CITY PLANNING • HOUSING

HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

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CITY PLANNING
HOUSING

CITY PLANNING HOUSING

BY

WERNER HEGEMANN

WITH A PREFACE BY

R. M. MacIVER

FIRST VOLUME OF TEXT:

HISTORICAL and

SOCIOLOGICAL

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author begs permission to dedicate this book to his esteemed friends,

ALVIN JOHNSON
and
JOSEPH HUDNUT

At the time when the freedom of learning and teaching was eradicated from those countries in which it had formerly flourished for hundreds and even thousands of years, these two distinguished teachers extended the hospitality of their liberal institutions, THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH and THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY to the author who wishes to express his appreciation in the modest form of this dedication.

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PREFACE

I welcome this work because it unites the knowledge of an expert with the burning conviction of an enthusiast. It is this union which inspires all important practical achievements. And Dr. Hegemann is advocating a cause which demands and justifies the enlightened fervor of his book. It is said that one half of the people does not know how the other half lives. This is literally true in respect of housing. If Dr. Hegemann is anywhere nearly right in his statement that there are in the United States ten millions of obsolete homes and that forty millions of the population live in them, there can be few subjects of such vital importance for the welfare of the country as the subject of this book.

The history of the United States has been a patchwork of planning and planlessness. There may be legitimate differences of opinion with regard to national economic planning, though that too has its roots far back in our history. There can surely be no serious differences respecting the value, and indeed the necessity, of civic planning, of intelligent provision and supervision of adequate housing standards for the population, on which their health, their comfort, and in no small measure their happiness depend. From the beginning of the nineteenth century we have been growing more and more urbanized, and countless opportunities have been lost, in the scramble for unearned increment, to establish the conditions which would have prevented the development of slums and fire-traps, of unhealthy congestion and urban ugliness. The lesson can still be learned, and Dr. Hegemann sets out to teach it.

One significant thing about this book is the deft use it makes

of illustrations drawn from the history of the United States. It shows that the great leaders of the past were more socially awake —and more socially daring—than most of those who, with conservative unction, appeal to them to-day. In reading American history it is nevertheless difficult to escape the feeling that the country would have prospered more and fared better if there had been more, not less, planning; if more forethought and far more statesmanship had been applied to the conservation of the land, the forests, the mineral resources, the whole heritage of nature, and to the reckless growth that changes thousands of straggling villages into huddled urban areas.

You may not, you probably will not, agree with everything that Dr. Hegemann writes, but you will assuredly carry away from his book a new conception of the urgency of civic planning, of the breadth and social significance of the principle, and of its intimate connection with the present and future well-being of the nation.

R. M. MacIver

Lieber Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology, Columbia University.

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INTRODUCTION

RECOVERY OF CIVIC PRIDE IN AMERICA

This slender volume of text and a second one in preparation on "City Planning and Housing" and the accompanying atlas of pictures and plans are intended to supplement and—within a small compass—to bring up to date a previous and much larger volume entitled "The American Vitruvius, an Architect's Handbook of CIVIC ART." The text and the 1200 illustrations of that large volume (published in 1922) were dedicated to civic art in its more restricted, i.e. exclusively esthetic sense. At the time of its publication the esthetic aspects of city planning seemed to demand, at least in America, primary attention. The rest of the world was suffering from the aftermath of the World War. But America's economic and social problems in city planning and in most other fields would, it was perhaps assumed, rapidly solve themselves, dissolving—automatically, so to speak—into a new and permanent prosperity based upon the large material profits accruing to America during the period of and after her bloody sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of her best young men.

Since the recent breakdown of "permanent" prosperity the previous preoccupation with Civic Art in its narrower sense requires a word of explanation on the part of an author who received some of his first training with the great sociologists Charles Gide, Simon N. Patten and Lujo Brentano, and who in his former and subsequent writings has emphasized the adequate solution of problems of social and political economy as preconditions of artistic possibilities and civic beauty.

The dedication of the previous large volume to the artistic problems of city planning was intended to be an antidote to that lack of discrimination which, during the years intervening between the Chicago World Fair of 1893 and the World War, had made many advocates of city planning appear somewhat ridiculous. The "city beautiful" had been advertised as a prof-

itable enterprise by men who had neither esthetic sensibility, training, nor a just appreciation of economic possibilities. Even secretaries of American City Clubs or Chambers of Commerce and, occasionally, even architects who should have known better, had recommended expensive "beautification" schemes, some of which were actually carried out in spite of their merits being even more dubious from the point of view of esthetics than from that of traffic and economics.

The first volume dealing with Civic Art began with the assumption that "there was never a more deadly plague than the ugliness of modern cities." Fortunately, or unfortunately, many or most men are immune to the effect of this plague, because they are indifferent to beauty other than the female kind. And even the self-appointed civic beauty specialists often cannot agree on what they wish to designate as beautiful.

The present volume approaches the problem of city planning from the more general premise that no city should be considered more beautiful than its most ugly and unsanitary tenement house. A chain is never stronger than its weakest link. "A world that is squalid in one corner is squalid altogether"; (H. G. Wells).

But most people, ruthlessly, adapt themselves even to squalor. Science has discovered microbes which fatten lustily on the filth in which they live. By a similar process of adaptation and selection even dignified and well-to-do representatives of the human species develop a naive or cynical blindness to any squalid or miserable aspect that may present itself not within direct and immediate sight—but just around the corner. "Within three minutes of Park Avenue's expensive apartments there are 1,737 families without washrooms in their tenement homes . . . 17,334 Manhattan families spend less than three dollars per room per month for their flats." (New York Times, August 27, 1934). However, even those fortunate ones who are able to spend more than three dollars per room per month have lately learned not to remain quite indifferent to such almost daily newspaper headlines as: "400,000 Families on Relief in City at 201,000,000 dollars cost"; or: "25 per cent of Homes here lack Sanitation"; (N. Y. Times, Aug. 27, 1934). We hear that "more than a million and a half people in the City of New York live in houses

which are unfit for human habitation. . . . As long as nearly one-third of our fellow citizens are condemned to lives of filth and squalor we cannot call ourselves humane, nor socially intelligent" (from the Radio address of the Chairman of the New York Housing Authority, Hon. Langdon W. Post, April 25, 1935). It will be shown in this volume that, according to the latest investigations, approximately 40 million Americans live in slums and blighted districts.

One of the most promising indications of our time seems to be that people are becoming weary of being huddled into bad tenements. The New York Housing Commissioner assures us: "The recent Harlem riot was not purely a race riot, as many suppose—the Harlem riot was a slum riot." What a perspective! Even the French Revolutions have aptly been described as Parisian slum riots to which an end could be put only by the billion dollar slum clearance of Napoleon III who was determined to "slash the belly of revolutions." Will the negroes of New York initiate similarly historical achievements and awaken the white conscience of the world's largest city? For the 697 plate glass windows smashed in 125th Street and 7th Avenue, the insurance companies had to pay $147,315. This would be a low price if it could lead to New York's realizing and improving the unbearable housing conditions of Harlem.

The negroes of New York and other American cities are forced to pay as much as 40 per cent higher rents than their white fellow sufferers pay and even then to accept worse quarters. The negroes' healthy rebellion against this injustice is old and has already manifested itself in some highly promising creations all over the country. The miserable white neighbors of New York's Park Avenue in their less than three-dollar rooms present a rather poor figure compared with the prouder and more efficient Harlem negroes living in the Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments financed by Mr. Rockefeller. There the colored tenants pay an average rent of $14.50 per month. The negroes living in the equally well designed Michigan Boulevard Gardens, Chicago, even pay rentals averaging $16.25 per month per room. And in making this startling comparison between whites and colored people, one can fathom the difficulties of American housing problems by remembering that even this five-fold rent paid

by the negroes covers barely one-half of what could be called a normal interest on the capital invested in their model housing scheme.

Can present American wages pay for what, at present, is considered to be decent housing, or even for that minimum of housing decency which physicians, educators and statesmen, to-day, must demand? Or are the American building codes, traditional building standards, "zoning" ordinances, valuations and assessments of real estate, so designed or depraved as to encourage and enforce indecent and unhygienic housing for large sections of the American people? Who has made such depraved laws? And for whose benefit? And if American wages cannot pay for what to-day is considered to be American decency in housing, how is the deficit to be paid? Or is indecency to prevail permanently? There may still be quite a number of Americans who attach a definite meaning to the right to the "pursuit of happiness" promised in the Declaration of Independence and to the provision in the Preamble of the Constitution that entrusts to the Government the promotion of the general welfare. Those Americans who cherish such ideals may refuse to accept indecency in American housing as inevitable. But do they realize that in order to change the present unsatisfactory situation very comprehensive measures must be taken and rather large sums be spent to meet the emergency? And can these sums be spent in a haphazard way, patching here and there, or is a plan necessary indicating how these sums should be spent most effectively? What plan should that be? Is the experience of foreign countries worth while studying? They have made gigantic attempts to meet a similar emergency and to stamp out indecent and unhygienic housing. Have they succeeded? Can similar efforts be hoped for in America?

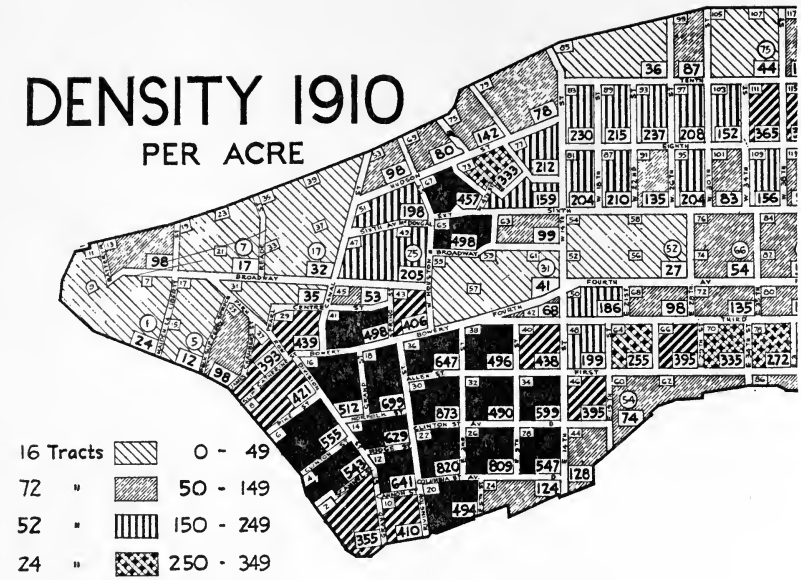
Fortunately civic pride as well as efficiency of the white inhabitants of American cities are rapidly increasing. The old English saying cannot be too often repeated, namely that one may kill or disable a man just as well with a bad dwelling as with an ax. As long as this disguised state of lawlessness is tolerated and encouraged by building codes and law courts, the resistance against criminal abuse must come from the surviving victims. A grocer is forbidden to sell decayed food. As long as a slum

owner is encouraged or compelled (by tax assessor and sheriff) to sell decayed and poisonous housing, as long as such enforced crime is euphemistically labelled "maintaining the credit structure of the country," so long does the hope for social security and regeneration lie in the victimized tenant and in his energy for self-assertion.

Cheering symptoms can be found in the report (written by a prominent New York realtor, Mr. Louis Carreau) on the "Removal of Obsolete Buildings and the Rebuilding of Slum Districts in New York." Here the following words refer to the obnoxious "old law" tenements: "The sons and daughters of the immigrants will not live in them, and ironic as it may seem, people that are today on public relief rolls refuse to live in them."

"Ironic as it may seem," people on relief, today, have a more just appreciation of what is good for them and for the tax-paying community at large than the former legislators of New York City who made the unbelievably stupid laws creating the "old law" and the almost equally bad "new law" tenements. It is the enlightened and vanishing slumdweller who helps in the realization of Henry Ford's prophecy: "Nothing will finally work more effectively to undo the fateful grip which the City habit has taken upon the people, than the destruction of the fictitious land values which the City traditions have set up and maintained"; ("Ford Ideals," p. 157).

Partly as a result of this reawakening common sense, the Lower East Side's assessed valuation on land and buildings declined from 324 million dollars in 1930 to 270 million dollars in 1933. This is a decline of 16.6%. In 1933, 20% of the "old law" tenements were left standing vacant while six years previously only 8% had met this necessary fate. Such a march of events would, indeed, look like hopeful progress if there were not the obvious danger that the growing housing shortage would again fill with tenants even those numerous and abominable tenements which ought to be destroyed as rapidly as possible. The depression having forced many of its victims to "double up" in "old law" tenements, a "return of prosperity" may make them spread out again and refill some of the at present empty fire-traps.



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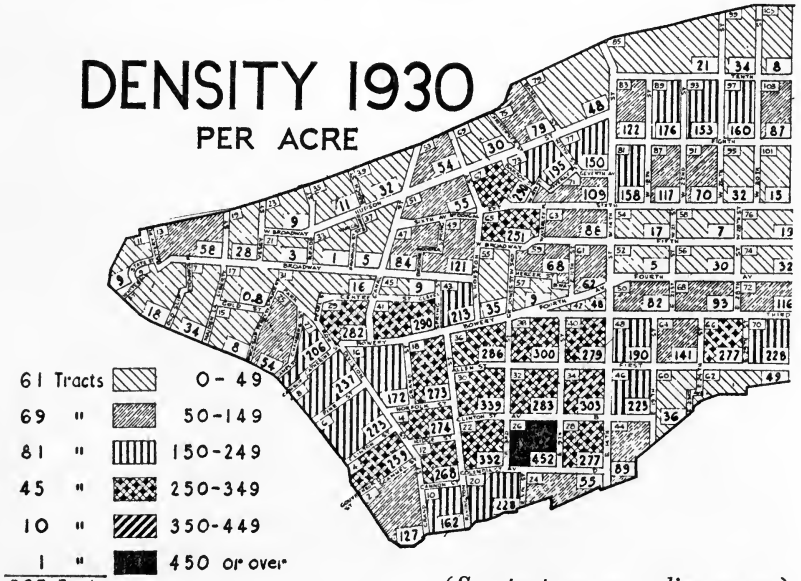
COURTESY OF THE NEW YORK MAYOR'S CITY PLANNING COMMITTEE.



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COURTESY OF THE NEW YORK MAYOR'S CITY PLANNING COMMITTEE.

The following example, although a perhaps less reassuring one, further illustrates the new growth of civic pride. When, in 1934, the Massachusetts State Housing Board recommended that Boston's slums be razed at the expense of the Federal Government, the Mayor of Boston (according to a report of the New York Times) did not object, but instead insisted that Boston had no "slums." In the City Council, therefore, a resolution in support of the State Board's recommendation had to be amended by the substitution of the phrase "rehabilitation of substandard areas" for that of "slum clearance." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 30, 1934.)

The increasing moral and esthetic sensibility of such authorities as the Boston City Council, of such badly housed masses as the Harlem negroes and of the intelligent white slum dwellers who have fled from lower Manhattan justifies the old contention —reemphasized in this volume—that the main problem of city planning is decent low cost housing.

"What House Can One Get for $10 a Month? This is the Most Important Question in City Planning," was the title of the concluding chapter of the author's "Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley, California"; (published in 1915; p. 119ff.). To-day, when more than one half of all Americans have incomes of less than $1000 per year, a similar slogan might advantageously inspire all city planning in America.

The strengthening of civic pride and the recognition of the importance of housing the masses decently must soon become one of the main objects of social, economic and political endeavors and of historic research. A corresponding reorganization of all human enterprise and of all human appreciation is necessary.

The history of great cities (such as Athens and Rome) and of nations (such as the Egyptian, the French or the English) was formerly, for the most part, written in terms of coronations, battles and conquests, domination and starvation. Later and wiser historians wrote histories of "cultural" development. But upon closer inspection this culture turned out to be largely the preoccupation or sport of a comparatively small upper class without due consideration for the masses slaving for their "bet-

ters." Histories of "economic progress" have been written and were largely accounts of the achievements of "robber barons."

Although most historic writing is produced and consumed by city dwellers and deals with the progress of cities, the history of city planning and housing and their political background is still for the most part unconsidered and unwritten. Only such history, however, can reach the rock bottom of facts. It can thus reveal the truth about the economic, social and political position of the individual and of the masses.

How many square feet of sheltered floor area and of open garden space, how many cubic feet of air, how much privacy, free movement, easily accessible play area and forest, how much water for swimming and boating can the average individual enjoy undisturbedly in a given region or country? If we can supply the answers to these important questions, we can not only measure the essential achievements of city planning but we also are permitted a fairly accurate idea of the individual's true opportunities in his material life; and we even come curiously close to knowing what his opportunities may be for a spiritual life and for communication with nature or with his God, and also what hope there is of his escaping his devil, real or imaginary.

The outworn term "civilization" will gradually give way to the fresher and more specific (although etymologically almost identical) term "urbanism" and its new, definite, but wide implication.

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Since the conception of this volume quite a number of new and valuable books and articles on city planning and housing have been published (for instance, those by Thomas Adams, Catherine Bauer, Albert Mayer, and Henry Wright; there are also many others). Much, therefore, of what the following volume originally intended to say has been said, and better said, by others. There is no need for repetition. The field to be explored is unlimited. The continuous changes of its conditions are rapid. It is impossible to cover all phases in a few hundred pages which do not pretend to be encyclopædic. The present volume tries to avoid dwelling on such phases of the subject as

have recently been dealt with by other writers, unless there is some hope of presenting a sufficiently different point of view.

For these reasons this volume makes a liberal use of such quotations of old and new statements as seemed to the author capable of confirming such of his views as do not conform to current prejudice or as might otherwise appear paradoxical. By this liberal use of quotations the author hopes to assemble in his book a certain amount of documentary evidence and, also, to strengthen the possibilities of a more general understanding and collaboration. No field is more in need of reasoned co-ordination than city planning and housing where often even cultivated persons are the victims of prejudice and ignorance. The author of this book knows first rate doctors of philosophy who believe with Plato that philosophers should rule the world but who are lacking in the most primitive conceptions of present-day justice, statesmanship and brotherly love. Much of the abortive "city beautiful" propaganda has been compromised by this dangerous "*trahison des clercs.*"

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The few sketches contained in this volume, for some of which the author is indebted to his friends, Messrs. Gunther Arndt, John G. Breck, Charles Warner and Chauncey Stillman, do not attempt to anticipate the large atlas of photographs and plans which is in preparation and which will be a sister publication to the folio volume, "Civic Art."

The subtitle of this volume, "Sociological and Historical," in contrast to the subtitle of the second volume in preparation, "Political Economy and Civic Art," constitutes aspects of city planning which are intimately related and which cannot be artificially separated. These subtitles have been introduced at the suggestion of the publisher.

An alphabetical index will be found at the end of the second volume of text and another index comprising the material of all the volumes including the one entitled "Civic Art" will be found at the end of the Atlas in preparation.

First Chapter

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PLANNER OF A NEW EMPIRE AND OF "THE METROPOLIS OF THE WEST"

I. THE UNITED STATES: A PLANNED COUNTRY

The United States, from its beginning, was a creation of reasoning and of planfully acting men rather than a growth of purely "natural" forces.

In darker ages and before human reason was fully acknowledged as a directing factor, nations were ruled by successful soldiers, high priests, astronomers and similar allies of transcendental forces. To overcome the resulting disorder, Plato wanted men to be ruled by practical philosophers, friends of the truth, of wisdom and science. But even before Plato, some of the greatest political achievements seem to have been due to farsighted planners, such as the braintrusters who calculated the irrigation works of old Egypt and made her the mother of the white man's civilization. And after Plato, great statesmen, such as Alexander, the disciple of Aristotle, and Marcus Aurelius, the imperial philosopher, tried to live up to Plato's great conception. The cultural history of the Middle Ages consisted largely of a series of efforts to revive classical ideals, until the Renaissance brought not only a revival, but an age of new discoveries in science and travel. America is the proud daughter of this renaissance. And the Declaration of Independence promised at least a partial fulfillment of Plato's demands that planful reason or philosophy should rule the State.

The American Declaration is dictated by a very human and statesmanlike philosophy. The leaders of American life were technicians, engineers, surveyors, real estate men and architects rather than soldiers. Benjamin Franklin, author of a first "Plan of Union" and prominent among the authors of the Declaration was a great "philosopher" in the sense of his time, and one of its internationally respected philosophical minds. "Franklin seeks

rather to make philosophy a useful inmate and servant in the common habitations of man than to preserve her merely as an object of admiration in temples and palaces" (Sir Humphrey Davy). When Franklin abandoned his printing trade and purchased "philosophical apparatus," he did not use them for dabbling in astrology or transcendentals. But he invented the lightning rod and made the fire of heaven subservient to human plans. He was deeply interested in western lands and colonization, in municipal affairs, street cleaning, and efficient fire fighting. He measured the post roads, caused milestones to be erected upon them and increased the number and speed of the riders. Although successful as a soldier, he refused a generalship.

Thomas Paine, whose widely distributed political writings strongly helped to prepare the American people for their Declaration of Independence is the author of a unique design for iron bridges, a model of which startled Stephenson.

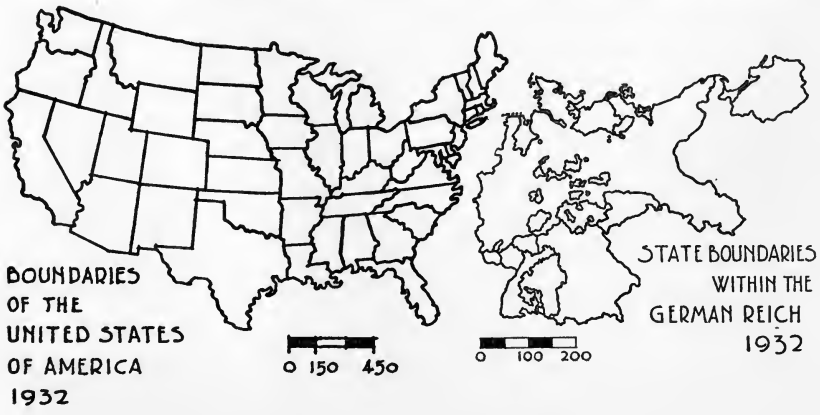
Thomas Jefferson who wrote the largest sections of the Declaration, is one of the most eminent architects America has produced. Architect is a Greek word for master-builder or leading planner and engineer. George Washington, although a soldier, was not a professional nor an enthusiastic one, but a large scale real estate man and, later, a farmer. For some part of his life, he had been a practicing engineer, or rather a land planner and surveyor—just as Lincoln, a hundred years later had been.

When Washington employed his shrewdness as a trained realtor for securing for the government the land required for the Federal Capital at low cost, he had to tell a recalcitrant land owner: "Had not the Federal city been laid out here, you would have died a poor tobacco planter." And according to a persistent family tradition he received an impertinent answer in broad Scotch: "an' had ye nae married the Widow Custis, wi' a' her nagurs, you would have been a land surveyor to-day, an' a' mighty poor one at that." (Cf. S. C. Busey, "Pictures of The City of Washington in The Past" p. 41 f.) This was only another way of stating the fact that George Washington was made Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary army not only for his military achievements, but also "one of the main reasons for picking him at this stage was that he was one of the

richest and most prominent men in Virginia" and that "his choice to head the rebel army would carry unusual weight both in England and the colonies." (Cf. James Truslow Adams, The March of Democracy, p. 110.)

There have, of course, been among American Presidents a large number of popular soldiers. In America, as in other countries, the capacity for military planning or, at any rate, for remaining victorious, has often been thought to be a proof of a man's capacity for governing a state and for successfully planning its civic policies. The corruption under the Presidency of General Grant has largely cured the nation of this prejudice. But it still appears less natural than it did during Thomas Jefferson's administration that these States could be ruled by a man prominently interested in architecture and engineering. This may be due to the misfortune of an international depression descending upon President Herbert Hoover, who before being elected to the Presidency, was "the great engineer." Nevertheless, there exists, today, some prejudice against engineers in the White House (as there existed, fifteen years ago, some prejudice against "professors" there). And this is rather strange in a country which in its formative years was governed successfully by surveyors and an architect.

One single glance at the map of the United States proves the contention that we live in a planned country. Nowhere else in the world do the boundary lines of States and counties sweep in equally straight and obviously planned lines across seemingly endless stretches of prairies and mountains. One has but to compare the astounding map of these distinctly planned United



States with a map of their predecessors, i.e. with the maps of older great unions of states, and one will realize at once the great novelty of American planning. These preceding unions, such as the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" were not planned but, like Topsy, "just growed." Even if one takes the small remainder of this "Holy Roman Empire" as it was left after the dictatorial simplifications and amputations (operated by such bloody would-be rationalists as Frederic II, Napoleon I, and Bismarck) one finds a map which looks like a small crazy-quilt compared with the large and majestically simple pattern of the rationalistically planned United States.

Such a comparison, to be sure, by no means indicates that the powerful planning which, from the inception of the American States, so dictatorially simplifying their map, was always *good* planning. In fact, we know that in many cases American planning was rather schematic and routine and that it was unconscious of hundreds of essential features which should have influenced the plan. (And, of course, the present author does not defend bad planning, even if it did at times become part of American tradition and routine, but rather good planning.) However, the fact remains that the United States entered upon the road of its civic existence at a time when planning thought and the chain of the surveyor were used to tie together and subdivide larger areas than ever before and when the rationalistic method of solving the political and economic problems of mankind conquered mental and material territories formerly out of bounds. Rationalism tried to solve the old and new problems of humanity and was by no means always successful. America may seriously suffer from the childhood diseases of rationalism. But the future of America depends upon her overcoming these diseases and upon her learning to plan better than before. There is no future for America in her trying to abandon and forsake rationalism, which is after all the great motivating power that has discovered and developed her. There is no permanent possibility of her returning to the older modes of national survival which did not rely upon rational planning but upon accidental growth or "muddling through."

This latter mode has been praised, in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, as the specifically British mode of

statesmanship. America separated herself from this obsolete English conception by her Declaration of Independence. And even Great Britain, before entering the twentieth century, abandoned her old political conceptions of laissez-faire. The English Town Planning Acts of 1909, 1925, and 1932, the Regional Planning Laws of 1919 and 1929, and many social insurance laws (not to speak of the numerous Acts since 1890, enforcing decent housing for the working classes), are only a few of the many signs indicating that England has entered the modern communion of planning states and is, in fact, today, one of the leaders.

II. FORMER AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN CITY PLANNING

In saying that the United States since its foundation has been "a planned country" and that governmental city planning has played here a specially prominent role one must define what is meant by "planning." Since our "civilization"—as even the etymology of the phrase suggests—is predominantly a civic or urban civilization, most planning is in the last analysis predominantly planning for citizens, or city planning.

The word "city planning" has a variety of meanings, two of which cover especially important fields. In both fields the United States, from its beginning, has been an international leader, a fact so contrary to common prejudice that it merits discussion.

City planning, in one of its most commonly accepted meanings, signifies the laying out of an individual city and providing for its physical perfection. In this sense George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were city planners when they employed the French engineer Major L'Enfant, to design the national capital.

"I have thought," so George Washington wrote (Nov. 20, 1791), "that . . . for prosecuting public works and carrying them into effect, Major L'Enfant was better qualified than any one, who had come within my knowledge in this country, or indeed in any other, the probability of obtaining whom could be counted upon." And Major L'Enfant who was thus selected for carrying out the first great public works of the American nation could justly say (Sept. 11, 1789): "No nation had ever

before the opportunity offered them of deliberately deciding on the spot where their Capital City should be fixed, or of combining every necessary consideration in the choice of situation." L'Enfant truthfully, although in not very good English, concluded another letter to President Washington as follows (Aug. 19, 1797): "As I remain assured you will conceive it essential to pursue with dignity an undertaking of a magnitude so worthy of the concern of a grand empire, I have not hesitated to express myself freely, realizing that the nation's honor is bound up in its complete achievement and that over its progress the nations of the world, watching with eyes of envy, themselves having been denied the opportunity, will stand as judge."

Indeed, for the streets and water-ways of the national capital, for the location of its buildings and "monuments," the fathers of the nation desired the most perfect lay-out conceivable in their time. They reaped considerable benefit from the fine European city planning precedent of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But unfettered by the past they adapted its lessons to the new American situation. Out of the plans of papal Rome and feudal Versailles, and the zoning ordinance of Paris, they created a new plan which symbolized their new conception of government with its separation of executive and legislative powers. If the founders of America had been confronted with the complicated technical, political and housing problems of twentieth century urbanism, they undoubtedly would have met them with the same creative spirit, independent of older conceptions and antiquated regulations.

In another important meaning of the phrase, city planning aims not so much at the planning of one individual city as it does more generally at the planning of groups of cities and subsidiary settlements, at the correlating of them by well-conceived public works (such as roads and canals) and at locating them in such suitable areas as to make them organizing centers of economic "regions" and states. And the capital of a rising nation must be the organizing center of an economic and commercial empire. The City of Washington, as conceived by its founders, was to have been such a center: the metropolis of a new world. Indeed, if the last mentioned conception of city planning is understood, George Washington and Thomas Jeffer-

son must be recognized as perhaps the most ambitious city and empire planners of all times.

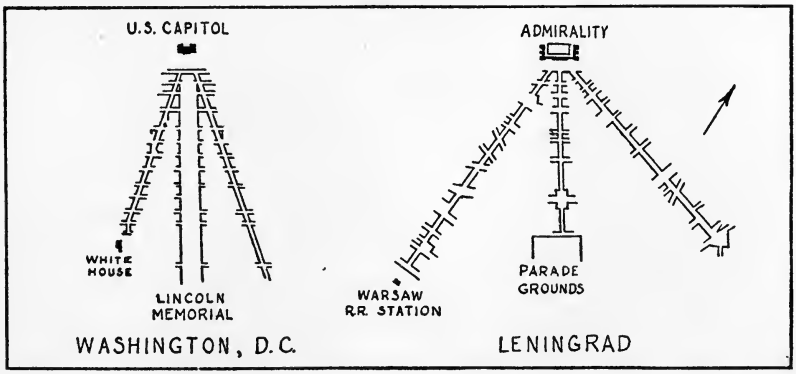
Alexander the Great and the Roman conquerors were also—in intention and in fact—ambitious city planners and planners of public works. In the execution of their plans they were more immediately successful than the great Americans. The Greeks and Romans, without delay, covered their newly acquired provinces with a network of roads centering in new cities like Priene, Alexandria, Paris, Vienna, London, or Cologne. The Frenchmen were by no means impractical city builders when (as Henry Adams tells us in his "Mont Saint Michel and Chartres") "in the single century between 1170 and 1270, the French built eighty cathedrals and nearly 500 churches of the cathedral class, which would have cost, according to an estimate made in 1840, more than 5,000 millions to replace. Five thousand million francs is a thousand million dollars, and this covered only the great churches of a single century." The English, too, were enterprising city builders when, in the thirteenth century, they established thirty cities, like Montpazier, in Southern France (see "Civic Art" I, Fig. 982, p. 229). Since the eleventh century, the Germans built hundreds of similar pioneer towns and thousands of villages in the wide territories east of the Elbe. One of these settlements, Berlin, has subsequently grown to capital size, just as six hundred years later, in America, the small pioneer post, Chicago, evolved into a city of capital importance. When Berlin was founded, eastern Europe was for the Teutons what later Eastern Russia and Siberia became for the Russians and what, still later, the American West became for the English-American settlers, namely, a field for colonial expansion.

George Washington has been called "the Father of the West." It is true that his latest English biographer, Michael de la Bedoyere, frankly derides the idea of Washington's imperial farsightedness. This English writer contends that Washington "could never be" a "statesman," that Hamilton was the actual leader, and that Washington's interest in the West was primarily that of a land speculator, secondarily that of "ardent" Virginian "provincialism," and last and least of all that of a patriot and champion of the American Union. But John Corbin

(author of "The Unknown Washington") seems to prove that this English contention is wrong (cf. New York Times, Book Review, Oct. 13, 1935, p. 19).

In any case, Washington recognized, at an early date, the immense opportunities of the West. One may even say that his comprehension of the necessities and possibilities of planning and city planning can hardly be outrivaled by even such large scale planners as Czar Peter, called the Great, or the "great" Czarina Catherine, or Lenin and Stalin, however altruistic or selfish they may have been. The resemblance between Russian and American possibilities has often been commented upon. (See Fifteenth Chapter.)

Czar Peter built his new capital city of Saint Petersburg (today called Leningrad) to be the point of vantage in a great canal system and commercial empire, very much as—a hundred years later—President Washington built his city of Washington to control a new canal system and commercial empire. Peter and Washington summoned the best European experts they could find to plan their city. Both used the Roman-French street pattern of three highways radiating from the main public building. Peter's methods of city building were more violent. He permitted no stone houses to be erected in all Russia, except in his new capital. He forced 100,000 people to live then and there, many thousands of whom died miserably in the swamps of the new capital. The great swamp of Washington demanded fewer victims. To conquer it President Washington and his successors used gentler and, in the long run, more effective methods. The population of Washington never experienced as



severe a setback as did that of Saint Petersburg after great Peter's death. But as far as imperial ambition was concerned Czar Peter, selecting the wide provinces of Sweden and Persia he was to conquer, could not have acted much more imperialistically than Washington did in his dealings with the Indians and in taking their lands, "notwithstanding the proclamation that restrains it at present and prohibits the settlement of them all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. . . . Any person, therefore who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure working and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it." Thus wrote George Washington in 1763 to Captain William Crawford. And young Czar Peter could very well have written the line contained in young Washington's letter of October 17, 1753: "A pusillanimous behaviour would ill suit the times."

This was written when Washington was twenty-one years old and had just completed his journey to the Ohio River and to the French posts on the Allegheny which still were an obstacle to his imperial dreams. His "Journal" describing this "tour" reveals his early realization of the historic importance of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the great West. In the year 1749, his brothers, Lawrence and Augustine had become members, and Lawrence the chief manager, of the Ohio Company, which was formed in Virginia that year for the colonization of the Ohio country. This company had there received a grant of 500,000 acres from the British King and represented the first scheme for the settlement of the West by Englishmen, emulating the older and, at that time, successful French and Spanish schemes. George Washington took part in England's successful war against France, and, in recognition of his services as an officer, received 5,000 acres on the Ohio. He gained control over the claims granted to many other soldiers. At one time he controlled over 60,000 acres on the Ohio. Washington's will shows that even much later, he possessed 49,-083 acres. Washington's estimated wealth was over half a million dollars, more than four hundred thousand of which lay

in Western lands; and it is probable that he secured nearly all of this prior to 1784.

Washington's plans to colonize his western possessions, by importing Germans from the Palatinate (as the Russian empress Catherine and the German empress Maria Theresa had done for their colonial settlements), are but an index of the direction his business pursuits might have taken, had he not been called to command the Army and afterwards to head the State. When it came to securing a speedy development of the new Federal city, which was to bear his name, Washington renewed his German plan on a smaller scale. On Dec. 18, 1792, he proposed to import "indented" workmen from Germany; "because they may probably be obtained from thence on better terms than from other quarters and they are known to be a steady and laborious people. . . . The compensation of the person employed to procure them is one guinea per head, for as many as he may deliver. . . ."

III. EXTRACTS FROM WASHINGTON'S LETTERS REFERRING TO HIS PLANS FOR "THE NEW EMPIRE"

Very early in a letter dated July 20, 1770, to Thomas Johnson, the first state-governor of Maryland, George Washington suggested that the opening of the Potomac be "recommended to public notice upon a more enlarged plan, as a means of becoming the channel of conveyance of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire." And he became the principal sponsor of a bill for the establishment of a corporation to attempt the extension of the navigation of the Potomac. Fifteen years before this he had recommended the construction of a military road to the Ohio. His first thought at the close of the Revolution was again the importance of establishing good communication with the West. Even before peace was definitely declared, he left the camp at Newburgh and, at considerable personal risk, explored on horseback the Mohawk route. He gave an account of this trip in a letter to the Chevalier de Chastellux, Oct. 12, 1783. Among other things he declared:

"Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be

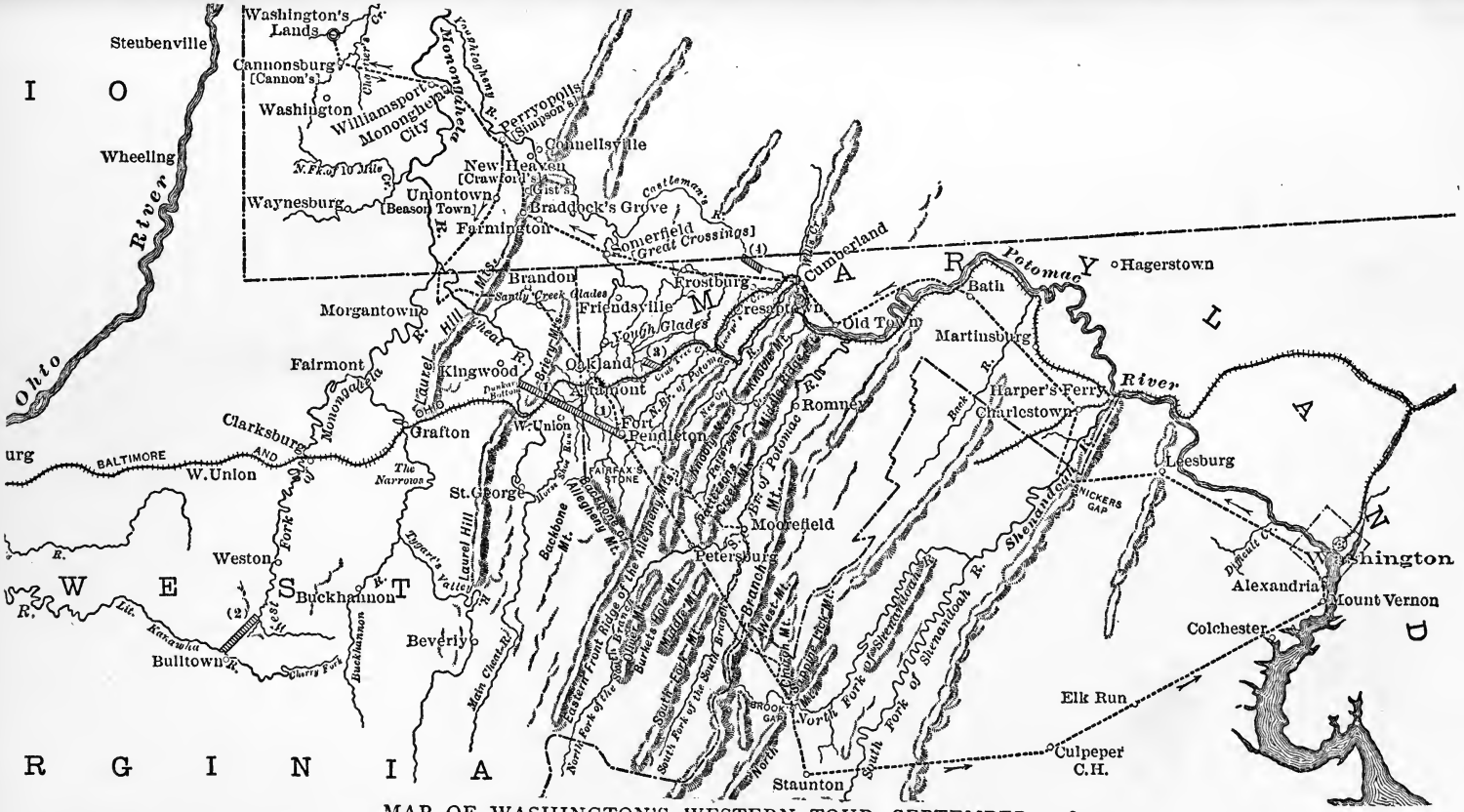
struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence which has dealt his favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them! I shall not rest contented till I have explored the western country, and traversed those lines, or a great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire." *A new empire!*

After his return to Mount Vernon, Washington wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated March 29, 1784, in which he said:

"My opinion coincides perfectly with yours respecting the practicability of an easy and short communication between the waters of the Ohio and Potomac, of the advantage of that communication and the preference it has over all others, and of the policy there would be in this State (i.e. Virginia) and Maryland to adopt and render it facile. But I confess to you freely, I have no expectation, that the public will adopt the measure; for, besides the jealousies which prevail, and the difficulty of proportioning such funds as may be allotted for the purposes you have mentioned, there are two others which, in my opinion, will be yet harder to surmount. These are (if I have not imbibed too unfavorable an opinion of my countrymen) the impracticability of bringing the great and truly wise policy of the measure to their view, and the difficulty of extracting money from them for such a purpose. . . . I am not so disinterested in this matter as you are; but I am made very happy to find that a man of discernment and liberality, who has no particular interest in the plan, thinks as I do, who have lands in that country, the value of which would be enhanced by the adoption of such a measure."

Unfortunately President Washington's opinion of his countrymen was by no means "too unfavorable." "The impracticability of bringing to their view the great and truly wise policy" of large scale planning, did actually destroy the far reaching plan of George Washington (as it destroyed, in 1808, the equally extensive plan of Thomas Jefferson).

On the first of September of the same year, 1784, George Washington started on an exploring expedition to the headwaters of the Ohio, traveling nearly 700 miles on horseback, writing a



MAP OF WASHINGTON'S WESTERN TOUR, SEPTEMBER, 1784.

Heavy bars indicate old-time portage routes. (1) From the North Branch of the Potomac to Cherry Tree Fork of Youghiogheny River, or projected on to Dunkard's Bottom on the Cheat River, was the portage urged by Washington upon Virginia as the best portage connection between Potomac and Ohio waters; (2) the portage between the West Fork of the Monongahela and Little Kanawha rivers, suggested as a portage in an all-Virginia route to the Ohio River; (3) the path between Crab Tree Fork of Savage River and the North Fork of Deep Creek suggested by United States Associate Civil Engineer Schriver in 1826 for the route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; (4) route for Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Wills Creek and Castleman's River decided upon in 1825 by United States engineers under General Bernard, 1824–26.

journal, making maps and outlining routes some of which have since been adopted, substantially, by the branches of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The first result of this second "tour" was a letter to Governor Benjamin Harrison, dated October 10, 1784. The following short excerpts from this long letter are especially interesting since they prophesy the danger of secession which would threaten the Union in case Washington's farsighted planning for the national capital in the center of an effective transportation system should remain unheeded. Washington wrote:

"I need not remark to you, Sir, that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it, which lies immediately west of us, with the middle states. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection towards us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connexions with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell. The Western States (I speak now from my own observation) stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi, until the Spaniards, very impolitically I think for themselves, threw difficulties in their way; and they looked that way for no other reason, than because they could glide gently down the stream; without considering, perhaps, the difficulties of the voyage back again, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they have no other means of coming to us but by long land transportations and unimproved roads. These causes have hitherto checked the industry of the present settlers. . . . In a word, let the waters east and west of the Ohio, which invite our

notice by their proximity, and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the Lakes on one side, and the Rivers Potomac and James on the other, be explored, accurately delineated, and a correct and connected map of the whole be presented to the public. These things being done, I shall be mistaken if prejudice does not yield to facts, jealousy to candor, and, finally if reason and nature thus aided, do not dictate what is right and proper to be done. . . . Upon the whole, the object in my estimation is of vast commercial and political importance. In this light I think posterity will consider it, and regret, if our conduct should give them cause, that the present favorable moment to secure so great a blessing for them was neglected."

IV. GEORGE WASHINGTON PLANNED A NATIONAL CENTER OF LEARNING.

Three months later Governor Harrison of Virginia, received another letter from General Washington (Jan. 22, 1785). Harrison had evidently been very active in behalf of the canal project and its famous promoter. Washington answered: "The attention and good wishes, which the Assembly (of Virginia) have evidenced by their act for vesting in me one hundred and fifty shares in the navigation of the rivers Potomac and James, are more than mere compliment." Washington, who four years later was to change from the presidency of a canal company to the Presidency of the United States, accepted the proffered shares with much greater reluctance than is customary among generals presented with similar offers. He accepted only under the condition that he should be permitted "to appropriate the said shares to public uses." And relative to his wide waterways project he proudly added: "Not content, then, with the bare consciousness of my having, in all this navigation business, acted upon the clearest conviction of the political importance of the measure, I would wish that every individual, who may hear that it was a favorite plan of mine, may know also that I had no other motive for promoting it, than the advantage of which I conceived it would be productive to the Union, and to this State (of Virginia) in particular, by cementing the eastern and western territory together,

at the same time that it will give vigor and increase to our commerce and be a convenience to our citizens."

Washington's interminable political labors interfered with the bringing of his great canal project to its fruition. Washington was deeply troubled at the growing anarchy resulting from the post-Revolutionary economic depression, which soon afterwards led to Shays' Rebellion (1786–87) and to the danger of a civil war within the new American confederation. In 1783, Washington had already written his famous Circular Letter to the governors of the states and had stressed the need for a supreme central power to regulate the general concerns of the commonwealth. But it was only through the energetic efforts of Madison that the states of Virginia and Maryland finally agreed to participate in that memorable conference of 1785, at Mount Vernon, a conference which attempted the settlement of navigation problems on the Potomac and led to the quite extra legal conventions of Annapolis and Philadelphia and to the writing of the American Constitution.

All this was necessarily slow work. Meanwhile, George Washington bequeathed (and confirmed the gift in his will) "the hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company, in perpetuity to and for the use of Liberty Hall Academy." And his fifty shares in the Potomac Company he gave "towards the endowment of a university to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia" and to counteract "not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and *genuine liberties of mankind.*"

Thus Washington foreshadowed the dream of his successor, President John Adams, who hoped to finance public education by means of America's public resources honestly managed. It is to be regretted that the realization of practical democratic ideas has been left to fascistic opponents of democracy. Quite recently, the late Governor Huey Long of Louisiana followed Washington's and John Adams' suggestion by introducing into his State severance taxes on oil, gas, lumber and other natural resources which made possible free school books for all children, black and white, rich and poor, in public and private schools. (Cf. The New Republic, Feb. 13, 1935, p. 14.)

In endowing a University, Washington expressed his ideals of democratic imperialism thus; "It has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised, on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and State prejudices. . . ."

At the time of Washington's death the market value of the canal company's shares he had given to the University was below par, or less than 15,000 pounds sterling. But Washington was optimistic. In a letter to Alexander Hamilton, Washington wrote: "I have not the smallest doubt that this donation, when navigation is in complete operation, which it will be in less than two years, will amount to 1200 pounds or 1500 pounds of sterling a year and become a rapidly increasing fund." ("Works of Hamilton," VI, 147, Lodge Ed.)

After Washington's death his favorite educational plan had not been carried out. His successors disagreed as to its "constitutionality." At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Madison who was Washington's agent in presenting matters to the convention, moved to include among the enumerated powers of Congress the power "to establish and provide for a national university at the seat of government," but it was declared needless as the power was already given to it to create legislation on all subjects for the District. President Jefferson, having views different from Washington's as to the power of the Federal Government, nevertheless agreed with him as to the desirability of a national university and to that end recommended an amendment of the Constitution which should expressly grant the power to establish one.

The National University was even a favorite idea with Jefferson and Madison. But they could not induce Congress to act. Congress preferring procrastination, thought it unwise to trust the fathers of the Constitution in questions of constitutionality. Meanwhile Washington's legacy of shares in the Potomac Company became valueless by the failure of the company. So the work of higher education in the National Capital had to be undertaken by private enterprise, notably by the Georgetown University, founded by the Jesuits over a century ago; also by the great and splendidly endowed Catholic University of America, sus-

tained by the wealth and power of that denomination, and liberally attended by its youth, and also by The American University, established some years ago by the Methodists. In addition there exists a non-sectarian institution, the "George Washington University"; but its fame and national standing are hardly yet equal to the ambitious plans of George Washington. (Cf. E. E. Prussing, "The Estate of George Washington, Deceased," Boston, 1927, pp. 186–195.) Washington had hoped that the intellectual elite from all America would receive its education in his city, listening to the speeches of the leading statesmen of the nation and uniting in a truly fraternal spirit against the local prejudices and the envious rivalries of the individual states.

V. THE FAILURE OF WASHINGTON'S PLANS

In his letter to Governor Harrison, Washington reviewed, rather pessimistically, the various possibilities of uniting, economically, the rising empire of North America. He had, for the benefit of the whole nation, as sharp a promoter's eye as the mighty transcontinental railroad builders exercised seventy years later, mainly for their own personal benefit and for the creation of gigantic fortunes not infrequently put to anti-democratic use. Washington wrote:

"I shall give you the different routes and distances from Detroit, by which all the trade of the northwestern parts of the united territory must pass; unless the Spaniards, contrary to their recent policy, should engage part of it, or the British should attempt to force nature, by carrying the trade of the Upper Lakes by the River Utawas into Canada, which I scarcely think they will or could effect. Taking Detroit then (which is putting ourselves in as unfavorable a point of view as we can be well placed in, because it is upon the line of the British territory) as a point by which, as I have already observed, all that part of the trade must come, it appears from the statement enclosed, that the tide waters of this State are nearer to it by one hundred and sixty-eight miles, than those of the River St. Lawrence; or than those of the Hudson at Albany, by one hundred and seventy-six miles."

Washington also weighed the ambitious plan of Pennsylvanian citizens "to cut a canal between the waters of the Susquehanna

and the Schuylkill. . . . In the meantime under the uncertainty of these undertakings, they are smoothing the roads and paving the ways for the trade of that western world. That New York will do the same as soon as the British garrisons are removed, which are at present insurmountable obstacles in their own way, no person, who knows the temper, genius, and policy of those people as well as I do, can harbour the smallest doubt."

Soon after the death of Washington "the jealousies which prevail" and the competitive genius of the New Yorkers outrivalled the Virginian spirit of enterprise. The Hudson River, the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes triumphed over the canal system which was to have centered about the City of Washington. As a canal center, however, New York failed to connect with the Ohio, the Mississippi and the South. The city of New York and its canals did not tie the northern and southern States as closely together as the city of Washington would have done, if President Washington's projected system of water-ways had become effective. The outbreak of the Civil War was, in part at least, a fulfillment of George Washington's above quoted prophecy. He had very explicitly forewarned the country that his national canal policy would be the necessary "cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds." If President Washington's sagacious planning had been carried out early enough, the disastrous Civil War and the orgies of corruption and "rugged individualism" following it, might have been avoided.

But the closing of the Mississippi River to commerce through long periods of the war caused an increased use of railroads. This new means of transportation connected the Northwest with the East by stronger bonds than ever. The railroads, however, centered in New York and Chicago. They were the creation of northern capitalists, who preferred to extend their projects across "free" territory. Only after the South had become "free," did these northern railroads also furnish the "indissoluble bonds" with the South. They then, finally, did save the Union. They took, belatedly, the place of the canal system, which had not been completed in spite of President Washington's urgent recommendation. This victory of the railroads over the canals may have deprived forever the City of Washington of its chance of becoming the "Metropolis of the West."

Few Americans, today, realize that their greatest President wanted his city of Washington to be the largest in the United States. George Washington, in planning his own city, did not intend to build some Versailles or Potsdam, some Albany, N. Y., or Springfield, Ill., or whatever may be the names of such seats of governments that lie more or less off the center of national economic and spiritual life. No, President Washington intended to build another London, the metropolis of a hemisphere, a center of population, business and government combined. Washington even wanted to create a super-London. By endowing a national university in Washington its founder intended to add to the business and governmental functions of London those of Oxford or Cambridge. Or to express it in modern American terms: President Washington hoped to see the qualities of the Port of New York, of Columbia or New York University, and the seat of the Federal government concentrated on the shores of the Potomac, in his own city. He wanted the White House, the national Capitol, and the greatest harbor of the nation located in the key position of his far-reaching waterway project. His City was to be a center where the economic, governmental and spiritual life of the nation would be concentrated.

The first pamphlet to advertise the national capital was written by the private secretary of President Washington and undoubtedly with his encouragement: "Observations on the River Potomac, the Country Adjacent, and the City of Washington" by Tobias Lear. And the English visitor Isaac Weld, (in his "Travels in America"), only expressed the hopes of President Washington when he wrote, in 1795:

"Considering the vastness of the territory, which is thus opened to the Federal city, by means of a water communication; considering also that it is capable from the fertility of its soils, of maintaining three times the number of inhabitants that are to be found at present in all the United States; . . . there is good foundation for thinking that the Federal city, as soon as navigation is perfected, will increase most rapidly in population, and that at a future day . . . it will become the grand emporium of the West, and rival in magnitude and splendor the cities of the old world."

The phrase "Emporium of the West" was probably directly inspired by George Washington himself who seems to have used it

frequently. In his long letter (Dec. 11, 1796) to Sir John Sinclair, for instance, the first President prophesied that the Federal city would soon become "the great emporium of the United States." Speaking to, what he hoped might be, a prospective buyer of American lands, George Washington added: "I do not hesitate to pronounce, that the lands on the waters of the Potomac will in a few years be in greater demand and in higher estimation, than in any other part of the United States." In a similar vein he had written to the English writer, Sir Arthur Young (Dec. 12, 1793).

George Washington's population predictions cannot appear to be unreasonable or over-optimistic. Even before his prophetic expressions in America, the leading economist of England, Adam Smith, had contemplated the time when the American colonies would outweigh the British Isles and when the Anglo-Saxon capital city would be moved across the Atlantic, as actually occurred during the World War and for some time after!

VI. GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FEDERAL REAL ESTATE OFFICE

The methods by which George Washington tried to fulfill his great urban plan also give, to the modern city planner, useful lessons as to what must be done and warnings as to what must be avoided. They are described in W. B. Bryan's, S. C. Busey's, and other books on the Federal Capital and summarized in the chapter "Washington—America's First Boom Town" by A. M. Sakolski, contained in his book "The Great American Land Bubble." Here a few examples may be repeated.

The methods of urban real estate development employed by President Washington teach us, most of all how strongly (even today) the still prevailing laws forbidding the municipal cities to go into land speculation contradict the more practical ideas of George Washington and of the other founders of America. The planning and development of American cities have indeed been severely handicapped by the generally prevailing superstition that all benefits from urban real estate speculation must go to private profiteers. It has been declared "un-American" and harmful that the elected municipal representatives of the public could dare to compete, for the treasury of the public, against private speculators in reaping the benefits of municipal expendi-

ture and growth. Strict laws have been made (and observed!) supporting this superstition and forbidding American cities to acquire land, to hold and resell it, for common benefit. It has taken decades of futile wrangling before it was deemed "constitutional" that cities might acquire land even for as urgent a necessity as low-cost housing. Any far-reaching land policy for that purpose, as is customary in Europe, is, even today, impossible in America. Well meaning men and even lawyers have declared it to be utterly wrong for an American city to start upon any of its numerous enterprises requiring purchase of land without having first given a chance to private speculators to take, beforehand, a liberal rake-off at the expense of the public.

In selling land to the public it has become customary to charge the public a higher price than any private buyer would pay. The speculators perversely argue that a proposed public initiative is going to make the land more valuable and that therefore the public, from the beginning, should pay a higher price for the land even *before* it was made more valuable, and that in all future the public must pay to the previous private holder a tribute. Generally increased assessments and higher land taxes must cover the yearly interest on the money raised by the public for the purchase of the land required for public purposes and for the speculators' profits inflating its price. Granting the clever private land speculators this initial and iniquitous rake-off is generally considered to be the just and practical method for buying off their power of obstruction and preventing them from organizing a permanent hold-up and blackmailing the common good.

George Washington, although, or because, he was himself one of the largest real estate speculators of American history, had little sympathy for what today are considered "Constitutional" privileges of the private speculators. In securing the land required for the Federal Capital he deluded their cupidity and played off the landowners of the different competing localities against each other with a view to quickening among them a spirit of rivalry which should result in the most advantageous terms possible to the public.

