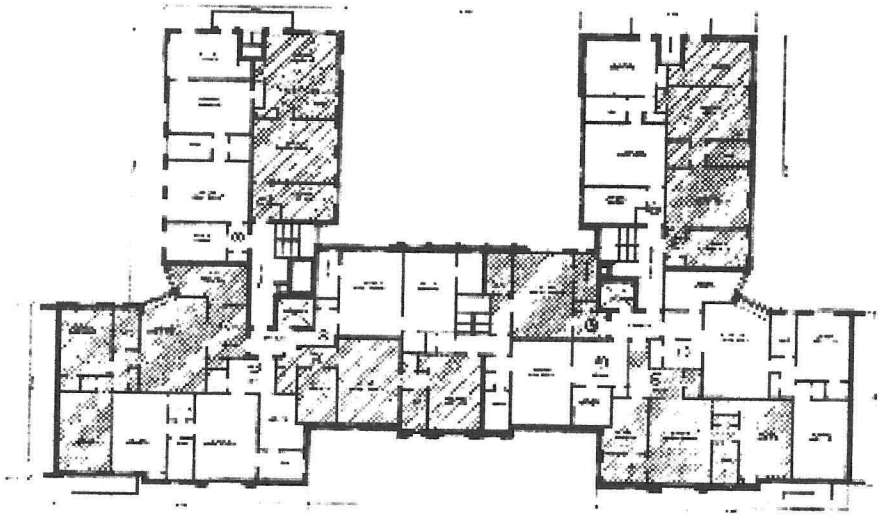


Figure 1-47: Elevator Building plan, Phipps Garden Apartments. Stein, 88.

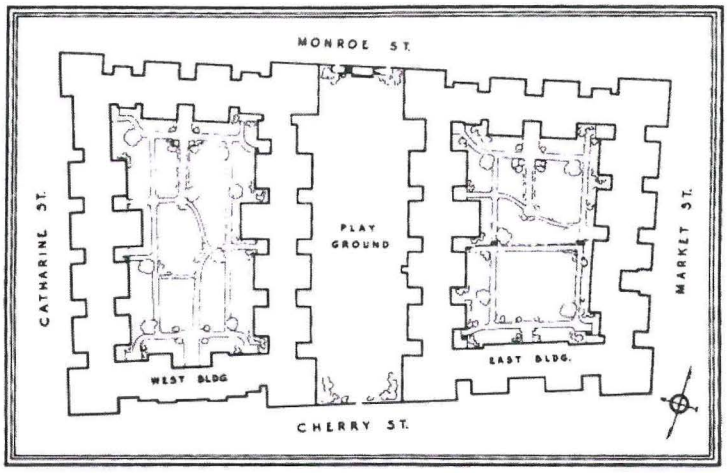


Figure 2-1: Site Plan, Knickerbocker Village, Frederick Ackerman, 1932. Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 211.

Figure 2-2: View, Knickerbocker Village, New York NY. Note depth of central courtyards. Knickerbocker Village Tenant's Organization, http://www.knickvill.com/en/index.php.

Figure 2-3: Main facade, Temple Emanu-El, New York, NY, Robert Kohn, 1927. New York Chapter of the American Guild of Organists, http://www.nycago.org/Organs/NYC/html/EmanuElAud.html. //www.knickvill.com/en/index.php.

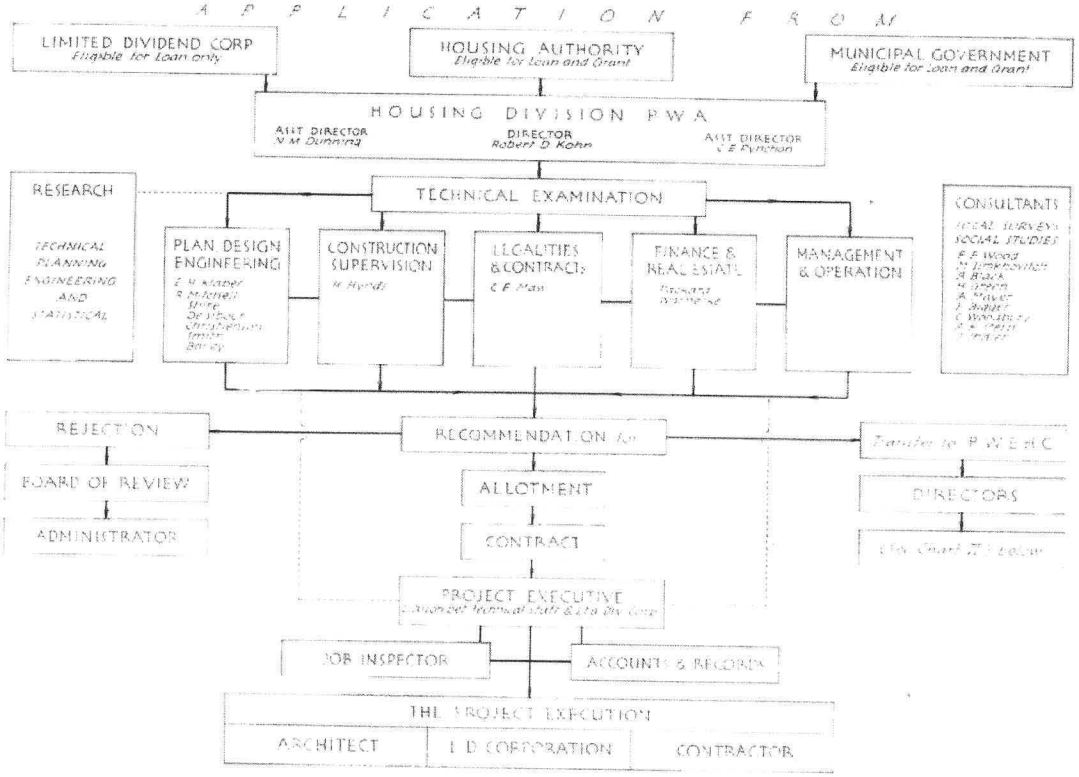


Figure 2-4: Limited Dividend Corporation Organizational Chart, 1932. *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (February 1934), 99.

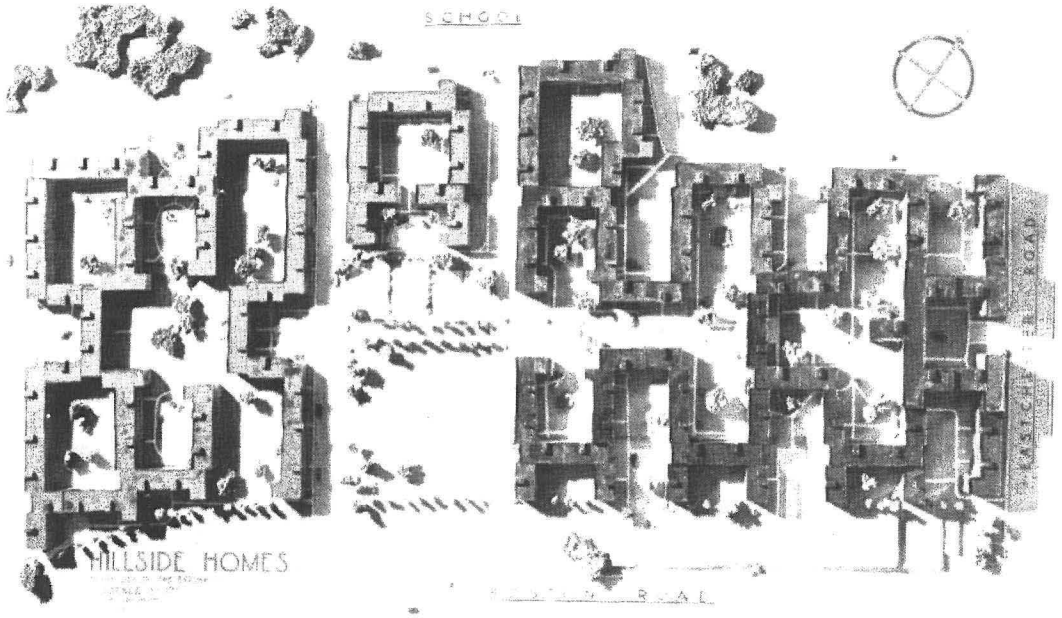


Figure 2-5: Site Plan, Hillside Homes, Clarence Stein, 1932. Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 98.

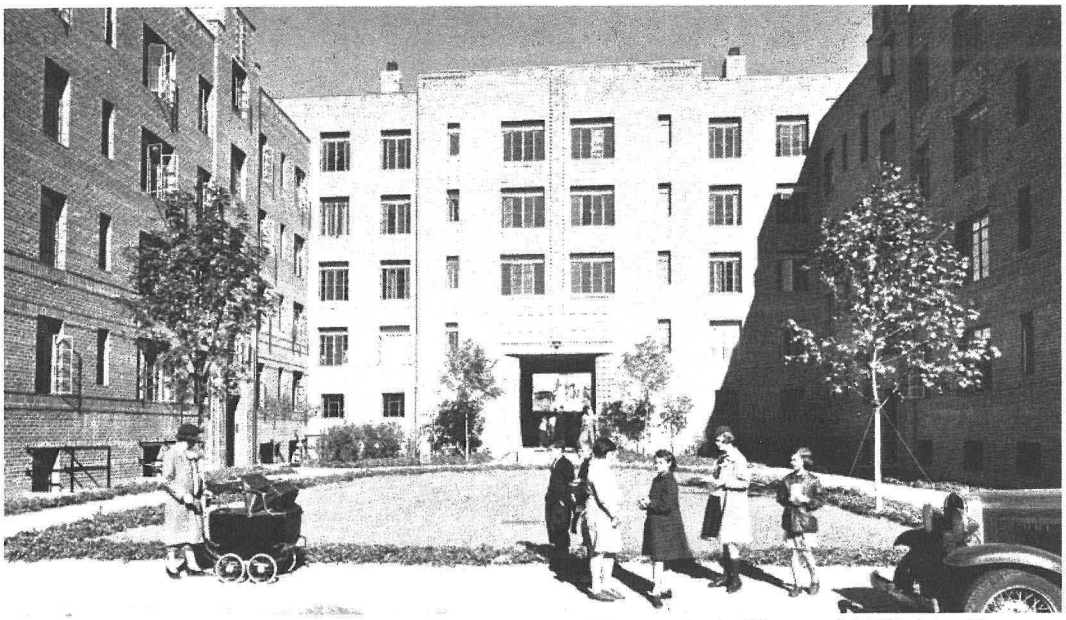


Figure 2-6: View of Hillside Homes. Stein, 99.

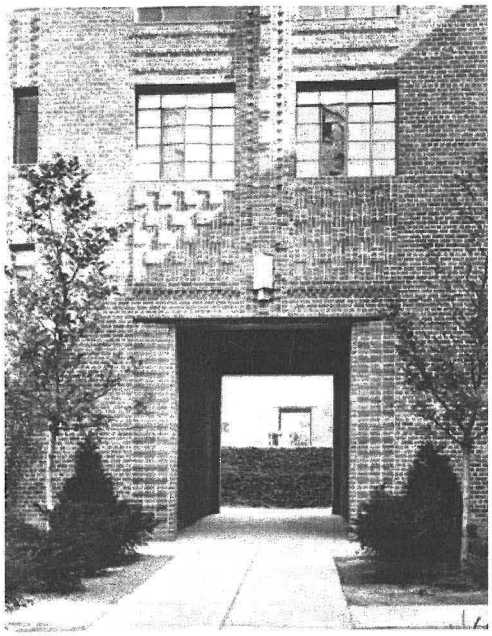


Figure 2-7: Entryway, Hillside Homes. Note decorative brickwork. Stein, 105.

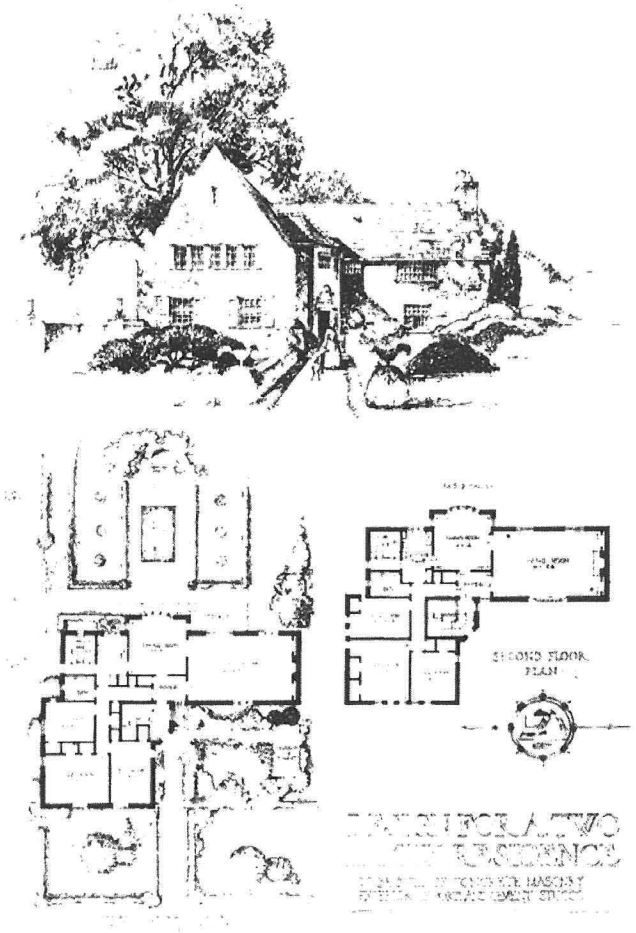


Figure 2-8: "Design for a Family Residence," Alfred Kastner. "The Two Family House," The American Architect (20 May 1928), 705.

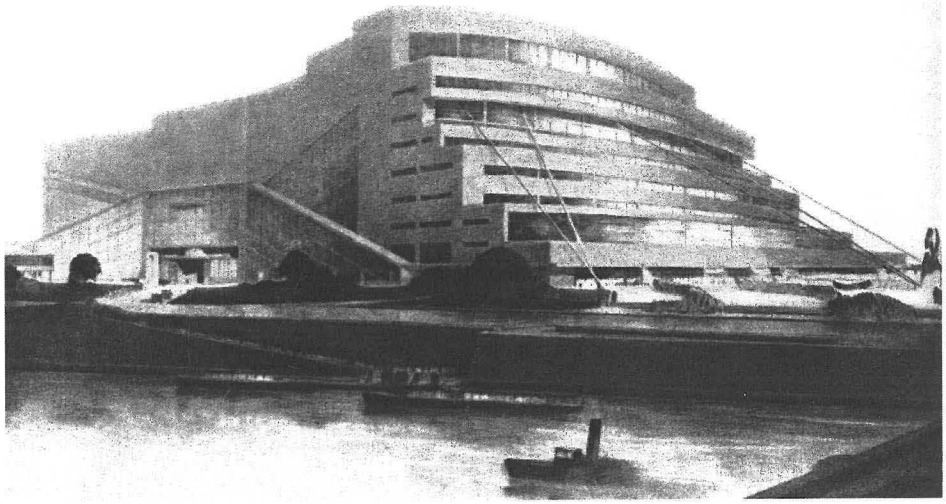


Figure 2-9: Kastner and Stonorov's Palace of the Soviets entry, 1931 (rendering by Hugh Ferris).
"Illustrated News." *Architectural Record* 71, 4 (April, 1932); 278.

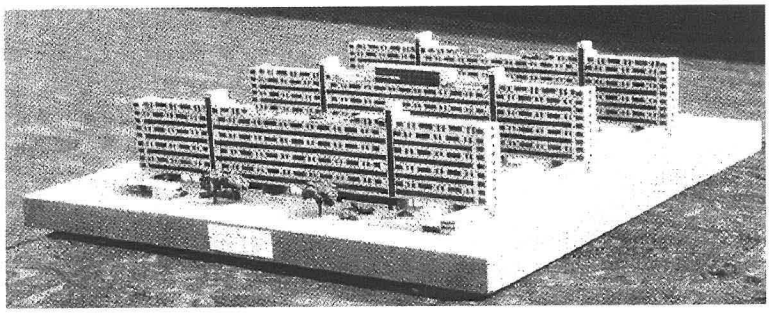


Figure 2-10: Site Plan, Carl Mackley Houses, Oscar Stonorov, 1932.
Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 127.

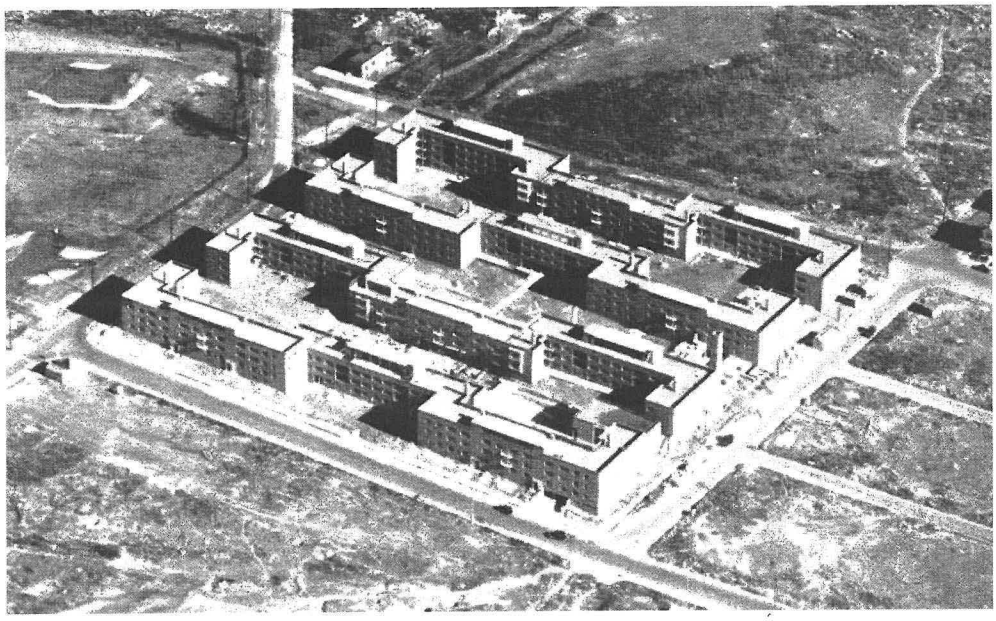


Figure 2-11: Aerial View, Carl Mackley Houses, Kastner and Stonorov, 1933.
"Standards for Residential Construction – Control Through Mortgage Insurance," *Architectural Record* 77/9 (March, 1935); 189.

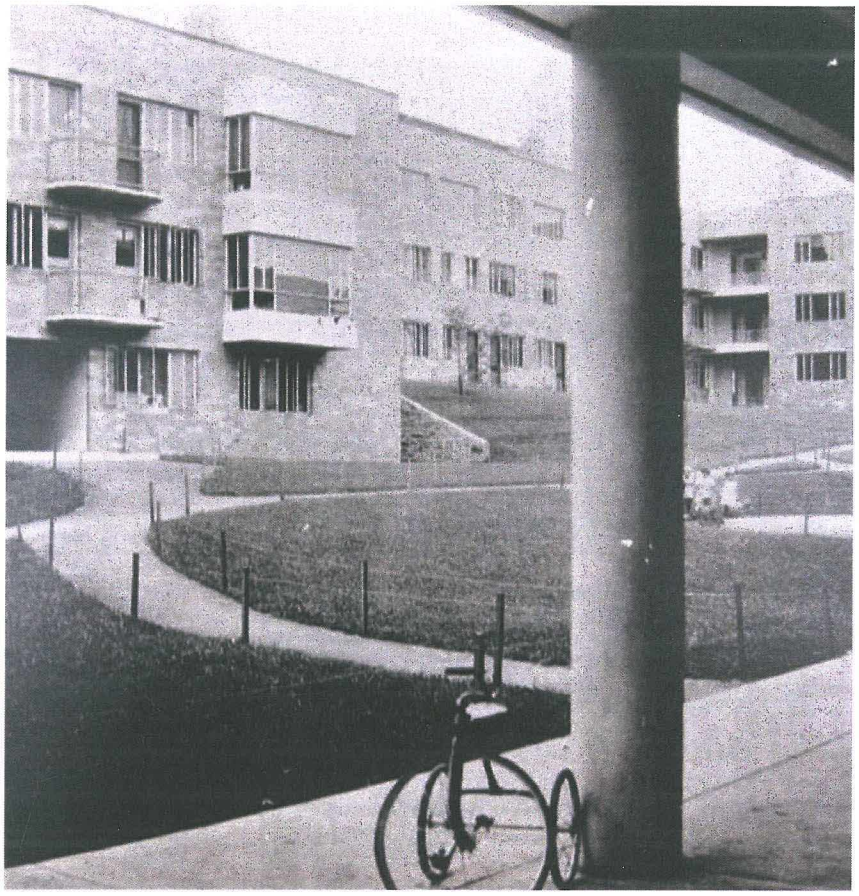


Figure 2-12: View, Carl Mackley Houses. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1422, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Still Picture Research Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II

Figure 2-13: Carl Mackley Houses. Compositionally, the rooftop laundries balance the ground floor breezeways. Photo by author, 2006.

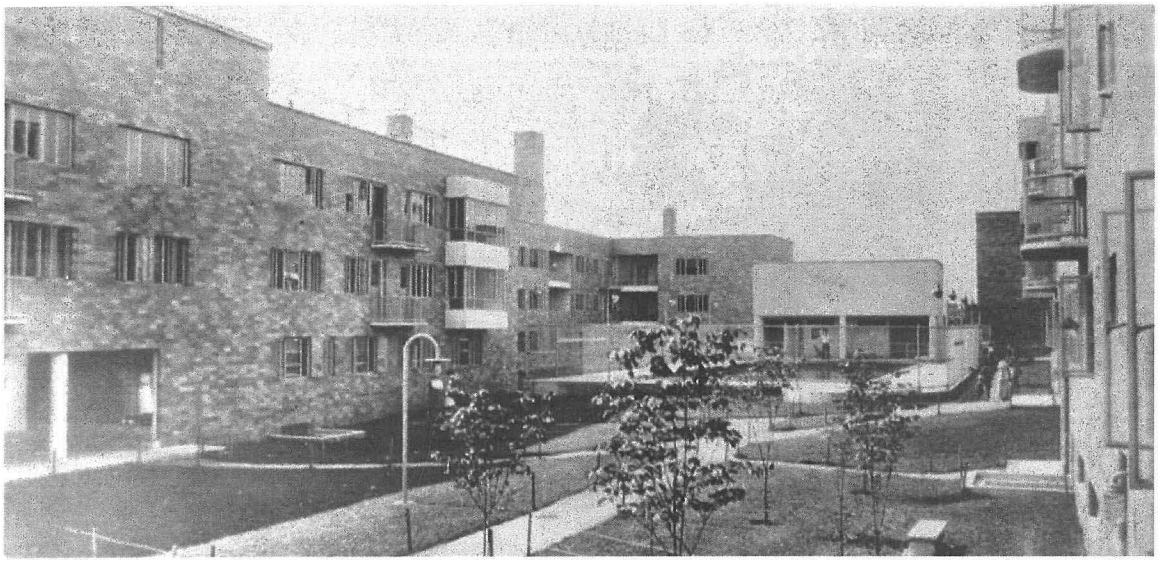


Figure 2-14: Central courtyard with Swimming Pool and Community Building, Carl Mackley Houses. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1422.

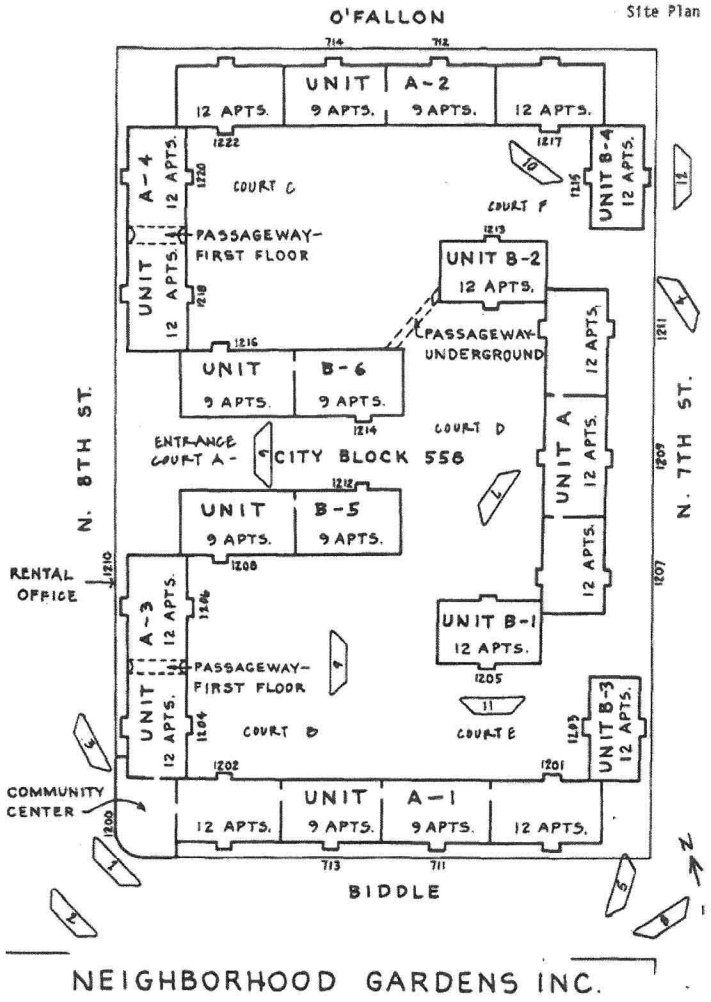


Figure 2-15: Site Plan, Neighborhood Gardens, Hoener, Baum & Froese, 1933. Carolyn H. Toft, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments" *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form*, (September 18, 1985), 10.

Figure 2-16: Historic Street View, Neighborhood Gardens. Note brick coursing.
Toft, 12.

Figure 2-17: Courtyard View, Neighborhood Gardens, 1985.
Toft, 14.

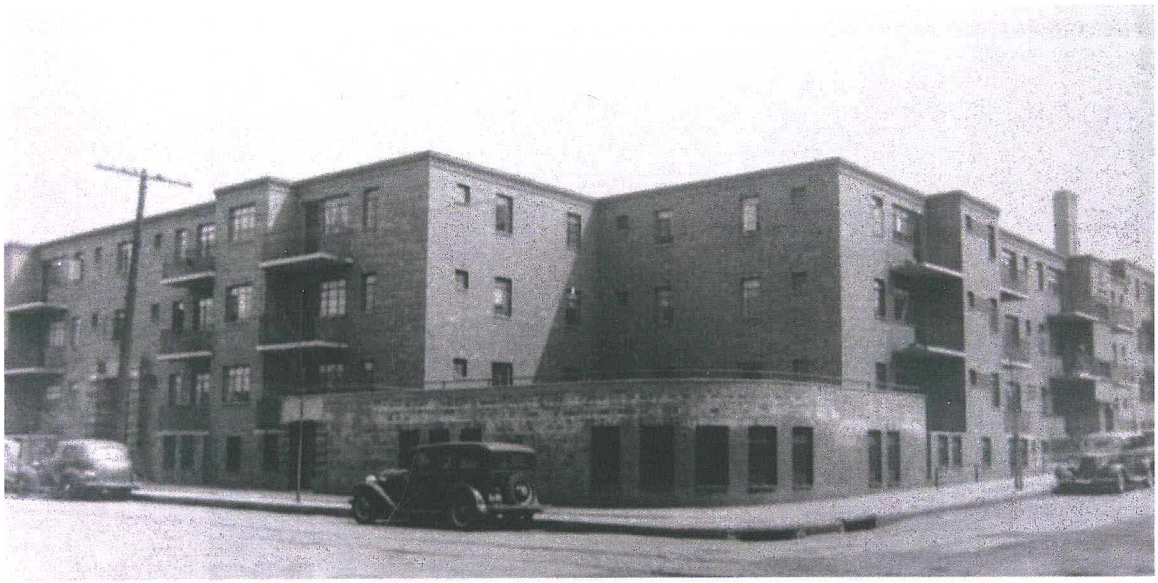


Figure 2-18: Community Center, Neighborhood Gardens.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1417.

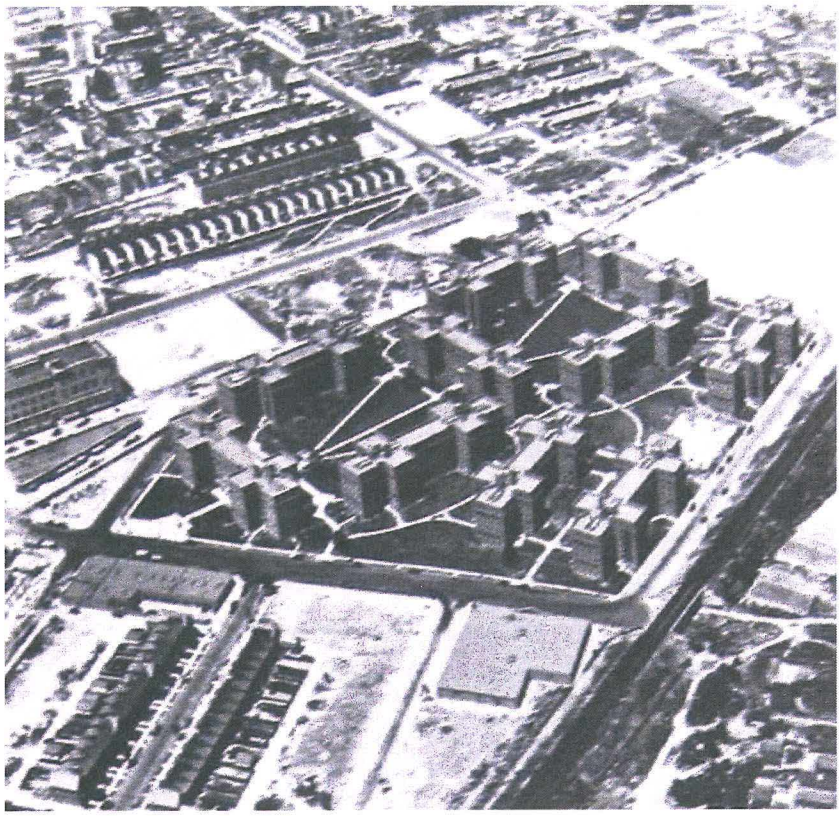


Figure 2-19: Aerial View, Boulevard Gardens, Thomas Englehardt, 1934.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1410.

Figure 2-20: View, Boulevard Gardens.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1410.

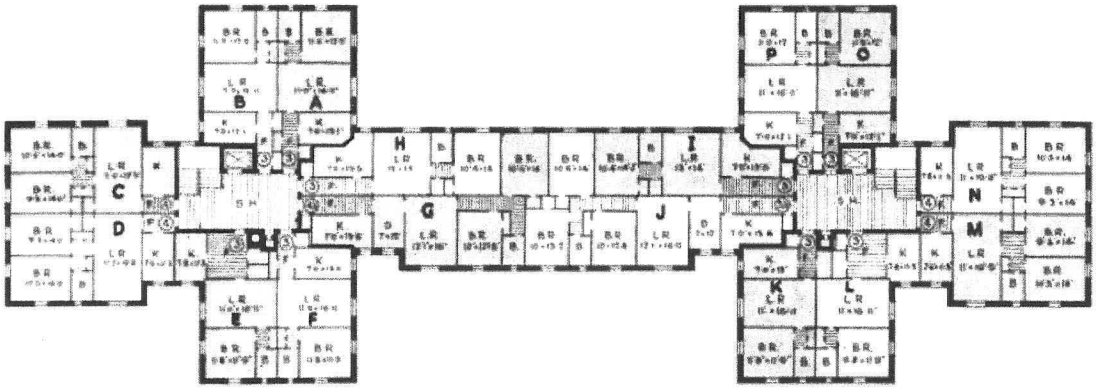


Figure 2-21: Interior Plan, Boulevard Gardens.
"Standards for Residential Construction – Control Through Mortgage Insurance." *Architectural Record* 77, 9 (March, 1935); 188.

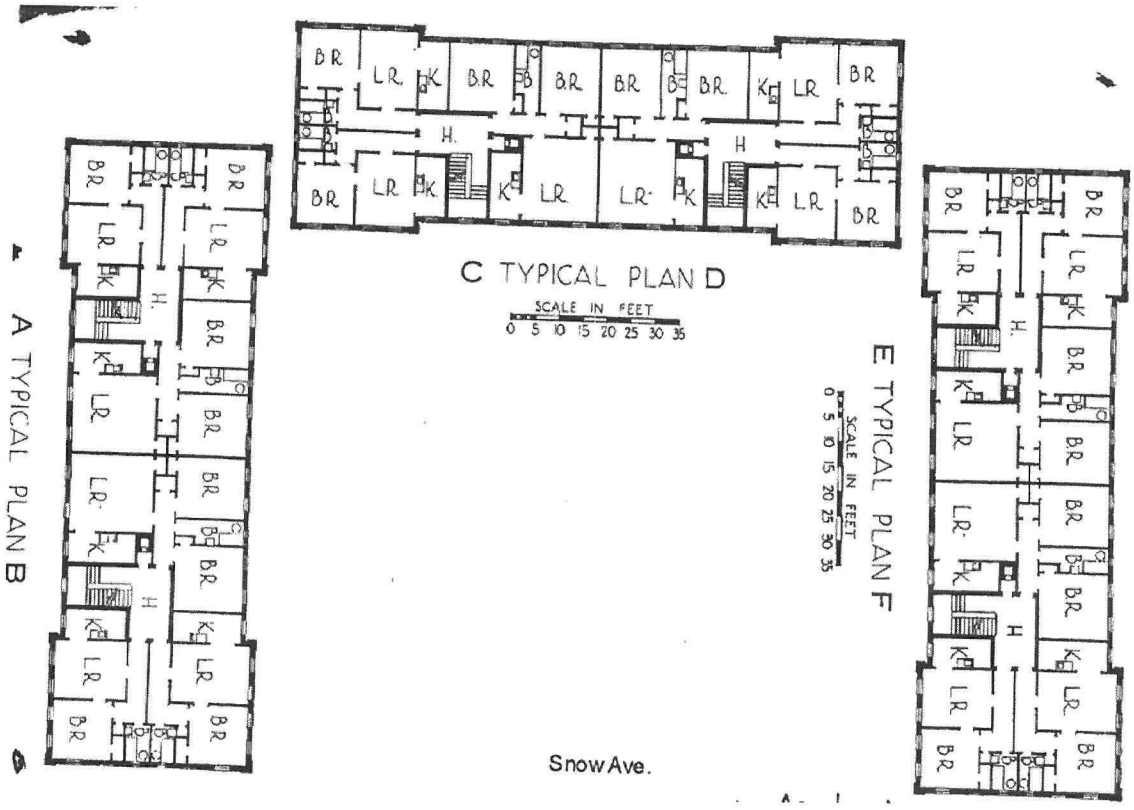
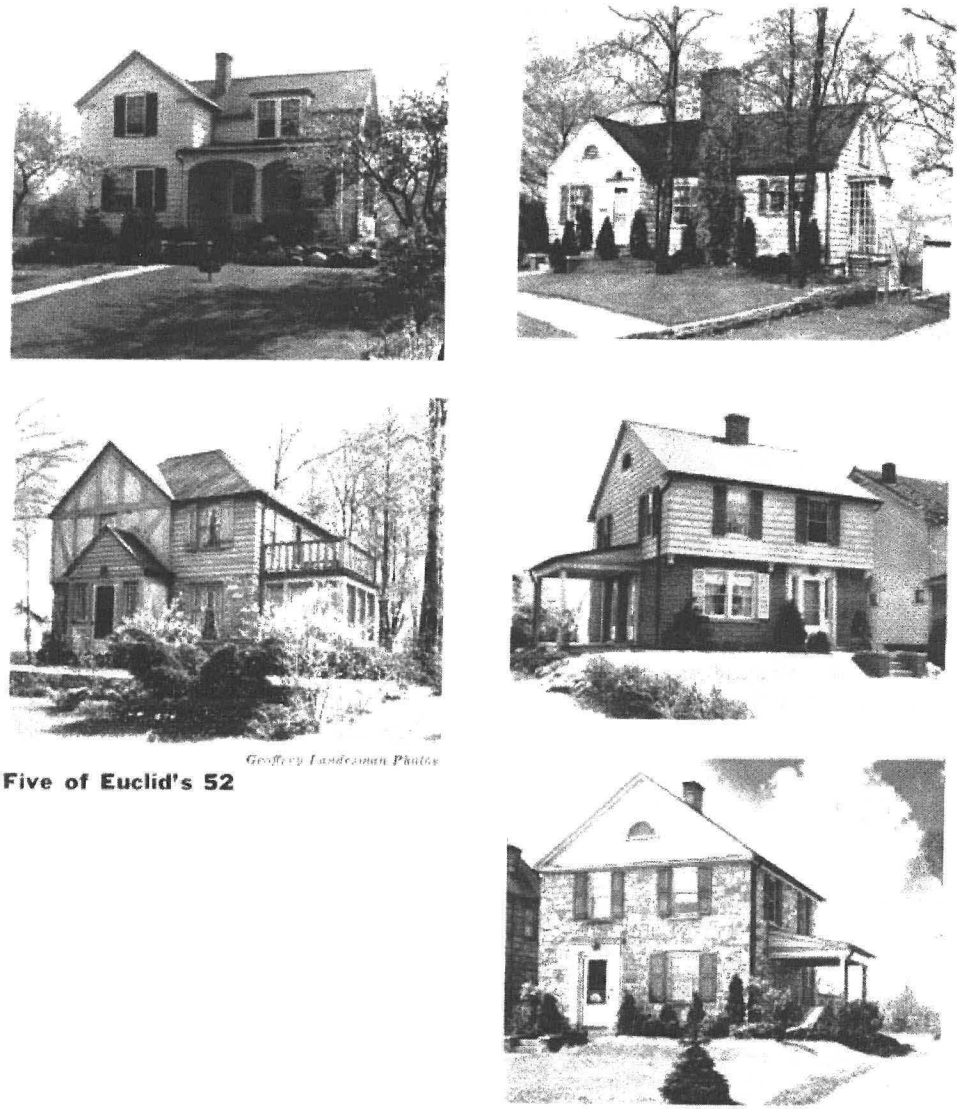


Figure 2-22: Building Plan, Boylan Heights, Linthicum and Linthicum, 1934. Ellen Turco, "Boylan Apartments." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form* (23 July 2007), 4.

