

# THE NEIGHBORHOOD: A STUDY OF LOCAL LIFE IN THE CITY OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

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## ABSTRACT

*Description of neighborhood.* The neighborhood is located in a flood plane near the center of the city. It comprises one of the oldest sections of the city and has been subject to periodic floods for years past. It is inhabited by working-class people, chiefly of American origin. *Mobility of neighborhood population.* The neighborhood serves as a reservoir for the city's human wastes. Families come and go in constant succession, and there are also frequent changes of residence from street to street within the neighborhood. There is a small nucleus, however, of stable superior families. The comparative absence of secondary means of communication, such as telephones and automobiles, makes the less mobile inhabitants—old men, women, and children—completely dependent upon the neighborhood institutions for their associational life. *Homes.* Most of the homes are obsolete both in structure and fixtures; scarcely 10 per cent have electric lights; about half of them are without baths or indoor toilets. Overcrowding is not prevalent except in alley houses. *Family life.* The neighborhood is a collectivity of very unlike family groups. Superior wholesome families are frequently found living next door to disorderly worthless people. Under such circumstances complete avoidance is practiced. The superior families usually represent early settlers who, on account of property ties, cannot leave their undesirable surroundings. *Economic condition.* This district represents the lowest economic level in the city. Home ownership is uncommon, and rents average less than fifteen dollars per month. However there are marked differences in the comparative economic status of adjoining families. Family groups in the depth of poverty are frequently found living side by side with families having comfortable incomes. *Leisure-time activities.* Most of the homes are ill-equipped with facilities for the fruitful utilization of leisure time. Reading materials are scant or wanting; musical instruments are found only in a small percentage of the homes. *Outdoor leisure-time activities.* The movies are the most popular form of commercialized recreation for mothers and children. The elder males find their chief enjoyment in the neighborhood saloons, while the youth, for the most part, patronize the uptown poolrooms and dance halls.

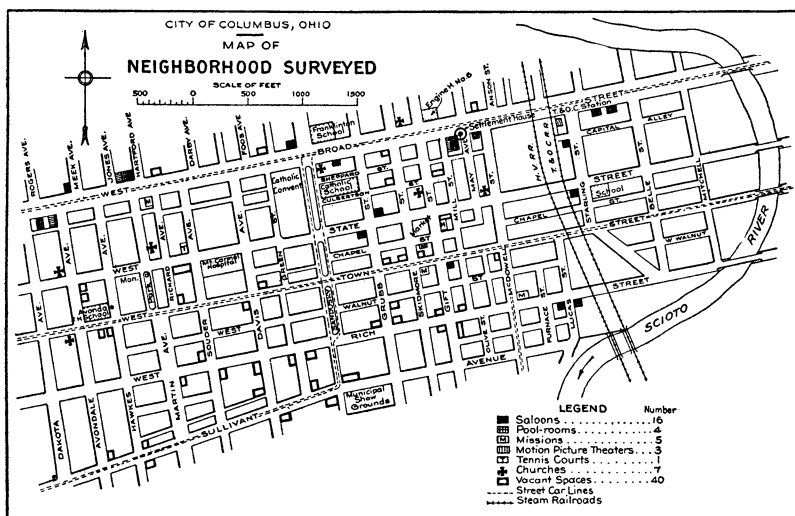
## PART II. AN ANALYSIS OF A DISINTEGRATED CITY NEIGHBORHOOD

### V. DESCRIPTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD

The following survey was undertaken upon the suggestion of the Brotherhood of the First Congregational Church of Columbus. For a number of years the church has been supporting a social settlement house, located on Broad Street, in the heart of the region west of the river. With a view to extending its activities on a more scientific and efficient scale, the Brotherhood voted in

the spring of 1919 that a survey of the neighborhood surrounding the social settlement be made and a program of action outlined in conformity with the findings. The writer was selected to engineer the survey. The field work was done by advanced students in his classes in sociology at the state university.

The actual field work of the survey falls into three divisions: first, a house-to-house canvass of one thousand households located in the neighborhood just indicated. An attempt was made to



MAP VI

reach every home in this district, but frequently the house was empty when the investigator called, and although second visits were made in most cases, still many households were thus unavoidably omitted. In the second place a study was made of all the neighborhood institutions—churches, schools, industries, and of all the forms of commercialized recreation. And lastly, special interviews were held with about twenty of the oldest residents of the district in order to obtain data concerning the history, leading changes, and dominant forces in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood that we are about to describe is located in the “flats” lying immediately west of the central part of the city. As indicated on Map VI, the region in question is bounded on

three sides by a loop of the Scioto River. It comprises a low flood plane stretching west in triangular shape for about three miles to the Hilltop district. The eastern end of the district, or apex of the triangle, is less than a quarter of a mile in width, while the western base is about two miles wide. This district has been subject to periodic floods, occurring, according to reports of the oldest inhabitants, about every fifteen years. The most serious of these floods, in the memory of the oldest residents, took place in the spring of 1913 when the entire eastern half of the district was for a few days covered by water from six to ten feet in depth.