On February 3, 1791, Washington wrote to Messrs. Stoddert and Deakins, merchants of Georgetown whom he trusted: "The

Federal territory being located, the competition for the location of the town now rests between the mouth of the Eastern branch and the lands on the river below and adjacent to Georgetown. . . . The object of this letter is to ask you to endeavor to purchase these grounds for the public, but as if for yourselves, and to conduct your proposition so as to excite no suspicion that they are on behalf of the public. . . ." George Washington insisted upon "the most profound secrecy" and wished "to prevent any kind of speculation." It is in this traditional Washingtonian spirit that in 1935 the Federal Re-settlement Administration had to start snatching land, at reasonable prices, from private owners for public use. Many of these owners had been most happy to sell but grew furious when they learned that they had been selling to the government and might, had they only known, have extorted higher prices at the expense of the public.

In planning the city of Washington, Major L'Enfant had to contend with equally narrow-minded landowners deficient in public spirit. L'Enfant fought the ruinous influence of their schemes as best he could. He wrote to Alexander Hamilton (April 8, 1791): "How far I have contributed to overset that plotting business, it would not do for me to tell." L'Enfant attempted to hide his plan for the city from the prospective lot owners. Even George Washington thought he was going too far. "How," so wrote the great President, "could the purchasers be induced to buy—to borrow an old adage—a pig in a poke?"

To avoid gorging the private land owner at the expense of the public, George Washington wanted the public to have its own strong real estate enterprise capable of counter-balancing the dangers arising from exclusively private initiative in this field. George Washington, who represented the public, therefore forced the private land owners to surrender, without compensation, one half of their lands to the Federal Commission. Washington could write, almost triumphantly, to Jefferson (May 1, 1791): ". . . the whole containing three to five thousand acres is ceded to the public on condition that when the whole shall be surveyed and laid off as a city (which Major L'Enfant is now directed to do), the present Proprietors shall retain every other lot—and for such part of the land as may be taken for public use, for

squares, walks etc. they shall be allowed at the rate of twenty-five pounds per acre . . . nothing is to be allowed for ground which may be occupied as streets or alleys."

George Washington thus created a fund of land which the new city Commissioners could speculate with and from the sales of which the municipal treasury could secure funds for building the new city and its public structures. Later, the "Act to incorporate the inhabitants of the city of Washington" signed on May 3, 1802, by President Thomas Jefferson, specifically stated that they "may purchase and hold real, personal and mixed property, or dispose of the same for the benefit of the said city." (This carried out a suggestion made by George Washington in a letter dated Feb. 17, 1797.)

Every city needs, of course, similar powers, if tolerable government and civic development are to be carried on. The fact that the necessity of such civic powers was recognized by the founders and teachers of the nation, and that these powers were granted to the Federal city by Congress, but withheld from other cities, makes the American nation appear like a naughty truant school boy who behaves well as long as he feels observed by his teachers, but who becomes irresponsible and silly after the teachers have left him. This sillyness and shortsightedness which characterizes important constitutional features of America's urban life is, of course, nothing but an expression of the wishes of the individual land owners and would-be speculators. Their wisdom has been described by George Washington, in a letter dated March 25, 1798, as follows: "It has always been my opinion, and so I have expressed it, that the proprietors of the city of Washington, with some exceptions, are, by their jealousies and the modes they pursue to promote their local interests, amongst its worst enemies." This description of land-owners in Washington City applies equally well to land owners in almost every other American city.

It even seems that George Washington, for the benefit of the municipal treasury, was a little too eager to begin with the public sales of lots. The first sale of lots began, October 17, 1791, before the conscientious city planner Major L'Enfant, could complete the layout and location of lots. (This fact must con-

sole and excuse, 144 years later, the Re-settlement Administration which in 1935 and 1936 evinces Washingtonian zeal in forcing its town planners to begin construction of its new model suburbs almost before the plans for their layout are completed.) The framers of the American Constitution wanted to demonstrate very publicly their approval of the new municipal authorities going into the real estate business and competing against private speculators. Therefore, George Washington, the incumbent President, together with Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, two future Presidents,—could one ask for more?—personally honored the first real estate sale staged by the Federal Government. This was the spirit of the framers of the Constitution in the name of which American judges have long declared it unconstitutional when American cities tried to do the obvious and protect the public against the abuses arising from exclusively private real estate speculation.

Very instructive, furthermore, is the following feature of the early urban history made by George Washington and his immediate successors. Never have private land speculators failing to fulfill their obligations been treated with greater rigidity. Among the real estate speculators who most liberally invested in the land offered by the public real estate office, there seems to be only one who kept out of prison. This was the Englishman Thomas Law, the husband of Mrs. George Washington's granddaughter. He had brought with him enough English money to meet regularly his contracted payments to the Federal real estate office. The other large speculators of the young Federal city, such men as the "high financiers" Blodget, Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf, had to return all their lands to the Federal real estate agency and (unlike many of their equally or more deserving successors in Washington and other cities) were sent to prison and died in poverty. This is true even of Robert Morris, "The financier of the American Revolution" and signer of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution. There seems to have existed, at that time, little pity for the unsuccessful speculator. The idea that a speculator is sacrosanct not only while he reaps profits, but especially sacrosanct when he fails to do so, and that the government must shoulder his losses, this idea is of more recent growth.

VII. GEORGE WASHINGTON'S PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS HOUSING THE NATION

George Washington himself bought four lots at the third sale of lots, September 1793. He again personally attended this Federal land sale. The lots he bought were near the Capitol site, in the south-eastern part of the city. But, so he explained (in a letter dated Mar. 14, 1794), "being unwilling, from that circumstance, it should be believed that I had greater predilection to the southern part of the city, I proposed the next day, the sale being continued, to buy a like number of lots in Hamburg, Square 21" (in the north-western part of the city).

George Washington was being urged not only to buy lots but also to build houses upon them. He was especially urged by his step-grandson-in-law, Thomas Law, who was losing, at the same time, the love of his flighty wife, and the million dollars he had brought from India and invested in land speculation in the new Federal city. Washington was willing to listen to his step-grandson-in-law, who related the following: "That the public might have encouragement to build, General Washington commenced two houses. This example gave confidence and houses were seen to spring up with rapidity, notwithstanding the natural rivalship of two adjacent towns, which had been long before established. New Jersey Avenue, then full of stump trees, was opened to have access to the Eastern Branch, and merchants made wharves and warehouses on the Eastern Branch. . . . Houses also rapidly sprang up about the Capitol although double prices were paid for workmen, bricks and materials." (Cf. "Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City," by Allen C. Clark, 1901, p. 255).

George Washington thus fulfilled faithfully his contractural duties which obliged him not only to make certain payments for the land bought but also to build upon it. The residences he built in square 632 (on the west side of North Capitol Street between B and C Streets) were burned by the British in 1814, rebuilt, and remained standing until 1908, when they were torn down to increase the area of the Capitol grounds. This disappearance of George Washington's own contribution to the housing of his nation is to be regretted. Would it not be possible to reconstruct these historical monuments in a street secure from destruc-

tion? And would it not be a fine monument to the constructive spirit of American Presidents if, in the future, each one of them would add an equal number of houses to those constructed by President Washington? Thus a "Presidential Street" would come into existence which would be a truly unique and living monument in the architectural history of America. The new house would always be built, of course, in the style of the living President and his period. This might be a case where a little living "musuem's" touch would do no harm.

One might go further and say that George Washington's contribution towards housing the nation and the citizens of his city, was made less in his capacity as a President than in his capacity as an owner of urban real estate. If every American owner of urban real estate would contribute to the same degree, i.e. in equal proportion to his urban holdings, by building and maintaining, relatively, as many houses as George Washington did, it might well be that there would be fewer Americans obliged to live in slums and blighted districts than there are today when there are about 40 millions found in this predicament.

VIII. PRESIDENT WASHINGTON LIMITS HEIGHTS OF BUILDINGS

Diametrically opposed to the spirit of George Washington is to be found another one of the incredible prejudices which have fatally sickened the development of American cities. Few prejudices have caused more wiggling of America's judicial or injudicious wigs than the notion that the limitation of heights of buildings and the regulations about the permissible types of buildings was "un-American" and "unconstitutional." This insult to American common sense was uncalled for, as the "constitutional" lawyers might have discovered if they had studied practical city planning in America or if at least they had looked at the regulations passed under the direction of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

These statesmen were quick to appreciate a practical suggestion even when it displeased the "practical" speculator. In his "Opinion on (the) Capital," Thomas Jefferson had written (Nov. 29, 1790): "In Paris it is forbidden to build a house beyond a given height, and it is admitted to be a good restriction. It keeps down the price of grounds, keeps the houses low and convenient,

and the streets light and airy. Fires are much more manageable when houses are low." Here in a nutshell was whatever there is practical in European "zoning ordinances" appreciated by a shrewd American architect and statesman. And George Washington by no means threw up his hands in legalistic horror of alleged anti-American unconstitutionality, but he endorsed the following regulation:

"The wall of no house to be higher than forty feet to the roof, in any part of the city; nor shall any be lower than thirty-five feet on any of the avenues." Signed: George Washington, Oct. 17, 1791. This is only one of the regulations of George Washington's zoning ordinance. Others determined that the "outer and party walls of all houses shall be built of brick or stone." Washington (and later Monroe) made exceptions to this rule for low cost and workingmen's houses which were permitted to be erected of wood. L'Enfant furthermore was successful, this time against Jefferson's protest, in introducing "the obligation to build the houses at a given distance from the street."

All this was "zoning" supported by President Washington. Today this seems to be forgotten or remembered from hearsay only, like an old saga. The comprehensive publications of the Regional Plan Association of New York (Vol. II, 1931, p. 28) do not quote the text of the law signed by President Washington, but say rather vaguely: "An early visitor to the city noted the following building regulations:"

Since lawyers who do not exclusively serve private interests, generally have faith in "legal precedent," it is hard to understand how this fine Washingtonian precedent could have failed to impress them. But even in 1916, the date of the mad "zoning ordinance" of New York (see Chapter Thirteen), legislators and their lawyers refused to limit the heights of buildings below the most insane maxima. In permitting insane heights (chaotic, uneconomic and inviting unhealthy lot crowding) these law-makers maintained that they remained true to the spirit of the Constitution. George Washington knew how to read the Constitution better and how to keep his mind free from the imbecility just described.

It must be added, however, that the realtors together with their legal bodyguard attacked George Washington's zoning

ordinance while he was still alive. They tried to "whittle it down" and to force the public to "kiss the zoning ordinance goodbye." These picturesque terms were used in the battles that were waged in New York after the introduction of the zoning ordinance of 1916.

It was a very promising Fourth of July, in the year 1796, when one of the leading real estate speculators of early Washington, "the great financier," Robert Morris wrote to his most prominent colleague and rival, Thomas Law: "This is the glorious anniversary of our Declaration of Independence. . . . I wish that the President had abolished in toto the regulations about the building and thereby let the Owners of Lots pursue their own fancys & inclinations—This I conceive will be absolutely necessary to give that spur to Improvement which is wanted—The King of Prussia tried to establish a City upon the same system of regularity of Building, but with absolute authority & money at Command he could not do it & only impeded its Progress by the attempt."

The speculators of Washington did indeed sincerely desire to "pursue their own fancys & inclinations." But it is not correct that the experience of "the King of Prussia" could be said to be a proof in their favor. This king never had made a worthwhile effort to regulate heights of buildings. Correct it only is that the Prussian king, while he repeatedly and in the strongest terms harangued against urban speculators, had, in reality, by his unbelievably careless law regarding mortgages, created the legal basis for the most ruthless and widespread speculative mortgage racket that ever became prevalent in Europe. (This fantastic catastrophe will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.) This racket dangerously undermined all real estate conditions, urban and rural, in pre-War Germany. And while the 42 billion marks of Germany's largely speculative and semi-fraudulent urban mortgages were wiped out by the post-War monetary inflation, America has since the War permitted her realtors to actually "pursue their own fancys & inclinations": they ruthlessly copied the destructive German mortgage system and have, since 1929, realized the appalling loss of eight billion dollars of "guaranteed" mortgage bonds.

This American economic catastrophe—for which the excuse

of a lost war did not exist—is intimately related to the American attitude of lawyers and legislators who refused to follow Washington's and Jefferson's practical and common sense precept in matters of what, today, is called "zoning." Instead of "forbidding houses to be built beyond a certain height," and "keeping down the price of grounds," as was recommended by Jefferson and as was made a legality by Washington, the New York legislators of 1916 introduced—under the guise of a strictly "constitutional" zoning ordinance—purely fictitious restrictions of building heights. They introduced those limitations which are no restrictions at all but rather veiled invitations to build much higher and more densely than is economically advisable and than could ever be required by population forecasts even wildly exaggerated to the extent of ten or even a hundred times of what would ever be possible. These pseudo-restrictions of 1916 are invitations to speculate irresponsibly in inflated land values calculated on such uneconomic heights of buildings as can never form a reliable basis for the calculation of rents and future incomes.

The effort of the speculators to "pursue their own fancys" was already victorious under George Washington. It seems that it was his relative, the enterprising English East-Indian merchant Thomas Law, who was most insistent on having the President "abolish in toto the regulations about the building." The last utterance of Washington as President of the United States refers to "the dispute with Mr. Law, touching the conveyance of lots." Law had built higher than was permitted and he wished his unlawful buildings to be accepted as a legal fulfillment of his contract. And he had a clever lawyer supporting him. They were stronger than President Washington who, on the last day in office, wrote the following: "With regard to the first" (the dispute with Mr. Law), "however hard and unexpected the case may be as it affects the public interest, and whatever my private opinion on some points may be, I think it safest, and, all things considered, perhaps the best, to let the opinion of the law officer of the government, herewith enclosed, prevail; and I advise it accordingly."

So Washington's presidency ended with an expression of regret over an anti-urbanistic victory, the breakdown of his zoning ordinance designed to insure the orderly growth of his Capital.

This breakdown was made less painful only by the fact that, later, his city failed to grow as rapidly as he had anticipated.

IX. DOES THE FAILURE OF WASHINGTON'S PLAN TESTIFY AGAINST PLANNING?

New York's triumph as a commercial center over George Washington's proposed commercial metropolis on the Potomac seems to have buried for over a century the common sense the first President had incorporated into the plan and development of his city. The commercial triumph of New York seems to have been interpreted as the triumph of the less ambitiously planned city, of a city without proper restrictions of building heights and without proper public real estate policy. The triumph of New York became the triumph of carelessness and laissez-faire. While the city of New York grew and overgrew by leaps and bounds, the city of Washington remained what Tom Moore, the visiting poet from Ireland, described in 1804 as:

> This embryo capital, where fancy sees
> Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees,
> Which second-sighted seers, ev'n now, adorn
> With shrines unbuilt and heroes yet unborn,
> Though naught but woods and Jefferson they see,
> Where streets should run and sages ought to be.

To what a sad extent President Washington's hopes for a capital worthy of his America remained unfulfilled is revealed in the ridicule of such visitors to Washington as Charles Dickens and Henry Adams. In 1842 Dickens, in his "American Notes," called the city of Washington, "a monument to a deceased project with not even a legible inscription to record its departed greatness. . . . Such as it is, it is likely to remain."

Especially valuable for the present purpose are the observations of Henry Adams. In acknowledgment of his architectural writings, he has, later, been made an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects. His impressions shall be referred to frequently in the present volume. He paid his first visit to the American capital, in 1850, when it harbored 40,000 people, almost one-half of whom were negroes, at a time when New York had already 696,000 inhabitants. Henry Adams, then in Washington, ". . . found himself on an earth-road, or village

street, with wheel tracks meandering from the colonnade of the Treasury hard by, to the white marble columns and fronts of the Post Office and Patent Office which faced each other in the distance, like white Greek temples in the abandoned gravel-pits of a deserted Syrian city. Here and there wooden houses were scattered along the streets, as in other Southern villages, but he was chiefly attracted by an unfinished square marble shaft, half a mile below . . . even the effort to build Washington a monument . . . had failed."

It took America a century and two years to build a mere monument to the father of the nation. Pledged by the Continental Congress in 1783, the corner stone laid in 1848, it was not completed until 1884, to be dedicated the following year. President Washington's most practical dream of building a well-designed national metropolis remained forever unrealized. His hopes as to population and size have been fulfilled. He expressed it two years before his death in the following words: "A century hence, if this country keeps united, it will produce a city though not so large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe." But it was New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, not his City of Washington that achieved metropolitan size. Washington remained an insignificant city.

When in 1868 Henry Adams returned there, he wrote: "The village seemed unchanged . . . nothing betrayed growth. As of old, houses were few; rooms fewer. . . . No one seemed to miss the usual comforts of civilization. . . . No literary or scientific man, no artist, no gentleman without office or employment, had ever lived there. It was rural, and its society was primitive. Scarcely a person in it had ever known life in a great city. . . . The happy village was innocent of a club. . . . Washington was a mere political camp, as transient and temporary as a camp-meeting for religious revival . . . the life belonged to the eighteenth century, and in no way concerned education for the twentieth."

Even in the twentieth century the negro slums of Washington, often located in the immediate vicinity of the most pretentious residences were among the worst in the whole country. Henry Adams, man of the world, in 1892 "found himself again in Washington. . . . Changes had taken place there; improvements had

been made; with time—much time—the city might become habitable according to some fashionable standard."

These were Washingtonian impressions experienced by an observer, who "could not stay there a month without loving the shabby town," and who, in fact, loved it more than any other American city. These comments issuing from the pen of an American whose grand and great-grandfathers were presidents of the United States, make it easier to appreciate the following criticism written by an Englishman, a searching social biologist, H. G. Wells (in his book "Social Forces in England and America"; New York, 1924, p. 379 ff.). Wells writes:

"There are many reasons for supposing the national government will always remain a little ineffectual and detached from the full flow of American life, and this notwithstanding the very great powers with which the President is endowed.

"One of these reasons is certainly the peculiar accident that has placed the seat of government upon the Potomac. To the thoughtful visitor to the United States this hiding away of the central government in a minute district remote from all the great centers of thought, population and business activity becomes more remarkable, more perplexing, more suggestive of an incurable weakness in the national government as he grasps more firmly the peculiarities of the American situation.

"I do not see how the central government of that great American nation of which I dream can possibly be at Washington, and I do not see how the present central government can possibly be transferred to any other centre. But to go to Washington, to see and talk to Washington, is to receive an extraordinary impression of the utter isolation and hopelessness of Washington. The National Government has an air of being marooned there or as though it had crept into a corner, to do something in the dark. One goes from abounding movement and vitality of the Northern cities to this sunny and enervating place through the negligently cultivated country of Virginia, and one discovers the slovenly, unfinished promise of a city, avenues lined by negro shanties and patches of cultivation, great public buildings and an immense post office, a lifeless museum, an inert university, a splendid deserted library, a street of souvenir shops, a certain industry of 'seeing Washington,' an idiotic colossal obelisk. It seems an ideal

nest for the tariff manipulator, a festering corner of delegates and agents and secondary people. In the White House, in the time of President Theodore Roosevelt, the present writer found a transitory glow of intellectual activity, the spittoons and glass screens that once made it like a London gin palace had been removed, and the former orgies of handshaking reduced to a minimum. It was, one felt, an accidental phase. The assassination of McKinley was an interruption of the normal Washington process. To this place, out of the way of everywhere, come the senators and congressmen, mostly leaving their families behind them in their states of origin, and hither, too, are drawn a multitude of journalists and political agents and clerks, a crowd of underbred, mediocre men. For most of them there is neither social nor intellectual life. The thought of America is far away, centered now in New York; the business and economic development centres upon New York; apart from the President, it is in New York that one meets the people who matter, and the New York atmosphere that grows and develops ideas and purposes. New York is the natural capital of the United States, and would need to be the capital of any highly organized national system. Government from the District of Columbia is in itself the repudiation of any highly organized national system.

"But government from this ineffectual, inert place is only the most striking outcome of that inflexible constitution the wrangling delegates of 1787–1788 did at last produce out of a conflict of States jealousies. They did their best to render centralisation or any coalescence of States impossible and private property impregnable, and so far their work has proved extraordinarily effective. Only a great access of intellectual and moral vigour in the nation can ever set it aside. And while the more and more sterile millions of the United States grapple with the legal and traditional difficulties that promise at last to arrest their development altogether, the rest of the world will be moving on to new phases."

When more than twenty years ago, H. G. Wells made these observations, he evidently—like so many Americans—was not aware of the fundamental planning implications of the American Constitution, nor of President Washington's shattered hopes for the Federal Capital, nor of the causes that had shattered them.

Neither could he know "the great access of vigour" that Washington, as a center of national leadership, would receive through the World War, and even to a greater degree through the War's aftermath.

Two other considerations seem, perhaps, to have been overlooked by Mr. Wells, when he made his pessimistic prognosis of Washington's future. He did not take into account the rejuvenating effects that aviation, radio and (some day, possibly, television) were to have on the future virility of America's historical capital. Easily accessible airports or gyrostatic discoveries may soon bring Washington, D. C. closer to the citizens of New York and Chicago than the former governing centers of Versailles or Potsdam ever were to the nearby Parisians or Berliners of the nineteenth century. With the help of modern inventions the peripheral American capital in the east may yet govern more efficiently than ever before the continent's growing and westward-bent population.

The new and changed situation was recognized by Mr. Wells when he visited Washington in March, 1935, at the time of the "raucous" radio debates between General Johnson and Senator Huey Long, regarding the great experiment of the National Recovery Administration. Wells then declared: "Washington is now the capital of the world and it is surcharged with nervous energy. America, I think, is in a strategic position for economic and social experimentation, and I believe these debates are part of that experiment." (N. Y. Times, March 13, 1935.)

From the excessive bitterness of these debates we must gather that America has not yet fully reconciled herself to the materialization of George Washington's favorite plan of transforming his own capital city into the directing center of an intelligently planned country. The arguments advanced against the "constitutionality" of national planning (dealt with in the Second Chapter) are among the causes for the incredible delays in the completion of national public works, especially in the field of housing.

Endless wranglings between Washington and New York are apt to perpetuate the old American plight of that miscarried capital described by Wells. The fight between the legal capital, Washington, and the "natural capital," New York, is expressed

in the following rather typical editorial, selected at random. It illustrates—indeed very one-sidedly, but in a popular manner—the bitterness of the fight, although not necessarily the merits of the case. At the very moment when Wells called Washington "the capital of the world" the New York Post (Feb. 8, 1935) published this comment:

"Let it be recalled that the $25,000,000 PWA housing 'appropriation' has been hanging fire for fifteen months. Of the $25,000,000 'allotted' for New York housing, $40,000 has been spent. . . . In spite of the long delay a complete site has not yet been assembled, even in options. Many of the options are lapsing while PWA dawdles. The rehousing fiasco in New York is not the fault of Langdon W. Post, chairman of the New York Housing Authority, but of PWA Administrator Ickes. The one hope that something will be done for a part, at least, of the 500,000 New York families in substandard houses is that authority for housing appropriations will be taken away from Ickes. There is very little on which to base that hope or any other. The housing picture at Washington is still a muddle."

At the same time, an equally bitter criticism of New York's attitude in the matter could be heard in Washington. And while this civic war was being waged, precious time was lost.

No discussion of the capital of America and of the "Metropolis of the West" can end with a comparison of Washington (and its assessed realty valuation of $1.16 billion in 1934) and New York (with a realty assessment of $17.149 billion). The real rival stands further west, in Chicago, the realty assessments of which have been $5 billion in 1928 and $1.55 billion in 1934. In spite of the many new technical achievements which, today, assist his old plan, President Washington's dream of the "grand emporium of the West" situated upon the Atlantic seaboard may, by now, have become obsolescent. "Westward the star of empire takes its way," said John Quincy Adams in his oration at Plymouth, 1802, echoing the old prophecy of Bishop Berkeley who added: "Time's noblest offspring is the last." At present, the star of empire seems to shine over Chicago. This "queen of the middle west" is America's latest offspring of imperial, if not yet "noble" size.

Since 1893 this new metropolis has made important en-

deavors and advances, physical and spiritual, towards the center of America's city planning interest. In the years 1790 to 1810 the position of the United States' center of population was near Washington, D. C. Since that time the center of population has moved steadily westward. At the time of the last Census (1930) it had reached the State of Indiana, and was located not far from Chicago. If America's population grows further, Chicago has a fair chance of becoming the Federal Capital.

In 1930, Chicago's metropolitan district measured 1,119 square miles and contained 4,365,000 people. At the same time George Washington's own "emporium of the West," Washington, D. C., measured only 62 square miles. Even after adding the 423 square miles of suburbs outside the District of Columbia, one finds that the population of the national capital was only 621,000.

In a certain sense the triumph of Chicago may be considered as a triumph of President Washington's western dreams and as a fulfillment of his prophecy of a new empire. But is anything gained by this triumph of the western village over the former "shabby town" on the Potomac? If one looks at the civic and urban developments in Chicago, one must regretfully reply: not yet. Nothing could more glaringly contradict George Washington's dignified ideas of orderly city planning than the chaotic development of Chicago.

Some of the most important facts underlying the unprecedented gambling in Chicago's urban development have recently been assembled in an excellent study "One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago" by Homer Hoyt. We learn that at the beginning of this development, in 1830, the land sold at $1.25 an acre. The same land, or as much of it as was contained within the old city limits was valued at $1,400,000 in 1842, at $126,000,000 in 1856, and at almost nothing a few years later when 98 Illinois banks closed. The land within the present city limits (201 square miles) increased 500 per cent in value from 1862 to 1873, when another crash smashed twenty-one banks and led to street fighting and the death of twenty people among the eighty-nine wounded. The values of the same land decreased from $575 million in 1873 to less than $250 million in 1877.

Another boom and breakdown came before and after the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. In 1909 land values were lower than they were in 1890. The War introduced another boom raising the sales value of the land within the city limits (still 201 square miles) from $2 billion in 1921 to $5 billion in 1928 and resulting by 1932 in foreclosure suits involving more than $2 billion.

The catastrophic chaos of this city in travail engendered, since the seventies, the most earnest efforts of civic defense. These efforts were conducted by such vigorous planners and architects as Root, Sullivan, Burnham, Olmsted Sr., Adler, Jane Addams, Hooker and his City Club, and many others. These efforts produced the systems of parks, boulevards and playgrounds and the building code of Chicago, the World's Fairs of 1893 and 1933–34, and the Chicago Plan of 1908. These variegated achievements have in part been dealt with in the preceding volume (Civic Art, pp. 99 ff. and 133 ff.), where also some of the reasons for their disappointing results have been considered. While highest praise must be given to individual and collective prowess, a much more critical, more informed and more adequately organized effort would have been essential in order to master the unprecedented chaos.

The feat of mastering the American chaos has been achieved, in one sphere of art, by Walt Whitman. American city builders of commensurate stature have not yet arisen. If the super-Babel of the West is contemplated by a startled stranger, it is apt to call forth as bitter a comment as the following one made by the highly qualified French observer Dr. Georges Duhamel who assures us that he writes uninfluenced by passion. To him Chicago appears as the outstanding symbol of what he calls "America, the Menace," the American assault on civilization. He writes:

"Of what use is it in these days to be 'the youngest metropolis in the world'? Hardly risen from the marshes, Chicago already seems old, already too narrow, stifled by its very strength. Though it has only been in existence for a few decades, it already suffers as much as a city that has endured for centuries. It did not foresee the automobile, which stuffs and suffocates it. It has scarcely the years of a grown man, and yet the wave of time

has already submerged and condemned it. . . . Chicago!—the tumor, the cancer, among cities—about which all statistics are out of date when they reach you, and in regard to which every calculation must be done over again, since the figures always change before you finish it! . . . . Chicago comes howling to a standstill on the edge of eternity. Certain fishing villages are said to lie 'in peril of the waves'; I greet with a solemn hymn Chicago, the proud, lying in peril of nothingness." (Georges Duhamel, "America, the Menace," Boston, 1931, p. 79.)

In appreciating this "peril of nothingness" one must be careful not to become a victim of the same optical illusion which seems to have overtaken Dr. Duhamel. He is inclined to see the mortal peril mainly threatening American cities. He believes that European and especially French cities are similarly threatened only in so far as they have become victims of the menace of Americanism. It would be more just to recognize the growing peril everywhere. How seriously, for instance, planlessness and ugliness have ruined many of the better and older, and almost all of the newer parts of Paris, may be judged from the passionate indictment of the French capital, by Jean Giraudoux, a French observer enjoying a reputation at least equal to that of George Duhamel. This French disaster will be dealt with in the following volume.

The urban problem which is so poignant in America is, at the same time, an international one. Economically and spiritually, it is intimately connected with the problematical survival of our entire civilization. City planning and housing—nothing is more in need of the most intense national efforts.

CONCLUSION

The problem of urban and metropolitan planning, in several of its most important aspects, had been recognized at a sufficiently early date by the genius of George Washington. His urgent advice to build a well planned national metropolis and capital in the center of a well planned national system of communications had not been followed. The fine original plan for the city of Washington had been forgotten and—as we shall see—largely ruined. Later—after a bloody war—New York became the American metropolis and the center of a transpor-

tation system much of which however was laid out to serve competing private profitseekers and organizers of national scandals —such as the "Erie Scandal"—rather than the national interest. The combination of the center of population, of national government, and of national education, as planned and desired by President Washington, has not been achieved, either in Washington or in New York. It may some day be realized in Chicago. But Chicago has, as yet, by no means realized George Washington's ideal of the well planned city. Large sections of Chicago, indeed more than one half of that city, must be wiped from the disfigured face of America before the first President's greatest bequest to this nation, the idea of a well planned economic and spiritual metropolis in the center of a well planned system of communications, can bring its blessings to his people.

Can modern America live up to the high standards of planning set by President Washington? Or has he overtaxed the organizing power of his nation? Will America, in matters of city and regional planning, stay behind England from whom she separated herself in order to pursue what promised and, in the beginning, seemed to be a freer and more progressive course?

George Washington's motto was: *Exitus acta probat*, the outcome justifies the deeds. To what extent has Washington's great American experiment been justified by the outcome?

Second Chapter

NATIONAL PLANNING: A BASIC CONCEPTION OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Have you considered the organic compact of the first day of the first year of Independence of The States?
Have you possessed yourself of the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION?
Do you see who have left all feudal processes and poems behind them, and assumed the poems and processes of Democracy?
Walt Whitman (from "Marches Now the War is Over").

The Preamble of the American Constitution states that its objectives are "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Such a glorious national program and obligation so eminently stated did not protect America, in the nineteenth century and especially in the period after the Civil War, from the interested meekness of those who claim that she has no political philosophy of her own, but is bound to the English concept of laissez-faire or "muddling through." This dangerous philosophy (or rather religion) fondly assumed that "nature intends always the good of the human species" and that a supreme "unseen hand" unerringly works for and achieves human happiness even when man persists in remaining the paradoxical blunderer he has proven himself to be.

Such an all too convenient reliance upon "unseen" outside aid was, of course, an ancient idea and had little in common with the new and more self-reliant concepts of young America. This novel fact even the seemingly ever-young Benjamin Franklin had to learn. And the old sceptic probably learned it with great pleasure. In 1787, the culmination of the exhausting difficulties

of the Constitutional Convention of Philadelphia induced the octogenarian to suggest praying to God for help. Alexander Hamilton, half a century younger than Franklin, was the driving power of those days of American construction. His curt answer to Franklin's suggestion was: "We need no foreign aid." Hamilton, even more than Franklin, represented the new race of men themselves planning to shape their fate and their world.

The English religion of laissez-faire, on the contrary, promised a sort of foolproof harmony to be achieved automatically. But the same creed nonchalantly accepted chaos and "bid the devil take the hin'most." Even Adam Smith, the leading prophet of this optimistic complacency, did not hesitate to denounce boldly the foundation of the newly arising modern city: the rapidly growing new machine industry. The great optimist frankly condemned the effects of monotonous machine labor on man's mind, body and sentiments; ruining him as a father, a citizen, and a potential soldier. Foreseeing this modern debacle, even Smith had no confidence whatever that the individual human being could be capable of intelligently recognizing and successfully pursuing his own interests. One gathers from Smith's writings that the only humans blessed with such intelligent capacity, even on a material plane, were the newer and shrewder mercantile and capitalist employer classes, which were able to hoodwink the landlords and laborers. (Cf. J. M. Clark, "Adam Smith and the Spirit of '76," p. 86f.) Such was the wisdom of England's "classical" economy or economic religion.

Smith's chief work, "Wealth of Nations" was published in 1776, the same year in which the American Declaration of Independence held this "truth to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" and "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights."

The fundamental question at issue in this Chapter (and in any American discussion of the proprieties of housing and city planning) is the following: has the American Constitution been written to "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" for all Americans "created equal," or has it been conceived for the profit of the newly arising mercantile and capitalist employer classes, which were able to hoodwink the others? Will America under her new Constitution fulfill the promise

given in its Preamble and in The Declaration of Independence, or will she help, by permitting laissez-faire, the hoodwinking process?

In spite of its ludicrous and un-American aspects (or because of them?) the English faith in laissez-faire has been eagerly advertised as typically American by the American "robber barons" of the "gilded age" and by the economists in their pay. This obsolete English creed seems, to-day, to be quite generally accepted by opponents of the ideas underlying the American Constitution and by those who ignore the planning ideals of the first President (as set forth in the First Chapter). Few people seem to realize how strongly George Washington's far-sighted efforts in the direction of national planning were supported by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

That even the American Constitution was conceived as an expression of these planning efforts, is by no means appreciated by the general public, nor by those would-be "defenders of the Constitution" who have criticised the endeavors in national planning made by such American Presidents as the two Roosevelts, Wilson and even Hoover. Even those who, since 1934, wished to "restrain the nonsense of the Brain Trust" seem to have forgotten that the demand for intelligent Federal care in matters of national commerce and industry and for planful administration of national resources has not been invented by recent "brain trusters" or Bolshevists, but is indeed a basic idea in the American Constitution, an idea asserted for many years by leading American authorities. Two such authorities, a leader in American statesmanship and a prominent historian shall be quoted.

The Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, on May 13, 1908, opened the National Conference on Conservation of Natural Resources, in the White House, with the following statement: "It was in Philadelphia, 1787, that the representatives of all the States met for what was in its original conception merely a waterways conference; but when they had closed their deliberations the outcome was the Constitution which made the States into a nation. *The Constitution of the United States thus grew in large part out of necessity for united action in the wise use of one of our natural resources.* The wise use of *all* of

our natural resources, which are national resources as well, is the great material question of today."

Since this assertion of constitutional Federal obligations was made, the United States has seen the Teapot Dome scandal, the leasing of federal oil reserves to private interests, and the attempts to hand over Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford or to the power trust. These attempts failed, and the federal government's constitutional obligation to "promote the general welfare" survived.

On December 13, 1910, Theodore Roosevelt insisted that "few but students of constitutional history remember that the occasion and the prime reason for the founding of the Constitution was to enable the central government to take charge of all foreign trade and all interstate trade. That was the reason and it was the prime reason why our people reluctantly consented to establish a constitutional government."

Similar interpretations of the reasons for the framing of the American Constitution have been given by other American historians, for instance by Brooks Adams and by Chas. A. Beard (e.g., in his introduction to the book by B. Y. Landis "Must the Nation Plan?" New York, 1934). Professor Beard writes:

"In the decade that witnessed the close of the War for American Independence, the United States, young and inexperienced, was passing through a great crisis in economy and thought. Finances were in disorder, the currency deranged, industry languishing, unemployed in the towns clamoring for work, and the future of the Republic darkened by uncertainty. In this gloomy period, called 'critical' by John Fiske, three parties or factions struggled for possession of public opinion. On the extreme right, one demanded a man on horseback, a monarchy, or an 'iron hand' in some symbolic form. *In the middle was the party of planning and construction,* courageous enough to put forward positive designs for meeting the crisis and daring enough to risk an appeal to the electorate. Far to the left, embittered soldiers of the war, led by Daniel Sheas, were moving in the direction of a popular uprising against a system in which they found only poverty and disillusionment."

And such words as the following give a contemporary description of this critical period. They were coined by the Amer-

ican historian, Mercy Warren, writing in 1787: "The youth of fortune and pleasure are crying out for a Monarchy . . . provided they may be the lordlings who in splendid idleness may riot on the hard earnings of the peasant and mechanic." But, so Professor Beard adds, "the party of the middleground . . . bent to another task. Its members had the temerity to prepare and submit to popular discussion plans for coping with the crisis." They formed what today would be praised or decried as a "brain trust." "Thus they made a fundamental change in the government and economy of the country by planning and appealing, by proposing and inviting support."

If the American Constitution is, indeed, the work of "the party of planning and construction"; if national planning is a basic conception of the American Constitution, and if only a deviation from its spirit can deprive the nation of the benefits of such planning, how is it conceivable that, nevertheless, a common prejudice can relegate national planning from the intentions of the Constitution?

From the very beginning there was some doubt as to the real reasons motivating the framers of the American Constitution. Their purposes were subjected to severe criticism. Even while the Constitution was in the process of formation, a sagacious contemporary, the French Charge d'Affaires in America, Louis Otto, voiced this opinion. Writing to his government in Paris, he said that the alleged necessities of America's foreign and interstate trade and of a united action in constructing national waterways, were mainly "a pretext for introducing innovations" which would fortify the social and political superiority of a few ambitious "gentlemen" against the common people of America.

It was with similar arguments that the establishment of a strong Federal government was long and bitterly opposed by many American patriots and friends of the people. Thomas Jefferson especially feared the oligarchic domination by that incipient aristocracy of wealth which later developed into the much criticized American plutocracy. We will see in a later Chapter with what fervor so highminded a lover and critic of the nation as Walt Witman arraigned this plutocracy for repre-

senting domineering wealth devoid of culture and incapable of building artistically.

A more recent critic, Dr. H. E. Barnes, in his monumental "History of Western Civilization," suggests that America actually "created a constitution to protect property against industrial workers and peasants." This echoes the French criticism of 1787.

The French ambassador's criticism of the motives underlying the American Constitution found another apparent confirmation, recently, in the phrase which Mussolini has, incorrectly, put into the mouth of President F. D. Roosevelt. The Italian dictator wrote (Morning Post, London, July 3, 1933):

" . . . Roosevelt has doubts about the duration of the present economic system. He says (in his book 'Looking Forward') that laissez-faire led the United States to suffer a real oligarchic domination by a few hundred persons to the harm of the entire people, who, after a period of dangerous illusions, saw themselves on the edge of the economic abyss and near a social catastrophe."

Nothing could more closely touch upon the present discussion than this gentle distortion advanced by Mussolini in his effort to make President Roosevelt appear as one of his disciples "moving in the atmosphere of Fascism," towards "the Fascist corporative state" and towards a rather un-American kind of dictatorial state planning. What Roosevelt actually said was this:

"Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that, if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations and run by perhaps a hundred men. But plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already."

In other words, President Roosevelt warned the nation against unwittingly fostering that dangerous concentration of

wealth which, according to Thomas Jefferson, is the most serious impediment to American freedom. It was this concentration which Marx and Engels contended must ultimately bring the "inevitable cataclysm of the capitalistic mode of production."

President F. D. Roosevelt did not claim—it is here essential to state—that the American Constitution was driving America towards such a critical concentration of wealth. What he did suggest was that planlessness and laissez-faire might lead to such concentration. "If the process of concentration goes on," (i.e. if it is permitted to go on) is a translation of "laissez-faire." The Constitution, however, was by no means conceived to foster laissez-faire, but to permit enlightened national planning, which is the opposite of laissez-faire. This Constitution has, of course, no possible connection with Fascism, or other forms of dictatorship. The American Constitution was conceived by men who fought for and won freedom and self-government. The Constitution is, and was intended to be, the expression of high political education and freedom; while Fascism and other forms of dictatorship are coercive dictation over those nations which as the result of centuries of despotic oppression have lost, perhaps forever, their power of political freedom and self-government.

The potent analysis of the American Constitution, in 1787, by the French ambassador was as unjust as Mussolini's remarks about Roosevelt's march towards Fascism, or, according to the criticism of others—of his "march to Moscow." Such criticism became frequent after laissez-faire had permitted Wall Street to undermine the economy of the nation and after President F. D. Roosevelt by a courageous return to the practical principles of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton had restored some balance to the tottering structure. Now almost daily one reads such erroneous accusations as are contained in the following newspaper report: "Former Senator G. H. Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, brands President Roosevelt as an apostle of Karl Marx and his administration as the march to Moscow." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Feb. 13, 1934).

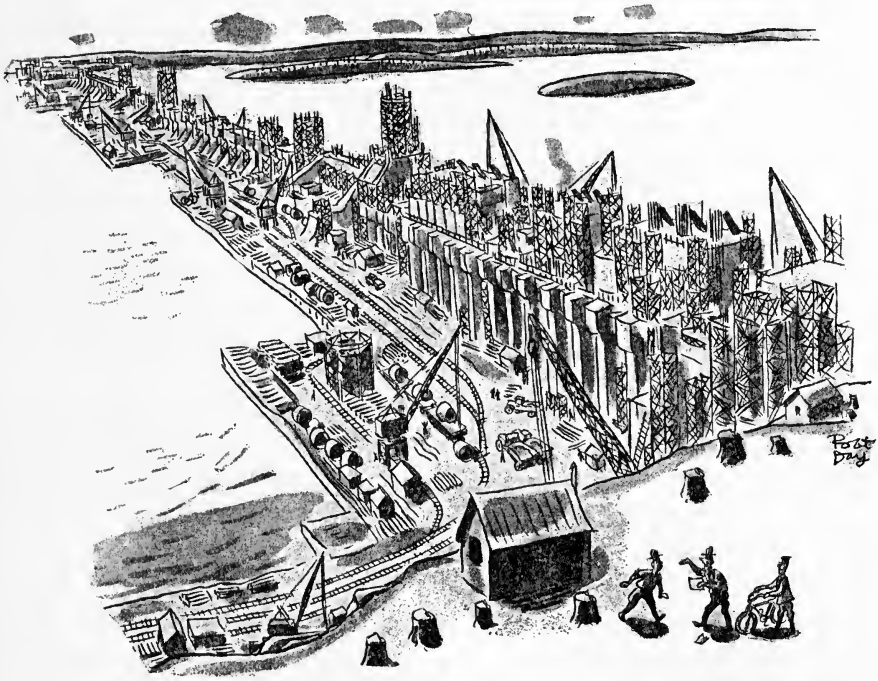
Such criticism was deprecated by Alexander Hamilton (Works III, p. 4) as "raising upon every colorable pretext the cry of danger to liberty, and endeavoring to disseminate among the people false terrors and ill-grounded alarms." Branding

"President Roosevelt's administration as the march to Moscow" betrays an exaggerated deference to modern Russia. Such critics overlook the fact that it was not Roosevelt who marched to Moscow, but Marx, or rather Lenin, who marched to Washington and, indeed, it was Marx himself—three-quarters of a century ago—who became a disciple of the rational humanism embodied in the American Constitution, and of the revolutionary methods as practiced by Washington and again, most impressively for Marx, by Lincoln. America, her Declaration of Independence and her Constitution have started the world on its march towards rationalism and towards the courageous rationalistic experiment in democratic statesmanship. Certain aspects of this historical truth including the potent comparison of the national planning possibilities in Russia and America will be touched upon in some of the later chapters.

It is true that in America because of the interpretations placed by the courts on a written constitution, the political institutions are unusually inflexible. It is also true, as well as even more important (because it is a factor in causing this rigidity) that our institutions, democratic in form, tend to favor a privileged plutocracy. Nevertheless it is sheer defeatism to assume in advance that democratic political institutions are incapable either of further development or of constructive social application. Even as they now exist the forms of representative government are potentially capable of expressing the public will when that will assumes anything like unification. The progress towards such necessary unification must be helped by intelligent criticism and popular education. And there is nothing inherent in the present forms of representative government that forbids their supplementation by political agencies that represent definitely economic social interests, like those of producers and consumers.

It seems unbelievable that men living in this America of Jefferson and Lincoln could give up their ideals without a wholehearted effort to make democracy a living reality. Such a reality involves organization and organization means planning. The reasons for this planning are not abstract or recondite. They are found in the confusion, uncertainty and conflict that mark the modern world. The task is to go forward and not back-

ward until we reach the time when intelligent planning is the rule in social relations and is the social direction. Either we take this road or we admit that the problem of social organization on behalf of human liberty and the flowering of human capacities is insoluble. But the cause of the liberty of the human spirit, the cause of opportunity of human beings for full development of their powers, the cause for which liberalism enduringly stands, is too precious and too ingrained in the human mind and in the American Constitution to be forever obscured.



"My God, Ed! The whole damned thing's been declared unconstitutional!"

FROM A DRAWING BY ROBERT DAY FOR "THE NEW YORKER" OF JUNE 8, 1935, AFTER THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT AGAINST THE N. R. A.

Third Chapter

HAMILTON FAVORED NATIONAL ACTION IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC WORKS, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The phrase "public works" shall be used here in the sense inspired by Alexander Hamilton. As we will see later he declared: "to provide roads and bridges is within the direct purview of the Constitution." He said: "Aqueducts and canals would also be fit subjects of pecuniary aid from the general government." And Hamilton recommended that the Federal government imitate European "institutions supported by public contributions which eminently promote agriculture and the arts"; ("arts" meaning here industry). This enumeration does not complete the list of "internal improvements" which Hamilton wanted the Federal government to promote. The list will be extended at the end of the chapter.

This short enumeration shows, however, that national planning for public works was in special favor with Hamilton. We will see in the next chapter that such national planning was also in special favor with Jefferson. This fact seems to be widely ignored; although it is, today, of highest importance to emphasize that the two statesmen who generally are considered to be the founders of the two parties invigorating America's political affairs were enthusiastic advocates of Federal planning. Today, under a Democratic administration, it is true that "the opposition party, the Republican, which has continued in our public life the spirit and the ideals of Hamilton and which has uniformly treated the name of Thomas Jefferson with more or less unconcern, is now vigorously preaching his doctrines and calling upon men to return to their defense and reëstablishment." (Cf. Nicholas M. Butler, "Is Thomas Jefferson the Forgotten Man?" Sept. 1, 1935.)

There was much greater harmony than is generally realized between the two great opponents, Hamilton and Jefferson, especially in regard to national action in the field of public works.

If their followers would also seriously practise their masters' teachings in this matter, the two opposing parties might even be compelled to merge into one huge organization for the purpose of bringing about comprehensive internal improvements and urbanism.

It is true that the anti-federalist Jefferson greatly feared the threatening danger in the growth of cities. He feared them even more than did the federalist George Washington who declared: "The tumultuous populace of large cities is ever to be dreaded." Such warnings seem somewhat unjust when one remembers that Washington's and Hamilton's most noteworthy achievement, the federation of States under a strong Constitution, could never have been realized without the help of the humbler townsmen of New York. In his chapter "New York, the Federalist City," Theodore Roosevelt underlines this fact when he says:

"The townsmen were quicker witted, and politically more far-sighted and less narrow-minded than the average country folk of that day. The artisans, mechanics, and merchants of New York were enthusiastically in favour of the Federal constitution, and regarded Hamilton as their especial champion. To assist him and the cause they planned a monster procession, while the State convention was still sitting. Almost every representative body in the city took part in it." Here Roosevelt gives a long and entertaining description of this marvelous civic pageant of 1786. He then continues: "For the first year of government under the new constitution, New York was the Federal capital. It was thither that Washington journeyed to be inaugurated President with stately solemnity, April 30, 1789." The American Union and its Constitution are largely created by the cities.

Closely allied with George Washington in his desire for a broad interpretation of the Constitution was, of course, the Federalist par excellence, Alexander Hamilton, "the most brilliant American statesman who ever lived," as Theodore Roosevelt described him.

Hamilton's attitude in the matter of national planning and public works is especially interesting since the present Republican party claims to be inspired by him, and since this party (which, according to the dictionaries, has "generally been characterized

by a wide interpretation of the Constitution and the endorsement of internal reform") today opposes the wide interpretation attempted by President F. D. Roosevelt.

Hamilton appeared as an advocate of Federal planning when he presented, in seventeen categories, a survey of the resources and the prospects for manufacturing in America and suggestions as to the means; a statement so noble and of such proportions as has seldom been furnished to any government. In his sharp criticism of Jefferson's Presidential Message of 1801 Hamilton writes:

"Considering the vast variety of humors, prepossessions and localities which, in the much diversified composition of these States, militate against the weight and authority of the General Government, if union under that government is necessary, it can answer no valuable purpose to depreciate its importance in the eyes of the people. It is not correct; because to the care of Federal Government are confined directly, those great, general interests on which all particular interests materially depend." These "general interests" are, according to Alexander Hamilton, foreign relations, regulation of money and national finances, foreign and interstate commerce, and "the prosperity of agriculture and manufactures, as intimately connected with that commerce, and as depending in a variety of ways upon the agency of the General Government."

Hamilton concludes: "In fine, it is the province of the General Government to manage the greatest number of those concerns in which the provident activity and exertion of government are of most importance to the people; and we have only to compare the state of our country antecedent to the establishment of the Federal Constitution, with what has been since, to be convinced that the most operative causes of public prosperity depend upon that Constitution."

Regarding industry Hamilton says (also in his paper criticizing Jefferson's Message, Works VIII, p. 263): "In matters of industry human enterprise ought, doubtless, to be left free in the main; not fettered by too much regulation; but practical politicians know that it may be beneficially stimulated by prudent aids and encouragements on the part of the government. This is proved by numerous examples too tedious to be cited; examples

which will be neglected only by indolent and temporizing rulers, who love to loll in the lap of epicurean ease, and seem to imagine that to govern well, is to amuse the wondering multitude with sagacious aphorisms and oracular sayings."

And in favor of public works, of borrowing for public works, and of "promoting agriculture and the arts" Hamilton further expresses himself: "The improvement of the communications between the different parts of our country is an object well worthy of the national purse, and one which would abundantly repay to labor the portion of its earnings, which may have been borrowed for the purpose. *To provide roads and bridges is within the direct purview of the Constitution.* In many parts of the country, especially in the Western Territory, a matter in which the Atlantic States are equally interested, *aqueducts and canals* would also be fit subjects of pecuniary aid from the general government. In France, England, and other parts of Europe, institutions exist supported by public contributions, which eminently *promote agriculture and the arts.* Such institutions merit imitation by our government; they are of the number of those which directly and sensibly recompense labor for what it lends to their agency."

The phrase "public works" under modern conditions must be given a wide interpretation. The term "public works," therefore, shall be used in the present volume so as to comprise not only all works done at public expense, but also such institutions or buildings and engineering works as may be managed or constructed entirely or partly at private expense but will serve such large parts of the country's population as to give them a public or semi-public character, and require public supervision and—alas too often:—Federal money. Public works therefore may be roads, bridges, aqueducts, canals, irrigation systems, lighthouses, parks, sewers, dams, power stations, public buildings, railroads, subways and many other works, but also—and prominently so—housing, especially, low-cost housing "for the greatest good of the greatest number."

Hamilton's recommendation of the European example to be imitated sounds like a prophecy of our times when the European governmental institutions supporting low-cost housing "emi-

nently promote agriculture and the arts," and "are of those which directly or sensibly recompense labor for what it lends to their agency."

It, furthermore sounds as if Hamilton had wished to specifically defend President F. D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" against the Republican accusation of "undue multiplication of offices and officers." This very accusation had also been directed by President Jefferson, against his august predecessors, Presidents Washington and Adams. Hamilton's response to Jefferson was this:

"It must happen to every government that, in the hurry of a *new plan* some agents will occasionally be employed who may not be absolutely necessary; and this, where there is every inclination to economy. Similar things may have happened under our past administration, but any competent judge who will take the trouble to examine, will be convinced that there is no just cause for blame in this particular."

Hamilton viewed the Constitution as a structure which requires continuous enlargement and strengthening. In warning America against overlooking this vital necessity Hamilton used dynamic *architectural* terms speaking of the Constitution as if it were a fort or a cathedral tower that must be built ever stronger and higher or else fall into ruins. He wrote (Jan. 5, 1800):

"The dread of unpopularity is likely to prevent the erection of additional buttresses to the Constitution, a fabric" (i.e., a structure) "which can hardly be stationary, and which will retrograde if it cannot be made to advance."

Hamilton again uses architectural terms when he criticizes (Jan. 28, 1802) President Thomas Jefferson for being "far more partial to the State Government" and for having a "disposition to pull down rather than to build up our Federal edifice."

It almost sounds as if Hamilton had written for readers of the year 1936 rather than for those of 1791 when he says in his "Vindication of the Funding System" (Works, vol. III, p. 4f):

"When they (i.e. the well-meaning friends of the government) came to witness the exercise of those (Federal) authorities upon a scale more comprehensive than they had contemplated, and to hear the incendiary comments of those who will ever be on

the watch for pretexts to brand the proceedings of the government with imputations of usurpation and tyranny, and the factions and indiscreet clamors of those who, in and out of the Legislature, *with too much levity, torture the Constitution into objections to measures which they deem inexpedient;* it was to have been expected, I say, that some such men might . . . add weight to an opposition . . . the real objects of which they would abhor."

Thus Hamilton branded the "torturing of the Constitution into objections" against Federal action.

President Washington closely adhered to Hamilton's interpretation of the Constitution. And Washington's and Hamilton's constructive interpretation of the Constitution, later, has been adhered to by America's great Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, who, according to Beard, "from 1801 to 1835, never failed to exalt the doctrines of Hamilton above the claims of the states. . . . In the case of McCulloch vs. Maryland he construed generously the words 'necessary and proper' contained in the Constitution in such a way as to confer upon Congress a wide range of 'implied powers' in addition to its express powers. . . . With respect to the means by which the powers that the Constitution confers are to be carried into execution, John Marshall said, Congress must be allowed the discretion which 'will enable that body to perform the highest duties assigned to it, in the manner most beneficial to the people.' In short, the Constitution of the United States is not a strait-jacket but a flexible instrument vesting in the national legislature full authority to meet national problems as they arise. In delivering this opinion Marshall used language almost identical with that employed by Lincoln when, standing on the battlefield of Gettysburg, he declared that 'government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' "

The depth, however, to which the ulterior folly of the opponents of the American Constitution could sink, has been touched by John C. Calhoun. During the first two thirds of his life he accepted the constitutional ideas of Alexander Hamilton and George Washington. Calhoun, then, eloquently advocated the Federal building of roads to draw the states together; he advocated protection of manufacture and a national bank. Later,

however, he made himself the philosopher and advocate of secession and of an alleged right of every individual state to veto whatever Federal law might appear unpalatable to local interests. This was the great orator Calhoun who, in 1839, devoted the bulk of his most ponderous speech to showing how everything done by Alexander Hamilton and his school was a violation of the Constitution. Following in Calhoun's footsteps, the Democrats, in their platform of 1840, highly resolved that "the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power . . . to carry on a general system of internal improvement."

This was intended to be a death warrant for Federal public works. The party's declaration was repeated every four years, until its implication led to the disastrous war of 1862.

Hamilton, who had been the driving power in achieving the Constitution did—according to these rebellious interpreters—not understand its intentions correctly. These "democrats" claimed that only Jefferson, who was in Paris while the Constitution was being framed, could be an infallible oracle on the intentions of the Constitution.

And what did Jefferson say about the desirability of Federal public works and about "a general system of internal improvements"?

Of the two projected canals shown here cutting through Cape Cod, only one was to be executed.

Fourth Chapter

JEFFERSON'S COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR NATIONAL PUBLIC WORKS

The opponents of national planning for public works like to refer to the fact that neither Thomas Jefferson nor James Madison shared that opinion according to which the Constitution originally authorized the Federal Congress to legislate united action in the form of public works benefiting the whole nation. Jefferson's attitude in this matter is especially important today, because he is the founder of what is now called the Democratic Party and because the most outspoken opponents of the recent strides towards national planning and public works call themselves "old line Jeffersonian Democrats." They "brand the present Washington leadership as a mixture of frenzied finance, wet-nursing and Communism. . . . We, who are opposing these things, represent the true Jeffersonian Democrats," (such terms were used by Eugene Talmadge, Governor of Georgia, and quoted by the N. Y. Evening Journal, April 22, 1935).