Figure 2-23: View, Boylan Heights. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1435.

Figure 2-24: Entry, Boylan Heights.
Turco, 6.

Figure 2-25: View, Alta Vista Limited Dividend Houses, Johnson & Brannon, 1933. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1430, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Still Picture Research Room, NARA II.



Geoffrey Landesman Photos

Five of Euclid's 52

Figure 2-26: View, Euclid Limited Dividend Corporation Houses, George Mayer, 1933. "The Euclid Housing Plan," *Architectural Forum* 36/6 (June, 1936): 514.

Figure 3-1: Set of *One-Third of a Nation.* Federal Theater Project of the United States Works Progress Administration, "One Third of a Nation: A Living Newspaper." *Federal Theater Plays*. New York: Random House (1938), 1.

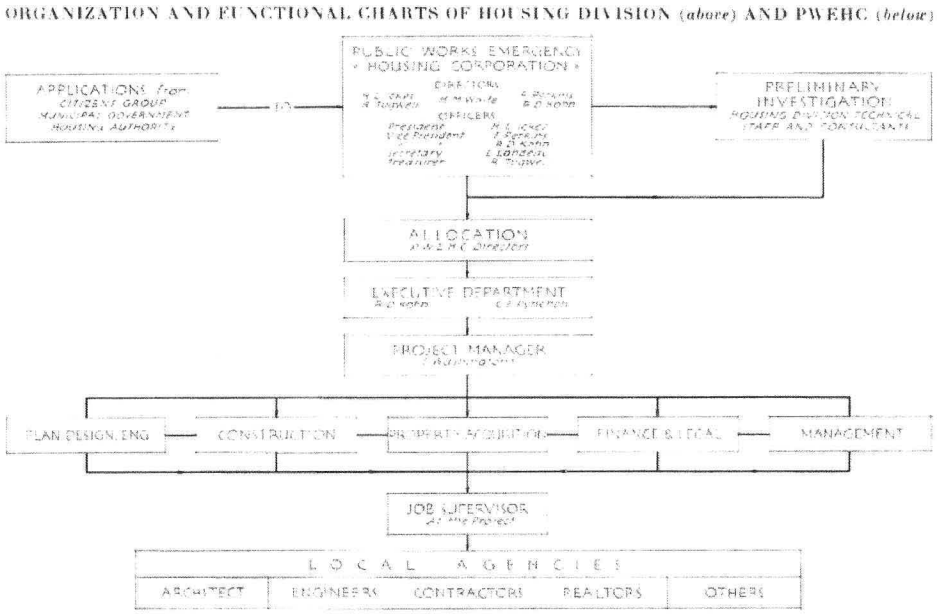


Figure 3-2: Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation Organizational Chart. *Architectural Forum* 60/2 (February 1934), 99.

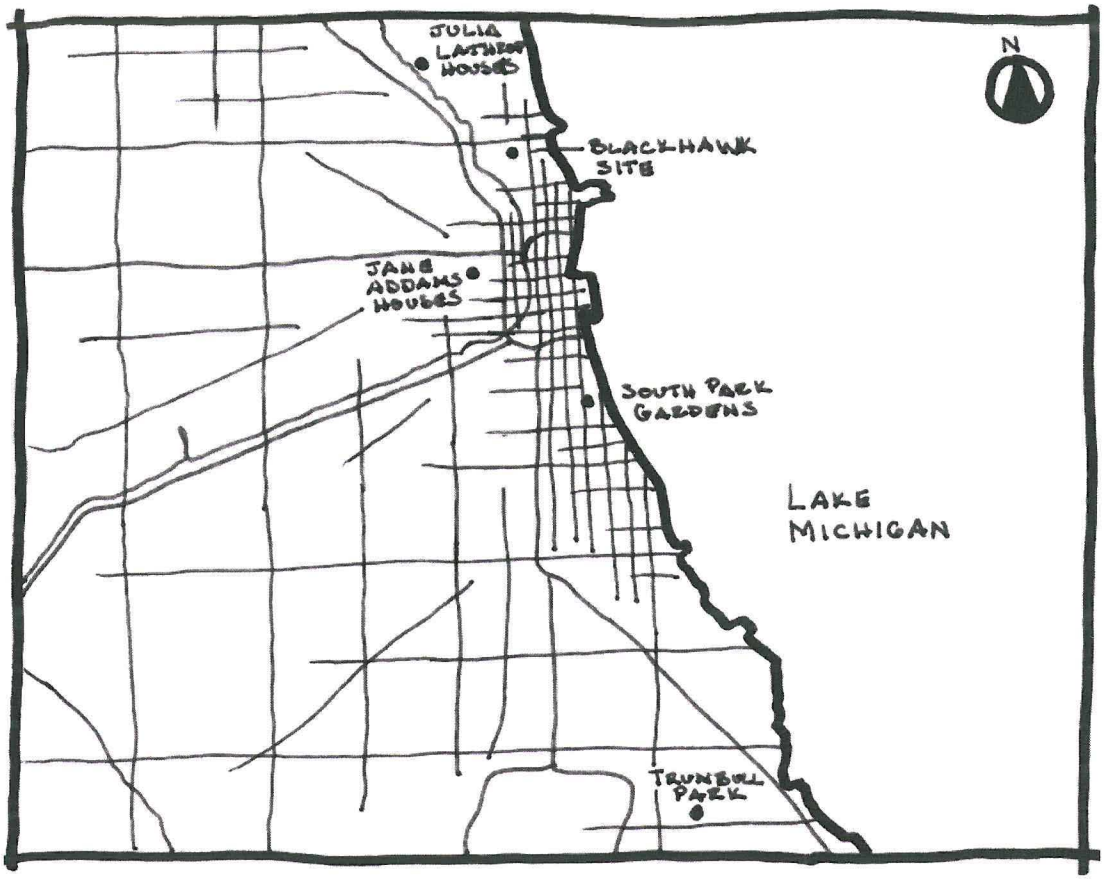


Figure 3-3: Locations of the proposed and built HD projects in Chicago. Image by author.

Figure 3-4: Site, Jane Addams Houses, Chicago IL. GoogleEarth Map, manipulated by author.

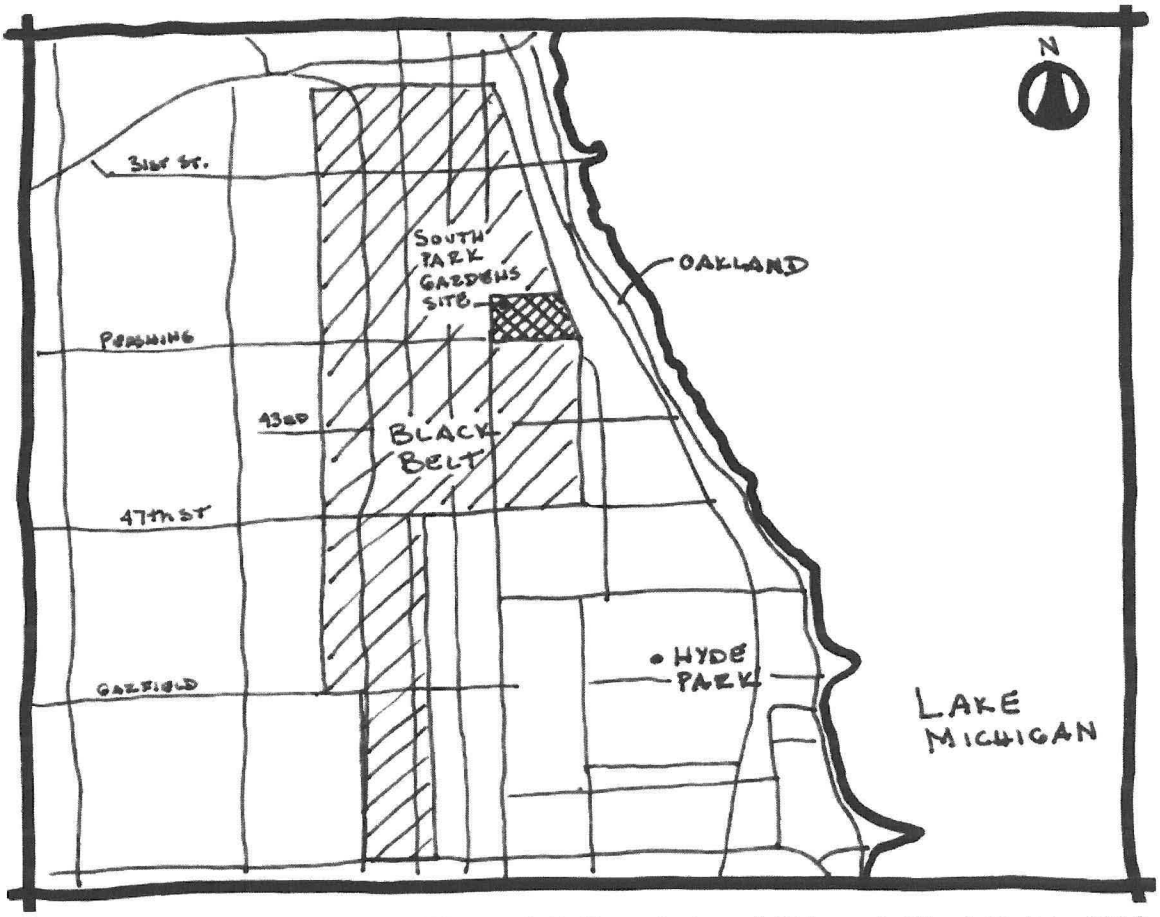


Figure 3-5: Boundaries of Chicago's Black Belt in 1930. Image by author.

PROPORTION OF TOTAL CITY EXPENDITURES MADE IN A CLEVELAND SLUM SECTION

(Reprinted from "An Analysis of a Slum Area in Cleveland")

Basic Data:	*Cleveland*	*The Section*	*Per Cent in The Section*
Population, 1930	900,429	22,236	2.47
Appraised Value of Property	$1,086,382,570	$8,153,470	.75
Area in Acres	45,395	333	.73
Services Rendered:			
Fire Protection	$ 2,811,923	$406,159	$14.44
Police Protection	3,947,508	255,596	6.47
Public School Education	12,000,000	361,927	3.02
Enrollment	148,501	3,587	2.42
Per Capita Cost	81	101	
Health Work	1,904,057	138,427	7.3
Relief and Social Service	8,987,682	728,702	8.1

Figure 3-6: Slum Cost Calculations, based on Howard Whipple Green's analysis. Howard Whipple Green *Architectural Forum* 39 (May 1934): 4-5.

Figure 3-7: Typical one-story duplex house, Jersey Homesteads, NJ. Photo by author, 2003.

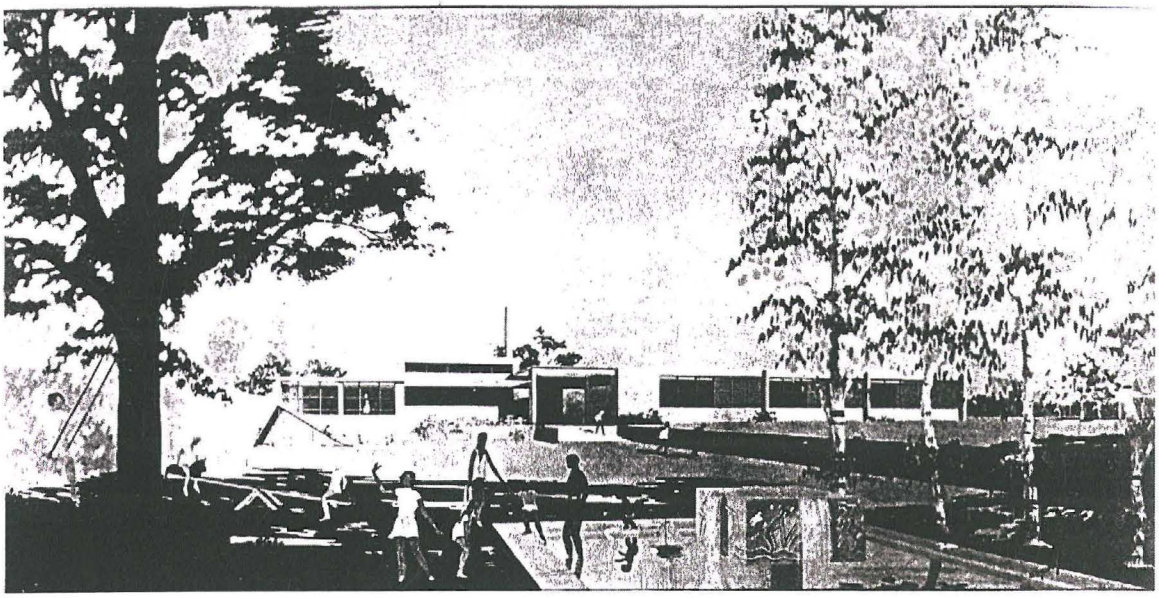


Figure 3-8: Rendering, Jersey Homesteads Elementary School, 1936. Records of the Farmers Home Administration, Jersey Homesteads, Record Group 96, Map and Drawing Collection, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.

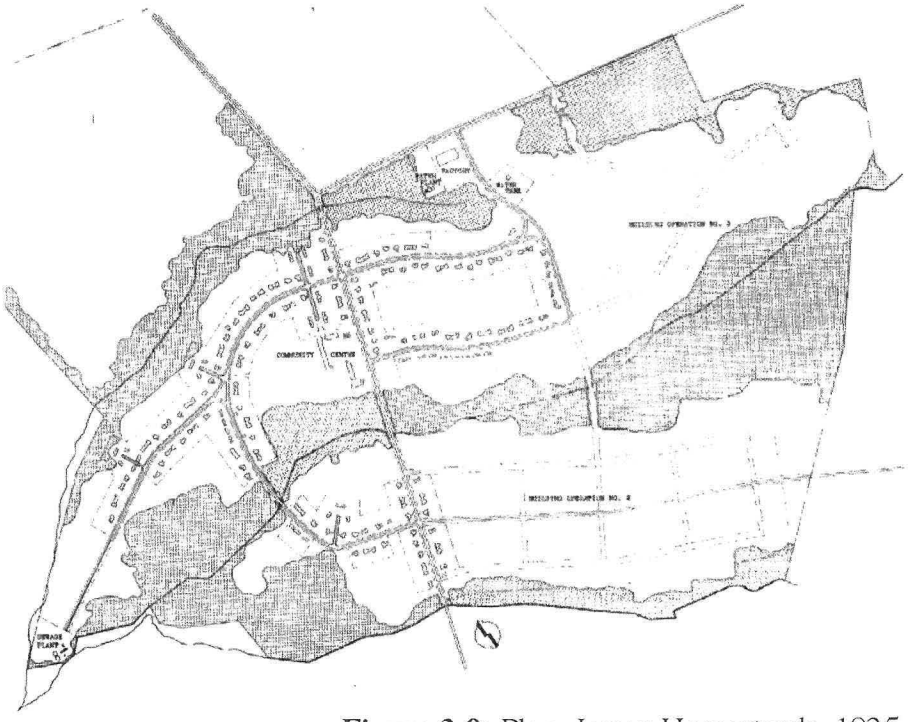


Figure 3-9: Plan, Jersey Homesteads, 1935.
Records of the Farmers Home Administration, Jersey Homesteads, Record Group 96, Map and Drawing Collection, NARA II.

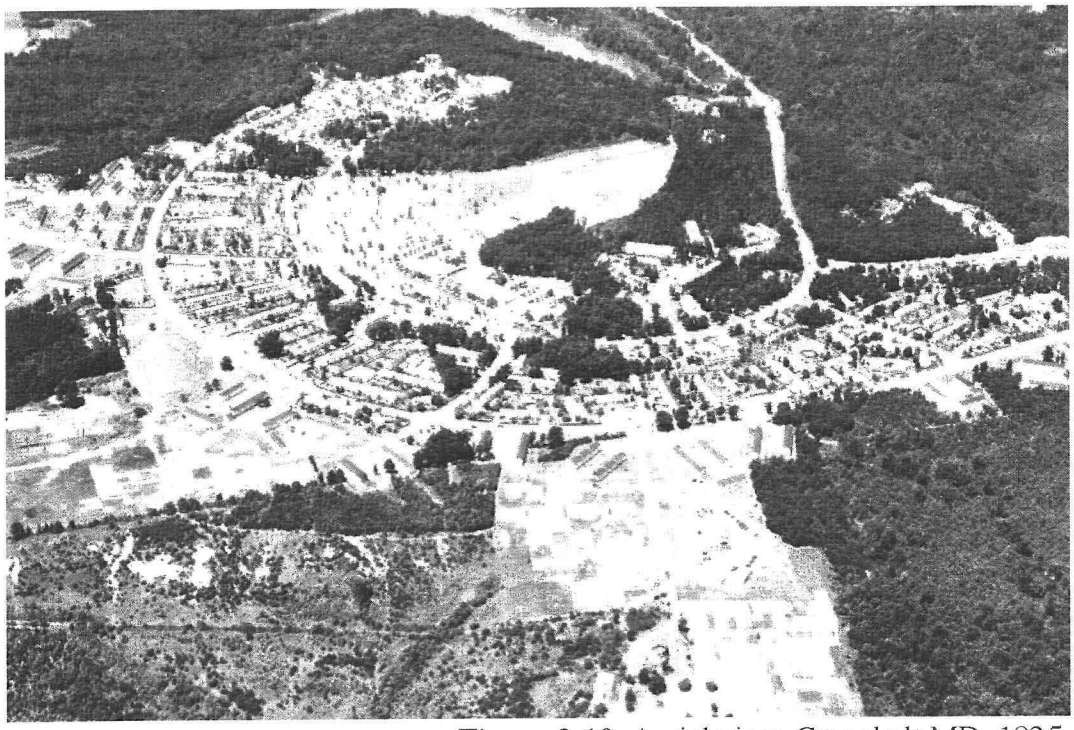


Figure 3-10: Aerial view, Greenbelt MD, 1935.
Clarence S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1957), 129.

Figure 3-11: View, Greenbelt MD.
Stein, 147.

Figure 3-12: Aerial view, Greenhills OH, 1935.
Stein, 179.

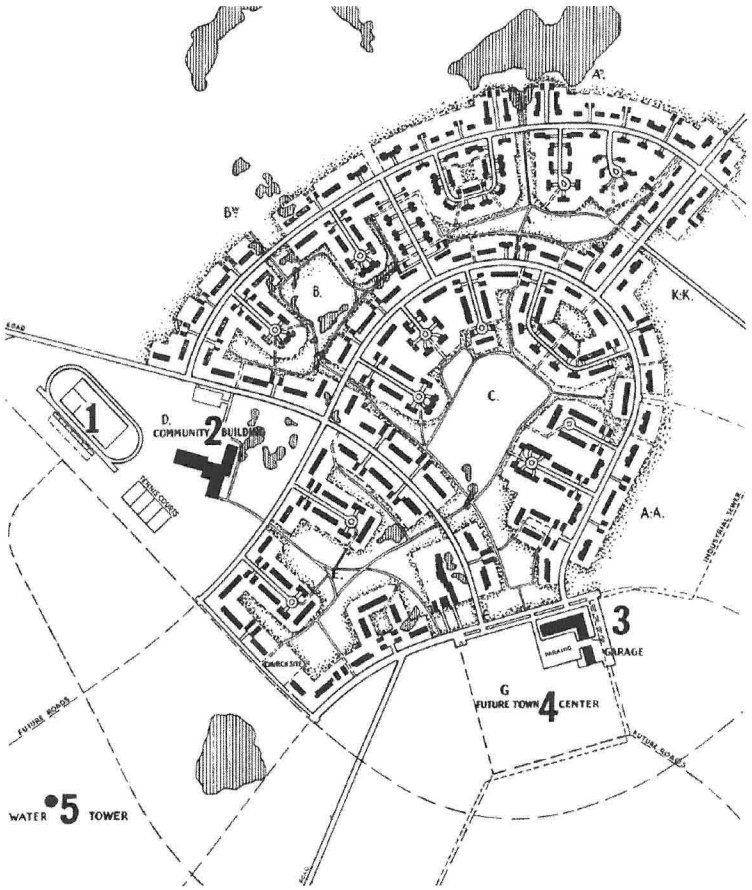


Figure 3-13: Proposed site plan, Greenbrook NJ, 1935. Stein, 182.

Figure 3-14: Site plan, Hampstead Garden Suburb, 1906. Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City Before and After*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 237.

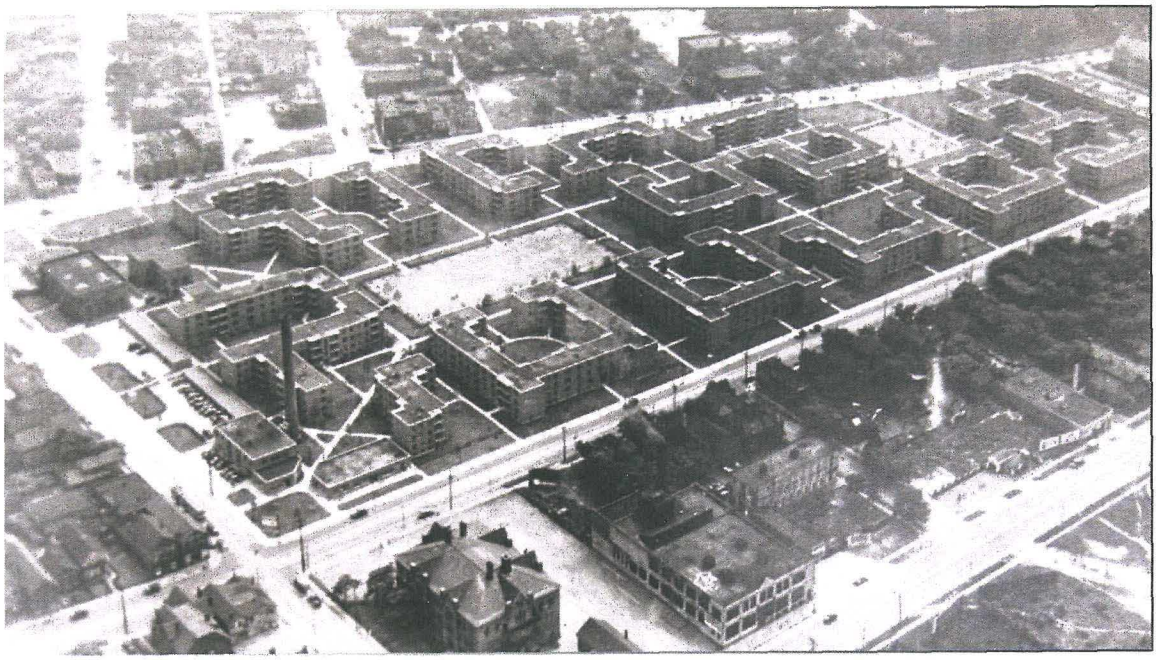


Figure 4-1: Aerial view, Cedar Central, Cleveland OH, 1933. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1397, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Still Picture Research Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.

Figure 4-2: Cedar Central from the north. Note the lack of connection to street. Image by author, 2005.

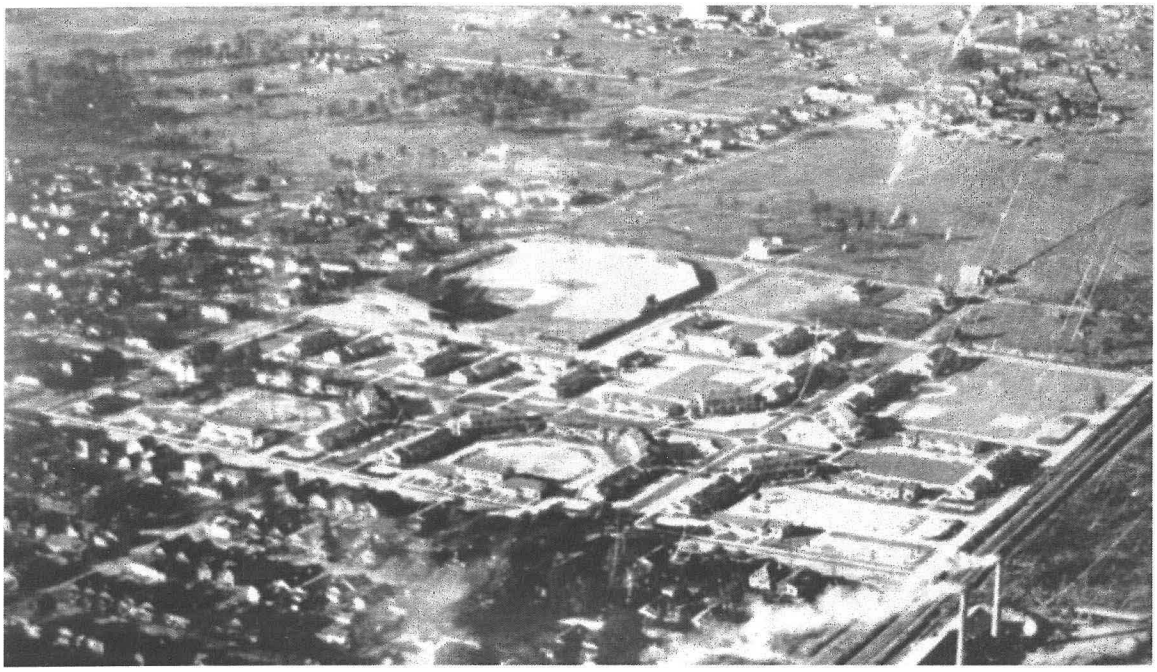


Figure 4-3: Aerial view, Durkeeville, Jacksonville FL.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1447.

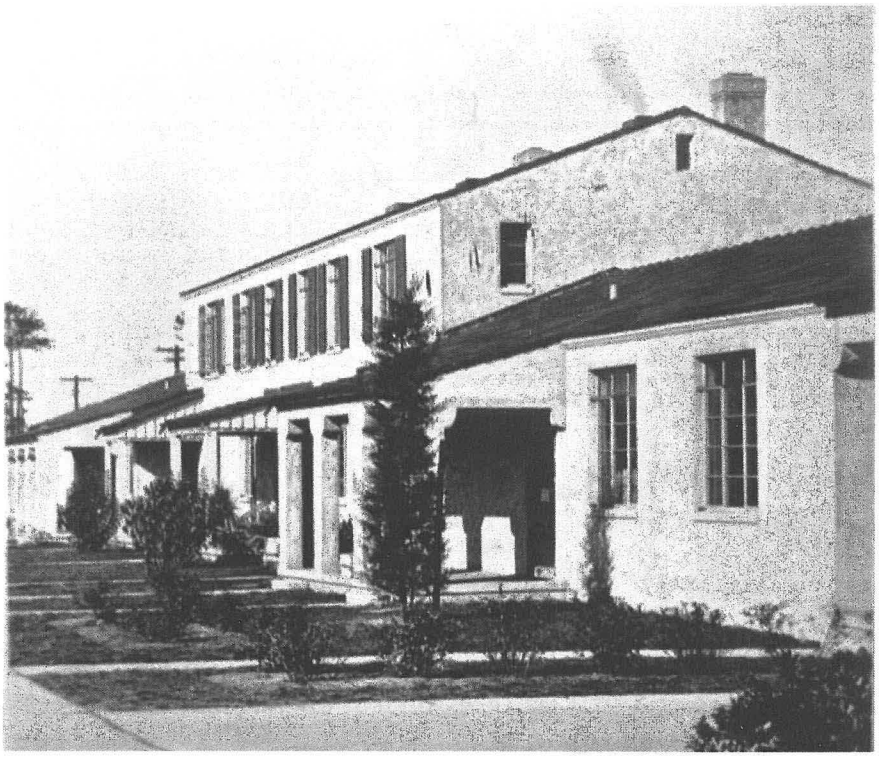


Figure 4-4: View, Durkeeville.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1447.

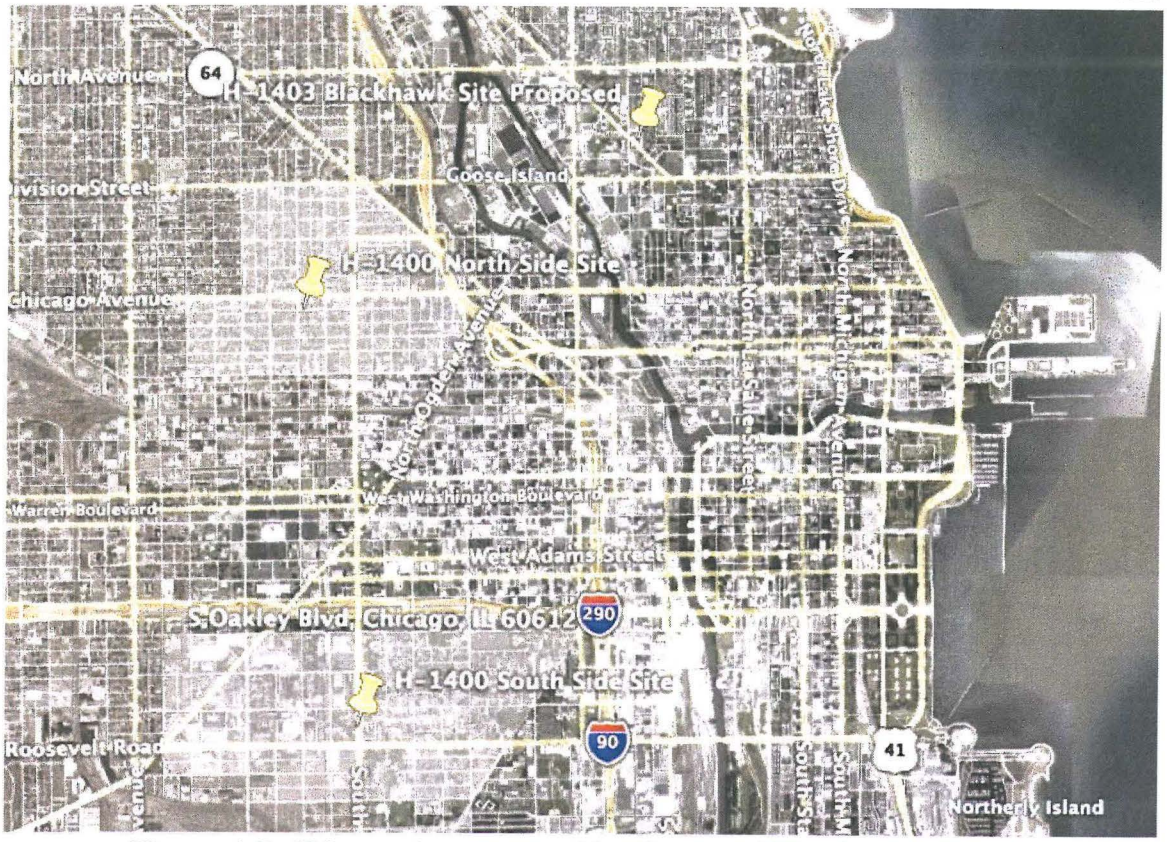


Figure 4-5: Chicago sites proposed by Crane and Woodbury, 1 December 1933. GoogleEarth image altered by author.

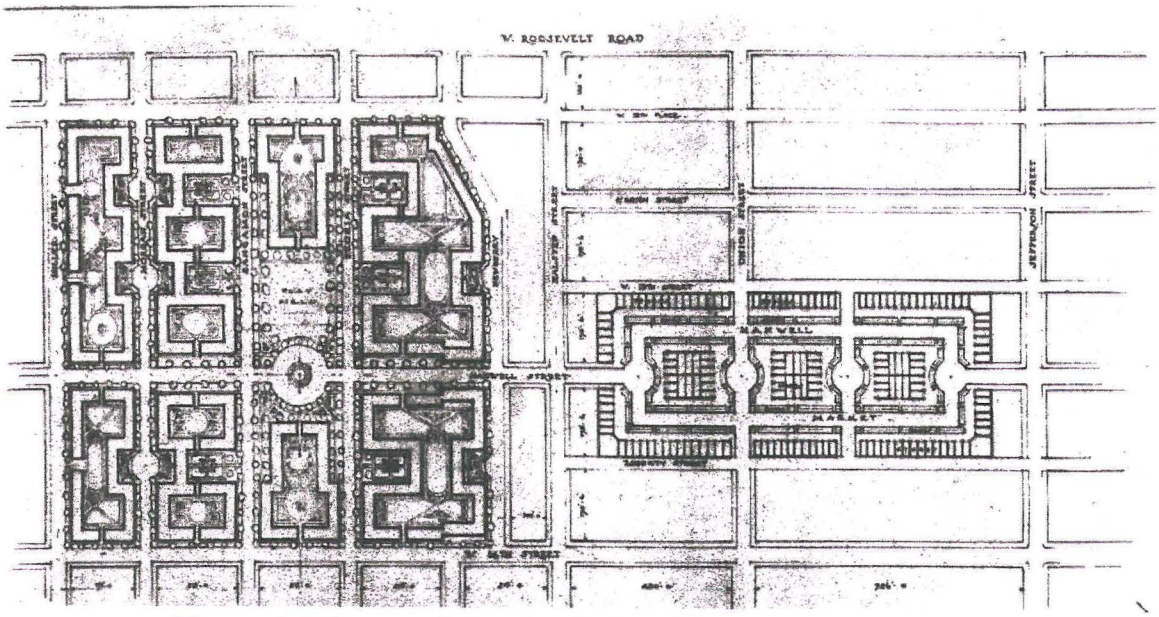


Figure 4-6: Proposed site plan for hotel/housing on Jane Addams site, 1933. "A Housing Project for Chicago," 23 February 1934, Folder 3, Box 78, H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196 Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

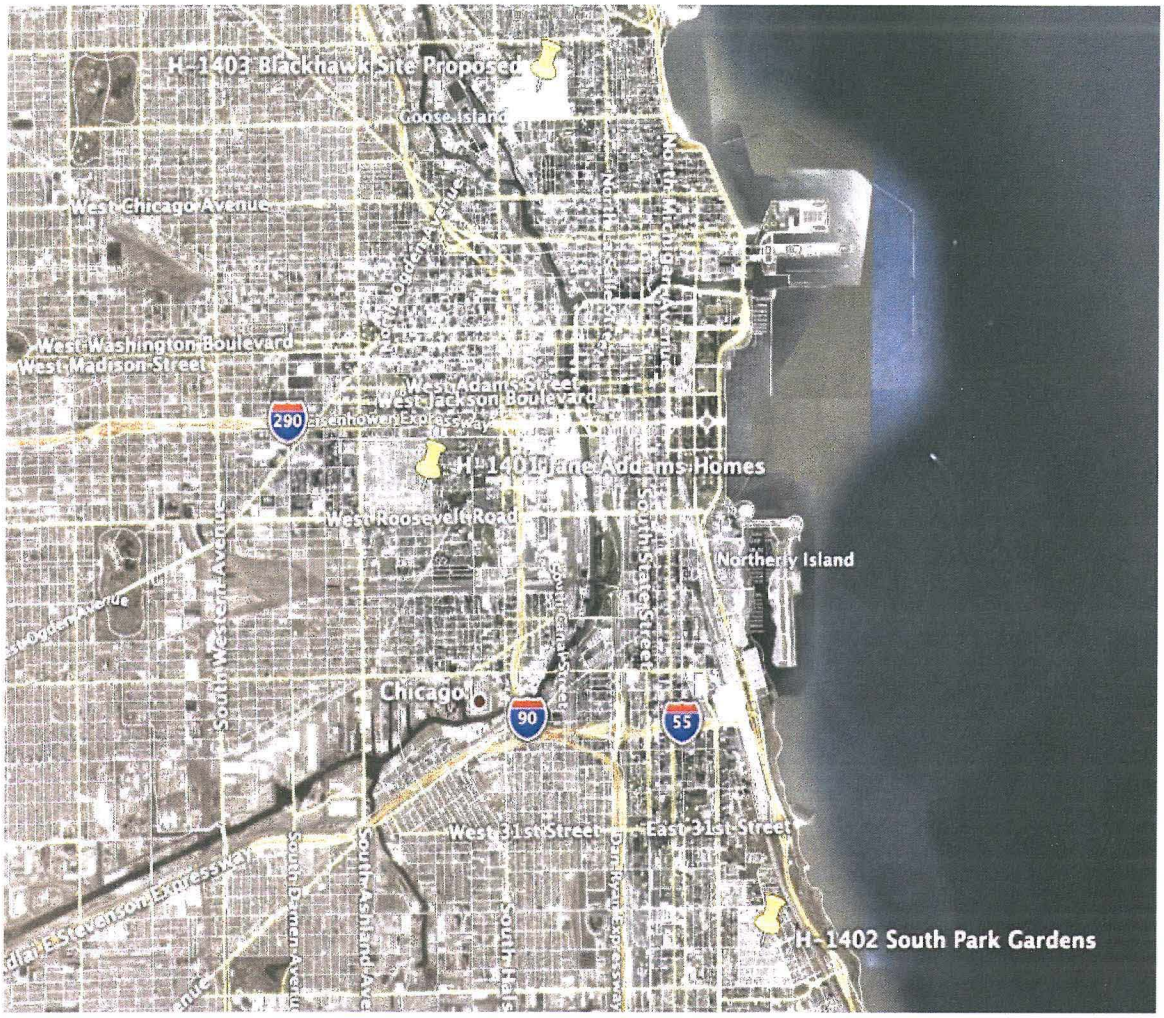


Figure 4-7: Chicago's three active sites, spring 1934.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

Figure 4-8: Rendering, Maxwell Street Market, 1934.
Folder 3, Box 78, H-1400 General Information Chicago IL, Entry 2, Record Group 196
Records of the Public Housing Administration, Textual Records, NARAII.