This neighborhood comprises one of the oldest sections of the city of Columbus. The central part of it was originally known as the village of Franklinton; the old county court building was located at the corner of Sandusky and Broad streets, the present site of the Franklinton School. Sullivant Avenue, the southern boundary line of the neighborhood, is named after Lucas Sullivant, the original owner of the "bottoms" lying west of the river. In the early days this district was so swampy and so undesirable for habitation that Mr. Sullivant gave lots to settlers to induce them to come and reside there. Hence Gift Street got the name it still retains.

The neighborhood was originally inhabited by "plain working people." Broad Street was the main thoroughfare and, in the opinion of many of the old timers, did a much more flourishing business twenty years ago than it does at present. The eastern section of the neighborhood, lying immediately west of the river, was, in the early days, known as "Middletown" and was considered by the people living farther west as a "rough" section. The local differentiation has, however, faded away; only a few of the old settlers seem to be familiar with the implication of the early local distinction.

There is general consensus of opinion among the older settlers that the neighborhood made a rapid decline immediately following the flood of 1913. At that time many of the more prosperous families moved to other parts of the city, especially to the new addition opened up just then on the Hilltop. Real estate prices declined rapidly, dropping to one-third or one-half their previous

values. This in turn brought about an influx of colored and poor white families, with the consequent further deterioration of the neighborhood.

The area surveyed includes eleven precincts, which in 1918 had a total registered electorate of 1,824.<sup>1</sup> The city's registered electorate for that year was 45,854, or approximately one-sixth of the estimated population of the city as a whole. Figuring on this basis the district covered by our survey has a total population of approximately 11,000. The one-thousand households visited had a total population of 4,176, which is considerably over one-third of the estimated population of the entire neighborhood. Table III gives the distribution of the population according to age and sex.

TABLE III  
AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD IN COMPARISON  
WITH THAT OF CITY AS A WHOLE

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE IN EACH GROUP	
				Neighborhood	City*
Under 5.....	215	242	457	10.9	7.9
5- 9.....	216	229	445	10.6	7.4
10-14.....	216	198	414	9.9	7.4
15-19.....	152	197	349	8.4	9.1
20-24.....	158	182	340	8.1	11.1
25-34.....	318	343	661	15.9	20.6
35-44.....	253	301	554	13.3	15.5
45 and over.....	467	418	885	21.2	20.8
Unknown.....	40	31	71	1.7	0.2
Total.....	2035	2141	4176	100	100

\* U.S. Census, 1910.

A few interesting facts are revealed by this table. For instance the ratio of small children for the neighborhood is considerably higher, and the ratio of adults, in the most productive years of life, considerably lower than for the city as a whole. In this area the percentage of children under fifteen years of age is 31.4 as against 22.7 for the city as given in the 1910 Census. On the other hand, the percentage of adults in the age group 15-45 is only 45.7 for the

<sup>1</sup> *Thirteenth Census of United States*, III (1910), 399.

neighborhood in contrast to 56.3 for the city. Again the proportion of the sexes in the neighborhood is quite different from that given in the 1910 Census for the city as a whole. In the district surveyed there are but 95 males to every 100 females as against 101.5 males to every 100 females in Columbus, and 104.4 males to every 100 females for the state of Ohio.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE IV  
PLACE OF BIRTH OF WHITE ADULTS 18 YEARS AND OVER

PLACE OF BIRTH	HUSBAND	WIFE	OTHERS		TOTAL
			Male	Female	
Columbus.....	179	194	135	136	644
Elsewhere in Ohio.....	418	462	185	155	1,220
Elsewhere in U.S.....	147	157	50	51	405
Germany.....	21	19	4	1	45
Italy.....	17	15	1	2	35
Ireland.....	11	13	2	.....	26
Great Britain.....	11	7	1	4	23
Austria.....	7	7	4	1	19
Switzerland.....	4	3	.....	1	8
Roumania.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Canada.....	.....	1	1	.....	2
India.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Australia.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
France.....	1	.....	1	.....	2
Unknown.....	34	31	36	25	126
Total.....	854	909	420	376	2,559

It is quite evident that this is predominantly an American section of the city; 26.5 per cent of the adults whose place of birth is known were born in Columbus, 76.6 in Ohio, and only 6.7 per cent were born in countries other than the United States. Of those born outside of the United States only 111, or 4.5 per cent of the total population, come from non-English-speaking countries and these represent six different nationalities. With the exception of a small Italian neighborhood lying north of the subway on Rogers Avenue, there is no nucleus of foreign born in the entire district.

<sup>1</sup> These figures show that the population of the neighborhood contains more than a normal distribution of the economically weaker age and sex groups. Economic forces tend to distribute a city's population according to the relative strength of families in the competitive process.