Even the Federal building of piers, lighthouses and ports for the U. S. Navy appeared to Jefferson as an "infraction" of the Constitution. And similarly, President Madison made his Farewell Address (March 3, 1817) a Veto Message directed against national public works. President Monroe, in 1817, and Van Buren, in 1837, followed this fatal example. The Constitution, in Jefferson's and Madison's opinion, failed to bestow the necessary power to perform even the most indispensable public works.

But those who so insistently pointed out Jefferson's attitude could have restored his claim to common sense by adding that he was greatly in favor of Congress' being given, by means of a special amendment of the Constitution, every power essential to the execution of public works. The Constitution had been framed during Jefferson's absence in France and evidently seemed to him incomplete in an important aspect. Since 1805 it had been one of President Jefferson's fondest wishes to liberate con-

siderable parts of the national revenue which might, "by a just repartition among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied, in time of peace, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State." (Jefferson's second Inaugural, March 4, 1805. Similar passages can be found in Jefferson's Annual Messages of 1807 and 1808.) Jefferson's ambitions in the field of public works grew constantly. Under his administration the plans of George Washington were continued and even surpassed. And this great passion of President Jefferson found the necessary response within his nation. Henry Adams tells us (in "Administration of Thomas Jefferson," IV, 364f.):

"March 2, 1807, the Senate adopted a Resolution calling upon the President for a plan of internal improvements. April 4, 1808, Gallatin made an elaborate Report, which sketched a great scheme of public works. Canals were to be cut through Cape Cod, New Jersey, Delaware, and from Norfolk to Albemarle Sound,—thus creating an internal water-way nearly the whole length of the coast. Four great Eastern rivers—the Susquehanna, Potomac, James, and Santee, or Savannah—were to be opened to navigation from tide-water to the highest practicable points, and thence to be connected by roads with four corresponding Western rivers,—the Alleghany, Monongahela, Kanawha, and Tennessee,—wherever permanent navigation could be depended upon. Other canals were to connect Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario with the Hudson River; to pass round Niagara and the Falls of the Ohio and to connect other important points. A turnpike road was to be established from Maine to Georgia along the coast. To carry out these schemes Congress was to pledge two million dollars of the annual surplus for ten years in advance; and the twenty millions thus spent might be partly or wholly replaced by selling to private corporations the canals and turnpikes as they should become productive; or the public money might at the outset be loaned to private corporations for purposes of construction."

So we find, in 1808, a Federal plan of internal improvements of such magnitude that the present popular term "five year plan" would hardly do justice to it. It was a ten year plan to cost twenty million dollars at a time when conditions were still

primitive and the population of the United States constituted only 6 million people. The Federal Government between 1800 and 1810 had receipts of 13.3 million dollars as a yearly average. In 1927 or 1928 the Federal Government's receipts were over 4 billions, or over 300 times what the receipts were when Jefferson made his 20 million dollar plan. In order to rival President Jefferson, therefore, President Hoover would have had to make a plan costing at least six billion dollars. But, then, Jefferson was compelled to be parsimonious because the war with England was imminent, while Hoover, on the other hand, was in the midst of plenty. He could have doubled and trebled—in proportion—what Jefferson planned and would thereby have saved the country billions. The national wealth has been calculated (by the National Industrial Conference Board) to have depreciated from 360.1 billion dollars in 1928 to 247.3 billions in 1932. The appalling depreciation resulting from the loss of potential income of millions of workers and thousands of factories, may be visualized by the figures 83 and 39.4 billions, representing, respectively, the national income in 1929 and 1932.

Again President F. D. Roosevelt is in still another situation. He did not find the country in the midst of plenty, as Mr. Hoover did, but rather in the midst of an exigency equal, in danger, to the World War (and economically much more crucial), an exigency in which money had ceased to be a consideration.

Turning back to Thomas Jefferson's ten-year-plan we learn that "A national university was intended to crown a scheme so extensive in its scope that no European monarch, except perhaps the Czar of Russia, could have equalled its scale. Jefferson cherished it as his legacy to the nation—the tangible result of his 'visionary' statesmanship. . . . He spoke of it as 'the fondest wish of his heart.'"

Thus has Jefferson's great plan been described by Henry Adams who appreciated the kinship between the vast possibilities of Russia and America. In another one of his carefully written books, the same author referring to Jefferson's same ten-year-plan, said:

"Naturally the improvements thus contemplated were so laid out as to combine and satisfy local interests. The advantage which Mr. Gallatin proposed to gain was that of combining these

interests in advance, so that they should coöperate in one great system instead of wasting the public resources in isolated efforts. He wished to fix the policy of government for at least ten years, and probably for an indefinite time, on the whole subject of internal improvements, as he had already succeeded in fixing it in regard to the payment of debt. By thus establishing a complete national system to be executed by degrees, the whole business of annual chaffering and log-rolling for local appropriations in Congress, and all its consequent corruptions and inconsistencies, were to be avoided." (From "The Life of Albert Gallatin" by Henry Adams, p. 352.)

Unfortunately the preparations for the war against England interfered with the execution of Jefferson's plan. But (so Henry Adams concludes) "had Congress been able or willing to follow promptly Jefferson's advice, many difficulties would have been overcome before the year 1810 which seemed even twenty years later to bar the path of national progress."

Ten years afterwards the ambitious plan of Jefferson was renewed and favorably voted upon by both houses of Congress, but—as mentioned before—was vetoed by President Madison and again by President Monroe.[1] The vetoes by Madison and Monroe were especially regrettable due to the fact that the situation of the Federal finances had greatly improved. On October 27, 1817 the former Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, received a letter from his successor, Secretary of the Treasury W. H. Crawford, who said: "If, then, we do not involve ourselves in a

[1] When President Monroe, in 1817 vetoed a bill authorizing national road building, Jefferson wrote to Albert Gallatin (June 16, 1817): "You will have learned that an act for internal improvement, after passing both Houses, was negatived by the President. The act was founded, avowedly, on the principle that the phrase in the constitution which authorizes Congress 'to lay taxes, to pay the debts and provide for the general welfare,' was an extension of the powers specifically enumerated to whatever would promote the general welfare; and this, you know, was the Federal doctrine. Whereas, our tenet ever was, and, indeed, it is almost the only landmark which now divides the federalists from the republicans," (today called Democrats) "that Congress had not unlimited powers to provide for the general welfare, but was restrained to those specifically enumerated; and that, as it was never meant they should provide for that welfare but by the exercise of the enumerated powers, so it could not have been meant they should raise money for purposes which the enumeration did not place under their action; consequently, that the specification of powers is a limitation of the purposes for which they may raise money. I think the passage and rejection of this bill a fortunate incident. *Every State will certainly concede the power; and this will be a national confirmation* of the grounds of appeal to them, and will settle forever the meaning of this phrase, which by a mere grammatical quibble, has countenanced the General Government in a claim of universal power."

Spanish war, we shall have a superabundance of revenue, unless we engage extensively in a system of internal improvements. I do not know whether Mr. Monroe entertains the constitutional scruples which governed Mr. Madison in the rejection of the bill on that subject on the 3d day of March last. . . . you will perceive we are on the brink of the enviable situation which Mr. Jefferson supposed us to be in about the close of his Presidential career, viz., of finding out new objects of expenditure, or of reducing the revenue to that at present authorized by law."

Viewing the revival of his own large scale planning of 1807 ten years later under Madison and Monroe, Ex-President Jefferson persisted in his former opinion that the Constitution was in need of an amendment. Referring to public works to be undertaken by the Federal Government, Jefferson wrote on April 4, 1824: "It seems to me it would be safer and wiser to ask an express grant of the power . . . It would reconcile everyone, if limited by the proviso, that the Federal proportion of each State should be expended within the State. With this single security against partiality and corrupt bargaining, I suppose *there is not a state, perhaps not a man in the Union, who would not consent to add this to the powers of the general government.*"

Perhaps Mayor La Guardia of New York was not aware of this precedent established by the author of the Declaration of Independence when he clothed Jefferson's wish in juicier and more modern phraseology: "I should suggest to President Roosevelt that he ask the Governors of all the States to have their Legislatures in session on a certain date so that any constitutional amendments can be adopted and this whining stopped"; (Cf. N. Y. Times, Nov. 15, 1934). This was a truly Jeffersonian suggestion. Speaking thus before the advisory council of the Committee on Economic Security in Washington, Mayor La Guardia urged a comprehensive Federal enterprise in the field of low-cost housing, improvement of street crossings and transportation and other public works, the necessity of which, today, seems as self-evident as did the building of lighthouses to Jefferson.

Jefferson exhorted that we "cherish every measure which may foster our brotherly union, and perpetuate *a constitution of government destined to be the primitive and precious model of*

what is to change the condition of man over the globe"; (April 4, 1824). On January 1, 1826, Jefferson repeated his recommendation of amending the Constitution and added: "If in this state of things we can make such a compromise, we shall save and at the same time improve our Constitution." Indeed, in a modern nation, a constitution that would preclude national planning for public works, could not be saved.

In his enthusiasm for public works capable of "changing the condition of man," Jefferson (June 13, 1817) had already written to the famous geographer and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt: "In our America we are turning to public improvements. Schools, roads and canals are everywhere either in operation or contemplation. The most gigantic undertaking yet proposed is that of New York, for drawing the waters of Lake Erie into the Hudson. The distance is 353 miles, and the height to be surmounted 661 feet."

To appreciate this truly gigantic American enterprise of surmounting 661 feet, a paranthesis may remind the reader of the fact that not long before the writing of Jefferson's letter Napoleon I had abandoned the plan of building the Suez canal because his engineers had reported that the level of the Red Sea was 30 feet higher than that of the Mediterranean, an error which remained undisputed until 1840. Thus the building of the Suez canal was delayed until long after the death of Goethe (1832), Humboldt's friend, who had expressed the wish of living long enough to see the completion of the canals of Suez and Panama, the two projects this great man enthusiastically commended. It is no accident that, exactly contemporary with Goethe (1749–1832), another advocate of public works, the English philosopher and "utilitarian" Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) proposed plans for the canals of Suez and Panama. This same Bentham deeply influenced modern statesmen and, in all likelihood, also Lincoln, as we shall see later. Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) anticipated Bentham and Goethe in his enthusiasm for public waterways. In his letter to Humboldt, Jefferson continued thus about the Erie canal:

"The expense will be great, but its effect incalculably powerful in favor of the Atlantic States. Internal navigation by steamboats is rapidly spreading through all our States, and

navigation by sails and oars will ere long be looked back to as among the curiosities of antiquity. We count much, too, on its efficacy for harbor defence; . . . We consider the employment of the contributions which our citizens can spare, after feeding and clothing, and lodging themselves comfortably, as more useful, more moral, and even more splendid than that preferred by Europe, of destroying human life, labor and happiness."

Evidently Jefferson considered it a matter of course that citizens of the United States should offer contributions or pay taxes to the Government only "after feeding, and clothing, and lodging themselves comfortably." This opinion proffered by the author of the Declaration of Independence is a valuable argument in favor of tax exemption for low cost housing and for President F. D. Roosevelt's announcement that the American Government will not permit its citizens to starve. The previous chapter mentioned the sometimes surprising harmony between the two opponents, Jefferson and Hamilton regarding policies of building and public works. It may be here added that Hamilton, in his proposal for a "Building Tax" wanted "cottages inhabited by paupers to be excepted" (Works, III, p. 314). Slum dwellers should pay no taxes.

Notwithstanding his jealous advocacy of the rights of the individual states, Thomas Jefferson could not but be a very advanced advocate of a modern constructive and even revolutionary interpretation of the Federal Constitution. It was Jefferson himself who in drafting the Declaration of Independence had introduced the new conception of the "pursuit of Happiness." Samuel Adams and other followers of the English philosopher Locke had been content with the classical English enumeration of life, liberty and property. But in Jefferson's hands the English doctrine experienced a revolutionary shift. His substitution of "pursuit of Happiness" for "property" is claimed by American historians to mark a break with the Whiggish doctrine of property rights that John Locke had bequeathed to the English middle classes, and the substitution of a broader sociological concept. (Cf. V. L. Parrington, "The Colonial Mind," p. 344.) It must not be forgotten, however, that Locke himself, at times, goes so far as to designate as property everything that is included in "life, liberties and estates." The individual has prop-

erty in himself and in his life and activities. Property in this broad sense is that which political society should protect. (Cf. Locke's treatise on "Civil Government.")

But it was Jefferson who stated this conception with new vigor and clarity. It was the substitution of "pursuit of Happiness" for "property" that gave to the great American document and to practical politics the note of idealism (previously found only in philosophical pamphlets) so perennially human and vital which was to make its international appeal.

The words "pursuit of Happiness" signified far more than a political gesture to evoke popular support; they were a personification of Jefferson's deep conviction. His life thenceforth was dedicated to the work of providing such political machinery for America as should guarantee to all the enjoyment of this inalienable right. We shall later see that no one more deeply than Lincoln appreciated Jefferson's revolutionary attitude.

The intimate connection between great social statesmanship and social architecture, national planning and city planning, has never become more manifest than in the mind of Thomas Jefferson. Aside from introducing the "pursuit of Happiness" into the constitutional thinking of the world, and aside from being painfully aware of the dangers resulting from urban slums, Thomas Jefferson was at the same time the designer of the wonderfully planned university grounds of Virginia and the advocate of a surpassingly designed national capital.

Nothing is more detrimental to the "pursuit of Happiness" than urban congestion in expensive, ill-ventilated tenements upon land over-valued by speculators, ill-advised investors and tax assessors. It even interferes with "Life and Liberty," let alone with the "pursuit of Happiness." Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends (to secure the inalienable rights of Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness) it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." In other words: whenever the "Form of Government" decays into a condition encouraging ill-construed property rights or those danger-

ous aberrations of "capitalism" which make it impossible for "citizens to feed, clothe and lodge themselves comfortably," then the Declaration of Independence establishes "the Right of the People to alter or to abolish this Form of Government and to institute new Government." And in doing this Jefferson wished the citizens to consider the "pursuit of Happiness" as a more important right than the right of property.

Today America has reached the stage of development most dreaded by Thomas Jefferson. Much as he feared the ambitions of a plutocracy, he quite as much feared the creation of a proletariat. "The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor." (Jefferson's Writings, Vol. III, p. 269).

Jefferson was convinced that American Liberty would come to an end when the people were piled up on one another, in big cities as in the Old World and were dependent upon the caprices of trade. Never were these caprices more vicious than they are now. Compared with the year 1929 the United States, in 1932, lost 3570 million dollars of export trade. And farming and urban communities suffered equally from these degrading whims. The big cities must pay for keeping the farmers alive during the time when they cannot sell their products. The States containing big cities must make to the "processing" farmers of other States compensatory payments supplementing their vanishing market returns. Thus New York State pays over 22 percent of all the Federal taxes, while New York farmers receive only about one-sixth of one percent of the farm benefits paid out by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This contradicts Thomas Jefferson's demand that, in financing national public works by taxes levied in the States, "the Federal portion of each State (each state's taxes) should be expended within the State."

Jefferson had gone so far as to declare that the mobs of the great cities were panderers to vice and necessarily makers of revolution. However, it was this same Jefferson and his followers who for their democratic views were regarded by the New England aristocrats as "a Jacobinical rabble." And in addition, it was a prominent scion of the New England aristocracy, John

Quincy Adams, who, at an early date affiliated himself with the Jeffersonians. As President of the United States he fought for the preservation of the public domain as a great national treasury of resources to be wisely and honestly managed with a view of obtaining revenues for roads, canals, and education in letters, arts, and sciences. "He anticipated by nearly a hundred years some of the most enlightened measures of conservation" (Chas. A. Beard).

Fifth Chapter

LINCOLN APPRAISES PROPERTY. SLAVES AND SLUMS

It has been pointed out that America's slow progress in matters of public works and national planning, and in securing public control of anarchical property rights, slums, disastrous building and zoning ordinances, has stout defenders who believe themselves to be patriotic. Irony of fate has led some of these champions of chaos to call for help upon Abraham Lincoln, "the great liberal," as he is customarily eulogised at the annual dinners in honor of his birthday. And as Lincoln was the head of the then newly created Republican party, it has today become the practice among prominent members of this party to invoke "the great Republican," when they feel duty bound to oppose successful Democrats and the national policies of the "New Deal."

The defendants of governmental non-interference claim that Lincoln was a liberal, that liberalism is identical with non-interference and that everyone's liberty to follow unhampered the dictates of his financial interests is a fundamental part of that true and democratic Americanism which is best represented—so they maintain—by the sublime figure of Abraham Lincoln. Here are two typical examples illustrating the current efforts to make Lincoln the champion of a crusade against the national policies of the New Deal:

"We need a crusade for the return of fundamentals . . . We should guide ourselves by the experience of Abraham Lincoln during the time of a national crisis." Thus argued U. S. Senator L. J. Dickinson, Republican, who has, at times, been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate (cf. N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Feb. 13, 1934). And one year later, the Republican Ex-President Hoover also chose Lincoln's birthday for a renewed protest against the "New Deal" and said: "Lincoln was a great Liberal . . . Whatever violates, infringes or abrogates fundamental American Liberty, violates the life principle of

America as a nation. So I feel, Lincoln would judge and express in illuminating phrases were he with us" (N. Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1935).

It happens that Lincoln is probably the least fitting patron saint of laissez-faire who could have been found. No one, indeed, is less suitable to personify the resistance against national and saner control of capital and property rights. It was he who most indignantly denied the possibility of dealing with capital and property independent of their deep ethical implications. It was Lincoln who angrily refused "to assume that there is no moral question about it, but that it is altogether a matter of dollars and cents" (Sept. 16, 1859); or that "the public mind could be so far debauched as to square with this policy of caring not at all and to consider this as merely a question of dollars and cents" (March 6, 1860). It was this same non-commercial attitude of Lincoln's which was reiterated by his latest successor: President F. D. Roosevelt when he said (in his address at the unveiling of the Samuel Gompers, the labor leader's, Memorial at Washington, Oct. 8, 1933): "There are some who think in terms of dollars and cents instead of in terms of human lives."

Nothing more seriously hinders our fight against present and future slums than a widespread debauch of the kind referred to by Lincoln. Today, property owners, legislators and judges too readily think in terms of dollars and cents rather than in terms of those true American principles laid down by Jefferson and Lincoln. We should think in terms of human lives which are greatly endangered by the presence of the slum and the laws creating it.

Lincoln belonged to the Republican and therefore to the "anti-Jefferson" party. But he professed to be a sincere admirer of Thomas Jefferson "who (as Lincoln expressed it) in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a mere revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression"; (April 6, 1859).

Lincoln's remark referred, of course, to Jefferson's revolu-

tionary feat of having introduced into the Declaration of Independence the great American concept of the "pursuit of Happiness," instead of the conventional and conservative English term "property" which one would expect to find in this document. (See Fourth Chapter.)

Today, the question arises: is this American pursuit of Happiness possible in the slum? Can happiness be pursued, firstly, if American laws permit residential property to become slum, secondly, if municipal building or zoning regulations and tax assessments practically enforce the abuse of property rights and the production of slums, and, thirdly, if American wages (not to mention the wagelessness of the unemployed) force millions to live in these legal slums? Are not these millions simply the unhappy victims of what Lincoln calls "reappearing tyranny and oppression" and what Hamilton (as we shall see in the Sixteenth Chapter) calls "feudal rights to be abolished in all the remaining vestiges" and to be denied as "impracticable" compensation?

To appreciate the fundamental and even revolutionary importance of this question one must remember that the number of these victims in the United States amounts to about forty millions. (This calculation and other widely divergent ones will be examined more closely in the Thirteenth Chapter). Do the crushing facts revealed by this figure indicate the final defeat of Jefferson's principles and of American ideals?

But Lincoln exceeded Jefferson. Lincoln even thought that a mere weariness of the existing form of government justified its overthrow and declared: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it"; (March 4, 1861).

Today, there is this consideration: To what extent has an American slum-dweller the right or the duty to grow weary of ruining his health and happiness by living in a slum? And since the existing laws encourage or tolerate the slums and their perpetuation, and since the existing scales of wages and the "credit structure of the country" force millions of human beings to live in slums, is it the duty and the right of these millions of Ameri-

can citizens "to overthrow the government" (or even to consider any enterprise which tends towards that dangerous end)? These and similar questions are often and vividly discussed when, for instance, anti-socially-minded slum-owners wax cynical and point out that such American rent strikes—as those so powerfully described in "The Nation" May 22, 1935, and in "The New Republic," p. 31, August 21, 1935—were, so far, either not very extensive or not very successful. Such cynics have disdainfully reminded those who peacefully advocate better housing and more Christian standards of living, of the "Communist Manifesto" in which Marx declared: "The communistic ends" (including better housing) "can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Before discussing the fact that Lincoln, when it came to forcible action, was more radical than Marx, serious attention must be given to the implications of Lincoln's refusal to think in terms of dollars and cents rather than in terms of human lives.

Lincoln calculated the market value of all American slaves to amount to only "two thousand millions of dollars" (instead of four thousand millions as their value has been computed by modern historians). But even two billions was a huge sum. Lincoln estimated that "about one sixth of the whole population of the United States are slaves." The people of the United States in Lincoln's time, were less rich than they are today and numbered, slaves and freemen together, only 31.4 millions, one-fourth of the present population. A financial item of national significance corresponding—in relation to the increased number of people and to the decreased purchasing power of the dollar—to two billion dollars in Lincoln's time would easily be the equivalent of twenty billions today. Such a sum is probably larger than the present value of all American slum property combined, even if this value is estimated by the tax assessors, or by the slum owners themselves with their occasional exaggeration and blindness to the anti-social character and to the requirements of amortization of their deteriorating property.

In other words: the national and financial importance of the slave problem in Lincoln's time was relatively equal to that of the slum problem in our time, although of course in *absolute* numbers the masses suffering from the slum today are much

larger than the masses who suffered from slavery. There were, in 1860, only about five million American slaves, (one-sixth of the population), while it has been mentioned that, today, the American slum population (including the population of the "blighted districts" or incipient slums) amounts to almost forty million victims (about one-third of the population).

Lincoln's attitude in the matter of the "two thousand millions of dollars" of tainted slave property of his time, is at present of special interest when, at least on every twelfth of February, we are urged to follow his example and when, once again, billions worth of tainted property is at stake. This time, not slaves, but slums. Not "that movable property of yours" (as Lincoln called the slaves), but the "immovables" (or what, today, is more customarily called this *real estate*) of ours. It so happens that Lincoln's figure of two billion dollars corresponds, fairly accurately, dollar for dollar, to the amount now required for wiping out the monstrous slums and blighted districts of the national metropolis of New York City. Has America profited by her bloody experience of seventy years ago, and can American slums be obliterated without recourse to another revolution and without again raising what Lincoln called the "momentous issue of Civil War"?

Before Lincoln went to war, slaves were property. This property was just as legal as at present real estate and "new-law"—tenement houses are legal. It was even a great deal more legal than are most of New York's existent 67,000 "old-law" tenements, firetraps and slum property. They often violate the current laws, which irresponsible, powerless, or corrupt municipal governments fail to enforce. In order to appreciate the original fragrance of Lincoln's oratorical references to property, the reader of his speeches will do well to think of up-to-date over-valued real estate or of omnipresent unsanitary tenement houses rather than of slaves, a property which at present is perhaps not yet out of date, but has at least ceased to be legal. Lincoln said, for instance:

"Whether the owners of this species of property do really see it as it is, it is not for me to say, but if they do, they see it through two thousand millions of dollars, and that is a pretty thick coating. Certain it is that they do not see it as we see it.

Certain it is that this two thousand millions of dollars, invested in this species of property, all so concentrated that the mind can grasp it at once—this immense pecuniary interest—has its influence upon their minds" (New Haven, March 6, 1860).

Comparing President Lincoln's difficulties (antiquated and vanquished as they appear today) with President F. D. Roosevelt's modern and very pressing ones, it must be kept in mind that the danger of being blind is much greater now than it was seventy years ago. The "pretty thick coating" of two thousand millions of dollars has become ten times thicker. As has been pointed out, nowadays the owners of the prevalent tainted species of property see even the fundamental question of morals and social justice through a coating of about twenty thousand millions of dollars. This big blinding factor is represented by ten millions of obsolete homes (inhabited by one third of the nation's population) which their owners wish to exploit profitably and from which the municipalities wish to collect taxes; although most intelligent people agree that the whole mess ought to be destroyed, that it would be highly advantageous to do so, and that the sooner it were done, the better, for the sake of national health, economy and morals. One can only hope that the present tenfold thickness of the "coating" will not make the interested parties ten times more blind and more stubborn, and a civil war ten times more imminent and ten times more bloody than the slaughter of seventy years ago.

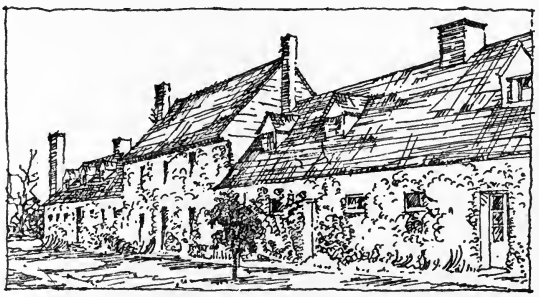
To translate into contemporary thought and language, Lincoln's bold unwillingness to think merely in terms of dollars and cents, one may again recall the English slogan: "You can kill a man just as readily with a bad dwelling as with an axe." Keeping a man under the axe or exploiting his economic limitations and forcing him to live in an unsanitary dwelling is at least as immoral as making slaves of him and his family. Therefore—at the risk of repetition and in order to make the point quite clear—let it be again said that if, today, we wish to understand how Lincoln's speeches sounded to the conservative ears of his period, we have only to insert the word "slum-dweller" whenever he speaks of "slaves."

Lincoln protested against the "dollar and cents" morale of the slave-holders, who, however, were entirely within the rights of

their respective State Constitutions guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and by the Supreme Court. At present, we protest with more justification against the owners of tenements who often shamelessly transgress the insufficient, and insufficiently enforced, sanitation laws of their respective States and cities and who house their tenants in a more deplorable manner than the slaves of many a fair-minded American slave-holder ever were housed. On President Washington's estate in Mount Vernon one may see, still standing, the first President's slave quarters, and one may entertain the envious hope that some day the large urban slum population of the United States will be as hygienically housed. One may at the same time harbor the fear that our planless system of laissez-faire will force the forty million inhabitants of unsanitary quarters into a slavelike readiness to follow any dictator, slave-driver or charlatan who promises or procures for them better quarters. And if he succeeds in procuring these better quarters he at once, of course, ceases to be a charlatan and becomes a demi-god, however foul or fair, communistic or fascistic, his methods may have been.

In other words: there is a real danger for any constitution or system of government that permits one third of the country's population to live in slums. Abraham Lincoln has expressed this ominous fact in powerful language. Every one of his words referring to the slaves of his time, applies to the slum-dwellers of our time.

"To us it appears natural," Lincoln said, "to think that slaves are human beings; men, not property; that some of the things, at least, stated about men in the Declaration of Independence apply to them as well as to us." He continues: "I say, we



SLAVE QUARTERS IN MOUNT VERNON

think, most of us, that this charter of freedom applies to the slaves as well as to ourselves; that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea, are also calculated to break down the very idea of a free government, even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society. We think slavery a great moral wrong. . . . Now these two ideas, the property idea that slavery is right, and the idea that it is wrong, come into collision. . . . The two ideas conflict, and must conflict." Similarly the "property idea" that slums (and slum-creating building codes and land values) are right, and the idea that they are utterly wrong, must be brought to a quick and decisive collision.

Lincoln gave a great deal of thought to the question as to whether slavery should be permitted to spread into new territories. The corresponding and highly pressing question, today, is: should the laws permit the spreading of the slum into those new territories that so far have been kept free from it? The unfortunate difference between Lincoln's and our problem is this: Lincoln could and most emphatically did point out that in his time (at least until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise) the existing laws were opposed to the introduction of slavery into new territories. Today, on the contrary, we find that the existing laws do permit and most successfully nourish or even necessitate the creation of new slums all over the country. Everywhere land has been sold at prices which can be made renumerative only by building and renting tenements in conformity with the existing scandalous building ordinances (the senselessness of which is described in the Eighteenth Chapter of this book).

The slums and laws permitting slum conditions are exactly as slavery was, a very dangerous thing to plant in new soil. Lincoln said: "When a new Territory is opened for settlement, the first man who goes into it may plant there a thing which, like the Canada thistle or some other of those pests of the soil, cannot be dug out by the millions of men who will come thereafter. . . . A thing which, once planted, cannot be eradicated by the succeeding millions who have as much right here as the first comers, or, if eradicated, not without infinite difficulty and a long struggle."

Today, in justification of the existing laws which permit the spreading of the slum, the demand is made that the "credit struc-

ture of the country must be maintained." This necessity is held to vindicate the maintenance of the inflated prices, of the overlenient building codes and of the correspondingly excessive tax assessments of urban real estate. In this matter even representatives of the "New Deal" still subscribe to rather obsolete ideas. It is only a mark of wisdom (to quote a magazine and a newspaper heading) when "that honey-voiced adulator of big business," "U. S. Secretary of Commerce, Roper, Warns of Harm to Cities in a 'Haphazard' Decentralizing." But he also "expressed himself as being opposed to any course that might be harmful to property owners in cities"; (cf. Harpers Magazine, p. 386, March 1935, and N. Y. Times, Feb. 4, 1935). These property owners are, however, very largely owners of overvalued real estate and often of slums or incipient slums. Is their property, today, more sacrosanct than the slave property opposed by Lincoln? Both types of property are harmful to the nation.

In order to "maintain the credit structure of the country" it would not be sufficient to maintain the size of the present slum population. It would be necessary to increase it materially, for two reasons. Firstly, because large sections of the slums have been deserted. In order to make them again renumerative for their owners, they would have to be refilled with their old or with new victims. And, secondly, in many cases the price of unbuilt-upon land has gradually and quite definitely been inflated by speculation (and by the permission of wildly exaggerated building heights) to such an extent that only the construction of numerous badly lighted and congested tenements conforming with the reactionary and harmful building codes and zoning ordinances of the various municipalities, could maintain the speculatively inflated but generally accepted "credit structure." And not to maintain it, would mean "ruin" to the United States, thus at least the advocates of high and higher real estate values affirm.

"Can any man believe," Lincoln said, "that the way to save the Union is to extend and increase the only thing that threatens the Union, and to suffer it to grow bigger and bigger? . . . Many of our adversaries are anxious to claim that they are specially devoted to the Union and take pains to charge upon us hostility to the Union. . . . Whenever this question shall be settled, it must be settled on some philosophical basis. No policy

that does not rest upon some philosophical opinion can be permanently maintained."

The advocates of slavery or slums always like to invoke, as their "philosophical basis," the usual popular conceptions of liberty, liberalism, freedom or "popular sovereignty." Lincoln spoke with never-ending sarcasm of this evident abuse.

"Some of you are for the '*gur-reat pur-rinciple,*' " he declared, "that if one would enslave another, no third man should object —fantastically called 'popular sovereignty' "; (March 6, 1860).

Against the fallacy of this "great principle" Lincoln set his own and unfallacious one. As to the abyss that separates a person living decently from one living indecently (be it slave or slum-dweller), he said:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. . . . I say that there is room enough for us all to be free, and that it not only does not wrong the white man that the negro should be free, but it positively wrongs the mass of the white men that the negro should be enslaved."

Nothing could apply more categorically to the inhabitants of the decently built section of a city and to its slums and slum-dwellers. No city is better than its slums. And the excessive valuations of slum property, as well as the possibility of forcing, some day, similar valuations and overbuilding upon outlying land, is the heaviest handicap to any effort to build new and better shelters, and a severe handicap to every homemaker, slum-dweller or free man. The danger resulting from every degraded settlement and slum (for every prospect of new and better living) was expressed by Lincoln in the following words to the New Englanders, words which read like the American gospel of free settlement and of free labor:

"I desire that if you get too thick here (in New England), and find it hard to better your condition on this soil, you may have a chance to strike and go somewhere else, where you may not be degraded, nor have your families corrupted, by forced rivalry with negro slaves," or with slum-dwellers (to use modern terms) whose crowding upon the land produces such high rents and land values that a free and decent dweller can never compete,

nor maintain a decent home nor a pleasant garden, against such corrupted rivalry. Or, to put it in language conforming to New York conditions: the homelike privacy of a decent American home, today, lacks even the most primitive legal protection against being degraded and crowded out by slums springing up in the immediate neighborhood. Or, further, to use the terms coined by the eminent attorney, E. M. Bassett, the originator of New York City's zoning ordinance which, much against his will, has been so badly distorted, "In those districts (labelled E or F) of New York City which are supposed to be the one-family detached house districts, a lot owner can build a multi-family house to accommodate 50 or 100 families, and if he chooses, provide for one family in each room. . . ." Such barracks can be worse than the slave-quarters of Washington's Mount Vernon, and are an impossible neighborhood for American "homes."

Lincoln continued his exhortations to the New Englanders by comparing slavery with a venomous snake endangering the life of the nation. In using this simile which today applies so well to the slum, he said: "I want you to have a clean bed and no snakes in it! Then you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth!"

The comparison of slum or slavery with a venomous snake is rich in its implications. "If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road," Lincoln said, "any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children that would be another question. I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them." These words suggest the following question:

What will be more injurious to the United States: the return to sane housing and land values, or the maintenance of the credit structure compelling congestion and slums? If the inflated land values in the cities are to be maintained, it is also necessary—as has just been indicated—to automatically transfer the exploitation of the land by high and dense building (that must result from inflated land values) to new territories surrounding the older centers of congestion. Must the vices of old fashioned city development and slum building be transferred into these new territories?

Lincoln further unfolded the simile of the snake threatening his children by saying: "If there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide! That is just the case. The New Territories are the newly made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not. It does not seem as if there could be much hesitation what our policy should be!"

We know that Lincoln was finally forced to wipe out the snakes of slavery not only in the new territories, but even in the old slave states. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." It will be equally necessary not only to protect the new territories and suburbs of our cities from the tenements which are, now, permitted to arise there, but also to wipe out entirely the present permissible types of closely built, badly lighted and badly ventilated tenements and to obliterate them in even the old sections of towns where these centers of congestion are still considered unavoidable and legitimate.

An immediate change of most of the American building codes and zoning ordinances is imperative. It must be effectuated before "recovery" brings back rising rents and the inevitable housing shortage (inevitable, because, during the past five years, very few houses have been erected and decent *low cost* houses have not been built for decades). If the building codes and zoning ordinances are not revised before "recovery" makes such a revision much more difficult than it is at present, the "snakes" personified by the existing slums will be carried into the outlying metropolitan regions, "the new territories" and "the newly made bed to which our children are to go."

If the necessary revisions of property rights are not made in due time, most sincere advocates of these fundamental rights, if they are good Americans, may be forced to follow Lincoln's example who, although originally an anti-abolitionist, found himself obliged, for the sake of saving the Union, to legalize one of the most gigantic confiscations of property that history has ever known.

Sixth Chapter

CHRISTIANITY AND HOUSING

There may be, even in America, critics to whom the humanitarian demands made by Abraham Lincoln and his contemporary Karl Marx appear extravagant. Such criticism is more than likely to issue from defenders of the accepted religious and cultural tradition. They are apt to oppose any revolutionary changes in the established rights of holding either slaves or real estate. This very kind of criticism has inspired vaunted minds to staunchly defend the cause of slavery and similarly dubious causes. As pronounced a liberal and devoutly Christian statesman as the Englishman Gladstone conspired with the dictator Napoleon against Abraham Lincoln. Also the famous English historian Carlyle indignantly opposed Lincoln's fight against slavery. Emerson, the American, was an ardent opponent of slavery, but he thought Carlyle's "merits" so "overpowering" that he could not but "forget . . . the violent anti-Americanism" of this bitter critic of Lincoln's cause. Emerson did, indeed, believe that "we must hug ourselves" because Lincoln's "fidelity to public interest" was evident. But he added "you cannot refine Mr. Lincoln's taste, extend his horizon or clear his judgment"; (cf. Emerson's Journals, October, 1863 and December, 1865). The uncompromising advocacy of popular rights and neglected justice is always apt to be criticized.

The early history of German slum statistics offers a remarkable example of the kind of criticism one should guard against. It has been voiced in perhaps its clearest form by the prominent historian Von Treitschke who as a promising youth wrote an inspired biography of the great Italian liberal Cavour, but who later became the outstanding advocate of reactionary Prussianism and the uninspired opponent of "Socialism and its well wishers." Under this title he wrote (in 1874) an article condemning the publication of the official Berlin housing statistics according to which the capital of German *Kultur* housed

162,000 people, or one fifth of its population in "overcrowded" dwellings. This shameful condition had been denounced by some leading professors of Berlin University (especially by the subsequently famous economist Gustav Schmoller) as the terrifying cause of real national demoralization and criminal tendencies.

To this indictment, however, Treitschke, with equanimity and religious pathos, replied: "Everyone is himself the cause of his own actions. No one is so destitute that he cannot, in his little chamber, listen to his Father in heaven." Schmoller, in turn, answered: "To talk to morally and mentally decadent proletarians about the treasures of the soul is just as senseless as to invite a blind man to admire the beauties of the starry vault of heaven." While the historian and the economist quarreled about the possible relations between heaven and housing, a Berlin clergyman discovered a closer and more dangerous relation between congested housing and prostitution. He complained that he had to visit some of the most destitute of his flock in a tenement house containing 250 families, amongst whom were seventeen unmarried couples and twenty-two prostitutes. Similar conditions and the education of prostitute and pimp resulting from it have been duplicated many times, in other European cities and in New York, and are touched upon in the report on prostitution in this city edited by J. D. Rockefeller Jr. in 1908, or in Dr. Abraham Flexner's "Prostitution in Europe" (1914). How very little this state of affairs has changed since the publication of this report, is proved by the vice investigation, headed by Commissioner Dewey in 1935.

In New York City, as in Berlin before the War, the Christian or "social" attitude which is required in order to bring about changes, has been sorely lacking. In Berlin both critics above mentioned, the historian and the economist, were, in the last analysis, reactionaries. They did not effectively use their great influence to enforce a real reform in housing. It took the World War, the breakdown of the imperial regime, and the social revolution of 1918 to bring about the necessary improvement and that rebirth of German housing which became the admiration of the world.

In answer to the bigoted Prussian historian's argument it

should be pointed out that he was perverting the meaning of a word of Christ, the deep implications of which in the field of housing have by no means been realised—as yet—even in America. Before continuing the parallel between Abraham Lincoln and Karl Marx and between American and European interpretations of property rights it may, therefore, not be amiss to indicate that the founder of the Christian religion has suggested the necessity of certain requirements for housing which must, of course, influence all our conceptions in this field.

The teachings of Christ, fortunately, still hold in America the position of high honor which they so deserve. And this should not be doubted even when one reads such critical remarks about American religiosity as the following comment made by Emerson: "'Tis curious that Christianity, which is idealism, is sturdily defended by the brokers, and steadily attacked by the idealists." (Journals, July, 1853.)

It is known that the American respect for the Bible has been carried, at least in Tennessee, so far as to preclude the teaching of Darwinism or of any other biological theories contradictory to the Bible. In a country where religious feelings run so high, all housing policies and the fate of forty million Americans crowded into slums and blighted areas, should certainly be influenced by the conception of residential privacy voiced by the sublime founder of the preponderant, although unofficial religion. On the subject of housing Jesus Christ has concisely expressed a fundamental idea which should be taken as a divine command and should become an inalienable part of the program of every housing legislator, municipality and of those many housing commissions which have sprung into existence since the New Deal.

As related by Saint Matthew (Chapter VI, verse 6) Christ said: "When thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret." These are the words which the Prussian historian endeavored to distort into an argument against better housing and against the social planning for decent homes. Whatever interpretation one may wish to give to the content in which these phrases were uttered, they clearly show that Christ wished every human being to have a home permitting privacy.

The ideal of everyone to have his own chamber for prayer and complete seclusion is, however, still far from being realized by Christianity at large.[1] It is not even realized by so Christian a nation as the United States of America. Statistics show that the recent depression since 1929 has brought about, even in the United States, a great amount of "doubling up" and trebling up. In very many cases two and even more families share the same limited apartment.

It would appear to be utterly irreligious and even inconceivably anti-religious if so powerful and wealthy a Christian nation as the United States should fail to take cognizance of Christ's clear and simple precept in so fundamental a matter as housing and common decency. After this precept has once been pointed out and understood, it seems impossible that America would still hesitate to carry out the Christian imperative and refuse to rapidly modify all contravening usages and laws governing property rights and real estate. These laws must be changed in such a way as to facilitate the securing of at least one room for every one, Christian, or non-Christian, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor.

England has gone far in recognizing such Christian ethics. Her latest regulations have included the recommendations of her National Housing Committee which says: "A family cannot be accommodated in less than three bedrooms if parents, boys and girls are to be accommodated in different rooms. We accept the figure of 760 square feet for the three-bedroomed non-parlour house as a fair estimate though we are quite prepared to admit that the figure may have to be raised if the general standard of living rises." (Cf. "A National Housing Policy,

[1] A short parenthesis for friends of etymology may here be permitted. The meaning of the word "chamber" or "closet" as given by the English Bible translations of 1611 and 1881 expressing Christ's demand, has been rendered even more explicit by the Latin translation approved by the Catholic Church. In the Catholic *Vulgata,* one finds the Greek *tameion* of the original Gospel interpreted as *cubiculum.* The word *cubiculum* is, of course, not derived from the cubical shape such a chamber may have, but rather from the Latin word *cubare,* which means to lie down. If this translation is correct the chamber of which Christ spoke seems indeed to have been a bedroom. This convincing translation makes it even more likely that Christ considered the unhampered use of a private bedroom as the natural right of even the poorest human being and as necessary for everyone's spiritual (not to mention bodily) health and salvation.

Report of the National Housing Committee," London 1934, pp. 8 and 55.) Since the statistics show that the "*Average* Number of Persons per Family in England and Wales" had by 1931 decreased to 3.91 persons, the *minimum* of three bedrooms for each family seems fair. America is much richer than England, and Americans have to pay fewer taxes than Englishmen. One may therefore hope that a similar advance towards Christian standards may be made possible in America.

Most likely some admirers, tax assessors or owners of old tenement houses will claim that only superhuman qualities could enable ordinary human beings to live up to the letter of divine commands. Such practical interpreters of higher laws bigotedly claim that the obvious impracticability of Christ's commands is the very measure of the infinite distance between the Almighty in heaven and the weak man on earth. They worship Christ most of all because they expect him to be always ready to forgive human shortcomings and crimes perpetrated against one's neighbor or tenant. Such expectations and interpretations, however, are apt to be fallacious. The impracticability that sometimes seems to mark Christ's commands is not a reality, but a symbol of the infinite greatness of God as conceived by religious men. It is the symbol of the infinite potential greatness of God *in* man! To them a command of Christ is an obligation because it is a demand of their own nature (and perhaps even of their whole nature) and, therefore, is an expression of their innermost longings. Thus the seeming or alleged impracticability of Christ's commands is not a counsel of despair or an excuse for dodging obvious duties, but a program for wisely planned reform. Whoever can calmly see the ghastly housing misery of our times, should not expect ready forgiveness for evading his duty to plan for speedy reform, but should rather remember that Christ promised to "send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. . . . Who hath ears to hear, let him hear." (St. Matthew, 13, 41–43.)

Having thus based one of the most essential demands in modern housing—privacy and approximately one room per per-

son—upon the rock of Christian teaching we may safely return to the two contemporaries, Lincoln and Marx, who, in the nineteenth century, were probably the most outstanding fighters for the realization of practical Christianity, although they did not care to exploit the divine name.

Seventh Chapter

HOMEBUILDERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

". . . so that every poor man can have a home." (From Lincoln's address to the German Club of Cincinnati, Feb. 12, 1861.)

". . . facilitating the access of the young and the poor to the sources of wealth and power." (From Emerson's "Politics," 1840.)

". . . the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan . . . combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country." (From the demands of "the Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels.)

I. LINCOLN, EMERSON, MARX

Few historians have sufficiently emphasized to what a large extent the political revolution of the nineteenth century was a direct victory for better housing and how deeply the European revolution has been influenced by America.

When, in 1867, the right to vote in elections for Parliament was, after much struggle, finally secured for every English householder, the leading English opponent of this measure quite correctly called it the political victory of "the people who live in small houses." The man who coined this and many similar phrases was Robert Lowe. "The conservatives made a hero, and even an idol of him," because he "was embodying in brilliant sarcasm the fears, prejudices, and spites, the honest dislikes and solid objections of a large proportion of English society. . . . Workingmen's Unions, strikes . . . and a steady hatred of all American principles; a certain disappointment that the American republic had not fulfilled most men's predictions and gone to pieces—these and various other feelings combined to make a great many Englishmen particularly hostile to political reform at that moment." (Cf. Justin McCarthy, M.P., "The History

of Our Own Times," Chapter L.) In parenthesis it may be mentioned that even in 1865 the British planters of Jamaica, where slavery was "abolished," celebrated one of the most ghastly of colonial orgies, wildly killing and flogging their negroes who legally were freed, but who rebelled against a still prevailing coercive system which even England's Chief Justice Cockburn had to call "slavery."

In opposition to "the small houses" and their inhabitants stood the famous "great houses" of Great Britain, the delightful country-seats of an old aristocracy and of the eagerly aristocratic newly rich, the mercantile and capitalist employer classes. In the "great houses" lived the "good and the wise" who alone—this was their contention—could mete out good government. And their further contention was that all standards of English virtue and political decency were seriously endangered because the uneducated and allegedly fatuous inhabitants of the small houses had won—in 1867 and as an immediate result of Lincoln's war—political representation in Parliament. By their sheer number, the enfranchised masses had gained the theoretical possibility of overpowering the select few, the guardians of political equilibrium.

"The working men, the majority, the people who live in the small houses, are enfranchised; we must now at least educate our new masters." This was the much quoted phrase coined—after the parliamentary reform of 1867—by Robert Lowe (Viscount Sherbrooke) who had been the most eloquent opponent of reform. If this lawyer, who rose to nobility from the middle class, had been less snobbishly conceited, he might have suggested that the "new masters," "at least," deserved to be better housed, and that such better housing was even more urgent than better education. This consideration was imperative because the "new masters" of England, these dwellers in "little houses," had at that time—during America's Civil War and in one of the most decisive moments in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race—proved that in matters of political tact and foresight they were superior to the inhabitants of the "great houses."

There can hardly be found a more momentous argument for the dignity of the small home—and incidentally for democracy! —than the events which between 1860 and 1870 united the

workingmen and the active friends of popular government in Great Britain and America, events which may prove to have special interest to the student of American housing, city planning and public works in general, for the following reason:

The English Tories and reactionary Whigs—after the defeat of their American colleagues, the slave-holders—managed to gain popularity and maintain their old political power by suddenly changing from their previous reactionary attitude to the most unexpected and far-reaching support of truly democratic government. By thus outdoing their political rivals (the so-called Liberals), the English Tories have set an historical example which, some day may be copied by the American Republicans of the present decade. As the English Tories found it to their advantage—in the crucial political exigency of their time—to suddenly abandon their opposition to radical reform and give their decisive support to the most progressive measure conceivable, so the American Republicans may, before long, find their political advantage in suddenly abandoning their opposition to large scale public works, which is the crucial problem of our present time. In order to outdo the Democrats, the Republicans may become the most energetic supporters of a sweeping policy for state planning and the rebuilding of our cities.

Or has, perchance, America by this time developed into a country of less unlimited possibilities than England? In any event, the curious development of these English possibilities and the depth of the influence of American thought upon them, the following pages will recall to the student of modern housing. This development forms the necessary background of England's subsequent progressive housing and city planning policies which have so utterly outdistanced those of the United States that this younger nation appears today—in a most amazing contrast to her progressive days of 1776 and 1862—as an almost backward country.

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"As the globe keeps its identity by perpetual change, so does our civil system, by perpetual appeal to the people and acceptance of its reforms;" (Emerson, The Fortune of the Republic). The preservation of national power requires continual

rebirth, spiritual and economic. Fortunate is such a nation as the United States, a nation born and reborn from the womb of revolution, in 1776 and 1861. Its permanent rebirth can be fecundated by its own indigenous sources. It is superfluous for America to seek help from "Marx or Moscow" as long as Jefferson, Lincoln, Emerson and Walt Whitman, the "permanent rebel," remain a living font of political and other regenerative life.

England also, of course, enjoys the political advantage of great revolutionary lessons reaped from her own history. But these English lessons lie so far in the past that during the nineteenth century they would probably have proved ineffectual, if it had not been for the additional inspiration forced upon her by the revolutionary events in America, France and other countries.

The continuous rebirth of a nation in the field of economics means a continuously wise redistribution of wealth and power. No one saw this more clearly than Emerson (who was six years older than Abraham Lincoln and fifteen years older than Karl Marx). "The philosopher, the poet, or the religious man," Emerson said, "will, of course, wish to cast his vote with the democrat, for free trade, for wide suffrage, for the abolition of legal cruelties in the penal code, and for facilitating in every manner the access of the young and the poor to the sources of wealth and power;" (in Emerson's lecture on "Politics," 1840). And Lincoln, on meeting Emerson, told him that he had attended his lectures.

Emerson and Lincoln, and also Marx, were fed by the same humanistic, that is to say social and socialistic, ideas which especially inspired the first six decades of the nineteenth century and united its outstanding thinkers in the fight for social justice. "The homes of a free and a happy people" are a frequently recurrent motif in Lincoln's speeches (e.g. March 6, 1860). And he expressed perhaps the leading idea of his century when in Cincinnati (Feb. 12, 1861), he told the immigrants from Germany "that the working men are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are all the more numerous. . . . I am for those means which will give the greatest good to the greatest number." And "in so far as the government lands

can be disposed of, I am in favor of cutting up the wild lands into parcels, so that every poor man can have a home."

These and similar statements of Lincoln's are of far-reaching significance. The second statement, foreshadowing the Homestead Act, may be called a practical application of Lincoln's first statement which contains a general political program. And Lincoln's program was a remarkable synthesis of elements contained in the Declaration of Independence, and in Bentham's modern code of ethics which makes "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" the practical test of right and wrong in both morals and laws. Jeremy Bentham was, indeed, an Englishman. But his new code of ethics had by no means as yet found practical recognition in England or anywhere else. Also, when Lincoln reiterated—verbatim—Bentham's phrase concerning the greatest happiness, he—so one may surmise—hardly thought of its English origin. He probably thought rather of every American's "inalienable right" to the "pursuit of happiness."

Lincoln's synthesis of American revolutionary thought and of Bentham's new democratic philosophy is the more remarkable because in his youth Bentham had severely criticized the American Declaration of Independence. "The whole of the case," Bentham had said, "was founded on the assertion of natural rights, claimed without the slightest evidence of their existence, and supported by vague and declamatory generalities." But while Bentham thus criticized the "laws of Nature" of the Declaration of Independence, he had already vindicated them in his own new way. It was in the same year, 1776, the birth year of the American Declaration, that there also appeared Bentham's book "Fragment of Government," in which he introduced his famous phrase. To make "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" the practical test of right and wrong soon came to be considered the most practical method of securing for the individual American his constitutional right of pursuing happiness. This test became, so to speak, the philosophical basis of all manhood suffrage, for which the fight was first won in the United States. And we shall presently see how, through Lincoln's spectacular victory over the slave-holders, the introduction of manhood suffrage became possible and necessary in feudal

Great Britain also and, for some time at least, in other countries. A temporary political Americanization of the western world was the result.

It is a pathetic, almost tragi-comical story when one sees how John Quincy Adam's friend, the wise and famous Bentham, from 1811 and for twenty-five years thereafter, humbly and always unsuccessfully offered his services, free of charge, as a legislator to American Presidents and Governors, and to the rest of the world; and how then suddenly there arose in support of Bentham, the great fighter whom the myth-creating habits of history today glorify as a mystical giant, deciding the outcome of the battle of ordinary men. At any rate, Lincoln was the most powerful of the innumerable statesmen who, everywhere and often without knowing it, were deeply imbued with the spirit of the great Englishman. "Bentham, plundered by everyone," said Talleyrand, "always remains rich." And one of Bentham's most recent American critics, Professor J. M. Clark of Columbia University, offers a new and rather surprising interpretation of Bentham's philosophy. For Clark, Bentham is not an advocate of laissez-faire, but rather of a planned and social economy. Clark writes:

"The most vital feature of Bentham's system was the insistence on judging institutions by their results and treating them as tools for the furthering of social purposes. The full meaning of this we are only just beginning to realize; so slowly does a radical idea reveal its consequences and corollaries." (Cf. "Adam Smith and the Spirit of '76"; published in 1927, p. 92.) The practical philosophy of Bentham—and of Lincoln!—has become the guiding star of the coming age: the age of planning and social purpose.

To Lincoln the "social purpose" of this "radical idea" had already revealed itself when, in Cincinnati, he repeated Bentham's maxim of the greatest good to the greatest number. For him the practical consequences were the Homestead Act (1862), disliked by the southern slave-holders, and the war against these same southerners—distinctly a class war.

Lincoln's statement foreshadowing the Homestead Act was in close harmony with Emerson's wish to facilitate the access of the poor to the sources of wealth. Emerson's announcement that

history is the story of class struggles (made in his lecture "The Conservative," 1841) antedates by six years the same assertion made in "The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels, Emerson and Americanism may well have been the inspirations of the much younger Marx.

Two years before Marx and Engels published their "Manifesto" the great American seer, Walt Whitman, in his "Brooklyn Eagle" (Sept. 22, 1846), wrote the following astonishing prophecy concerning Karl Marx: "Amid penury and destitution, unknown and unnoticed, a man may be toiling on to the completion of a book destined to gain acclamations, reiterated again and again, from admiring America and astonished Europe!". The distinction between American admiration and European astonishment was well founded. The "Communist Manifesto" had been translated and distributed in America a short time after its appearance in London. There for many years it remained almost exclusively a concern of the outlaws, if this term may be applied to the working class which at that time had no representation in Parliament, and whose unions, although already strong, were still actually illegal.

In America, on the contrary, the "Communist Manifesto" secured for its authors high literary standing. The New York Tribune published (Aug. 10, 1852) "The Chartists," Marx's important article on the suppressed nineteenth century revolution of England. It is, indeed, quite probable that Lincoln had read this essay. The English developments described by Marx were, ten years later, reenacted in America under Lincoln's guidance—and this time triumphantly. Marx shows in this article how the English manufacturers in their fight against aristocracy were dependent upon the political assistance of the workingmen and how they exploited it: ". . . in every violent movement they were forced to appeal to the working class." Similarly the New England manufacturers could never have forced the Southern planters to permit protective tariffs for American industry if the workingmen of the American (and English!) cities had not supported the cause of the North as long as it was the cause of freedom and democracy.

The slave-holding aristocracy believed that "the greasy mechanics" of the populous northern cities would not fight. But,

on the contrary, they fought enthusiastically, at least, until the rich, instead of themselves fighting, secured permission to hire substitutes and until the ruthless war-profiteering of the manufacturers and bankers led to the bloody draft riots of Boston and New York. The American workingmen would perhaps never have fought and never have helped the industry of New England, had the social and democratic attitude of President Lincoln and his Homestead Act not inspired them to believe that he and they fought for freedom.