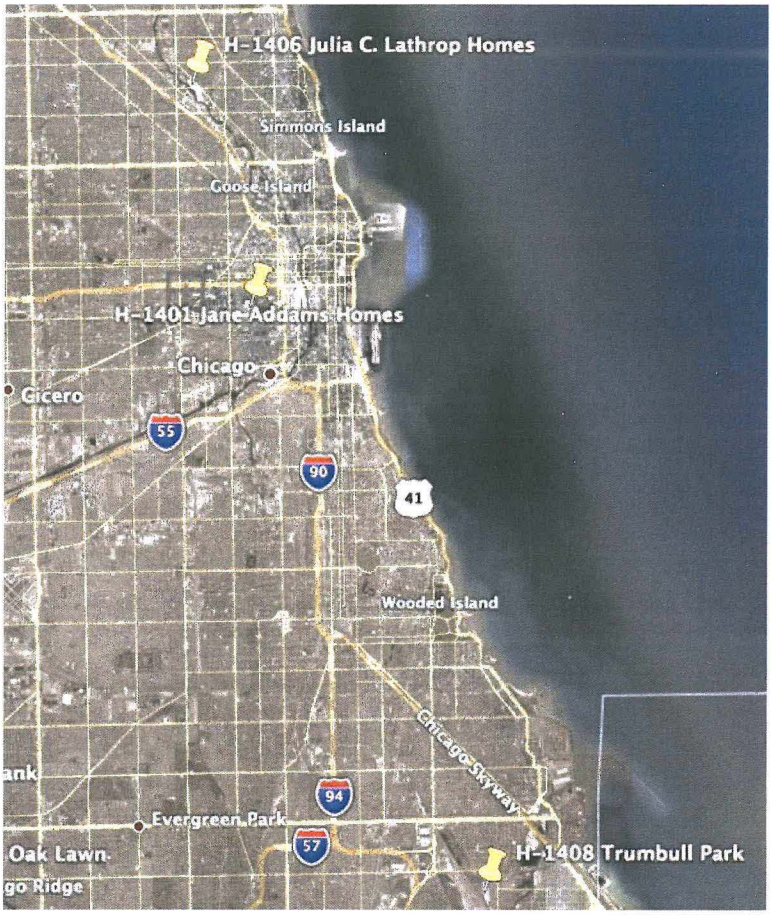


Figure 4-9: Location of Chicago's three direct-build housing projects, 1937. GoogleEarth image altered by author.

Figure 4-10: Chicago Board of Trade, Holabird and Root, 1930. Image by author.

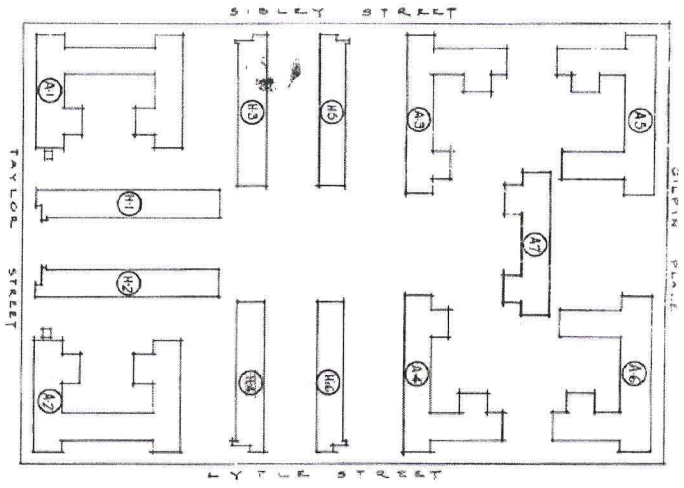


Figure 4-11: Jewish People's Institute Site, portion of Jane Addams Houses site. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Jane Addams File, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Maps and Drawings Room, NARA II.

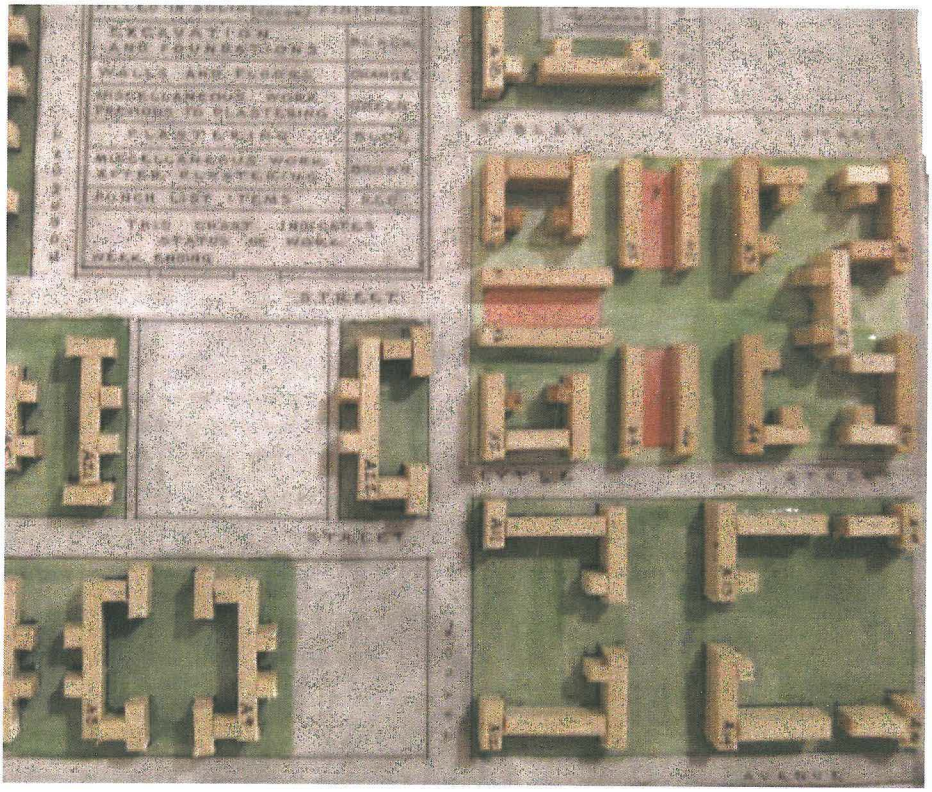


Figure 4-12: Site plan, Jane Addams Houses. North is to the right, and the JPI block is the center block along the northern edge. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II, altered by author.

Figure 4-13: Animal Court, Jane Addams Houses.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1391.

Figure 4-14: Entry into Animal Court from the north.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1392.

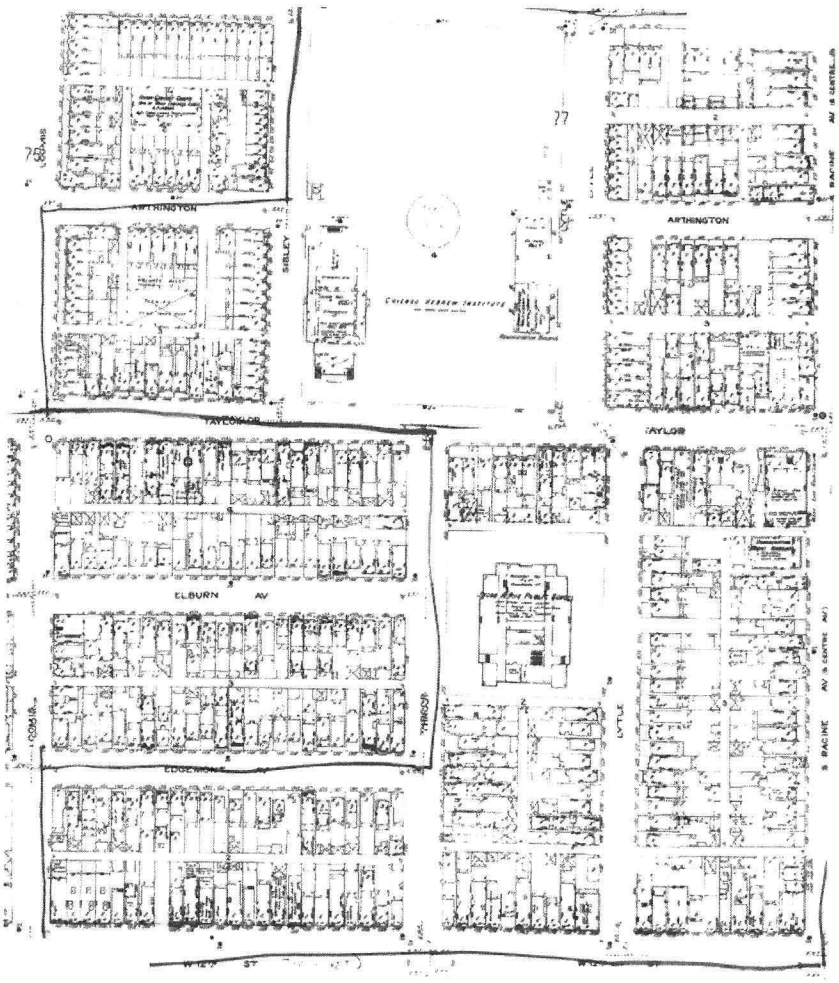


Figure 4-15: Jane Addams site, 1905. Note the small wooden structures in the block omitted from the site along its western boundary. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1905.

Figure 4-16: Image, rear yards of row houses at Jane Addams Houses. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1392.

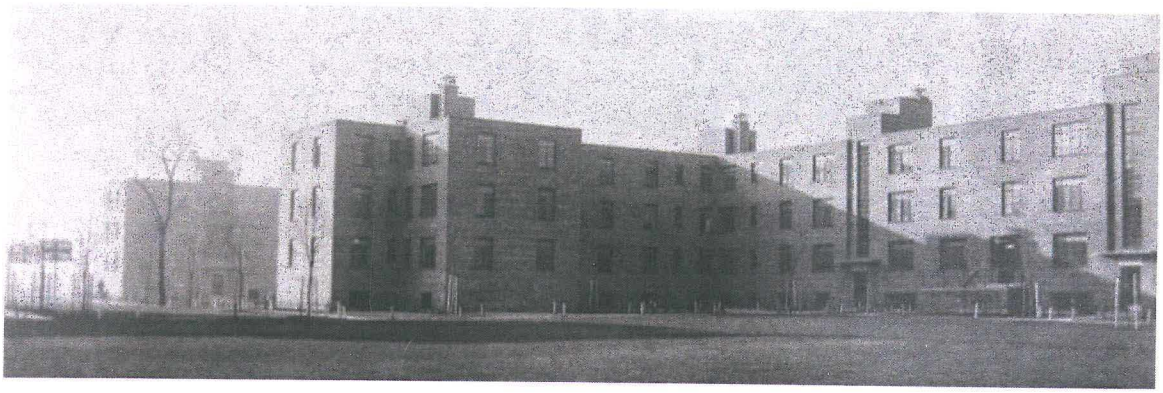


Figure 4-17: View, Jane Addams Houses.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1391.

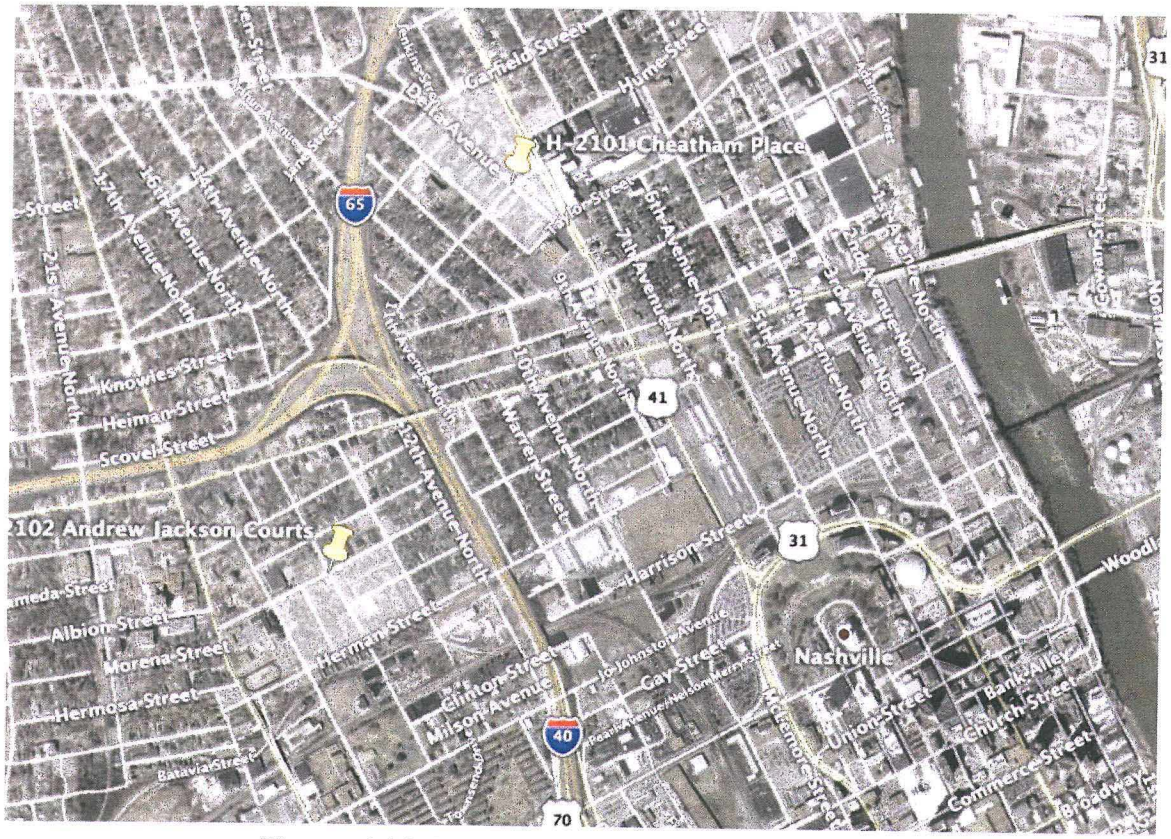


Figure 4-18: Location map, Nashville's direct-build housing projects.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

Figure 4-19: Cheatham Place site, 1897.
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Nashville TN, 1897.

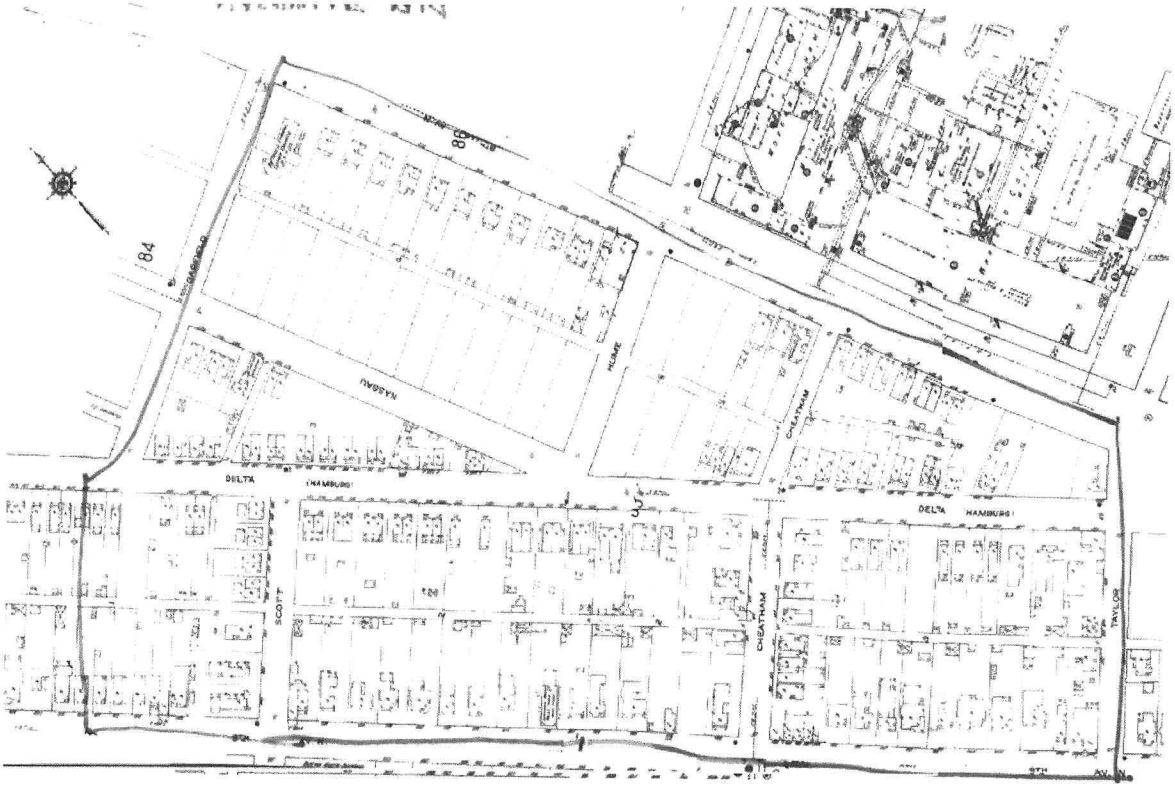


Figure 4-20: Cheatham Place site, 1914.
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Nashville TN, 1914.

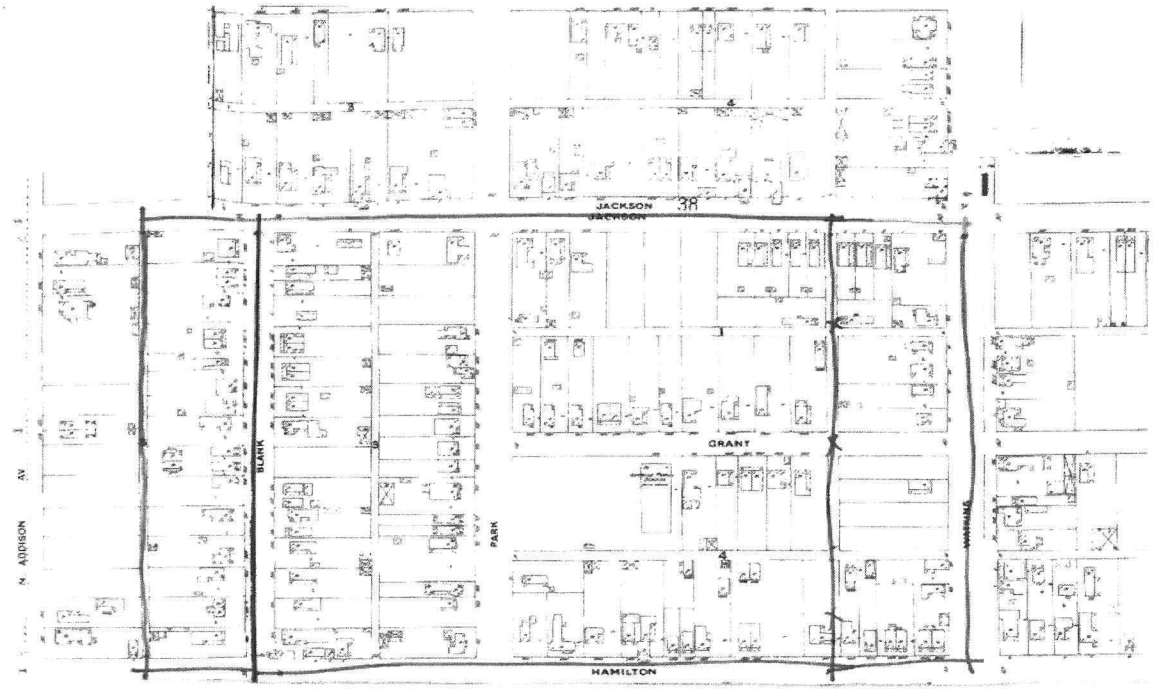


Figure 4-21: Andrew Jackson Courts site, 1897.
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Nashville TN, 1897.

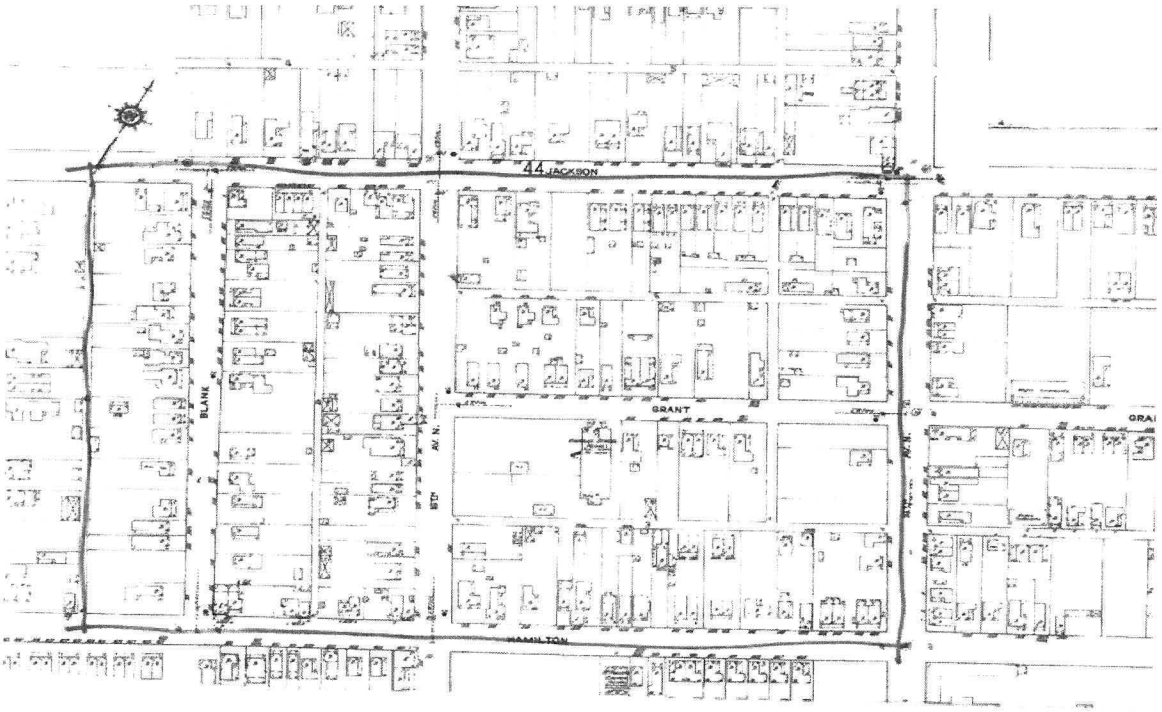


Figure 4-22: Andrew Jackson Courts site, 1914 .
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Nashville TN, 1914.

Figure 4-23: Site plan, Cheatham Place. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II, altered by author.

Figure 4-24: View, central open space, Cheatham Place.
Image by author, 2007.

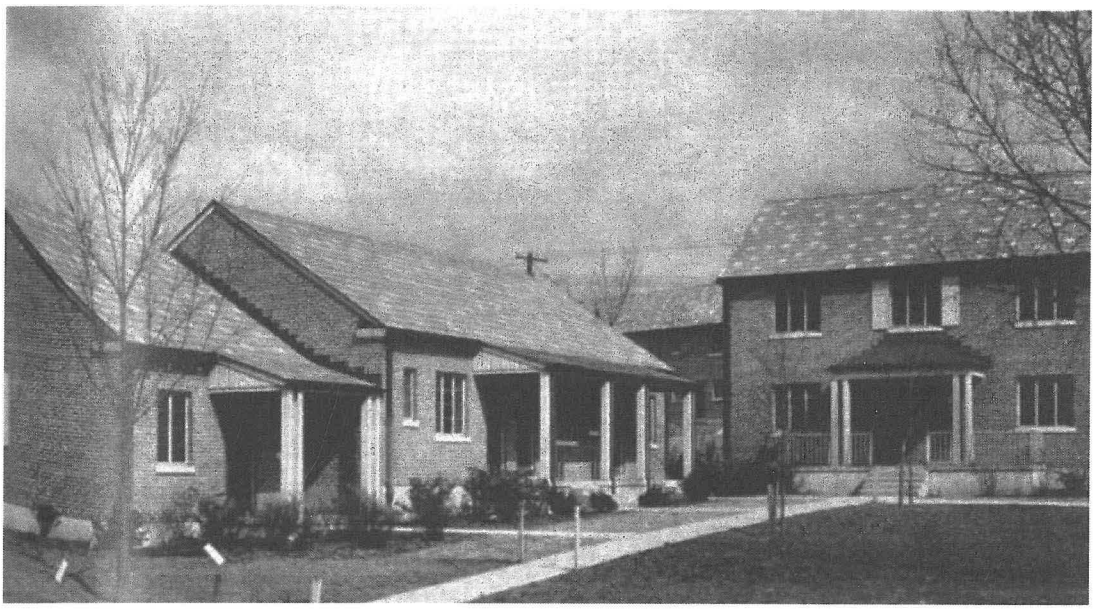


Figure 4-25: View, Cheatham Place unit with copper-roofed entry.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 345.

Figure 4-26: View, rear of community building at Cheatham Place.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1433.

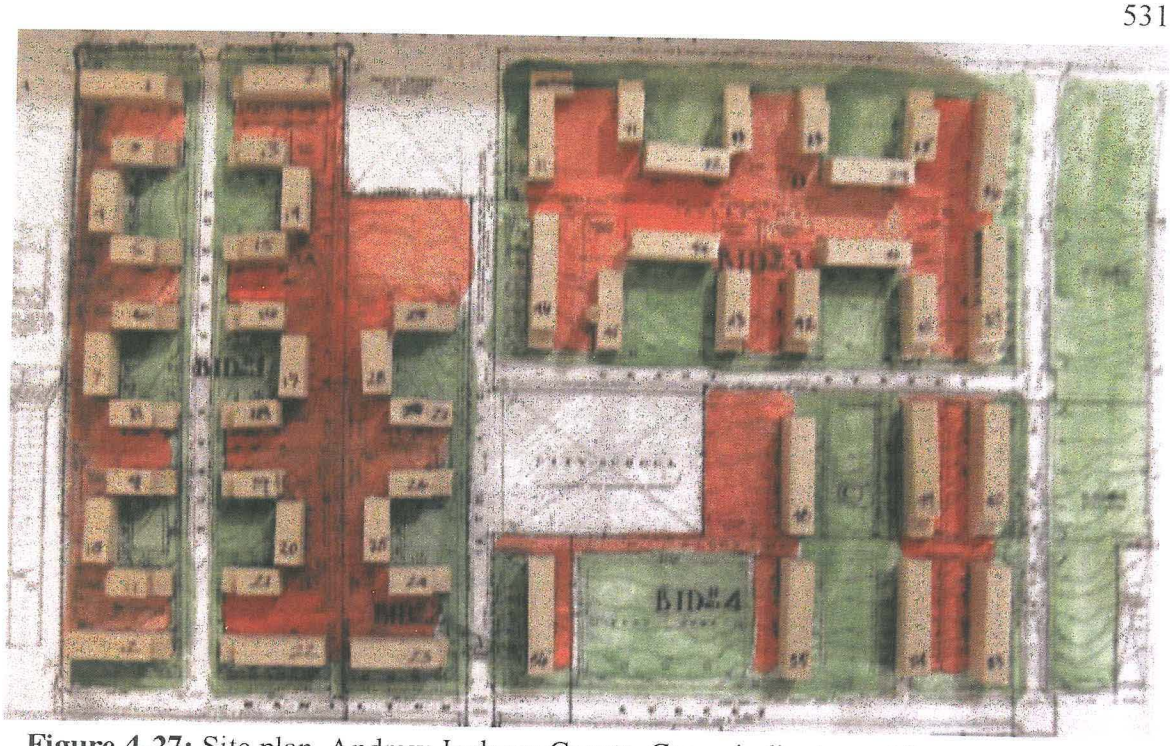


Figure 4-27: Site plan, Andrew Jackson Courts. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II, altered by author.

Figure 4-28: View south along the eastern border of the project, suggesting high-density character of project, Andrew Jackson Courts.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 347.

Figure 4-29: Narrow allee on Block C, Andrew Jackson Courts.
Image by author, 2007.

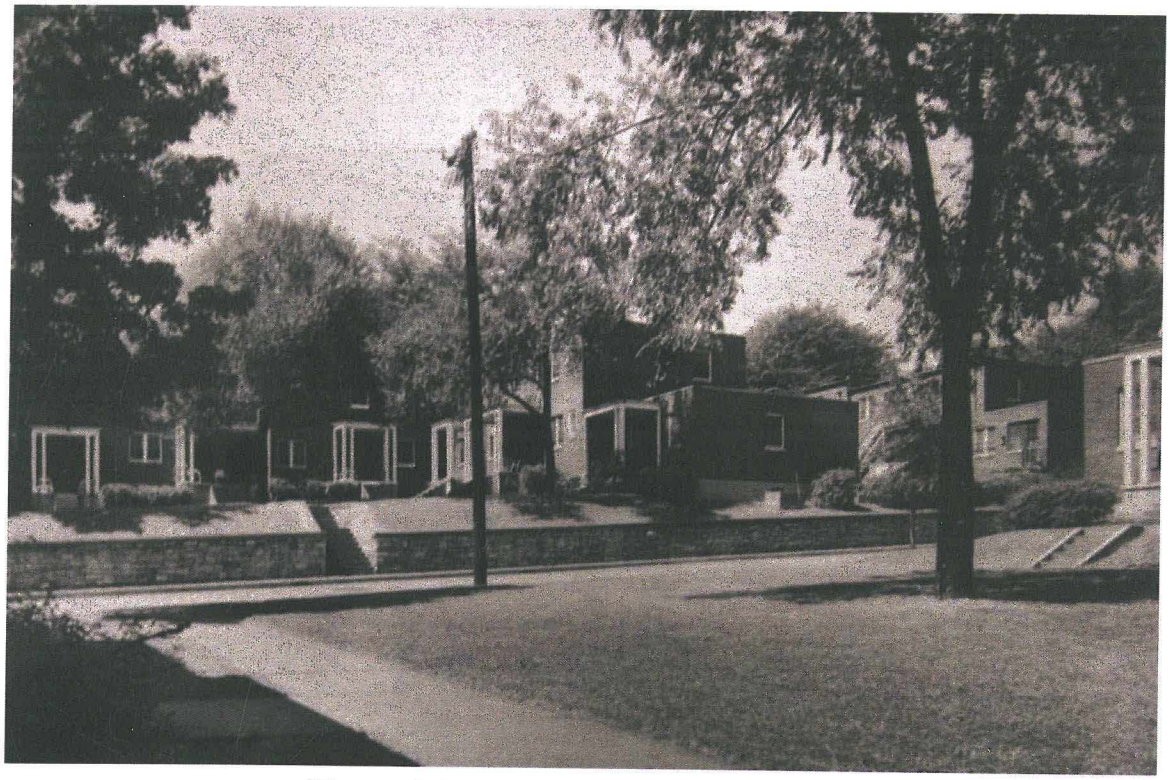


Figure 4-30: Historic view of flat-roofed Andrew Jackson Courts.
Andrew Jackson Courts clipping file, Nashville Public Library Metro Archives Branch.

Figure 4-31: Image of protruding stair at Andrew Jackson Courts. Image by author, 2007.

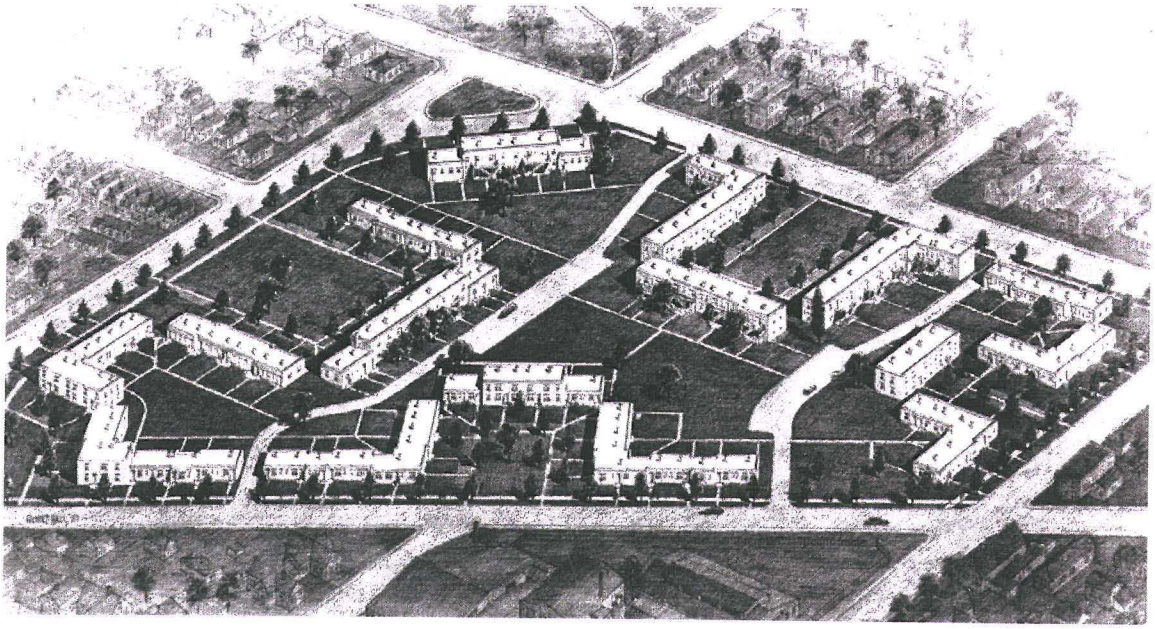


Figure 4-32: Site plan rendering, Lincoln Gardens. Photo collection, Willard Library, Evansville IN.

Figure 4-33: Main facade, Evansville African American Museum, the remaining building from Lincoln Gardens. Pitched roofs and post-modern colonnade are later additions. Image by author, 2006.

Figure 4-34: Rear facade, Evansville African American Museum. Photo Collection, Willard Library, Evansville IN.

Figure 5-2: View, kitchen at Cedar Central, Cleveland OH.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 387.

Figure 5-3: View, Frankfurt kitchen, Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky, 1926.
Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1999), 24.

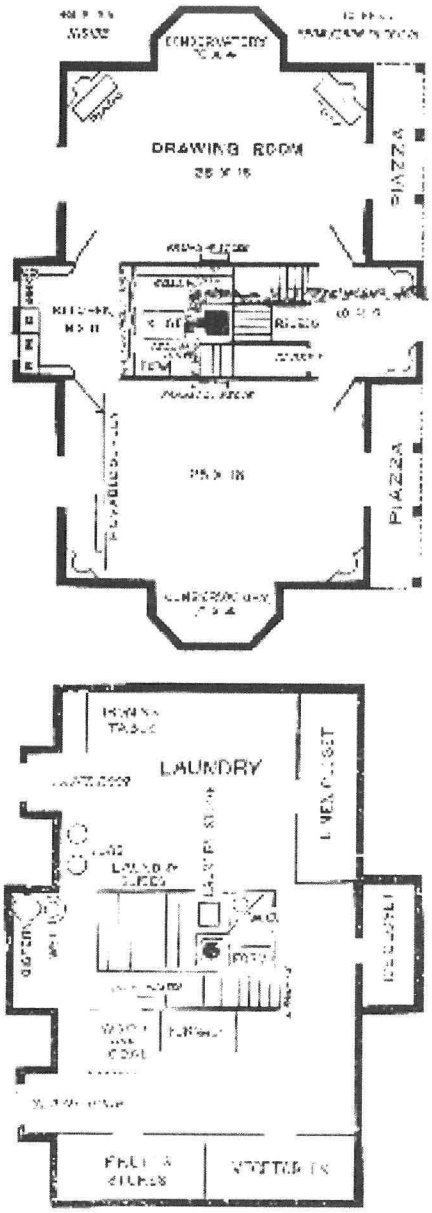


Figure 5-1: Ideal kitchen plan as proposed by Catherine Beecher in *The American Woman's Home* (1869).
Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1981), 59.

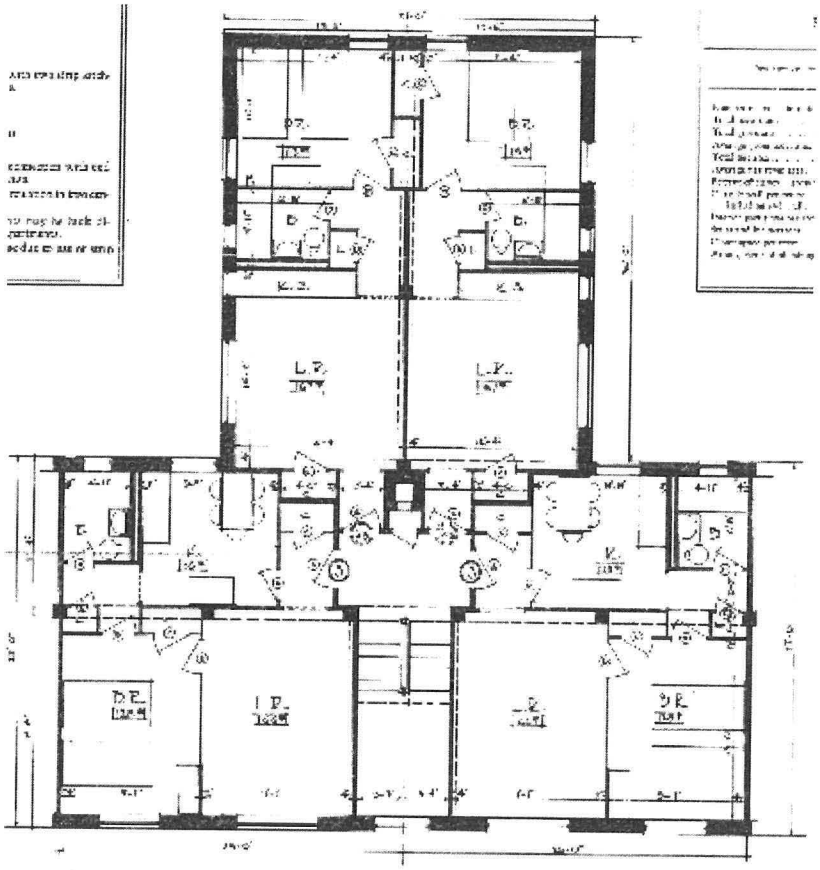


Figure 5-4: T-shaped plan. Note strip kitchens in the one-bedroom units. Housing Division Public Works Administration, *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low-Rent Housing* (Washington D.C. GPO, May 1935), HD-23.