Of our one thousand families forty-three were colored. If these were segregated in a single section of the district the number would be of minor significance as it comprises such a small percentage of the total population. But on the contrary these colored families are scattered over a large part of the neighborhood. Table V presents a list of the streets on which they dwell.

TABLE V  
LOCATION OF COLORED FAMILIES

Street	Number of Families	Street	Number of Families
Chapel.....	6	Mill.....	1
Capital.....	1	Rich.....	1
Cherry.....	2	State.....	1
Grubb.....	3	Scott.....	2
Jones.....	3	Sandusky.....	4
Lucas.....	2	Starling.....	5
McDowell.....	8	Town.....	1
McKinley.....	2	W. Broad.....	1

A glance at the map of the neighborhood (p. 487) will show that colored people are to be found on almost every street from the river as far west as Sandusky Street, and, north of Broad Street, as far west as the survey extended.

Most of the colored families have made their way into this district since the flood of 1913. Of the forty-three households reporting, only two have been in the neighborhood more than six years; thirty-two, or 74.4 per cent, have been in the neighborhood less than three years; and nineteen, or 44.2 per cent, have been in the neighborhood less than one year. Most of these colored people are recent arrivals from the south, only nine of the heads of households were born in Ohio, eight came from Virginia, six from Georgia, four from Kentucky, three from Alabama, and the remaining thirteen from various other states throughout the Union.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My reason for discussing the colored family in detail is to emphasize its significance from the standpoint of neighborhood disintegration and decline. There is probably no more valid criterion of the disappearance of neighborhood sentiment in any locality inhabited by American people than to find colored families dispersed here and there among the white families. Where any degree of neighborhood consciousness exists social pressure invariably keeps the colored family out; but in the absence of local sentiment, the advent of the negro drives the more enterprising white folk to look for new quarters.

VI. MOBILITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD<sup>1</sup>

We have already discussed the question of mobility with reference to its more general aspects from the standpoint of the city as a whole. According to our general test of mobility, namely the percentage of the 1917 electors who failed to re-register in their

TABLE VI  
HOME OWNERSHIP BY STREETS

Street	Owner	Renter	Percentage of Owners
Eastern section . . . . .	102	367	21.8
Belle . . . . .	3	19	13.6
Starling . . . . .	2	15	11.7
McDowell . . . . .	12	37	24.4
May . . . . .	3	31	8.8
Mill . . . . .	3	17	15.0
Gift . . . . .	6	35	15.3
Broad . . . . .	7	21	25.0
Capital . . . . .	0	11	00.0
State . . . . .	32	84	27.5
Chapel . . . . .	12	32	27.2
Town . . . . .	15	45	25.0
Walnut . . . . .	7	22	24.0
Western section . . . . .	138	226	38.0
Skidmore . . . . .	20	30	40.0
Grubb . . . . .	11	28	28.2
Sandusky . . . . .	18	39	31.5
Davis . . . . .	7	13	35.0
Souder . . . . .	8	9	47.0
Richard . . . . .	10	28	26.3
Martin . . . . .	14	12	53.8
Hawkes . . . . .	13	12	52.0
Avondale . . . . .	8	9	49.0
Rich . . . . .	15	35	30.0
Sullivant . . . . .	14	11	56.0
Total . . . . .	240	593	28.8

respective precincts in 1918, the eastern end of the neighborhood under consideration comprises one of the most mobile sections of the city. The two precincts which occupy the territory between the railroad tracks and the river lost almost two-thirds of their registered voters during the short period of one year. However, the neighborhood increases in stability the farther west one goes.

<sup>1</sup>The reader is referred to Map III (*Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXVII [September, 1921], 163) for a general comparison of the mobility of this neighborhood with that of other sections of the city.

The precincts lying west of the railroad tracks, with one exception, have a re-registration of electors of over 50 per cent. This sectional difference in mobility is further emphasized by the difference in the percentage of home ownership for the two divisions of the neighborhood. For instance only 21.8 per cent of the homes between Skidmore Street and the river are owned by their present occupants, as against 38.1 per cent for the region lying immediately west of Skidmore Street. Table VI indicates the varying percentages of home ownership, by streets, for the two divisions of the neighborhood.