The American attitude towards the idea of turning government-owned land into homesteads had already been well expressed, in 1846, by Walt Whitman when he wrote (July 2): "We desire that somebody will be found honest enough to tell the plain truths (even if it subject him to the awful nickname of a 'radical' on this matter of a property which the rulers of the land merely hold in trust for the poor, after all." Walt Whitman favored the proposal to sell all Public Lands at (what one might call) a reversed auction sale: The assumption was that the most desirable farmlands would be sold first; therefore, the prices for land should gradually be lowered from one dollar per acre, in 1847, to 25 cents an acre, after 1859.

The words (quoted above) by which, in 1861, the President-Elect Lincoln supported the Homestead Act had a peculiar political significance. The then governing President, Buchanan, had just vetoed the Act (June 22, 1860), because he thought it might foster socialism. About this bill which was to satisfy the longing of every American heart and give a home to every poor man, President Buchanan, in his veto message, almost perversely wrote: "*This bill will go far to demoralize the people and repress the noble spirit of independence. It may introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries.*"

Thus we find expressed, even in 1860—and by an American President speaking against what later became Lincoln's great American Homestead Act—the demagogic language of denunciation and suspicion which, by now, has become traditional and almost dignified in America, amongst those who oppose reform, however necessary . . . "because Americans generally are fun-

damentally antagonistic to all regulation and regimentation by alien-minded professors, visionaries and screwy-noodles." ("New York American, Editorial Page," Nov. 5, 1935.)

Lincoln was not afraid to sign the "demoralizing" Homestead Act and became thereby, even more than by the abolition of slavery, the most American of Presidents. One of the main advocates and even originators of the Homestead Act was the socialist Horace Greeley who for much of his thirty years of editorial activities was the greatest single journalistic influence in the country. It was he who brought about Lincoln's nomination as presidential candidate and who was one of the first editors to join the new Republican Party. Greeley's powerful New York Tribune had been founded to provide for the laboring classes a paper which should be as inexpensive as the then existing newspapers but cleaner and more intelligent. It became the foundation of American journalism. Lincoln and Marx, were occasional contributors. The New York Tribune's payments to Karl Marx were most of the time his main financial support. About the great American Socialist-Republican editor who thus nursed modern socialism into being, Beard's story of "The Rise of American Civilization" (I, 751) relates the following:

"The fact that men of Greeley's mental power and political standing were drawn to the socialistic philosophy is proof that the agitations of the middle period had reached far beyond the obscure circles of working people and were deemed worthy of serious consideration by some who sat in lofty places. Unquestionably the civil cataclysm of 1861 and the free land opened to labor by the Homestead Act of the following year checked for decades the strong radical tendencies."

The reappearance of the same radical tendency, after the economic cataclysm of 1929, may be called a very national and truly American symptom and may again be checked, this time, it is hoped without a repetition of the "civil cataclysms" of 1776 and 1861, but hardly without some kind of a thorough-going new measure akin to the Homestead Act, a measure which only economic planning and city planning can make possible, and which the Buchanans of today will denounce as "pernicious," "demoralizing," "radical" and even un-American!

II. HOW MARX HELPED THE CAUSE OF EUROPEAN HOUSING AND OF THE AMERICAN UNION

> You comprehend, as your address shows, that the exciting rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuating of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. . . . None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. (From the speech Lincoln made when he accepted the honorary membership in the Workingmen's Association of New York, March 21, 1864.)

The close spiritual communion between the elder Lincoln and the younger Marx found its historical expression at a most critical moment. This occurred when the English "aristocracy" of mind and privilege intrigued against Lincoln, and allied itself with the dictator Napoleon III, "the swine Bonaparte," as Marx called him (Feb. 21, 1863). By destroying the American Union, Napoleon wished to save his Mexican conquest, a conquest which the United States, true to the Monroe Doctrine, refused to recognize. And, on the other hand the English wished to destroy the "contemptible republic" because—as the cynical Lord Salisbury said—"it kept shop and was England's rival in business." Even the leading champion of Irish freedom against English oppression, the famous Irish revolutionist John Mitchel, was ardently pro-Southern and an advocate of American slavery.

It was at this dangerous hour when France, England (and even suffering Ireland!) threatened the American Union and American freedom that Marx's communism decisively manifested its true American tendencies. Marx led the English workingmen into an effective protest against the English crime and thereby contributed, very likely in a decisive and conclusive manner, to the salvation of the American Union. The great "liberal" Gladstone, together with the prime minister Palmerston (always a strong opponent of slavery—except that of the United States), and with the often utterly eccentric historian, Carlyle, and other prominent Englishmen abetted the slave-holders. At the same time, the more perspicacious Marx wrote: "I would bet my head that these fellows will get the worst of it;" (Sept. 10, 1862).

To appreciate the international importance of the issues at

stake—important in the very matter of housing!—one must read descriptions of the British slums into which the Victorian highbrow plutocracy, contemporaneous with Lincoln, still shamelessly dared to corral their own slaving countrymen. Such an "aristocracy" would naturally also be ready to support the cause of slavery in America. The appalling industrial and housing conditions that were permitted to prevail in England for more than a century after her industrial revolution (beginning about 1760) have perhaps never been equalled, not even in America in her "old law" immigrant slums and sweatshops, nor during her depression years beginning in 1929.

The perverse social results caused by the introduction of "labor saving" machinery, have been described by the English anti-Marxist historian Arnold Toynbee in his book "The Industrial Revolution" (1884). Describing a perversion almost akin to that of our own time, he writes: "We now approach a darker period—a period as disastrous and terrible, because, side by side, with the great increase of wealth, was seen an enormous increase of pauperism; and production on a vast scale, the result of free competition, led to a rapid alienation of classes and to the degradation of a large body of producers."

The terrible British conditions have been detailed in the voluminous reports of numerous British Parliamentary commissions, which, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, investigated industry and housing in Great Britain. Low agricultural wages and the somewhat higher wages of the factories caused a rush to the industrial centers where, however, there were no adequate housing facilities and but little new building to shelter the newcomers. They were herded into foul quarters which had not been fumigated or disinfected since 1667, the time of the Great Plague.

From these terrible conditions in British industry and housing no relief seemed possible until Lincoln's successful fight against slavery changed all the political perspectives. Previous to that great event, England's suffering classes had no representation in Parliament; they were practically slaves of their employers. "For centuries our legislation had acted on the principle that the workingman was a serf of society." So writes the English historian McCarthy, who is by no means a Marxist.

At the time of America's Civil War, there was still in England "a marked and severe distinction drawn between master and servant, master and workman, in our legislation. In cases of breach of contract the remedy against the employer was entirely civil; against the employed, criminal. A workman might even be arrested on a warrant for alleged breach of contract, and taken to prison before the case had been tried." Very much like Southern slaves!

The enterprises of the English capitalists grew continuously larger. The lawyers, the medical profession, the members of the stock exchange were permitted to unionize and hold out for definite rates of remuneration. If workingmen did the same, it was called a conspiracy in restraint of trade, a criminal combination to "fix the price of labor." The labor unions could be prosecuted in court; they could also be plundered with impunity by anyone. The labor unions themselves could not prosecute. Their transactions were shut out from the protection of civil law. Even the building associations were hampered by all sorts of legal limitations. As late as 1880, doubt had to be expressed as to whether the English legislation regarding workingmen's cooperative and building associations "has not done them more harm than good."

The industrial laborers of Great Britain had good cause for feeling abused. Their political agitation had materially contributed to the victory of the parliamentary reform of 1832. But this reform had only helped the middle class. It had left the working classes out of the new franchise. After their threatening masses had been used to frighten the formerly all-powerful artistocrats into making concessions, the victorious middle class, mostly manufacturers and tradesmen, at once changed fronts. They proudly united themselves with the land-holding aristocracy against the working classes and denied them all political rights. Great Britain very properly was described, even in 1845, as consisting of two enemy nations, the classes of the rich and of the poor. This description (contained in the novel "Sybil, or the Two Nations") came from the pen of Disraeli, the very statesman who, later, in 1867, as leader of the English conservatives and of their most amazing political right-about face was to make far-reaching democratic conces-

sions and was to give the franchise of voting in parliamentary elections to all male house-holders, i.e. to "the people who live in small houses." Thus was the danger of a civil war in England overcome.

The same year (1845) that brought forth Disraeli's semi-socialistic novel "the Two Nations," was also the year in which the first scientific and comprehensive description of England's industrial and housing misery appeared, "The Condition of the Working Classes in England," a book of undisputed and lasting value, written by Marx's closest friend, Friedrich Engels (1820–95), fifteen years younger than Disraeli. Of the working classes' exploitation Engels and Marx were much more direct, uncompromising, and less romantic critics than Disraeli, who was a master of compromise and who, thereby, concluded his life (1804–1881) as Tory leader and Lord Beaconsfield.

In opposing the English desecration of humanity, Marx and Engels recognized, from the beginning, that Lincoln's fight against the American accomplices of the English slave-drivers would necessarily help to liberate the victims of the impudently disguised European slavery.

"The events in America are a world upheaval," Marx wrote (Oct. 29, 1862), "and there is nothing more disgusting than the English attitude towards them." He fully understood that America was the real leader in revolutionary matters, a leadership indispensable to the political health even of Europe. Marx's conviction expressed itself, a little later, in historic literary phrases. Upon Lincoln's re-election to the Presidency, in December, 1864, the "General Council of the First International" sent congratulations to the American people. The letter was written by Karl Marx and may be called Marx's very personal communication to Lincoln. In it he said:

"From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-holder? . . . The workingmen of Europe feel sure that as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of

ascendency for the middle-class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. . . . It fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social work." These words were by no means exaggerated compliments to acclaim Lincoln's reelection. Long after the struggle was over, Marx inserted very similar words in the Preface to the first edition of his "Capital," 1867. In fact, Marx only repeated what Lincoln himself had emphatically said in his Annual Message to Congress (Dec. 3, 1861). In this we read:

"It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people." (Lincoln repeated this statement on March 21, 1864.)

While the struggle was still being waged, "London created a nightmare of its own, and gave it the shape of Abraham Lincoln." Thus Henry Adams, who then lived in London, reported. And the British eye-witness, McCarthy, who makes every conceivable effort to wash clean whatever there can be washed of England's deplorable attitude of that time, reports as follows: "The vast majority of what are called the governing classes were on the side of the south. By far the greater number of the aristocracy, of the official world, of members of parliament, of military and naval men, were for the south. London club life was virtually all southern. The most powerful papers in London, and the most popular papers as well, were open partisans of the Southern Confederation. In London, to be on the side of the Union was at one time to be eccentric, to be un-English, to be Yankee. . . . The geography of the ques-

tion was not very clearly understood in the clubs. Those who endeavored to show that it was not easy to find a convenient dividing line for two federations on the North American continent were commonly answered that the Mississippi formed exactly the suitable frontier. It was an article of faith with some of those who then most eagerly discussed the question in London, that the Mississippi flowed east and west, and separated neatly the seceding states from the states of the north. The (London newspaper) 'Times' was the natural instructor of what is called society in London, and the 'Times' was, unfortunately, very badly informed all through the war."

The "Liberals" were even more eager than the Tories in exultantly announcing that "the republican bubble" had burst. Even after the capture of Vicksburg by General Grant, "for a whole year or more the London public were still assured that the Confederates were sweeping from victory to victory; . . . On the last day of December, 1864, the 'Times' complained that 'Mr. Seward and other teachers or flatterers of the multitude still affect to anticipate the early restoration of the Union'; and three months from that date the rebellion was over."

"The conviction of the governing classes that the civil war must lead to the disruption of the Union was at the bottom of much of the indifference and apathy which for a long time was shown by English officials in regard to the remonstrances of the United States. The impression that we might do as we liked with the north was made only too obvious. The United States must, indeed, then have felt that they were receiving a warning that to be weak is to be miserable."

"Disgusting" indeed, as Marx called it, was the attitude of the government, of the Lords Russell and Palmerston, and of the great Liberal Gladstone, who later volubly admitted his "mistake of incredible grossness." The British government insidiously permitted the southern slave-holders to use, quite openly, English harbors for the armament of their warships and for manning them with English sailors; and this in spite of the continuous protests of the American minister.

One of the finest victories the American Republic ever won was the triumph of Bostonian tact and firmness represented by her ambassador in London, Charles Francis Adams, over the

blundering "bumptiousness" of the traditional English statesmanship as carried on by her pretentious "aristocrats," especially by Lord Palmerston who, like a big boy, enjoyed bullying the world with his often impudent use of Great Britain's superior power. And nothing could more sadly justify pessimism than the fact that this bullying boy was greatly admired by his compatriots. When, nine years later (1873), England finally admitted her errors and by international arbitration was made to pay 15.5 million dollars of damages to insulted America, English opinion, by no means penitent, punished the prime minister then in power (Gladstone; Palmerston having died in 1865) by defeating him.

Even more ominous for the hopes for world peace is another undeniable and now generally recognized fact. All the noble tact of Charles Francis Adams would have been of no avail in London without the military successes of General Grant; "and he (Mr. Adams) well knew that nothing but military success could rescue the Union from the diplomatic conspiracies which were going on in Europe for the promotion of the Southern cause." But McCarthy, who states this, reports also that the American Union—aside from her military strength—had another great ally in England: "Most of the great democratic towns of the midland and of the north were mainly in favor of the Union. The artisans everywhere were on the same side. This was made strikingly manifest in Lancashire. The supply of cotton from America nearly ceased in consequence of the war, and the greatest distress prevailed in that country. The 'cotton famine,' called by no exaggerated name, set in. All that private benevolence could do, all that legislation, enabling money to be borrowed for public works to give employment, could do, was for a time hardly able to contend against the distress. Yet the Lancashire operatives were among the sturdiest of those who stood out against any proposal to break the blockade or to recognize the south."

Thus we see "the people who live in the small houses" revealing more political wisdom and farsightedness than the conceited rich, blinded by greed and prejudice. The small householders, without political rights and almost slaves of their employers, at least were not bound to poison their minds by

reading their employers' newspapers. However numerous errors Marx may have committed, in the crucial problem of America and the Southern rebellion, he was not as blind as the London "Times" proved to have been.

Marx's decision in favor of Lincoln was accepted by both factions of the "Communist League" which then attracted many of the most intelligent English workingmen. Incidentally it may be noted here that one of Marx's fellow socialists (Weydemeyer) became a colonel, another (Willich), a general in Lincoln's armies. Marx proudly remarked: "In America's Civil War, Willich proved that he is more than a visionary."

The decisive day in Marx's fight for the cause of America's liberty was March 26, 1863, the day of a labor union meeting in St. James's Hall, London. Among the audience sat the American, Henry Adams, son of the American ambassador to London, and the German, Karl Marx. "Marx had started the movement of mobilizing a protest of the English working class against the attitude of the government" (Bimba, "History of the American Working Class" p. 132). And Henry Adams was commissioned to report the meeting to the American Embassy. The main speaker was John Bright, the truly great English statesman, who—like Cobden, his equally famous fellow-fighter—was not a "socialist," but who, with Cobden, energetically allied himself to and served the cause of the English laborers in his campaign against the feudal land owners of his country.

Bright, as one of the remaining moral forces among the "upper classes" of England, was bitterly hated by her privileged plundering class. Both he and Cobden "were classed as enemies of order,—anarchists,—and anarchists they were if hatred of the so-called established orders made them so." So Henry Adams, grandson and great-grandson of American Presidents, describes—admiringly—the best English political mind of his time, describes that same Bright who carried his sincere English patriotism so far as to demand what every critical patriot should demand for his own planless and blundering countrymen, namely, that "we English are a nation of brutes and ought to be exterminated to the last man."

And Henry Adams also quotes the following words from the historical speech made by Bright denouncing the English con-

spiracy against human decency and Lincoln. This is the speech of a basically conservative Englishman. It received the warm appreciation of Marx, who praised it in a letter to Engels. It is the speech that shows better than anything else why and to what depth Marx was influenced by American ideals and why he so energetically worked for Lincoln. Here is the opening paragraph of Bright's defense of America, the paragraph that had such a "tremendous effect" upon the English workingmen and pleased equally the American, Henry Adams (who reported it), and the internationalist, Karl Marx. Bright anathematized the privileged and slum-owning classes of England in such terms:

"Privilege thinks it has a great interest in the American contest, and every morning with blatant voice, it comes into our streets and curses the American Republic. Privilege has beheld an afflicting spectacle for many years past. It has beheld thirty million of men," the population of the United States in Lincoln's time, "happy and prosperous, without emperors—without King (*cheers*)—without the surroundings of a court (*renewed cheers*)—without nobles, except such as are made by eminence in intellect and virtue—without State bishops and State priests, those vendors of the love that works salvation (*cheers*)—without great armies and great navies—without a great debt and great taxes—and Privilege has shuddered at what might happen to old Europe if this great experiment should succeed."

Commenting on the effect of this speech, Henry Adams wrote: "The audience cheered furiously, and the private secretary" (Adams himself) "felt peace in his much troubled mind, for he knew how careful the Ministry" (the English Government) "would be, once they saw Bright talk republican principles before Trades-Unions."

And so, Marx, who had played a great part in mobilizing the Trade-Unions for the occasion, may well have contributed materially towards preventing England's alliance with Napoleon III and with the Southern slave-holders. The joint forces of feudalism in England, France and the American South would probably have sufficed for breaking up even the youthfully strong American Union. At any rate, the ensuing war probably

would have caused the Anglo-Saxon nations a setback of centuries.

Nothing could have more delighted the passionate zeal of Marx than Bright's statement of American ideals and his appreciation of the New World of America as a revolutionary experiment in democracy. The master mind of "this great experiment" was Abraham Lincoln as he then lived and fought, and as—later—he has been idealized by the glorious and now unshakable "Lincoln legend," that most precious possession of America's pioneering democracy.

Eighth Chapter

HOUSING REFORM—ORDERLY OR "FORCIBLE" METHODS?

The outstanding feature of the First Washington Conference on Public Housing (January 27, 1934) was "the First Lady's" speech on slum clearance. Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt admirably restated those ideas which always imbued new life into the hopes for the reform of American housing whenever the continuous increase of slums and blighted districts seemed to have shattered these hopes forever. Mrs. Roosevelt said (the italics are not hers):

"We now have a chance to work out ways in which we can actually clear slums and build cheap housing. . . . The economic thing which makes low-cost housing so difficult of achievement is the fact that in this country, particularly in the big cities, most people have looked upon their land . . . as an investment in which they would eventually make a great deal of money. . . . That is one of the things that will have to change. . . . I know of no way by which this can come about except through *public opinion.* I think that if we make it distinctly understood that the *holders of property who exploit human beings are bad citizens* in their communities, we will get somewhere in a large way on this program. . . . This thing can be done by the *awakening of the conscience* of the citizens who are property owners and who have the ability to bring about *in a calm and orderly fashion* what has had to be done in some places through *revolution.* I believe that we can do it and that we will do it, but it may take *a little dramatization* of the things that thoughtless people do to their fellow citizens just in order to make a little more money."

This renewed appeal to "public opinion" and to "the conscience of the citizens" will surely be less futile than many similar appeals have been in the past and which—with appalling regularity—have proved disappointing. They failed to be accompanied by the additional and practical inducement of Fed-

eral money, the indispensability of which has at last been realized by one man—President F. D. Roosevelt. But even grants of 125 or 249 millions of dollars, given or promised, to expedite the construction of new low cost housing in 1934 and 1935, can lead to the building of hardly more than 100,000 homes, at a moment when nine or ten million new American homes are needed and when the holders of tenements or tenement mortgages strongly oppose Federal help even for the erection of the 100,000. The health and happiness of millions of human beings are at stake. Will it be possible to depend for their salvation upon "public opinion," "the conscience of the citizens" and "a little dramatization"? Will it be possible to stay "the holders of property who exploit human beings"? Will uninterested public opinion overcome the stubborn resistance of real estate and slum interests and build the missing 8,900,000 of 9,900,000 decent homes, the lack of which forces one third of America's population (roughly one half rural and one half urban), "nine or ten million families, to occupy obsolete, inadequate, neglected shelter, damaging in varying degree to health and to self-respect"? (E. E. Wood.)

The optimistic American belief that the peculiarities of America's development since her bloody revolutions of 1776 and 1861 will make subsequent revolutions of a bloody character avoidable, has also been shared by Karl Marx. He, indeed, excluded the United States and England from the curse of inevitable bloody revolution. It is true that his "Communist Manifesto," however, stated no such exclusion. It impressively ends with these words:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!" And this famous and much debated threat of the Communist Manifesto received its American significance when Abraham Lincoln re-emphasized its last phrase in admonishing the members of the Workingmen's Association of New York to observe the bonds of the international solidarity uniting the workingmen of all countries.

Lincoln then said: "Let the working people beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. . . . The strongest bond of sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds." (March 21, 1864.)

But the famous threat of the Communist Manifesto was written in 1847, at a time when Marx's knowledge of political possibilities in Anglo-Saxon countries was very limited. After twenty-five years of residence in London Marx was more informed, and in 1872, when in Amsterdam, he declared: "Of course I must not be supposed to imply that the means to this end (the revolution) will be everywhere the same. We know that special regard must be paid to the institutions, customs and traditions of different countries, and we do not deny that there are certain countries, such as the United States and England, in which the workers may hope to secure their ends by peaceful means."

This Anglo-American privilege of securing life's necessities and even decencies for the workers in a temperate manner and without bloodshed, has later been strongly denied by Lenin in a phrase which will be quoted towards the end of this chapter. First, however, some of the often complicated discussions about the application of "force" in interior politics and reform may be briefly examined. Such a discussion leads also to housing and house rent problems.

Lenin's threatening attitude is much more American than most American observers like to admit. His belief in the necessity of coercive reform, even in England and America, as the only effective means of overcoming the resistance of selfish property owners and of securing a freer distribution of goods and human decencies, this fatal belief puts Lenin in the class with Jefferson and Lincoln. "The tree of liberty," Jefferson said, "must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." Also Lincoln, much against his will, found himself compelled to use force and to sacrifice 600,000 lives. And the outstanding American philosopher, Emerson, even thought that forcible methods were far better than peaceful ones. After the Civil War he wrote in his Journal (April 1865): "'Tis far the best that the rebellion have

been pounded instead of negotiated into a peace. They must remember it, and their inveterate brag will be humbled, if not cured. . . . General Grant's terms certainly look a little too easy."

However easy these terms may have appeared to Emerson, the "rebels" (the southern capitalists) were deprived, forcibly and without compensation, of "capital" valued from two to four thousand millions of dollars. This great American sequestration probably represents the most "anti-capitalistic" act in all history preceding the Bolshevist revolution. It will be shown in later chapters that the economist Marx was more just than Lincoln in recognizing the important rôle reserved for capital in modern production. Lincoln himself had been a laborer and we remember that Marx called him "the single-minded son of the working class." Therefore, Lincoln was more apt than Marx to overestimate the rôle of labor. At any rate, we find in Lincoln's official papers and speeches frequent statements such as the following: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. *Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.*" (Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861; repeated by Lincoln in his speech to the Workingmen's Association of New York, March 21, 1864.)

. When Lincoln called "labor the true standard of value," he spoke less as an economist than as a statesman and inspiring moralist bent on securing more justice for America's heavily handicapped laboring class—a class from which he himself had risen under difficulties which only genius or the most unnatural luck can surmount. He was born in a one-room dwelling. He received no education and few other benefits dependent upon reserve capital. He had fallen into bankruptcy when he tried to acquire capital (a grocery store). And he had, again by court decree, been deprived of his instruments when with his own tools, he attempted to perform his labors as a surveyor. Not to own one's laboring tools (i.e. one's capital) is often defined—especially by Marx—as the plight which transforms free men into proletarians whom revolution alone may liberate again. Until such a revolution, material and spiritual, occurs,

these men are forced for better or for worse, to do the bidding of the owner of the tools. The owner is called the "capitalist." If this capitalist chooses to work in other fields, if misfortune overcomes him, or if he manages his affairs badly, he may dismiss his proletarians without, or with only short notice. They may find no other work and will then be "unemployed" and may starve through no fault of their own. And the unemployed without capital can pay no rent nor keep his home in good repair. The neighborhood he lives in is or will be a slum.

If the owner of the factory—a private citizen, or the state—is also the owner of the good or bad houses in which the employees live, they are even more helplessly at his mercy. Lockout or strike, and eviction from their homes often initiate the shedding of the workingmen's blood. But even without the ownership of factory and employees' houses being concentrated in the same hand, the employees are apt to be victimized and to lose their houses and the money they have invested in them, unless their shelter is protected by some "homestead" act exempting private houses from seizure for debt or unpaid rent. Until such an act recognizes everyone's right and duty to live in a healthy home (safely financed at the expense of whomever it may be), until such necessary protection of the smallest home has become general, regardless of the cost, the city planning and housing architect finds his hands tied by economic impediments.

Can this vicious knot be cut without recourse to "forcible" methods? In some of the "free" countries, such as England, Holland or Scandinavia, peaceful solutions seem to have been found, at least after the moral shake-up of the War. In such other countries, however, as Germany, Austria and Russia, whose governments for centuries were more or less despotic, nothing short of the forcible revolutions of 1917 and 1918, and the even more effective economic earthquakes of the "inflation" could produce sufficiently cheap land and adequate reform.

Can the American architect, under existent conditions, economically design effectual and legal plans for the construction of decent cities to be inhabited by people, the majority of whom may at any moment be "unemployed" and be without the means

of paying their taxes or the installments, amortization, upkeep or rent of their homes?

The existing American laws enable the "capitalists" to arrogate to themselves all urban land within convenient reach or to corner, so to speak, the urban land market. In order to either make money or to at least pay their taxes, the owners of land often build upon it the worst kind of tenements permissible under laws made largely by the very landowners themselves or by their expert advisors. Some of the worst tenement house laws and zoning ordinances have been made by well-meaning social workers and architects misunderstanding their calling or dishonoring their profession. The owners then sell these ill-constructed "old law," "new law," and mostly bad law tenements at the highest rental values to respectable trusteeships (of hospitals, orphans, widows, etc.) or to other poorly calculating investors who soon find that they are able to pay the high property taxes (assessed in accordance with the speculatively inflated selling prices) only if their real estate remains without repairs and becomes overcrowded by the very proletarians (the workers without capital) to whom practically no choice other than miserable crowding is left. For these proletarians, there is hardly any possible escape—"in a calm and orderly fashion"—from a vicious system of city building that coerces them into fire-traps in winter, and into sweltering hells in summer, thus exposing them and their families to disease and vice and creating new burdens for the tax-paying community.

Conditions of this kind had developed in New York and in other large American cities ever since the first decades of the nineteenth century. Lincoln witnessed them. He received a terrible lesson of what the slum of a big city is capable, at the time of the "draft riots" in July 1863, when the inhabitants of New York's tenements became disgusted with the permission granted to the rich to grow richer from war profits. (Boss Tweed opposed Lincoln's war policy, but picked up a million dollars of war profits within a single year.) For $300 each, all men of means could purchase exemption from military service, thus leaving the fighting to the conscientious or to the materially poor.

In righteous indignation the masses armed and burned down numberless wealthy residences, tortured and killed policemen and soldiers, built barricades better than the Parisians ever did. One of the New York barricades, on Ninth Avenue from 24th Street to 41st Street, boasted of the international record length of almost a mile. Battalions of ragged slum children proved a match for detachments of police. The disgusted mob plundered freely. Their women stripped the courtesans in the brothels of their finery. Bold men and women resisted even heavy artillery, and could finally be beaten down, after four days of street fighting, only because the victory of Gettysburg had made it possible for the Federal Government to succour the police in the battle of New York with thirteen regiments of regulars. The officially admitted number of killed, "more than a thousand" civilians, policemen and soldiers, was one of those smooth-sounding understatements required by the Government's propaganda for the then raging war in the South. The frightful number of wounded has never been estimated.

The evils of rapidly growing American slums were attenuated to some extent by Lincoln's Homestead Act. This beneficent law was made possible only by the revolutionary withdrawal of the slave-holders' representatives from Congress. Thus it was revolution which gave the crowded city workers a better chance and a strong impulse to become farmers. But the evils of the cities were made much worse after the war, when "under the stimulus of feverish profit-making, the gates of America were flung open to the surge of immigrants" (Beard). Tweed and his "ring" sent their agents to meet the immigrants immediately upon the latters' arrival and made "American citizens" at the rate of as many as 60,000 within twenty days, when Tweed's political game of stuffing the ballot boxes required such feats.

Although there was plenty of room in this New World, the new American slums, at an early date, were as congested as those of old Europe. Even today, after the growth of dense groups of skyscrapers, the average height of Manhattan's buildings is not over five stories. But prejudice is stronger than reason. From an early date the prejudice prevailed as if there were, in Manhattan, not enough room to allow building decently and spaciously. "The peculiar shape of Manhattan island and

the difficulty of transit between its extremities have tended to crowd the population into tenement houses in the lower portion, some parts of which rival the most crowded quarters of any other civilized city." (The American Cyclopaedia of 1875, Vol. XII p. 382. This source gives also the following figures:) "There are (in New York) about 24,000 tenement houses. . . ." The four most thickly inhabited districts of New York and London compare as follows:

New York		London	
Wards	Number of inhabitants to the acre:	Districts	Number of inhabitants to the acre:
Tenth	377	Strand	307
Eleventh	328	East London	266
Thirteenth	312	St. Luke's	259
Seventeenth	288	Holborn	229
(average	326)	(average	265)

Here ends the quotation which tells us that New York with 973,000 people (in 1870) had—as far as slums go—surpassed London which had then three times the population of New York. Manhattan's congestion per acre was—in the wards and the districts compared—23% higher.

The triumph of the slums of New York evoked, of course, much moral indignation and justified the most threatening appeals to social justice. The concluding phrase (quoted above) of the "Communist Manifesto" has often been interpreted as just such a threatening appeal. But Marx and Engels insisted that, in spite of their menacing Manifesto they were purely economists facing facts, and by no means advocates of social justice. In demonstrating their curious economic optimism Marx and Engels seem to outdo even the extravagant optimism of the so-called "classical" economists, such as Adam Smith and Ricardo who refused to recognize the danger of eternal (though perhaps not necessarily inevitable) chaos in our world. Even the "materialists" Marx and Engel seem to have believed in the ultimate, almost effortless and automatic realization of some preëstablished harmony promising—so we may surmise—spotless cities and comfortable homes for everyone.

From a Marxian point of view such an idea as Lincoln's, "labor being the true standard of value," with its implied appeal

to justice is unnecessary. Engels protested: "The application of the Ricardian theory, according to which the whole social product belongs to the sole producer, the workers, as their product, leads directly to communism. This theory, however, as Marx has pointed out, is from an economic point of view formally false, since it is an application of ethics to economics." (Engels in his introduction, of 1884, to Marx "Misery of Philosophy.")

It has often been said that Marx never intended to propagandize the "forcible overthrow" of government, but that he only prophesied its unavoidability in Europe. Even Lenin, who desires to be known as the most faithful interpreter of Marx, and was himself the most ardent advocate of "forcible overthrow," even Lenin admits: "It is well known that in the autumn of 1870, a few months prior to the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that an attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair"; only later "when, in March, 1871, a decisive battle was *forced* upon the workers and they accepted it, when the uprising had become a fact, Marx welcomed the proletarian revolution with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of unfavourable auguries" (Lenin; State and Revolution, Chap. III, § 1).

Indeed, whoever really intends to resort to "forcible" methods, generally has brains enough—while he still is powerless—to avoid advertising his violent intentions in advance. Even modern dictators, once in power, realize the advantage of preparing their wars by professing peaceful ends. Marx's intelligence cannot possibly be considered inferior to that of modern dictators. Furthermore, any hope Marx might have had in the possibility of a "forceful overthrow of all social conditions," to be effectuated by internal war, would have remained as sadly unfulfilled as his belated hopes in the success of the Paris Commune of 1871. Even after Marx's death, the Bolshevist Revolution was made possible not *from within*, by starving workingmen in their "folly of despair," but by the German Kaiser's efficient army collaborating *from without* and transporting Lenin and Trotzky, in the famous sealed railroad car, under Germany's military protection, from Switzerland to Russia.

Marx, if he had actually believed in forcible methods from

within, would hardly have committed the blunder of fatally handicapping in advance all preparations by imposing, with ill-considered threats, the stigma of unconstitutionality and the alleged desire of armed crime on even the most peaceful worker for social justice. Marx, while it amused him to frighten the bourgeois by prophecies of inescapable violence, was not the type to build anti-capitalistic barricades or to go to war, as Lincoln did in order to free slaves and to confiscate the legal property of slave-holders, or slum-owners.

Marx must have thought "forcible" methods just as "formally false" as the "application of ethics to economics." In defending Marx against the suspicion of having committed the last-mentioned blunder, Engels wrote (in 1884): "Marx never based his communistic demands upon ethics but upon the inevitable cataclysm of the capitalistic mode of production, which is going on before our eyes."

The capitalists of Europe did not care whether they were to be wiped out by militant advocates of social justice or by an allegedly "inevitable cataclysm of the mode of production." Marx and Engels pleased the European capitalists just as little as Lincoln pleased the capitalists of New Haven or of the Southern states, when he assured them, on March 6, 1860, that "while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else" (an equal chance, by the way, which is lacking at present in degenerating slum neighborhoods). But while Marx, in the library of the British Museum, waited patiently for the fulfillment of his prophecy—the early, "inevitable" and always postponed breakdown of capitalism—Lincoln, at the head of the greatest republic in the world, was more active and more tangibly destructive of capitalistic prejudices. Lincoln may or may not have been familiar with the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels. But he boldly uttered the erroneous theory of values of Ricardo and Lassalle. With a nonchalance that, in the mouth of a powerful leader, forebodes revolution, Lincoln spoke of "labor as the true standard of value" and arrived at that abolitionist (or rather deflationist) conception of property which led America straight into her disastrous Civil War.

Following is what Lenin in 1917 said about Marx's conten-

tion that in the future England and the United States might overcome without further recourse to "forcible means" the dangerous selfishness of property owners:

"This attitude of Marx was comprehensible in 1871, when England was still a purely capitalist country, but without militarism and, in a large measure, without a bureaucracy. Hence Marx excluded England, where a revolution, and even a people's revolution, at that time appeared and was made possible *without* the preliminary condition of the destruction of the 'ready-made state machine.' Now, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this limitation of Marx no longer holds. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have slid completely into the general European, dirty, bloody swamp of bureaucratic military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and which crush everything under them. Now, both in England and in America, the smashing and destruction of the 'ready-made state machinery' (brought there in 1914–17 to 'European' general imperialist perfection) is the 'preliminary condition' of any real people's revolution." (Lenin, Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. I, XXI, p. 345.)

Evidently Lenin's utterance was influenced by the conditions and psychology prevalent during the World War. Lenin's attitude, however, appears less unreasonable when one remembers what has been mentioned before, namely, that the sweeping housing reforms in Germany and Austria and even in such victorious or neutral countries as England, Holland and Sweden, would probably have never been instituted without the very severe social coercion resulting from the disasters of the Great War, a coercion which—at least so far—has not been strong enough in the United States. Much talk about a new American revolution is being heard. The "Farmer-Labor" movement in the middle West, the "Epic" in California, the Townsend group and others are gaining in strength. Recently a symposium was conducted by the editors of the weekly review "Common Sense." Thirty-three men and women prominent in American politics and literature, gave their opinions under the chairmanship of Professor John Dewey who epitomized the observations by saying:

"There is something like a second American Revolution looming ahead. And while it may not be 'the Revolution' to the disciples of Marx, it should none the less allow no truckling to capitalism." (Cf. Challenge to the New Deal Edited by A. M. Bingham and Selden Rodman, Editors of "Common Sense"; Introduction by John Dewey.)

What must be done in order to prove that Lenin's prediction of Anglo-American revolutions is incorrect and that America at least is still mistress of herself, able to effectuate her necessary reforms not by "forcible overthrow" but by the strength of "public opinion," and by a "dramatized" appeal to "the conscience of the citizens"?

Here is a realistic answer: An end must be put to the iniquities brought about by the "holders of property who exploit human beings." "An equal chance," must be given to the present victims of America's slums. All "obsolete shelter damaging to health and self-respect," one-third of all existing dwellings, the miserable hovels of from nine to ten million Americans, must speedily be replaced by decent homes upon rejuvenated land, that is upon land as fundamentally revalued as the "property" of the slave owners was revalued by means of the Civil War and at an expense of 600,000 American lives and five billion American dollars. The time to start this revaluation and reconstruction is the present—a moment just as pressing and critical as the hour just before the outbreak of the Civil War (Feb. 15, 1861), when Lincoln said:

"If all do not join now to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage."

To save the ship of the Union has been Lincoln's sublime purpose and will be the purpose of all who wish to follow him. We must remember that saving the ship may necessitate the enforcement of unexpected measures. Lincoln himself who was finally forced to proclaim the abolition of slavery was originally most strongly opposed to it. In his speech of January 27, 1837, he foretold of the "danger to our political institutions" arising from "an Alexander, a Caesar or a Napoleon . . . who thirsts and burns for distinction and will have it whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving free men." Shortly after-

wards Lincoln lodged in the Illinois legislature his formal protest against the promulgation of abolitionist doctrines (March 3, 1837).

In a somewhat similar vein those who to-day see the most serious danger in the promulgation of the doctrine tending to abolish private property may be, on the other hand, forced to pursue this very course. Those very owners of such property by their reluctance to make the necessary concessions may force the advocates of their cause to become the opponents of it.

Ninth Chapter

COMPENSATION OF SLUM OWNERS

Since a revision of most laws governing real estate seems unavoidable, the conservative solution might be found in a liberal indemnification of such land owners as are willing to forego some of the unjustifiable benefits previously realized or erroneously hoped for. Here again the statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln provides us with an admirable example.

Lincoln wished to end the ruinous war. In his Second Annual Message (December 1, 1862) he proposed "a plan of mutual concessions." It is one of the most extensive schemes ever conceived by the leader of a great nation. This Message of 1862 contains statistics and estimates of population reaching even to the year 1930. Lincoln proposed an amendment to the Constitution for the abolition of slavery by the year 1900 (as the latest date permitted). In the light of subsequent developments the plan for abolishing slavery within thirty-eight years seems too conservative and slow (although, today, the existing plans, for abolishing the slums of New York within fifty years are even more conservative). But otherwise Lincoln's proposal could well be made today the basis of a highly desirable constitutional amendment preparing the national abolition of these slums and enforcing the reconstruction of our cities on more economic lines.

The first article of Lincoln's proposed amendment begins thus (wherever he uses the terms "slavery" or "slave" we must, today, substitute "slums" or "slum"): "Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the 1st day of January, A.D. 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States . . . for each slave shown to have been therein by the Eighth Census. . . ."

Lincoln gives the following reasons for his proposed constitutional amendment: "In a certain sense the liberation of slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent

or by purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge?"

Applied to our present conditions, it follows that the whole nation must pay for the abolition of the slums. When it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use products made by slum-dwellers and share the profits of dealing in them, it is not safe to say that the slum-dwellers or even the slum-owners have been more responsible than the non-slum-dwellers for the continuance of these slums. The contrary is more likely true.

To raise the large sums required for the compensation Lincoln thought it justifiable to burden the United States with a heavy long term debt. "The proposed emancipation," he said; "would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With these we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debt, easier than we should pay our other debt without it."

Lincoln's calculation of the probable American population increase must be of the highest interest to the city planner. He submits this table of population increase from 1790 to 1860:

Year	Lincoln's estimate of U. S. population in case the War could be stopped	For comparison the following figures may here be placed parallel with the estimates made by Lincoln: Population as it actually developed after the Civil War	Ratio of increase instead of previous average of 34.6
1870	42,323,341	38,558,371	22.6
1880	56,967,216	50,155,783	30.1
1890	76,677,872	62,947,714	25.5
1900	103,208,415	75,994,575	20.7
1910	138,918,526	91,972,266	21
1920	186,984,335	105,710,620	14.9
1930	251,680,914	122,775,046	16.1

In explanation of his table Lincoln says: "This shows an average decennial increase of 34.60 per cent in population through

the seventy years from our first to our last census yet taken . . . indicating how inflexible, and consequently how reliable, the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, it gives the results demonstrated in the table" (on p. 118).

Lincoln then concludes: "These figures show that our country *may* be as populous as Europe now is at some point between 1920 and 1930—say about 1925—our territory, at 73⅓ persons to the square mile, being of capacity to contain 217,186,000." (73⅓ persons per square mile was taken by Lincoln to be the European average. He continued:) "And we *will* reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chance by the folly and evils of disunion or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us."

America did not follow Lincoln's urgent suggestions. The folly of exhausting war lasted another two years. And out of the war there did not emerge the age of democracy, but rather the "gilded age," an age of unprecedented anti-democratic corruption. Lincoln had hoped otherwise. He concluded his Second Annual Message with such sentences as these:

"As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow-citizens, *we* can not escape history. . . . In *giving* freedom to the *slave* we *assure* freedom to the *free*—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." (The Italics are Lincoln's.)

With confident optimism he wrote in the same Message: "Our abundant room, our broad national homestead, is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away. But such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging 73⅓ persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? . . . Several of our States are already above the average of Europe—73⅓ to the

square mile. Massachusetts has 157; Rhode Island, 133; Connecticut, 99; New York and New Jersey, each 80. Also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59."

In 1930 some corresponding averages per square mile were: Europe 185, Massachusetts 528, Rhode Island 644, Connecticut 333, New York State 264, New Jersey 537, Pennsylvania 214, Ohio 163, England 742, Scotland 159, France 197, and Germany 360.

The figures given above show that the increase of America's population reached only fifty per cent of what Lincoln had anticipated. Instead of relatively equalling or surpassing the population of Europe, the population of the United States, by 1930, reached only 122.7 millions while the population of Europe at the same time reached 550 millions (according to the estimate of the International Statistical Institute of the League of Nations, Geneva).

The modern sociologist can hardly regret the slowing up of America's population increase. This retardation, at least until the world has better learned how to educate masses and make their lives worth while, may be of great advantage, unless the 950 million people of Asia should, before the western world can civilize itself, organize for war, and annihilate western progress.

One may assume that Japan after having swallowed large sections of China will be heavily occupied, for a long time to come, in digesting and assimilating her conquests. Japan is already europeanizing her birth rates. She had in 1920 36.2 births per 1000 inhabitants; in 1933 only 31.6. This decline promises a fairly exact parallel with that of a European country in a corresponding situation and period. Germany's birthrate was 36.3 in 1895, 31.6 in 1905; and it later declined to 16 (1931), 15.1 (1932) and even 14.7 (1933).

But even those who fear a yellow attack must admit that modern defense relies to an increasing extent upon highly trained men rather than upon large masses. Nothing can better protect America than a healthy population with high standards of living and education. A serious power of resistance can hardly be expected from slum-dwellers.

The fact that America's population did not attain the two

hundred million mark as quickly as Lincoln assumed that it would, has not interfered with her overcoming the economic setback resulting from the Civil War, and from the abolition of all slave-property. In a similar manner, in the future, the even slower increase of her population should not interfere with her capacity for abolishing all slum property. The recent amazing increase of agricultural and industrial productive power has increased the economic capacity of each individual to such an extent that no requirement for increasing the health and happiness of the nation needs remain unfulfilled. The 130 million Americans of today and tomorrow can produce more than what the 251 million Americans anticipated by Lincoln could ever have produced. Thus it is perfectly practical to follow in the footsteps of Lincoln and to burden the United States with a reasonably heavy long term debt in order to liberate the nation from its dangerous slums.

On a par with Lincoln's general recommendation to indemnify the slave-holders is his suggestion as to the extent of compensation to be granted them. A similar proportion might advantageously be chosen today in indemnifying our slum-owners. Lincoln's plan has been described by a prominent lawyer who as Secretary of New York State has had personal dealings with the great President. We read:

"In the early days of the war Lincoln argued earnestly with his Cabinet and the leaders in Congress for authorization to offer the South four hundred millions of dollars as a compensation for freeing the slaves. To the answer that the country could not stand the expense, he said: 'The war is costing four millions a day, and it will certainly last one hundred days.' After he had visited Richmond, when the war was over . . . he again urged this proposition, saying that the South was completely exhausted and his four hundred millions would be the best investment the country could make in at once restoring peace and goodwill between all sections and furnishing the capital to the Southern people to restore their homes, recuperate their fortunes, and start their industries. But in the bitter passions of the hour the proposition received no support." (Chauncey M. Depew, Orations, III, p. 374.)

President Lincoln's sympathetic proposition seems to be

somewhat akin to the idea underlying President F. D. Roosevelt's Public Housing Administration. The home-owners of all the United States have been about as badly hit by the depression of 1929 to 1936 as the home-owners of the South were by the Civil War of 1861 to 1865. One must, of course, differentiate between owners of decent homes and owners of slums. To help the owners of individual homes may be constructive statesmanship. To help the slum-owners may be dangerous aid to irresponsible landlords and thoughtless investors who cannot be helped. The slum-owners of today have sinned against human decency just as badly as the slave-owners of three generations ago. However, for the statesman there should not exist a question of punishment, but one of redress. "Lincoln bore no enmities and never executed any revenges. While the whole North was raging against those who had rebelled and most Northerners believed that the destruction of the rebels' properties, the devastation of their lands and the loss of their slaves, which was their main property, was a just punishment for endeavoring to break up the Union, Mr. Lincoln appreciated thoroughly the conditions which had impelled them to rebel" (Ch. M. Depew).

But Lincoln was murdered, by a Southerner who then shouted: "The South is revenged!" And by Lincoln's death the Southerners lost their best friend. The four hundred million dollars he wished to give them were never again mentioned.

The assassination of President Lincoln put an end to any very serious thoughts of making provision for compensation for losses of slaves; and the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, ratified by a majority of the states in 1867–68, absolutely forbade compensation being made either by the United States or by any state. "Thus terminated for ever in the United States the system of bondage which had been its chief reproach in the eyes of the world and of its own people." (This view expresses the contemporary feelings of the period. Cf. Professor T. M. Cooley's article in American Cyclopedia, 1876, Vol. XV, p. 102.)

May it soon be possible to say the same about the bondage of the American slum.

Lincoln's most powerful argument in favor of an early indemnification of the slave-holders, instead of continuing the war against them, also applies to the slum-holders. Lincoln said the war is more expensive than compensation would be. Indeed (to quote Professor Beard), "the mere war expenses of the belligerents amounted to about five billion dollars in round numbers. The outlay for three years of reconstruction was placed at three billions more. . . . One thing was certain: The monetary cost of the conflict far exceeded the value of the slaves."

These last calculations are, of course, quite beside the main point, that—according to a conservative reckoning—six hundred thousand American soldiers, Northerners and Southerners, had been killed to atone for the economic shortsightedness and false political speculation of the slaveholders. The sacrifice of six hundred thousand lives had been required—in Lincoln's phrase —"to nobly save the last best hope of earth."

The Civil War has been called "the Second American Revolution," although critical Americans such as Chas. A. Beard maintain that, in a strict sense, it was the First. If the stupidity of antiquated interests should in the future enforce another such revolution or social war, the cost in blood and goods would, of course, be infinitely greater.

There has recently been some rather violent animosity directed against the recovery measures of President F. D. Roosevelt. He came not yet as near "impeachment" as did President Hoover, against whom a resolution in Congress was twice voted upon, accusing him of having "dissipated the financial resources of the United States" (Dec. 13, 1932, and Jan. 17, 1933). But President Roosevelt "trod perilously close to impeachable grounds" (N. Y. Times, July 24, 1935) if the assertion of the Republican leader in the national House of Representatives can be found trustworthy. The slum-owners of today will probably profit more by *not* fostering this antagonism and by permitting themselves rather to be imbued with the spirit of Lincoln. Lincoln's offer of a compensation of four hundred millions represented for the slave-holders a twenty per cent indemnification if the value of their tainted property were calculated at two thousand million dollars, as Lincoln did calculate it. Such

computations are, of course, subject to many hypothetical considerations. Beard for instance employs a hundred per cent higher evaluation. He writes:

"A crucial stroke in this revolution—though by no means as significant as sometimes suggested—was the confiscation or, to use a more euphonious term, the abolition of the planters property in labor. Whatever may be the ethical view of the transaction, its result was the complete destruction of about four billion dollars' worth of 'goods' in the possession of slave-owners without compensation—the most stupendous act of sequestration in the history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Even that was not drastic enough for some radicals. Extremists wanted to make the execution still more crushing by transferring to the slaves the estates they tilled, but this was too much for the temper of those who directed the course of Federal affairs in Washington." (Rise of Am. Civ., II, 100.)

In the presidential election of 1864 a section of the Republican Party detached itself; their candidate, Frémont, ran as an "Independent Republican" on a platform calling for the confiscation of the property of Confederates. These Independent Republican radicals remained unsuccessful as long as Lincoln lived. His assassination, however, and the following congressional elections brought the Republican radicalism into power and revealed the confiscatory and predatory tendencies prevailing in that party. Only since 1872 has a more sensible wing, the "Liberal Republican Party," been formed and has begun to oppose the open scandals and the corruption of the Republican régime under Grant.

The good temper, above referred to, of the directors in Washington did not prevent their canceling the whole Confederate war debt. Untold millions of dollars were destroyed by a single stroke of the pen. Not only many southern but also many northern holders of these securities, especially Chicago banks became bankrupt.

The suggestion of transferring the slave-holders' land to the freed slaves has found, since the world war, its very realistic and highly beneficent counterpart in the agrarian reconstructions of such countries as Czechoslovakia and the new Baltic states. In these countries the formerly powerful aristocrats of

German extraction have, rather summarily, been deprived of their large estates. These lands have been subdivided and distributed among the formerly landless members of the new nation and now ruling Slavic race. Such highly political and forceful semi-sequestrations were thought justifiable for reasons of state.

For similar reasons a national American housing policy might conceivably enforce—with some reasonable compensation —the transfer of the property rights in all tenements from their present owners to their present tenants. Such a policy would recall the wishes of Engels and Marx, who asked for "the expropriation of the present owners" and for "quartering in their houses the homeless or those workers excessively overcrowded in their former houses."

But neither the transformation of the present tenement-renters into tenement-owners, nor the distribution of the expensive apartments among the workers who at present lack decent homes, should satisfy the promoter of better American housing because (as mentioned before) even many of the expensive apartments existing at present, as well as the poorer tenements, are not sufficiently lighted and ventilated to be fit for Americans to occupy permanently. People will not be benefited by becoming owners of such tenements as long as the present status of technology can, under sane management, give them a fair chance of securing much better houses than any of those erected by the exploitation of present building codes.

If the valuation of the property in slaves is taken to be four billion dollars, Lincoln's offer of four hundred millions represents only ten per cent of the confiscated value. If Lincoln's own estimate of two billion dollars is correct, his offer of compensation would represent twenty per cent of the confiscated value. It is not here important to go into detailed calculations. It is sufficient to say that an indemnification of from ten to twenty per cent of the tainted property's value would, probably also in the case of slum property—as it did in the case of slave property—correspond to President Lincoln's statesmanlike perception.

The valuation of slum-properties existing at present will be discussed in a later Chapter. Anticipating the conclusions there arrived at, it may be said that an indemnification at the

rate of from ten to twenty per cent of present slum values would correspond to an approximate total of from two to four billion dollars to be paid to present slum owners. Such a payment, in absolute figures, would be from four to eight times larger than the sum contemplated by President Lincoln for indemnifying the slave-holders. But the population of the United States is today more than four times larger than it was in 1860 and the per capita income of the nation is today—in spite of the depression—considerably higher than it was seventy years ago.

An indemnification of the owners of slums and blighted areas at the rate of from two to four billion dollars distributed over a suitable number of (approximately ten) years would also appear justifiable from the city planner's point of view. It is true that most of the buildings in the slums or blighted districts ought to be torn down, the sooner the better. (The New York Housing Authority's trials of rehabilitating old tenements had —from the economic point of view—very unsatisfactory results; cf. N. Y. Times, Sept. 14, 1935.) Most of them ought to be utilized for living quarters as little as possible and then only until better ones can be secured. But even if the considerable expense of clearing the ground by tearing down the buildings is added to the contemplated two to four billion dollar sum of indemnification, the total arrived at may not be too extravagant a price to pay for the bare land thus obtained. Much—though by no means all—of this land may be re-used in transforming America's plighted cities into places adequate for human habitation. The problems and solutions discussed in this chapter are concisely illustrated by the following extract from the address made by Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt on September 9, 1935 when the City of Detroit's $6,600,000 slum clearance project was started by demolishing the first one of the dilapidated houses. Mrs. Roosevelt said:

"This district has been expensive for the city of Detroit. Taxes are 92 per cent delinquent, 68 per cent of the dwellings have been condemned as unsafe for human habitation. Records show crime to be six times the average for the city, juvenile delinquency ten times the average, tuberculosis seven and one-half times the average. It is lack of social consciousness which

permits such conditions to develop, but we may thank the depression for focusing attention on these sore spots in our social life."

These wise and generous words, unfortunately, had an ominous sequel. The newspapers reported: "The First Lady's fluttering handkerchief was the signal yesterday for demolition of the first of numerous buildings which will be razed to make way for low-cost, modern houses and apartments for the families of Negro workmen. At almost the same instant, however, United States District Judge Tuttle affixed his signature to a court order bringing the project to a halt, at least temporarily. The order was granted on the plea of several property owners." (N. Y. Post, Sept. 10, 1935.)

The property owners' resistance against the abolition of their slums and against the restoration of American decency may be slow and painful to conquer. This resistance is approximately twenty billion dollars strong; nevertheless, it should be conquered without another civil war.

Tenth Chapter

ALEXANDER HAMILTON OPPOSES "IMPRACTICAL COMPENSATION"

Even conservative statesmen must, finally, realize that Lincoln was the greatest revolutionary in American history and not the patron-saint of capital and property rights they have declared him to be. If, however, the owners of vested rights look to some other hero of American leadership for counsel they may be surprised to find how greatly America's historical leaders, even those in opposed camps, are in harmony when it comes to questions so essential as those regarding property.

If Lincoln was evidently too much a man of the people to be in sympathy with obsolete and objectionable property rights, the owners of these rights might prefer to trust the aristocratic Alexander Hamilton. In his writings he sometimes professed an almost naïve belief in the beneficent effects of having a large funded debt and in the thesis held by preceding economists that (in England for instance) the national debt actually enriched the nation. From such an advocacy of national debts may the owners of slaves or slums hope to receive a very liberal compensation when their objectionable property is finally condemned? By no means!

Hamilton can teach such property-owners an even greater disregard of obsolescent property rights than that which characterized Lincoln and his revolution. In his "Vindication of the Funding System" Hamilton wrote the following golden words about the national debt and about "feudal rights involving that of property." Every one of these words also applies to the necessity of solving America's modern real estate and slum problems. Hamilton wrote:

"The principle which shall be assumed here is this, that the established rules of morality and justice are applicable to nations as well as to individuals; that the former as well as the

latter are bound to keep their promises; to fulfill their engagements to respect the rights of property which others have acquired under contracts with them. Without this there is an end of all distinct ideas of right or wrong, justice or injustice, in relation to society or government. (*Without this*) there can be no such thing as rights, no such thing as property or liberty; all the boasted advantages of a constitution of government vanish into air. Everything must float on the variable and vague opinions of the governing party, of whomsoever composed. To this it may be answered that the doctrine, as a general one, is true, but that there are certain great cases which operate as exceptions to the rule, and in which the public good may demand and justify a departure from it."

The first case thus considered by Hamilton as exceptional is war, the second is property rights. He declares: "Of the second class of exceptions, the case of certain feudal rights, which once oppressed all Europe, and still oppress too great a part of it, may serve as an example; rights which made absolute slaves of a part of the community, and rendered the condition of the greatest proportion of the remainder not much more eligible."

Here we find Hamilton expressing ideas closely akin to those of his great opponent Thomas Jefferson, who wrote: ". . . man is the only animal which devours his own kind; for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe, and to the general prey of the rich on the poor." (From: The Price of Liberty.)