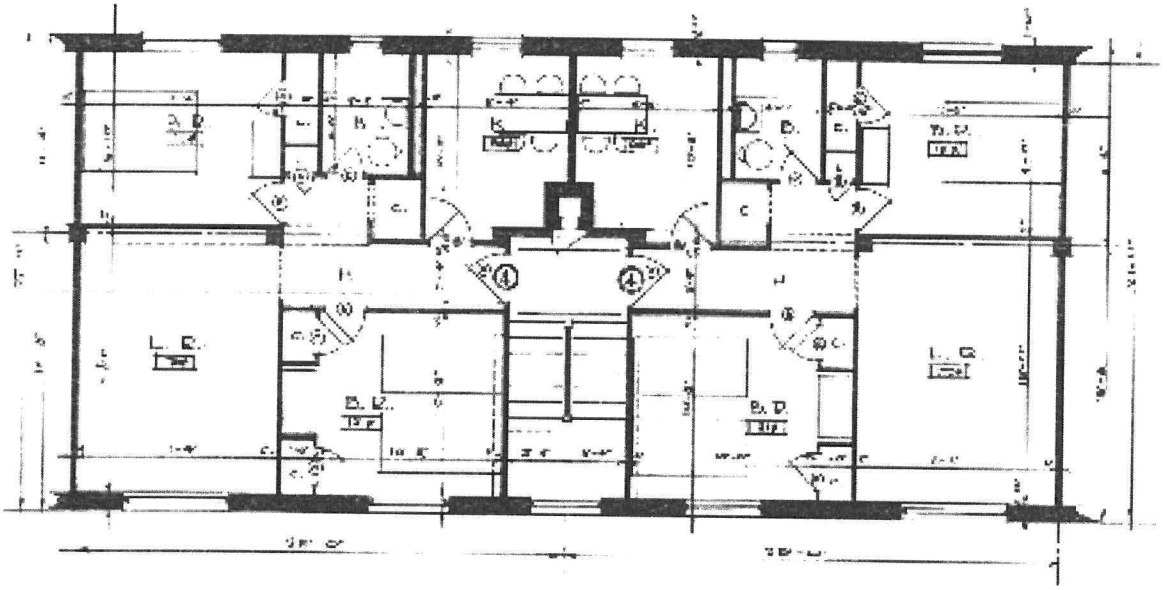


Figure 5-5: Ribbon plan *Unit Plans*, HD-29.

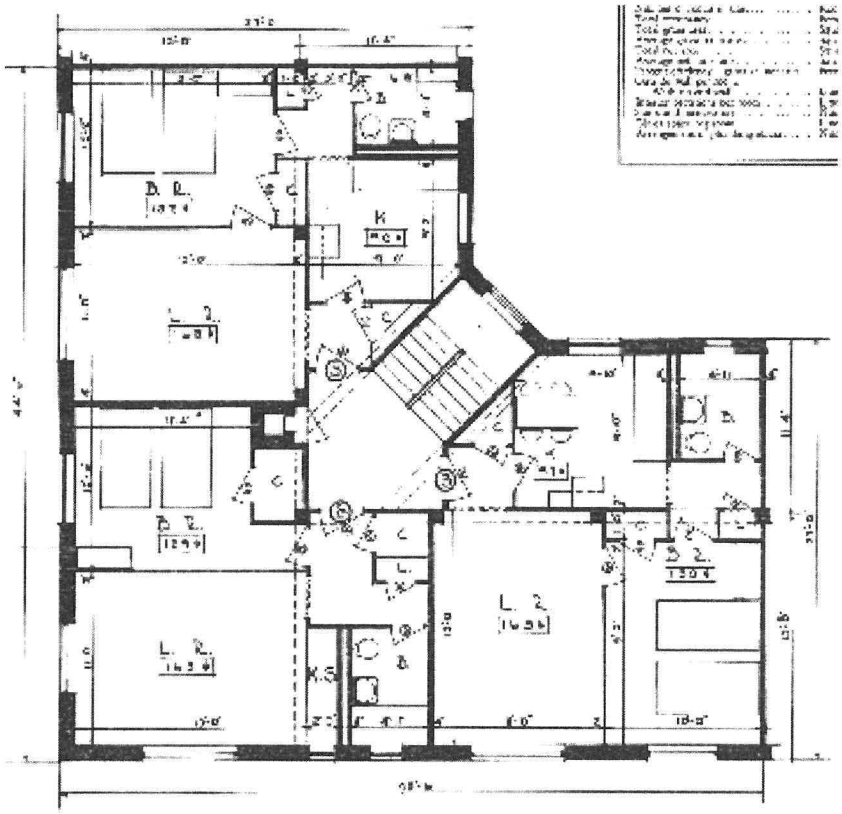


Figure 5-6: Ell plan
Unit Plans, HD-26.

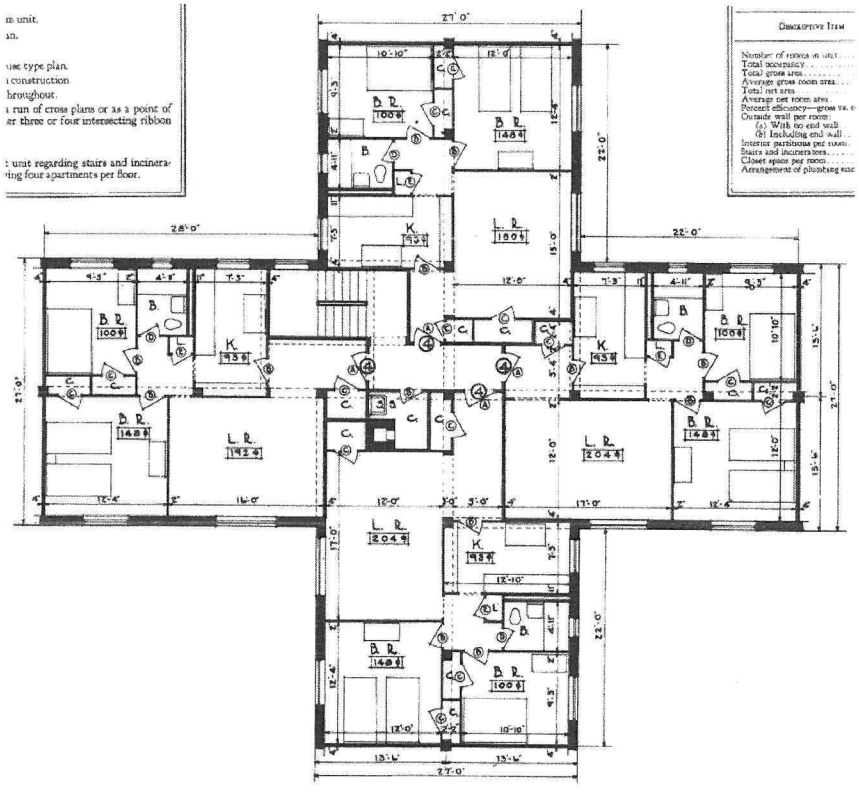


Figure 5-7: Cross plan.
Unit Plans, HD-35.

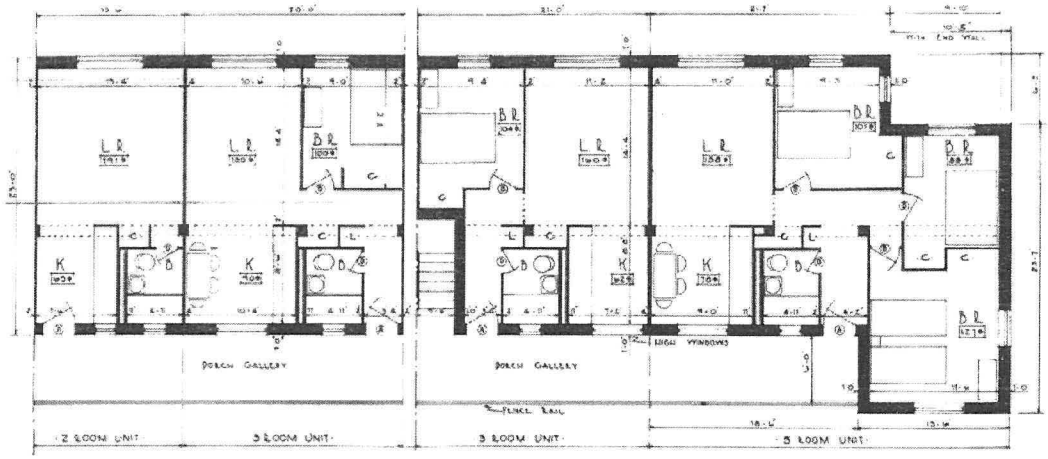


Figure 5-8: Gallery Plan.
Unit Plans, HD-61.

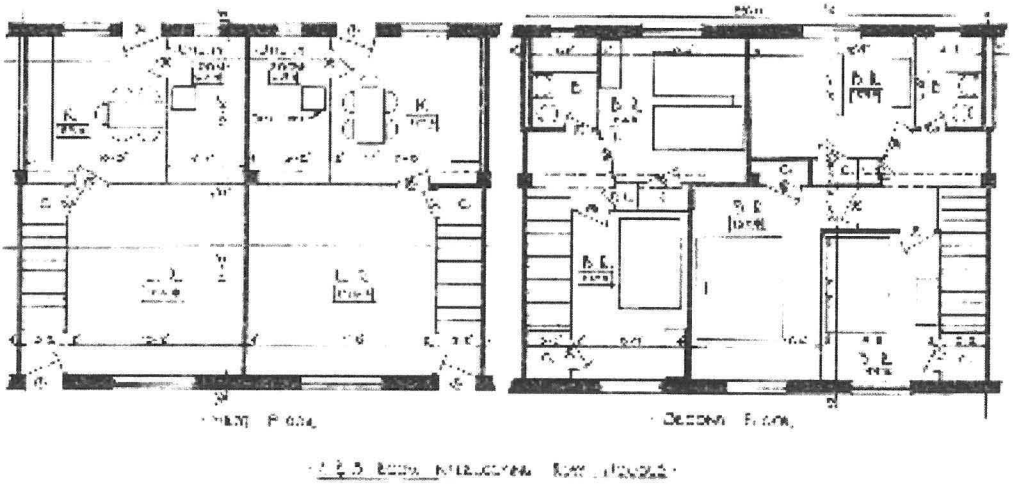


Figure 5-9: Row House Plan.
Unit Plans, HD-41.

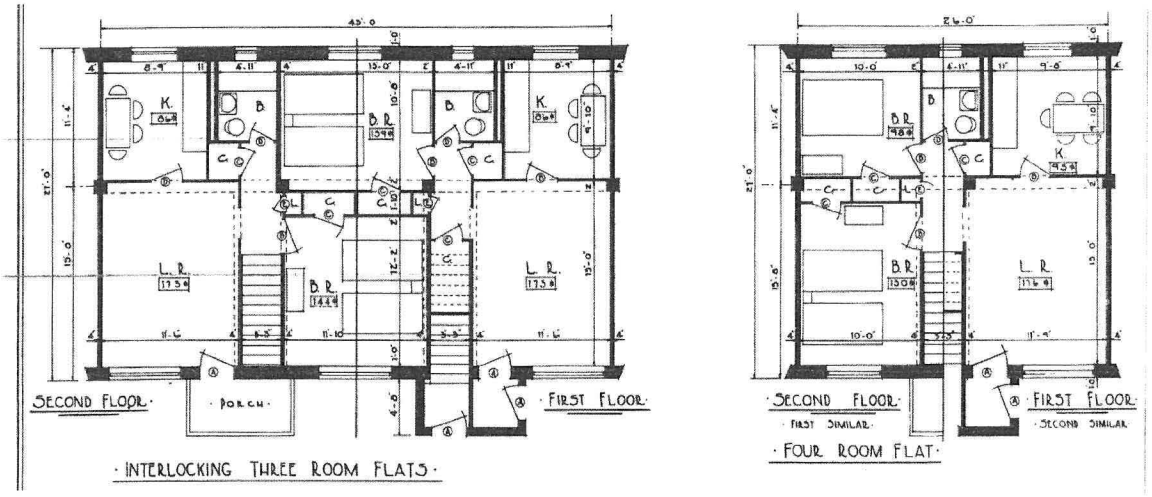


Figure 5-10: Flat Plan.
Unit Plans, HD-42.

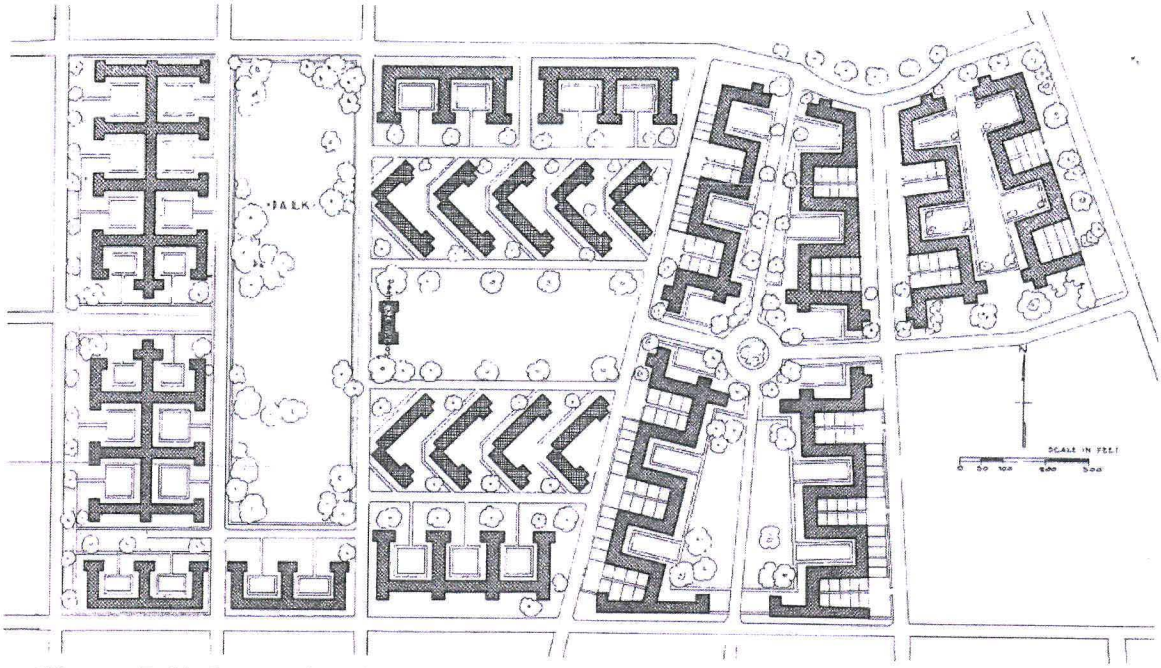


Figure 5-11: Large site plan example (a modified version of Chicago's cancelled South Park Gardens site plan).
Unit Plans, Site Plan Section.

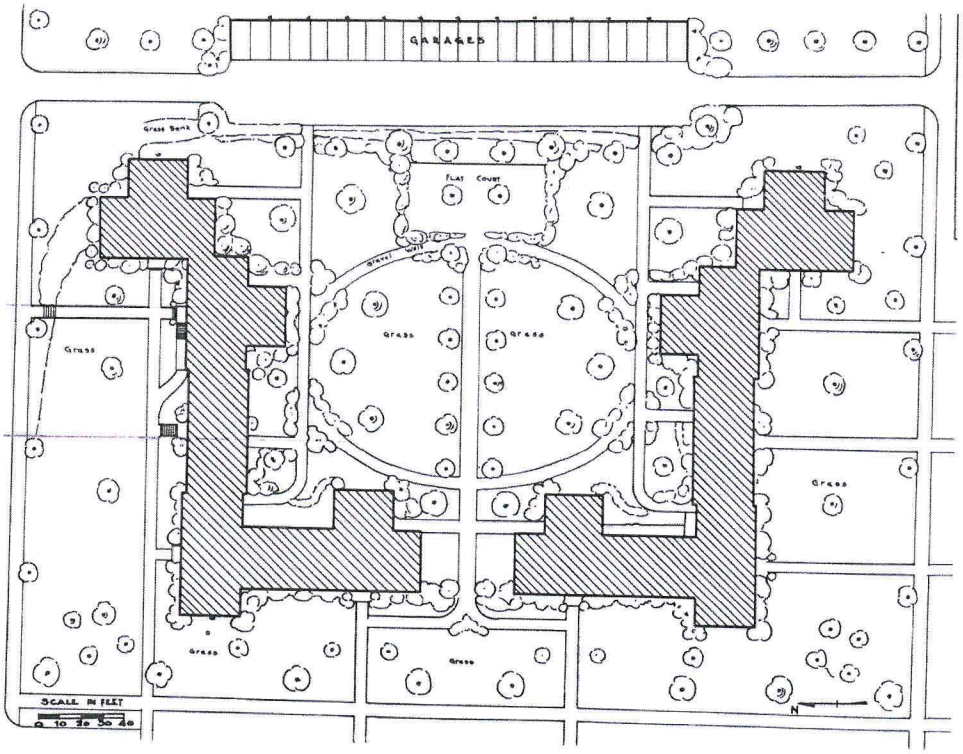


Figure 5-12: Small project site plan example.
Unit Plans, Site Plan Section.

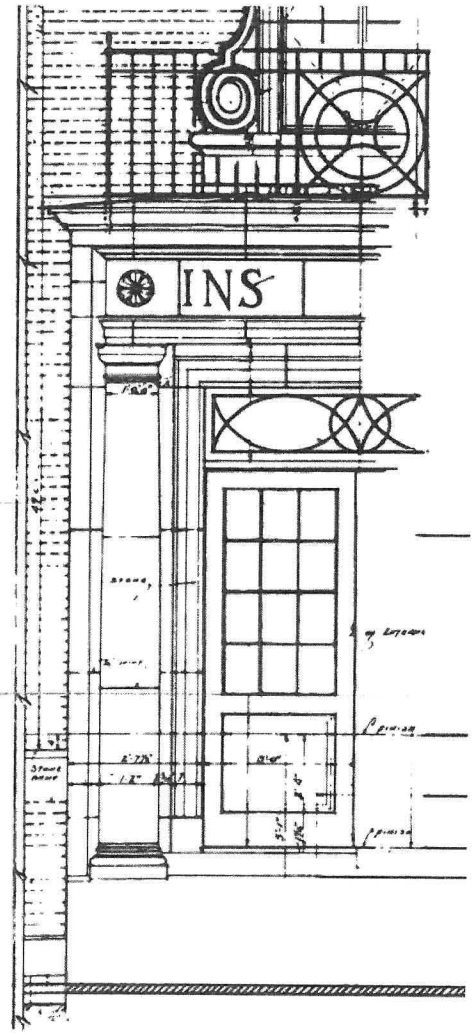


Figure 5-13: "Architectural Masterpiece." *Unit Plans*, Details Section.

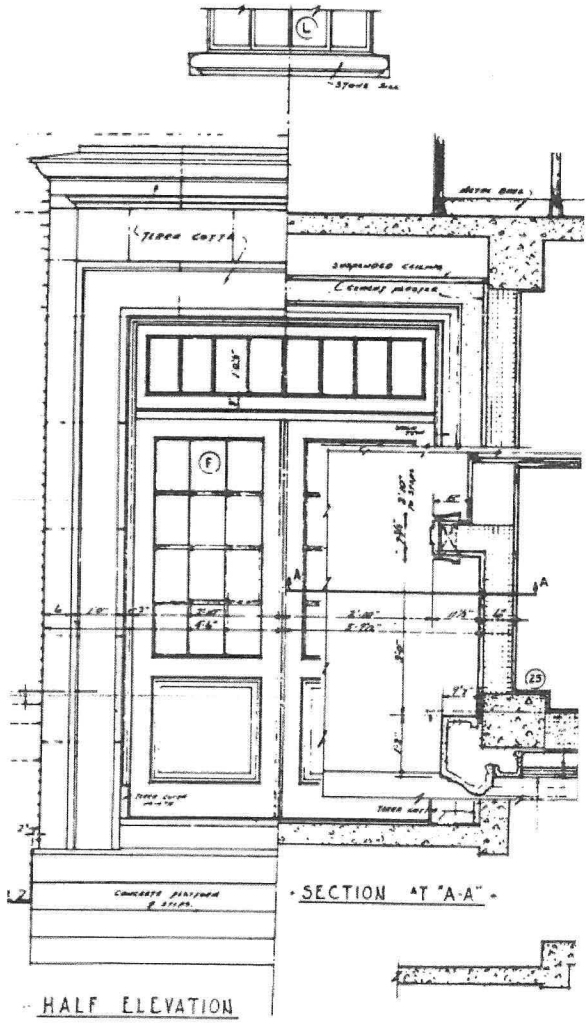
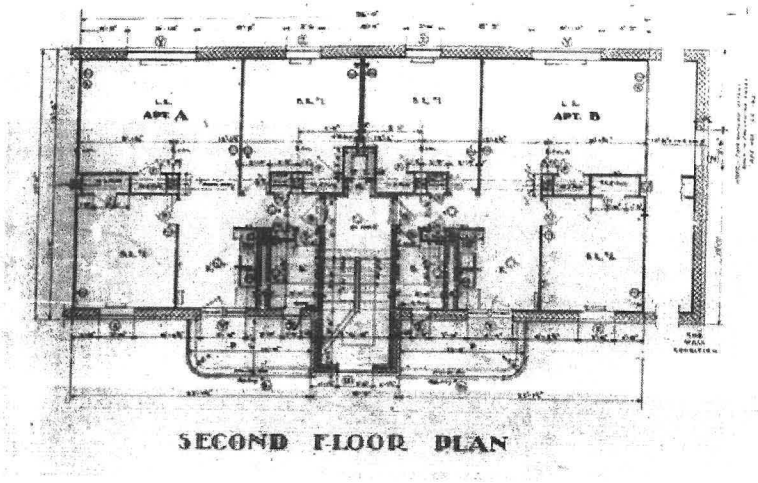


Figure 5-14: Appropriate design example. *Unit Plans*, Details Section.

Figure 5-15: Unit plan at Cedar Central with the kitchen and porch on main facade. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Cedar Central, Sheet 21. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.



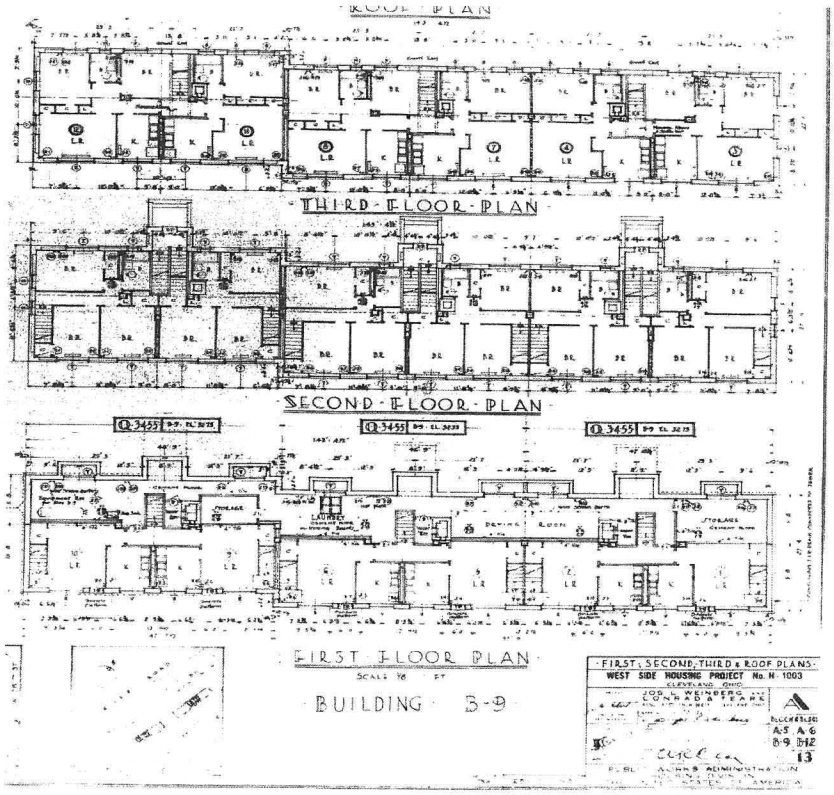


Figure 5-16: Lakeview Terrace plan with two story row house units, with apartments above.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Lakeview Terrace, Sheet 13. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

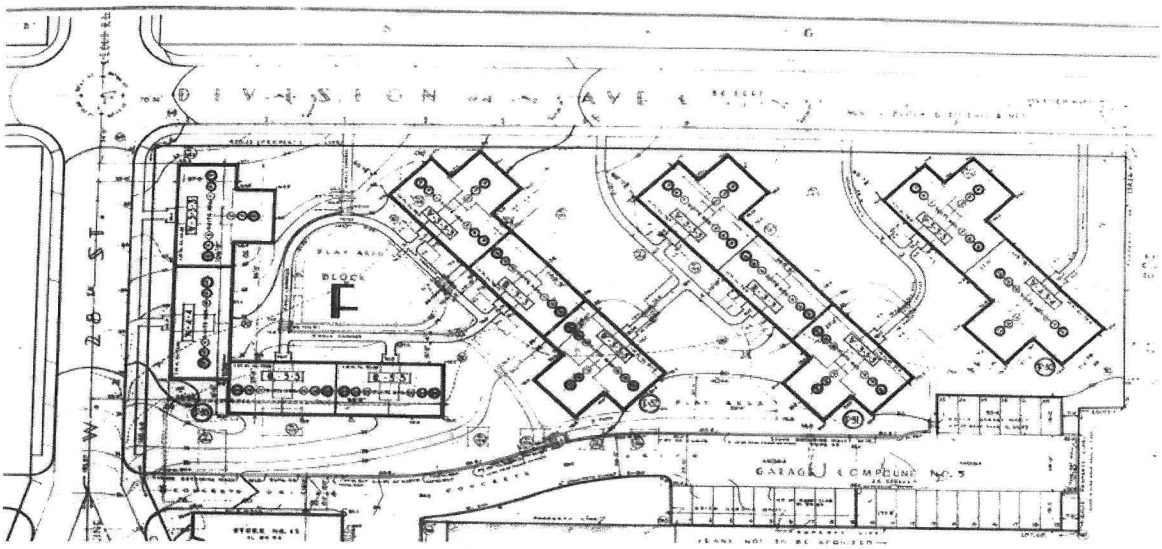


Figure 5-17: Site plan, Block F, Lakeview Terrace. Sidewalks indicate alternated entries.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Reel **X**, Lakeview Terrace, Sheet 44. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

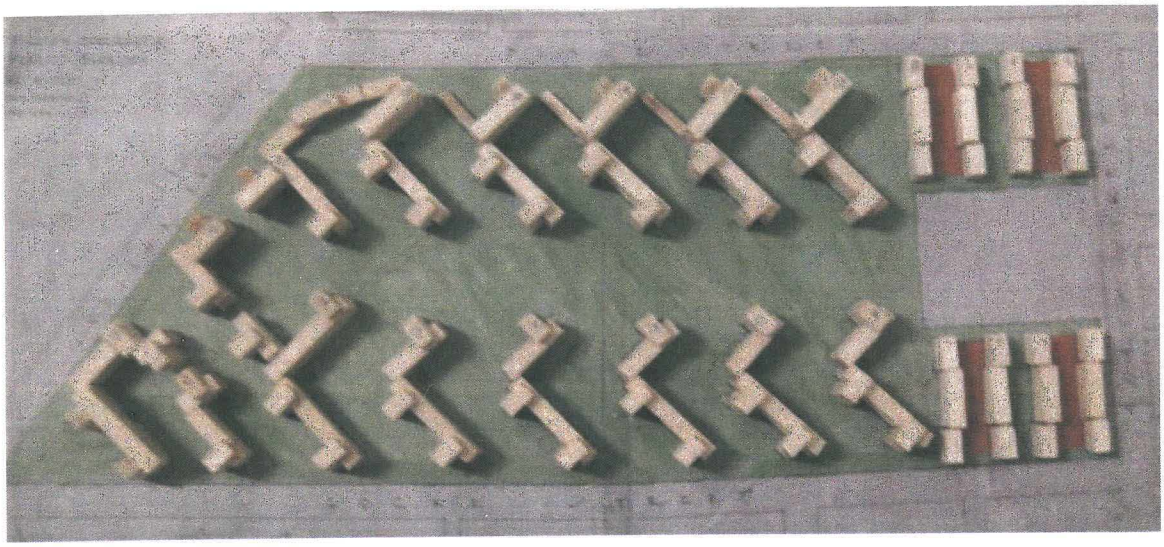


Figure 5-18: Site plan, Lockefield Gardens. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Lockefield Gardens, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II, altered by author.

Figure 5-19: View, Techwood.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1442, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Still Picture Research Room, NARA II.

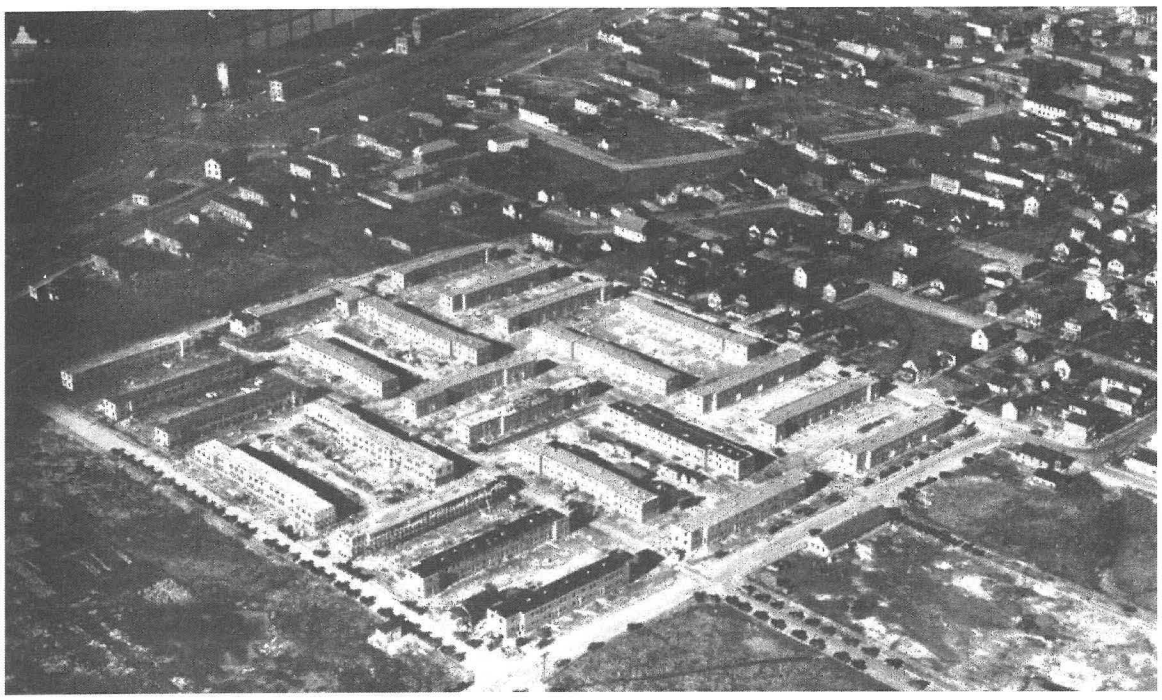


Figure 5-20: Aerial view, Father Baker Houses.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 361.

Figure 5-21: Aerial view, Techwood.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1442.

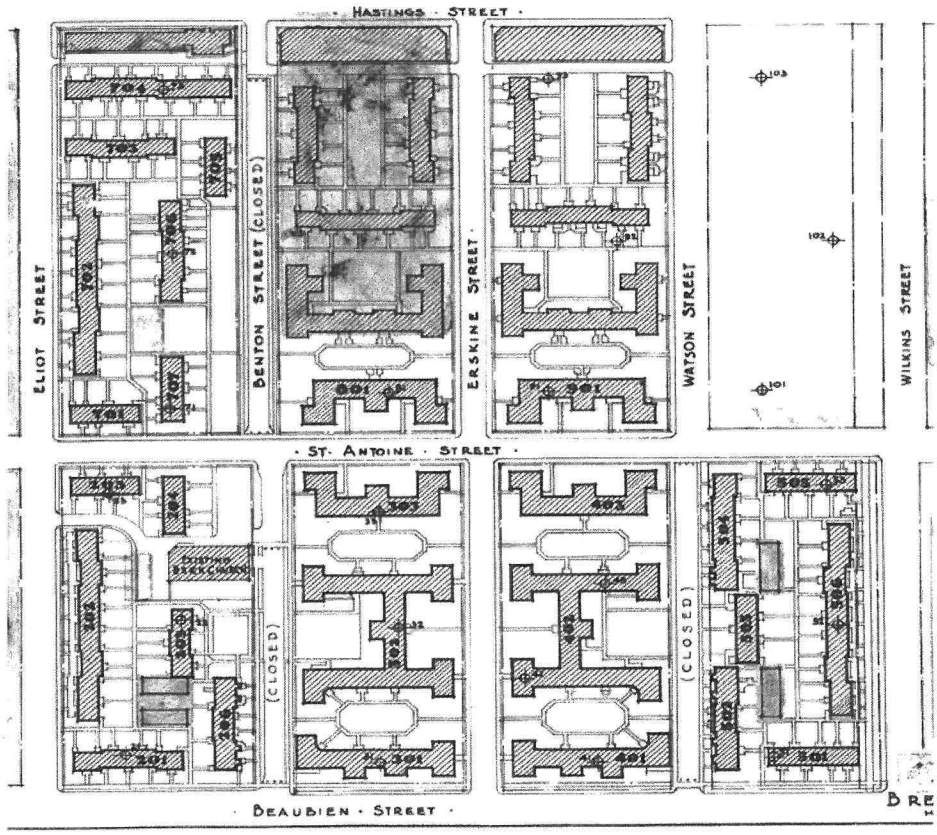


Figure 5-22: Site plan, Brewster.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Brewster, Sheet A1, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

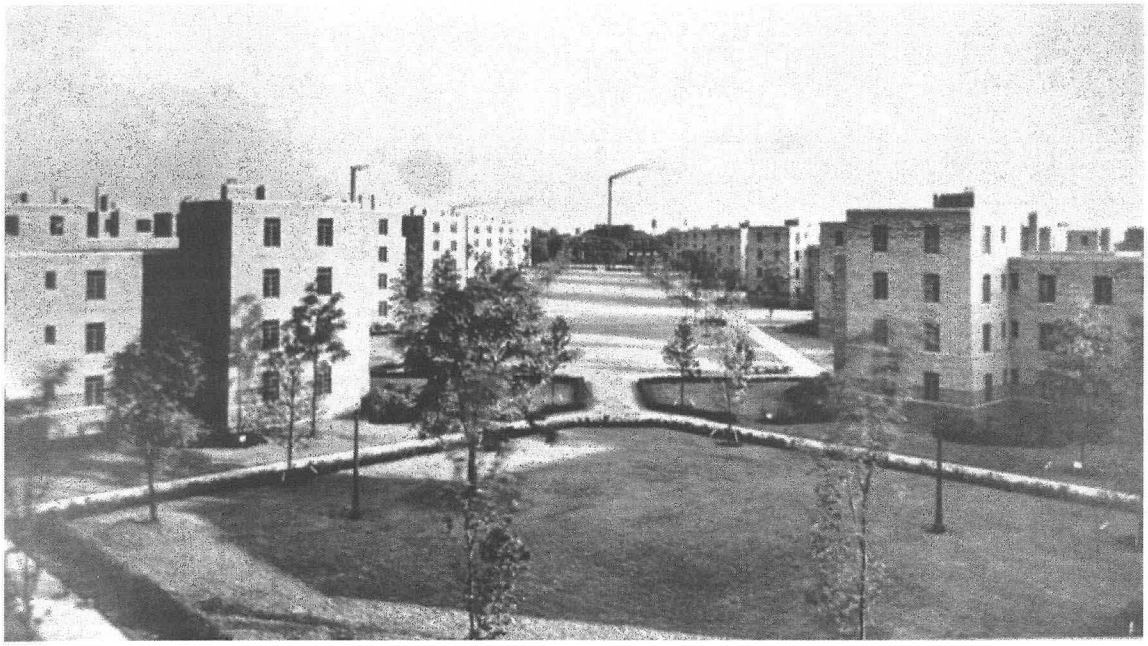


Figure 5-23: View, Lockefield Gardens.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1418.

Figure 5-24: Aerial view, Julia C. Lathrop Homes
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1393.

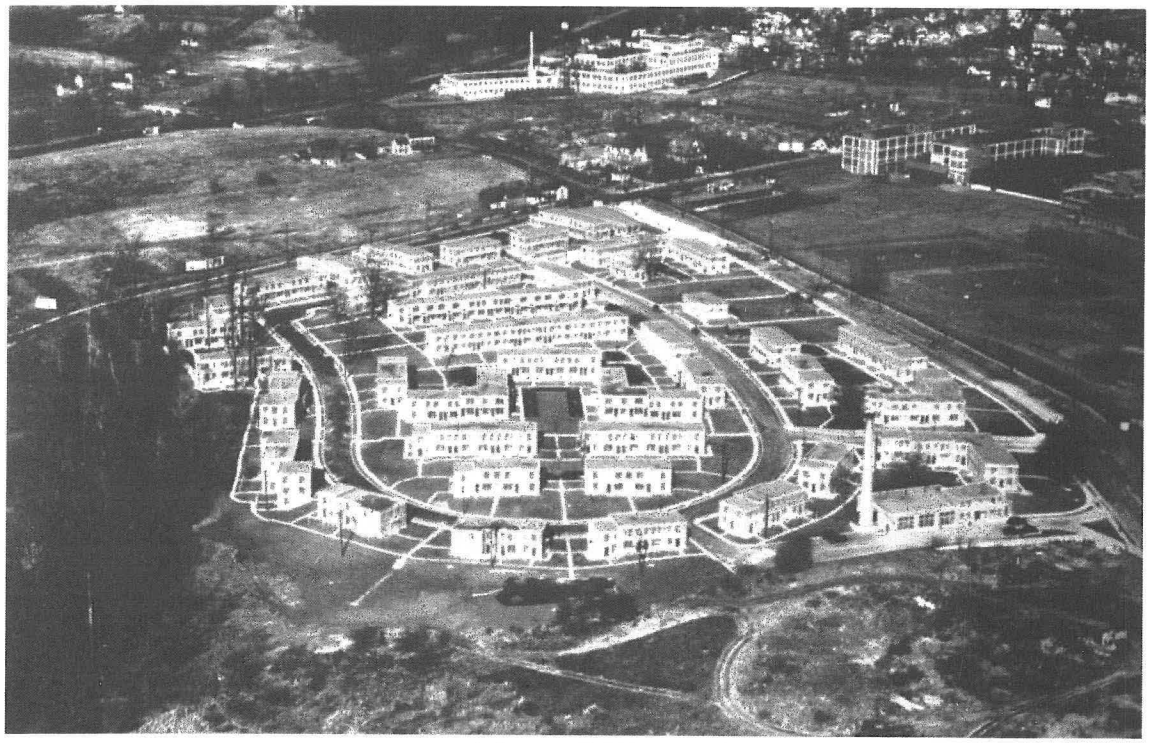


Figure 5-25: Aerial view looking north, Hill Creek.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 376.