With respect to change of residence, Table VII gives the length of time each family has lived in its present home, in the

TABLE VII  
COMPARATIVE MOBILITY OF TWO CITY NEIGHBORHOODS

YEARS	COLUMBUS						SEATTLE*			
	House		Neighborhood		City		HOUSE		Neighborhood	
	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage
0-1.....	237	23.7	146	14.6	51	5.1	897	35.9	477	23.4
1-2.....	158	15.8	99	9.9	33	3.3	447	17.9	311	15.3
2-3.....	106	10.6	88	8.8	47	4.7	269	10.8	228	11.4
3-4.....	102	10.2	89	8.9	41	4.1	155	6.2	135	6.6
4-5.....	46	4.6	40	4.0	25	2.5	86	3.4	92	4.5
5-6.....	44	4.4	46	4.6	30	3.0	92	3.7	101	4.9
6-7.....	53	5.3	52	5.2	31	3.1	75	3.1	79	3.9
7-8.....	15	1.5	28	2.8	23	2.3	78	3.1	94	4.6
8-9.....	16	1.6	28	2.8	22	2.2	73	2.9	76	3.7
9-10.....	17	1.7	17	1.7	14	1.4	45	1.8	67	3.4
10-15.....	84	8.4	104	10.4	106	10.6	200	8.0	235	11.5
15-20.....	37	3.7	82	8.2	115	11.5	53	2.1	88	4.3
20 and over	85	8.5	181	18.1	462	46.2	28	1.1	52	2.5
Totals...	1,000	100	1,000	100	1,000	100	2,498	100	2,035	100

\* The neighborhood studied comprises about a square mile lying immediately adjacent to the campus of the University of Washington. It is a neighborhood of home owners of the middle economic classes. Fraternities and lodging houses were not included in this survey. The data were collected by the local Y.M.C.A. as part of the Interchurch World Survey in the winter of 1920.

neighborhood, and in the city, and compares the result with that of a similar study made of a neighborhood in a higher economic area in the city of Seattle, Washington.

It is apparent that the mobility of both of these neighborhoods is very high indeed. However, our broken-down neighborhood in



Columbus is even less mobile than the higher economic neighborhood of Seattle. In the former 60.3 per cent of the families were occupants of their homes for less than four years, and 42.2 per cent residents of the neighborhood less than four years, while in the latter neighborhood 70.8 per cent of the families have lived less than four years in their present homes and 56.5 per cent less than four years in the neighborhood.

Although the Columbus neighborhood has a large fringe of mobile families, still it also has a considerable stable nucleus. Over 18 per cent of the one thousand families visited have been residents of the neighborhood for twenty years or more, and of these families, 8.5 per cent have lived in their present homes throughout this period. This stable group forms the backbone of the neighborhood. Practically all of these householders are home-owners, and many of them are marooned superior families who are held in the neighborhood on account of property ties.

The data for Seattle are not comparable in this respect, owing to the fact that the district surveyed is relatively new. Most of the present homes have been erected during the past fifteen years. The high mobility, however, during the last five years is not entirely due to the erection of new dwellings, inasmuch as the older settled sections of the district show almost as high a mobility as the newer streets.

Unfortunately we have no information concerning the length of time the Seattle families have been residents of the city. It is interesting to note, however, that considerably over half, 57.7 per cent, of the male heads of households in our Columbus neighborhood have been residents of the city for fifteen years or more. It is quite evident, therefore, that the changes of residence among this economic class of the Columbus population are intra-community or intra-neighborhood rather than from one community to another.<sup>1</sup>

Change of family residence, however, does not tell the whole story concerning the mobility of the population of our Columbus

<sup>1</sup> Elsa G. Herzfeld found from a study of a group of tenement-house families in New York "that the average length of residence is about a year and a half," and that many of the moves are from "house to house in the same block."—*Family Monographs* (1905), p. 48.

neighborhood. It is also necessary to take into account the number of detached or floating persons who live as boarders or lodgers in the neighborhood. Our house-to-house canvass shows that there are 417 such persons, 236 males and 181 females, scattered among 267 of the 1,000 homes visited. This floating element is to be found for the most part in the eastern end of the district where the leading factories are located. Starling Street especially, due to its proximity to the railroad and the Godman Shoe Factory, has become a center for boarding and lodging houses.

The relatively high physical mobility of the population of this neighborhood is somewhat counteracted by the lack of adequate means for communication. As was indicated elsewhere in this study mobility depends upon many factors other than the mere change of residence.<sup>1</sup> Time and means for getting about are also important considerations. Thus people living in the lower economic areas may have a high degree of mobility, so far as change of residence is concerned, and still be very much more dependent upon their neighborhood institutions than are the home-owners of the more stable and economically superior residential districts. The telephone, the automobile, and the business contacts give to the latter an independence of neighborhood organizations which the former do not possess. For this reason we have attempted to ascertain the facilities at the disposal of the people within this neighborhood for secondary means of communication.

Only 77 or 7.7 per cent of the 1,000 householders interviewed reported the ownership of an automobile.<sup>2</sup> And practically all of these machines are owned by families living on or west of Sandusky Street. In regard to the possession of telephones, 289 or 29.8 per cent of the households had this means of communication. This number of telephones may seem rather high, considering the low economic status of the neighborhood, but, as will be shown

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXVII (September, 1921), 167.