Among the remaining feudal rights of Europe the right of the rich property-owner and land-owner to prey on the poor and landless, is one of the most dangerous and most un-American of all. It is precisely this right which, among others, Hamilton considered most predatory to the common good and which he refers to when he continues by saying:

"These rights, though *involving that of property*, being contrary to the social order, and to the permanent welfare of society, were justifiably abolished in the instances in which abolitions have taken place, *and may be abolished in all the remaining vestiges.* Wherever, indeed, a right of property is infringed for the general good, if the nature of the case admits of compensation, it ought to be made; but *if compensation be imprac-*

ticable, that impracticability ought *not to be an obstacle to a clearly essential reform.*" (The Italics are added.)

Hamilton's conservative wisdom has not been practiced by modern America in the case of the wine growers, the distillers of hard liquor, and the brewers of beer whose large and legitimate property rights were, in 1916, expropriated without that compensation which would then have been entirely "practicable."

Certainly a compensation of twenty billions of dollars for obsolescent residential property and often illegitimate and highly inflated rights in real estate and slum property, is much more "impracticable" than the compensation of the alcohol producers in 1916 would have been. Large parts of modern values of residential property and other "real" estate are illusions and make-beliefs brought about only by the disregard of statutory health legislation or by inexpedient speculation based upon impossible assumptions of increased population. (These assumptions are dealt with in the following Chapter.) To defend these tottering feudal castles in the air and to compensate the dreamers of these illegitimate dreams, or—to use the customary euphemism—to "maintain the credit structure" of America, would contradict the intentions of Jefferson, Hamilton and Lincoln and would endanger the Commonwealth.

The compensation of slum-owners would cease to be "impracticable" only in case the valuation of the slums was reduced, to about one-tenth or to a maximum of one-fifth of the inflated value, as Lincoln suggested in the case of the slave-holders property.

What is the basis of the real-estate values and of the property rights in slums and blighted areas? How real and reasonable is this basis? What hope for maintaining it is justified? These and similar questions are answered in the following Chapter.

Eleventh Chapter

ESTIMATES OF AMERICAN SLUM "VALUES"

Before trying to estimate the still undetermined value of the slums, one of America's most expensive assets, or, rather, liabilities, a definition of the *corpus delicti* is required. The following definition given by Dr. E. E. Wood may here be accepted (cf. U. S. Government publication, Bulletin No. 1, of the Housing Division): "A slum is most simply defined as housing (on whatever scale) so inadequate or so deteriorated as to endanger the health, safety, or morals of its inhabitants. A blighted residential area is one on the down grade which has not yet reached the slum stage."

What is the value of these slums and blighted districts? Dr. Wood has made some rough estimates of the cost of replacing our unfit housing throughout the country. She puts it at 40 billion dollars ("Recent Trends in American Housing," page 287). This total would include the new construction.

What would or should it cost to acquire the present slums and blighted districts? They are a colossal liability! But their owners desire to have them treated as an asset. The butcher who has decayed meat, must destroy it. If he sells it, he is held responsible for the damage to public health. Not so the owners of bad housing. Instead of making up for their deficiency and instead of being held responsible for the damage they do with their damaged goods, the owners want to be paid for it. And they can claim their liabilities have, by public bodies, been recognized as assets and have been assessed as very valuable assets, indeed, and that, sometimes, the respective owners have even paid taxes in conformity with such illogical assessments. Even after having discontinued the paying of taxes, the owners feel that they ought to be paid for their tainted property. It is almost a blackmailing proposition: the slum owner threatens to continue ruining the health of the community unless the community "comes across" with good cash.

How much cash do they want? How much are they entitled to? This seems to be a dark subject. Have the assessments of American slum property ever been added up? Even if such a calculation had been made, was it to be taken seriously? Hardly! The real estate assessments of American cities contain in capitalized form a record of all that has been described as "the Shame of the Cities" by such writers as Lincoln Steffens. These assessments include, in permanently capitalized form, all the money squandered by "a class of city legislators who, with but few exceptions, are an unprincipled, illiterate, scheming set of cormorants . . . foisted upon the community through the machinery of bribed election inspectors, ballot box stuffing . . . municipal legislators who have been educated in barrooms, brothels, and political societies" (the last mentioned seem to be the worst; the terms quoted are from the New York "Herald" writing in appreciation of New York's famous Tammany Mayor Fernando Wood, quoted in "Tammany Hall" by M. R. Werner, New York 1928, p. 69).

The real estate assessments of the city of New York, to take a single example, include—in a permanent and capitalized form —the sums stolen, since 1858, by the City government in building the County Court House in City Hall Park. Originally $250,000 were appropriated for this building. It finally represented an actual value of $3,000,000. But the actual cost of this ugly and impracticable building was $12,200,000, or (as the North American Review calculated) more than four times the cost of construction of the much larger and very impressive Houses of Parliament in London. The church of St. Peter in Rome and the gardens of Versailles were also extravagant constructions; but they are sufficiently beautiful and interesting to make their high original cost seemingly justified. But for Tweed's expenditure not only the economic, but also the esthetic and, therefore, every moral justification is lacking. Slum-dwellers may benefit from visiting a beautiful church and grandiose gardens. But by no stretch of the imagination can slum-dwellers benefit from visiting Tweed's County Court House. Why should the slum-dweller have to pay for economic crimes that have benefited only the plundering classes together with their favorite architects and contractors? New York's beau-

tiful old City Hall (erected 1803–1812) cost $500,000 and should forever be an asset to the City and even to its poorest citizens. The County Court House costing twenty-four times as much, is a monstrosity and must be pulled down. The City controlled by "Boss" Tweed's Ring paid one of its favorite plasterers $138,187 for two days work. The nine million dollars stolen for this Court House in 1862 had to be assessed upon the taxpayers, i.e. upon the "value" of New York City's real estate. This is *one* of the many reasons why New York's slum-property is high in "value" and must be overbuilt and exploited with the severity of a slave-driver.

In New York's real estate assessments are, furthermore, permanently enshrined the huge annual rentals, etc., the Tweed Ring received from the city for the use, as "armories," of ten old stables, which were never used, although the City paid millions for fictitious "repairs." About $2.6 million were thus put, permanently, upon the backs of New York tenants. A conservative estimate of the sums stolen by the City Government under Tweed is $45,000,000. And O'Rourke, the New York County Bookkeeper, who was instrumental, together with the New York "Times," in uncovering Tweed's amazing frauds, calculated that in taxes arbitrarily reduced by The Ring for money and in return for favor, and by the issuance of bonds at extravagant rates of interest the city lost $200,000,000 in the thirty months that Tweed's Ring flourished. (Cf. "'Boss' Tweed, the Story of a Grim Generation" by D. T. Lynch; New York, 1927; p. 371.) But before going to prison, Tweed actually plundered New York during 240 months, from 1851 to 1871. The damage which has been done by him and his hordes and which is now permanently capitalized in New York's real estate values amounts to billions. Even the plunder of only 200 million dollars (as occurred within the 30 months ending in 1871) capitalized at the rate of 5% has by 1936 assumed the proportion of over a billion dollars. And, since that time, other huge defraudations have been continuously added to the staggering totals placed as a permanent burden upon the backs of taxpayers, i.e. tenants in New York.

What the fantastic defraudations in America's municipal government really signify was expressed very clearsightedly in a

letter published by the New York "Sun" when the adulators of "Boss" Tweed's power planned to erect a bronze statue to this great "reformer." (Even the "Times," before it escaped from his huge bribes hailed him as a "reformer"—it was just at the time when he stole $5.5 million in a single morning session of the Board of Audit; May 5, 1870.)

The poor but intuitive letter writer to the "Sun" stated: "Inclosed you will find 9 cents, my contribution toward the erection of a statue of Honorable W. M. Tweed . . . the man who for the last ten years has defrauded the public, more especially the poor man, out of millions of dollars, so that his image may always remain to the public gaze for generations to come. I want to show the man who has *increased our taxation,* and deprived the poor man of his hard earnings. Then their children may point their fingers and say it was he who drove my father to *destruction by the enormous rents* we had to pay."

The "enormous rents" are but an expression of the enormous assessments that had to be put on real estate in order to make the continuous plunder possible. These assessments have by no means been lowered as a result of "Boss" Tweed's going to prison or escaping to Spain. On the contrary, to finance his plunder, Tweed had driven up New York's "Valuation of Real Estate" to $742,103,075 in 1870. After his arrest they went up to $797,-148,665 in 1872. This has continued even after the economic catastrophe of 1929. In 1927 the valuation of real estate (in Manhattan alone!) was ten times higher than in 1872, reaching 7.78 billions. Only since 1932 the "depression" enforced a beginning of common sense: The "Manhattan Realty" was assessed

in	1932	10,154,576,653
in	1933	9,513,999,726
in	1935	8,373,226,997

The letter writer to "The Sun" was right when he suggested that Tweed's and his successors' images should "always remain to the public gaze for generations to come."

The following statements are taken from the publication "Tammany at Bay," written in 1933 by the "Anti-Tammany Democrat" J. E. Finegan, supporting the successful "fusion candidacy" of Mr. La Guardia. In spite of being written by a

partisan these statements contain much truth and special value to the city planner. We read:

"Tammany retains high (real estate) valuations or lowers them only slightly because it needs huge totals for borrowing and spending. The State Constitution forbids New York City to borrow more than 10% of the assessed valuation of real estate. It also forbids a tax higher than 2% of the assessed valuation. To cut assessed valuations down to actual values would mean that the city's maximum borrowing must come down. Existing debt would still be legal inasmuch as the assessments were there when the debts were incurred, but Tammany fears that bond buyers would be frightened if the truth were officially advertised that the city is at or near the limit of its borrowing. Wherefore Tammany keeps a valuation which legally permits $465,000,000 more to be borrowed. For even more urgent Tammany reasons, Tammany's managers do not want to cut down assessments to a point where it will make it necessary to drop payroll parasites and give up contract rackets in order to keep within the 2% tax limit. Tammany doesn't mind borrowing to the sky, for the debt service must be met and is not counted with the 2% constitutional taxing limit for current expenses. Hence *over-assessing is a fixed Tammany policy.* It produces money for improvements out of which Tammany insiders make money; it also produces money for current expenses out of which Tammany supports its machine and makes money on the side, too. Even after a cut of $1,600,000 in realty assessment for 1933, the Walker-Berry-McKee-O'Brien administrations have added $6,000,000,000 to the assessment roll of $12,998,000,000 which they found when they took office seven years ago." The last mentioned figures refer to the whole area of New York City, not to Manhattan only, as did the preceding figures. From 18.5 billion dollars in 1932 the values of New York City's realty (other than corporation) has gone down at the rate of about a billion a year, and declined to $15.5 billion in 1935.

The total assessed value of real estate (land and buildings) in the United States was in 1860 6.9 billion dollars, in 1880 13.1 billions, in 1904 62.3 billions, in 1922 129.6 billions; (figures from U. S. Dept. of Commerce).

A large part of the fictitious "values" "created" in Ameri-

can cities are "invested in slum areas utterly overbuilt in conformity with corrupt building codes or as a result of the corrupt evasion of building codes. Many of these phantom "values" have to be searched for in tenements which have long ago deteriorated. For complete clarity's sake even in the mind of the oblivious or the novice, the obvious shall here be restated. Deteriorated tenements have lost most of their real value and should correspondingly have been written off, sacrificed, dispensed with; in short they should long ago have been amortized.

Amortize—in exact definition—means: send to death; extinguish. Americans are accustomed most unsentimentally to send their old autos quite regularly to the auto-dump or auto-graveyard. The cities' governments even officially maintain such auto cemeteries, where everyone, free of charge, can get rid of his old machine. But while most people are very realistic about old autos and rather quick when new ones are to be bought, many owners of old tenements profess sentimentality for their dangerous old shacks. Before sacrificing their dear property, they demand to be consoled by the community, city, state or federal government, and demand huge consolation in the shape of hard cash.

Perhaps it would be better to compare a tenement not with an auto, but with a mine. Any well-calculating owner knows that the returns from his mine represent only in part net interest or dividend on his investment, and that another (and often larger) part of the return must be laid aside and must pile up as a reserve eventually to purchase a new mine, i.e. after the present one in the natural course of events has been exhausted. Also tenements, even if gold mines (they sometimes are), cannot be exploited forever. Every business-like calculation indicates this, or should by law be obliged to realize this. Even as for a necessarily deteriorating mine, a fund of amortization must gradually be piled up for a tenement during the years of its inavoidable deterioration and must in due time be available for the purpose of razing the structure and rebuilding it on modern lines. A continuous rejuvenation of our cities would thus go on, *if* our house owners fulfilled their duty of amortization and rebuilding, which too frequently they neglect. They prefer to let their buildings deteriorate (thus causing much suffering to their

tenants) and then ask the community of rent-payers at large for compensation. And their method of procedure is this:

Instead of assembling an amortization fund for reconstructing their deteriorated tenements, the owners trust that the value of the land upon which the tenements are standing will rise more than enough to compensate for the deterioration of the building. Generally the owner thus not only expects compensation for the deterioration of his building and for the high taxes he paid for his overassessed property, but he furthermore feels entitled to secure even a considerable profit arising from increased land value. This complacent speculative attitude takes for granted that either the present or the future owner who razes the deteriorated building must replace it by a building that brings much higher rents.

Under somewhat similar circumstances a butcher who permitted his meat to decay would offer new and better meat only to a customer who is willing to pay the full price for both the old decayed and the new fresh meat. Or, (to take a practical realtor's experience) if six-storied tenements have to be pulled down, they must be replaced by some State-subsidized twelve storied Knickerbocker Village, and the new buildings must house three times as many rent-payers as there were in the old slum. In spite of the public subsidies, the new rent-payers must pay from two to three times more rent than the former slum-tenants paid. The State by its subsidy must contribute towards paying the exaggerated municipal taxes. And, furthermore, an enormously increased income is necessary to pay the interest on the greatly increased fictitious "value" of the land, because this land-"value" includes the cost of the old tenements which the owner failed to "amortize." The uneconomic errors and the wasteful extravagances of the past are all embodied and preserved in the new deceptive "values." The economic sins of the past appear, in disguise, as a new fictitious investment or as capital for which the new tenants are supposed to pay interest. Generation after generation of tenants is supposed to slave for paying tribute to an erroneous method of handling and developing real estate, a method that corresponds to a vicious and semi-feudal conception of property "rights."

The question of the size of the American slums, which have

thus been created, and of their fictitious "values," and of the numbers of their victims, is grotesquely disputed. The almost Tweedian accounts and contradictions actually vary between one percent (1%) and seventy percent (70%) of the American population to be considered as slum-dwellers. For good reasons (explained in the note at the end of this chapter) the following estimate of the U. S. Suburban Resettlement Division (Professor R. G. Tugwell) shall here be accepted. In a release issued by this Administration we read: "On the basis of the 1930 Census and a later inventory of real property in 64 cities, it is estimated that 36 per cent of all our American homes are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal family life of their inhabitants. More than half of this third, or 6,093,314, were non-farm houses."

Regarding the "value" of these slums one may venture to voice the following assumptions. One third of the American population or approximately 10 million families, urban and rural, live in slums, blighted districts or otherwise unhealthy dwellings. Among them are many destitute families, white and colored, in such sections, north and south, where realty values are low and rents remain unpaid. The average rent these 10 million unfortunate families actually *do* pay for their "homes" can hardly be more than one hundred dollars a year. This would bring the total of rent for slums and blighted areas to one billion dollars a year. Could it be conceivable to capitalize this at a lower rate (i.e. more advantageous for the slum owner) than 5%? Capitalization at so advantageous a rate should satisfy some *speculative* hopes which in slum areas are often high, although as often unfounded. Capitalizing thus at 5% one arrives at a total of 20 billion dollars.

Another way would be to assume that each one of the 10 million families' dwellings (including all the speculative hopes the owners may have placed into these hovels) cannot possibly be worth more than an average of 2000 dollars (and this seems even a very high average). 2000 times 10 millions gives us again 20 billions.

If such a total of 20 billion dollars could be accepted as an estimate of present slum values, a compensation in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln and Alexander Hamilton, at the rate of from

10 to 20 per cent, would require from two to four billion dollars, to be raised as a gift to slum owners, in order to win their glad coöperation for housing reform and make them stop ruining the nation's health, blackmailing the community, and impeding its progress.

NOTE ON VALUES OF SLUMS

The following statement made under President Hoover's administration has something of an official Federal character. We read: "The results of careful research cited in the reports of other committees have established the fact that practically no new dwellings, and certainly no desirable types of houses, have been constructed in recent years at costs within the means of two-thirds of our population. This two-thirds comprises 50,000,000 people, the farm population being excepted. This means that the majority of families must continue to live in old houses which are below our present standards of sanitation and decency, in some cases so far below as to be an actual menace to health and family life." This statement is taken from the publication: "The President's Conference on Home Building," Vol. III, "Slums etc.," edited by J. M. Gries and James Ford, p. 67; copyright 1932. On page 71 of the same report we read: "It is an anomaly that during the period of our country's greatest advance in national wealth—the past twenty years—the housing for 70 percent of our population has progressively deteriorated."

These estimates of the slum-dwelling masses, varying between 66% and 70% of the nation's population, estimates edited by Professors Gries and Ford, are somewhat contradicted by the following statement made by the same Professor James Ford of Harvard in the National Encyclopedia (Vol. V, p. 328; copyright 1932 and 1933). There he writes: "Less than one percent of the United States population lives in slums, but a great many families dwell under conditions that are improvable. Many of the most unsanitary conditions are due to ignorance or poverty. This is still true in rural districts as well as in cities for there are still millions of families living in shacks of one, two or three rooms which are unprovided with modern sanitation and household conveniences." This could be interpreted to mean that less than 1.3 million people or less than 400,000 families live in slums.

In their much quoted book "Housing America" (p. 5), the editors of "Fortune" accept an estimate rather akin to the firstly quoted (not to the secondly quoted) estimate of Professor Ford. They state that "less than half the homes in this country measure up to minimum standards of health and decency." This would mean that more than 65 million Americans or about 15 million families inhabit slums.

Above, at the beginning of the Eighth Chapter, one of the most

prominent authorities on American housing, Dr. E. E. Wood, has been quoted. According to her estimate, in the United States approximately 40 million people, or "the lowest economic third of the population occupy obsolete, inadequate, neglected shelter, damaging in varying degree to health and to selfrespect. Of these nine to ten million families, roughly half occupy farm and rural homes and half are city dwellers." (Cf. E. E. Wood, "The Housing Situation in the United States," in "America Can't Have Housing," edited by Carol Aronovici, New York, 1934.)

We see, while "cities grow and men decay," there is, at least among the more or less interested observers, much latitude of doubt as to the exact numbers of decaying men. We may safely assume that as much as one per cent, or up to seventy per cent of the American population is being demoralized by living in what may, according to variegated definitions, be called slums.

The question of one or seventy per cent is of such overwhelming and national importance that any contribution leading to a somewhat more definite estimate is of value. Therefore a quotation from a recent letter written by Dr. James Ford in answer to a question about the statement he made (1932) in the National Encyclopedia ("Less than one per cent of the U. S. population lives in slums") may here be permitted. He replied: "I do not agree with the statement and believe Mrs. E. E. Wood's estimate is a rough approximation of the truth." One may, therefore, assume that this estimate of 33%, or the one of the Resettlement Administration that 36% of America's population are being damaged, by bad shelter, in health and self respect, represents a consensus of opinions and a workable basis.

In connection with these necessarily inaccurate estimates a somewhat angry protest may be mentioned which the Italian review "Roma Fascista" recently lodged against some even less accurate estimates. The English writer Leo Forest, it seems, had published rather rough estimates giving the money value of all New York as $30 billion, of London as $26 billion, and of Paris as $11 billion of which $300 million were credited to the Louvre Museum. Berlin was estimated to be worth $10 billion, Vienna $6.5 billion, and Rome $3.5 billion. The editor of "Roma Fascista" commented thus: "Come on gentlemen, buy Rome at this price, which no competition can underbid! Oh you bluffers! One marble hair carved by Michel Angelo is worth more than all the skyscrapers of the profiteers of New York." (Reproduced by the Czechoslovakian government publication "Prager Presse," May 29, 1934.)

Twelfth Chapter

ORIGIN OF AMERICA'S "LIBERTY" TO BUILD SLUMS SYMBOLIZED BY BURR'S DUEL WITH HAMILTON

> "Every republic at all times has its Catilines and its Caesars. Men of this stamp, while in their hearts they scoff at the principles of liberty, while in their real characters they are arbitrary, persecuting, and intolerant, are in all their harangues and professions the most zealous; nay, if they are to be believed, the only friends to liberty." (Alexander Hamilton, from "Vindication of the Funding System," 1791.)

Laissez-faire and governmental planlessness benefit those who are in possession of political power and wealth. Laissez-faire, therefore, was British governmental policy until the parliamentary reform of 1867 introduced also into Great Britain more democratic, more thoughtful and—one may well say—more American methods. Since laissez-faire represents such a wanton departure from the ideals of Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton, one must wonder how it could have been so persistently promulgated as the very essence of America's political tradition and economic wisdom. How could this dangerous travesty on American ideals have appealed to Americans?

At an early date two very different types of men contended for the determination of America's policies, not only in Federal and state matters, but also in municipal government. The two contending types were symbolized respectively by Hamilton and Burr and by the duel which they fought, culminating in Hamilton's physical, yet not—to be sure—spiritual death.

The civic leadership of the City of New York under the sway of Alexander Hamilton, has been described by Theodore Roosevelt in these words: "It has never since stood so high politically, either absolutely, or relatively to the rest of the country." This was true about seventy years before New York became famous as the most corrupt municipality in the world, and as the hunt-

ing ground of "Boss" Tweed and his "forty thieves," (this poetical name—suggesting Arabian fairy tales—was given by the envious or disgusted people of New York to their aldermen).

Against Hamilton, "the most brilliant American statesman who ever lived, possessing the loftiest and keenest intellect of his time," was pitted his "arch-foe Aaron Burr, the prototype of the skillful, unscrupulous ward-politician, so conspicuous in the later periods of the city's development"; (Theodore Roosevelt). Long before the fatal duel, Hamilton had thus described his foe (December 16, 1800): "He is bankrupt beyond redemption, except by the plunder of his country . . . He is truly the Catiline of America."

Burr, with his secret ambition for imperial conquest, belongs indeed somewhere in that class of demagogues and dictators which includes Caesar, Catiline, Hitler and Huey Long. By their unscrupulous and seductive methods, by their crimes and often, unfortunately, by their practical common sense, they win admiration, disgust, and active support. Burr was the spiritual father of the plundering and bribing Tweed whom, for some time, even the New York "Times" had to celebrate as a "reformer" and who—while stealing preposterously—is responsible for as important a municipal acquisition as Riverside Park. He made the City buy it, because the deal privately netted him a million dollars or two. This graft secured lasting and incalculable benefit for the planlessly and badly governed City.

Tweed's paternal methods of control were those which Burr had introduced sixty years earlier and which were adopted by those fascists who lorded over New York sixty years later. "By his tact, address and singular personal charm, Burr had gathered round him a devoted band of henchmen, mostly active and energetic young men. He made out complete lists of all voters, and endeavored to find out how each group could be reached and influenced and he told off every worker to the district where he could do the most good. He was indefatigable in getting up ward-meetings also. Hamilton fought him desperately, and with far greater eloquence, and he was on the right side; but Hamilton was a statesman rather than a politician." (Th. Roosevelt.)

The following example illustrates how the seductive efficiency

of the dictatorial mind sometimes fails to promote municipal ends. At the peculiar moment when it became profitable but difficult to obtain a bank charter in New York, Aaron Burr "took advantage of the cry in that city for better water. He prepared a bill chartering a company to introduce water into the city, and attached to it an innocent-looking provision allowing the members of the company to organize 'for other purposes' as well. The charter once granted, the company went into no other enterprise than banking and let the water supply take care of itself." This was one of Burr's convincing successes and led to the overthrow of Hamilton's Federalist party in 1800. The city of New York, at that time, had 60,000 inhabitants. Later, under Boss Tweed's dictatorship, its population was ten times larger, and the possibilities of plundering it a hundred times more so.

After Burr's damaging success in the private enterprise of providing drinking water for the city, forty years elapsed before New York's cry for better water was answered in the form of a municipal enterprise. By that time the slum of New York was already well established. Equivalent to the failure in providing good water was the failure in the equally important field of private endeavor, that of furnishing good low cost housing, a failure which has, not even today, led to the municipal provision of decent shelter for the great majority of American city dwellers so badly in need of it. Instead, the American slums were permitted a full century of flourishing growth. It was only after an entire century of the encouragement of private slums by municipal building codes, that an official of the nation, Secretary of State Ickes, declared (and even then aroused much animosity by so doing): "It is high time that we cease permitting our cities to spawn improper living conditions and insist upon some measure of correction and guidance. . . . It is an aim of this (national) administration to improve living conditions so that victims of a totally discredited housing system may have a minimum of decency and comfort in which to live"; (Annual Dinner of National Housing Conference, reported in N. Y. Times, May 8, 1935).

At about the same time, the first centennial of the indecent spawning of New York's slums was celebrated by the newspapers

which reported (August 30, 1935) that "model housing units for 60,000 low-salaried city employees are being considered by Mayor La Guardia and the City Housing Authority of New York." Being considered? American patience in such matters cannot be surpassed.

It became evident at an early date that a kind of infantile paralysis interfered sadly with the "Rise of American Civilization." (Chas. A. Beard's book with this title is sometimes quoted verbatim in the following paragraphs.) "To the victors belong half the spoils" had been one of the optimistic principles of Thomas Jefferson. And once in office he learned: if half of the offices are taken as spoils, the other half must follow suit. "To the victors belong the spoils" was a doctrine that had led the tenement house mobs of ancient Rome into the bloody disasters of Caesarism and even into a worse kind of dictatorship. The same doctrine had, in England, been made less dangerous and even practicable by creating a class of rather well trained professional statesmen who held or abandoned office only in conformity with the clever rules of Anglo-Saxon parliamentarism which, in turn, received more and more support from an increasing number of highly trained and unbribable civil servants.

In America the dangerous doctrine of "to the victor belong the spoils" rapidly deteriorated into "Jacksonian democracy" abusing the new manhood suffrage, the idea of which had long frightened even the allegedly "Jacobinical" Jefferson, and which was introduced into England only after the American Civil War, i.e. after another forty years of political education. In America, the old doctrine, "to the victors belong the spoils," was travestied into a new doctrine demanding that victors must be spoilers. Young American greediness demanded rotation in office. The terms of office had to be short, so that more party workers could share in the delights of conquest and government be permanently in the hands of inexperienced beginners. In the background, however, stood—a specifically American invention—the permanent but utterly irresponsible "bosses" and masters of mobocracy. Their plundering of the taxpayer and their degrading of the standards of city building could—due to the general disorder and ignorance—only be profitable. Often and for long periods of time, the plundering could go on unobserved. The new gospel

of an intemperate spoil-system intoxicated the average farmer who formerly seldom had seen as much as a hundred dollars cash in the course of a whole year; it was equally seductive for the urban mechanics who labored at the bench or forge for seventy-five cents a day. To them a chance at the public "trough" was to be gratefully welcomed on any axiom of ethics, Roman, English or Jacksonian.

Thus the solution of the most complicated political problem of all times: the settlement of a new continent, the largest migration of the white race, the creation of a new nation, the establishment of over a hundred million people, and, incidentally, the sudden and most baffling economic and technical transformations in history, all this was left to the guidance of profit-seeking small farmers and mechanics. Trained civil service did not exist. There were not enough people with even an ordinary education to guide the illmixed masses of illiterates or immigrants. Anyway, the new mob refused guidance and suspected old or new fashioned education as being too often reactionary. Quickly there arose from the willingly blind mass and on their very shoulders the new plutocracy of uncultivated "robber barons" who connived with the political bosses and boldly enriched themselves beyond even the remotest conception cherished in previous ages. The stakes dangling before the eyes of petty and mighty robbers were large and promised ultimate satisfaction to anyone ready to fight for them.

The game of hunting the million and billion-dollar land values that jumped, as if by magic, out of the ground of Chicago has been described in the First Chapter. The sharks of even the smallest American town meant to devour similarly fat prey. The local slaughter often turned into general disaster. But even the most diverse types of predatory animals could establish some harmony of purpose whenever economic catastrophe and national indignation forced them to become a united pack in the defence of the spoils they had already seized or were still longing to snatch. The insistence on continuing the uncontrolled game of catch-as-catch-can or economic planlessness was stronger than any occasional fits of national indignation. The wolves always proved more adequately organized than any patriotic sheep fondly hoping to bring the commonwealth back to older

and truer American ideals or modes of production. A "free fight" for all, sheep or wolf, producer or consumer, was extolled as the highest ideal of truly American justice and economy.

"God made the first garden and Cain the first city"; (Cowley). The right to murder and transform God's finest landscape into a battlefield, a slaughter house, a waste pile, into a field of derelicts, into a spittoon of degraded urban life, or into that wildest of all scenes, an American slum or "business district," such a despicable right to desecrate was considered to be the specific representation of "American liberty" and pride.

The limited imagination of the newly glorified hunters and flayers made them slow to realize that even the largest herd of buffaloes can, by indiscriminate slaughter, be turned into a ghastly reeking carrion pit, incapable of furnishing a single beefsteak. Whenever the free fight ended in catastrophe and "depression," there seemed to be no power left to remind the nation of its proud heritage of 1787, of the national endowment of rational humanism and statesmanlike planning. There was no authority to "insure domestic tranquillity and promote the general welfare" as is demanded by the Federal Constitution. We have seen (in the Second Chapter) how the timely planning of the framers of this Constitution had overcome the national economic crisis following the War of Independence. But the great crisis of 1837 had already found an American President utterly helpless, a victim of the old English ideas of laissez-faire.

The rather un-American impotence of President van Buren during the depression of 1837, and the more American power of action of President Roosevelt in the emergency of 1933, have been effectively contrasted by Charles A. Beard (in an article published in "Today"). When a drastic deflation had smashed the economy of the United States, Van Buren solemnly declared that the Constitution granted him no power to do anything. To the starving people Van Buren said their troubles were largely due to their own excesses; they should now work out of the hole as best they could.

While President van Buren bestowed this benignant advice of governmental non-interference and laissez-faire, he and his administration, nevertheless, seem to have found rather unique governmental methods which "provide for the general welfare."

The following description of their Federal efficiency has been given by Abraham Lincoln in a political discussion, December, 1839. Here, he said: "I know that the great volcano at Washington, aroused and directed by the evil spirit that reigns there, is belching forth the lava of political corruption in a current broad and deep, which is sweeping with frightful velocity over the whole length and breadth of the land, bidding fair to leave unscathed no green spot or living thing."

This bankruptcy of the spirit of 1787 afforded a possible solution to the difficulties of 1837 and of some later depressions because the seemingly inexhaustive resources of a whole continent were still at the disposal of everyone willing to help himself. The continent had not yet been laid hold upon, had not yet been monopolized by the "robber barons," or irretrievably wasted by more general efforts. The escape into irresponsible or individual adventure, which has now-a-days become impossible, was still feasible in 1837. While one hundred years later a return to the original conceptions of the Constitution became unavoidable, the solemn Constitutional obligations could—in 1837—be assumed to have had an exclusively rhetorical character.

The hotbed of allegedly democratic and of pseudo-American lawlessness and planlessness developed its most bewildering fertility after the War of Secession. As soon as the heroic efforts towards unity and united action had brought about peace, a return to rugged individualism and ruthless laissez-faire seemed profitable and necessary in order to loosen and unbalance the strained minds—just as, half a century later, this was considered indispensable after the disciplined efforts of the World War.

At the head of the national game of corruption stood, from 1869 to 1877, a general who during the disasters of the Civil War and after the murder of Lincoln had become the idol of the nation. He was as honest and as incapable of gauging or checking the corruption fostered by his stolid benevolence as, half a century later, Germany's admired President, Hindenburg, had been. Two plodding generals led their respective nations "to suffer a real oligarchic domination by a few hundred persons to the harm of the entire people" (to repeat Mussolini's words about F. D. Roosevelt's America, quoted in the Second Chapter).

"The greatest general the world had seen since Napoleon"

was made an American President because (so his contemporary, Henry Adams, remarked) "Grant represented order. He was a great soldier, and the soldier always represented order. . . . No one doubted that Grant's intention had been one of reform; that his aim had been to place his administration above politics."

Grant had, perhaps, even city planning vision. At least he startled many, "when he seriously remarked to a particularly bright young woman that Venice would be a fine city if it were drained." But true charity begins at home. Grant did not insist upon draining the badly smelling slums of American cities. Before he came to power and while he silently smoked his famous heavy cigars in the White House, the phenomenal slum clearances and the rebuilding of Vienna and Paris were effectuated. Was Grant aware of it? After his plans had brought him victory in the war he seems to have had an aversion to rational planning. Some maintain that victory was won inspite of his plans. In any event once in the White House, "he avowed from the start a policy of drift." It is he who seems to have inculcated many American businessmen with what has become their permanent aversion to the use of brains in government. Even leaders of large trusts are opposed to "brain-trusts."

What Grant did to tragically defeat the brains of the nation has been described by Henry Adams, one of his most distinguished contemporaries and personal observers. In the description quoted in the following paragraph, Adams speaks of himself in the third person; what he says sounds like a vivid analysis of the beginnings of the New Deal in 1933 and of the "constitutional" difficulties raised against it.

The illusion that the election of Grant would institute the badly needed reforms, had lured "all the active and intelligent young men in the country" to the City of Washington. "Full of faith, greedy for work, eager for reform, energetic, confident, capable, quick of study, charmed with a fight, equally ready to defend or attack, they were unselfish, and even—as young men went—honest. . . . Most of the press, and much of the public, especially in the West, shared their ideas. No one denied the need for reform. The whole government, from top to bottom, was rotten with the senility of what was antiquated and the instability of what was improvised. . . . Newspapermen were alive

with eagerness to support the President against the Senate. . . . Henry Adams meant to support the executive in attacking the Senate and taking away its two-thirds vote and power of confirmation, nor did he much care how it should be done, for he thought it safer to effect the revolution in 1870 than to wait till 1920 . . . the whole fabric required reconstruction as much as in 1789, for the Constitution had become as antiquated as the Confederation. Sooner or later a shock must come, the more dangerous the longer postponed. The Civil War had made a new system of fact; the country would have to reorganize the machinery in practice and theory."

A golden opportunity! Never since the defeat of Thomas Jefferson's great plan for internal improvements had there been a similar opportunity for overcoming the careless and complacent confidence in laissez-faire and economic riot that had crept in and made American government almost ludicrous. Never had the slain spirit of Hamiltonian statesmanship a better chance of reconquering America from the victoriously plundering Burr-Catilines.

But Grant refused the enthusiastic support offered him by the most capable fighters of the nation. "Grant had no objects, wanted no help, wished for no champions. The Executive asked only to be let alone. This was his meaning when he said: 'Let us have peace!' . . . Grant's administration reverted to nothing. One could not catch a trait of the past, still less of the future. It was not even sensibly American. Not an official in it suggested an American idea. . . . The system of 1789 had broken down, and with it the eighteenth-century fabric of a priori, or moral principles. Politicians had tacitly given it up. Grant's administration marked the avowal." No one "could be quite sure of Grant, except for the powerful effect which wealth had, or appeared to have, on his imagination." He suffered the Erie Railroad scandal (from which New York's municipal boss, Tweed, together with Gould and Fisk drew huge profits) and the "Gold Conspiracy." "The worst scandals of the eighteenth century were relatively harmless by the side of this, which smirched executive, judiciary, banks, corporate systems, professions, and people, all the great active forces of society, in one dirty cesspool of vulgar corruption. . . . Nine-tenths of men's political

energies must henceforth be wasted on expedients to patch the political machine as often as it broke down. Such a system, or want of system, might last centuries, if tempered by an occasional revolution or civil war; but as a machine, it was, or soon would be, the poorest in the world—the clumsiest—the most inefficient."

This was Henry Adams' convincing appraisal of America's political and economic system as it emerged from the Civil War and made for new civil war and revolution. "Let us have peace," or: no consideration whatever shall interfere with our making money, are un-American interpretations of the French phrase laissez-faire. If this appreciation by Henry Adams was correct, then the post-Civil War period represents the great disaster in America's political history. And Henry Adams' view is shared by many other trustworthy observers. It is worth while to illustrate this fact and the civic catastrophe after 1865 which is comparable only to what happened after the recent World War.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, on November 5, 1865, wrote in his "Journal" the following: "We hoped that in the peace, after such a war, a great expansion would follow in the mind of the Country; grand views in every direction,—true freedom in politics, in religion, in social science, in thought. But the energy of the nation seems to have expended itself in the war, and every interest is found as sectional and timorous as before. . . ."

Emerson's disappointment was not the result of the infatuation of a Concordian hermit. It is fully shared by modern commentators. "The really great and noble American dream, the dream of a better and fuller life for every man, had become a good deal like the stampede of hogs to a trough. Such a stampede, like the subway rush, is no place for the development of the finer elements of life and thought." Thus James Truslow Adams, in 1931, described American life since the Civil War; (in his Introduction to "The Education of Henry Adams").

During the grand stampede to the trough, the "American liberty" to build slums has been intensified into the American "right" to trap one's fellow-citizens in old or "new law" tenements, and into the "Constitutionality" of such specifically American building "restrictions" and "Zoning Ordinances" as actually to permit and invite the erection of skyscrapers and tenement houses capable of huddling, within the "Region of New

York" alone, two or three times the residential and office population of the entire globe. Such were the rather childish devices for corraling an international and all-inclusive herd of rent-payers to be milked by the shrewd realtors or careless investors of New York, in the name, of course, of "American liberty" and "constitutional rights"! (The New York Zoning Ordinance which legalizes the amazing corraling enterprise will be dealt with in the following Chapter.)

The craving for rationalizing and nationalizing the international worship of the dollar was expressed by the Highest Court of the State of Illinois which declared that a state law interfering with the use of the national flag for advertising cigars was "unconstitutional." (Cf. Ruhstrat vs. The People; 185 Illinois 133; 1900.) A more truly American attitude was expressed, seven years later, by the United States Supreme Court. It decided that the use of the national flag as an advertisement on a bottle of beer "tends to degrade and cheapen the flag in the estimation of the people"; (cf. Halter vs. Nebraska, 205 U.S. 34; 1907).

America unfailingly finds her way back to her old high standards which, in matters of idealism and technical achievement, had formerly given her an enviable international reputation. Here are some examples taken from the fields of technique and taste in which America had an old and well-earned reputation for genuine alertness and superior stylishness. The superiority of the American sailing ships in the old "deep water" trade to China was once an appropriate object of the great American pride. The Americans lost this superiority on the high seas ever since the introduction of steamships. Only quite recently, American ships like the "Manhattan" began to compete again with European speed and comfort, but this competition was made possible only by means of large government subsidies. Similar government subsidies will probably be necessary if America ever wishes to compete with Europe in the field of hygienic low cost housing.

There are other fields in which American products were among the best. Old American furniture and houses often evinced supreme good taste. In matters of personal apparel America had even in the nineteenth century set new standards. Of London's fashionable society, in 1865, Henry Adams could well

say: "Fashion was not fashionable until the Americans and the Jews were let loose." (The Education of H. A., Chap. XIII.)

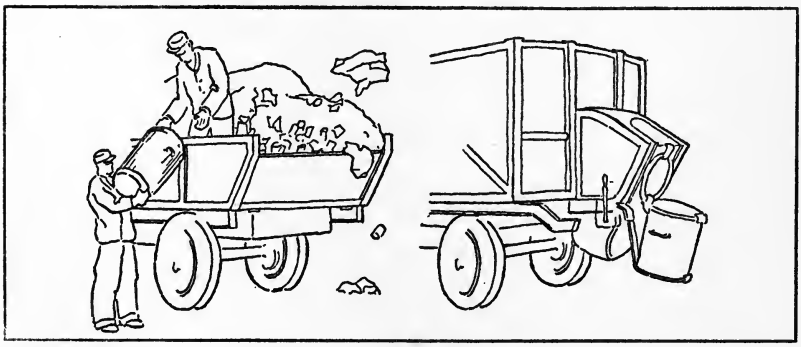
The question has been raised as to just why America, "the land of the go-ahead tradition" (H. G. Wells) and of people who once earned a world reputation for smartness, should have established such preposterous devices as the American slum, the American building codes with their incredibly low requirements for breathing space, or the grotesque New York Zoning Ordinance with its replicas in other American cities. It has been suggested that, after all, these devices cannot be as preposterous as they seem, since they were invented by the same nation which builds the best and most inexpensive automobiles, the finest school buildings and takes better care of its milk supply than Germany did even when she was still a fairly progressive country.

One of the most subtle of critics and city planners is the American Henry Wright. He declared—and it has often been repeated by others—that in matters of post-war housing America stuck to horse and buggy methods at a time when Europe had learned to apply, even to housing, modern automobile building techniques. But a country daringly progressive in one field can often modestly and persistently stick to old methods or even to reactionary sluggishness in other fields. To understand America's combining the most progressive autos, even in a time of depression, with the most reactionary tenements, even in a time of boom, one must remember that there are numerous other fields in which America has abandoned her old leadership or (without having achieved such leadership) has proved to be somewhat backward. This whole matter is so closely connected with the future prospects of better American city planning and housing that a few examples may not be amiss.

When young Benjamin Franklin lived in London his American sense of cleanliness was shocked by the dirt of the London streets. To help the unfortunate Londoners of 1735 he proposed a set of improvements which seemed to have been conceived to help American cities of 1935 so sorely in need of them. Franklin specifically urged the Londoners to have their scavengers use "close-covered carts" instead of such cleaning methods as dash the mud "upon the foot-pavement, which is thereby rendered foul and slippery, sometimes splashing it upon those who are walking." "Close-covered carts" as recommended by the in-

genious Franklin are now in common use in many European cities. The well covered and closely fitting ash and garbage cans are brought from the interior of the houses or from a secluded, hedged-in spot in the garden and emptied—without dust or stench—into the carts. In American cities, on the contrary, the ludicrous garbage-disposal methods criticized by Franklin have been introduced and seem to have become ineradicable. On the sidewalks, for hours during the morning, stand open garbage cans into which dogs stick their noses scattering the contents "upon the foot-pavement, which is thereby rendered foul and slippery." When the refuse is finally called for, it is emptied carelessly into open carts, "sometimes splashing it upon those who are walking." Dust, stench and small particles are scattered. If the wind blows, twenty yards of the adjoining street are impassable for tidy people, and the open windows of neighboring houses are turned into effective catch-basins collecting the filth. The American city dwellers re-imbibe their filth with that well-trained indifference which to Europeans seems so inexplicable a contrast to the effective American desire for comfort and cleanliness in lavatories and autos. The nation having the largest number of bathtubs seems often curiously devoid of the most primitive sense of comfort. The readiness with which Americans take "meals" in "drug stores," often without backs to the stools, without a place to hang their hats and coats, and surrounded by displays of urethral syringes or advertisements of hair tonics, laxatives and body deodorants, can have an almost emetic effect on the untempered visitors from less sturdy climes.

The surprising American insensibility to technical perfection

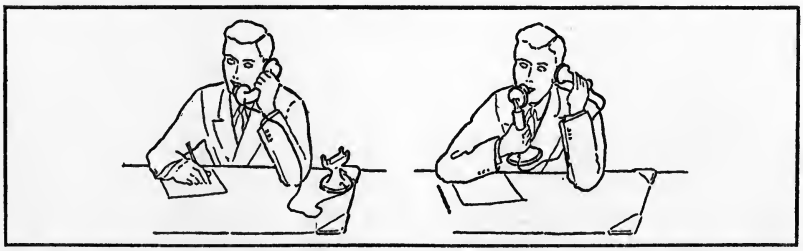


Obsolete method of garbage collection still in frequent use in America, and modern garbage collector.

that has crept in since the time of Benjamin Franklin, also finds curious expression in many smaller matters. Thus the Americans have permitted their omnipotent telephone companies to enforce the usage of an inconvenient and ugly apparatus (requiring manipulation with two hands and preventing the use of the right hand for making notes). This old-fashioned telephone is still in frequent use, in America, twenty-five years after the general introduction of the more convenient modern table-apparatus (for one hand use) in many European countries. In America the new type of apparatus makes headway as slowly as modern methods of housing and by virtue of the same economic exploitation.

Another example is the mail box provided by some 50,000 American post offices for general use in the city streets. This box, so one would expect, should protect letters, until they are collected, from the inclemency of rain or snow. But the American mail box is designed with the opening at the top: it is difficult to mail a letter while it rains or snows without attracting moisture to it and even to the contents of the box. The opening lid instead of acting as a protective roof over the letter to be mailed, is designed—by American government engineers?—to act as a funnel for facilitating the ingress of water into the letter box. Not much harm may result; but how could the obviously illogical design become the generally accepted one?—Even the self-filling fountain pen was granted by American industry to the submissive American public only about ten years after its adoption in Europe.

Are American industrialists unprogressive? Or must one perhaps assume that their hands have been tied by strong popular superstitions and by the voodooism that seems to conquer the



Modern and obsolete modes of telephone still in use in America.

popular mind? It is a fact that many American buildings have a twelfth, fourteenth and twenty-third, but no thirteenth floor. America's multi-storied buildings are praised as triumphs of modern rational construction. But too many modern Americans would be irrationally afraid to live or work on a floor having such an allegedly illfated number as thirteen which, somehow. may be connected with the Treason of Judas, the murder of Banquo or of a certain chief in Central Africa where similar superstitions are reported to congenitally prevail.

Indeed the international reputation of American smartness has some curious counterparts. Vulgar though it may appear, it is not irrelevant to mention that for several generations of Europeans, the frequent and effective expectoration of saliva, chewing tobacco or gum was considered a sign of typically American smartness. American business urged the European emigrants, even on the trans-Atlantic ships, to buy and use chewing gum: "If you aren't yet American, at least look like one." Still later—progress never halts—the connection of chewing gum with the new terminology applied to the American automobile whetted the good natured national appetite. American cafeterias tried to make mouths water by a sign posted for the benefit of their bread-lining clients in front of the steam tables: "Park your gum here." With this futile joke the undertakers of mass feeding hoped to keep their floors neater than the typical subway station floors of New York are kept, plastered as they are with chewing gum indiscriminately "parked."

The people of the United States spend annually a billion dollars for cigars and cigarettes and two billions for advertising. These amazingly wealthy distributors of smoke and generally ugly billboards have not yet found it possible to spend even a fraction of their waste money (a fraction yearly for ten to twenty years would be sufficient!) to liberate the country from the crime of the slums ruining the health and morals of one-third of their fellow citizens.

Anyone prejudiced by such illustrations might think it unlikely that America will ever overcome her backwardness in matters of housing, building codes, zoning and other "profitable" political diseases. It will be necessary to remember America's present leadership in certain fields of transportation, playground

and park systems, in order to regain one's confidence in the hope that America's spiritual leadership may once more—as in Franklin's, Washington's and Lincoln's time—become an international model, in many fields of city planning as well.

The extent to which America's former civic ambition will or will not be fulfilled, will ultimately be one of the tests determining the value of "the great American experiment" and the merits of its initiators. The popular contention, that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, is but another way of saying that in history true success (securing—as Lincoln wished—"the greatest good to the greatest number") is the last arbiter.

The main difference between the usurpations of Caesar and those of his accomplice Catiline is the success which led the former to "greatness" and the failure which led the latter into disgrace. One might go further and say that the difference between Washington, "the founder of the nation" and Burr, "the Catiline of America," is that the former is great only if his great plans materialize. "Washington was one of the most active land speculators of colonial times; . . . he eagerly set about to secure (for himself) the claims of the veterans (i.e. the lands the State of Virginia had set aside as bounties for its soldiers in the war against France)." (Cf. The Great American Land Bubble, by A. M. Sakolski, 1932, p. 5.) Burr, on the other hand, endeavored to get rich along with other land jobbers of his time by buying large tracts of land on credit, at first in the western part of New York State. Later, by some dark method, he obtained some 400,000 acres in Louisiana, as a base for his private ambitions and military operations against Mexico, or in order to separate Louisiana from the United States. His imperial conspiracy terminated in failure.

George Washington was more successful. He rebelled against his country across the sea at the very time when this "home" country, England, by superior statesmanship and enormous efforts had driven the subjects of the King of France forever out of his northern empire in America. England had thus achieved security for such English colonists as George Washington whose ingratitude was called felony until it became successful and eminent. But it will remain eminent only if the great plans and promises of a freer and better life, as advanced in the Declara-

tion of Independence, will actually bear fruit and only if the new American conception of the "pursuit of Happiness" actually assumes precedence over the barren and un-American concept of property rights so characteristic of nineteenth century Manchesterian and American "robber barons."

It is on these semi-feudal property rights that the American slums are built and the exploitation of which remains sacrosanct. But equality of suffrage conquered in America is no toy for the amusement of political children. Daniel Webster warned the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention that all serious revolutions of history had been revolts against property; that equality in suffrage was incompatible with inequality in property; and that if adopted it would either culminate in popular assaults on wealth or in reactionary restraints upon democracy.

The validity of the new American ideals supported by equal suffrage could hardly be convincingly tested as long as the new and emancipated nation was satisfied with gorging itself with the massive gifts of an unexplored continent. Now, the conquest of the continent having been attained, comes the test. Now we shall learn whether America's old liberty to build slums shall win out against modern England's efficient methods of obliterating slums. After the British Tory victory in the parliamentary elections of the fall of 1935 the American voters had to learn that even a British conservative is more liberal than an American Democrat, not to mention an American Republican. A New York daily commented: "A platform like that of the American Republicans, with its opposition to all reform, its horse-and-buggy economics, would appear not only to British Labor and British Liberals but to most British Conservative voters as a political atavism." (N. Y. Post, Nov. 18, 1935.)

The British Conservative Party, in order to win the recent elections had to accept practically all the modern ideas which the die-hards of both American parties still oppose. The English Conservatives are reconciled not only to far-reaching unionization of labor with virtually no company unions, to minimum wages and unemployment insurance, but especially to a huge housing program which is visibly eradicating the slum, with the use of government subsidies; to a permanent public works program; to extremely heavy income and inheritance taxes, far be-

yond anything proposed in America (and there is no movement to reduce them because of their alleged destruction of business). The British Conservatives have accepted government ownership of many utilities, power, communication and transport; and abandonment of the gold standard. And in England no House of Lords or other supreme court has the power to declare an act of Parliament unconstitutional. There is no British party in favor of granting any such power to any court. There is no effort made to interfere, under the guise of protecting local or "state" rights, with the congress elected by the people. And the decisions made by the representatives of the nation are not decried as "bolshevist regimentation."

Did Americans fight a war of liberation against England in order to be more helpless against the abuse of feudal privilege than Englishmen? Did Washington fight his mother country in order to guarantee the American liberty to build and exploit slums? There can be nothing more reactionary and ludicrous than America's building and zoning laws. Compared with them, English building traditions are relatively sane.

Can American "liberty" display similar sanity? Will the spirit of Washington and Hamilton, and of wisely planning statesmenship, conquer the spirit of the plundering adventurer, Burr, "the Catiline of America"? The American people of our time, by their manner of meeting the present national emergency, will decide how wise and how great Washington actually was and how long the murdered Hamilton shall live.

Again Washington's maxim may be mentioned and taken to heart: "It is by the final outcome that our deeds must be judged."

Thirteenth Chapter

NEW YORK REGION CAN HOLD TWICE THE POPULATION OF THE GLOBE

"God made the country and man made the town."
(Cowper)

In the settlements created by the superior mind of the bees one finds between the areas reserved for residences, nurseries, storehouses and avenues a practical relation. Human cities are generally not even as intelligently planned as bee hives or ant hills. Nor do the public works of the human race promote the "pursuit of happiness" of all its members as efficiently as the public works of the beavers promote beavers' happiness. Beavers do not build their dams so low, or their residences and storehouses so high or so compactly as to make their overground or underground avenues of approach inconvenient or impracticable. Their building codes serve better than human codes the ideal of "the greatest good for the greatest number."

To serve this same ideal is said to be the aim of the municipal building laws and "zoning" ordinances by means of which some well-meaning or shrewd members of the human race try to make urban construction conform to higher (or lower) standards, and confine the construction of residences, factories, offices, stores, etc., to such districts or "zones" as may be "suitable" to the community at large or to the exploiters of real estate.

There was a time when American building laws were still in an embryonic stage, and when the limitation of heights of buildings as decreed by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Major L'Enfant had long been forgotten. At that time, before disorder and the rapid growth of blighted areas had become typical features of every American city, Walt Whitman pointed out the incipient danger. He wrote in his Brooklyn Eagle (July 13, 1846): "Over two thousand persons—emigrants from Europe landed in the metropolis from the Liverpool packets that came up yesterday. Nor is this number unusually large, for

one day. A handsome city might be made out of those who come hither from abroad, in the course of a month! The worst thing about these emigrants, and after they come hither, is, that they do not penetrate immediately into the interior—to the far West if possible—and settle down in an agricultural way. We believe that large tracts might be settled in this way in the West, to the advantage of all parties."

In antiquity and during the middle ages such settling of pioneers was conducted in a very efficient and orderly manner and upon a grand scale. But unfortunately, in Walt Whitman's time when immigrants arrived at the rate of from one to three hundred thousand a year, there existed in America no "resettlement administration" or other authority to plan and control rational settlement. Almost every activity in this field was left to chance. During the ten years preceding the World War, the number of new immigrants rose to an average of about a million a year. Most of these newcomers had to help industriously to fill the tenements and pockets of American landlords. Many of these immigrants had brought some savings with them. For many others rent was paid through private charity until they themselves could make money. But for these paying or subsidized guests from afar the American landlords did not build the "handsome city" Walt Whitman had in mind. These newcomers often came from the lowest of European slums and conditions of semi-slavery, or were ready, and often able, to undergo new and unwonted hardships. To exploit their ignorance or to crush their stamina was even more advantageous—for the individual exploiter, although by no means for the community—than, formerly, was the American trade in captured negroes. Half of the victims may have died in the crowded bottoms of the slavers; but the surviving half netted handsome incomes and social prerogatives to the pious merchants of New England, "many of whom had waxed rich distilling West Indian molasses into rum and exchanging rum for slaves to be carried to the Southern plantations"; (Charles A. Beard). Into the slavers, the victims were at least packed for only a few weeks or months; the victims of the tenements often suffer there for a life time.

As long as possible, American real estate owners, State or municipal legislators, "housing reformers," and Board of Health

officers were ready to connive rather indiscriminately with almost any conceivable exploitation of the urban soil. One of the first New York tenements, erected about 1835, was a "model" philanthropic enterprise. And its successors were such that an astute student of housing had to confess: "As for New York, I defy anyone unacquainted with the history of 'model' tenements before the war to distinguish them from any average speculative slum." (C. Bauer, Modern Housing, p. 81.) Indeed, these "speculative slums" built in New York, since the "new" tenement house law of 1901, fairly delighted the contemporary philanthropists, meek and unimaginative as they seem to have been. In the leading American philanthropic review one could read: ". . . The new law tenement is the best that can be hoped for, being equal to the 'model' tenements in the essential particulars of adequate light and ventilation, proper sanitary conveniences, reasonable protection against fire and opportunities for privacy. That within seven years after the passage of the act (1901) one-fourth of the population of the city should be housed in buildings of this class is an amazing result." (Emily Wayland Dinwiddie, in "Charities and the Commons," today called "The Survey," p. 1597, Feb. 15, 1908.) This indeed amazing result proved how profitable these new barracks must have been. In some respects they were even worse than the older types.