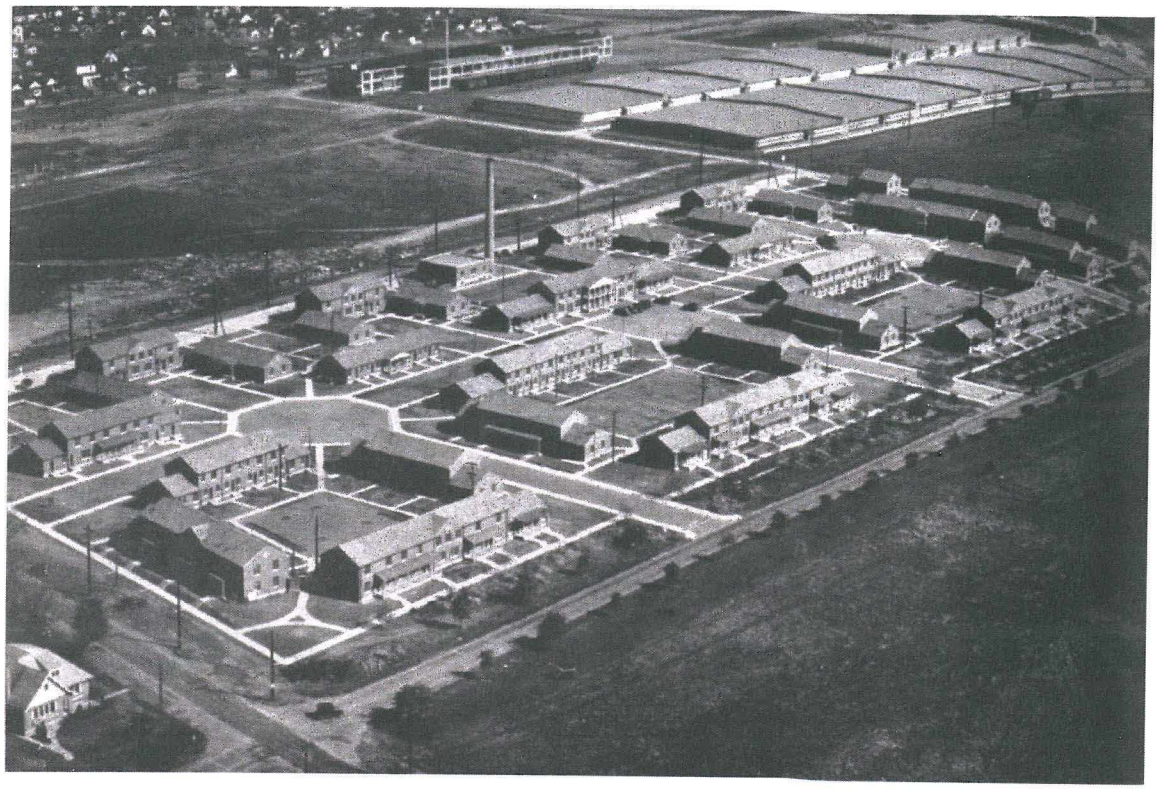


Figure 5-26: Aerial view, LaSalle Place.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1427.

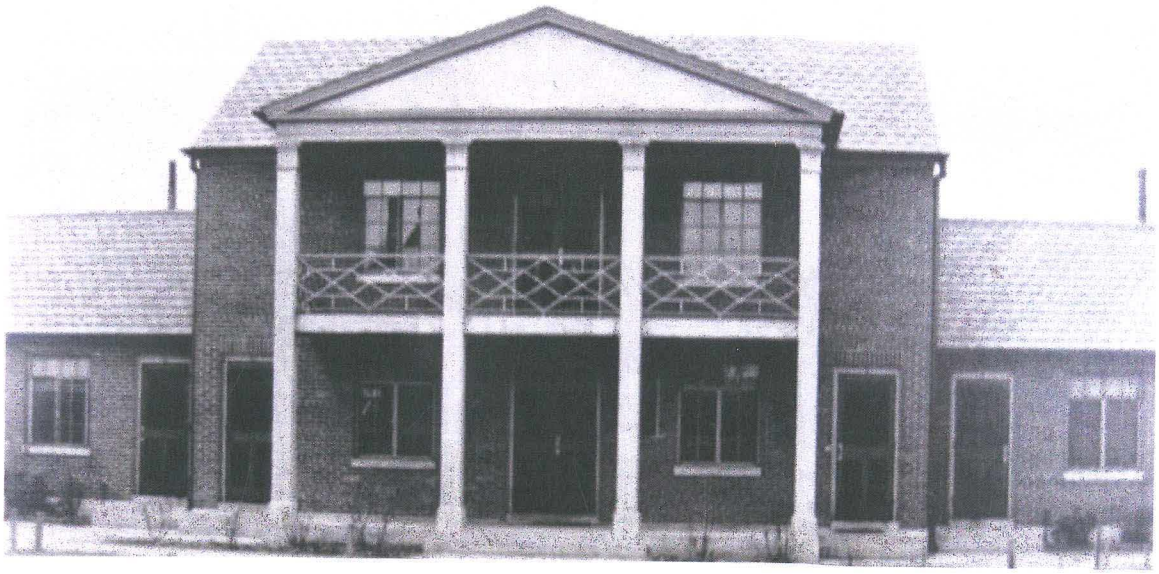


Figure 5-27: View of building terminating longitudinal axis, LaSalle Place.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1427.

Figure 5-28: View, Westfield Acres
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 374.

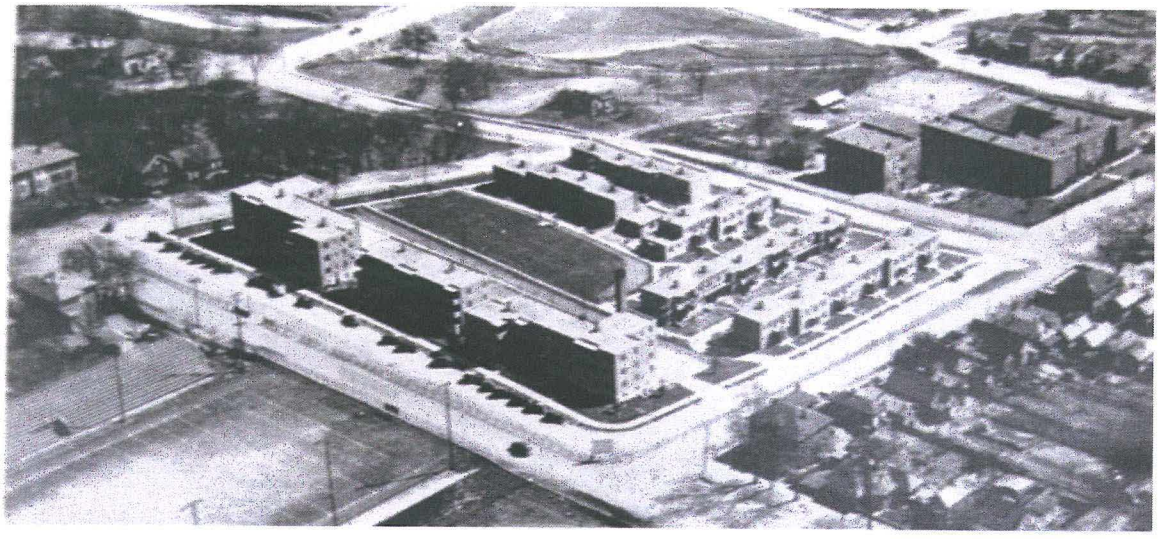


Figure 5-29: Aerial view, University Terrace. The three-story buildings in the foreground were designed for whites. Beyond the wide service alley, the two-story row houses were intended for African American occupation.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1444.

Figure 5-30: View, Cedar Central during an open house.
Cleveland Public Library Image Collection.

Figure 5-31: View, Liberty Square.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1448.

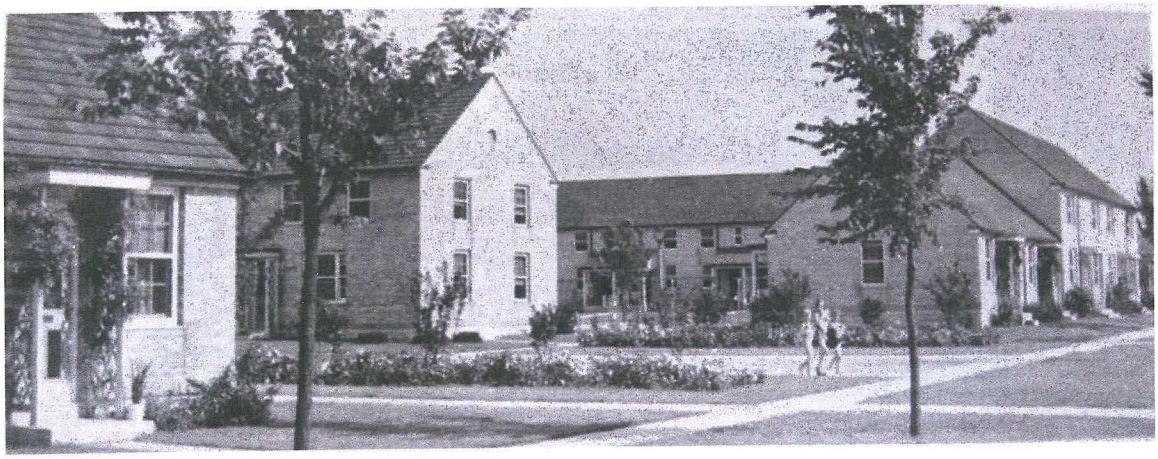


Figure 5-32: View, Parklawn
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1389.

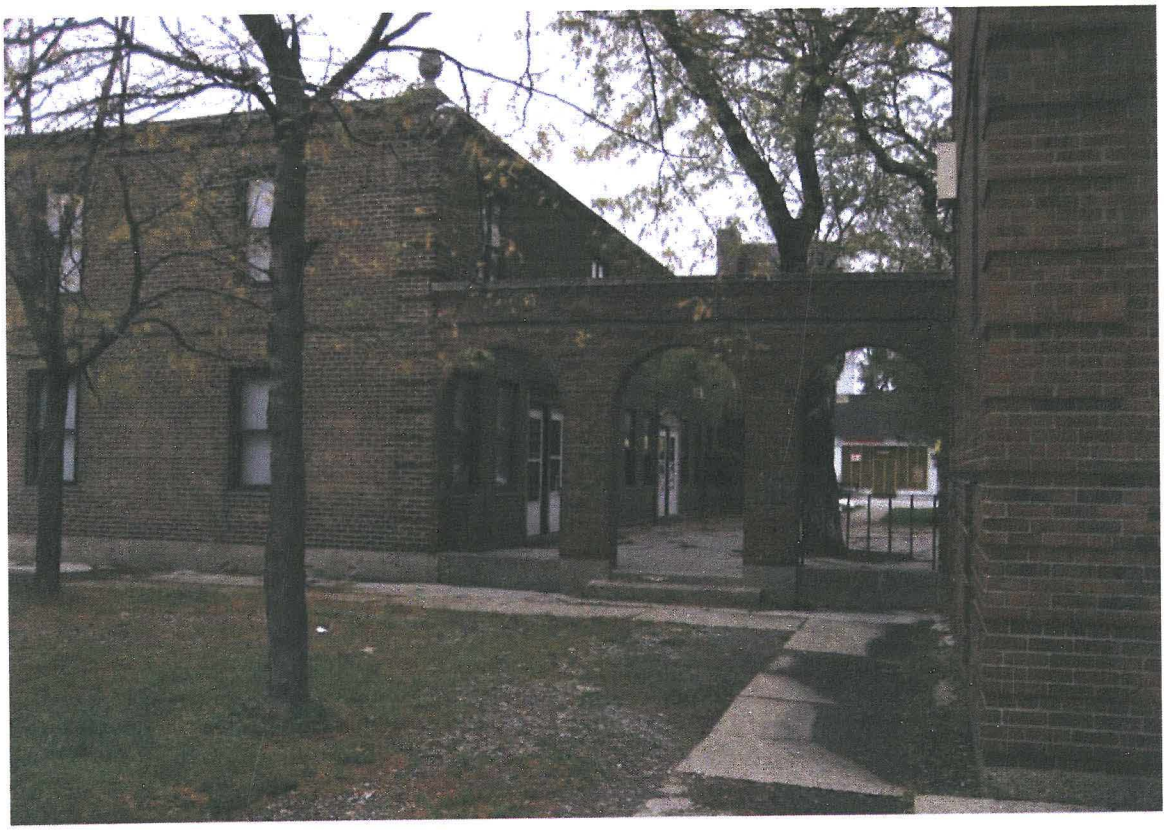


Figure 5-33: View, Julia C. Lathrop Homes.
Image by author, 2007.

Figure 5-34: View, Julia C. Lathrop Homes, Chicago IL
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1393.

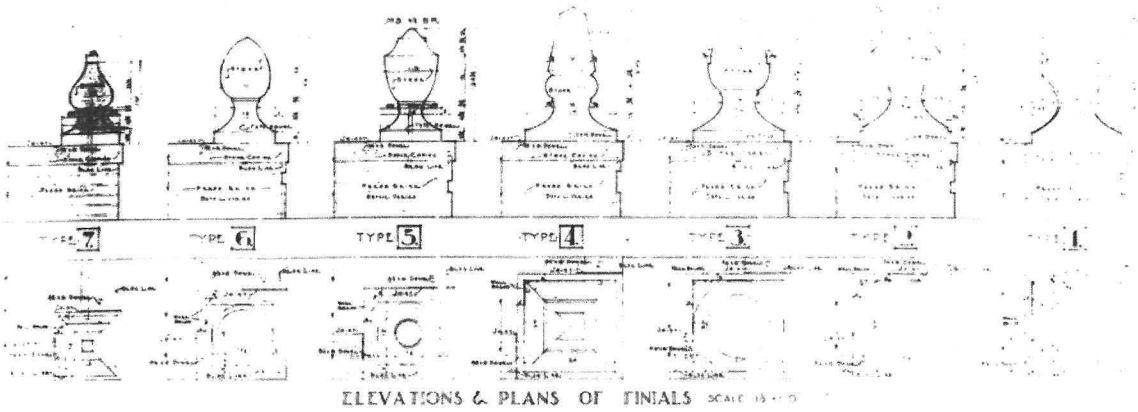


Figure 5-35: Finials at Julia C. Lathop Homes.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Julia C. Lathrop Homes, Sheet 108. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

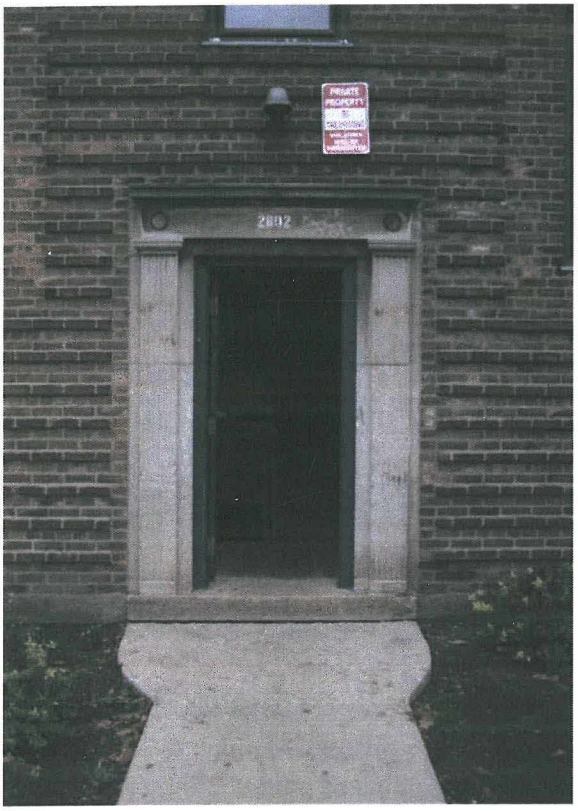


Figure 5-36: Entry view, Julia C. Lathrop Homes.
Image by author, 2007.

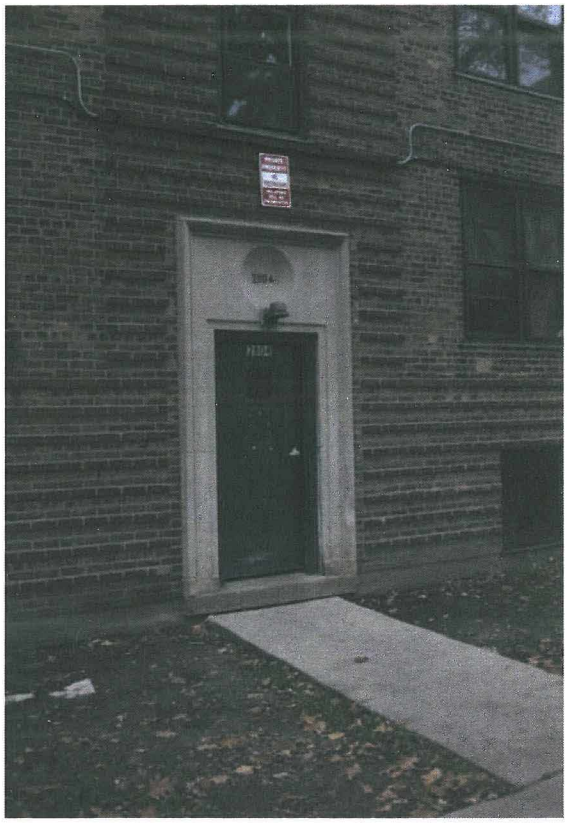


Figure 5-37: Entry view, Julia C. Lathrop Homes.
Image by author, 2007.

Figure 5-38: Entry view, Julia C. Lathrop Homes.
Image by author, 2007.

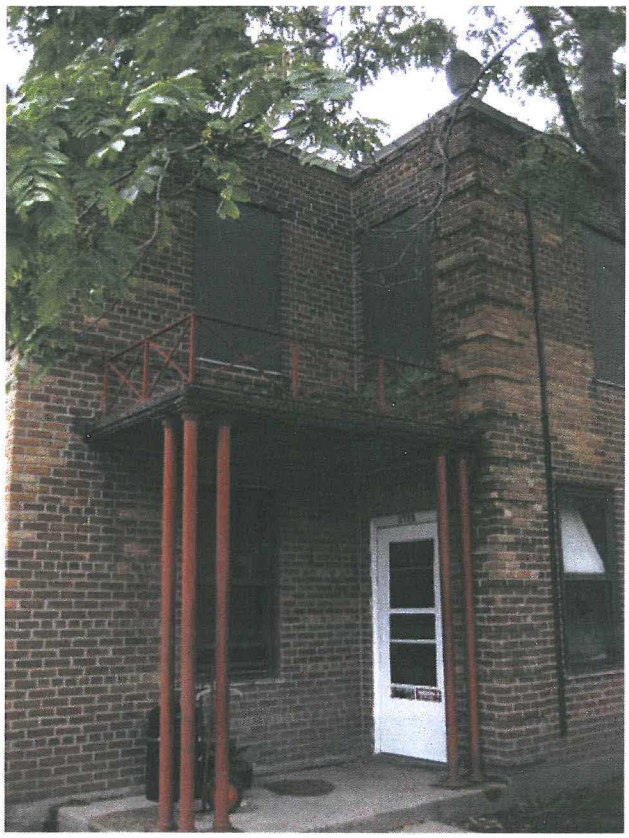


Figure 5-39: Row House entry view, Julia C. Lathrop Homes. Image by author, 2007.

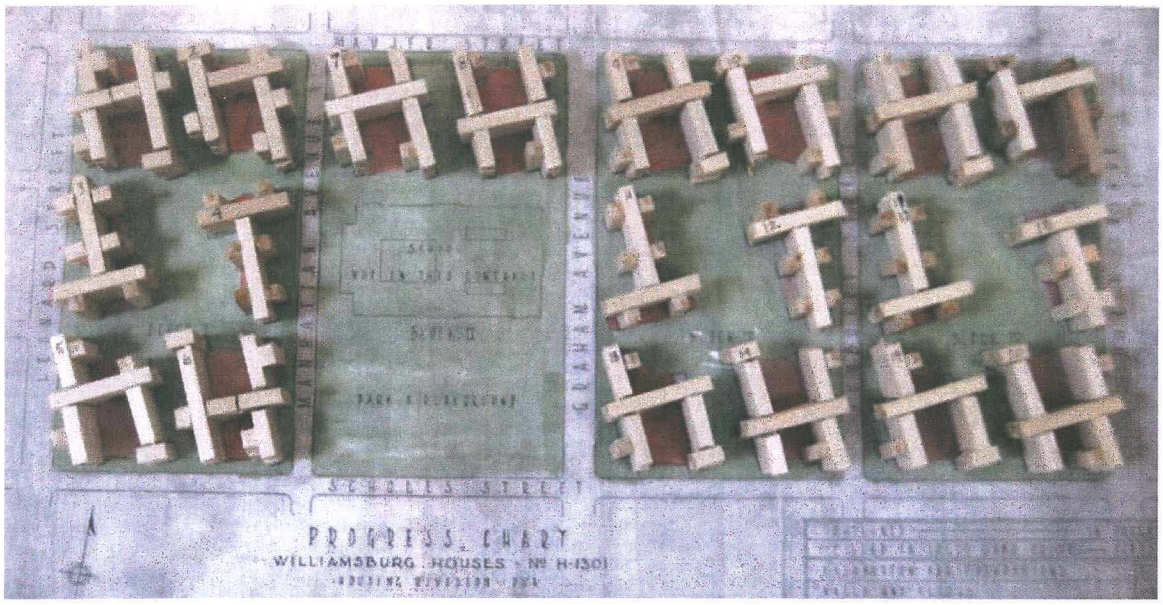


Figure 5-40: Site plan, Williamsburg Houses. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Williamsburg Houses, Sheet A1, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II, altered by author.

Figure 5-41: View, Williamsburg Houses.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1412.

Figure 5-42: View, Williamsburg Houses.
Image by author, 2008.

Figure 5-43: Entry detail, Williamsburg Houses. Image by author, 2008.

Figure 5-44: Building A-13, 900 North Emerson Avenue, Sumner Field Homes, Minneapolis MN. HABS MINN, 27-MINAP, 34B-4.

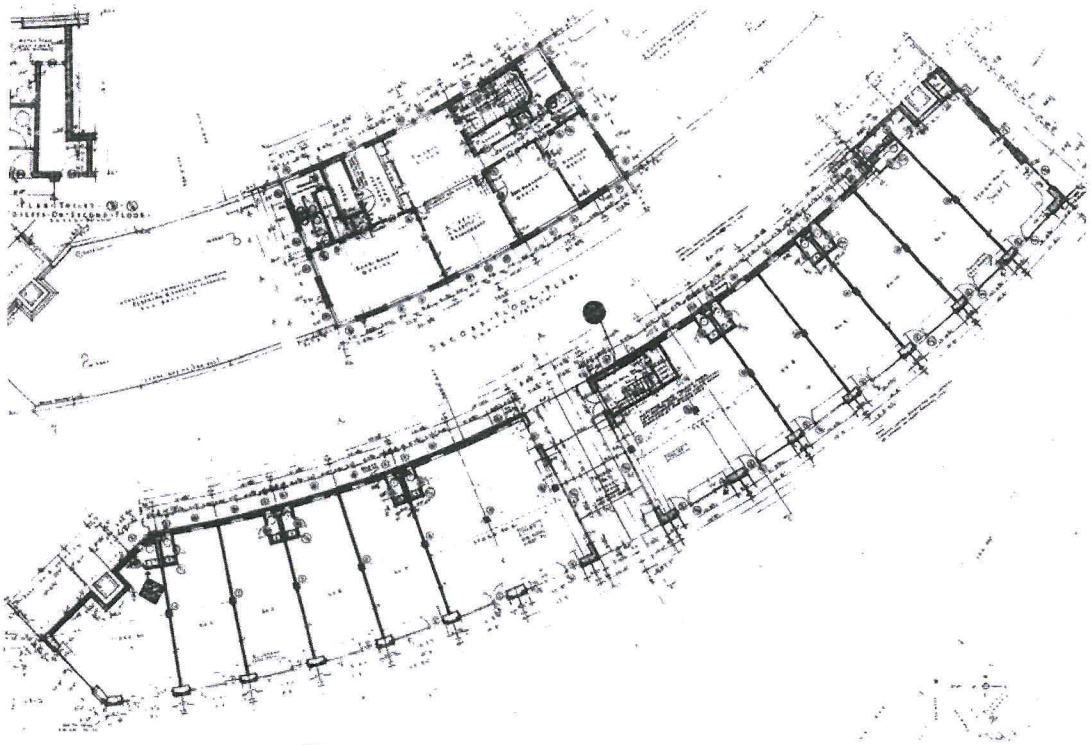


Figure 5-45: Plan, Lockefield Gardens store/office building. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Lockefield Gardens, Sheet A24. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

Figure 5-46: View, Lockefield store building. Office accessed through breezeway. Image by author, 2007.

Figure 5-47: Paul Bunyan frieze, Lakeview Terrace Community Center. Image by author, 2006.

Figure 5-48: Cleveland settlement frieze, inscribed at Lakeview Terrace Community Center.
Image by author, 2006.

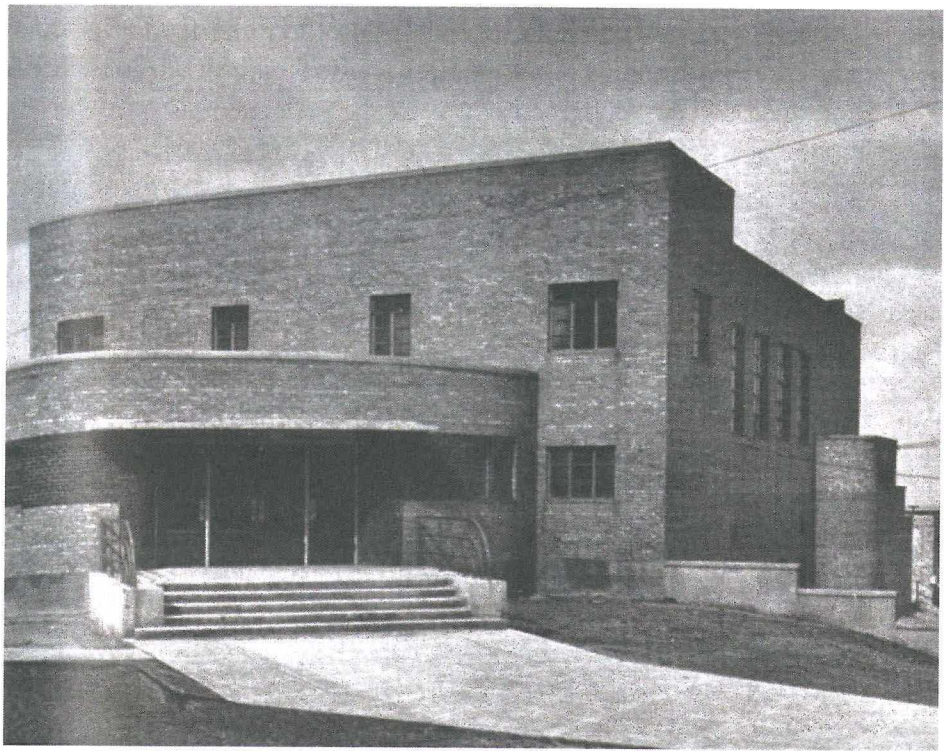


Figure 5-49: Main facade, Lakeview Terrace Community Center.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 383.

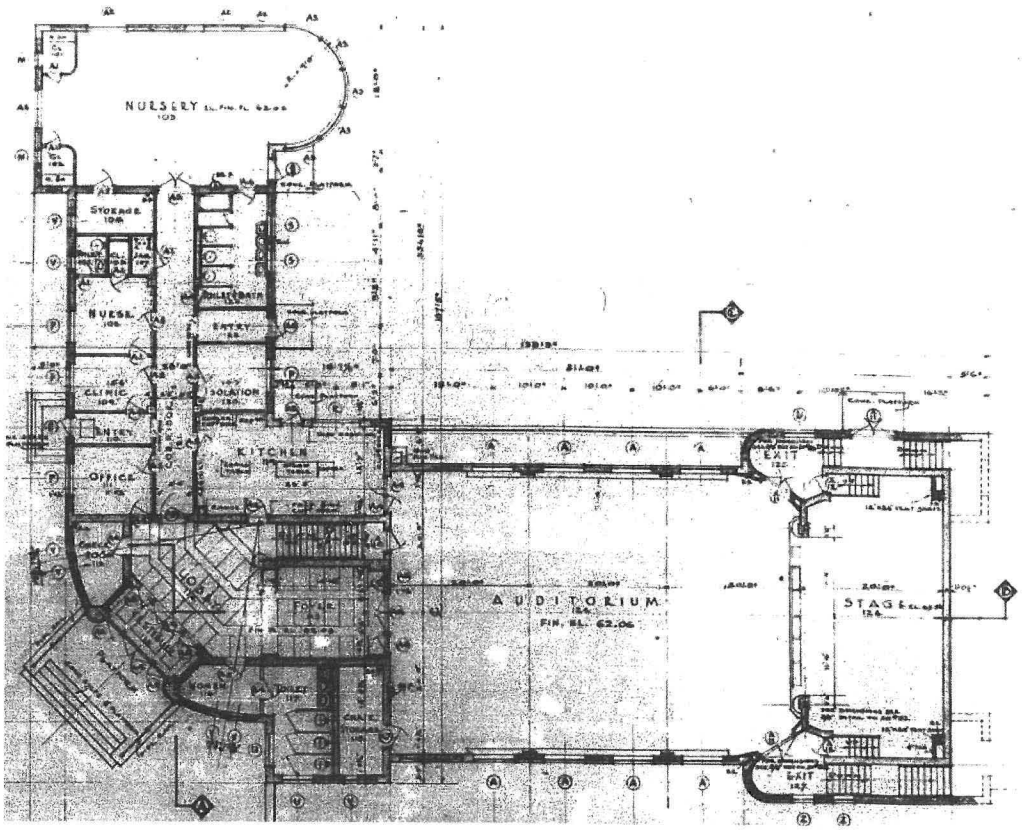


Figure 5-50: First floor plan, Lakeview Terrace Community Center. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Lakeview Terrace, Sheet A79. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

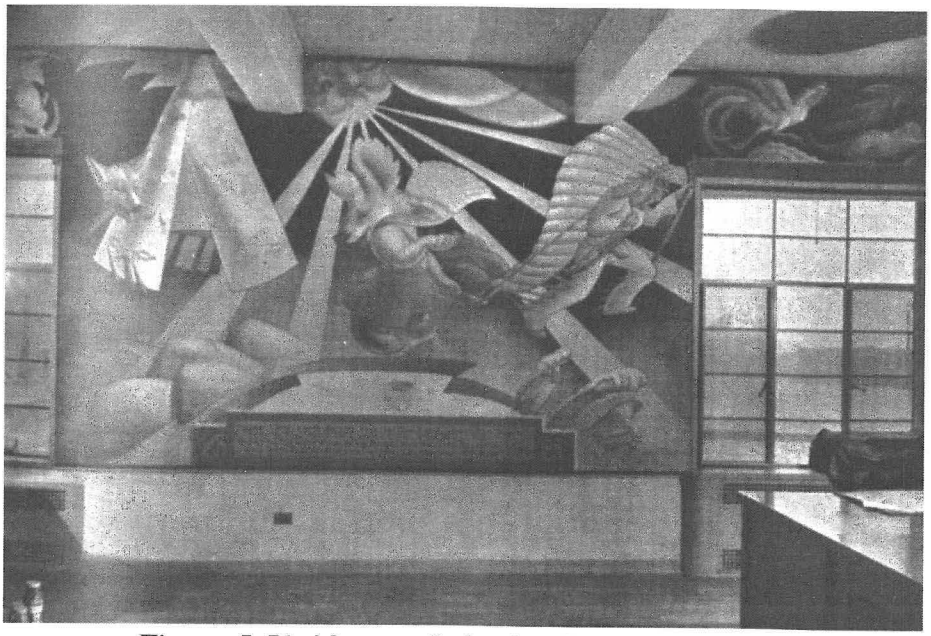


Figure 5-51: Nursery, Lakeview Terrace Community Center. *Architectural Forum* 68/5 (May 1938), 383.

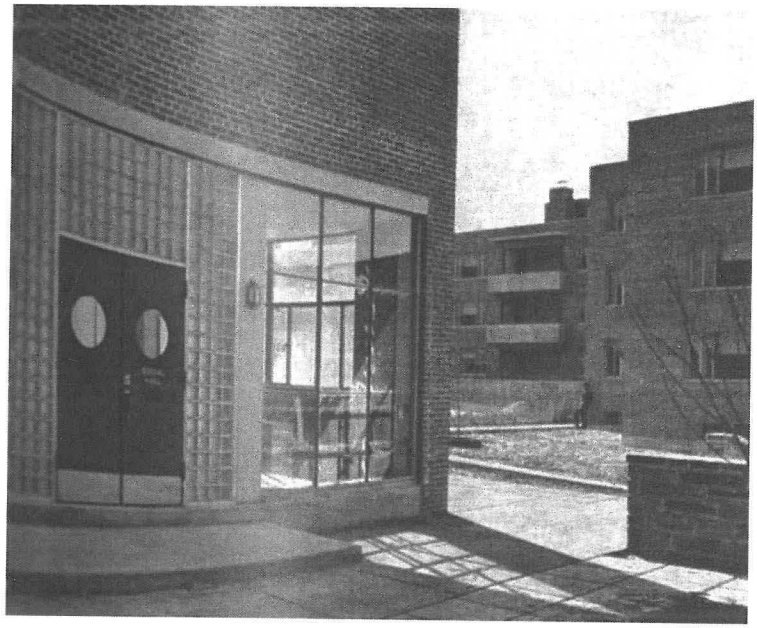


Figure 5-52: Social unit, Westfield Acres.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 375.

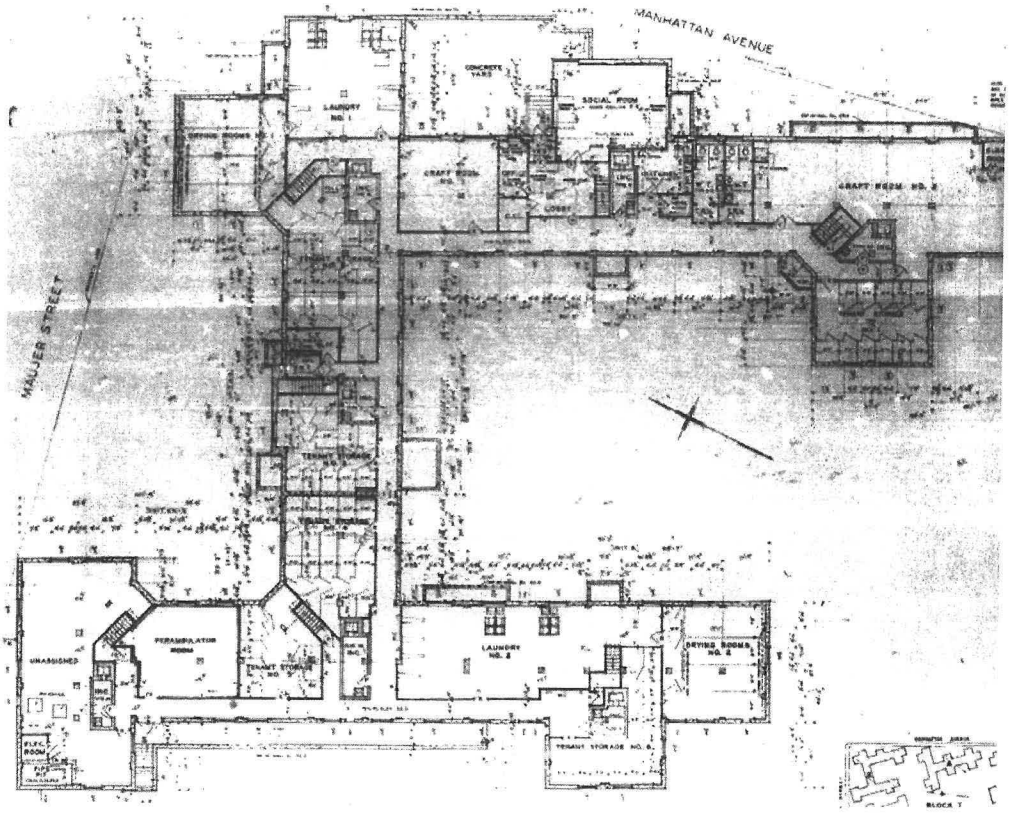


Figure 5-53: Plan, Basement, Building 4, Williamsburg Houses.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Williamsburg Houses, Sheet A12.
Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

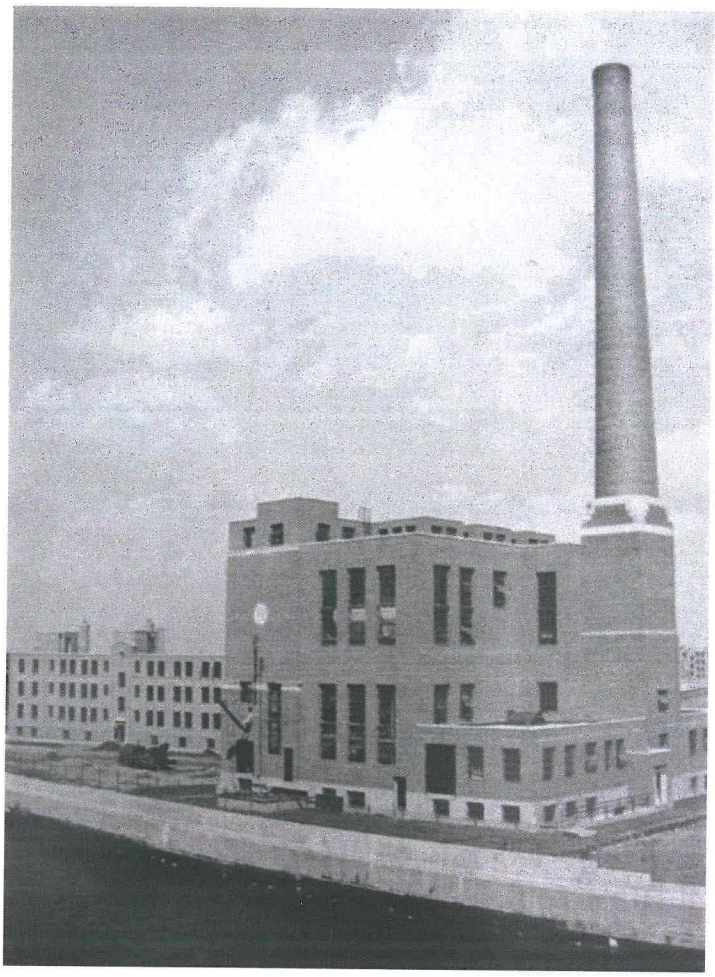


Figure 5-54: View, boiler building, Julia C. Lathrop Homes. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1393.