<sup>2</sup> The total number of persons in the 1,000 households was 4,176; this leaves one machine for every 56.8 inhabitants. According to the Goodrich Rubber Company report, there was, in 1919, one motor-vehicle for every 10.4 inhabitants in the state of Ohio; and one for every 14.2 inhabitants in the United States. Cf. J. Phelan, *Readings in Rural Sociology* (1920), p. 256.

later, the neighborhood is not a homogeneous economic unit. On the contrary it represents a mixture of families with respectable incomes living side by side with families who are in the utmost poverty.

If is difficult to measure the degree of dependence of this population upon its neighborhood institutions. The proximity of the region to the heart of the city makes the uptown institutions easily accessible to those with the means and desire to attend. That the different age and sex groups vary considerably in the degree to which they patronize the uptown institutions and places of amusement is shown by the facts brought to light in our study of the neighborhood churches and commercialized forms of recreation. Small children, mothers, and the older men are almost entirely dependent upon the neighborhood for their social and recreational life.

#### VII. ECONOMIC STATUS AND OCCUPATIONAL LIFE

The neighborhood surveyed falls in Wards 9 and 10; these two wards, it will be recalled, comprise the lowest economic area in the city. Ward 9, which includes the eastern end of the neighborhood, represents the lowest economic rating of all the wards in the city, having an average per-electror household-furniture appraisal, in 1917, of only \$34.11. Ward 10, in which the major part of the neighborhood is located, has the second lowest rating with an average household furniture listing of \$54.66.

Another index to the comparative economic status of different sections of a city is the average monthly rentals paid per dwelling. Unfortunately we have no data at hand to enable us to compare rentals of this neighborhood with those of other regions in the city. However, the facts revealed in Table VIII will convince the reader of the very low rental level of the territory surveyed.

Of the 656 rented homes concerning which we have information both as to rent and number of rooms, only 9, or 1.4 per cent, rent for more than \$20 per month, while 524, or 79.9 per cent, rent for \$15 or less. The average monthly rent per dwelling is \$13.90 while the average number of rooms is five.

Table IX gives a classification of the occupations of the male heads of households.

The most striking feature brought to light by this somewhat detailed enumeration of employments is the industrial character of the neighborhood. This is a region where the soft collar and duck overalls predominate. Professional and business men form but a very small percentage of the heads of households. In this respect the neighborhood differs widely from the higher economic areas of the city. This fact is demonstrated by the lists (Table X, p. 499) of occupations of heads of households taken in order from two streets in other sections of the city.

TABLE VIII  
RENTS PER MONTH IN RELATION TO SIZE OF DWELLING\*

Rents per month	No. of Households Occupying Each Specified Number of Rooms										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Under \$5.....	1	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
\$ 5-\$ 6.....	.....	2	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
\$ 6-\$ 7.....	.....	2	14	6	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	25
\$ 7-\$ 8.....	.....	.....	14	24	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44
\$ 8-\$ 9.....	.....	.....	7	19	10	4	.....	1	.....	.....	41
\$ 9-\$10.....	.....	.....	9	64	44	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	131
\$10-\$11.....	.....	.....	1	20	20	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	46
\$11-\$12.....	.....	.....	.....	21	53	24	2	.....	.....	.....	100
\$12-\$13.....	.....	.....	.....	11	18	7	.....	1	.....	.....	37
\$13-\$14.....	.....	.....	2	3	10	15	2	.....	.....	.....	32
\$14-\$15.....	.....	.....	2	21	25	2	1	1	.....	.....	52
\$15-\$16.....	.....	.....	.....	5	5	27	2	1	1	.....	41
\$16-\$17.....	.....	.....	.....	2	5	8	1	1	.....	.....	17
\$17-\$18.....	.....	.....	.....	1	8	21	3	2	.....	.....	35
\$18-\$19.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	1	.....	1	.....	7
\$19-\$20.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	14	5	2	1	.....	23
\$20 and over....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	1	2	1	1	9
Total.....	1	7	54	181	203	173	19	11	6	1	656

\* It must be kept in mind, however, that these figures represent conditions in May, 1919, before the general rise of rents in Columbus.

Although the west side neighborhood is primarily a working-man's district, still it by no means represents a uniform standard of living. Many of the heads of households, such as skilled laborers, railroad conductors, etc., belong to the higher income groups and could easily afford to live in one of the superior economic areas of the city. Proximity to work doubtless accounts for their residence here.<sup>1</sup> But on the other hand, the large number of different forms

<sup>1</sup> Fifty-two per cent of the adult male workers in our one thousand households walk to and from their work.