As long as the tide of immigrants rose the laws encouraging their congestion in overbuilt tenements may, to the superficial observer, have appeared excusable. Current prejudice would insist that "Manhattan is too small" and that crowding was necessary. Since 1915, however, the fresh armies of profitable new rent-payers dwindled rapidly. In the three years from 1931 to 1933 an actual flight from America even carried back over two hundred thousand to Europe. No longer can the American landlord profitably fill his blighting areas by renting their obsolete houses to the unwitting ones from abroad. Now the realtors cry in horror: "Manhattan is too large!" With its 14,208 acres Manhattan comprises only a one fourteenth part of the area of New York City (197,672 acres) and much less than one half per cent of New York Region (3,537,249 acres). But (as we shall see presently) even this comparatively small Manhattan, even this center of past and probable future congestion is so

large that—for sheer lack of people—it can never be built up and developed to as much as one per cent of such density and height as the megalomaniac building codes and zoning laws permit and encourage. Not one per cent!

Since the inflowing tide of immigration has ebbed, the owners of large sections of almost every American city now can quote the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Chapter I). "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people? How is she become a widow! she that was great among the nations. . . . Her filthiness is in her skirts; she remembereth not her last end; therefore she came down wonderfully." This drastic come-down may enable American cities to solve their slum problems by following Lincoln's advice, to "think anew and act anew," and to "disenthrall" themselves from their obsolete building laws as America had to "disenthrall herself" from her old slave laws.

Indeed, more grotesque even than the greed of the American realtors and the connivance of the "social workers," were the untiring legislative and legalistic and highly expensive activities designed to make the orgies of the realtors appear less mischievous and even dignified. The repeated tragi-comical revisions of the building codes and zoning ordinances regulating the exploitation of land in New York and its metropolitan district (called "Region" or "Environs") were followed by often equally grotesque "reforms" in many other American cities.

The present obsolete legal "restrictions" of New York's real estate exploitation by no means date from the "gay Nineties," nor from the time when America's "robber barons" seized power, and when the rather English than American "tradition of individual freedom and equality destroyed the realities of freedom and equality out of which it rose"; (H. G. Wells). No, New York's restrictions of real estate robbery today in force are quite recent and represent public spirited "revisions" of a previous state of even wilder lawlessness guaranteeing (as has been pointed out in the previous Chapter) to every landowner the famous American liberty to build upon his private piece of land practically anything he pleased, mingling, if he chose, slaughter and country houses, stinking glue factories and incense-burning churches, the most congested tenements of the world, or the highest "cathe-

drals of business" in the whole Universe, as God willed or tolerated it.

In New York the last legal "limitations" of this time-honored "individualism" were defined by the "new" Tenement House Law of 1901, the Zoning Ordinance of 1916, and the Multiple Dwelling Law of 1929. These allegedly well-intentioned limitations resulted from those intermittent campaigns for social education and public improvement which furnish the periodically required outlets for some of the surplus energy and money of America's well-to-do citizens, i.e., from those very campaigns which surprise the intermittent visitor to America by their everlasting recurrence and—in the case of building, "zoning" and anti-slum legislation—by their painful futility. It may be unjust to doubt the sincerity of the civic effort which induced the formation or at least the toleration of these grotesque building laws; but it must be here questioned whether these vaunted ordinances have produced more good than evil.

The most unique of these ordinances is the Zoning Resolution of 1916 which defines the different "zones" or districts in which a New Yorker can build either exclusively business or residential buildings, or—in other "zones"—indiscriminately anything he wishes. The mildest and, sometimes, severest critics of this ordinance are the men who drafted it and who observed their draft deteriorate under the sinister influence of powerful real estate interests. To create in a wildly growing city some more livable and—so to speak—temperate "zones" of construction and to introduce some common sense into its mad and practically lawless architectural activities may be an almost impossible solution. Anyway, few seem to be satisfied with the solution of 1916. But after completing this problematical and bewildering "zoning" ordinance its framers joined the group of planners which have undertaken, since 1921, the even more gigantic task of designing "the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs," a task which purports to bring order into the whole development, not only architectural, but also recreational, industrial, including the furiously complicated problems of transit and transportation not only of New York City but of the whole New York Region, which is fifteen times larger. This great enterprise was made some-

what less difficult only by the regrettable (and sometimes fortunate) fact that its character is purely advisory and self-appointed. The advisors were financed by the private Russell Sage Foundation (with an outlay of 1.25 million dollars). They could avail themselves of their freedom of executive responsibility, and could criticize their previous work embodied in the Zoning Resolution of 1916. In one of the ten interesting large volumes which they published ("Regional Survey of the Plan of New York and its Environs," Vol. VI, p. 372) Mr. E. M. Bassett criticizes the Zoning Resolution, which he himself had been forced to draft, fifteen years earlier, against or conforming with invincible opposition, when he was chairman of the Municipal Heights of Buildings Commission. Mr. Bassett, the eminent lawyer, says about his own badly truncated ordinance (the italics are not his):

". . . the New York zoning resolution as it now exists makes no reference: first, to a rational height of dwelling houses, such as two and one-half or three stories; second, to one family or two family detached house districts; or third, to multi-family houses *according to density.* By reason of these omissions the resolution has brought no worthwhile protection to many localities in the city so far as density is concerned. Height regulations which allow buildings to go from six to nine stories in the southern part of Staten Island or in the out-lying parts of the Borough of Queens, are entirely *unsuitable, if not absurd. Inadequate zoning* of this sort is one of the *penalties* that New York City has suffered because it took the lead in establishing comprehensive zoning. Some benefit came from this early start. Localities have undoubtedly been preserved which would have been ruined by the lack of zoning. Nevertheless, if some other great city had established the law first and obtained progressive court decisions, *it would be possible for New York City to adopt a much better zoning plan today* than the one that it now has. . . . In the districts (labelled E or F) which are supposed to be the one-family detached house districts, a lot owner can build a multi-family house to accommodate 50 or 100 families, and if he chooses, provide for one family in each room, if only he supplies a large enough lot and the required front, side and rear yards, and does not exceed the percentage of coverage of the lot. In the less restricted C and D districts there is likewise no regulation

that prevents one family living in each room. The result is that, although zoning has had the practical effect of decreasing cubage of residential units in the restricted area districts, *it has had no effect upon room crowding.*"

During a meeting at the New York City Club (Spring 1935) Mr. Bassett explained the regrettable shortcomings of his zoning ordinance caused by the shortsighted demands made by real estate interests. He said: "Every request for raising the height, won out. Every petition for increased height, if it had a fairly large number of signatures, has been approved by the Board of Estimate."

After emphasizing some of the "unsuitable, if not absurd" features of his work, Mr. Bassett commented upon its "success." He said (the italics, here and in the following quotations, have been introduced only for the purpose of the present discussion):

"The success of zoning in New York has been due very largely to four things. The first of these is that no attempt was made to impose anything in the nature of an unreasonable restriction. It has come to be seen that this is a proper attitude, for the result has been that *zoning has become firmly entrenched* in the law and practice of the city, and that strengthening will be a matter of evolution toward a higher quality of zoning. The second merit of the New York ordinance was the—*prevention of arbitrariness.* In the third place, success has been made possible because of the *facility with which needed changes in* the zoning maps *can be made by the Board of Estimate.* A fourth reason for successful administration has been the educational work carried on by the Zoning Committee of New York. This committee consists of public-spirited citizens who are interested in maintaining the integrity of zoning in New York."

Less leniency for New York's Zoning Resolution, its successful administration and its evolution toward higher quality, is expressed by the General Director of the Regional Plan, Mr. Thomas Adams, who does not belong to the group of men who fathered the Zoning Resolution of 1916. He expresses no doubt as to the great "facility" of changing the zoning maps. But, in opposition to Mr. Bassett's confidence in the "satisfactory evolution of New York's zoning," Mr. Adams declares: "The really significant changes that are being made are being grounded on

mere expediency, and seem to *ignore the foundation elements of health, safety and general welfare, in the interests of dishonest speculation* . . . too much consideration is being given to selfish interests. What else can be said about the constant reiteration that there must be compromise here and there with land values based on acknowledged misuses of land? . . . The zoning *resolution* of New York . . . has *failed to afford substantial relief to congestion.*"

Mr. Bassett's optimistic contention that "strengthening will be a matter of evolution toward a higher quality of zoning," was even more spiritedly contradicted by Mayor La Guardia. During the meeting of the Mayor's Committee on City Planning, Feb. 6, 1935, attended by 800 delegates from the whole New York Region, Mr. La Guardia complained about the "facility" or, rather, ruthlessness with which the quality of zoning was continuously being weakened. He told of regularly appearing real estate advertisements which "guarantee," in advance, to prospective buyers an exemption from the zoning requirements that will suit their wishes. His report sounded like an account of the glorious privileges which, against cash, could always be secured from Boss Tweed and his forty thieves, the aldermen of New York during the "gilded age" after 1865. Describing the difficulty of resisting the well organized efforts to break down the zoning law, Mayor La Guardia concluded that the only thing to do is "*to kiss your zone goodbye*" whenever it interferes with the aims of real estate speculation.

The other "success" claimed by Mr. Bassett for his zoning ordinance, the "prevention of arbitrariness," has been strongly disputed by a prominent member of Mayor La Guardia's Committee on City Planning. The architect Mr. Ralph Walker said: "Our present zoning ordinances are granting privilege to a few landowners at the expenses of a great many, and the majority of the property owners are paying for this privilege by not being able to obtain an adequate return on their holdings." (Cf. N. Y. Times, Nov. 23, 1935.)

One must, indeed, admit that Mr. Bassett's Zoning Ordinance, instead of "preventing arbitrariness,"—on the contrary—calls for and legalizes the highest arbitrariness conceivable. By authorizing and, thereby, even encouraging land-owners to build

from two to actually fifty times higher than is "suitable," the ordinance arbitrarily grants premiums to the least public spirited individual. The law actually grants awards to him who is ready first to make use of the "absurd" authorization of overbuilding and ruining a neighborhood. The first one who commits the legalized crime can actually benefit from it. His newly overbuilt property will still draw enough sunlight and air at the expense of the abused neighboring properties from which he is stealing it. The second and third perpetrator of the architectural crime authorized by the zoning ordinance will benefit less. The sane people who stay behind and entirely refuse to commit the offense will be the heaviest losers. Could there be any more damaging arbitrariness?

Another "success" claimed for this ordinance is that it has "firmly entrenched zoning in the law and practice of the City." This claim no one can contradict. But the achievement thus praised must be compared with the "success" of a certain merciful doctor who has been summoned to cure an habitual drunkard. The patient, so far, may have been drinking an average of five large glasses of whiskey a day and only in a few exceptional cases as many as thirty. (These numbers are selected, purely for illustration or for purposes of comparison, because it happens that the average height of New York's buildings, at the time of the framing of the zoning ordinance, was about five or less stories while there were a few exceptionally high buildings with as many as thirty stories.) Facing so inebriate a patient the doctor was rather distrustful of his persuasive powers. He, therefore, made "no attempt to impose anything in the nature of an unreasonable restriction" (to quote Mr. Bassett's explanation). Indeed the doctor refused to limit the daily whiskey consumption of his patient to anything less than what his patient could consume during his most extravagant excesses. The doctor carefully tried to use the prescription of the framers of New York's zoning ordinance who declared: "A height limit that was lower than many buildings then in existence in a given locality would be discriminatory and might be pronounced void by the court." (Cf. Regional Survey of New York and Environs, Vol. VI, p. 364.) This is as doubtful a manifestation of wisdom as if the doctor summoned to cure the drunkard were to prescribe for him

such a consumption of alcohol as is known to be indulged in by the tallest drinkers of his locality without intercession by the police. Mr. Bassett explains: "If in 1916 there had been no buildings of these heights, it is probable (!) that the authorities would not have established districts permitting them, since in places where they are closely crowded together they do not conform to the requirements of health, safety and general welfare."

In legalizing or "establishing districts" which "do not conform to the requirements of health," etc., the Zoning Ordinance of 1916 has, indeed, been successful. But does it not seem as if the framers of this ordinance had succeeded in killing a possibly good idea by legalistic thinking?

As to the firmness with which "zoning has become entrenched in the law and practice of the City" one probably has to admit that it will be very difficult indeed to dislodge realtors from a zoning ordinance that is so efficient a defense and legalization of their fondest speculative hopes and vice. Perhaps only a drunkard whose occasional drinking excesses have been authorized or prescribed (by his doctor!) as a regular habit, may be less easily separated from his depravity than a real estate man ("firmly entrenched" behind his beloved zoning ordinance) may desist from overbuilding and lot-crowding.

The inefficiency of the zoning effort within the area of the City of New York (299 square miles) need not be equalled, at present, by similar inefficiency in every individual section of the metropolitan area outside of New York City's limits. (The total area of "New York and Environs" is 5,528 square miles.) Very commendable efforts have been made at the zoning of outlying districts by such planners as Mr. W. D. Heidegger. But the battle for crowding and unrestrictive "zoning" will be fought by the "interests of dishonest speculation" mentioned by Mr. Thomas Adams, only in those strategic locations where, and whenever, they think it worth while. There is no reason to assume that they will be less harmfully victorious outside than inside New York City (whenever they may think it profitable to indulge in overbuilding and lot-crowding). Meanwhile they win their minor battles in such growing subsidiary centers as the City of Newark.

Mr. Bassett speaks of the "zoning disasters" in New Jersey

(which comprises 2,228 square miles of Metropolitan New York). Especially interesting among these suburban disasters are always those occurring in the most densely built districts where over-exploitation of the land is already permitted and where still greater maxima would be demanded and enforced, by victorious speculators, in case the existing legal maxima did not satisfy or even exceeded the wishes of the insatiable. It is in these districts of maximum exploitation where speculation wins its irreparable victories, leaving for later conquest those districts which at present are "zoned" for lower and less congested building. In the districts where speculation had advanced its fierce claims, the new Newark zoning ordinance of 1930 did so little interfere with them, that Mr. Thomas Adams wrote: "It may be said that such zoning is almost a farce so far as limiting bulk in the interest of public welfare is concerned, and that it matters little what other provisions are made when such an intensity of building is provided for. It is difficult to see what the social objective of this kind of zoning is. In regard to broad effects on building, there is nothing in conditions in Newark which would suggest that the owners would exceed the heights contained in this ordinance were they left to their free will." (Cf. Regional Survey, Vol. VI, p. 162.)

Mr. Bassett himself tells of the trick by which the towns in the New York State section of the Metropolitan region were permitted to escape even the altogether "imperfect zoning enabling-act for towns." "The main defect of this grant of power was that the ordinance did not apply to any property owner who was not actually served with a copy of the ordinance." The new Town Law in New York State (1927) opened new loopholes. "Towns in New York that fail to place themselves within the protection of the new law will still be open to the exploitation of land developers. They will have no way of preventing the laying out of streets in the wrong places. Sometimes these streets made by developers will be too near together so that lots will be too shallow, and sometimes the streets will not conform to the topography but will run up and down hill on grades which make their upkeep almost impossible. Parts of many towns in New York have been irretrievably injured by these haphazard street and lot layouts."

It is safe to say that the laws already in force permit large sections of New York's outer regions to develop in as bad or in an even worse manner than is permitted, at present, within the "zoned" area of New York proper. And even where zoning ordinances are in force, now, outside of New York City proper, there is little assurance that they will resist, any more than the Zoning Resolution of New York, those "selfish interests" and what Mr. Thomas Adams calls the "whittling down of zoning in New York region." Unless matters are fundamentally changed, one must expect that any real estate exploitation possible in New York City will ultimately be possible in the whole New York Region, i.e. whenever it will be found profitable and whenever enough human cattle can be found to submit to this exploitation and can be made to pay rent for the privilege of being exploited.

The only real hope for better city planning in the future rests not in the "Zoning Resolutions" now in force, but in the fact that the ungodly human herds required to give financial sense to these "absurd" zoning resolutions and to fill up the corrals provided for the profit of the realtors of New York by their legalistic though "public spirited" advisors can never, never be huddled together, even if the population of the entire world were driven to pay rent and survive in New York.

The entire population of the earth is at present only two billion people. And what is the population capacity of New York Region under the existing building ordinances? More than twice the population of the entire globe!

The New York City Housing Authority has made a "Zoning Survey of New York City" which has not been published. But the general results of this survey have repeatedly been quoted in the speeches of the Tenement House Commissioner, Mr. Langdon Post. There can no longer be a secret about this appalling study. "The purpose of this survey is to determine the population capacity of New York City, were the city to be built up to the limits of the present Zoning Ordinance and within the requirements of the Multiple Dwelling Law."

Before calculating the maximum amount of construction possible upon the surface of the city, liberal areas for streets, parks, playgrounds and cemeteries were deducted. The results for Manhattan, as an example, were these:

	Square Feet in Manhattan	
Mainland	585,725,184	
Parks and Playgrounds	78,892,736	
Cemeteries	914,760	
Streets Bldg. Line to Bldg. Line	176,470,272	
Gross Buildable Area	329,447,416	
Allowing 10% for schools and other public buildings	32,944,742	
Net Buildable Area	296,502,674	
Number of Buildable Blocks (650′ x 200′)		2,281

In the same way the total for the whole City of New York was calculated thus:

	Square Feet in the city of New York	
Mainland	8,474,509,041	
Parks & Playgrounds	433,340,456	
Cemeteries	177,270,912	
Streets Bldg. Line to Bldg. Line	2,285,401,536	
Gross Buildable Area	5,378,469,217	
Allowing 10% for schools and other public bldgs	537,846,921	
Net Buildable Area	4,840,622,296	
Number of Buildable Blocks (650′ x 200′)		37,236

Therefore the "percentages of blocks for business use and for residential use were separated for each borough, according to the percentages of each area zoned for such uses. The percentages of blocks for each Area District were separated according to areas zoned for such districts. The cubic contents of each designed block were figured and reduced to floor areas, and then to the number of persons that each such block would accommodate."

In calculating the number of persons to be accommodated very conservative assumptions were made. The average gross floor area per person, for instance, was assumed to be 200 square feet in business buildings. This may be compared with 150 square feet of office space which Elevator Companies assume as an average for each employee. The Equitable Building at 120 Broadway has an occupancy, according to the Building Department records, of 11873 or 150 square feet of floor space per person. In hotels ("class B dwellings") the new Zoning Survey takes even 300 sq. ft. (gross) and in apartment houses ("class A dwellings") 250 sq. ft. per person as bases of the calculation. How high, liberal and American the averages thus allowed really are, will be appreciated when one compares them with fifty square feet per person which were officially given

as the average of available floor space in Russian cities after the execution of the first "Five Year Plan." (Cf. the richly documented article in Wasmuth's Monatshefte für Baukunst und Staedtebau, 1932, p. 196 ff.)

In spite of such conservative assumptions the calculation shows that New York's building restrictions allow an amount of congestion which far exceeds any conceivable necessity. It becomes evident that these restrictions were made by legalistic minds unprepared to cope with the practical and very evil consequences of their doings. Here are some examples of the rather surprising possibilities created by this legalistic interference with city building. The "Zoning Survey" of the New York City Housing Authority finds:

"Even in the most restricted residential 'F' district in Brooklyn or Queens, where it is generally believed that only detached one family houses may be built, a 200 x 650 ft. block can be built up with tall apartment buildings to house 2,746 people. This would produce a density of population per acre (including streets) of 539 against 118, which is the present average density per acre in the area within five miles of City Hall.

"In business areas where hotels may be built in accordance with the zoning law, there would be a density of 2,345 persons per gross acre or over eleven times the maximum density of 200 persons per gross acre given by the Regional Plan Association as proper for Central Areas. . . . *There has never existed in any block the density of population that the law allows.* One business block 200 x 650 ft. (if built up in conformity with the present laws) could accommodate 18,158 people with only about 7 sq. ft. of ground per person, while one of the densest (actually existing) blocks in the garment district (between 7th and 8th Avenues and 37th and 38th Streets) has an occupancy of 6,000 to 9,000 (according to seasons) in an area of 158,000 sq. ft., thus allowing as much as 18 sq. ft. of ground per person. The street congestion in this section is well known. Yet the laws permit two and one-half times this working population per block. Inasmuch as the area of streets amounts to 50% of buildable area, this working population in a business block turned out into the street at one time would have only 3½ sq. ft. per person, using both roadways and sidewalks. This is not walking room." As

the streets generally amount only to 30% of the buildable area there would in reality be only 2 sq. ft. of street space for every person.

"If New York City is developed to the full extent permitted by the zoning law," the "Zoning Survey" shows that the following masses of people could be huddled into this city:

	Persons
Total business occupancy	343,976,983
Hotels (Class B Multiple Dwellings) / Apartments (Class A Multiple Dwellings)	76,723,971
Total persons accommodated	420,700,954
Total persons housed	76,723,971

Thus the "business occupancy" is almost *five* times larger than is the "total of persons housed"!

What do these fantastic figures signify? And what can be said to explain, justify or at least understand them? If one insisted upon being as fantastically illogical as the New York building laws are, one might say that the men who so surprisingly "zoned" meant to be good New Yorkers. Perhaps they patriotically wished to reserve for the city of New York the higher profits which result from using property for business as compared with using it merely for residences. When the Municipal Heights of Buildings Commission provided space for the "business" of 343 million New Yorkers it anticipated perhaps the possibility of forcing all the remaining parts of the New York Region to abandon any ambition of ever accommodating any perceptible part of New York's increasing business and to be satisfied with extending purely residential facilities to the families of the 343 million business people of New York. In this case the metropolitan area of 5,230 square miles outside of New York City proper (298 square miles) might be destined to house (aside from its own increasing population) 343 million families, or about 1000 million to 1500 million people dependent upon heads of families commuting and working in New York City.

But, as pointed out, zoning in the long run is unlikely to be more restrictive outside of New York City proper than inside. The outer regions are most eager to copy faithfully every aberration of New York whenever it may become profitable to do so. When the New York Stock Exchange, in 1933, tried to escape taxation, it threatened to move to Newark and actually acquired

there an option on land in the business district. A little Newark boom started at once. It is to be feared that the City of New York's zoning laws, with their pitiless lack of logic, will gradually be applied to the whole Region. This would be equivalent to our having to reckon upon ultimate "zoning" for an equally dense and impossible business occupancy in the entire Region of New York. The buildable land within the Region being more than eighteen times as large as New York City proper, the present legal zoning standards of this City applied to the whole Region would, therefore, provide for 6.1 billion business men (or women) within New York Region. If each of these New York business people had a family somewhere (or dependents of any kind) as numerous as two, three, or four, there would be in the Region of New York—if the dynamic standards of the City's Zoning Ordinance are to be taken seriously—a potential demand of homes for 18 to 30 billion people. How can they be housed? A most puzzling enigma which even the Municipal Heights of Buildings Commission probably could not solve.

It has been pointed out that the existing zoning provides for the residence of *only* 76.7 million people within New York City proper, or (if similarly mad standards were applied to the whole Region) for only 1.36 billion people in the entire Region. Another serious conundrum seems to present itself. Even granting that the speed of airplanes and the size of commuting areas will have developed enormously before 15 or 20 billion people ever settle upon New York Region, a practical city planner must doubt whether the existing lawful zoning for a business occupancy five times larger than his residential occupancy is not the result of one of those regrettable errors that sometimes creep in, even to law-making. The impracticability of New York's zoning regulations can, at least partly, be rectified by a surprisingly simple method, i.e. by reversing them. Instead of zoning for a business occupancy five times larger than the residential occupancy (as New York's zoning ordinance actually does) it would be a little less unreasonable to reverse the procedure and provide for a residential occupancy five times as large as the business occupancy. Thus one would arrive at the fairly normal relation of one business or working person existing to each home for five people.

But even by entirely reversing the City of New York's fanci-

ful and fateful laws, they would become only partly reasonable. Certainly, to figure upon a total population of 343.9 million people within New York City proper (corresponding to 5,158 million within New York Region) and upon a business occupancy of 76.7 in New York City proper (corresponding to 1,150 billion within the Region) is somewhat less unreasonable than to figure (applying the present legal standards) upon a residential population of 76.7 people and a business occupancy of 343.9 million people within New York City proper.

The tragi-comical futility of this kind of zoning, however, becomes at once evident, if one learns that the most buoyant estimate of what the population of New York Region can ever amount to presents the figure of 34.6 million people in the year 2000. This prediction, made by Nelson P. Lewis (formerly Chief Engineer of the Board of Estimate, New York) is based upon the assumption that the miraculous growth of the past will continue indefinitely. More realistic calculations do not overlook the fact that even the fastest growing trees never do grow through the sky. These more realistic prognosticators arrive at a possible population in the New York Region in the year 2000, of only 28.7 millions (Professors R. Pearl and L. J. Reed), or only 19.7 millions (E. P. Goodrich, Consulting Engineer), or even only 16.1 million people (Professors E. B. Wilson and W. J. Luyten. Details of these different estimates can be found in "Regional Survey of New York and its Environs," Vol. II, p. 109).

Even these forecasts may prove to be too optimistic. Sociologists have discovered that even in the United States which ranks higher in fertility than such countries as Belgium, England, or Germany, the population is startlingly approaching a stationary point. "It may be said that these areas in which population has come to a standstill or is declining, might support urban growth for a time out of immigration, . . . but that in the long run they probably will experience a cessation of urban growth or even a decline in the degree of urbanization" (cf. N. Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life, New York, 1932, pp. 453–56).

The legal building "restrictions" of New York consider neither the possibility of a standstill nor a decline of population,

and they are not even influenced by such buoyant population forecasts of from 16 to 34 million people (instead of the present 11 millions) in the year 2000. Instead, the building laws of New York represent a weak surrender to the irresponsible demands of real estate speculators. If this fact required any further proof, one might venture to make the following rather farcical calculations.

According to the 1930 estimate of the International Statistical Institute of the League of Nations at Geneva, all the States of North, Central, and South America together have at present a population of 239 millions. Makers of building laws might claim that one half of this total of 239 millions is destined to live in Buenos Aires. With typical South American modesty, superior to that of most North American cities, Buenos Aires has tried to emulate North American building codes and has by its newest building and zoning ordinances (1930) created the lawful possibility of housing about 165 million people within its metropolitan district. This total of 165 millions is only little more than ten times the present population of all Argentine. Compared with such Argentinian restraint the zoning liberty of New York appears to be mad libertinism: it provides for more than 21 times the present population of all Pan-America.

But then, there is Asia! Asia has, at present, a larger population than Pan-America. Comprising the densely settled districts of China and India, all Asia is estimated to have a population of 950 millions, or less than one-sixth of the population made possible by the public spirited "restrictions" within the metropolitan district of New York. This "Region of New York" could accommodate thirty-four times the population of all Africa which contains at present only 150 million people. All the inhabitants of thinly settled Australia, seven millions, could be housed 600 times within Metropolitan New York and still leave enough room for all and every one of the populous nations of Europe and all their future progeny. The population of all Europe comprises today only 550 million people, while Metropolitan New York must house almost ten times as many in order to live up to the generous permits extended by the Zoning Resolution of 1916, contrary to the better intentions of its original designers.

The architect Mr. Ralph Walker is entirely justified when he demands that the City of New York's "zoning laws should be revised to fit a population limit of 12,000,000." If built up to its zoning limitations, he explained, the city would "contain dark-towered buildings of sufficient bulk to house 250,000,000 persons. . . . The area now zoned for residence," he said, "would house 12,000,000 persons in buildings of about three stories in height, with half of the land left for gardens and open spaces. A business population natural to a community of this size could be housed properly on about 10 per cent of the area now zoned for business." (Cf. N. Y. Times, Nov. 23, 1935.)

The question of the extent to which even a sensible zoning ordinance can help rather than hinder undesirable speculation in real estate will be discussed in a later Chapter dedicated to city planning in Berlin where the most intensive experimentation in the field of zoning has been carried on.

Fourteenth Chapter

CITIES—PLACES TO DIE IN? "DESTRUCTION OF FICTITIOUS LAND VALUES"

It has been claimed—for instance by the French city planner, Eugene Hénard—that even bad congestion in big cities is to be vindicated as a necessary precondition of intense cultural life. On the other hand some systems of pessimistic and fascistic philosophies have abused statistics which prove that—in the past—cities were not self-regenerating, that the growth of big cities has mostly depended upon the continuous influx of sturdier immigrants from the healthier noncitified country; or, in other words, that the city was a place fit to die in, but not a place to live in. These enemies of the city conclude their argument after the manner of Oswald Spengler who won world repute by lugubriously prophesying: "The whole pyramid of cultural man vanishes. It crumbles from the summit, first the world-cities, then the provincial forms, and finally the land itself, whose best blood has incontinently poured into the towns, merely to bolster them up awhile." (Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, II, p. 105.) Spengler has developed what MacIver calls a "curious elaboration of a cyclic conception" of a progressively decaying society. Spengler professes "to reveal the spring, summer, autumn and winter of cultures and peoples."

The outcome or goal of such demonstrations has often been highly political. Their authors advocate the denial of self-government to cities and claim that the government of a nation must be in the hands of the farmers or, to be more specific, under the control of the big landed estates. Their owners in the American South used to be called slave-holders. In Prussia where they are still in power they are called "Junkers," a class which for centuries formed the strong backbone of a rather enterprising militarism. Spengler admires them and thinks they will bring the only possible salvation to suffering mankind. Humanity can be saved

from the pest of big cities and their intellectualism only by this "philosopher's" favorite kind of "Socialism," which he manages to identify with "Prussianism." His slender but effective book on "Prussianism and Socialism" strongly "supports the old militarist Germanism" (to quote what the "Columbia Encyclopedia" says about one of his later books). He wrote it in 1919. Since that date the name Prussian Socialism has been changed to National Socialism, or Nazism. We will presently see how closely the leader of this new "socialism" follows Spengler in his opposition to the modern city.

Even searching American critics of Spengler's "mystical theorizings" desire "to recognize that a certain substantial basis underlies them." So, for instance, writes N. Carpenter and continues: "Urban societies do decay. Some of them have altogether disappeared. Population attrition probably—almost certainly—has played a part in their decline. But this factor would seem to be only one of several tending in the same direction. . . . There are other equally fundamental forces—social, economic, political—that tend to make urbanism increase in burdensomeness and precariousness as it develops"; (cf. N. Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life, 1932, p. 199f.). If the Chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of Buffalo in his widely circulated book thus indicts "urbanism" it is necessary to examine the foundation of such charges.

An attitude diametrically opposed to the pessimism of Spengler was suggested in the Preface to the present volume. It proposed a newer conception of social endeavor and historic observation in terms of "urbanism" rather than in terms of "civilization." Instead of fearing the city as the inevitable grave of humanity, the present study recommends the modern decentralized city with its highly improved health standards as the only possible salvation for mankind.

In this connection the student of urbanism will find it interesting to observe the changing, hostile or friendly, attitudes which prominent statesmen and writers have long been accustomed to assume when facing the progress of city life and its influence upon the fate of nations. As has been mentioned here, Thomas Jefferson maintained that the big cities are apt to become sores on the body politic. Modern Americans—such as

Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Ford—point in almost identical terms to the dangers of modern city life, but also emphasize the possibilities of their remedies.

"The modern city is a pestiferous growth." Such are the words of Henry Ford, to quote an authority who enjoys a popular reputation of combining thoroughly American "rugged individualism" with acquisitive power and common sense. "Plainly," we read in "Ford Ideals," "so it seems to some of us, that the ultimate solution will be the abolition of the City, its abandonment as a blunder. . . . Nothing will finally work more effectively to undo the fateful grip which the City habit has taken upon the people, than the *destruction of the fictitious land values* which the City traditions have set up and maintained. We shall solve the City Problem by leaving the City." This flight seems, indeed, necessary, with or without a "Ford."

In an even more philosophic and pre-Spenglerian vein another exponent of American common sense, Theodore Roosevelt on August 27, 1910, wrote: "In the past, every civilization in its later stages has tended really to witness those conditions under which 'the cities prosper and the men decay.' There are ugly signs that these tendencies are at work in this nation of ours."

This was written before the World War, at a time when the "ugly tendencies" destructive of old fashioned family life were even stronger in such tenement house cities as Berlin, Paris or Vienna than they were in the predominantly one-family-house cities of England and America. After the World War and the moral or political revolutions which followed it, housing reform could be undertaken in Austria, Germany and many other countries on an unprecedented scale. We will see (in the second Volume) that as astute a critic as the French writer, Jean Giraudoux, went so far as to suggest that German democracy (before the advent of Hitler) had practically solved the problem of the modern city and had achieved thereby a most sublime triumph.

The success which thus inspired the Frenchman is, of course, indignantly denied by such opponents of democracy as the dictator Hitler or the already quoted philosopher Spengler both of whom equal or exceed the democratic Jefferson in their hostile fear of big cities. This apparent similarity is curious because

Jefferson was the exponent of an earthly "pursuit of Happiness," while no one could have a deeper contempt than Hitler and Spengler for such hedonistic utilitarianism as has been glorified by the *magna charta Americana*, the Declaration of Independence. We have seen that even Lincoln fought for "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Such Benthamism must appear utterly despicable to a German demagogue or to a philosopher inspired by equal fallacies. Their ethical standards are derived from heroism and sacrifice which in history generally turned out to be the glory of the leading hero and the sacrifice of the masses; this at least was maintained by one who ought to have known, by Frederic "the Great," when he once in one of his Voltairian moods spoke candidly.

What are the facts behind such gloomy forebodings as those of Spengler who, even more emphatically than Theodore Roosevelt, warned the world that when "cities prosper the men decay"? He claims to have proved by historical facts that all valuable culture (fine arts and high morals, or "*Kultur*") is rapidly disappearing in the growing cities and that it is being obliterated and results in mere "civilization," egalitarian and utilitarian, scientific and technological, which is far from the divine breath of creative tradition and autochthonous dignity. In his "Decline of the West" (II, 100 ff.) Spengler writes the following lines which in part are almost worthy of a city planner and of a man of better insight:

"Now the old mature cities with their Gothic nucleus of cathedral, town-halls, and high-gabled streets, with their old walls, towers, and gates, ringed about by the Baroque growth of brighter and more elegant patricians' houses, palaces, and hall-churches, begin to overflow in all directions in formless masses, to eat into the decaying country-side with their multiplied barrack-tenements and utility buildings, and to destroy the noble aspect of the old time by clearances and rebuildings. Looking down from one of the old towers upon the sea of houses, we perceive in this petrification of a historic being the exact epoch that marks the end of organic growth and the beginning of an inorganic and therefore unrestrained process of massing without limit. And now, too, appears that artificial, mathematical, utterly land-alien product of a pure intellectual satisfaction in the

appropriate, the city of the city-architect. In all Civilizations alike, these cities aim at the chessboard form, which is the symbol of soullessness. Regular rectangle-blocks astounded Herodotus in Babylon and Cortez in Tenochtitlan. In the Classical world the series of 'abstract' cities begins with Thurii, which was 'planned' by Hippodamus of Miletus in 441. Priene, whose chessboard scheme entirely ignores the ups and downs of the site, Rhodes, and Alexandria follow, and become in turn models for innumerable provincial cities of the Imperial Age. The Islamic architects laid out Baghdad from 762, and the giant city of Samarra a century later, according to plan. In the West-European and American world the lay-out of Washington in 1791 is the first big example. There can be no doubt that the world-cities of the Han period in China and the Maurya dynasty in India possessed this same geometrical pattern. . . . The block-tenements of Rome such as the famous Insula Feliculae, rose, with a street breadth of only ten to seventeen feet to heights that have never been seen in Western Europe and are seen in only a few cities in America."

Thus Spengler obviously resumes the fallacious advocacy of the city without a preconceived plan, the "grown city" or the city which "just growed" and the irregularity of which must, of course, be religiously imitated by morbid romantic architects.

Such notions the first volume of the present publications (entitled "Civic Art") has strongly opposed. It happens that quite a number of the cities here condemned by Spengler were praised by the present author, in this first volume, as models of the finest civic art. It was also shown there that the decried "chessboard form"—if properly handled—is capable of producing much strong and harmonious beauty. Spengler blames the "city-architects" because they design city blocks in the shape of "rectangles," because they lay out a city "according to plan," and because they delight in the "appropriateness" and in the "mathematical" and "geometrical" qualities of their art. Doing this the architects become agents of "soullessness," of "inorganic processes" and of "artificiality"; and they help eat "into the decaying countryside." It would be equally grotesque to blame Bach, Mozart or Beethoven for delighting in the mathematical and architectonic qualities of their fugues, sonatas and sym-

phonies. What could be more wonderfully geometrical than the plans of Gothic cathedrals? Gothic builders laid out many hundreds of cities "according to a plan" and in true accordance with the geometrical splendor of their conceptions of cathedrals. Whenever the territory was level their city blocks were rectangles which secured the most appropriate lot shapes for the building of practical houses. The early Gothic town planners were very practical and had a perfect sense of the appropriate. Only incorrigible romantics could believe that the architects of any worth-while period ever purposely laid out, on flat land, irregular, seemingly unplanned streets and seemingly or actually inappropriate lots. The supreme union of appropriateness and beauty has always been the supreme test of architectural perfection. It is true that the conception of beauty is often and largely influenced by tradition and prejudice. But no one should talk about architecture without being able to appreciate the peculiar character of architectural art which to a large extent is beautiful if and because it is appropriate, and is appropriate if and because it is beautiful. If one were obliged to play, as Spengler does, with mystical terminology, one would have to say that in architecture the sacred union of the beautiful and the appropriate has the character of a holy sacrament. Here is the translation of the classical motto of all good builders: Architecture recognizes only one master, necessity.

There once existed among city planners, in the gay Nineties, a romanticism that sneered at the superb architectural qualities in the plan of Carlsruhe or Versailles, or that could not see the then and yet largely unfulfilled architectural possibilities of the plan of Washington. But this romanticism has long since been conquered. The famous city planner Camillo Sitte, who sometimes was guilty of such romanticism, has in his own designs often been strongly "geometrical" emulating the superior work of Baroque times which was never informal. Curiously enough, Spengler himself is, in most cases, one of the most ardent admirers of Baroque art. His criticism of the city plans of the Baroque period shows him sinking below his own level of critical judgment. He continues with the following remark which would be very good if things were not taking and had not taken an entirely new and different turn. He writes:

"Even now the world-cities of the Western Civilization are far from having reached the peak of their development. I see, long after A.D. 2000, cities laid out for ten to twenty million inhabitants, spread over enormous areas of country-side, with buildings that will dwarf the biggest of to-day's and notions of traffic and communication that we should regard as fantastic to the point of madness." This remark would, indeed, be to the point if it were meant to be a criticism of the New York Ordinance "zoning" the New York Region for hundreds of millions or for billions of people. But does Spengler take such absurd ordinances seriously? All sane "city-architects" whom Spengler criticizes for their desire to build "according to plan," oppose such crazy and uneconomic expansion of urban conglomerations. It, furthermore, happens that the most recent urban developments in America do *not* tend towards chessboard design "which," for romantic Spengler, "is the symbol of soullessness." All effective modern city planning introduces into the city's organism larger and larger parks and forest reserves. The most distinctive feature of modern city expansion is the abandonment of mere city planning and the substitution of state planning. This new conception has long ago been recognized by even the highest officials in government who often are rather averse to new ideas. More than ten years ago a New York State Governor wrote: "The consistent planning of highways, parkways, parks, public institutions and public structures of all kinds, in relation to the whole State, treating all as a unified problem of regional planning, is the modern way of dealing with such a program of public improvements on a large scale. It is no longer considered practical or even sensible to permit cities to grow up in a haphazard fashion and to let their outlying regions develop without regard either to outside highway connections or existing streets, within town limits." (Cf. Governor Alfred E. Smith's letter of March 16, 1925, to the New York State Legislature, transmitting the "Report of the Commission of Housing and Regional Planning.")

Modern living quarters are no longer massed within congested cities but are dotted in the form of decentralized settlements along those novel "parkways" until hardly a suggestion of the old chessboard plan remains. The notion that such victorious protagonists of the modern parkway in New York Region

as Messrs. Robert Moses and Gilmore D. Clarke were advocates of chessboard planning or had no clear vision of its inappropriateness is quite humorous. Spengler, however, lugubriously continues his arraignment of the big cities' development:

". . . no wretchedness, no compulsion, not even a clear vision of the madness of this development, avails to neutralize the attractive force of these daemonic creations. The wheel of Destiny rolls on to its end; the birth of the City entails its death. Beginning and end, a peasant cottage and a tenement-block are related to one another as soul and intellect, as blood and stone. . . . Here there is only forward, never back. Long, long ago the country bore the country-town and nourished it with her best blood. Now the giant city sucks the country dry, insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men, till it wearies and dies in the midst of an almost uninhabited waste of country. . . . Once the full sinful beauty of this last marvel of all history has captured a victim, it never lets him go." Here Spengler's hide-bound moralism is unmasked: the "full" beauty of the large city is "sinful."

The phenomenon that more than anything else inspired the historico-romantic croakings of Spengler was the spectacular urban depopulation which accompanied the decline of the Roman Empire. Most of us have learned in school that ancient Rome, like Sodom and Gomorrah, decayed in righteous punishment of the sometimes questionable "morals" of its wicked inhabitants. Spengler refuses with contempt the much simpler American interpretation of classic Rome's dramatic depopulation, the unromantic interpretation given by the economist, V. G. Simkhovitch, and approved by modern agronomists, namely that the cities of antiquity were depopulated because the system of feeding their inhabitants broke down.

The cause of this breakdown was the progressive exhaustion of most agricultural soil from which the cities took their nourishment. This exhaustion is proved by innumerable documents. The political victory of the large estates and of the slave-holders was partly responsible for this exhaustion. The small farmer with little land keeps relatively more cattle, thus permitting more intensive manuring and cultivation. But, furthermore, farmers of former times—and this continued into fairly modern times as

well, in fact into the second half of the eighteenth century!—had no artificial fertilizer, and they did not know the systematic use of such fertilizing plants as clover which would maintain the productivity of their fields. Extensive farming until about a hundred and fifty years ago, was like mining. A farm, like a mine, however rich, would some day be exhausted of its treasures.

Of course, there were Egypt and some smaller valleys regularly fertilized by overflowing rivers. Their possession, indeed, became the key to the dominion of ancient Rome. But these granaries of Rome were not capable of alone feeding the whole empire. "The progressive exhaustion of the soil was quite sufficient to doom Rome, as lack of oxygen in the air would doom the strongest living being. His moral or immoral character, his strength or his weakness, his genius or his mental defects, would not affect the circumstances of his death: he would have lived had he had oxygen; he died because he had none. But it must be remembered that while the presence of oxygen does not explain his life, the absence of it is sufficient to explain his death." (Cf. V. G. Simkhovitch, "Rome's Fall Reconsidered" and "Hay and History," Political Science Quarterly, 1913 and 1916.)

Modern cities find themselves in a situation fundamentally different from that of cities of antiquity, the middle ages and Renaissance times. The scientists of modern cities have made the necessary discoveries which transform exhausted or even originally waste lands into fertile oases. The unfortunate Jew, Fritz Haber, has taught the world how to take the efficient fertilizer, nitrogen, from the air. The great problem to-day is not how to find enough grain to feed urban men and the live stock they need. The problem at present is how to find enough citizens to consume the oversupply of grains. Or rather: the problem to-day is how to find new—and peaceful!—methods of distributing enough purchasing power among urban and rural populations so that they can buy and consume the over-flowing fat, milk and honey of the land.

One observes that the ideas of Spengler are but a slightly modernized adaptation of the Gospel of John Ruskin and his followers (such as the American architect and writer, Ralph Adams Cram) who have praised the unsurpassable medieval "master-mason" and almost everything else medieval, but who

have for the most part nothing but contempt for modern machinery and for almost everything else modern although they often make use of it. According to Spengler, "Kultur" is something noble, agrarian or at least patrician, while "civilization" stands for vulgar democracy or dictator-driven masses in dreary gridiron cities with slums or—at their best—with boresome bathtubs, autos, radios and other standardized articles of mass production which were never found in the possession of Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe or Beethoven and which are all, allegedly, expressions rather of unpleasant mechanization than of creative genius. This worthless "civilization" is supposed to be typical of America whose cities are, indeed, often dreary and whose Gothic churches are, in spite of or thanks to Mr. Cram, more or less copies of old European originals and are often even less pleasing manifestations of standardized mass production than American autos. And her aristocracy built upon a slave foundation experienced a fatal set-back during the war of 1862–65. Her new "robber barons" of the gilded age never acquired the charm of fullbred aristocrats, although they picked or at least payed such remarkable pipers and jesters as Mark Twain and such architects or architectural illusionists as Richardson, Hunt, Burnham, McKim, White, Platt, Goodhue, and even Cram himself!

In fact "civilization" in its most degrading form as it is understood by many French and German critics, is almost synonymous with "Americanization," the grave in which all higher purposes of humanity are supposed to decompose. The reader may remember (from the First Chapter) juicy quotations from a French critic's book "America, the Menace." If such a disparaging opinion of America's modern municipal development were justified, the ambition to build, here or anywhere else, modern cities equal in quality or superior to the glorified though congested cities of old would be doomed to failure. *Is* this view justified? Hitler thinks so. And his opinions are the repercussions of current arguments frequently heard in Europe and in America. Here is an example: One of the ideas most often advanced in this country in opposition to proposals of orderly city planning is this: "Such fine plans are or may have been suitable for European countries when they still had or have

centralized control and when their cities were comparatively small; but these notions of controlled city growth are unsuitable for our democratic America with her rapid growth of cities, with her spoil system and municipal graft and everybody's right to build what he pleases." In a similar defeatist vein Hitler writes, for German consumption, in his book, "My Battle":

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only few German cities and their size was modest. The few really big cities were mostly residences of a sovereign and they had as such almost always a definite cultural value and in most cases also a definite artistic appearance."

However, Hitler's suggestion (so often also heard in America) that such cities were handicapped which (like those of America) did not have a mighty dictator concerned with, and paying for their beautification, is untenable. Most of the finest cities of Germany were, in their best periods of civic art, so-called "free cities," for example, Hamburg, Bremen, Luebeck, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Ulm, Strassburg, Frankfurt on the Main, Rothenburg, Wismar, the cathedral city, and many others. Their famous civic art was free citizens' art. The harmony of their old streets (the object of John Ruskin's admiration) is also found in the great republican cities of Venice, Genoa, Antwerp, Bruges. In democratic America this harmony was also visible, and is visible even now in the old and not yet over-grown towns and villages of the Atlantic States; it is a keen enjoyment to everyone capable of artistic feeling. Even such American medievalists and adulators of the past as R. A. Cram and A. Kingsley Porter praise, in enthusiastic terms, old America's civic art, although they do not agree as to the date of its fatal end. For Cram American architecture died in 1830, while Porter puts the fatal date at 1850. Both, however, so we must conclude from their writings, must agree perfectly with Hitler when he further says:

"In the nineteenth century our cities began more and more to lose their character of homes of Kultur and to degrade into pure human settlements," whatever the word "pure" may here mean; (it must be remembered that Hitler's manner of working and speaking are not literary). He continues: "The lack of connection our present day proletarians have with the location they

live in, is a result of the fact that there is really nothing but the accidental local abode of the individual. This, in part, is due to the frequent changes of residence caused by social conditions leaving to men no time for developing intimate connections with their cities." Hitler elaborates this idea at length and overlooks the fact that such frequent and harmful changes of residence were at least as typical of the life of the innumerable officers and employees of the mighty sovereigns whom he idealizes as the initiators of urban culture although their fluctuating bureaucratic armies (trained for war and civil service) usurped a controlling position in the social life of the cities and undermined self-government and true civic life.

Hitler gives a moving description of the "ghastly housing misery" he had experienced when as a youth he had to live in Vienna. This imperial capital was then one of the most famous "residences of a sovereign and had as such a definite cultural value and also a definite artistic appearance." The Seventeenth Chapter will relate how the socialist labor governments of 1920–1933 could, only after the overthrow of the mighty sovereign, relieve the "housing misery" of Vienna, and how, in 1934, their model apartments were bombed by the returning sympathizers of monarchy and fascism. Hitler has no word of appreciation for Vienna's post-War housing reform. But what he says about the "housing misery" of pre-War times affords us a suggestion of the sufferings resulting from slum life, and of the revolutionary virulence such sufferings may produce when from the dumb victims a man rises who can sway the suffering masses.

Continuing in the vein of Spengler's "Decline of the West" and renewing his favorite anti-red argumentation, Hitler continues: "What shall be our experience when that day arrives on which out of these caves of misery the slaves, unchained, will throw themselves upon the thoughtless remainder of the world and upon contemporaneous humanity?"

As has been suggested before, the sombre picture of municipal decay painted by Hitler and Spengler corresponds more accurately to the high tenement house cities of autocratically ruled continental Europe of pre-War times than to those English and American cities and those European post-War cities which under more democratic rule have acquired large park systems, vast

garden suburbs, and have transformed to an appreciable extent the "almost uninhabited waste of country" surrounding them into often smiling landscapes, with a sometimes already balanced alternation of forest reserves, farms and "subsistence farms," parks, golf courses, race courses, and other play grounds, natural or artificial lakes for water supply and pleasure.

This modern type of city with its regenerative powers has a great future, but is little known or appreciated by such continental pessimists as Spengler. Englishmen and Americans, on the contrary, social philosophers like H. G. Wells, statesmen like Theodore Roosevelt, Lenin, or Stalin, and businessmen like Henry Ford visualize the city of the future: organized on new lines it is going to be not the grave but the salvation of mankind.

"Very fortunately," Theodore Roosevelt optimistically wrote, "we see now what never before was seen in any civilization—an aroused and alert public interest in the problem, a recognition of its gravity and a desire to attempt its solution. The problem does not consist merely in the growth of the city. Such a growth in itself is a good thing and not a bad thing for the country. The problem consists in the growth of the city at the expense of the country."

In a similar vein Henry Ford, after declaring, "the cities are doomed," continues: "It is not the advantages of cities that are doomed, but the disadvantages—the congestion, the inequality which reigns even in the matter of air and sunlight and ground space. . . . There is no city now existing that would be rebuilt as it is, if it were destroyed; which fact is in itself a confession of our real estimate of our cities." But, "practically all the improvements that have been made in country life have originated in the city and have passed on to bless the country. In that we may see the city's place in the world—it was a gathering place in which men might work out those necessary devices of successful living which, when transplanted into the country, would make the desert blossom as the rose and, what is better, make the gray waste of life a colorful thing. . . . So while it is clear that cities are to pass, let us not regard them as a sad blunder; they were a school for the race. They taught us something."

Sociologists can already point to the fact that cities, more

effectively than rural districts, are able to equip themselves for the purpose of dealing with contagious and infectious diseases. The cities can enforce quarantine, can protect the water supply and often have more sanitary sewage disposal than the rural districts. There are still many more homicides, suicides and automobile accidents in cities than in rural districts. But there exist countries, although not the most intensively industrialized, where city life assures longer life than rural life. "Rural death rates are higher than urban rates in the Netherlands, in Sweden, in Denmark, and in Japan. In the Netherlands, moreover, there is an inverse ratio between the degree of urbanization and mortality—the larger the city, the lower the death-rate." (Cf. N. Carpenter, op. cit. p. 180.) It happens that the Netherlands is one of the countries which have done the most for modern city planning and housing.

That Henry Ford's civic optimism represents more than wishful dreams has been recognized by the quite un-Fordian communist, dictator Lenin, who paid a sincere compliment to the latest city planning progress under advanced capitalism in its "highest development." Lenin, in his article "Karl Marx," wrote: "Capitalism breaks all ties between agriculture and industry; but at the same time, in the course of its highest development, it prepares new elements for the establishment of a connection between the two, uniting industry and agriculture on the basis of the conscious use of science and the combination of collective labour, the redistribution of population, putting an end at one and the same time to rural seclusion and unsociability and savagery, and to the unnatural crowding of vast masses of people in large cities." These words have become the guiding idea of modern Russian city planning; they are reemphasized in the book "The Socialist Reconstruction of Moscow and other Cities in the U. S. S. R." by L. M. Kaganovich, who himself is directing the extensive Russian enterprise in this field.

It is this latest type of Anglo-Saxon city decentralization integrating city and country which also inspired dictator Stalin when he said at a "conference of Marxian Agrarians": "The peasant of the old type, with his barbaric mistrust of the city, which he regards as a plunderer, is passing into the background. His place is being taken by the new peasant, the peasant of the

collective farm who looks toward the city with the hope of obtaining from it real and productive aid."

The implications of this remark may be interpreted as the Anglo-Saxon-Russian reply to the arrangements of the machine age and to the "barbaric mistrust of the city" advanced by such philosophers as John Ruskin, R. A. Cram, Oswald Spengler and Adolf Hitler.

However, Henry Ford's demand that we "undo the fateful grip which the City habit has taken upon the people" is not yet by any means completely realized. Nor have "the fictitious land values which have been set up by the City traditions" ("the destruction" of which Henry Ford demands) as yet ceased being as severe a handicap to modern city planning and housing as they ever were. Even in the United States the "highest development of capitalism" (so favorably commented upon by Lenin) has not yet reached its full height. Even here the necessary "redistribution of population . . . on the basis of conscious use of science" has not, as yet, been fully carried out.

The "destruction of fictitious city land values" destroys equally "fictitious" investments, internationally, of hundreds of billions of dollars. These investments are already suffering. They have not been amortized in due time. They clamor for interest and dividends which cannot and should not any more be paid. Large parts of these investments must, now and quickly, be written off, i. e. eliminated. This is what Henry Ford means by the "destruction" he recommends.

To bring about this necessary "destruction" of obsolete "values" in an orderly and peaceful way, with a minimum of suffering and with a practicable maximum of compensation should, during the next decades, be one of the main objects of all political planning and civic engineering ambitions. The present volume, while offering reflections on this subject, also deals with the possibilities of making the new dwellings and the new decentralized cities equally as beautiful as, or perhaps even more beautiful—for modern eyes—than the vaunted, though often congested, dirty, disease infested historic centers of "Kultur," those centers of narrow guild politics and intra-state city feuds, of ferocious class rivalry and bloody battles between patricians and plebeians, between "masters" and assistants; centers of

superstition and witch burnings, with ghettos and religious persecution and quarters of prostitution and poverty.

Modern cities, of course, have by no means as yet overcome all these medieval vices. But there exists no predestined inevitability, as Spengler claims, that these vices must be surpassed by the "sins" of the modern city. On the contrary there exists a fair fighting chance for the better planned modern city to conquer some of the most disgusting forms of these moyenagesque aberrations.

Fifteenth Chapter

AMERICAN VERSUS BRITISH, MARXIAN AND RUSSIAN PLANNING

> Our government differs from yours—in essentials—not so much as you thought, not so much as your people think, and not nearly so much as my people think. (From Lincoln Steffens' letter—written in 1906—to Nicholas II, Czar of Russia.)

Again one may refer to Henry Adams' belief that the "great scheme of public works" contemplated by Thomas Jefferson at the end of his second administration was "so extensive in its scope that no European monarch, with the exception perhaps of the Czar of Russia, could have equalled its scale." This phrase describing President Thomas Jefferson's favorite plan sounds curiously like a quite recent editorial appreciation or rather deprecation of President F. D. Roosevelt's "pet plan." We read: "The NRA was the most gigantic piece of Socialistic planning ever undertaken by any government outside of Communist Russia"; ("New York American," Nov. 5, 1935). The editor continued: "The American is a Profound Individualist, and he cannot permanently be *Stalinized* or *Hitlerized* or ever reconciled to any form of foreign despotism."

The engaging comparison of national planning possibilities in Russia and America appears to be distasteful to many Christians, Conservatives and contending Communists. The cause of national planning and better housing, therefore, may be helped by quoting a few of the large number of trustworthy observers who have elaborated the theory of Russian-American affinities.