Figure 5-55: View, mailbox pergola, LaSalle Place. Image by author, 2007.

Figure 5-56: View, public housing well-baby clinic.
Image 30548, M, Record Group 196, Image Collection, NARAII.

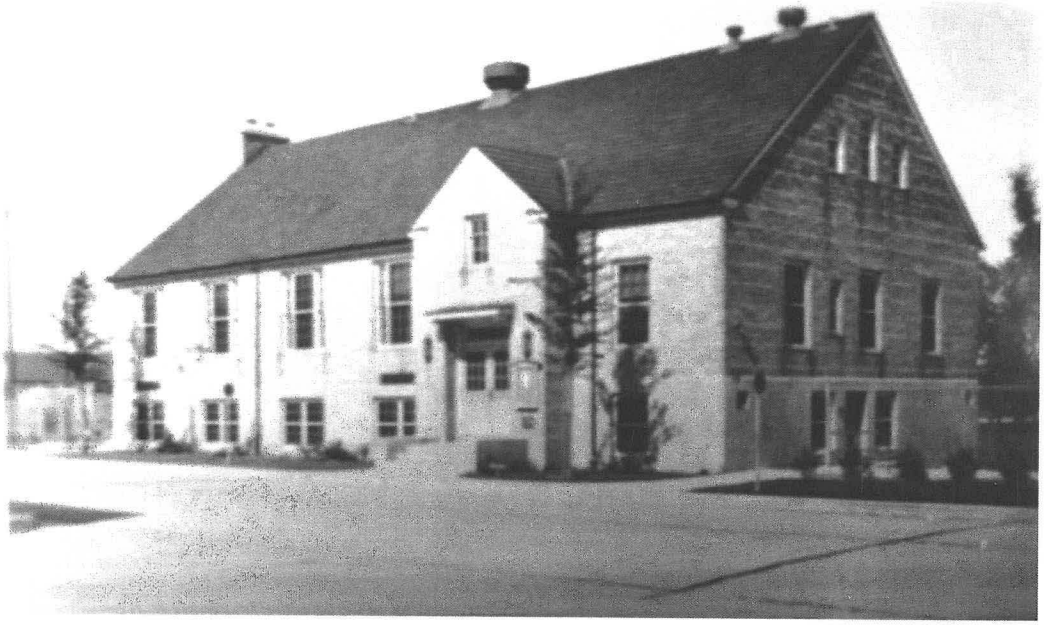


Figure 5-57: View, Parklawn Community Center.
Parklawn scrapbook, Milwaukee Housing Authority.

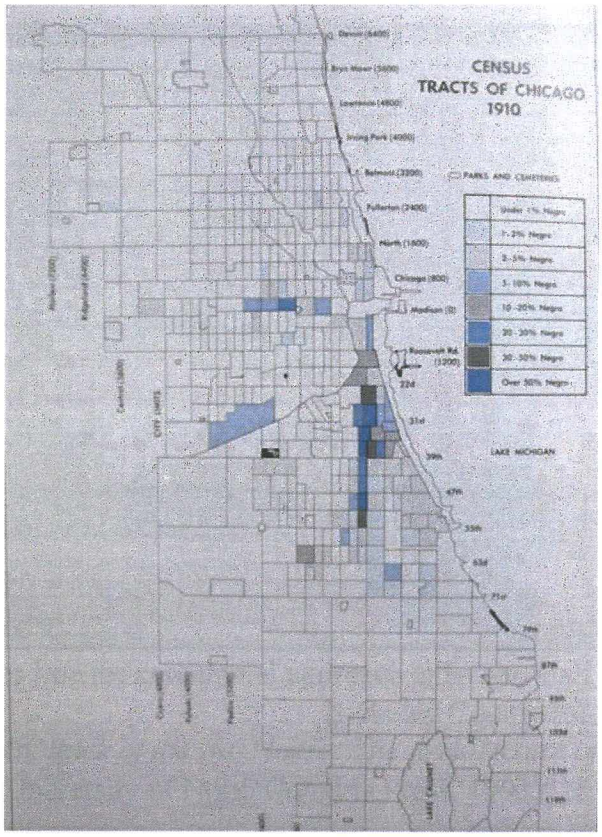


Figure 6-1: African American residency in Chicago, 1910.
William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), Map 3.

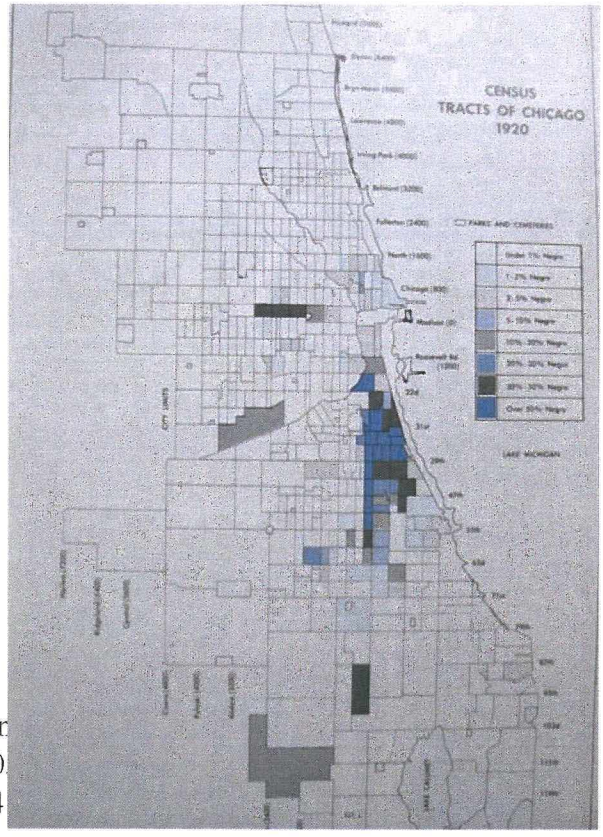


Figure 6-2:African American residency in Chicago, 1920.
Tuttle, Map 4

Figure 6-3: Slave cabins line the ceremonial approach at Boone Hall, Berkeley County SC.
John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 25.

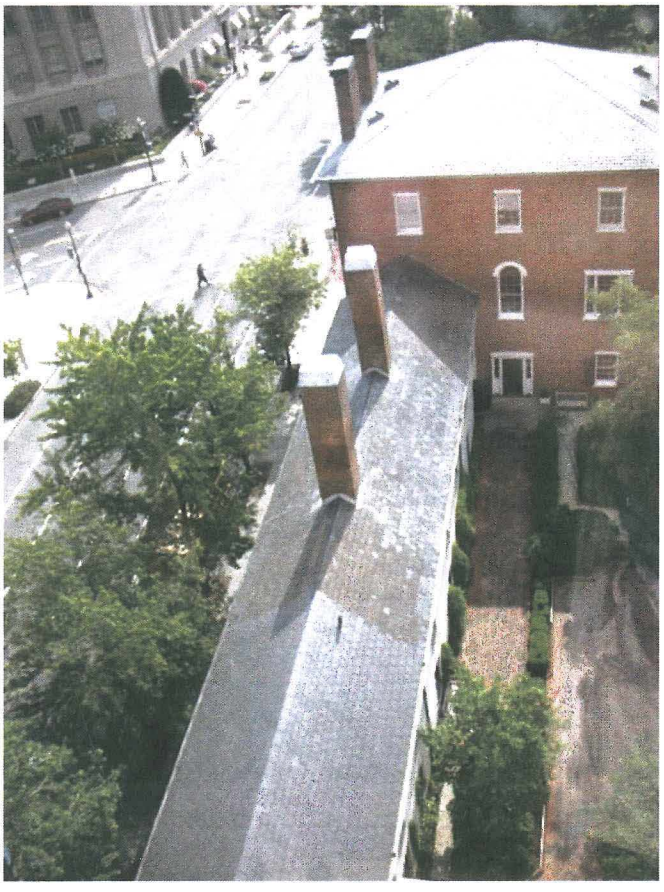


Figure 6-4: Decatur House, Washington D.C.. The brick main house has a narrow rear extension that accommodated slave quarters.
John Dumsick, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Stewardship of Historic Sites Division.

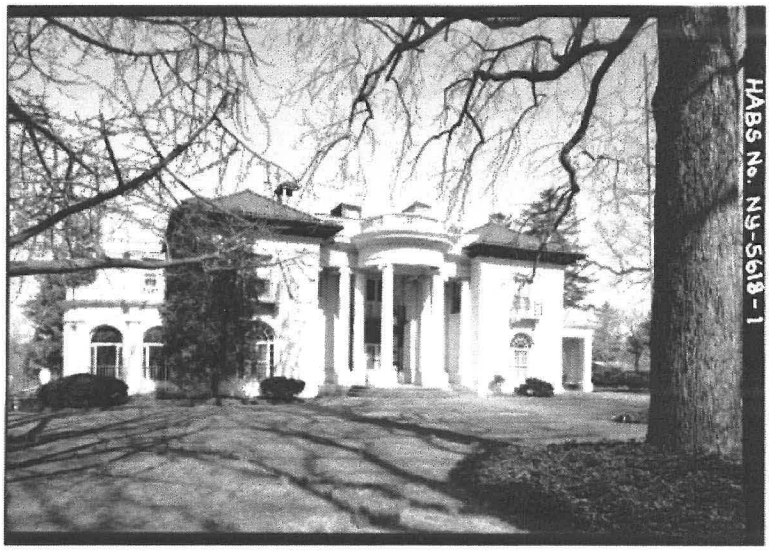


Figure 6-5: Villa Lewaro, Long Island, NY. Historic American Building Survey NY-5618).

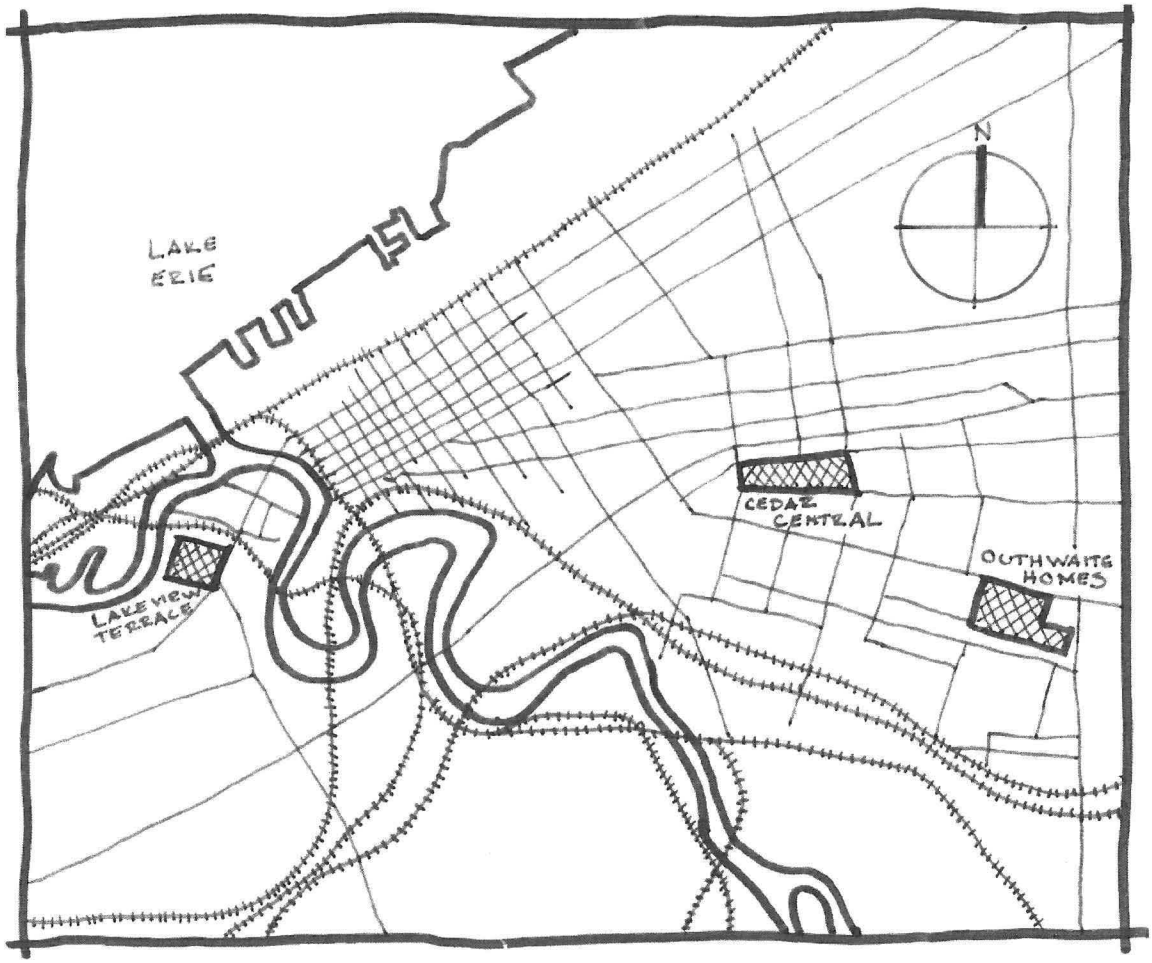


Figure 6-6: Map of locations of the three direct build projects in Cleveland. Image by author.

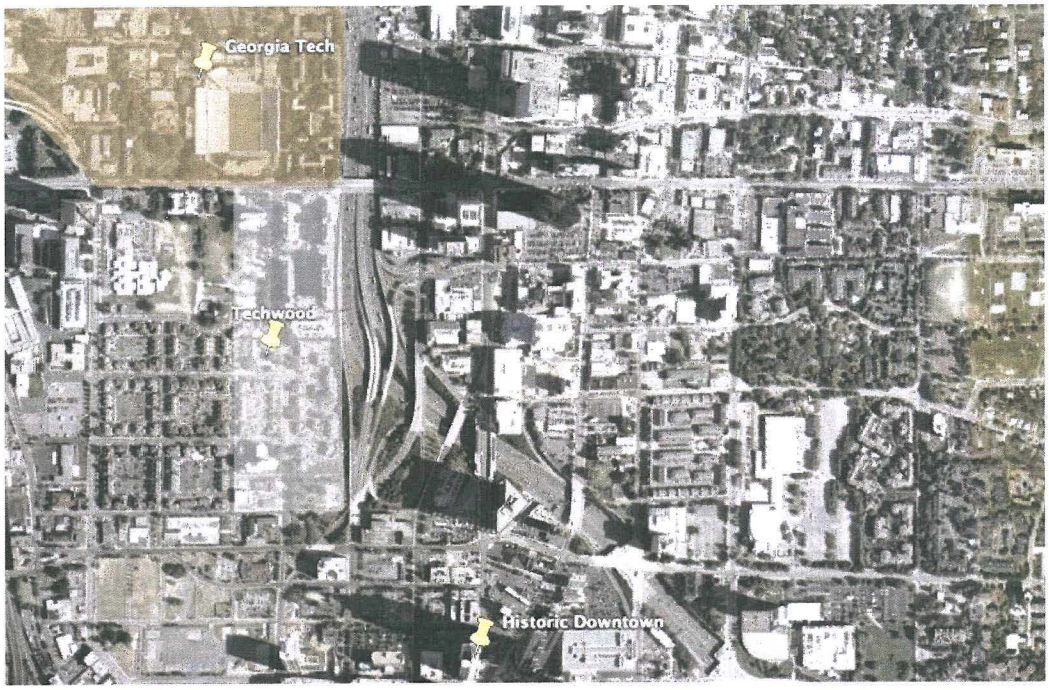


Figure 6-7: Location of Techwood and Georgia Tech.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

Figure 6-8: Location of University Homes, Atlanta University, Clark College, Moorehouse College and Spellman College.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

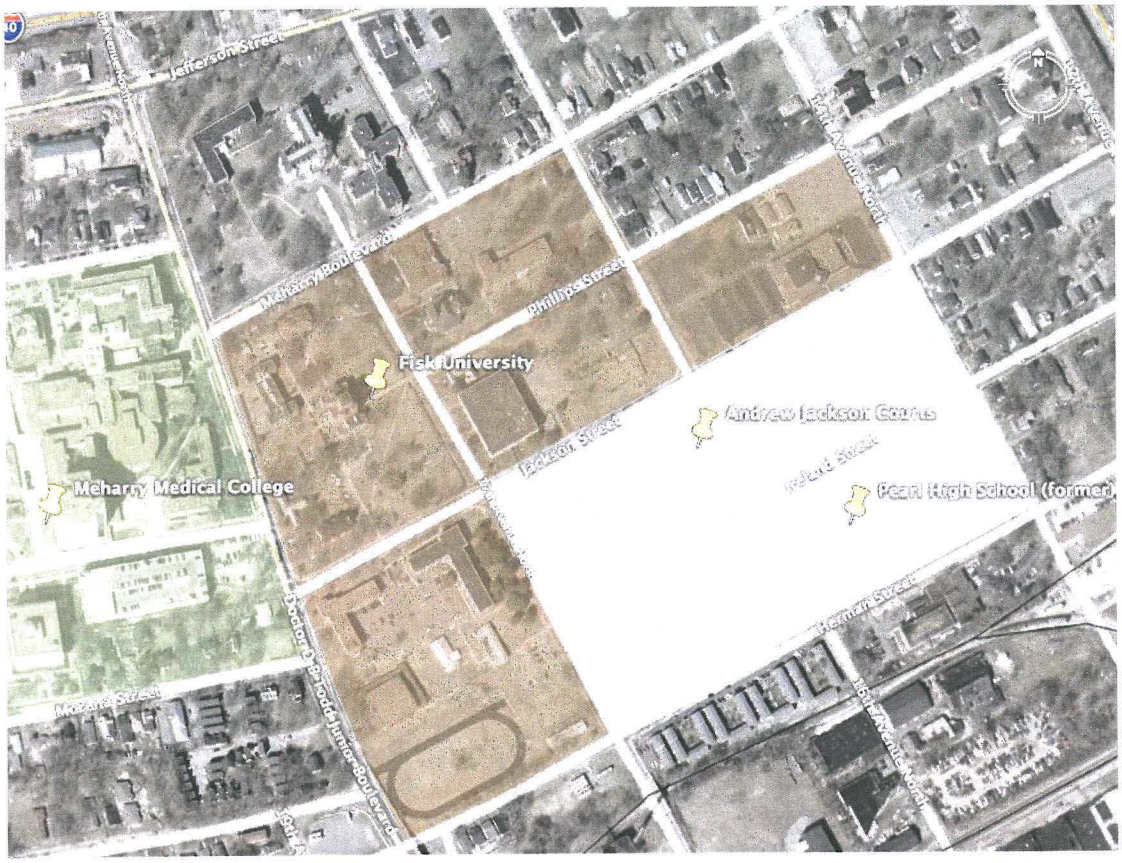


Figure 6-9: Location of Andrew Jackson Courts, Pearl High School, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

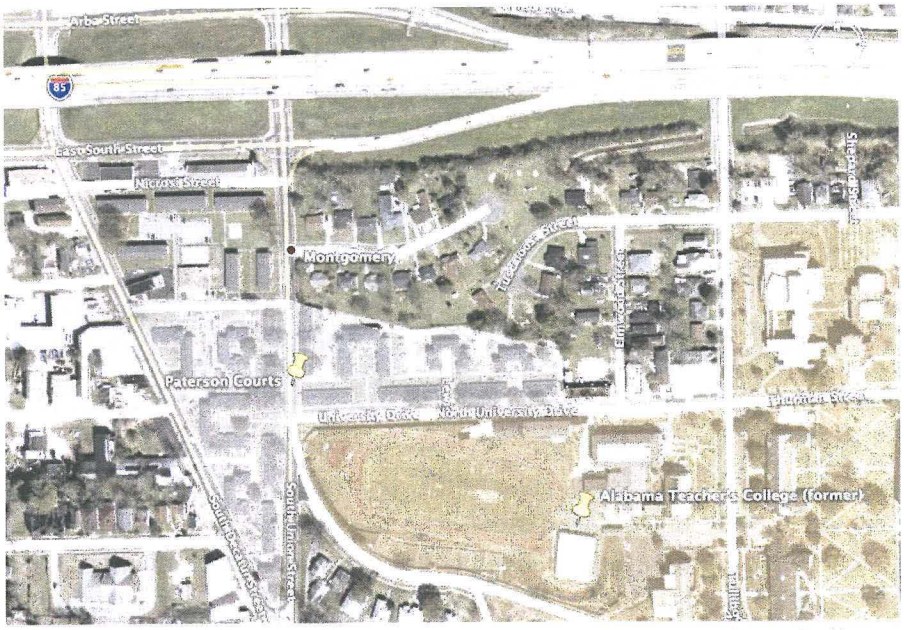


Figure 6-10: Location of William B. Patterson Courts and Alabama Teachers College.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

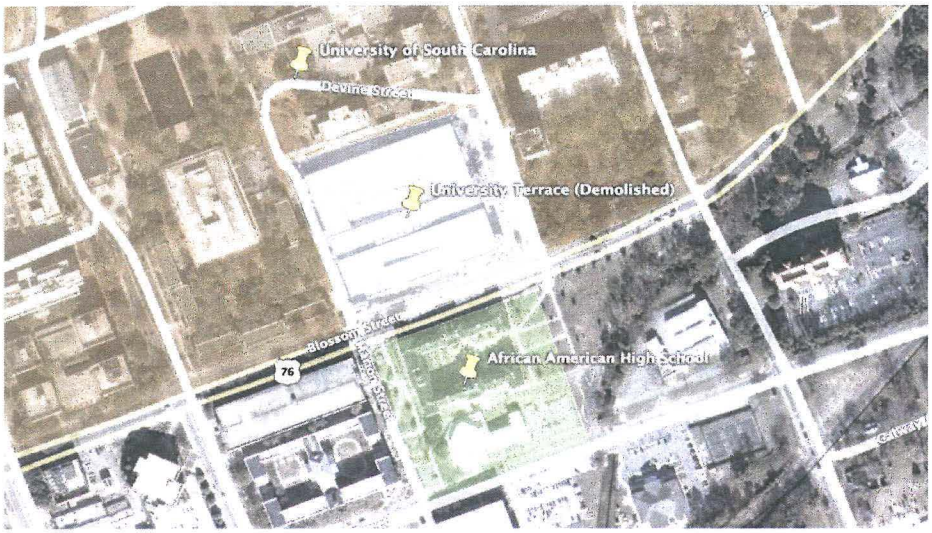


Figure 6-11: Location of University Terrace, African American High School and University of South Carolina.
GoogleEarth image altered by author.

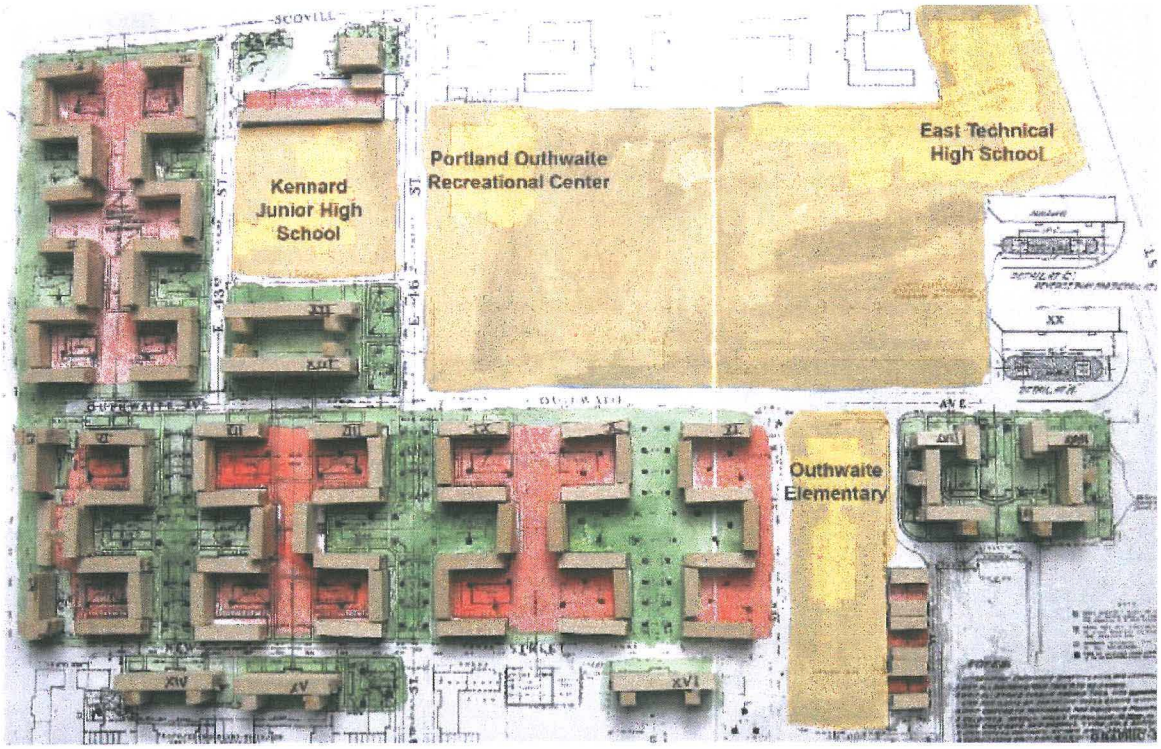


Figure 6-12: Location of Outhwaite, Kennard Junior High School, Outhwaite Elementary, East Technical High School and Portland Outhwaite Recreational Center. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public. Yellow indicates areas of direct public use. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Outhwaite, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.

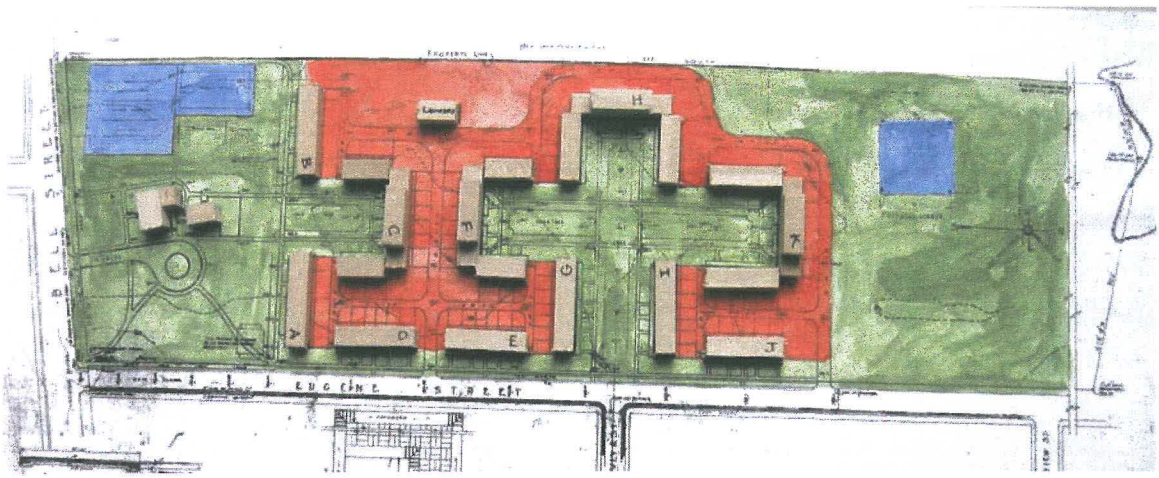


Figure 6-13: Site plan, Riverside Heights. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public. Blue indicates recreational spaces.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Riverside Heights, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

Figure 6-14: View, Riverside Heights.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1439, Entry 24, SAA, Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Still Picture Research Room, NARA II.

Figure 6-15: Column detail, Riverside Heights.
Image by author, 2006.

Figure 6-16: Column detail, Riverside Heights.
Image by author, 2006.

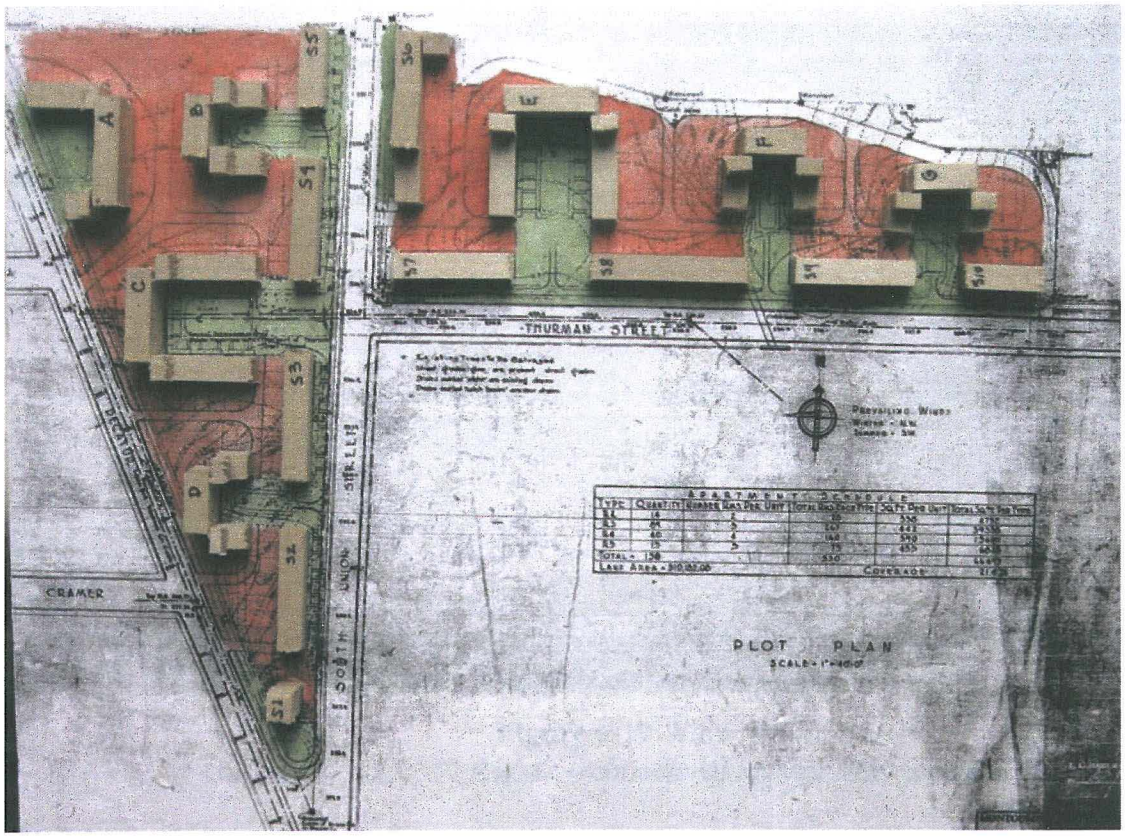


Figure 6-17: Site plan, William B. Patterson Courts. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Riverside Heights, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II. Adapted by author.

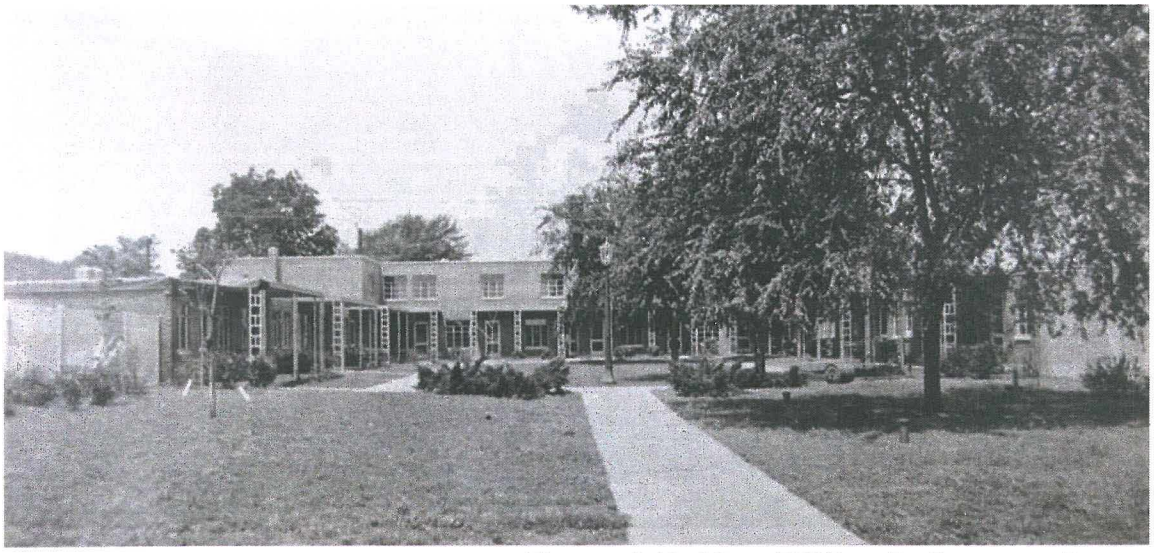


Figure 6-18: View, William B. Patterson Courts.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1441.

Figure 6-19: View, William B. Patterson Courts.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1440.

Figure 6-20: View, Techwood. This is the only remaining building of the project.
Image by author, 2006.

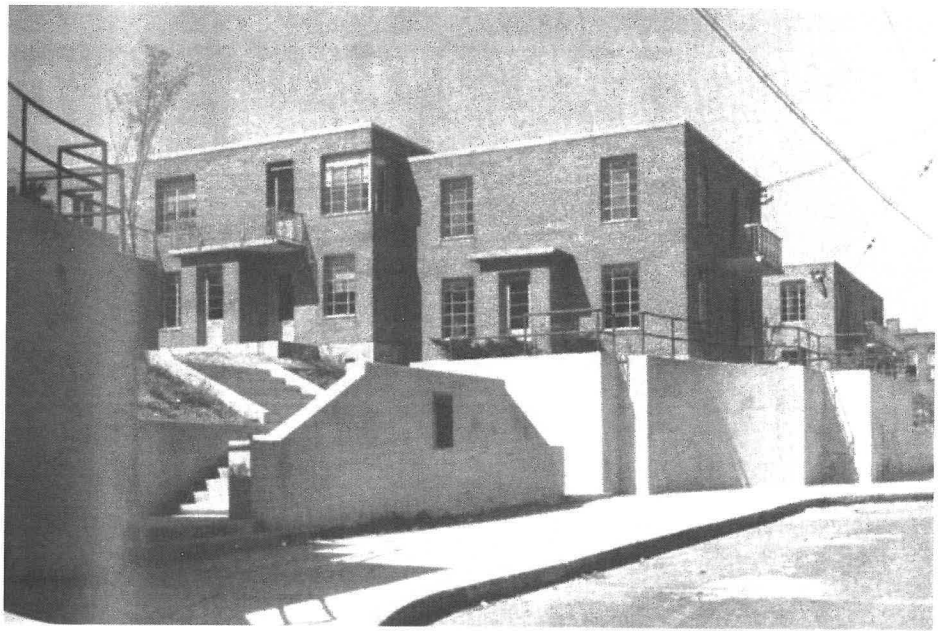


Figure 6-21: View, University Homes.
Architectural Forum 68/5 (May 1938), 332.

Figure 6-22: View, College Court.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1429.

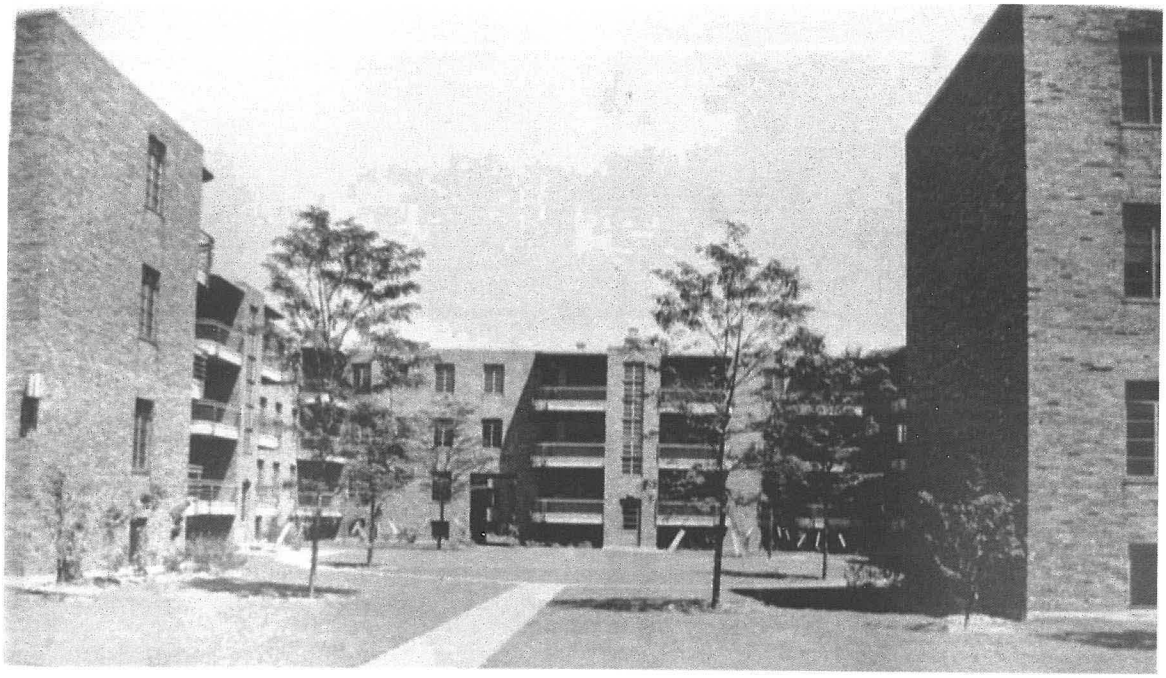


Figure 6-23: View, Cedar Central.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1397.

Figure 6-24: View, Outhwaite.
Cleveland Public Library Image Collection.