TABLE IX  
OCCUPATIONS OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Working for Self	No.	Working for Others— Railroads	No.
Barber.....	2	Baggage man.....	3
Blacksmith.....	3	Blacksmith.....	3
Baker.....	1	Brakeman.....	11
Butcher.....	5	Boilermaker.....	5
Carpenter.....	2	Car inspector.....	3
Contractor.....	5	Clerk.....	7
Grocer.....	4	Conductor.....	16
Junkman.....	1	Engineer.....	11
Lawyer.....	1	Expressman.....	1
Paper hanger.....	4	Fireman.....	3
Painter.....	5	Foreman.....	4
Peddler.....	2	Freight man.....	2
Plasterer.....	2	Hostler.....	2
Repair man.....	1	Laborer.....	33
Real estate.....	3	Lineman.....	2
Saloon keeper.....	4	Machinist.....	14
Small business.....	8	Night watchman.....	2
Shoemaker.....	1	Railroader.....	17
Taxi driver.....	1	Repair man.....	2
Tailor.....	1	Switchman.....	2
Tinsmith.....	2	Transfer man.....	1
		Train caller.....	1
Total.....	58	Total.....	145

Working for Others— General	No.	Working for Others— General	No.	Working for Others— General	No.
Actor.....	1	Dyer.....	1	Painter.....	9
Bartender.....	8	Electrician.....	7	Paper hanger....	3
Barber.....	4	Engineer.....	30	Penitentiaryguard	3
Boiler maker....	3	Fireman.....	11	Plumber.....	8
Blacksmith.....	3	Foreman.....	27	Policeman.....	9
Buffer.....	5	Furnace man....	5	Printer.....	1
Butcher.....	6	Hotel clerk.....	4	Shipping clerk....	7
Bookbinder.....	6	Insur. salesman..	3	Soldier.....	4
Bookkeeper.....	1	Inspector.....	4	Salesman.....	14
Bank teller.....	1	Ice man.....	12	Shoemaker.....	25
Carpenter.....	21	Janitor.....	4	St.-car motorman.	11
Clerk.....	35	Laborer.....	14	Solderer.....	3
Cabinet-maker ..	2	Lineman.....	4	Steel worker.....	21
Candy maker....	2	Laundry man....	2	Tinsmith.....	1
Cook.....	2	Lamp maker.....	1	Tailor.....	2
Collector.....	4	Meter reader....	4	Taxi driver.....	1
Cooper.....	3	Machinist.....	31	Truck driver....	30
Chauffeur.....	5	Molder.....	12	Undertaker.....	1
Chemist.....	2	Marble worker...	1	Window trimmer..	1
Decorator.....	2	Mail carrier.....	4	Retired.....	10
Detective.....	1	Mason.....	5	Unknown.....	48
Doctor.....	2	Meat packer....	6		
Druggist.....	1	Night watchman..	7	Total.....	631

of employment represented here indicate that this neighborhood is not a collectivity of workers grouped around some dominant industry such as we find in the neighborhood of the South Columbus Steel Works or in the stockyard district of Chicago.

Of the various industries represented in the neighborhood the railroads employ the largest number of the heads of households.

TABLE X

STREET A, WARD 15		STREET B, WARD 16	
Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Building contractor.....	2	Attorney.....	3
Business man.....	10	Automobile dealer.....	3
Engineer.....	3	Building contractor.....	1
Lawyer.....	1	Clerk.....	4
Manufacturer.....	1	Conductor, steam R.R....	3
Newspaper editor.....	1	Electrical engineer.....	1
Night chief of police.....	1	Manufacturer.....	2
Physician.....	2	Real estate dealer.....	1
Restaurant proprietor.....	1	Retired.....	1
Traveling salesman.....	7	Superintendent R.R.....	1
University professor.....	4	Traveling salesman.....	4
		University professor.....	1
		Wholesale merchant.....	4

TABLE XI

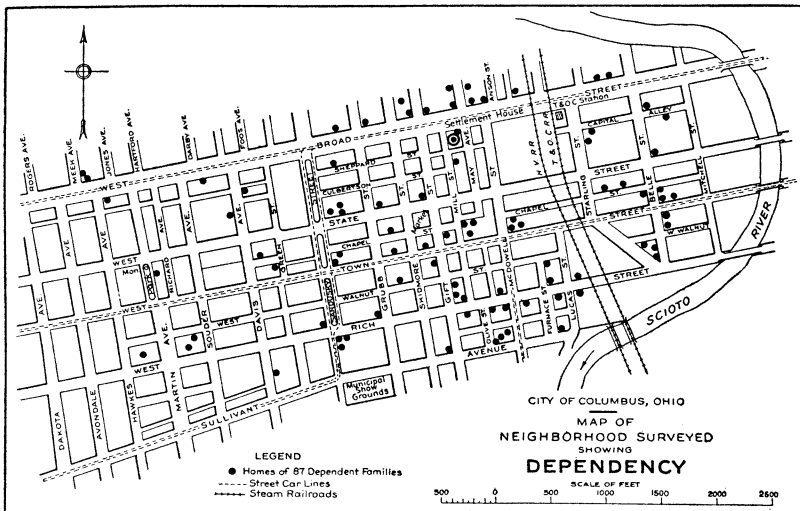
NAME OF INDUSTRY	NO. OF EMPLOYEES			PERCENTAGE RESIDENT IN NEIGHBOR- HOOD
	Total	Male	Female	
Godman Shoe Co.....	550	230	220	25.0
Crystal Ice Co.....	135	130	5	90.0
Doddington Lumber Co....	101	100	1	25.0

Our survey shows that 145 of the leading male breadwinners are engaged in some form or other of railroad employment. The Godman Shoe Factory comes second employing 30, and the Crystal Ice Company next, furnishing work to only 12 heads of households.