The frequent attacks directed against the planning policies of President F. D. Roosevelt remind one of the letter written, in 1906, by the very full-blooded American, Lincoln Steffens, to the Czar of Russia, to whom he dedicated his book, "The Struggle for Self-Government." Steffens has specialized in the study of American politics and asserts that there is little essential differ-

ence between Russian autocracy and American boss-rule, since—so he writes to the Czar—"our bosses are autocrats, Sire, as you are; no more so, but no less. They make *our* representatives represent *them.*"

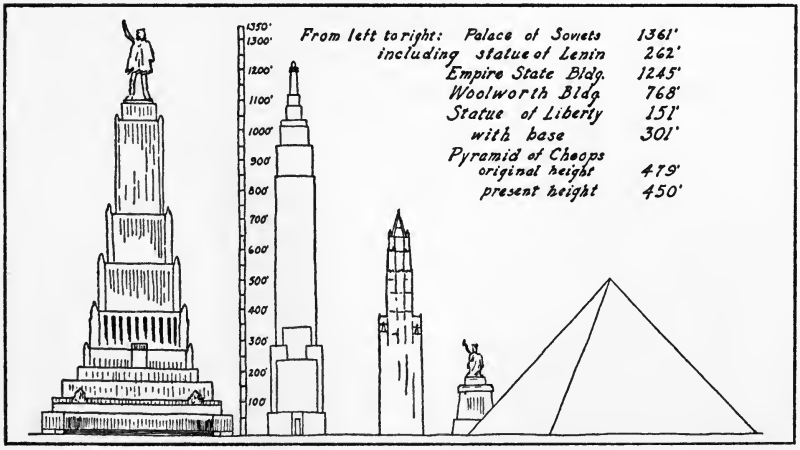
Steffens claims that even the Presidents of the United States who are elected by the sovereign American people are generally subject to "the actual boss," and are their chosen tools. "Oh, mistakes are made, of course. Strong men will slip in now and then (into the White House), but with a strong hold on the representative branch of a representative government, all the actual boss has to do is to cry out against 'the encroachment of the executive upon the representatives of the people,' the while he 'cajoles' or 'checks,' 'advises' or 'rebukes,' 'humiliates' or finally 'fights' the President as a 'dangerous man.' If it comes to the worst, you can stand pat and wait for the strong President to retire."

In a similar vein Henry Adams emphasized the resemblance in corruption, hypocrisy, and anarchy between republican America and czarist Russia. Referring to American laissez-faire, he says: "In America all were conservative Christian anarchists. . . . The Czar's empire was a phase of conservative Christian anarchy more interesting to history than all the complex variety of American newspapers, schools, trusts, sects, frauds, and Congressmen." (Education of Henry Adams, Chapter XXVII.) Today the most pressing question seems to be which of the two countries has experienced a greater increase or decline in Christianity, anarchy, conservatism and the vital power of reorganization.

The Russian-American affinities have developed, even further, since the World War when approximately four thousand enterprising American engineers accepted Russian invitations and preferred to work in the rapidly developing bolshevist republics rather than in the American republic whose progress has been slowing down considerably, at least since 1929. Quite a number of these American emigrants to Russia came back rather disappointed. Nevertheless, there is much truth in the two following expert opinions describing the Russian-American affinities in a manner even more serious perhaps than was the irony of Lincoln Steffens and Henry Adams. We read:

"The outstanding positive characteristic of American civilization is preoccupation with economy in practice and empiricism and humanism in thought. Mass production, engineering and gigantic organization have been the outward manifestations of this primary American interest. So efficient have been performances in specific industries and so great have been accomplishments in large-scale production that Soviet Russia, under Lenin's early guidance, turned to the United States for evidence of what can and must be done to bring great technology into full use in mass production for masses"; (Charles A. Beard, in "The New Republic," Feb. 6, 1935). Another prominent scholar wrote the following:

"Apart from everything else, the bolshevist mode of thought has many spiritual elements in common with the American economic mind. Russian bolshevism is neither the romantic socialism of sects intent on reforming the world, nor the petit bourgeois socialism of organized trades unions, which contend obstinately for wage agreements, and try to transform the existing capitalistic world by compelling capitalism to make good the wage costs accruing from increased wages by improving the organization of the plant. Russian bolshevism is a brutal and deliberate 'plan economy,' in which the engineer charms giant enterprises into existence with all the resources of modern technique. The Americans see it more or less as a system which is conjuring up a world of sky-scrapers out of the steppes at an even more rapid tempo



than was achieved by private American enterprise. In their eyes it is the most grandiose attempt to set a deliberately planned world in the place of a world that has spontaneously evolved. This has been attempted once before in Russia by Peter the Great. He, too—here again he is the spiritual ancestor of the bolshevists—borrowed his technique from the West. At that time the West was Holland; today it is the United States. The heart of the American engineer, who hears of possibilities for the exercise of his activities in Russia, beats higher because there he can build technical plants which surpass anything that has hitherto existed without the cramping necessity of considering remunerativeness imposed by the capitalistic system. A new country, such as America once was, is here being opened up." [1]

Doubtless the spiritual affinity between Russia and America is much older than is exemplified by the attempts of Roosevelt and Stalin at rational planning. The relationship goes back to the great tradition of rational humanism and the philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is a fruit of that period's most noble efforts in statesmanlike thinking.

This often neglected fact was emphasized in the First Chapter. Here may be added that the humanistic roots of state planning were brought out rather surprisingly by a book on this very subject, published in 1800, by an outstanding contemporary representative of humanistic thought, J. G. Fichte, a classical philosopher who was steeped in the ideas of the American and French Revolutions. The title of Fichte's book is "The Closed Commercial State" (Der geschlossene Handelsstaat). This ideal state has interesting resemblances to modern countries with highly protective tariffs. Such a practically "closed commercial state" closely resembles the United States as contemplated by Hamilton and his commercial policy, and as it subsequently evolved, after the Civil War and the victory of the New England industrial and high tariff interests over the free trading South. Fichte opposed the former English and basically un-American laissez-faire attitude by saying:

[1] Cf. "The Crisis of Capitalism in America" (New York, 1932, p. 204 ff.). This book was written by Dr. M. T. Bonn, former director of the Academy of Commerce, Berlin, now Professor at the University of London. Dr. Bonn is one among the leading economists who used to call themselves "liberal" in spite of their being generally termed conservative.

"We must stop leaving anything that can be planned to blind chance with the hope that chance will bring a satisfactory result. . . . To say that things will arrange themselves automatically, that everybody will find work and bread, and that things therefore can be left to chance is incompatible with a lawful constitution." The last phrase is probably a direct reference to the American Constitution and its copies in France. And these contentions of 1800 distinctly went beyond and even directly opposed the idea of Adam Smith (he died in 1790). As we have seen, he believed that the poor and underprivileged would best be served by the system of laissez-faire, that the "obvious and simple system of natural liberty" in which the labors of the individuals would be "led by an invisible hand" would contribute to the common good. Ten years after the "professor of moral philosophy," Adam Smith, had died, his successors discovered that a less "invisible hand" and a more insistent use of godgiven human brains were required in order to appreciably advance the common good. Until this common good is secured, "until it is achieved," the philosopher of 1800 considers the following amount of planning reasonable and necessary: "Everyone must have sufficient food and a decent shelter, before the dwelling of any one else be made ornate. Everyone must be dressed comfortably and warmly, before anyone should be permitted to dress ornately. . . . In order to achieve this, and *until this is achieved*, the available goods must be distributed equally and planfully among all."

Similar ideas have existed in the American Republic from its foundation until the day when President F. D. Roosevelt announced that the American government would not permit its citizens to starve. Similar ideas influenced Thomas Jefferson's letter to Alexander von Humboldt (quoted in the Third Chapter) in which he recommended the employment for public works of such contributions as "our citizens can spare, after feeding and clothing, and lodging themselves comfortably." Similar ideas were expressed by Walt Whitman when he said: "I speak the pass-word primeval—I give the sign of democracy; By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms." And it was this very same idea which Lincoln expressed when he said: "While we do not propose any war upon

capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else." (March 6, 1860.)

Although Lincoln protested against the accusation of his making war upon capital, it was he (and not the anti-capitalist, Karl Marx) who spoke of "labor being the true standard of value;" (Feb. 5, 1861). It was Lincoln who said: "Labor is the superior of capital" and who condemned "the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor*, in the structure of government;" (Dec. 3, 1861, and March 21, 1864; see the Note at the end of this Chapter.) Even long before "capitalism in the course of its highest development" and as an efficient agent of the "redistribution of population, obtained the admiration of Lenin, his teachers Marx and Engels expressed the highest appreciation for modern "bourgeois" achievements. They admired the activity of capitalism especially in the field of public works, city planning and the settlement of new continents. In their "Communist Manifesto" of 1847 they proffered the following almost exaggerated praise of private capitalism:

"The bourgeoisie has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former migrations of nations and crusades." This last climax of Marxian praise applies, of course, for the most part to the realization and even surpassing of George Washington's dream of empire: namely, the settling of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This was a "wonder" indeed! And Abraham Lincoln had helped to achieve it, first by his own hand as a surveyor, and later by his Homestead Act and his revolutionary war for freedom and for an "equal chance" for "the humblest man."

Unfortunately, neither Marx nor Engels was capable of drawing the necessary practical conclusions from their well conceived theoretical premises. It required the mind of Lenin to arrive at the inescapable practical realization that the "distribution of the total proceeds of labor" and the "replacing and increasing of the means of production" (i.e. of capital) require much skill and a large amount of technical knowledge, in short: planning in a highly comprehensive sense of the term.

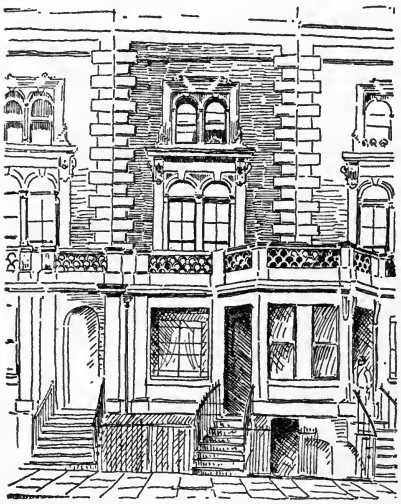
In their "Manifesto" Marx and Engels (as early as 1847) demand "a common plan," "gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country;" and they state in this document other requirements, which, today, are very modern. But if certain modern admirers of Marx and Engels are to be trusted, one must believe that the two most famous communists have been rather naive in those matters of technique and planning which seem all-important to the statesman, city planner and housing expert of the twentieth century. Modern critics may admit that "much of Engels' argument is admirable," but they are quick to add that Engels' housing ideas "betray certain typical dogmatic weaknesses;" (C. Bauer, "Modern Housing," p. 96). Where Engels should propose practical solutions he argues very much like certain "practical" businessmen or reactionary newspaper editors of our own time who blindly deprecate planning as being utopian. Engels admits that "one of the most fundamental questions is the abolition of the antithesis between town and country." But instead of telling us how to approach the solution of this most difficult problem, he continues barrenly:

"As it is not our task to create utopian systems for the arrangement of the future society, it would be more than idle to go into the question here." Without even suggesting anything like a careful survey Engels light-heartedly contends: "One thing is certain: there are already in existence sufficient buildings for dwellings in the big towns to remedy immediately any real 'housing shortage,' given rational utilisation of them. This can naturally only take place by the expropriation of the present owners and by quartering in their houses the homeless or those workers excessively overcrowded in their former houses. Immediately the proletariat has conquered political power such measure dictated in the public interests will be just as easy to carry out as other expropriations and billetings are by the existing state." ("The Housing Question," p. 36 of the English edition, "Works of Marxism-Leninism," Vol. XXIII.)

In contradiction to Engels' rash contentions the modern student of housing has long ago discovered that even the apartments of Park Avenue in New York City, or of other expensive districts in American cities are so badly planned that they are unfit for a workingman's family—especially one with children.

Most of the side and rear rooms in these too high and too densely built barrack-style apartments receive sufficient sunlight only if, by chance, a neighboring lot has not yet been built up to the limit permitted it by the atrocious building code established by or for irresponsible and badly calculating would-be profiteers of overvalued and overtaxed city land.

In Engels' life time innumerable apartments had already been erected, especially in such continental cities as Paris, Berlin and Vienna, which were as bad as or worse than those of New York's Park Avenue today. Engels' conception that with such material it was "easy" to remedy the housing shortage by expropriation sounds just as humorous to the modern ear, although the humour is inadvertent on Engel's part, as Marx's gently facetious comment about his housing difficulties in London. In London the value of land for residential purposes has been kept, even today, upon levels which are much saner, i.e. lower than those of New York. London has victoriously preserved (even to the present day) a fine tradition of truly comfortable one-family houses,



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The two houses in London in which Marx from 1856 to 1864 and from this date to the end of his life to find many "bourgeois comforts" in spite of the persistent financial support of the New York "Tribune" and the "American Cyclopedia." These are typical London row houses, the left one being new, comfortable and without taste; the right one, part of one of the charming London semi-circles, in better taste but old and affording less comfort.

reasonable in height and enjoying privacy, sunlight and independent gardens. Marx surely despised the comfortable homes and ideas of the "bourgeois" whose lofty ideals did not prevent their exploiting the health of children and women in the unspeakable factories and slums of the Victorian period. But when the wife of Karl Marx finally inherited a little money from her aristocratic mother, the Marx family could flee from their unhealthy quarters near Soho Square, London, where Marx's health had been failing and his comforts had been few. They moved into a comfortable little brick house on Grafton Terrace. Shortly afterwards, Marx wrote the following to Engels: "Although this prosperity did not last long, we have nevertheless enjoyed our bourgeois comforts (*bürgerliche Behäbigkeit*)."

Ironically it might be questioned whether it was in appreciation of such enjoyable bourgeois home comforts that Marx in the "Communist Manifesto" expressed his somewhat exaggerated admiration for the "wonders" achieved by the modern bourgeoisie in planning and building.

It is a curious fact that these "bourgeois" "wonders" and technological achievements evoked the reverence, but not the slightest emulation in the field of technological planning, on the part of Marx. This may be sufficiently explained by his own admission of technical incapacity. On January 28, 1863, Marx confessed to his most intimate friend, Engels: "I understand the laws of mathematics, but the simplest technical fact is harder for me to comprehend than it is for the greatest blockheads."

If as conscientious a housing student and admirer of Engels as C. Bauer is disappointed by Marxian ideas as applied to housing, one cannot blame such an inveterate planner and practical utopian as H. G. Wells, when he somewhat impatiently writes: "A great imperfection of our nineteenth century Socialism, and one that seems now the most incredible, was the repudiation of planning. . . . Any attempt to work out the details of the world contemplated under Socialism was received by the old Marxists with contemptuous hostility. . . . They were all (before the Russian revolution knocked practical sense into them) embittered anti-planners." (Wells, Experiment in Autobiography, p. 214.)

Wells' last sentence by no means signifies his belief that

modern conceptions of planning have issued from revolutionized Russia. We will see that Wells himself, long before the Russian revolution, advocated "The Idea of a Planned World." But the idea is older than Wells' advocacy of it. If America had remained faithful to the planning implications of her Constitution and to the spirit of the public works program of Jefferson, one would expect that modern demands for European state planning had been inspired by international admiration of American achievements. In fact, America has made valuable contributions, especially in the field of planning urban parks and rapid transit. But we have seen that, since America's Civil War and the corruption of "Grantism," and since the Parliamentary Reform of 1867, England progressed more rapidly than America in organizing democracy effectively. By 1890 English communities had already achieved many of those legal powers for dealing with low cost housing which American communities either acquired only since 1933 or for which they are still vainly striving. In order to understand the more advanced city planning and housing policies, which England has initiated since 1890, one cannot afford to underestimate the influence of the anti-Marxian English socialists, the Fabian reformers and their allies in the British Labor Party. They are being sneered at too light-heartedly by the parlor-communist. The Fabian attitude as to governmental housing and planning policies was well expressed by Bernard Shaw, who in the middle eighties had already written the brilliant comedy "Widowers' Houses," or (to use his own words) the "grotesquely realistic exposure of slum landlordism, municipal jobbery, and the pecuniary and matrimonial ties between them and the pleasant people of 'independent' incomes who imagine that such sordid matters do not touch their own lives."

A plan to overcome such sordid housing was expressed in Shaw's letter to his Marriott in which he wrote (on Aug. 1, 1906):

"Certainly London is pretty bad; but I think it has passed its worst. The fact that it has begun to scatter is shown by the way in which some of the schools have been emptying. Of course this scattering means . . . the filling up of such rural places as the valley of the Mimram with rows of houses, but this is better than the old congestion at the center. It is no use depending on

the millionaires; what we have to do is to sit down and try to settle how many people should be let live on an acre of ground, and then pass a Building Act to enforce our conclusions. What maddens me is not so much to see houses cropping up over the Sunday-outing places, but to see that they are cropping up in such a way as to form the beginnings of slums. It is our infernal improvidence and intellectual laziness that prevent us from stopping the reproduction in the country under our eyes of the evils that we have had such bitter experience of in the towns. . . . But . . . it is no use grumbling: we must make up our minds as to exactly what we want, and then agitate for a National Building Act."

The result of this agitation for a national building act is Great Britain's comprehensive legislation on city planning and allied subjects which, since 1909, has placed British housing on a new plane and made it, even more than before, an international model. "How many people should be let live on an acre of ground?" This question has been answered in a recent report on English housing by G. L. Pepler of the Ministry of Health, London. He wrote: "The normal rate of density of cottages erected under the post-war assisted schemes has been 8 per acre in rural districts and 12 per acre elsewhere." From 1919 to 1931 there were 1,109,669 houses thus erected with State aid and grouped at the rate of from 8 to 12 per acre.

It was well in keeping with the achievements just mentioned that H. G. Wells, since 1912, propagandized the idea of "planning" in many newspaper articles. In a comprehensive chapter, "The Idea of a Planned World," of his "Autobiography," Wells writes with legitimate pride: "Planning is a world wide idea nowadays, but in 1912 this attack upon the general problem of social reconstruction was strange stuff for the readers of the leading halfpenny daily to find upon their breakfast tables." What disagreed with the stomachs of English breakfasters in 1912, has, even twenty-five years later, not become wholly digestible for many American philosophers at the breakfast table.

In one of his articles of 1912, Wells wrote: ". . . Germany and our own infinite higgledy-piggledy discomfort and ugliness have brought home to us at last even the possibility of planning the extension of our towns and cities. It is only another step

upward in scale to plan out new, more tolerable conditions of employment for every sort of worker and to organize the transition from our present disorder."

The second suggestion of Wells' that good city planning and decent housing are attainable only if "tolerable conditions of employment" make them possible, will be dealt with in the following chapter. The first suggestion of Wells', that the sensible planning of town extensions (or at least the recent revival of this idea) originated in Germany, shows Wells' generosity in acknowledging foreign achievements, a generosity which honors this English patriot and citizen of the world. This alleged German origin of city planning was suggested by Wells in 1912, soon after the International City Planning Exhibition of Berlin and Düsseldorf had been transferred to the Royal Academy in London. But Wells seems to have overlooked the following two facts. The whole idea of a city planning exhibition came from America (as we shall see later). And, as far as housing and residential districts were concerned, almost the only good ideas demonstrated in this large German (though at the same time international) city planning exhibition were contained in the plans displayed there of the English "garden cities" and garden suburbs, above all those of Letchworth and Hampstead, both developed since 1903. Another revelation afforded by these large exhibitions were the American "systems" of parks and playgrounds, especially those of Boston and Chicago. English garden cities and American areas for recreation were the "hits" of the exhibitions of 1910 and 1912; and these achievements were not German. They largely retain their value, even to this day; the German contributions to the field of low cost housing, on the contrary—in so far as they refrained from being copies of English garden cities—were vitiated by exaggerated concessions to the owners of old tenements or to the speculators in overvalued land, who before the War controlled Germany's municipal life. The newer and better German housing achieved, since the exhibitions of 1910, has been made possible only through the political and economic revolution resulting from the World War.

If the student of Thomas Jefferson's ten-year plan looks for an early modern revival of the planning idea, he finds it neither in Russia nor in Germany, but again in America. The first

theoretical demonstration of what to-day is called a "five-year-plan" was initiated in Boston under the direction of Mr. Edward A. Filene. In 1909, he and his committee, called "Boston 1915," conceived the plan to make the city of Boston the most perfect city in the world by 1915, the city in which the most successful planning ideas would be harmoniously assembled into a superior organism. Here are a few sentences of permanent value from the program as set forth, in 1909, in the interesting catalogue of the "1915 Boston Exposition":

" 'Boston—1915' is a simple, practical proposition to apply to the activities of the city what every well-managed business partnership applies to its factory, shop or store—to have every department working in close co-operation with every other, in order that results may be produced most quickly, economically and satisfactorily. . . . 'Boston—1915' hopes in the next five years to see some things finished and others so well started that they are sure to be completed properly. . . . The reason for selecting 1915 as the year in which Boston shall make an examination of what it has succeeded in doing or in getting started, was that much is gained by definiteness in such matters, just as a man or woman is more certain of really doing a thing by saying in advance, 'I will do it before the first of next month,' than by saying, 'I will do it some time.' And while if things are to be done right they cannot be hurried, yet they should not be dawdled over; so for the right doing of such big things as a city needs, five years seemed a reasonable length of time to set from every point of view. . . .

"We propose that it shall be possible for a willing worker earning an average wage to live, himself and his family, healthfully and comfortably; to bring up his children in good surroundings; to educate them so that they may be truly useful, good citizens, and to lay aside enough to provide for himself and his wife in their old age. A city which provides less than that directly must make up for the deficiency in a more costly, indirect way; there is no escaping this alternative. . . . Nor does the proposition stated leave beauty out of consideration, for a community prosperous as a whole—employers and working people, professional men and laymen—provides the best soil for bringing forth the city beautiful."

A definite task was set for each year and its fulfillment was thought possible. Professor Th. N. Carver of the Department of Economics of Harvard University wrote in the Catalogue of the "1915 Boston Exposition":

"The people of Boston can have as fine a city as they want, provided they want it badly enough to be willing to pay for it. Nothing so good as a fine city is to be had for nothing. It will cost a great deal of time and energy and some money. If the people of Boston decide . . . that they have not energy enough or money enough to make their city what it ought to be, it will mean that there are other things which they prefer and for which they would rather give their energy and their money. The whole question, therefore, is whether the people of Boston would rather have the finest city in the world or whether they would rather use for other purposes the time and energy and money necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose."

The author of the present volume had the privilege of suggesting and directing a city planning exhibition. It occupied, during November, 1909, the large ground floor of the pseudo-Gothic Old Art Museum of Boston and has become the father of numberless similar and larger exhibitions; notably those of Berlin, Düsseldorf and London held in 1910. The author conceived the hope of seeing the world conquered by the idea of a general house cleaning and rebuilding. He hoped the multiplication of city planning exhibitions would sooner or later advance the civic education and imaginative powers of our contemporaries. He hoped to soon see every city in the world engage in working out a civic five-year plan similar to the one of Boston. He hoped that the whole world could become engaged in internal improvements and urban rivalry to such an extent that, during the time required for carrying out the civic plans, international peace would rule and even become a permanent guest upon our planet.

This idea is by no means as preposterous as it seems, today, after Boston's five year plan had broken down even before the World War started. The plan for peace or for a truce to be internationally observed during a certain period of house cleaning and internal improvements has historic counterparts. After bloody battles the contending armies used to permit each other to carry away their wounded and bury their dead. Our cities

are, indeed, battlefields and require rapid cleaning. An outstanding example of such a truce for civic and urban purposes occurred under the reign of Napoleon III. He shared with other dictators the dangerous readiness to console his own nation for its lost liberty at home, by war-like foreign adventures and by "glory" gained abroad. It is generally understood, however, that Napoleon's belligerence was effectually subdued during the years of preparation for the International Exposition of 1867 in Paris. An important part of these preparations consisted in pushing forward Napoleon-Haussmann's great transformation of Paris, with its sweeping clearance of the old slums and the building of many new or the widening of old streets. This comprehensive city planning enterprise and the desire of showing the visitors of the Paris Exposition the finest city on earth, "the queen-city," this proud ambition pacified the usurping dictator, Napoleon III. His strenuous city planning activities perhaps interfered even with the French defense of his Mexican conquest and helped the victorious survival of the American Union.

Today, nothing better could happen to the world at large than to agree on a five-year or ten-year truce and a five-year or ten-year plan for effectuating an international slum clearance, eliminating everywhere the pitiful mess in which we all still must live.

In advocating farsighted planning for America it would, however, be a grave mistake to interpret the conception of planning in an un-American way. Planning in America must be understood in a strictly American sense or, even today, in a sense akin to the one sponsored by Thomas Jefferson when he prepared his great national plan. Planning in the United States cannot be understood in the sense of Stalin or his predecessors who with their peculiarly Russian five-year plans had to solve peculiarly Russian problems. The abyss which separates Russian from American conditions despite certain similarities can be measured at a glance when one remembers that the entire Russian five-year plan inaugurated in 1928 and covering the years from 1929 to 1933 and aiming at most of the industrial, agricultural, social and educational activities of a population of 165 million people, represented—if calculated in comparable monetary terms—a total expenditure of about 5 billion dollars,

while "in the decade 1923–1932 the average *annual* total volume of construction in the United States was slightly less than 9 billion dollars. The entire Russian five-year plan in construction, therefore, generally understood to compress 30 to 50 years of industrial development into 5 years, actually amounts to two-thirds of the average *annual* American construction in the last decade (1923–1933) including three years of unparalleled depression. That the far-famed Soviet Union five-year plan was equivalent to less than one average year of American construction has a profound economic significance for both countries." (Cf. Engineering Analysis of Five-Year Plans for Russian Rehabilitation, by Zara Witkin; Engineering New-Record, August 16, 1934, p. 211.)

American methods and means of production and consumption are much more comprehensive and more developed than those of Soviet Russia. The detailed and comprehensive planning that may have been necessary or possible or successful in Russia struggling against the odds bequeathed from Czarist times would in America create difficulties of an entirely different and unnecessary magnitude. Under American conditions the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, is probably justified when he writes:

"I see no reason as yet why we in the United States should go into precise detailed planning except, perhaps, with respect to natural resources and to certain rather small segments of our national life on an emergency basis. With the situation that exists and is likely to exist in the United States for the next ten years, the chief objective of our democracy should be so to manage the tariff, and the money system, to control railroad interest rates; and to encourage price and production policies that will maintain a continually balanced relationship between the income of agriculture, labor, and industry. I know how difficult this will be." ("New Frontiers," by Henry A. Wallace, p. 22.)

Among the "price and production policies" to be encouraged the present author believes that a comprehensive city planning and housing policy should play a prominent role. Such a well-planned policy not only should, and very conceivably might start the wheels of industry and make them turn at a new, more regular and more salutary pace than ever experienced before.

This planning should also guarantee to everybody a minimum of shelter, privacy, living and washing room, private garden and public recreational area, a minimum without which, for reasons of preventive hygiene and morals, no one shall in the future be permitted to continue living. In this American (and not in the Russian) sense, planning seems possible, desirable and necessary in the United States.

After thus emphasizing the necessary and often extreme differences between Russian and American planning, one may however be surprised to learn to what a degree extremes are sometimes apt to touch upon each other. We may learn for instance that the present Russian dictator, Stalin, went considerably further than his predecessor Lenin, and that in doing so he arrived at ideas which many "practical businessmen" in America have, long ago, approved. It was Stalin who most scathingly opposed the equality of wages introduced by his predecessors.

And, in doing so Stalin came to a practical conclusion which may soon furnish the economic foundation for a certain degree of appealing variety in the appearance of future cities and in the cost of their residences. Stalin condemned what he calls "left equalitarianism in the sphere of wages." This "equalitarianism," he maintains, tends "to destroy all difference between skilled and unskilled labor. The consequence of equalitarianism is that the unskilled worker is not interested in becoming a skilled worker; he is thus deprived of the prospect of advancement. . . . The result of equalitarianism is that a highly skilled worker is obliged to move from enterprise to enterprise until he is fortunate enough to find one that appreciates skill in labor."

And perceiving the city planning implications of his fight against "left equalitarianism" Stalin continues: "In order to attach the workers to their factories we must still further improve the living and housing conditions of the workers." (From J. Stalin's "New Conditions, New Tasks," Speech delivered to the Leaders of Industry, June 23, 1931.)

Thus it appears that communism in its most modern form is eager to reintroduce the conceptions of competition, individual effort and factory housing, achievements which in capitalistic countries are equally dear to the "leaders of industry" and are

even considered indispensable in a highly technical and mechanized society by the advocates of rugged individualism.

It is, today, already a platitude to say that the American Constitution as conceived and interpreted by its founders actually was (and could be made again) an instrument for great united action benefiting not only a few hundred "gentlemen" but also the people at large. Indeed, even very conservative interpreters go further and maintain that the Constitution, at present, could and should be of benefit especially to the most unfortunate members of the nation. Quite recently Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, a contemporary leader of the Republican party, asserted, with true Lincolnian spirit, that "the Constitution is the bulwark that protects the poor. It is the wall of the weak"; (cf. N. Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1935).

Practical achievements based upon such a radical Republican interpretation of the Constitution might outdo, by far, the efforts of the Democratic New Deal and even greatly improve upon it. The neglect in restoring sufficient protection to the poor and weak, however, was not perhaps the reason for Colonel Roosevelt's charging—at the National Republican Club's annual dinner in honor of Abraham Lincoln—that the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration had "flouted the Constitution and emasculated Congress." This much, at any rate, is certain: a male and vigorous interpretation of the Constitution (in the spirit of Lincoln as invoked by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Jr.) may yet solve the great planning problems of America.

NOTE TO THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

The important role of capital seems correctly appreciated in the book "The Housing Question" by Engels. There he expounds the Marxian theory as to the rights of labor and capital, representing the instruments of production, and their reproduction and increase. Engels wrote:

"With social production conditioned by modern large-scale industry, it is possible to assure each person 'the full proceeds of his labour,' so far as this phrase has any meaning at all. And it has a meaning only if it is extended to mean not that each individual worker becomes the possessor of 'the full proceeds of his labour,' but that the whole of society, consisting entirely of workers, becomes the possessor of the total proceeds of its labour, which it partly distributes among its members for consumption, partly uses for replacing and increasing the means of production, and partly stores up as a reserve fund for production and consumption."

It has been mentioned here that it is not Lincoln, as it should be, but Marx or his Russian followers, who are generally blamed or praised for having instigated revolution by sponsoring the anticapitalistic theory accord-

ing to which economic values are to be measured (or even produced) by labor alone. Many opponents of Marx maintain that according to his theory every laborer is entitled to possess his whole produce thus defined. If this alleged theory were true, most private capitalists, speculators and land owners would be little more than parasites. They would be in danger of feeling uncomfortable and out of place. Their sense of fair play or social justice would demand their rapid self-elimination from a commonwealth they are debauching and destroying. Who has defended the arraigned capitalists against such sad consequences? Not Lincoln. At least Marx and Lenin seem to have had a more correct appreciation of capital and its important role "in the structure of government." It is Lenin who wrote (in his "State and Revolution," Chap. V. §3): "In the 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' Marx goes into some detail in disproving the (Lassallean) idea that laborers under Socialism receive the 'undiminished' or 'full product of their labour.' Marx points out that from the total of social labour, it is necessary to deduct a reserve fund, a fund for the expansion of production, for the replacement of worn-out machinery, etc. Also, from the means of consumption there must be deducted a fund for the expenses of management, for schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, and so on."

Lenin does not mention in this connection that the conception of Marx found expression to an often surprising degree among such American "bourgeois" capitalists and mass producers as Rockefeller or Carnegie who accumulated liberal "reserve funds," used them for new machinery and expenses of management and, in their old age, somewhat belatedly, distributed large portions of these funds for "schools, hospitals and so on." But Lenin (as shown in the previous Chapter) praised the efficiency of "capitalism in the course of its highest development" as an agent of "redistribution of population." And Lenin turned to the United States for evidence of what can and must be done to bring great technology into full use in mass production for masses.

Sixteenth Chapter

PROSPERITY OF LABOR ESSENTIAL FOR GOOD HOUSING: FROM THE PYRAMID BUILDERS TO PRESIDENT ELIOT OF HARVARD

The homes of the lowest paid workingmen are the most essential units, the basis of all cities, for the very reason given by Lincoln when he said: "The workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are all the more numerous; . . . without entering upon the details of the question, I will simply say that I am for those means which will give the greatest good to the greatest number;" (Feb. 12, 1861).

When a great statesman such as Lincoln gives his weighty support to such simple teachings as the one of the "greatest good of the greatest number," he joins the ranks of Socrates, Plato, Christ, Confucius, and other great thinkers upon whose utterances most philosophical and theological schemes are erected. They do not give us scholastic arrangements purporting to rest upon foundations of reality and self-consistent reasoning, but assertions of good submitted to the judgment of mankind. At the heart of all these teachings—whatever their theological implications—is a conception of the highest ideals and also of an indispensable minimum of material requirements necessary for a simple or more abundant life. This minimum includes hygienic shelter and what Karl Marx enjoyed for a short time and called "bourgeois comfort."

The statesman-philosopher intuitively sees and demands the promising environment which only good town planning can secure. He demands new and better inner conditions of the human spirit; but at the same time and with equal emphasis the modern statesman demands those outward modes of human work and relations which conform to his period and stage of human progress and, therefore, must be deemed desirable in themselves. They are conducive to a desirable order of things political and spiritual.

These assertions are not *proved* by deduction, induction and discrimination. They are put forth on their own merits out of experience and belief. Their practical validity depends upon the degree of their appeal to human beings in various conditions of life, not upon dialectical elucidations. When all is said and done the great systems of ethics, as distinguished from mere scholastic glosses and compilations, are assertions of values. A conception of the good and more abundant life lies at their core. Decent life on this earth may be attained, more or less perfectly, by practice, by capable effort, fair play, and—so Lincoln believed—by "allowing the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else."

The ideal elements of the more abundant life demanded by a more truly social society are not all mere theories in the air. Fragments of the ideal are being realized in practice, illustrating the extensions and applications to be made in the conquest of misery, poverty, and ugliness,—the crisis in thought and economy. The construction of better houses, factories, office-buildings, parks, highways, bridges, the design, production and marketing of many commodities, this huge and complicated economic mechanism of our times requires new elements of ethics and aesthetics which it is the function of policy to effectuate on a national scale. The movement "Boston 1915" was quite correct in its assumption that a state of things approaching the ideal would be brought into being, if all the best features of every American city were incorporated in the physical and social structure of a single city.

If the best that is known and practiced in social and economic relations were brought to the center of American thinking, dramatized, and employed in education, the dynamics of the ideal would be swiftly accelerated. The problem of ethics and aesthetics in statecraft is not, therefore, one of levelling all things, but of selection, exclusion and emphasis—of building upon the knowledge and experience already established.

This broad process of building requires a plan. Even the best plan, however, remains mere paper, as long as the masses who are to benefit from it lack the intellectual and economic means of understanding its main purpose and of bringing about its realization. The realization of good planning is impossible with-

out a high degree of mental and material prosperity of the masses, without real social well-being of the whole community. The homes, schools, gardens and areas of public recreation determine the face of democratic cities much more than monumental public buildings or the palaces of the privileged that used to determine the architectural aspect of former ages.

Architects and students of sociology will always remember that the meagre reports of old social history frequently dwell on the strikes among masons and among the builders of what should have been useful public works, but too often were only monuments of costly display. The beating down of masons' strikes seems to have been the eternal sign of oppression, of social waste.

Fifteen hundred years before Christ, a great king of Egypt "re-established quiet and silence" (so the papyrus records) amongst the fifty thousand ill-fed masons slaving for the erection of his giant and beautiful, but otherwise utterly useless pyramid. He ordered a massacre of several thousands of them. Nine hundred years later, so we learn, a great emperor of China enforced order among the larger part of thirty thousand striking workers engaged in building dykes for the more useful work of river control. The emperor ordered the decapitation of as many of the strikers as would be required for the purpose of securing peace among the rest. Seventeen hundred heads had to fall.

King Herod "the Great" was not only the author of the children's famous massacre that intended—but failed—to include young Jesus Christ. The same King Herod also built himself a large palace in Jerusalem and had to employ the Roman garrison to beat down a strike of the Jewish masons. In Rome it was the emperor Nero who, after the enormous slum clearance by fire, had to call out his army. By armed force he sped the construction of his gorgeous "golden house," the work on which had been interrupted by a strike of starving masons. "At last I will be housed like a human being!", emperor Nero, who was accustomed to receive divine honors, very modestly said. He probably deserves none of the credit usually given to him for starting the great conflagration which cleansed old Rome and obliberated its vast slums. But he aroused opposition by his

dissatisfaction in not being housed like a human being. After the great fire he rashly desired all Romans to be housed better. He therefore rebuilt the burned city with broader streets, removing the population of the former slums to newly developed and previously almost deserted areas on the right bank of the Tiber. His stupid cruelty, however, has forever ruined the fame he seems to have deserved as a city planner. His masons were among his most pitiful victims.

Shortly afterwards many of the Jewish slaves, compelled to build the triumphal arc of emperor Titus, in Rome, were crucified in order to make their recalcitrant colleagues more eager to work. In Byzantium it was the impeded construction of a new church for the higher glory of Christ, the former carpenter, which led to a great strike among carpenters and masons. This happened under Constantine "the Great," the very emperor who introduced Christianity and its symbol, the cross, into the Roman Empire. He had the strike leaders crucified in front of the holy building under construction. There he kept the tortured corpses until putrefaction ensued. By this warning example he enforced the completion of the church in honor of the god of brotherly love.

Also the great kings Charlemagne in Aix-la-Chapelle, and William the Conqueror in Hastings, and Philip II in Spain, building his Escurial, and many other great potentates, knew how to beat down, with an iron hand, the strikes of masons threatening to check the construction of their feudal masters' prodigious castles. A faint American echo of such strikes were the riots of the stone cutters who in 1833 were employed in erecting the old pseudo-gothic buildings of New York University at Washington Square. These masons struck because the stones to be laid had been dressed by Sing Sing convicts. A novel cause!

Today, many of us are startled by the social indifference of previous ages. Even a Pericles, who stands so high among the historic masters of popular government and public works, does not seem to have given effective thought to a permanent improvement of the social standards of his country. When he had to find some work for his countrymen who were feeding (for what a short time!) on the spoils of their young Athenian empire, he locked up the wealth taken from the newly conquered colonies

into buildings that, even today, are superb, but that—from a strictly economic point of view—were unremunerative, or rather, unproductive, of those small but healthy immediate social and economic benefits to the average citizen which develop his civic stamina. Many of Pericles' sublime public works served no other purpose than display. They did not prevent, or they even helped form the citizens of Athens into that arrogant populace depicted in the comedies of Aristophanes, who was one of them and who rather stupidly scoffed at city planning. This mob killed Socrates, and banished the best statesmen. On a somewhat smaller scale this Athenian mob equals the later Roman landless proletariat. Both had lost their common sense and their productive strength. Both were utterly powerless to resist such demagogues and "great" dictators, as Cleon, Philip, Caesar and his worthy or most unworthy although "divine" successors.

Throughout the ancient world there was a constant tendency to sink accumulated wealth in palaces, temples and decorative buildings rather than in a democratic land policy and in improved housing for the masses. This habit is still conspicuous in our own time. The failure of the Roman Gracchi in their great effort to enforce a democratic land policy is one of the tragedies of human history. The bloody terrors of Caesarism became possible only after the control of the country had passed from the hands of moderately prosperous peasants and citizens into those of enormously rich owners of slaving workers and landed estates. These great exploiters were the patrons of the arts, of the famous "grandeur that was Rome," and of that gorgeous and un-social architecture which in our times, shortly before and after the recent World War, became the inspiration of the "Triangle" in Washington and of similar imperial demonstrations.

Unfortunately, even the "great" among classical statesmen and authors, such men as Aristophanes, Caesar, Cicero or Lucretius, show hardly a vestige of constructive sympathy with that vast mass of suffering humanity, both bond and free, with which the world of antiquity was populated. In the midst of this vast and international army of misery the Roman proletariat secured a historical and politically unique position. These formidable regiments of Roman unemployed received their peculiar name of proletarians because they were considered

capable only of prolifically procreating useless offspring (*proles*). Their masses were large and threatening enough to force Roman statesmanship to notice their misery. The numberless doles and laws in their favor, however, did not reconstruct the social life and the basic living conditions of this miserable populace. Instead, the whole Roman empire was made to pay for an expensive policy of giving unfruitful relief, doles, bread and circuses, to the "free" citizens of Rome! In the time of emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) the treasury spent annually the equivalent of $2,250,000 for the free distribution of grain. And it has been estimated that during the three centuries of Caesarism (from Caesar to Diocletian) about $600,000,000 were spent for gifts of free bread to the Roman proletarians.

For the same "free" Romans the main avenues of the eternal city were lined with gorgeous monuments of "imperial" architecture, colossal circuses, baths, temples and basilicas. But immediately surrounding these show-places there again arose, soon after the great slum clearance of Nero's time, the closely built five or more storied slums. Their congestion seems to have been unfathomable. Serious historians in estimating the population of the imperial city of Rome offer totals as widely different as 800,000 (Beloch), 1,200,000 (Gibbon) 4,000,000 (Lipsius), or even 14,000,000 (Vossius). (Cf. Louis, Ancient Rome, p. 151 to 239. For other statements made in the text cf. Cunningham, Western Civilization, Vol. I, pp. 120 and 184; Fowler, Social Life, p. 235–6, Scott Nearing, Twilight of Empire, p. 243 ff.)

In the year 58 A.D. there actually seem to have lived in the city of Rome 320,000 paupers who received a free dole of corn. The majority, however, of the lower classes of antiquity by no means enjoyed the special privileges of the Roman proletariat. Many of them were serfs or semi-serfs and their masters were hard.

One of the most tragic events in the later history of striking serfs and masons is intimately correlated with the history of city planning. It occurred under the well-meaning king, Louis XVI of France. Trying to atone for the sins of his fathers he introduced democracy into his kingdom, a land ruined by despotism. At the same time, he assembled in Paris a powerful army of work-

men for the most beneficent and urgent purpose of pulling down the antiquated city walls which so badly interfered with the healthful expansion of his crowded and socially fermenting capital city. But the king's well-motivated actions were too late. Out of his army of masons rushed forth the men who conquered his Bastille and razed it. This was the French signal for imitating the American Revolution. The French nobility's and the church's unlimited urban and rural real estate were confiscated, without compensation!, replanned and subdivided. The well-meaning king was beheaded. We shall witness a somewhat similar fatal occurrence when Napoleon III and his "white bloused" masons made another attempt to clear the old slums of Paris.

It took over three thousand years, from the time when the first masons' strike had been recorded, before the leader of one of the largest countries in the world publicly declared: "I desire that if you get too thick here you may have a chance to strike and go on somewhere else, where you may not be degraded. . . ." Thus spoke, on March 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln and thereby proved himself to be a better slum abolitionist, city planner and empire planner than his contemporary Napoleon III, who has become so famous for his endeavors in these three fields of planning.

When Lincoln, from the White House, wrote letters to the popular newspaper of Horace Greeley, the socialist "Tribune," he even shocked so liberal a New Englander as Emerson who called Lincoln a "clown" and asked for more "refined taste." (Emerson's "Journals," Oct. 1863.)

During the formative years preceding the Civil War, however, America had profited from a high tide of critical and revolutionary literature. Emerson himself, although ostracised by Harvard University, was representative of this fine American efflorescence. It was the period when forceful revolutionary writers gained high repute. The first "American Cyclopedia," a very learned and ambitious achievement, secured for its staff of contributors not only many New Englanders including the avowed "chartered libertin" Ralph Waldo Emerson, but also the avowed socialists, Horace Greeley and Karl Marx. (The contributions signed by the latter, however, seem to have been actu-

ally written by his reliable friend Engels; enlightened America evidently appreciated both founders of "scientific" socialism equally as well.)

Lincoln was by no means ashamed of his radicalism. He chided the dangerous pseudo-conservativism of his opponents. He ridiculed the slave-owners thus: "You say you are conservative—eminently conservative—while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort" (Feb. 27, 1860).

Today, it has again become customary to designate the conscientious petitions for necessary reform as "revolutionary" and "destructive," or as "marxistic." There has developed an un-American fear of that reconstructive and, if necessary, revolutionary spirit which built and saved the American nation in 1776 and 1860. At present this fear jeopardizes the imperative reorganization of American city planning and housing. The mere fact that the required reform may have new or even revolutionary aspects, by no means arouses enthusiam or the "spirit of 1776," but seems sufficient to prejudice some chauvinistic Americans against it. It is not amiss, therefore, to repeat here that the most American of great Americans, Abraham Lincoln, was a social reformer and re-organizer who not only went further than the revolutionary and even "jacobinical" Jefferson, but—when it came to forcible action—went further even than Marx. If this outdoing of Marx is a sign of progressiveness, Americans may be proud of the fact that Lincoln (1809–1865) was certainly in the lead. Marx (1818–1884) was nine years his junior. When today the members of Lincoln's political party accuse President F. D. Roosevelt of Marxism, he might well reply that, even if he were following Marx, he would still be more conservative than the first Republican President, the dangerous revolutionary from Illinois.

Those Marxists who take their orientation from Moscow speak of Lincoln as "one of the best representatives of bourgeois democracy" (so do, for instance, the editors of Marx' and Engels' correspondence, in the English edition authorized by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, p. 136). Lincoln may have been a "bourgeois"; would that there were more like him! He was certainly a democrat. But more than anything else: he was —in many important aspects of thought and action—at least

as radical as Marx, or even more so. This has been demonstrated in the previous Chapters.

It was to be expected that Lincoln, in his appreciation of labor, would outdo Marx, who, although poor in his later life, came from the "bourgeois" class, had received a good old world bourgeois education, had married a noblewoman, and had never done manual labor. His collaborator, Engels, enjoyed bourgeois comforts even more consistently. Lincoln, on the other hand, was called, by Marx, "the single-minded son of the working class" (Dec. 23, 1864). As late as September 6, 1859, at the time when he did "not think himself fit for the Presidency," Lincoln thus referred to himself: "It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat if I neglect my business this year as well as last." A few months afterwards, Lincoln declared (March 6, 1860): "I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to any poor man's son!" And: "When I became of age I did not know much. . . . There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education." So he described his inadequate American frontier surroundings in a little autobiography written in December, 1859. Lincoln's environment did not acquaint him with an exalted cultural inheritance. So he could continue to believe that "labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn" (Sept. 17, 1859).

Thus spoke Lincoln, he whom his newest Republican party-members cited, in 1934, as a witness against the recognition of the rights of labor by the National Recovery Administration. In New England, where American industry in Lincoln's time, had begun to take its first strong roots, this fervent advocate of laborers' rights sided with the striking shoemakers and declared: "*I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike,* when they want to . . . I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons why I am opposed to slavery is just here." (The Italics are Lincoln's; cf. "Constitutional Edition" of his Writings, ed. by A. B. Lapsley, Vol. V, p. 168.)

It has been mentioned here that Lincoln encouraged labor-

unionism by emphasizing the solidarity of the workers of the world above their respective national ties, and that he said: "The strongest bond of sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, tongues and kindred."

Originally labor unions in America, just as rigidly as in England, were condemned by the courts as being "guilty of a combination to raise wages." But since the forties the enfranchised American laborers and their trade-unions were much more powerful than the disfranchised laborers of the English mill towns. American strikes were never more volcanic than in the decade that preceded the Civil War. (Beard, Rise of Am. Civ. I, 645.)

Lincoln said: "Strike and go on somewhere else where you may not be degraded!" One of the most inhuman kinds of degradation is caused by dwellings which damage the health and the self-respect of the individual. But there exist, even today, and in America, some states where the right to strike for better living conditions is not yet, or is no longer recognized and where influential people yearn for a return to the repressive methods of the pyramid builders and of emperor Nero. Whatever excuses and reasons may have condoned the tyranny of Nero, they have no validity in the America of Jefferson and Lincoln.

It is a very noble and American desire to limit—not the right, but the necessity of strikes. The diminishing of strikes, however, cannot be achieved by the old methods of repression nor by the enforcement of lower standards of feeding, clothing and shelter. The common sense of our era demands such new methods as have been authoritatively described by the former President of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot, who was not a "Marxist" and whose unimpeachable qualities as an American leader have been gratefully acknowledged by the whole nation. Following are some of the requisites demanded by President Eliot:

"Abandonment of every form of despotic or autocratic government in factories, mines, transportation services, and all other industries which deal with the necessaries of modern life. Universal adoption of cooperative management and discipline throughout the work or plant, the employer and the workman

having equal representation in managing committees. Adoption by all corporations, partnerships and individual owners of every means of promoting the health and vigor of employees and their families, including the provision of free medical and nursing service, *good housing* and all feasible protection against accident, sickness, alcoholism and vice, not as a matter of charity, but as a sound business method. Prolonged education for adults who are already earning their livelihood should be included among these means. . . . General adoption of a genuine partnership system between the capital and the labor engaged in any given works or plant, whereby the returns to capital and labor alike after the wages are paid shall vary with the profits of the establishment, the percentage of the profits going to payroll being always much larger than that going to shareholders or owners and payroll never to be called on to make good the losses. As in ordinary partnerships the annual or semi-annual accounts should be open to the inspection of all persons directly interested. As a means of securing to employees full knowledge of the partnership accounts they should always be represented in the directorate. Constant effort on the part of managers to diminish monotony and increase variety in the occupation, from day to day and year to year, of every intelligent and ambitious employee. . . . Universal acceptance of collective bargaining through elected representatives of each side." (Cf. "New Jersey," published by New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, March, 1919, Vol. VI, No. 6, pp. 75–76, article entitled "A Basis of Discussion," by Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus, Harvard University. Reprinted in "Political and Industrial Democracy, 1776–1926"; by W. Jett Lanck; Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1926.)

In such a well-balanced set of economic and social requisites, "good housing" takes its proper place from which it can be removed only by making it a permanently insoluble problem. If America can be educated to live up to Dr. Eliot's suggestions for warding off strikes, the economic basis for our new cities and for decent housing will finally be secured. As long as Dr. Eliot's demands remain unheeded, the "Marxists" are justified when they claim that under "capitalism" the workers do not receive sufficient value for their labor and that the "capitalists" fatten on

exploiting the vitality of the laborers and their families by forcing large numbers of them to live in blighted districts most injurious to health and morals and detrimental, in the long run, to the budgets of the municipalities and even of the capitalists themselves.

Seventeenth Chapter

AMERICA IMITATES VIENNESE HOUSING

What is this you bring my America? . . .
Is it not something that has been better told or done before?
Have you not imported this, or the spirit of it, in some ship?
Is it not a mere tale? a rhyme? a prettiness? is the good old cause in it?

Who would assume to teach here, may well prepare himself, body and mind, . . .
He shall surely be question'd beforehand by me with many and stern questions. . . .
Walt Whitman (From: "Marches Now The War Is Over")

One of the most American of philosophers, Walt Whitman, was also the most impatient with the unnecessary imitation of foreign examples. This did not preclude his criticizing American conditions, nor his urging—with an earnestness equal to that of Alexander Hamilton—the American imitation of good foreign precedent. He called his city of Brooklyn "the city of dirt" and its streets "a surface of nastiness, repulsiveness, and disease-generating decay." "And why, indeed," Walt Whitman asked, "could we not have, in Brooklyn, a couple of free baths? They have them in many European cities. Intelligent foreigners frequently notice the rarity of baths and the custom of bathing among the better order of Americans."

This, of course, was written at a time when not even the White House in Washington (nor the King's palace in Berlin!) had a bathroom and it was long before America became the country that could rival England in the number of private bathrooms. It is rather humorous to read how Whitman admonishes his countrymen not to be alarmed at "the trouble of bathing. . . . And if you do not choose to go to the bath house, it is well to have the purifying operation in your own room. All that is necessary is a basin of water, a sponge, and a coarse towel."

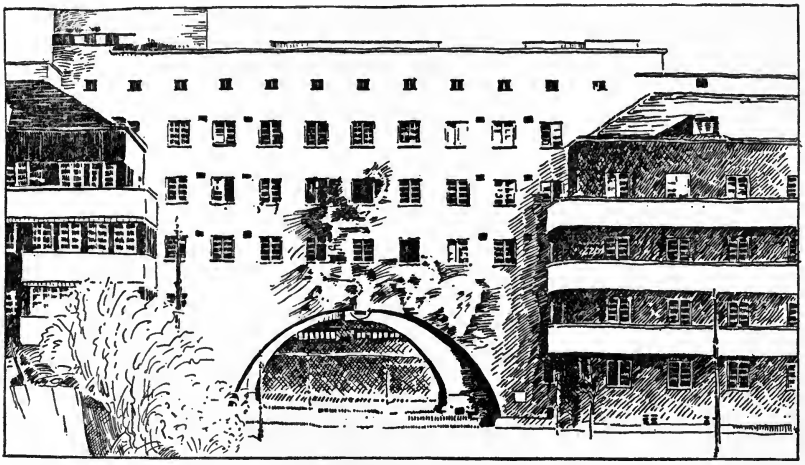
(Cf. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, June 10, 1846.) Whitman concludes his recommendation to imitate European bathing habits by saying: "And it were perhaps not an unprofitable inquiry to calculate how much actual outlay might be saved by the superior sanative condition of the poor—how many of these diseases, which the public purse has directly or indirectly to pay for, could have been altogether staved off. . . ."

Since this was written thousands of similar remarks and comparisons referring to public health, city planning and housing have been made by equally patriotic Americans. Especially during the last years has it become customary to urge "Uncle Sam to take firm hold of his hammer and trowel and to follow in the footsteps of Europe, where practically every country has resorted, since the Great War, to one form or another of public subsidy of low-cost housing." (Survey Graphic, March 1, 1934.) Following is a list (compiled by Ernst Kahn, for the Architectural Forum, Aug. 1935) of the number of dwellings erected and the amount of money spent in different European countries, since the World War:

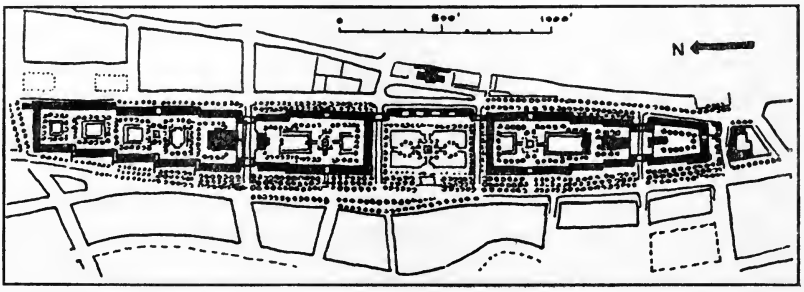
	New Dwellings Erected			Public Money Offered	
	Per 1000 inhabitants	With public help per 1000 inhabitants	Total in millions of Gold dollars	Subsidies	Loans & Guarantees
				In % of total	
Engl. Wales	38	28	550	45	55
Holland	66	24	165	19	81
Sweden	20	4	24	9	91
Denmark	22	12	46	13	87
Norway	8	5	36	44	56
Belgium	27	10	60	20	80
Czechoslovakia	10	5	103	13	87
Germany	28	21	998		100

To these figures may be added those subsidies given by the French government, from 1921 to 1934, amounting to 12.9 billion francs (equal to about 855.2 million dollars in 1932, or 504.6 million dollars in 1934) for the erection of 240,000 homes (according to the figures kindly given by the Office Public d'Habitations du Dep. de la Seine).

Is the recommendation of unsuitable models perhaps one of the reasons for Uncle Sam's surprising inactivity in housing matters? The appropriateness of the European models is today much more debated than ever, even in their home countries. In the heat of this debate the "Christian-Socialists" of Vienna, in February, 1934, bombed many of the 58,667 municipal model dwellings built between 1920 and 1933 by the previous "social democratic" city government. These famous five- and six-storied tenements cost about 115 million old dollars which had been raised mostly by taxes (not loans). Municipal enterprise thus housed almost one-eighth of the whole city's population (totaling 1,868,000 people). The municipal tenements generally cover less than 50% of the building site. They have kindergartens, playgrounds, libraries, some public bathrooms, and laundries.