Figure 6-25: View, row houses, Outhwaite.
Image by author, 2006.

Figure 6-26: View, apartments, Outhwaite.
Image by author, 2005.

Figure 6-27: View, row house/apartment buildings, Outhwaite.
Cleveland Public Library Image Collection.

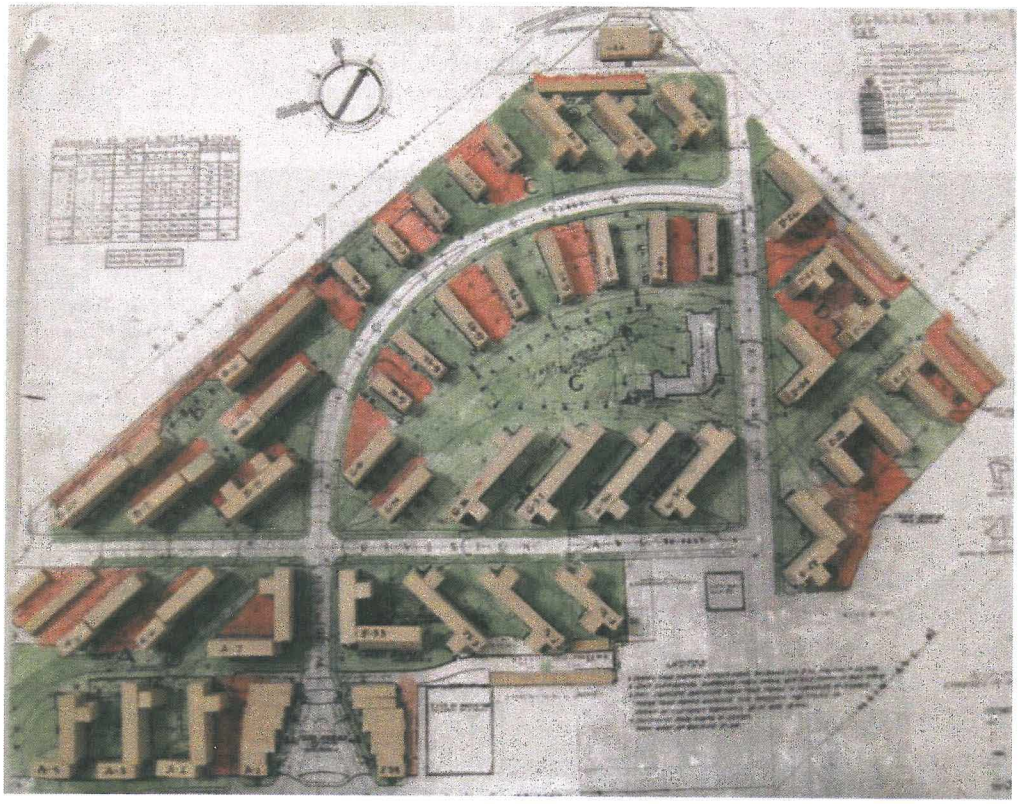


Figure 6-28: Site plan, Lakeview Terrace. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Lakeview Terrace, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II. Adapted by author.

Figure 6-29: View, Lakeview Terrace.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1399.

Figure 6-30: Aerial view, Parkside.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1395.

Figure 6-31:Aerial view, Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Courts. North is to the left.
Architectural Forum 68, 5 (May 1938), 126.

Figure 6-32: View, Meeting Street Manor. Note sign in foreground.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1445.

Figure 6-33: View, Cooper River Courts.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1445.

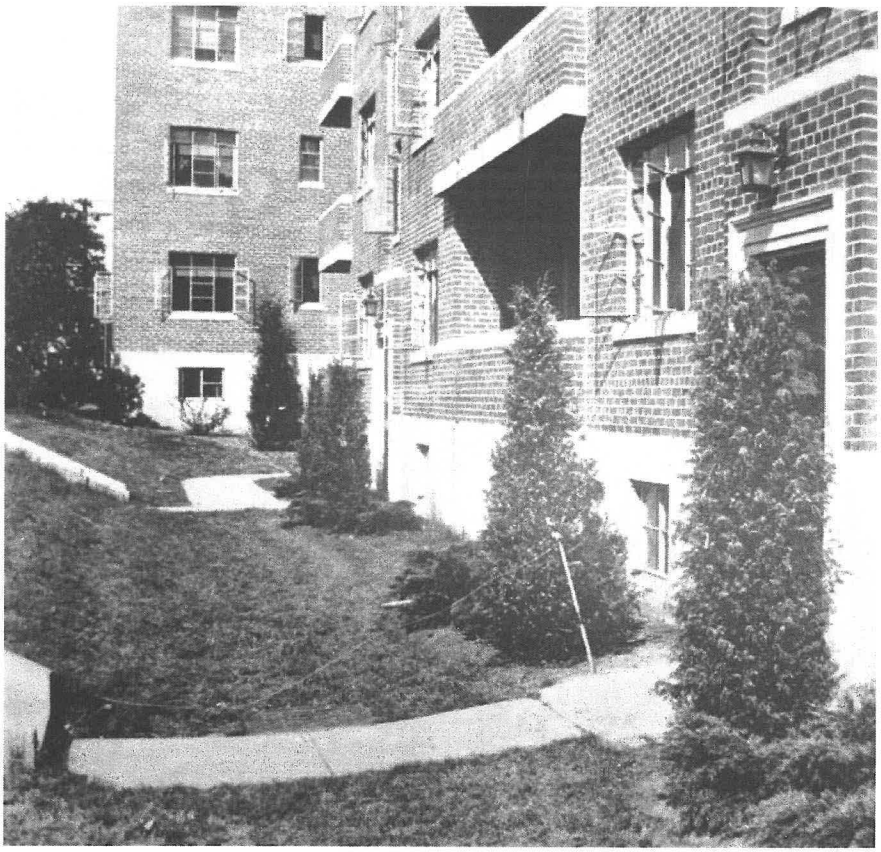


Figure 6-34: View, University Terrace, apartment buildings in the white section.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1444.

Figure 6-35: View, University Terrace, row houses in African-American section. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1444.

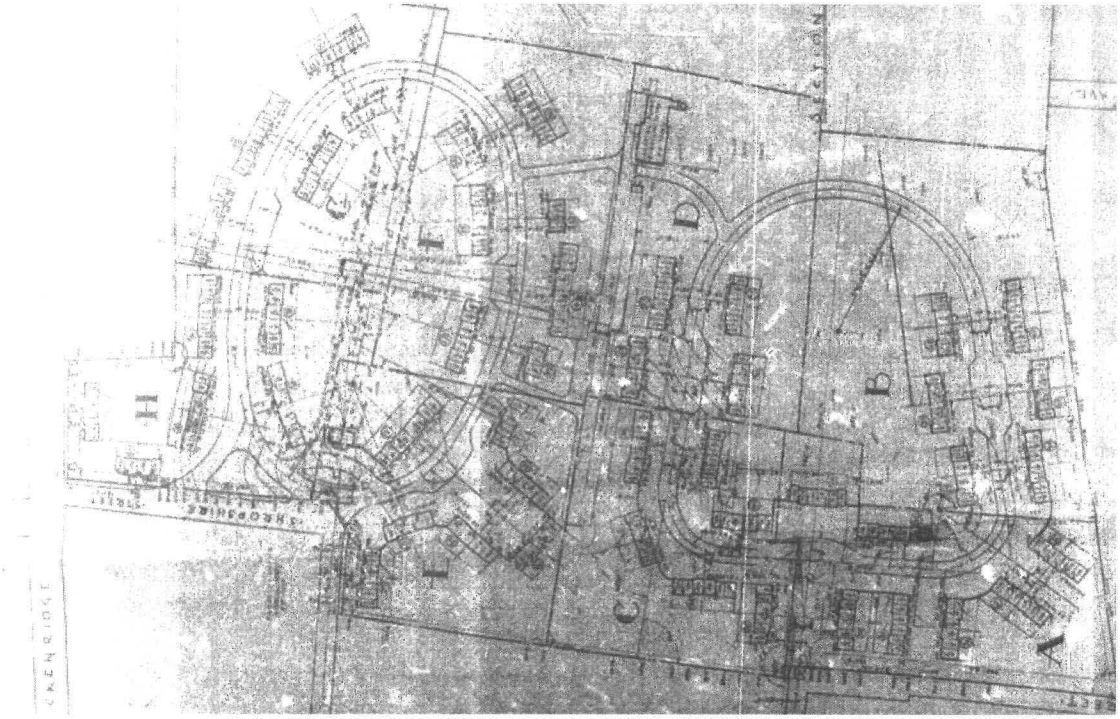


Figure 6-36: Site plan, Bluegrass Park/Aspendale. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Parkside, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II. Altered by author.

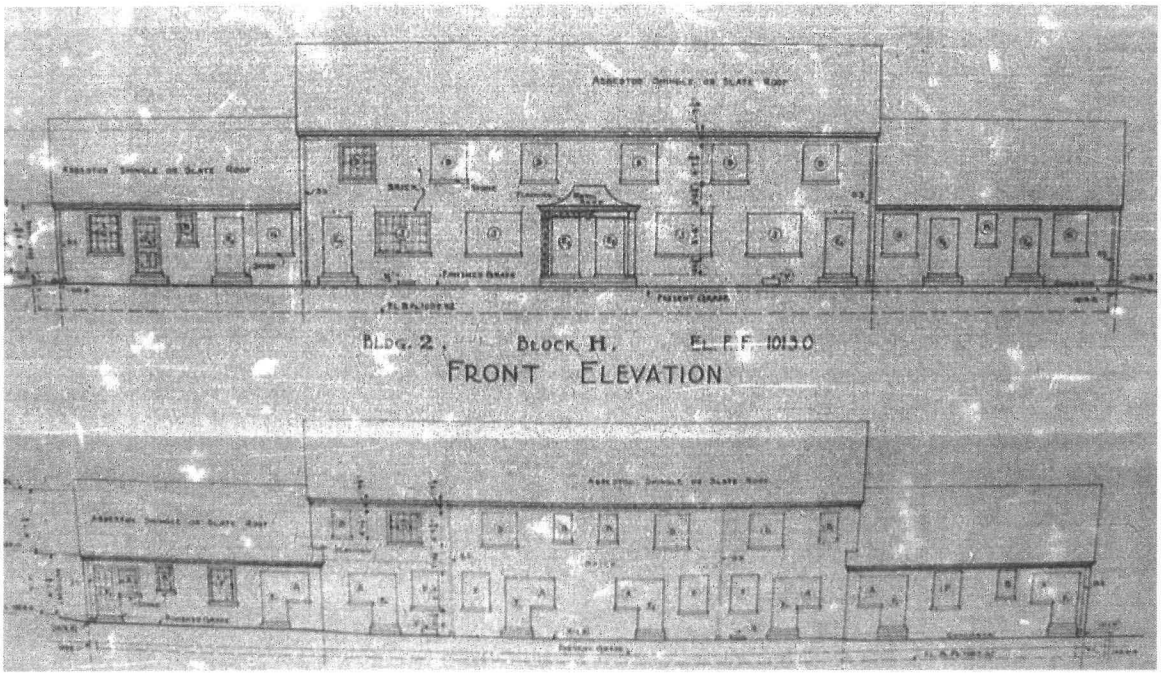


Figure 6-37: Front and Rear Elevations, Bluegrass Park Block H. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Bluegrass Park/Aspendale, Sheet A42. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

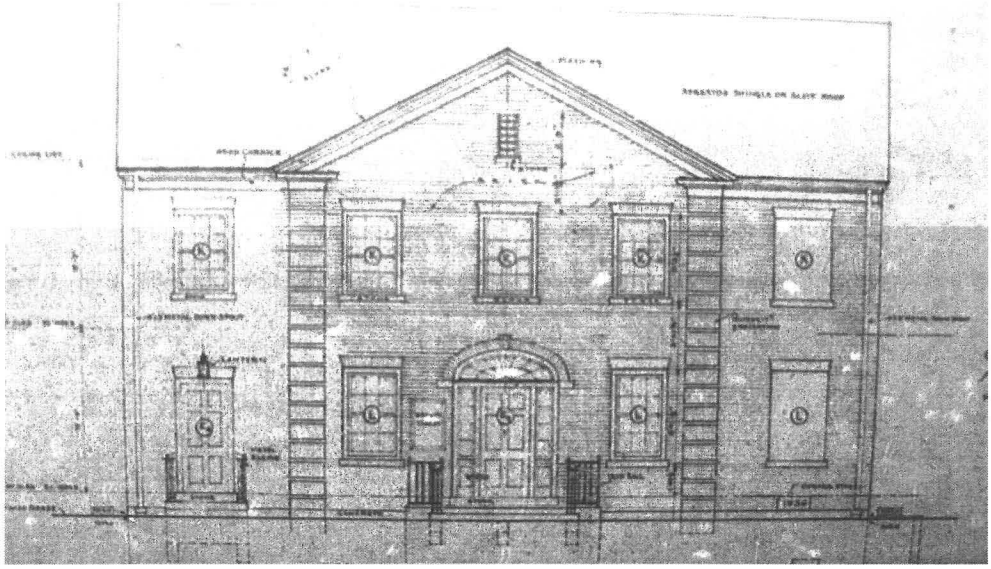


Figure 6-38: Main elevation, Aspendale office and community building. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Bluegrass Park/Aspendale, Sheet A53. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

Figure 6-39: View, Parklawn.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1389.

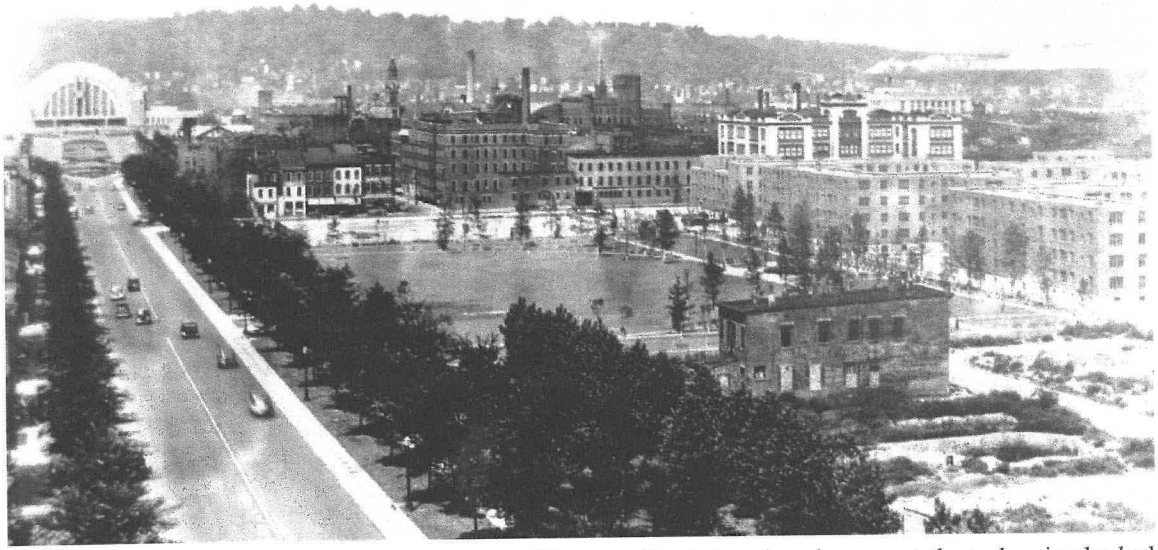


Figure 6-40: View, Laurel Homes, part of larger district redevelopment that also included a new train station.
P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939, volume 7, 1420.

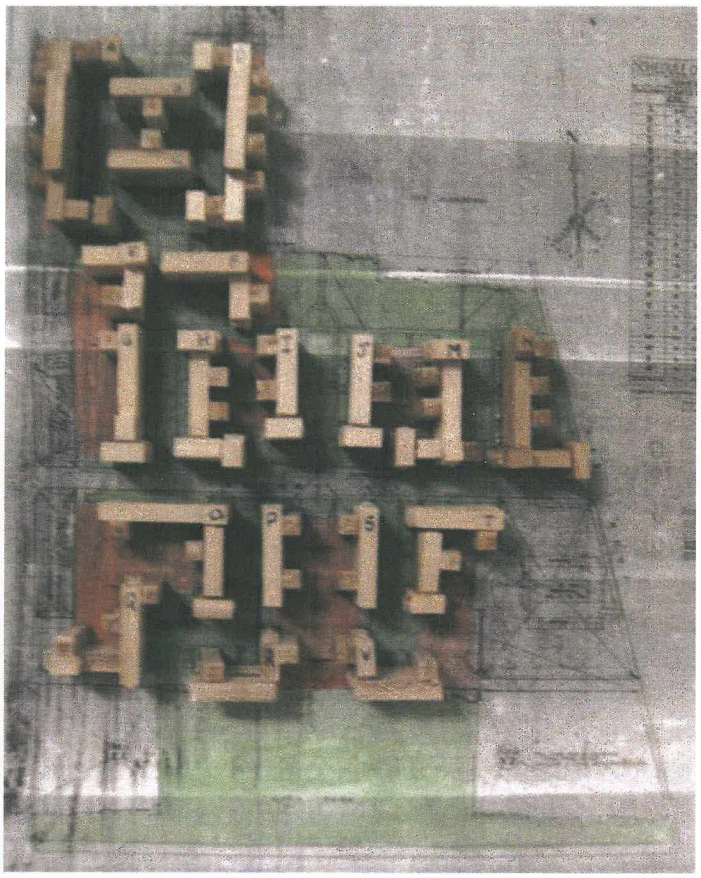


Figure 6-41: Site plan, Laurel Homes. Green indicates public zones, while red indicates areas accessible primarily through residents' rear doors, private to the general public. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Laurel Homes, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II. Altered by author.

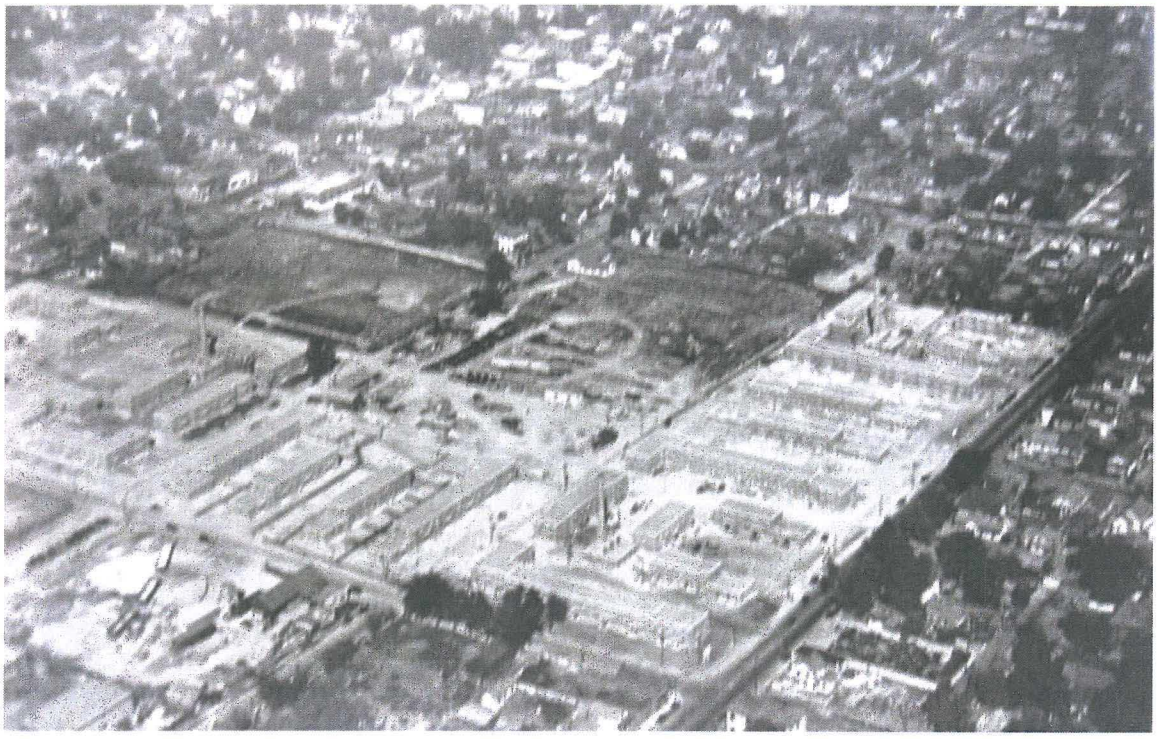


Figure 6-42: Aerial view looking northwest, Logan Fontenelle. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1475.

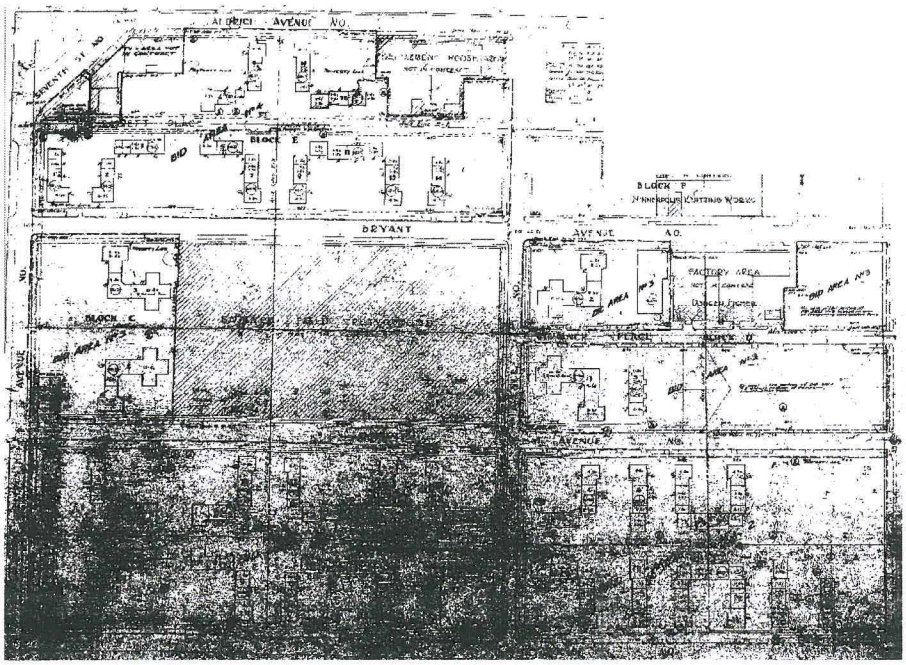


Figure 6-43: Site plan, Sumner Field Houses.
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Sumner Field Houses, Sheet A1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

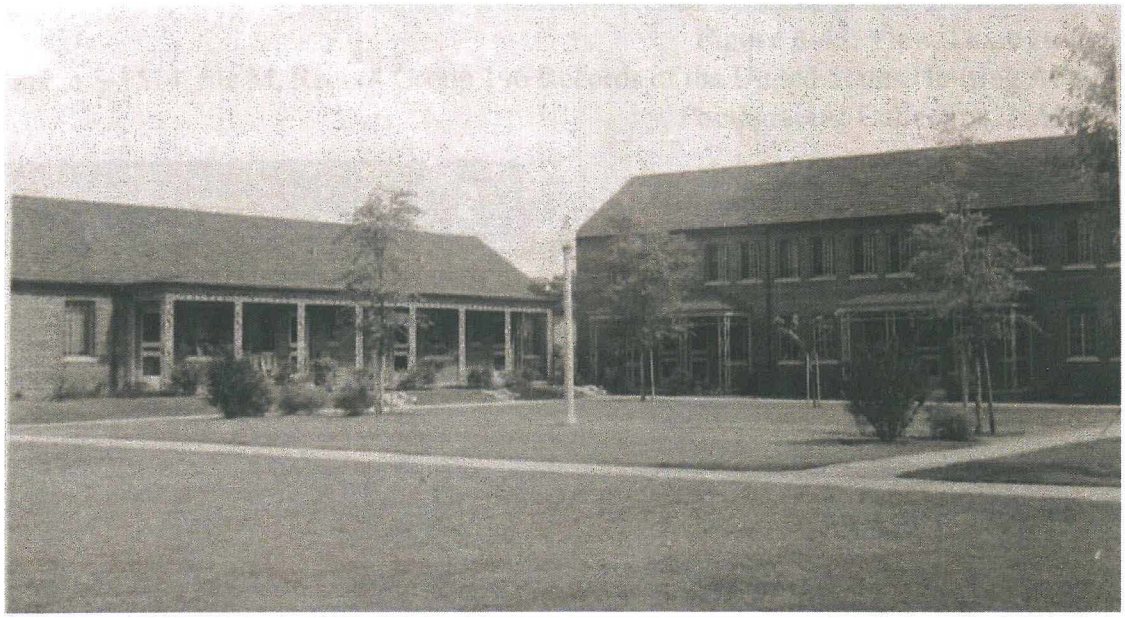


Figure 6-44: View, Lauderdale Courts.
Memphis Public Library Photo Archives, Lauderdale Courts photo collection, #3614C3427.

Figure 6-45: View, Dixie Homes.
Image S-1514, file M, Record Group 196 Records of the United States Housing Authority, Photographic Collection, NARAII.

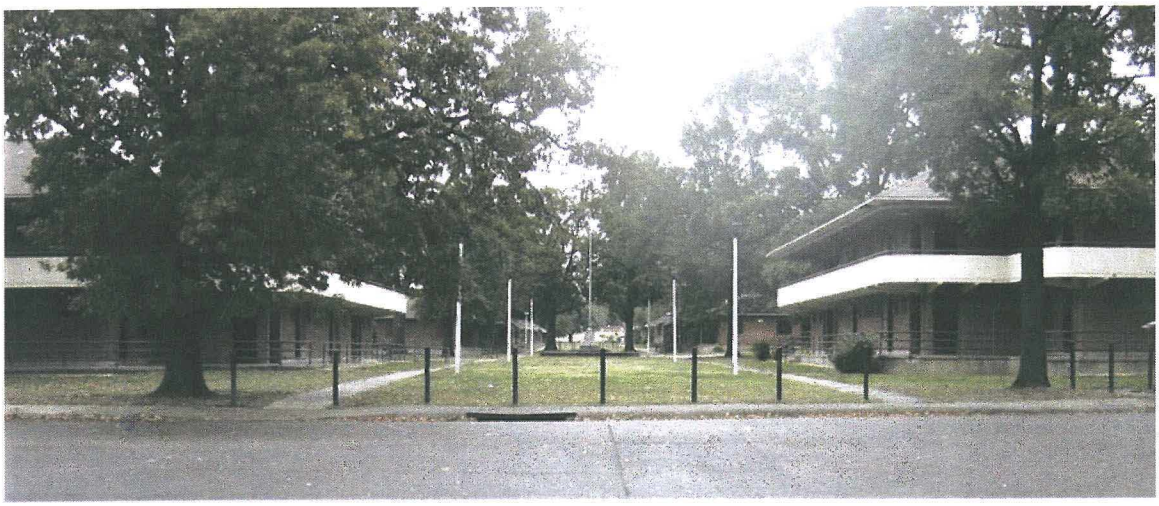


Figure 6-46: View of axial greenway, Dixie Homes.
Image by author.

Figure 6-47: Site plan, Harlem River Houses. Green indicates public zones. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Harlem River Houses, Sheet A2. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II. Altered by author.

Figure 6-48: View, Harlem River Houses. *P.W.A. Architectural Survey 1939*, volume 7, 1415.

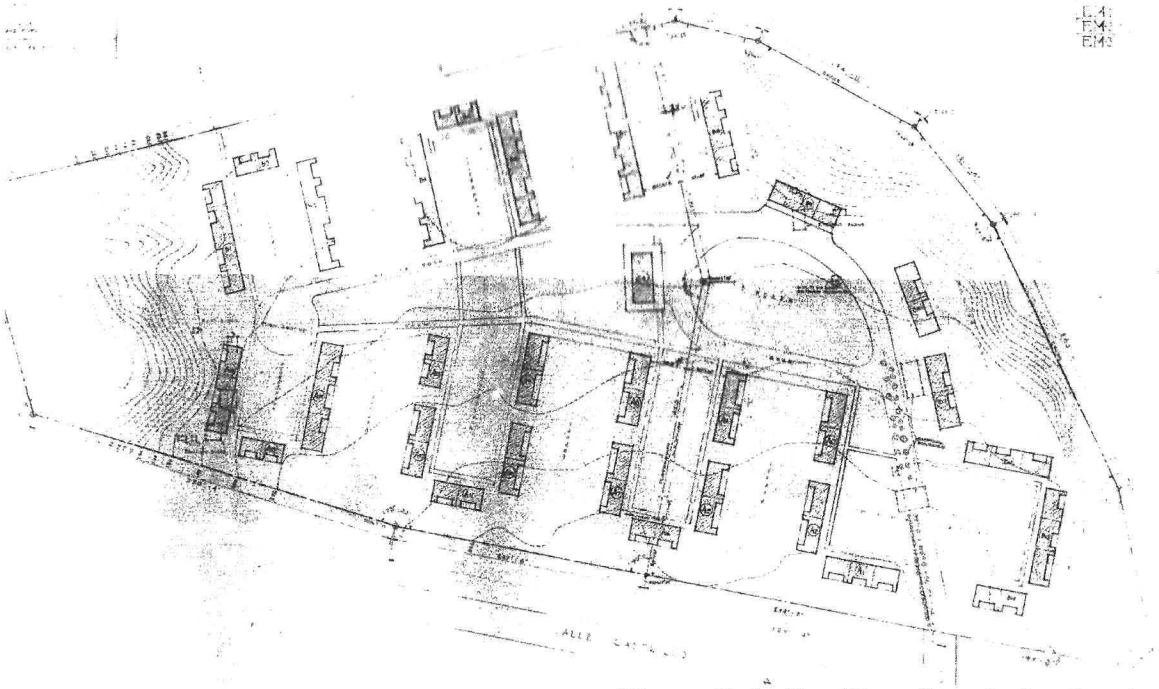


Figure B-1: Site Plan, Caserio La Granja. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Caserio La Granja, Sheet 1. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, subsequently referred to as NARA II.

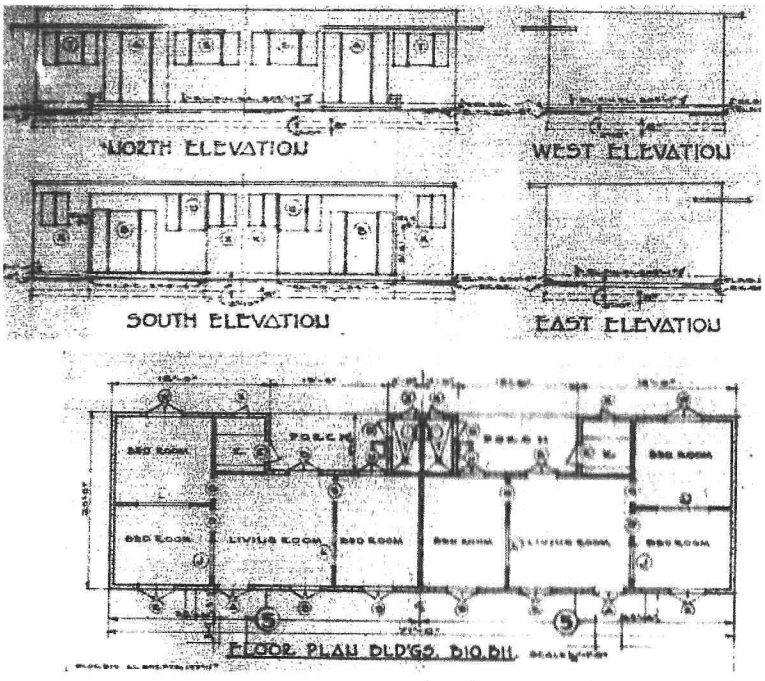


Figure B-2: Unit Plan Caserio La Granja. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Caserio La Granja, Sheet 4. Record Group 135 Records of the Public Works Administration, Microfilm Room, NARA II.

Table In-I	Current Status of Direct Build Projects				
Project #	Project Name	City	State	Operational?	Current Status
H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH	Yes	Few Changes
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH	Yes	First Hope VI Project--Minor Aesthetic Changes
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH	Yes	Recent Renovation--Private Entrance for each unit--Significant Interior Alterations
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA	No	Demolished prior to 1996 Olympics Single Building Survives, operating as office space
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA	Yes	Hope VI grant altered buildings to enlarge units. 2008- Slated for demolition.
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI	No	Demolished
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI	Yes	1/2 Units Demolished, New Rowhouses Constructed
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York City	NY	Yes	Renovated 1996
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York City	NY	Yes	
H-1401, 1405	Jane Addams Homes	Chicago	IL	No	Demolished, 2006. 1 Building remains, slated to become public housing museum.
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL	2006, Being Cleared of Renters	Slated for Demolition, 2006
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL	Yes	Undergoing significant rehabilitation, Buildings and Units retained, construction stalled early 2008.
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI	Yes	Apartment units at center of project demolished to make way for houses for purchase.
H-1601?	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN	Yes	Row Houses and 1/2 Apartment Buildings Demolished 1983, Interior changes, operating as Student and some Low Income Apartments
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC	Yes	Few Changes
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH	No	Three Buildings remain on north part of site
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE	No	Demolished
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN	Yes	Few Changes, threatened by gentrification
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN	Yes	Few Changes, redevelopment proposed, 2005
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL	No	Slated for Demolition, 2006
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL	Yes	Few Changes
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY	Yes	Operating as Private Condos, minor changes
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY	Yes	Operating as Private Condos, minor changes
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH	Yes	Few Changes
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL	Yes	Few Changes
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA	Yes	Few Changes
H-3302	Old Towne Court	Boston	MA	Yes	In operation as Mary Ellen MacCormack, Few Changes - Art removed
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN	No	Slated for Demolition, 2006
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN	Yes	Exterior preserved, interior alterations, Operated by Private Developer as Market-Rate Apartments
H-3600	Caserio Lagrania	Caguas	PR		
	Caserio Mirapalmeras	Caguas	PR		
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN	No	Single building remains, operating as Evansville African-American Museum
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN	No	Demolished
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL	Yes	Few Changes
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL	No	Demolished
H-4900	Bassin Triangle	St. Croix	VI		
	Marley Homes	St. Croix	VI		Restored 1995, second floors added to each unit.
	H.H. Berg Homes	St. Thomas	VI		
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Homes	Atlantic City	NJ	Yes	In operation
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY	No	Demolished, 2002
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC	No	Demolished, 1995
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK	Yes	Operating as private apartment complex, few changes
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY	Yes	In operation, few changes
H-6001	Westfield	Camden	NJ	No	Demolished, 2000
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY	Yes	In operation, few changes
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY	Yes	Renovated
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX	Yes	RFP issued, 2006 Orginal portion slated for retention
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK	Yes	In operation, few changes
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA	Yes	In operation, changes made to reorient entrances to street frontage.
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC	Yes	In operation
H-9001	Highland Homes	Wayne	PA	Yes	Demolished 2002
H-9600?	Fairfield Court Apartments	Stamford	CT		2003 Hope VI Grant to Demolish

Table 2-1 Comparison of Financial Benefits of RFC, Limited Dividend and Direct Build Programs

Program	Nature of Applicant	Effective Dates	% of Grant	% of Loan	% Interest Rate	Amortization Period (years)	Note
New York Limited Dividend Housing Companies Law	Private Corporation	1926-1930's	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Right of Eminent Domain, Property Tax Waiver
Reconstruction Finance Program	Private Corporation	1931- 7/1933	N/A	N/A	5	10	Property Tax Waiver in New York State Only
PWA Limited Dividend Program	Private Corporation	7/1933 - 7/1934	0	85	4 to 5	25-35	15% Applicant Contribtion
	Public Authorities	7/1933 - 7/1934	30	70	4 to 5	25-35	
Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation	Private Corporation	10/1933 - 4/1934	30	70	4	35	
PWA Housing Division Program	Direct-Build	4/1934 - 6/1936	30	70	4	35	Terms same as PWEHC
	Direct-Build	6/1936 - 9/1937	45	55	4	60	Terms Updated by the George-Healy Act. Superceded by Wagner-Stegall Act.