A survey of the main industries of the neighborhood, all of which are located in the northeastern end between the river and McDowell Street, gives the information presented in Table XI, with respect to the number of employees and the percentage of them residing within the neighborhood.

In regard to unemployment we succeeded in obtaining information concerning 865 male heads of households. Of this number 331, or 41.1 per cent, reported being off work for a period of seven days or more during the first three months of the present year (1919); and 110, or 13.6 per cent, reported being idle in this same period thirty days or more. Of the causes given for unemployment 26.7 per cent reported sickness, 35.1 per cent reported lack of work, and the remaining number, various other causes such as visiting, etc.

Our house-to-house canvass shows that 113 mothers work outside the home for remuneration. These are distributed among 25 different types of employment, day work and the shoe factory claiming the largest percentages.



MAP VII

The 87 official relief cases, the distribution of which is marked on our neighborhood map, do not give an accurate conception of the extent of poverty within the district. They merely indicate the number of families within the neighborhood who were actually obtaining relief from official sources at the time of our investigation. Had we taken the cases for a three-year period instead of one, the

spots on the map would have given the appearance of almost solid black. Of course but a small percentage of the families below the poverty line actually come to the attention of the relief agencies of the city. My personal impression is, from reading over the notes on the one thousand schedules taken, that a large percentage of the families are in economic distress.

#### VIII. THE HOME AND DOMESTIC LIFE

Over 70 per cent of the houses of this district are single or duplex dwellings. Outside of Broad and State streets there are relatively few apartment houses. The buildings, in general, are

TABLE XII  
ARTIFICIAL LIGHTING OF DWELLINGS

Means of Artificial Lighting	No. of Households Reporting	Percentage
Gas.....	794	79.4
Electricity.....	92	9.2
Oil lamps.....	99	9.9
Unknown.....	15	1.5
Total.....	1,000	100

TABLE XIII  
HOUSEHOLD CONVENIENCES

Conveniences	No. of Homes	Percentage
Bath.....	407	40.7
Ice box.....	716	71.6
Toilet in house.....	435	43.5

placed close up to the streets leaving no room in front for lawns or grass. The blocks are laid out in such a way that there are few lanes or alleys, and most of the buildings on Broad Street have their entrances facing the side streets. The several alleys of the neighborhood, Capital, Chapel, etc., are dignified by the appellation "streets" and are used as such, having dwellings on both sides, although not more than thirty feet wide.

As one might expect, considering the low rentals charged, the houses of this district are, for the most part, obsolete. Tables XII and XIII give the results of our house-to-house canvass in this regard.



In regard to lighting it is interesting to note that there are more households using coal-oil lamps than there are using electricity. Gas, however, is the predominant method of lighting; almost 80 per cent of the dwellings use no other means of artificial illumination. Further, it will be observed that over 50 per cent of the homes are without baths or inside toilets. The absence of the ice box<sup>1</sup> in 29 per cent of the homes is also a point of significance for the public health authorities.

Table XIV shows the number of rooms per dwelling in relation to the number of occupants.

TABLE XIV  
ROOMS PER DWELLING IN RELATION TO SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

No. of Persons in Household	No. Using Specified Number of Rooms												Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Unknown	
1.....	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	....	1	....	5	21
2.....	3	27	53	63	38	7	7	3	1	....	10	212	
3.....	1	11	42	70	44	18	10	....	....	1	6	203	
4.....	....	7	39	42	52	10	13	5	1	1	1	171	
5.....	....	9	34	46	47	9	8	2	2	....	1	158	
6.....	....	2	3	16	31	27	4	6	3	3	....	95	
7.....	....	1	16	24	30	8	7	3	....	....	....	89	
8.....	....	2	3	5	11	3	2	1	1	....	....	28	
9.....	....	....	....	2	5	3	....	....	1	....	....	11	
10.....	....	....	....	1	....	2	....	1	....	1	....	5	
11.....	....	....	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	2	
12.....	....	....	....	....	1	3	....	....	....	1	....	5	
Total..	2	9	62	209	290	259	60	55	17	11	3	23	1,000

Unlike most industrial regions in large cities this neighborhood shows, at the date of survey, very little overcrowding in housing conditions. Of the households concerning which we have complete information, the average number of persons per room is 1.3. A significant fact brought out in the table is the large number of households of three or less members occupying dwellings of five rooms or more. There are 268 of these. But on the other hand 52 families, comprising 397 persons, are living in dwellings having less than two rooms for every three persons, which, according to housing standards, implies overcrowded conditions. And, as might be

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting observation that the question in the schedule concerning the presence or absence of the ice box was the only one which consistently gave offense.

surmised, these dwellings are, for the most part, located along the alleys in the eastern section of the neighborhood.