Karl Marx-Hof, plan and view after the bombardment by the government troops; Feb., 1934.



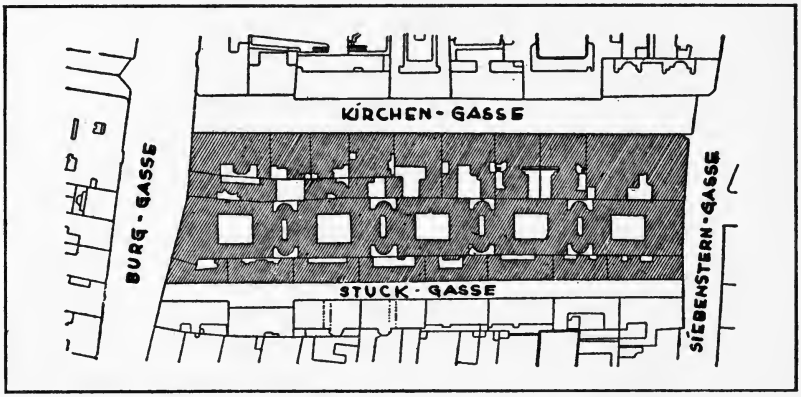
Before fascism interfered the tax-payer received the essentials of housing very much as he (and the American tax-payer) receives —for less than cost—the equally essential schooling for his children. The low rent of the new Viennese apartments covered only the cost of maintenance. It amounted to about one dollar (including the house building tax) per month for a walk-up apartment consisting of living room, bed-chamber, kitchen with gas stove, water, toilet (measuring all together about 400 square feet), all well ventilated and well lighted, not only by electricity, but also by sunshine coming in at an unobstructed angle of not less than 45 degrees (measured from the vertical wall framing the windows of the rooms). This means that the height of the buildings is not greater than the width of the streets or courtyards. These model tenements, however, had neither central heating nor individual bathrooms. And tenements measuring only 400 square feet appear small when compared with the 500 sq. ft. which are a minimum in New York's new Knickerbocker Village, or with the 760 square feet now considered as a minimum in English housing activities; (cf. end of Sixth Chapter).

The new Viennese housing standards appear even lower when compared with modern aspirations (not necessarily achievements!) in America, where the "National Association of Housing Officials" (in publishing its minimum requirements for new housing; Nov., 1934) regarding walk-up apartments declared: "More than three flights is hardly humane."

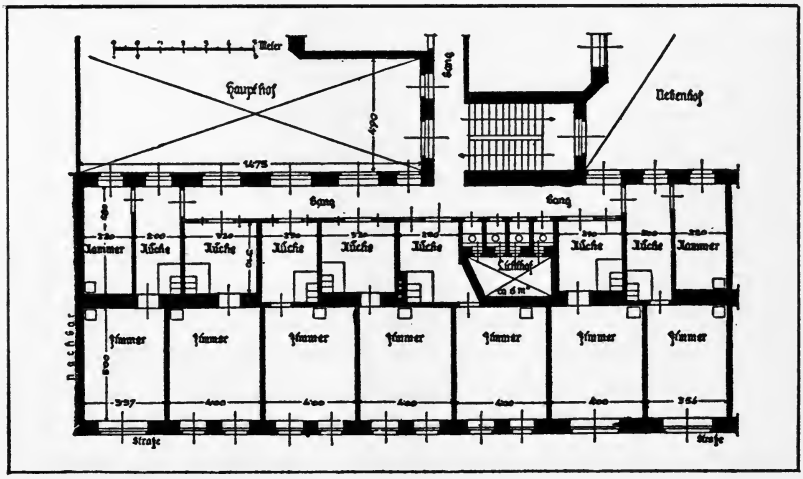
But in Vienna even the less humane housing standards of 1920–1933 represented distinct progress; and they would probably do so in many sections of American cities if they were here instituted and enforced. They might even arouse here the same furious opposition which they met in Vienna. The Viennese "Christian-Socialists" are a political party representing many heavily indebted owners of the older tenements which cover from 70 to 80 per cent of their sites and which used to be covered—generally far beyond 100 per cent of their value—with mortgages. In such over-indebted and over-densely built tenements had been crowded, before the War, 578,000 people—or about 30 per cent of Vienna's population—at the rate of more than two people per "room." And even kitchens, bathrooms and front halls were considered as "rooms" in this barbaric calculation of

averages! The census of 1910 shows that at least 355,000 people had to sleep in rooms having no outside ventilation and receiving light and air only from hallways or narrow lightshafts.

"I am still shuddering when I recall those miserable dwellings or rather caves of Vienna I had to share, and the somber pictures of dirt, repelling filth, and even worse things I had to see." Thus wrote Hitler (in "My Battle," cf. the fuller quotation given here in the Fourteenth Chapter). Before the War he suffered in these hovels, and after the War, quite perversely, he made himself the saviour of the fascistically inclined middle classes which in Germany and Austria owned the miserable pre-War tenements and



Typical dwellings (block plan and floor plan) of the masses in imperial Vienna.



wished permanently to exploit them. Living in this "ghastly housing misery" of Vienna, Hitler acquired the moral and everlasting indignation which ingratiated him with his wide audiences and even with such observers as Bernard Shaw who otherwise are repelled by the barbarism of the "Nazi" creed. But having come to power, the Fascists in Germany (Hitler) and Austria (Dollfuss) had to please their middle class followers, the despairing owners of obsolete tenements. The "social democratic" labor unions, which had fought too efficiently "the ghastly housing misery," were obliterated.

In Vienna, the "Christian Socialist" owners of old tenements claimed that the new municipal tenements were built in anticipation of un-Christian socialism and as fortresses against social revolution. These Christians had always forced their tenants to use dark interior toilets facing hallways only; so they were shocked when the laborer's architects dared to introduce into the outer facades of the new tenements regular toilet windows. The real purpose of these small openings, so the "Christians" maintained, could obviously be no other than to serve as machine gun portals from which the ruthless laborers planned to pour death into the hearts of Christian owners of depreciated old tenements.

In vain did Dr. Breitner protest. Until his incarceration in Dollfuss' concentration camp, he was the financial dictator of Vienna and the ingenious father of its municipal housing. His statistics prove that among the 200,000 tenants in the new municipal tenements there lived at least as many non-Socialists as Socialists.

Multiple dwellings versus the individual house is an eternal Old World subject of debate. It has now become important in the 257 American cities which contemplate public action to compete against their traditional slums by means of new decent housing. There seems to have always been a greater demand for dwellings in small houses than for those in multiple houses. Private enterprise in these American cities provided for houses as shown in the table on the following page.

Not all observers of Vienna's municipal housing considered its large model barracks as hotbeds of revolutionary agitation. In 1931 the Mayor of Montevideo, Uruguay, for instance, told me that he was eager to copy the Viennese model, because he

In the year	Number of Families	
	In new 1- and 2-family houses	In new multiple dwelling houses
1922	260,000	117,000
1926	252,000	209,000
1931	59,000	38,000
1933	16,500	9,300
1934	14,854	7,209

believed that he could enforce higher moral standards in large, compact and easily policed multiple dwellings than in the interminable garden suburbs and loose shanty towns by which Montevideo and the other urban centers of South America, as well as of the United States, are surrounded. At the same time the Mayor of Buenos Aires, visiting an exhibition of photographs of Viennese and Berlin model tenements, stated that he could see nothing but prisons in these huge barracks.

In a similar vein, the Socialists of Vienna, Berlin, and even of peaceful Copenhagen, have often been accused of favoring the large centralized tenement in preference to the individual small suburban house, because the multiple dwelling was supposed to preserve the communal beehive-spirit, while the small house with garden was supposed to transform enthusiastic socialists into eager individualists and reactionary bourgeois. True, Dr. Breitner assured me that it was purely economic and not political considerations which had shaped his policy of building huge tenements (the famous Karl-Marx-apartment house with its 1,382 dwellings is three-fifths of a mile long) rather than building cottage-and-garden suburbs.

Against Breitner, however, stood the late Dr. Kampfmeyer, the well-known continental advocate of the English garden suburb, that is, of the individual small house. He had been called to Vienna after the revolution of 1918. At that time the food shortage caused the number of small allotment gardeners to rise to 9000 in 1918, and to 30,000 in 1921. Kampfmeyer had been assigned by the ambitious municipal government to work for the introduction of the inexpensive small house with

subsistence garden in the open suburbs of Vienna. Kampfmeyer's success, however, was meager. Of the 58,667 dwellings subsidized by the City of Vienna only 5093 were in suburban cottages. After a decade of struggle he left Vienna disillusioned and found a more responsive field of action in the garden suburbs of Frankfort-on-the-Main.

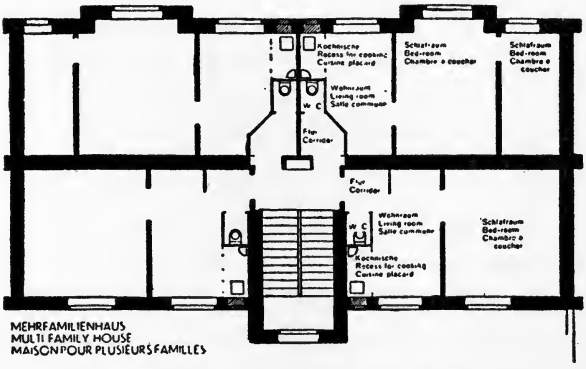
It was not sound economic considerations, but rather the difficulty of changing the centuries-old routine of building and living which, according to Kampfmeyer, established in Vienna the victory of the huge municipal tenement over the small house. He could point to the fact that tenements with floor space averaging 519 square feet cost 14,400 shillings (or about 2016 old dollars) while cottages with a floor space of 695 square feet cost only 14,000 shillings (or give 40 per cent more value for the same money). The value of the land being less than three cents per square foot, it is only the expense of public utilities and of new schools that could be used as an argument for crowding the people into six story walk-ups and into much smaller quarters. And even this argument could have been overthrown if, instead of free-standing cottages, practical row houses (as are used in many of the English model developments) had been introduced.

A point of view more congenial to Kampfmeyer's garden suburb idea than to the building of huge apartment houses has been expressed in a recent publication of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., which criticizes the policy of investing too much capital in solidly built tenements of a city with a declining birth rate. One or two storied row houses of less permanent construction would probably have been a wiser investment.

"With the funds available the housing shortage could have been relieved more quickly, without sacrificing the improved standards of health and comfort, by devoting the available resources to the construction of a larger number of plain temporary one- or two-story brick or hollow tile dwellings of a barracks type, than by the erection of structures which if permitted will stand for two centuries." This report of the Brookings Institution, from which the following quotation is taken, gives the name "barracks" to these row houses, which in English and other garden cities such as Sunnyside, Long Island, have proved to have

much charm. This term "barracks" is not meant to have any evil implications here. We read about the Viennese situation: "Some added investment for land, and for transportation and other utilities, would have been necessary; but not as much as the cottage settlement plan" (for entirely detached houses) "demanded, and certainly not enough to offset the saving in building costs . . . The real emergency was temporary; in the long run, if Vienna survived as a great city, newer and better housing standards were bound to develope; if the city did not so survive, temporary structures would suffice. In the short run, the same expenditure of money in the building of (one- or two-story) barracks would have emptied a much larger number of old bad dwellings and the city would not have been committed for an indefinite future to the conspicuous deficiencies of the present standard—the long upward climb to the five-story dwelling and the downward climb to the bathroom; the lack of central heating; and the extreme compression of the population." (Cf. The Housing Program of the City of Vienna by Chas. O. Hardy and R. R. Kuczynski; Washington, 1934, p. 108 and 111.)

What hope or danger is there of seeing the Viennese housing experiment imitated in America? The features just described making for economy will not be copied here, nor—one should hope—the slight grotesqueness and the false modernity which often mars the design of the huge tenements of Vienna. But in several other respects New York has probably gone farther than



Typical floor plan of one of Vienna's post-war "model" apartments. No through-ventilation, no outside windows for the W. C.

any other city in imitating Vienna. It is only in New York that the colossal mass-housing of Marx-Hof with its 1400 tenements could be surpassed. Here we find Knickerbocker Village with 1600 and Hillside Apartments with 1416 dwellings. However, in order to produce a total in public housing comparable to that of Viennese achievements it would be necessary to build in New York Region about 400,000 municipal apartments giving shelter to approximately 1,300,000 people, or one-eighth of its population of 11 millions. The erection of these apartments with the land and required improvements would cost more than 1.5 billion dollars. In metropolitan New York this expenditure might be opposed by the present owners of obsolete tenements. They might sigh for Dollfuss' heavy artillery with which to bomb the unwelcome competition of decent housing against their disease and crime breeding hovels. But such lack of public spirit will probably in the long run be counteracted by the omnipresent educational campaign for better housing and—even more efficiently —by some financial compensation Uncle Sam may be able to afford as balm to the vendors of deteriorated housing. There is small hope or danger that this may happen as quickly in America as it did in Vienna. In Vienna's city hall sat a strong socialist majority to guide and enfore its famous housing activities, while the American Socialists mustered only 2.5 per cent of the votes polled in the presidential election of 1932.

It is likely that America in the near future will have a majority of voters ready to finance low cost housing for approximately one eighth of the population at the expense of the other seven eighths? One may answer "no" and "yes." One should say "no" for the two following reasons: First: Viennese housing activities were facilitated by the inexpensiveness of building land resulting from the economic revolution and monetary inflation following the War. Such a complete revolution is unlikely to affect in the near future American real estate conditions, at least not as long as interior and exterior peace is preserved. Urban land holdings in America are probably still more widely distributed and are a more democratic investment than they were in pre-War Austria and Prussia where urban land was largely in the hands of a special class of politically privileged land holders including large banks. Such a limited distribution of land made its expropria-

tion or devaluation easier than it would be at present in America.

There is a second reason why in America public housing activities will probably not soon approach as relatively large proportions as in Vienna. Viennese housing was rather unpretentious. But publicly supported housing in America, so far, has produced rather expensive results. The Director of Housing, A. R. Clas, of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, announced on November 8, 1935: "A total of 50 Federal housing projects is being installed in 35 cities throughout the country, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico, with allotments totaling $129,725,100 from the Works-Relief and PWA funds. These projects will provide more than 25,000 modern, fireproof 'living units.' This means that over $5000 are being paid per 'living unit.' But this average conceals the prices per living unit of $2900 in Montgomery, Alabama, and $3500 in Columbia, South Carolina. In New York the 'Williamsburg' project with 1625 living units it is estimated will cost $12,783,000 or $7866 per dwelling, and the Harlem-McCombs Place with 574 units will cost $8185 per dwelling. In the case of the 120 apartments in 'First Houses' rebuilt by the New York Housing Authority, the confounding of slum clearance with housing problems produced an average cost of $10,000 for the three room apartments. Unit prices of from 5000 to 10,000 dollars are considerably higher than the cost of apartments produced by private enterprise for the average American in the middle and lower third of the income brackets. He must pay taxes but does not belong to the select small class which—without paying a corresponding share of taxes—benefits from the expensive Federal housing activities. In the case of 'First Houses,' for instance, probably no taxes at all will be collected. The tenants straightforwardly will receive, at the tax-payers' expense, rooms worth about $15 at $6 a month."

Upon closer inspection, however, one finds that these negative arguments can be reversed. The general level of America's urban land values is exceedingly high very largely because utterly obsolete building and zoning ordinances have flimflammed the owners, speculators and tax assessors into the belief that the insane maxima of exploitation permitted and encouraged by the ordinances might and must some day materialize. But the fact

that the taxes are assessed upon and their collection attempted from these unrealizable castles in the air, has a curative effect and may before long lead to the wholesale revision or "destruction of the fictitious land values" so strongly advocated by Henry Ford. This destruction would facilitate every conceivable public-spirited housing policy and would, therefore, also help any desired imitation of the Viennese example.

The second argument that the tax-paying seven eighths of the American people might like to pay for the 100 per cent over-expensive apartments of the one non-taxpaying eighth may be entirely wrong. The strong American gambling spirit, on the contrary, may be highly pleased by as favorable a winning chance as one eighth. The Hoover depression has taught the American that practically no values are quite secure, not even "guaranteed" gold mortgage bonds. The shrewd calculator may soon realize that one eighth of a chance of occupying a well-planned and comfortable apartment without his having to pay taxes is a new and decidedly better gambling chance than anything the stock market ever offered, a better chance especially than was offered by his former readiness to play the older game of rugged individualism which makes him less often a Pierpont Morgan than a pauper.

In this connection it is a rather impressive fact that even as conservative a man as the former New York State Governor, Alfred E. Smith (who prides himself on having risen from the slum of New York and survived), that even so victorious an exponent of rugged individualism had to confess his doubts regarding what he calls "the existing system" and its "undisputed" inefficiency in matters of low cost housing. In his message to the legislature of February 22, 1926, Governor Smith says:

"One outstanding fact still remains as a result of all the investigations and that fact is that the construction of certain types of homes for wage-earners of small income is unprofitable under the existing system. All of the investigations disclose the undisputed fact that the building of homes has in the past been looked upon as an enterprise conducted like any other business in which the element of speculative profit has been the compelling force. Until this situation is changed it will be impossible to rebuild the tenement areas which continue throughout the years to

be a menace to the health and the morals of the country. The report of the State Commission on Housing which I transmit herewith furnishes a list of old law tenements in New York City still standing and still inhabited which were condemned as foul, unsanitary and unfit to live in by the Tenement Committee of 1885."

If as enlightened and as popular an American as "Al Smith" thus urges his countrymen to doubt the efficacy of the "profit" motive in eliminating bad tenements and in producing decent, inexpensive homes, we must not be surprised if the so-called man of the street will soon and energetically demand socialistic methods of home building akin to those of Vienna.

There is another surprising similarity between the housing aspects of Vienna and those of New York. For different reasons both these metropolitan cities have become oversized industrial centers. And in both cities the housing policies—in Vienna from 1920 to 1933 and in New York beginning with "First Houses" in 1935—seem to be based on the assumption that the city must not be made systematically smaller but even larger. Vienna is too large an industrial center due to the fact that in the World War Austria lost most of the provinces for which Vienna's industries had been working. Austria-Hungary's former size was equal to that of the state of Texas. Austria's present size is hardly larger than Maine. The rather naive nationalism of the different "succession states" which had formerly been united in the large customs or tariff union of the empire of Austria-Hungary was too rash. In their eagerness to get rid of the Hapsburg domination they—almost inadvertently—also got rid of their economic basis of survival, which, indeed, had been this very tariff union so easily sacrificed. The "peace" treaties of Saint-Germain and Trianon instead of wisely creating economically possible conditions ruined what had been a complicated but economically functioning organism. Instead of uniting the former Austrian states with their Balkan neighbors into a larger and more efficient tariff union, this intolerable peace created thousands of miles of new tariff barriers and half a dozen economically independent "nations" establishing new competitive industries. This was done in an age where large economic organisms such as the United States, the British Empire, Russia,

France and her colonies, Argentine or Brazil, had the best chance of the effective division of labor and of peaceful survival. And Vienna, the capital of a disrupted empire, could survive only by means of the economic alms granted her by those states which wished to prevent her union with Germany; and even that wish did not promise an economic solution. These international alms in the form of loans made, not directly but indirectly, Vienna's splendid housing policy possible. It would have been even more splendid if the working masses served by it could have hoped for economic survival and if a policy of resettlement and national regrouping had not been more immediately imperative than subsidizing by cheap tenements an industry which had lost its market.

The situation in New York City although fundamentally different from that of Vienna, nevertheless, offers other curious resemblances. It has long been recognized that the congestion of industries in New York is very expensive and largely unnecessary and often detrimental. It is in many ways a mere hang-over of an old routine way of doing things.

One does not have to go as far as Dr. Lyman Bryson who at the Rural Life Conference at Rutgers University declared that "of the people who live in New York City, only 5 per cent actually have to live there and the others would be better off if they lived elsewhere; they are here needlessly." (N. Y. Times, May 1, 1935.) But it is an indisputable fact that millions of the people crowded into New York Region have to make unwarranted sacrifices of time and energy to get to and from their work, that they have to use crowded, noisy and nerve-racking subways which cost enormous sums to build and to operate and that this mad expense is cumulated by many other difficulties such as securing air for the congested areas, providing water and disposing of the sewage of the congested masses who transform even as big a harbor as that of New York and the adjoining beaches into dangerous cesspools.

Under these circumstances the policy of state planning and resettlement so often urged by Governor Alfred Smith, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright and others would have been the great city planning measure which deserved and required the most earnest support. It was a contradiction of these acknowledged neces-

sities of state planning and decentralization when aid was given for the construction of as oversized, uneconomic and unnecessary a concentration of offices as is represented by the still largely unoccupied Empire State Building. The same is also true, to some extent, of the heavy subsidizing of New York's business and industrial concentration by building apartments, at the tax-payer's expense, to be leased cheaply to New York workers. On the contrary, so it seems, the most strenuous efforts should have been made to induce stable industries to abandon the congestion of New York City, to create creditable garden cities where the relation between residence, work and play can be pleasant. In order to further such a necessary movement of decentralization even the inducement of subsidized housing, i.e. at the tax-payer's expense, might have become justified. To dot the congested area of New York City with expensive subsidized housing enabling further congestion of the metropolitan area is more difficult to justify. But one may say that, as long as millions live in slums, any conceivable kind of better housing has definite value, even if it is expensive and contradicts the tax-payer's rash and ready sense of justice.

It would be wrong, however, to believe that the method of the Viennese City Council or of the New York Housing Authority supported by Secretary of the Interior, Ickes, the method of uneconomic housing at the general tax-payers' expense, is the only one which can be imitated after "Uncle Sam has taken firm hold of his hammer and trowel to follow in the footsteps of Europe."

The following chapter will show another method which is less "charitable" and less "socialistic," but more economic and, perhaps, more American in the older sense of the term.

Eighteenth Chapter

WHY DOES AMERICA NEGLECT THE STOCKHOLM EXAMPLE?

Recently Americans have heard much about prefabricated houses. They were promised wonderful residential comfort because some new master-minded Henry Ford was soon to build a few huge factories for turning out ready-made homes with all the latest gadgets and delivering them all over the country for small monthly installments spread over many years and not exceeding the amount of a reasonable rent. Good automobiles which formerly cost five thousand dollars can now be had for one fifth of that price. Why should not comfortable houses also, so it is asked, which formerly cost $10,000 or $5000, in the future be produced by modern big factories and sold at a retail price of $2500?

This plausible argument would be even more convincing if the prefabricated houses on the market at present actually did cost $2500, instead of from three to six times as much, while their producers, for various reasons, feel obliged to procrastinate, marking time. If we want to find a fairly comfortable house "with all modern conveniences" for $2500 we must go to Sweden. Her capital, Stockholm, has 520,000 inhabitants. There we find 2220 wooden cottages, erected since 1927, which cost from 9000 to 13,000 Swedish Kronor, or, figuring the Krone at 25 cents, an average of $2500, without the land. They have been built with the intelligent help of the municipality, but without charitable subsidy at the expense of the general taxpayer.

These Stockholm cottages are not entirely prefabricated but semi-prefabricated. Their appearance is by no means screamingly "modern." But as far as their methods of production go they are among the most modern and most interesting demonstrations on the international housing map.

There are other reasons why Sweden is especially interesting to the American student of housing. Sweden is a country where private property is religiously respected, where the standard of

housing is comparatively high and where building is quite expensive. The climate there is not as mild as it is in England where housing can thus be cheaper than it is in America. No, the Swedish climate is as severe as that of New York or Boston and even the smallest house is built with a cellar.

The attitude of the Swedish labor unions is especially interesting. The small houses which will here be described come to Stockholm, in a semi-prefabricated condition, on trucks from the saw-mills in the wooded rural districts two hundred miles away. This, of course, encourages the employment of cheaper unskilled labor in assembling the houses and leads to a greater elimination of unionized labor in the big city than would have been permitted by certain American unions under similar circumstances. Nevertheless, the Swedish labor unions are relatively more than four times as strong as those of the United States. The Swedish unions' membership of over 638,000 represents more than one tenth of the whole population of Sweden while in America less than one fortieth of the population belongs to unionized labor. In spite of their strength the labor unions of Stockholm have not seriously opposed the municipal introduction of semi-prefabricated housing. When the economic depression grew serious and building activities were greatly reduced, the labor unions obtained the concession that certain jobs connected with the erection of the semi-prefabricated houses should, "as much as possible," preferably be given to their members.

Sweden repeatedly had and also at present has a socialistic state government. Approximately 13 per cent of Sweden's population lives in houses built since the War and are profiting from government loans at low interest but by no means from state subsidies except in the form of statesmanlike intelligence. Also the majority of Stockholm's City Councillors is socialistic. But the housing policy described in this chapter has originally been proposed by a non-socialistic City Councillor. His proposal found the support of all political parties. In the City Council the representatives of labor (social-democrats, socialists and communists) have 53 of the 100 mandates. As, however, the municipal housing activities are financed by borrowed means and, as in all matters concerning the loans of the city a two-thirds majority is required, the support of the non-socialistic parties is

necessary. All resolutions concerning small cottages have been unanimously passed. In America, recently, Arthur Brisbane, expressed his disappointment when the leader of the miners' union, John L. Lewis, seemed to consider his possession of a platinum watch as the highest achievement of which a miner can dream. Brisbane quite appropriately stated: "Miners might prefer a comfortable little house." (Cf. N. Y. American, Feb. 7, 1936.) Many thousands of them live in miserable shacks. But while in America it is yet difficult to interest even the labor unions in active municipal housing policies, such an activity in Sweden is viewed with equal interest by the right and the extreme left.

The city of Stockholm has organized a corporation which is conducted in accordance with true business principles and enables even the inhabitants of congested tenement sections to become owners of free-standing small houses with gardens. The land is owned by the city which rents the lots for less than a cent a year per square foot under leases extending to 60 years and are renewable after that period. The most interesting point in the calculations is the fact that the combined monthly installments on lot, house, taxes, etc., do not exceed the normal price of the rent charged for the typical, much less spacious city tenement.

The methods of financing the houses, their arrangement and the use of well-tested types of frame construction, are the results of long and careful planning based on popular traditions and preferences. A few men, among whom Axel Dahlberg is the leader, have shown the true constructive genius of adaptation, interpretation and divination of popular demands. There could probably be found similarly ingenious men in America ready to serve the public. But are they given a chance?

These semi-prefabricated houses are erected with the help and under the supervision of experienced municipal officers but about one half of the actual work is generally done by the prospective owner. The City extends loans up to 90% of the value of the cottages at an interest of from 4 to 5 per cent, to be amortized within 30 years. The person desirous of building such a cottage must be able to deposit $75 in cash for the ground rent of the first year, premium on fire insurance and fees of deeds. All in all the builder must bring in an equity of at least 10 per cent of the value of his cottage but, with the exception of the first

$75, he can pay this 10 per cent in the form of his own or his friends' labor helping him to erect the cottage. After its erection, he is the legal owner and pays yearly charges which (on a cottage costing 9200 Kronor and carrying a municipal loan of 8280 Kronor) amounted in 1933 for the

Annual installment payable on the loan, to about	$134.75
Ground rent	37.5
Taxes	7.5
Fire insurance	2.5
Chimney sweeping	4.25
Removal of garbage	4.0
Street scavenging	5.0
Water rate	5.0

or a total of 802 Kronor equal to $200. In 1935 this total was lowered to $190, or $15.85 per month. For this money he has what represents four or at least three and one half rooms upon a lot of about 54 by 100 feet. This is equal to a monthly charge of $3.95 to $4.50 per room for property rights in a house which lies at a distance of about 30 minutes by street car or bus from the center of the city and contains about twice as much space as could be secured for the same amount of money, in a newly built apartment house in the city where the owners of the new cottages were formerly apt to live.

These two-story houses are quite complete and seem especially so when compared with the previous tenement homes of the owners. The new homes are electrically lighted and contain from two to four principal rooms, in addition to a bathroom, a kitchen with gas-range, sink, running water, the typical Swedish interior W. C., connecting with the city sewer, a basement with furnace, laundry and ample space for a garage. The unfulfilled wish President Hoover expressed for America is not always fulfilled even in Sweden: instead of two cars in each garage and, twice a week, a chicken in the pot, one often finds only a few chickens in the garage, occasionally in the company of a bicycle or a motorcycle. But the presence of a garage waiting for a prospective auto seems to have a stimulating effect on human beings, at least as long as they are not threatened by unemployment.

Stockholm's Municipal Corporation erects these popular houses in numbers that have grown from 200 to 400 a year. But the demand is greater than the supply. The houses therefore

are a fairly secure form of investment for the savings of their inhabitants. Title of ownership is given immediately upon the completion of the house. These titles are certainly far superior to the "guaranteed mortgages" for which thrifty Americans have developed such a self-sacrificing craze since the Great War, having learned to calculate their losses in billions of dollars. After an American Black Friday has smashed the New York Stock Exchange the holder of guaranteed mortgage certificates often can use them only for wallpapering his parlor. But when some Swedish Kreuger has upset his country and the credit structure of the world, the holder of a Stockholm cottage, at least in most cases, remains in undisturbed possession of his house and garden. As a result of the economic depression the City of Stockholm had to take back sixty cottages, and a credit institution controlled by the City had to take back another ten out of the more than 2000 cottages erected. The former owners were permitted to stay in their cottages at a rent lower than the required monthly installments. Quite a number of sales of cottages were made by owners affected by the depression who were able to realize prices which materially exceeded their own investment.

The building plots belonging to the small cottages occupy on the average about 500 square metres (5400 sq. ft.). During the last few years a great number of cottages of the smallest type have also been erected on smaller plots with an area of 350 square metres (3580 sq. ft.). Care is taken to choose such ground for the small cottages as to permit the building plots to be used for gardening. To a very great extent the owners of small cottages utilize the plots for this purpose but some of them prefer to lay out only pleasure gardens. As the environs of Stockholm are hilly and partly woody, the greatest part of the area intended for small cottages has also a limited number of wood and park plots. Although these are more difficult and more expensive to put in order, they are in great demand.

The garden cities of Stockholm are connected with the inner city either by tram or bus lines. The time taken for travelling from these districts to the central parts of the city is generally from 15 to 20 minutes and does not as a rule exceed 30 minutes. The single fare, considering certain reductions, varies between

20 and 25 öre (i.e. 5 to 6 cents), the bus fare being higher. Through tickets to the lines of the inner city are not issued.

The planning of the areas intended for small cottages has been done, on the whole, without any regard for the industries of Stockholm. But this is less serious than the same planless method adopted in Vienna or New York. Sweden's political and economic situation seems much more secure than that of Austria. And Stockholm is not yet so awkwardly oversized, as New York is, that further growth implies economic insanity. However, the city of Stockholm has striven to supply a great number of building plots so located that the prospective owners were in a position to choose their places of residence where it has suited them considering their places of employment.

Strict economy based upon standardization and wholesale buying under experienced municipal supervision must, of course, play a great role in producing these houses at so reasonable a cost. More important, however, for the future of sane housing is the clear, simple and direct distribution of financial responsibility. Whatever advantages the big tenement house of the Viennese or New York-Hillside type may have, it will, as far as its financing is concerned, always be a huge unwieldly affair. Few ordinary citizens will be able to fathom the million figures connected with its purchases of land, building materials, commissions, taxes paid or remitted, government loans, grants, mortgages, economic rent required and uneconomic rent paid, and, last but not least, the heavy expense and difficulty of maintenance for these enormous properties the owner of which is absent or does not visibly exist. These million figures in many European examples have proved to be mazes in which the profiteer prospered and the taxpayer was cheated. Huge tenement house blocks and superblocks, one might almost say, are a less democratic, less republican, because less controllable affair than small houses which can be estimated as to appearance, quality and finance by the average house-holder. This is only repeating one of the late Eberstadt's main criticisms of the German pre-War tenement. This master in the science of housing insisted that the individual two-story row-house, continuously under the watchful eyes of its owner, is the economic unit for housing the masses and for distributing the heavy financial burden connected with a large-scale

project. He came close to proving that the higher the dwelling is the more apt it is to be burdened with unproductive expenses. The large tenement house is burdened by just such numerous expenses even as its usable volume is burdened by expensive hallways, stairways, more costly foundations, necessity of greater stability and by other forms of unprofitable dead weight than is warranted by economic living. The entire building methods of a country can become vitiated by false conceptions regarding building heights and standards of construction.

Recently an excellent study was made in New York by the architects Aronovici, Churchill, Lescaze, Mayer, and Wright, which revealed a similar conclusion: "Two-story flats permit lowest rental, as the characteristic way of living in them does not demand the complex services required in apartments." This may be "bourgeois" wisdom unpleasant to the impatient dreamer of a future perfect state. But this prosaic calculation shows that a room in a two-story building on land in Astoria, Long Island, at 83 cents a square foot (built with 30 per cent Federal grant and building tax exemption) requires a rent of $4.85 a month; while a room in a six-story building erected with a similar Federal grant and tax exemption on land at $8 a square foot on the Lower East Side requires a rent of $9.30 a month, or about twice as much.

The question of the extent to which "complex services" should be provided in building new and "model" housing will be answered very differently by adherents of different political, technical and sociological creeds. The small cottages of Stockholm are by no means a type of shack for those who are declassés. On the contrary, their method of construction corresponds very exactly to that of more expensive houses, only it is more rational and is standardized. But even the smallest types costing $2250 could become the satisfactory nucleus of an expensive house. After adding some wings it could be made into a $10,000 house. The nucleus, however, contains the essentials of housing.

In order to convey an idea of the general attitude towards these smallest cottages of Stockholm an extract from a manuscript by Mr. Axel Dahlberg, the director of these housing activities, may be given. The reader can thus judge for himself as to whether the Stockholm point of view is too socialistic, too

bourgeois, too paternal to be of value in free America or whether it is, perhaps, even reminiscent of the pioneer spirit of this land. Director Dahlberg wrote, in 1933:

"The city authorities have all the time been fully aware that, if the 'small-cottage' scheme was to be a success, only quite trustworthy poor people, who could be depended upon to perform the obligations devolving on them, should be selected as home builders. The number of applicants having been considerably in excess of the number of cottages included in the various building operations started so far, no difficulties have been presented in the selection of the right kind of persons. Preference is as a rule given to families to whom residence in the garden suburbs would be of special benefit, such as families with several children of tender age.

"As a rule the preparatory plans and investigations for the inception of a small-cottage project will have been started during the summer of the year preceding the one in which the actual building is to be carried into effect. After the City Council on the strength of the reports of the investigations has approved of the plans and decided on the number of cottages the project shall embrace, the necessary purchases of materials and agreements with contractors are concluded during the winter months. Simultaneously the streets and mains in the new area are laid out.

"The applications received from persons who wish to build small cottages are as a rule considered during March and the applicants selected are requested to call at the Bureau for the desired particulars and the selection of the type of cottage. On certain days, usually in April, the available sites are shown for giving the applicants, in the order of application, an opportunity to select their sites. The official who conducts this showing will give them the number of the site they have selected on which they receive an option for one week. If they then call at the Bureau before the option lapses, sign the agreements required, and pay the small initial charges and fee they become the possessors of the site in question with a so-called ground-right. When these formalities have been concluded the home builders can immediately begin working on their sites under the auspices and control of the organization the city has established for the project.

"Advice and directions as to how to pursue the work are

furnished by the city's instructors. They assist the home builder in determining the profiles showing the exact location of the cottage and carry out the levelling, thus enabling him to judge how deeply he has to dig, etc. When materials are required for making concrete foundation plates and for other extra work he has merely to give an order to the municipal storehouse (erected within the new garden suburb) on a form out of his requisition blanks. If solid rock or boulders are encountered in the course of the digging, the necessary drilling, blasting and, if so desired by the home builder, the removal of the stone will be undertaken by the city. Also, he can obtain assistance from the city if the ground conditions are so poor that an ordinary foundation reinforcement under each wall is insufficient. The installation work to be done by contractors is carried out as the home builder is ready with his share of the work.

"The work the home builder himself must do is no light task. Most of the work, by means of which he contributes capital towards his house consists of comparatively heavy jobs. For most of the home builders, moreover, it is additional work after the day's regular duties. To a great extent it must be performed in the evenings or on Sundays. Nor are all the home builders fortunate enough to have a fixed summer vacation that might be devoted to this purpose. Indeed, to many of them summer is the busy season in their respective trades or employments. This is particularly the case with building workers, who, however, have a great advantage over the others through their skill and experience in this kind of work. Another advantage they have is that of being able to exchange work with

Typical view of street and back yards in the Municipal garden suburbs of Stockholm.

other building workers, enabling each one to work mainly in his own trade.

"The home builder must not only do heavy work, he is in many cases forced to lead a regular camp or settler's life which, however, is not altogether devoid of charm. This charm is perhaps not quite so apparent to the eager home builder who rushes out to dig on his plot before the frost has left the ground and the chill April blasts sweep over the still barren fields. Even in May while trudging around ankle-deep in the wet clay at the bottom of his foundation pit the poetry of the enterprise may not touch him very keenly, not even if the lark has arrived by that time and is warbling in the sky over his head.

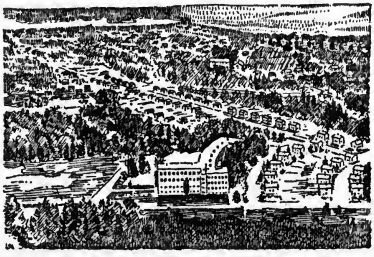
"But by June the real building is well under way and has put its stamp on the area. There is life and movement over all the grounds. Most of the home builders have erected temporary tool sheds made out of automobile cases and the like on their plots. In these are very often arrangements for cooking, and it is customary for the whole family to camp out there, each member doing what he or she can in the way of assistance. In the beginning of June many cottages are already erected and under roof and in order to make the best use of the time the newly erected cottage frequently serves the family as night shelter from the very beginning. In July and August a good many cottages are usually so far advanced that the families can move into them permanently. The sooner the removal can take place the more quickly the cottage owner can cut the expense of paying rent for his former city tenement. It may be that the gas range is still missing and the electric light not yet installed, making the cooking troublesome and necessitating the evening work to be carried out in the unsatisfactory light offered by a lantern or oil lamp. But it is safe to say that the spirits are not dampened by the inconveniences endured during this period of occupation. To most home builders the reminiscences of these early troubles will stand out as dear memories of 'the time when we built the cottage.' By the first of October, which in Stockholm is the date on which most leases of flats expire, the majority of the home builders are installed in their new homes but as a rule the cottages are not quite ready until about the New Year.

"According to the agreement with the city the home builders are required to have the cottages ready for the final inspection at this time. On condition that surety is given for increased interest charges, the building time, however, can be prolonged. One of the reasons why comparatively few builders must request such prolongation of the building time is the spirit of emulation which is a notable feature of this kind of cottage building.

"The competitive spirit is already in evidence at the showing of the sites on which occasion a whole group of applicants are conducted over the sites at the same time and it is up to them to pick the best plots still available. Afterwards the competition is continued, but with other goals, such as who will be the first to get the cottage erected, the first to move into it, and so on. But it is not exclusively competition in time, it is also a matter of doing the best job and getting the finest cottage, in other words, of outdoing the competitor in the results.

"During the actual building time the spirit of emulation is undoubtedly an asset of no little importance. It helps the home builder to buckle down to work when tired or out of spirits. The families, too, are infected by the spirit of competition between the different members to contribute as much as possible to the new home. It should hardly be necessary to refer to the great influence exercized by the women in the promotion of the scheme, or to point out that very often indeed the wife is the moving spirit in the building of the new home. Apart from this all-important mental force, the women often contribute a good deal of actual physical work to the venture by participating in all kinds of labour.

The Municipal garden suburb of Olovslund near public park and pond. The houses with the gambrel roofs are of an older type.



The Municipal garden suburb of Olovslund with public school in the foreground. In the background, the Municipal garden suburb of Nockeby.

"The Small-Cottage Movement does not derive its strength solely from personal acquisitiveness and it does not only promote egoistic and family feelings. The organization of the movement is well adapted to open the eyes of the participators to the importance of cooperation on a large scale. Thus, the home owners in the small-cottage settlements very quickly form associations for safeguarding mutual interests. And it seems only natural that a cottage owner should regard with quite different feelings the home he has himself built than a person living more or less transiently in someone else's house can regard his place of residence. The influence of the Small-Cottage Movement as a social factor is yet to be proved but there is reason to hope that it will be a means of giving the rootless city population the firm attachment to the soil and to the community that it now lacks." Here the quotation from Director Axel Dahlberg's manuscript ends.

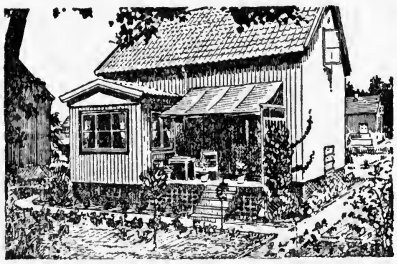
It has been said that American backwardness in low-cost housing and the slum conditions of modern American cities require a cure different from that of the comparatively medieval city of Stockholm. There exists, indeed, an important difference. In the matter of real estate, Stockholm has not followed the naive method of non-interference, which has become the rule of American cities oblivious of George Washington's urbanistic teachings. On the contrary, Stockholm has—entirely in Washington's spirit (as described here in the First Chapter)—installed a Municipal Real Estate Board for the benefit not of the gamblers in real estate but of the general public. Stockholm has since 1910 acquired for its housing policy 20,000 acres of land, largely outside its own city limits, at a cost of about three cents a square foot. With this large fund of lands the city has helped to make good housing available for all classes of society and protected its citizens from too drastic impositions by realty speculation. Only a small part of the municipal lands is required for the city's activities in lowest cost housing as is described in this Chapter.

It would be unjust, however, to overlook the fact that in the state of New York there also exists an important public office which deals exclusively with problems of real estate and attempts to solve them for the public. This office, however, does

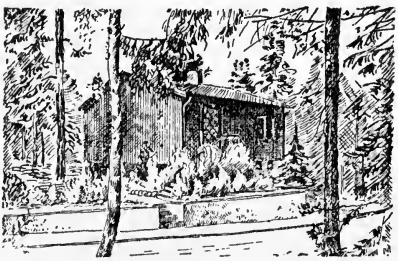
not propose to protect the people from the excesses of real estate speculation but rather takes care of them after they have been committed. The office in question is the foreclosure division of the New York State Mortgage Commission. Its chairman, Mr. Wendell P. Barker, could recently boast that: "The foreclosure division probably constitutes the largest foreclosure law office in the world. Pending in this department at present are about 2,400 foreclosure actions." (Cf. New York Times Real Estate Section, Feb. 9, 1936.) While the activity of this New York Office is painfully curative, the work of Stockholm's public real estate office is fortunately preventive. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

However, this seemingly fundamental matter of municipal land ownership should not be over-rated in America. And the legal situation which makes a similar land policy in American cities impossible offers no explanation nor excuse for its inactivity in housing matters and negligence in the execution of its duties in regard to the healthy low cost housing of the masses.

Housing reformers who urge American cities to acquire land in advance of their immediate necessities forget that under the American system of land taxation, private land ownership is the goose that lays the golden egg, the goose which would immediately die upon too hasty an acquisition by the city. American land taxes rise automatically with each rise of private land values. The city has a first lien upon all private property and is, so to speak, the preferred proprietor of all the land within the city limits. That is to say, the American city has a quasi-



Cottage, type II; cost, 12,000 Kronor or $3000. Total annual expenditure for items (as specified in text, page 243) is 975 Kronor or $244.



Cottage, type V; cost, 9,200 Kronor or $2,300. Total annual expenditure for items (as specified in text, page 243) is $190.

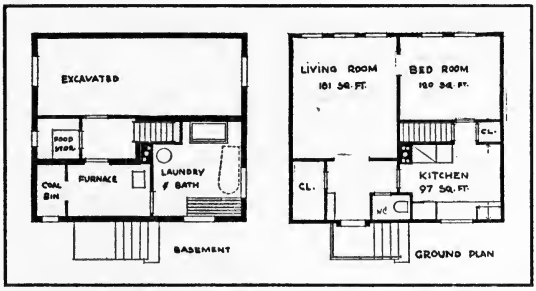
ownership of at least the better third part of each lot, or rather of its value.

This method of land taxation not only makes it easy for the city to acquire title to land owned by delinquent tax-payers, but it also makes the city the most powerful potential buyer of any real estate desired for public purposes. High land taxes force most land owners to be ready sellers whenever a fair price is offered. Furthermore, recalcitrant land ownership may be condemned under the extension of the power of eminent domain by the new housing legislation. This new rule can, of course, become useful only if some fair and realistic method of evaluation and compensation ultimately takes the place of the older American method of paying speculative and fantastic prices to the expropriated land owner. We will see that such a fairer method has been instituted in England. It does not permit speculative prices but pays only for such value of the land as is warranted by its actual future use, for instance for low cost housing.

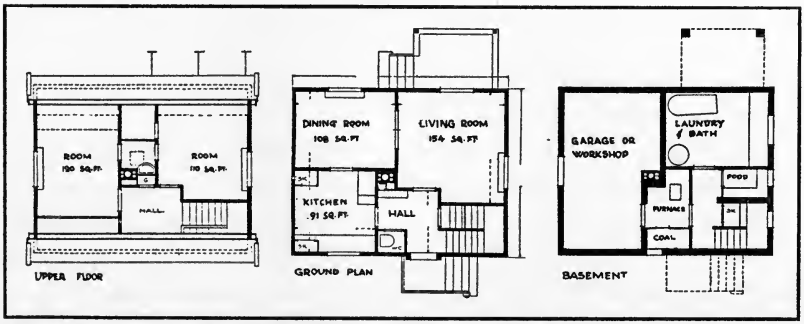
In America, the difference in actual land ownership is not a factor that should make conditions in Stockholm and in American cities incomparable, nor should it make the Swedish method of offering good and economical houses unsuitable for America emulation.

The latest American legislation which provides federal funds for the remodeling of old houses and the building of new ones seems to make possible and invite comprehensive public-housing schemes modeled on the Swedish pattern. But there is a danger that whatever American housing construction may effectuate as a result of these new laws will be scattered in a topsy-turvy fashion among older and out-moded suburban developments. There would be some hope for modern developments worthy of America only in an organized flight from the congested urban centers to safer and more agreeable modes of living—not by building new tenement districts and prospective slums, such as the already too numerous ones of the Bronx and Brooklyn, but by developing upon well-selected and well-planned sites new types of light housing which might be as artistic and distinctive as the present conditions of American education and taste will allow, and which might be as novel, comfortable, reliable, and inexpensive as the American motor car.

Public authorities who desire to advance the cause of rehousing the nation and of stimulating building industries which have been paralyzed by the depression might well be inspired by the example of Stockholm and of other European cities where similar housing procedures have been successful. American municipalities might offer awards for the best new types of prefabricated or semi-prefabricated houses and might encourage building and loan associations to finance the sale of these truly modern commodities. American cities might collaborate and unite their housing policies for the encouragement of competitive private industries by guaranteeing large orders for such new houses. It would require orders of tens and hundreds of thousands of units to produce comfortable homes at a cost of from two to three thousand dollars each. But if once such a vast new industry were started its powerful development would benefit the whole economic life of the nation and the benefit would be more substantial and more lasting than that derived from the



Basement and ground floor, cottage, type V. View and cost, page 252.



Plans of basement, ground floor and upper floor of cottage, type II. For view and cost see page 252.

new industries of making radio and air-conditioning apparatus, or from the resumption of alcohol production. Ideas similar to these (developed by the author in an article for "Survey Graphic," Nov. 1934) have, in 1936, received strong endorsement by the "Home Building Program" of "The Committee for Economic Recovery" whose Chairman is A. S. Freed. It represents approximately twenty establishments among which are some as large as the Westinghouse Electric Co. This committee in a report to President Roosevelt expressed its confidence that good American homes can be built for as low a price as $2500 provided that such modern building methods are introduced as are at present still lacking in America. The committee boldly states that in America "there is no home building industry. One must be developed if we are to expect a successful program. . . . One London company builds as many as twenty-one communities at one time. Several build from five to fifteen, simultaneously." The beneficent influence such rationalized large building activities has upon the economic recovery of England has been emphasized in a publication of the New York Trust Company. "Housing in Great Britain" (cf. "The Index," Feb. 1936). As has been pointed out previously, housing in England is subject to climatic and traditional conditions which are different from those of the United States and Sweden. This will be dealt with in one of the first Chapters of the Second volume of this publication.

One may here conclude by reminding the reader of the fact that in designing beautiful new garden cities to accommodate the new type of semi-prefabricated house, most American municipalities would have to revise completely their building codes and zoning ordinances. At present building regulations like those of New York City make an advance into new fields difficult and even impossible.

The obvious criticism housing reformers may make of the Stockholm Small-Cottage plan is that it burdens the man having a small income which under the present industrial conditions is necessarily insecure. This burden is the responsibility of owning a home and the confinement to some definite place when the possibility of change in accordance with the economic needs of the home-owner would be more advantageous. The answer

to this criticism, in turn, may be that as long as the combined charges which the home-owner must carry are not greater than the rent he previously paid for a tenement in a congested part of the city, he would not be the loser even if he had to abandon his cottage without finding a buyer. As has been mentioned before, however, such buyers, in Stockholm, could always be found. Furthermore, it would not be difficult to organize a system, for example, one taking the form of a large cooperative building and loan association, which would guarantee a fair purchasing price to each home-owner compelled to move to another section of the country. In this connection the elaborate system of the exchange of dwellings developed during the severe German housing shortage immediately following the World War might profitably be studied.

Another answer to the criticism just mentioned is the following: new cottage areas should, of course, not be laid out in a haphazard fashion, but rather in strict conformity with a carefully considered state or regional plan for the healthy and economic redistribution of industry. The prospective owners of cottages in these new and coming districts would, therefore, have the greatest possible opportunity for proximity to the most promising new centers of employment.

We have too often been told that the pioneer in America is a thing of the past. This may be an error. There is indeed, no little evidence that the possibilities of pioneering which are supposed to have vanished into the Pacific Ocean with the conquest of the West have reappeared in the immediate vicinity of every large city. Between New York and Philadelphia tracts of waste land are said to be available for approximately $50 per acre. Experts assure us that modern chemistry and agronomy can, with an additional outlay of $150 per acre, transform these deserts into fertile land. It is here that something analogous to Lincoln's Homestead Act in semi-urbanized proportions, influenced, possibly, by the Stockholm example, might become effective. Lincoln's Homestead Act did not solve all the urban and social problems of his time but it was a potent factor contributing to that greatly admired equilibrium which one likes to consider as being characteristic of "OUR AMERICA" before 1893.

It seems that one of the most salient objectives of modern city, state and national planning should be to provide a new and adequate kind of homestead for every city dweller who wishes to move into new surroundings and who is desirous and seems capable of sustaining the yearly financial charges which can liquidate such an establishment without unduly burdening the general tax payer. The Stockholm plan seems to have proved that under far-sighted management such a solution is economically expedient. And this task of meeting such annual obligations, it may be repeated, can be facilitated by strategically locating the new homestead districts in the immediate vicinity of the coming centers of a wisely redistributed industry.

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The Stockholm housing activities will be fully illustrated by many large photographs and plans in the atlas in preparation.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENTS OF OTHER BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE AMERICAN VITRUVIUS, an ARCHITECT'S HANDBOOK of CIVIC ART

by WERNER HEGEMANN and ELBERT PEETS. Folio, 300 pages of text with 1200 illustrations.

THE ARCHITECTURAL BOOK PUBLISHING CO., NEW YORK.

Garden Cities and Town Planning Journal, London: Undoubtedly this is the most ambitious work on town-planning, both in size and richness of contents, that has come into our hands . . . it is a kind of encyclopaedia of town-planning from ancient to modern times.

Journal of Proceedings of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects, Melbourne: It is impossible to conceive of a more comprehensive or illuminating volume upon the subject; whilst the sumptuousness of its production in letter-press and illustrations is in line with highest craftsmanship . . . Of keenly observant intellect, the authors' powers of analysis are exceptionally great, and their painstaking equally so, and one wishes a summary of many of their remarks could appear in a far less costly edition and be circulated widely . . . The authors are undoubtedly masters of Garden Art, and supply a series of splendid plates to emphasise their convictions.

Town Planning Review, Liverpool: The finest collection of town planning views, elevations and sketches that has yet been got together . . . The text is full of vivid and interesting comments.

GOTHENBURG 1923. International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. The English catalogue; 390 pages, 400 illustrations. Published by the Municipality of Gothenburg.

Raymond Unwin in "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects," London: It was a fortunate circumstance that Dr. Hegemann with his encyclopaedic knowledge of town planning work, and his experience of former exhibitions, enriched by some years of life in America, was available to contribute to the informal discussions, and produce the catalogue.

FACADES OF BUILDINGS: Fronts of Old and Modern Business and Dwelling Houses.

E. Benn Limited, London, 1929.

The Architect, London: Dr. Hegemann is renowned—one might almost say notorious—as a critic who combines fearlessness with considerable knowledge and erudition. He respects neither period nor person. His principal conclusions are eminently sound and form the basis for a badly-needed enquiry into street proportions.

REPORT ON A CITY PLAN FOR THE MUNICIPALITIES OF OAKLAND AND BERKELEY, 1915. Published by the municipalities and several civic clubs.

Charles Mulford Robinson in the "National Municipal Review": The most elaborate single publication of the year among city planning reports is Dr. Hegemann's Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland and Berkeley. Americans must grant that the report is of great excellence—

surprising in its combination of breadth of scope and thoroughness of treatment.

Dr. Frederic C. Howe, author of "The City: The Hope of Democracy": Dr. Hegemann's report on a city plan for Oakland and Berkeley treats in a thorough and authoritative manner all the essential features of the subject. It is full of sound, practical advice and feasible suggestions. Based as it is on a long and intensive study of the conditions and needs of these cities and reflecting the author's wide knowledge of town-planning development in Europe and America, the report contains the sanest and most pertinent sort of constructive criticism.

DER STAEDTEBAU NACH DEN ERGEBNISSEN DER ALLGEMEINEN STAEDTEBAU-AUSSTELLUNG IN BERLIN UND DUESSELDORF, 1910.

Two volumes; 425 illustrations. Published by Ernst Wasmuth, Berlin, 1911 and 1913.

The official report of the results of the two first international city planning exhibitions of Europe. The first volume was republished, including additions, in 1930 with the title: Das Steinerne Berlin; Geschichte der groessten Mietkasernen-Stadt der Welt.

Professor Patrick Geddes in "Cities in Evolution," London, 1915: Of foreign manuals Dr. Werner Hegemann's two volumes "Der Staedtebau" may be especially recommended.

The Journal of the American Institute of Architects, Washington: City planning exhibits are generally prepared for the purpose of educating public opinion and rendering possible the comparison of essentials. The subjects dealt with, however, are so complicated, so difficult for the ordinary public to understand, and so subject to difference of opinion that no exhibit renders full service to the community, or to the world at large, unless its various departments and individual charts and maps are weighed in the balance of expert knowledge, and with a proper understanding of the local conditions which have called forth their creation. This Dr. Hegemann accomplishes in his work. His book represents an impartial and critical interpretation of the value of past and existing plans, and their social, economic and esthetic significance. It must be conceded that the author has mastered his subject.

From Schmoller's Yearbook, a leading German periodical for Political Economy: The author has written a most excellent work on city planning in Berlin, and on city planning, housing and land problems in general. By its abundance of evidence, clearness of judgment and captivating eloquence the book compels the reader's sympathy and action.