Table 2-II Table of Proposed and Constructed Limited Dividend Projects

Project #	Project Name	City	State	Sponsor	Date Approved	Date Cancelled	Construction Begun	Date Opened	Slum/Vacant	# of Units	Construction Type	Unit Types	Original Rents	Total Cost	Acres	Coverage	Cost/Unit	Architect	Notes
Constructed																			
H-1	Carl Mackley Houses	Philadelphia	PA	Am. Federation of Hosiery Workers, built by Juniata Park Housing Corp.	8/16/33	N/A	1/1/34	1/3/35	Vacant	284	brick and tile	2.5-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	$9.50	$1,123,713.00	5.50	0.35	$3,956.74	W. Pope Barney, Kastner and Stonorov	swimming pool, wading pool, nursery school, auditorium, recreation rooms, workshops, laundries
H-29	Boylan Housing Corp.	Raleigh	NC	Boylan Housing Corp.	8/16/33	N/A	3/15/35	12/1/35	Single large home demolished	54	fireproof	3.5-4.5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	$11.00	$233,600.00	1.15	0.25	$4,325.93	Linthicum & Linthicum	
H-37	Neighborhood Gardens	St. Louis	MO	Neighborhood Community Committee, Neighborhood Gardens Incorp.	8/16/33	N/A	5/25/34	May-35	slum	252	fireproof	2.5-4.5 room units in 3 story apartment building	$9.80	$740,000.00	2.50	0.35	$2,936.51	Hoener, Baum & Froese, St. Louis	social hall, library, club rooms, domestic science kitchen, playground, wading pool.
H-J(R-262)	Hillside Housing Corp	Bronx, NYC	NY	Hillside Housing Corp.	1/23/34	N/A	1/23/34	Jun-35	vacant	1416	fireproof	2-5 room units in 4 story walk-up and 6 story elevator apartment buildings	$11.00	$5,717,871.00	17.30	0.39	$4,038.04	Clarence Stein, NYC	auditorium, workshops, club rooms, wading pools, play-grounds, nursery school
(H-F(R-266)	Boulevard Gardens	Queens, NYC	NY	Boulevard Gardens Housing Corp. (Sponsor, Cord Meyer)	8/16/33	N/A	?	?	vacant	957	fireproof	2-5.5 room units in 6 story apartment buildings	$11.00	$4,086,600.00	13.00	0.25	$4,270.22	Theodore H. Englehart, NYC	recreation and work rooms. 14 stores constructed on site, 300-car garage, movie theater
H-278	Altavista Housing Group	Altavista	VA	Alta Vista Corp.	3/3/34	N/A	3/3/34	7/20/34	vacant	50	frame	4 room 1 story houses	$3.73	$100,000.00	13.00	0.2	$2,000.00	Johnson & Brannon (Lynchburg)	
(H-L(R-610)	Euclid Housing Group	Euclid	OH	Euclid Housing Corp.	8/16/33	N/A	12/1/33	?	vacant	100	frame	single and duplex houses	For Sale	$500,000.00	N/A	N/A	$5,000.00	George B. Mayer, Cleveland	
Proposed																			
	Neptune Gardens	Boston	MA	N/A	8/16/33	8/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Spence Estate Housing Corp.	Brooklyn	NY	N/A	8/16/33	3/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Commonwealth Housing Corp.	New York	NY	N/A	8/16/33		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Suburban Housing Assoc.	Hutchinson	KS	N/A	8/16/33	3/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Indianapolis Housing Project	Indianapolis	IN	N/A	8/16/33	3/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Limited Dividend Corp.	Cleveland	OH	N/A	8/16/33	3/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Hallet's Cove Garden Apartments Project	Astoria L.I.	NY	N/A	8/16/33	8/1/34	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	

Table 3-I: New Deal Housing Units in the Five Largest Cities, 1930.					
Project Number	City	Population	Limited Dividend Units	Housing Division Units	Greenbelt Units
H-1300	New York	6930446	2383	2196	0
H-1400	Chicago	3376438	0	2414	0
H-3000	Philadelphia	1950961	284	258	0
H-1200	Detroit	1568662	0	1478	0
H-3500	Los Angeles	1238048	0	0	0

Table 3-II Project Numbers Grouped to Illustrate the Tendency for Early Applicants to Receive Greater Consideration				
Range	Project Number	City	Population	Units
H-1000 to H-1900	H-1000	Cleveland	900429	1849
(9 Projects)	H-1100	Atlanta	270366	1393
	H-1200	Detroit	1568662	1478
	H-1300	New York	6930446	2196
	H-1400	Chicago	3376438	2414
	H-1500	Milwaukee	578249	518
	H-1600	Indianapolis	364161	748
	H-1700	Washington D.C.	486869	274
	H-1800	Cincinnati	451160	1039
H-2000 to H-2900	H-2000	Omaha	214006	284
(6 Projects)	H-2100	Nashville	153866	712
	H-2200	Montgomery	66079	256
	H-2500	Louisville	307745	335
	H-2600	Toledo	290718	264
	H-2900	Birmingham	259678	544
H-3000 to H-3900	H-3000	Philadelphia	1950961	258
(4 Projects)	H-3300	Boston	781188	1016
	H-3400	Memphis	253143	1082
	H-3800	Evansville	102249	191
H-4000 to H-4900	H-4200	Minneapolis	464356	451
(3 Projects)	H-4600	Miami	110637	243
	H-4700	Jacksonville	129549	215
H-5000 to H-5900	H-5000	Atlantic City	66198	277
(5 Projects)	H-5100	Lexington	169,676	286
	H-5200	Columbia SC	51581	122
	H-5400	Enid	26339	80
	H-5800	Schenectady	95692	219
H-6000 to H-6900	H-6000	Camden	118700	515
(3 Projects)	H-6200	Lackawanna	23948	268
	H-6700	Buffalo	573076	658
H-7000 to H-7900	H-7900	Dallas	260475	181
H-8000 to H-8900	H-8101	Oklahoma City	185289	364
(3 Projects)	H-8500	Cambridge	113643	294
	H-8900	Charleston SC	62265	212
H-9000 to H-9900	H-9000	Wayne, PA	7,000	50
(2 Projects)	H-9600	Stamford CT	56765	146

Table 3-III New Deal Housing Projects per capita

Project Number	City	Population	Direct Build Units	Limited Dividend Units	Greenbelt Units	Total Units	People/Unit
LD (H-278)	Alta Vista, VA	2,367	0	50	0	50	47.34
H-6200	Lackawanna	23,948	268	0	0	268	89.36
LD (H-L(R-610))	Euclid OH	12753	0	100	0	100	127.53
H-9000	Wayne, PA	7,000	50	0	0	50	140.00
H-1100	Atlanta	270366	1393	0	0	1393	194.09
H-2100	Nashville	153866	712	0	0	712	216.10
H-6000	Camden	118700	515	0	0	515	230.49
H-3400	Memphis	253143	1082	0	0	1082	233.96
H-5000	Atlantic City	66198	277	0	0	277	238.98
H-2200	Montgomery	66079	256	0	0	256	258.12
H-1800	Cincinnati	451160	1039	0	676	1715	263.07
H-8900	Charleston SC	62265	212	0	0	212	293.70
H-5400	Enid	26339	80	0	0	80	329.24
H-8500	Cambridge	113643	294	0	0	294	386.54
H-9600	Stamford CT	56765	146	0	0	146	388.80
H-1700	Washington	486869	274	0	885	1159	420.08
H-5200	Columbia SC	51581	122	0	0	122	422.80
H-5800	Schenectady	95692	219	0	0	219	436.95
H-4600	Miami	110637	243	0	0	243	455.30
H-2900	Birmingham	259678	544	0	0	544	477.35
H-1600	Indianapolis	364161	748	0	0	748	486.85
H-1000	Cleveland	900429	1849	0	0	1849	486.98
H-8100	Oklahoma City	185289	364	0	0	364	509.04
H-1500	Milwaukee	578249	518	0	572	1090	530.50
H-3800	Evansville	102249	191	0	0	191	535.34
H-5100	Lexington	169,676	286	0	0	286	593.27
H-4700	Jacksonville	129549	215	0	0	215	602.55
LD (H-29)	Raleigh NC	37379	0	54	0	54	692.20
H-2000	Omaha	214006	284	0	0	284	753.54
H-3300	Boston	781188	1016	0	0	1016	768.89
H-6700	Buffalo	573076	658	0	0	658	870.94
H-2500	Louisville	307745	335	0	0	335	918.64
H-4200	Minneapolis	464356	451	0	0	451	1029.61
H-1200	Detroit	1568662	1478	0	0	1478	1061.34
H-2600	Toledo	290718	264	0	0	264	1101.20
H-1400	Chicago	3376438	2414	0	0	2414	1398.69
H-7900	Dallas	260475	181	0	0	181	1439.09
H-1300	New York	6930446	2196	2383	0	4579	1513.53
LD (H-37)	St. Louis	821960	0	252	0	252	3261.75
H-3000	Philadelphia	1950961	258	284	0	542	3599.56

Table 3-IV Final List of Direct Build Projects

City #	City	State	Project #	Project Name
H-1000	Cleveland	OH		
			H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments
			H-1002	Outhwaite Homes
			H-1003	Lakeview Terrace
H-1100	Atlanta	GA		
			H-1101	Techwood
			H-1102	University Homes
H-1200	Detroit	MI		
			H-1201	Brewster
			H-1205	Parkside
H-1300	New York City	NY		
			H-1301	Williamsburg
			H-1302	Harlem River Houses
H-1400	Chicago	IL		
			H-1401	Jane Addams Extension
			H-1405	Jane Addams Homes
			H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes
			H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes
H-1500	Milwaukee	WI		
			H-1502	Parklawn Homes
H-1600	Indianapolis	IN		
			H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments
H-1700	Washington	DC		
			H-1706	Langston Terrace
H-1800	Cincinnati	OH		
			H-1801	Laurel Homes
H-2000	Omaha	NE		
			H-2001	Logan Fontenelle
H-2100	Nashville	TN		
			H-2101	Cheatham Place
			H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts
H-2200	Montgomery	AL		
			H-2201	Riverside Heights
			H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts
H-2500	Louisville	KY		
			H-2502	LaSalle Place
			H-2503	College Court
H-2600	Toledo	OH		
			H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes
H-2900	Birmingham	AL		
			H-2902	Smithfield Court
H-3000	Philadelphia	PA		
			H-3001-C	Hill Creek
H-3300	Boston	MA		
			H-3302	Old Harbor Village
H-3400	Memphis	TN		
			H-3401	Dixie Homes
			H-3403	Lauderdale Courts
H-3600	Puerto Rico	PR		
			H-3600	Caserio La Granja, Caguas
			H-3600-SJ-A	Caserio Mirapalmeras, San Juan
H-3800	Evansville	IN		
			H-3801	Lincoln Gardens
H-4200	Minneapolis	MN		
			H-4201	Sumner Field Homes
H-4600	Miami	FL		
			H-4602	Liberty Square
H-4700	Jacksonville	FL		
			H-4702	Durkeeville
H-4900	Virgin Islands	VI		
			H-4900-C-B	Bassin Triangle, Christiansted, St. Croix
			H-4900-F-A	Marley Homes, Frereriksted, St. Croix
			H-4900-ST-A	H.H. Berg Homes, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas
H-5000	Atlantic City	NJ		
			H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village
H-5100	Lexington	KY		
			H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale
H-5200	Columbia	SC		
			H-5201	University Terrace
H-5400	Enid	OK		
			H-5401	Cherokee Terrace
H-5800	Schenectady	NY		
			H-5801	Schonowee Village
H-6000	Camden	NJ		
			H-6001	Westfield Avenue
H-6200	Lackawanna	NY		
			H-6202	Baker Homes
H-6700	Buffalo	NY		
			H-6703	Kenfield
H-7900	Dallas	TX		
			H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place
H-8100	Oklahoma City	OK		
			H-8101	Will Rogers Courts
H-8500	Cambridge	MA		
			H-8501	New Towne Court
H-8900	Charleston	SC		
			H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court
H-9000	Wayne	PA		
			H-9001	Highland Homes
H-9600	Stamford	CT		
			H-9601	Fairfield Homes

Table 4-I Slum v. Vacant Construction Grouped by Population							
	City	Population	Slum Units	Vacant Units	total	% slum	% vacant
Large City							
	New York	6930446	1622	574	2196	74	26
	Chicago	3376438	723	1691	2414	30	70
	Philadelphia	1950961	0	258	258	0	100
	Detroit	1568662	701	779	1480	47	53
	Cleveland	900429	1849	0	1849	100	0
	Boston	781188	0	1016	1016	0	100
	Milwaukee	578249	0	518	518	0	100
	Buffalo	573076	0	658	658	0	100
	Large Total		**4895**	**5494**	**10389**	**47**	**53**
Medium City							
	Washington	486869	0	274	274	0	100
	Minneapolis	464356	451	0	451	100	0
	Cincinnati	451160	1039	0	1039	100	0
	Indianapolis	364161	748	0	748	100	0
	Louisville	307745	0	335	335	0	100
	Toledo	290718	264	0	264	100	0
	Atlanta	270366	1468	0	1468	100	0
	Dallas	260475	0	181	181	0	100
	Birmingham	259678	544	0	544	100	0
	Memphis	253143	1082	0	1082	100	0
	Omaha	214006	284	0	284	100	0
	Oklahoma City	185289	0	364	364	0	100
	Lexington	169,676	0	286	286	0	100
	Nashville	153866	712	0	712	100	0
	Jacksonville	129549	0	215	215	0	100
	Camden	118700	0	515	515	0	100
	Cambridge	113643	294	0	294	100	0
	Miami	110637	0	243	243	0	100
	Medium Total		**6886**	**2413**	**9299**	**74**	**26**
Small City							
	Evansville	102249	191	0	191	100	0
	Schenectady	95692	219	0	219	100	0
	Atlantic City	66198	277	0	277	100	0
	Montgomery	66079	156	100	256	61	39
	Charleston SC	62265	0	212	212	0	100
	Stamford CT	56765	0	146	146	0	100
	Columbia SC	51581	122	0	122	100	0
	Enid OK	45588	80	0	80	100	0
	Lackawanna	23,948	0	268	268	0	100
	Wayne, PA	7,000	50	0	50	100	0
	Small Total		**1095**	**726**	**1821**	**60**	**40**
Total			**12876**	**8633**	**21509**	**60**	**40**

Table 4-II Slum v. Vacant Construction Grouped by Metropolitan Area							
	City	Population	Slum Units	Vacant Units	total	% slum	% vacant
Large Metropolitan Areas							
	New York	6930446	1622	574	2196	74	26
	Chicago	3376438	723	1691	2414	30	70
	Philadelphia	1950961	0	258	258	0	100
	Camden	118700	0	515	515	0	100
	Wayne, PA	7,000	50	0	50	100	0
	Detroit	1568662	701	779	1480	47	53
	Cleveland	900429	1849	0	1849	100	0
	Boston	781188	0	1016	1016	0	100
	Cambridge	113643	294	0	294	100	0
	Milwaukee	578249	0	518	518	0	100
	Buffalo	573076	0	658	658	0	100
	Lackawanna	23,948	0	268	268	0	100
	Large Total		**5239**	**6277**	**11516**	**45**	**55**
Medium Metropolitan Areas							
	Washington	486869	0	274	274	0	100
	Minneapolis	464356	451	0	451	100	0
	Cincinnati	451160	1039	0	1039	100	0
	Indianapolis	364161	748	0	748	100	0
	Louisville	307745	0	335	335	0	100
	Toledo	290718	264	0	264	100	0
	Atlanta	270366	1468	0	1468	100	0
	Dallas	260475	0	181	181	0	100
	Birmingham	259678	544	0	544	100	0
	Memphis	253143	1082	0	1082	100	0
	Omaha	214006	284	0	284	100	0
	Oklahoma City	185289	0	364	364	0	100
	Lexington	169,676	0	286	286	0	100
	Nashville	153866	712	0	712	100	0
	Jacksonville	129549	0	215	215	0	100
	Miami	110637	0	243	243	0	100
	Medium Sized Total		**6592**	**1898**	**8490**	**78**	**22**
Small Metropolitan Areas							
	Evansville	102249	191	0	191	100	0
	Schenectady	95692	219	0	219	100	0
	Atlantic City	66198	277	0	277	100	0
	Montgomery	66079	156	100	256	61	39
	Charleston SC	62265	0	212	212	0	100
	Stamford CT	56765	0	146	146	0	100
	Columbia SC	51581	122	0	122	100	0
	Enid OK	45588	80	0	80	100	0
	Small Total		**1045**	**458**	**1503**	**70**	**30**
Total			**12876**	**8633**	**21509**	**60**	**40**

Table 5-I Unit Types by Project

Project #	Project Name	City	State	Unit types	Apts	Row Houses	Flats	Other
H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH	2-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	X			
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH	3-4 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 2-5 room units in 2 story row houses and flats	X	X	X	
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH	3-5 room units in 2-3 story apartment buildings, 4-6 room units in 2-3 story row houses	X	X		
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA	604 Apartments, Row Houses, 189 Dorms. Apartments, Row Houses. 3-5 room apartments and 5-6 room group houses	X	X		Dormitory
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA	2-5 room flats and row houses		X	X	
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI	2-4 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 3-5 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI	2-4 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 3-5 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York City	NY	2-5 room units in 4 story walk-up apartment buildings	X			
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York City	NY	2-5 room units in 4-5 story walk up apartment buildings	X			
H-1401	Jane Addams Extension	Chicago	IL	2-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 3-5 room units in 2 story row house buildings	X	X		
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL	2-5 room units in 3 story apartments and 3-5 room row houses in 2 story row houses and 3-5 room flats in 2 story flats	X	X	X	
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL	3-4 room units in 4 story apartments and 3-5 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI	3 room units in 2 story apartment buildings and 3-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses	X	X		
H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN	3-5 room units in 3-4 story apartment buildings, 4 room units in 2 story row house buildings	X	X		
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC	2-4 room apartments in 3-4 story apartment buildings and 3-5 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH	3-5 room units in 3-4 story apartments	X			
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE	3-5.5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and 2 story flat buildings		X	X	
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings and 2 story flat buildings		X	X	
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses		X		
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY	3-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and 2 story flats		X	X	
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH	2-3 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 2-5 room units in 2 story row houses and 2 story flats	X	X	X	
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and apartments		X		
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA	3-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and 2 story flat buildings		X	X	
H-3302	Old Harbor Village	Boston	MA	3-5 room apartments, 6 room row houses in 3 story apartment buildings and 2 story row houses	X	X		
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and 2 story flats		X	X	
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN	3-4 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses	X	X		
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN	3-4 room units in 1-2 story row house building and 2 story flats		X	X	
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN	3-4 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 2-6 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses		X		
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village	Atlantic City	NJ	3-5 room apartments, Row Houses	X	X		
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses		X		
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC	3-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 2-5 room units in 1-2 story row houses and 2-story flats	X	X	X	
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK	3-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY	2-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	X			
H-6001	Westfield Avenue	Camden	NJ	3-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	X			
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY	3 room units in 2 story flats and 3-6 room units in 2 story row houses		X	X	
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY	3 room apartments and 4-5 room row houses in 2-3 story apartment buildings, 2 story row houses	X	X		
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX	3 room apartments in 2 story apartment buildings, 2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house and flat buildings	X	X	X	
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK	2-5 room units in 1-2 story row house buildings		X		
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA	3-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings	X			
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC	2-5 room row houses in one and two story row house buildings		X		
H-9001	Highland Homes	Wayne	PA	2-5 room units in 2 story row house and flat buildings		X	X	
H-9601	Fairfield Homes	Stamford	CT	2-5 room units in 3 story apartment buildings, 1-2 story row houses	X	X		

Table 5-II Projects by Style				
Project #	Project Name	City	State	Style
H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH	Art Moderne
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH	Art Moderne
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH	Art Moderne
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA	Colonial Revival
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA	
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI	Art Moderne
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI	Colonial Revival
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York	NY	International Style
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York	NY	Art Moderne
H-1401	Jane Addams Homes	Chicago	IL	Art Moderne
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL	Georgian
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL	Art Moderne
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI	Arts and Crafts
H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN	Art Moderne
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC	Art Moderne
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH	Art Moderne
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE	Art Moderne
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN	Colonial Revival
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN	Colonial Revival
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL	Colonial Revival
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL	Art Moderne
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY	Colonial Revival
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY	Colonial Revival
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH	Art Moderne
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL	Colonial Revival
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA	Colonial Revival
H-3302	Old Harbor Village	Boston	MA	Colonial Revival
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN	Art Moderne
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN	Colonial Revival
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN	Minimal
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN	Minimal
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL	Spanish Revival
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL	Spanish Revival
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village	Atlantic City	NJ	Minimal
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY	Colonial Revival
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC	Colonial Revival
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK	Art Moderne
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY	Art Moderne
H-6001	Westfield Avenue	Camden	NJ	International Style
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY	Colonial Revival
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY	Colonial Revival
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX	Spanish Revival
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK	Art Moderne
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA	Colonial Revival
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC	Southern Colonial Revival
H-9001	Highland Homes	Wayne	PA	Art Moderne
H-9601	Fairfield Homes	Stamford	CT	Colonial Revival

Project #	Project Name	City	State	Office	Stores	Community Center	Boiler House	Maintenance Building	Garages	Other/Notes
H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH		X		X		X	
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH	X	X		X		X	Stores on the First Floor, Offices Above
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH	X	X	X	X		X	Office adjacent to Stores
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA	X	X				X	Stores on the First Floor, Offices Above
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA	X	X		X		X	Stores on the First Floor, Offices Above
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI	X	X			X		
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI	X	X		X			Stores and Office in Same Building
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York City	NY							Stores on the First Floor of Residential Buildings, with Offices, Heating Plant, Maintenance and Other Facilities in Basements
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York City	NY							Stores and Nursery on the First Floor of Residential Buildings, with Offices, Heating Plant, Maintenance and Other Facilities in Basements
H-1401, 1405	Jane Addams Homes and Extension	Chicago	IL				X			Office in Residential Building
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL	X			X		X	
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL	X			X			
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI			X	X			
H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN	X	X				X	Stores on the First Floor, Offices Above
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC				X			
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH	X			X			
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE				X			3 Small Heating Plants
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN	X		X	X	X		7 Yard Stations, Community Center and Office in Shared Building
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN	X						
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL	X						Nursery Building Attached to Office, Laundry Building
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL	X						
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY				X		X	Mailbox Pergola
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY				X			Garbage Station Pergola
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH	X	X		X			Stores and Office in Same Building
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL			X	X	X		Social Building Demanded by Local NAACP
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA	X	X		X			
H-3302	Old Harbor Village	Boston	MA	X			X	X	X	
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN	X			X	X		
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN	X			X	X		
H-3600	Caserio La Granja	Caguas	PR	X	X	X				Office and Stores in Single Building
H-3600-SJ-A	Caserio Mirapalmeras	San Juan	PR	X	X	X				Open Laundry Building
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN				X			
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN				X			
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL	X	X	X			X	Laundry, Office, Community Center and Stores within a Single Building
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL	X				X		Office has a Small Gathering Space
H-4900-C-B	Bassin Triangle	Christiansted, St. Croix	VI							Information not Available
H-4900-F-A	Marley Homes	Frereriksted, St. Croix	VI							Information not Available
H-4900-ST-A	H.H. Berg Homes	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	VI							Information not Available
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village	Atlantic City	NJ				X			4 Garbage Collection Buildings
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY	X		X	X		X	Office in White Section Includes Social Unit on Second Floor
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC			X		X		
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK				X			
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY							Office in Residential Building
H-6001	Westfield Avenue	Camden	NJ	X			X		X	
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY	X				X		Office and Maintenance in Single Building
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY	X		X	X			Community Center had Residences on Second Floor, Boiler House includes Office and Social Space
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX				X			
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK							Office in Converted Residential Unit
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA				X			
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC	X		X				Office and Community Center for White Section Only
H-9001	Highland Homes	Wayne	PA				X			
H-9600?	Fairfield Homes	Stamford	CT							Boiler Room, Social Unit in Basement

Table 6-1 Racial Analysis of Housing Division Projects

Racial Assignment	City Number	City	Project Number	White Project Name	Black Project Name	Total Population	White Population	Black Population	White %	Black %	White Units	Black Units	White Unit %	Black Unit %	Black units per capita over white units
		US				107,388,943	95,497,800	11,891,143	88.9%	9.7%					
Cities with Black and White Projects	H-1000	Cleveland				900429	827090	71899	91.9%	8.0%					
			H-1001	Cedar Central							630	20			
			H-1003	Lakeview Terrace							620	0			
			H-1002		Outhwaite Homes						20	559			
			total										69.0%	31.0%	3.875
	H-1100	Atlanta				270366	180247	90075	66.7%	33.3%					
			H-1101	Techwood							793	0			
			H-1102		University Homes						0	675			
			total										54.0%	46.0%	1.38
	H-1200	Detroit				1568662	1440141	120066	91.8%	7.7%					
			H-1205	Parkside							779	0			
			H-1201		Brewster						0	699			
			total											47.0%	6.1
	H-1300	New York City				6930446	6587225	327706	95.0%	4.7%					
			H-1301	Williamsburg							1622	0			
			H-1302		Harlem River Houses						0	574			
			total										74.0%	26.0%	5.5
	H-2100	Nashville				153866	111025	42836	72.2%	27.8%					
			H-2101	Cheatham							314	0			
			H-2102		Andrew Jackson Courts						0	398			
			total										44.0%	56.0%	2
	H-2200	Montgomery				66079		29970*	0.0%	45.4%					
			H-2201	Riverside Heights							100	0			
			H-2202		William B. Patterson Courts						0	156			
			total										39.0%	61.0%	1.34
	H-2500	Louisville				307745	260347	47354	84.6%	15.4%					
			H-2502	LaSalle Place							210	0			
			H-2503		College Court						0	125			
			total										63.0%	37.0%	2.4
	H-3400	Memphis				253143	156528	96550	61.8%	38.1%					
			H-3403	Lauderdale Courts							449	0			
			H-3401		Dixie Homes						0	633			
			total										41.0%	59.0%	1.55
Cities with White Projects Only	H-1400	Chicago				3376438	3117731	233903	92.3%	6.9%					
			H-1401	Jane Addams ext							723	0			
			H-1405	Jane Addams Homes							304	0			
			H-1406	Julia Lathrop Homes							975	0			
			H-1408	Trumbull Park							462	0			
											2464		100.0%	0.0%	
	H-3000	Philadelphia				1950961	1728457	219599	88.6%	11.3%					
			H-3001-C	Hill Creek							258	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-3300	Boston				781188	758756	20574	97.1%	2.6%					
			H-3302	Old Harbor Village							1016	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-5400	Enid				26399**		763**	#VALUE!	3.0%					
			H-5401	Cherokee Terrace							80	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-5800	Schenectady				95692		618**	0.0%	0.7%					
			H-5801	Schonowee Village							219	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-6000	Camden				118700	107283	11340	90.4%	9.6%					
			H-6001	Westfield Avenue							598	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-6200	Lackawanna				23,948		2051**	0.0%	9.0%					
			H-6202	Baker Homes							268	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-6700	Buffalo				573076	558869	13563	97.5%	2.4%					
			H-6703	Kenfield							658	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-7900	Dallas				260475	215720	38742	82.8%	14.9%					
			H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place							181	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-8100	Oklahoma City				185289	169033	14662	91.2%	7.9%					
			H-8101	Will Rogers Courts							364	0	100.0%	0.0%	
	H-8500	Cambridge				113643	108046	5419	95.1%	5.0%					
			H-8501	New Towne Court							294	0	100.0%	0.0%	
Cities with Black Projects Only	H-1600	Indianapolis				364161	320064	43967	87.9%	12.1%					
			H-1601		Lockfield Garden Apartments						0	748	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-1700	Washington DC				486869	353914	132068	72.7%	27.1%					
			H-1705		Langston Terrace						0	274	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-2600	Toledo				290718	276741	13260	95.2%	4.6%					
			H-2601		Brand-Whitlock Homes						0	264	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-2900	Birmingham				259678	160551	99077	61.8%	38.2%					
			H-2902		Smithfield Court						0	664	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-3800	Evansville				102249	95714	6514	93.6%	6.0%					
			H-3801		Lincoln Gardens						0	191	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-4600	Miami				110637	85461	25116	77.2%	22.7%					
			H-4602		Liberty Square						0	243	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-4700	Jacksonville				129549	81320	48196	62.8%	37.2%					
			H-4702		Durkeeville						0	215	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-5000	Atlantic City				66198		15611*	0.0%	23.6%					
			H-5001		Stanley S. Holmes Homes						0	277	0.0%	100.0%	
	H-9000	Wayne				***			#VALUE!						
			H-9001		Highland Homes						0	50			
Cities with Integrated Projects	H-1500	Milwaukee				578249	568807	7501	98.4%	1.3%					
			H-1502	Parklawn Homes							513	5	99.0%	1.0%	0.77
	H-1800	Cincinnati				451160	403112	47818	89.4%	10.6%					
			H-1801	Laurel Homes							727	312	70.0%	30.0%	2.8
	H-2000	Omaha				214006	201657	11123	94.2%	5.2%					
			H-2001	Logan Fontenelle							172	112	61.0%	39.0%	7.5
	H-4200	Minneapolis				464356	459479	4176	98.9%	0.9%					
			H-4201	Sumner Field Houses							326	125	72.0%	28.0%	31
	H-5100	Lexington				169,676		12759*	0.0%	27.9%					
			H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale							144	142	50.0%	50.0%	1.8
	H-5200	Columbia SC				51581		19519*	0.0%	37.8%					
			H-5201	University Terrace							48	74	39.0%	61.0%	1.5
	H-8900	Charleston				62265		28062*	0.0%	45.1%					
			H-8901-B	Meeting Street/Cooper River							76	136	36.0%	64.0%	1.4
	H-9600	Stamford				46346**		2138**	#VALUE!	5.0%					
			H-9601	Fairfield Homes							131	10	93.0%	7.0%	1.4
												Estim.			
Cities with Native Projects	H-3600		PR	Caserio Lagrania											
			PR	Caserio Mirapalmeras											
	H-4900		VI	Bassin Triangle											
			VI	Marley Homes											
			VI	H.H. Berg Homes											
Totals											16538	7681	68.0%	32.0%	

UON Figures from Columns F and G come from Chapter 5 Table 9, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Negro Population 1920-1932. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1935. Reprinted New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969

UON Figures from Columns H and I come from Chapter 5, Table 10, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Negro Population 1920-1932. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1935. Reprinted New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969

* From Table 10

** From Table 11

*** Wayne, PA is an unincorporated township within Chester and Montgomery Counties, occupying only a small portion of each.

County	Pop	Negro Pop	% of total Pop
Chester		13,153	10.4
Montgomery		12,572	4.7

Issues of Economic Inequality

1930 Census did not record income levels, but unemployment hit Negros a bit less severely than it did whites. According to Chapter 1, Table 2 of United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Unemployment, Volume I. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1931

while White unemployment stood at 3.8%, Negro unemployment was at 2.2%, and Mexican unemployment was at 2.4%

While 1.3% of Whites were laid off, only .6% of Negros and .7% of Mexicans were laid off

note these numbers were compiled after war production had begun to lift salaries. Maloney, Thomas N. "African Americans in the Twentieth Century" Economic History Service Encyclopedia of Economic and Business History. http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/maloney.african.american

Table 6-II African American Overrepresentation by Region

Region	City Number	City	White %	Black %	White Units	Black Units	White Unit %	Black Unit %	Black units per capita over white units
North	H-1000	Cleveland	92%	8%	1270	579	69%	31%	3.875
	H-1200	Detroit	91.80%	7.70%	779	699	53%	47%	6.1
	H-1300	New York City	95%	4.70%	1622	574	74%	26%	5.5
	H-1500	Milwaukee	98.40%	1.30%	513	5	99%	1%	0.77
	H-1800	Cincinnati	89.40%	0.106	727	312	0.7	0.3	2.8
	H-2000	Omaha	94.20%	0.052	172	112	0.61	0.39	7.5
	H-4200	Minneapolis	98.90%	0.009	326	125	0.72	0.28	31
	H-9600	Stamford		0.05	131	10	0.93	0.07	1.4
South	H-1100	Atlanta	66.70%	0.333	793	675	0.54	0.46	1.38
	H-2100	Nashville	72.20%	0.278	314	398	0.44	0.56	2
	H-2200	Montgomery	45.40%	0.454	100	156	0.39	0.61	1.34
	H-2500	Louisville	84.60%	0.154	210	125	0.63	0.37	2.4
	H-3400	Memphis	61.80%	0.381	449	633	0.41	0.59	1.55
	H-5100	Lexington		27.90%	144	142	50%	50%	1.8
	H-5200	Columbia SC		37.80%	48	74	39%	61%	1.6
	H-8900	Charleston		45.10%	76	136	36%	64%	1.4
Totals			78%	9.70%	6404	4176	68%	32%	3.3

Table 6-III	Comparison of Per Unit Costs With and Without Land Acquisition										
Project #	Project Name	City	State	total units	White Units	Black Units	Native	Total Cost	Cost/Unit	Land Cost	Cost/unit w/o land acquisition
H-1001	Cedar-Central Apartments	Cleveland	OH	650	630	20	0	$3,312,730.00	$5,096.51	$589,212.55	$4,190.03
H-1002	Outhwaite Homes	Cleveland	OH	579	20	559	0	$3,381,510.00	$5,840.26	$716,980.00	$4,601.95
H-1003	Lakeview Terrace	Cleveland	OH	620	620	0	0	$3,684,300.00	$5,942.42	$521,590.00	$5,101.15
H-1101	Techwood	Atlanta	GA	793	793	0	0	$2,960,500.00	$3,733.29	$505,320.00	$3,096.07
H-1102	University Homes	Atlanta	GA	675	0	675	0	$2,592,000.00	$3,840.00	$311,898.00	$3,377.93
H-1201	Brewster	Detroit	MI	701	0	701	0	$5,500,000.00	$7,845.93	$570,964.00	$7,031.44
H-1205	Parkside	Detroit	MI	779	779	0	0	$4,500,000.00	$5,776.64	$170,000.00	$5,558.41
H-1301	Williamsburg	New York City	NY	1622	1622	0	0	$13,459,000.00	$8,297.78	$3,872,522.00	$5,910.28
H-1302	Harlem River Houses	New York City	NY	574	0	574	0	$4,219,000.00	$7,350.17	$1,118,940.00	$5,400.80
H-1401	Jane Addams Extension	Chicago	IL	723	723	0	0	$5,000,000.00	$6,915.63	$1,237,013.00	$5,204.68
H-1405	Jane Addams Homes	Chicago	IL	304	304	0	0	$1,500,000.00	$4,934.21	$100,000.00	$4,605.26
H-1406	Julia C. Lathrop Homes	Chicago	IL	925	925	0	0	$6,000,000.00	$6,486.49	$599,989.00	$5,837.85
H-1408	Trumbull Park Homes	Chicago	IL	462	462	0	0	$3,250,000.00	$7,034.63	$73,115.00	$6,876.37
H-1502	Parklawn Homes	Milwaukee	WI	518	513	5	0	$2,800,000.00	$5,405.41	$89,400.00	$5,232.82
H-1601	Lockefield Garden Apartments	Indianapolis	IN	748	0	748	0	$3,207,000.00	$4,287.43	$364,339.00	$3,800.35
H-1706	Langston Terrace	Washington	DC	274	0	274	0	$1,864,946.00	$6,806.37	$82,950.00	$6,503.64
H-1801	Laurel Homes	Cincinnati	OH	1039	727	312	0	$7,086,000.00	$6,820.02	$1,804,721.23	$5,083.04
H-2001	Logan Fontenelle	Omaha	NE	284	172	112	0	$1,955,000.00	$6,883.80	$232,895.00	$6,063.75
H-2101	Cheatham Place	Nashville	TN	314	314	0	0	$2,000,000.00	$6,369.43	$240,410.00	$5,603.79
H-2102	Andrew Jackson Courts	Nashville	TN	398	0	398	0	$1,890,000.00	$4,748.74	$190,251.00	$4,270.73
H-2201	Riverside Heights	Montgomery	AL	100	100	0	0	$416,000.00	$4,160.00	$19,000.00	$3,970.00
H-2202	William B. Patterson Courts	Montgomery	AL	156	0	156	0	$506,000.00	$3,243.59	$43,490.00	$2,964.81
H-2502	LaSalle Place	Louisville	KY	210	210	0	0	$1,350,000.00	$6,428.57	$65,000.00	$6,119.05
H-2503	College Court	Louisville	KY	125	0	125	0	$758,000.00	$6,064.00	$66,750.00	$5,530.00
H-2601	Brand-Whitlock Homes	Toledo	OH	264	0	264	0	$2,000,000.00	$7,575.76	$331,678.00	$6,319.40
H-2902	Smithfield Court	Birmingham	AL	664	0	544	0	$2,500,000.00	$3,765.06	$458,600.00	$3,074.40
H-3001-C	Hill Creek	Philadelphia	PA	258	258	0	0	$2,110,000.00	$8,178.29	$100,000.00	$7,790.70
H-3302	Old Harbor Village	Boston	MA	1016	1016	0	0	$6,353,861.00	$6,253.80	$523,513.00	$5,738.53
H-3401	Dixie Homes	Memphis	TN	633	0	633	0	$3,400,000.00	$5,371.25	$471,006.00	$4,627.16
H-3403	Lauderdale Courts	Memphis	TN	449	449	0	0	$3,128,000.00	$6,966.59	$485,764.00	$5,884.71
H-3600	Caserio La Granja	Caguas	PR	65	0	0	65	$275,000.00	$4,230.77	municipal	N/A
H-3600-SJ-A	Caserio Mirapalmeras	San Juan	PR	131	0	0	131	$500,000.00	$3,816.79	municipal	N/A
H-3801	Lincoln Gardens	Evansville	IN	191	0	191	0	$1,000,000.00	$5,235.60	$161,186.00	$4,391.70
H-4201	Sumner Field Homes	Minneapolis	MN	451	326	125	0	$3,632,000.00	$8,053.22	$729,529.00	$6,435.63
H-4602	Liberty Square	Miami	FL	243	0	243	0	$969,880.00	$3,991.28	$12,796.00	$3,938.62
H-4702	Durkeeville	Jacksonville	FL	215	0	215	0	$948,000.00	$4,409.30	$35,000.00	$4,246.51
H-4900-C-B	Bassin Triangle	Christiansted, St. Croix	VI	30	0	0	30	$41,800.00	$1,393.33	$2,000.00	$1,326.67
H-4900-F-A	Marley Homes	Frererikstd, St. Croix	VI	40	0	0	40	$64,892.00	$1,622.30	municipal	N/A
H-4900-ST-A	H.H. Berg Homes	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	VI	58	0	0	58	$109,140.00	$1,881.72	municipal	N/A
H-5001	Stanley S. Holmes Village	Atlantic City	NJ	277	0	277	0	$1,700,000.00	$6,137.18	$246,250.00	$5,248.19
H-5103	Blue Grass Park/Aspendale	Lexington	KY	286	144	142	0	$1,704,000.00	$5,958.04	$41,884.00	$5,811.59
H-5201	University Terrace	Columbia	SC	122	48	74	0	$706,000.00	$5,786.89	$49,468.00	$5,381.41
H-5401	Cherokee Terrace	Enid	OK	80	80	0	0	$435,100.00	$5,438.75	$55,078.00	$4,750.28
H-5801	Schonowee Village	Schenectady	NY	219	219	0	0	$1,500,000.00	$6,849.32	$246,050.00	$5,725.80
H-6001	Westfield Avenue	Camden	NJ	515	515	0	0	$3,116,160.50	$6,050.80	$66,000.00	$5,922.64
H-6202	Baker Homes	Lackawanna	NY	268	268	0	0	$1,610,000.00	$6,007.46	$73,925.00	$5,731.62
H-6703	Kenfield	Buffalo	NY	658	658	0	0	$4,500,000.00	$6,838.91	$284,885.00	$6,405.95
H-7901-B	Cedar Springs Place	Dallas	TX	181	181	0	0	$1,020,000.00	$5,635.36	$69,360.00	$5,252.15
H-8101	Will Rogers Courts	Oklahoma City	OK	364	364	0	0	$2,000,000.00	$5,494.51	$109,920.00	$5,192.53
H-8501	New Towne Court	Cambridge	MA	294	294	0	0	$2,500,000.00	$8,503.40	$833,080.00	$5,669.80
H-8901-B	Meeting Street Manor/Cooper River Court	Charleston	SC	212	76	136	0	$1,305,000.00	$6,155.66	$40,099.00	$5,966.51