Of the one thousand families visited 295 reported owning their own homes. In other words about 29 per cent of the homes of the entire district are occupied by their present owners. Unfortunately we do not possess the facts in regard to home-ownership for the city as a whole, consequently we cannot compare this neighborhood with other sections of the city. The percentage of home-ownership found here, however, is considerably higher than that of many of the big cities of the country where the apartment house abounds. For instance in Baltimore the ratio of home-ownership is 27.9 per cent, in Chicago 25.1 per cent, in Boston, 18.9, in New York 12.1, and in the crowded boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx only 5.9 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

Although kinship does not any longer play the rôle that it once did in the organization of local life, nevertheless, it is still a factor in neighborhood selection within the city. Of the 1,000 households studied, 646 reported having one or more related families residing within the city of Columbus, and 476 households claimed kinship to one or more families living within the confines of the immediate neighborhood. These facts indicate that the bond of kinship continues to influence the territorial groupings of people within the city. This is especially true with respect to the lower economic areas. Mutual aid has almost ceased to be a factor in the fragmentary and casual relations between neighbors in the city environment. What direct co-operation remains, outside of the purposive organizations such as the trade unions and fraternal societies, is confined to the members of the family or kinship group.<sup>2</sup> This fact may partially explain the relatively high

<sup>1</sup> Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that this statement does not correspond with the usual findings of social workers concerning the extent of mutual aid among tenement families. For instance Dr. Devine is quoted as saying "It is a question whether the unmeasured but certainly large amount of neighborly assistance given in the tenement houses of the city, precisely as in a New England village or in a frontier settlement, does not rank first of all among the means for the alleviation of the distressed."—Rev. John A. Ryan, Commencement Address to a graduating class in New York School of Social Work, 1920. For similar findings compare Elsa G. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

percentage of kinship found in this comparatively low economic region of the city. A very small percentage of the heads of households belong to the trade unions or voluntary societies of any sort, consequently there is greater need for reliance upon relatives in times of need.

The family group is now taken by welfare organizations as the unit for case-work. It is therefore important to know the salient facts about the family life of any region where social reconstruction is contemplated.

TABLE XV  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

AGE IN YEARS	PERCENTAGE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH AGE GROUP	
	Neighborhood	Columbus
Under 25 years.....	3.9	6.2
25-44.....	50.8	57.2
45 and over.....	45.3	36.6

As was indicated by Table III (p. 489 of this article), and is further brought out here, the age distribution of the population within the neighborhood differs considerably from that of the city as a whole. The neighborhood has a distinctly lower percentage of people in the prime of life, and a considerably higher ratio of children and people over forty-five years of age. This condition is partially explained by the fact that a number of young men were still in military service when the survey was made. It may also be true, however, that during the more productive years of life many people are able to afford residence in the more desirable sections of the city, but, as their productive capacity declines with age, they are forced to retire to the lower rental areas.

*Children per family.*—Table XVI indicates the number of children per family under eighteen years of age residing at home at the time the survey was made.

Among our families, however, there was little evidence to show that mutual aid extended beyond the kinship group. There were of course occasional spots in the district where neighbors exchanged services but such cases seemed to be exceptional.

This table shows that about 25 per cent of the families reporting are without children living at home; that the average number of children per family is only 1.9, which of course is very low. The average is brought down, however, by the high percentage of households having no children at all. On the other hand there are 106 households where there are five or more children living at home. These large families are found, as a rule, in the broken-down streets and alleys of the neighborhood.

TABLE XVI  
CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD, 18 YEARS AND UNDER

CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING EACH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN	
	No.	Percentage
None.....	249	24.9
1.....	219	21.9
2.....	192	19.2
3.....	138	13.8
4.....	96	9.6
5.....	76	7.6
6.....	13	1.3
7.....	8	.8
8.....	4	.4
9.....	2	.2
10.....	3	.3
Total.....	1,000	100

*The broken family.*—By the “broken family” we mean family groups where either or both parents, for some reason or other, are absent from home. Unfortunately, owing to the delicate nature of family problems, it was impossible to ascertain whether the parent’s absence was due to death, divorce, desertion, or some other cause. Temporary absence, however, is not recorded in Table XVII.

It will be observed from this table that 15.6 per cent of the households may, according to our definition, be classified as broken families. Twenty-six households are listed as non-family groups; these comprise groups of non-relatives or at least distant relatives, living together in household association.

*The unwholesome family.*—As we have already indicated,<sup>1</sup> every normal individual possesses four general types of desires, namely, the desire for safety or security, the desire for recognition or social status, the desire for new experiences or stimulations, and the desire for mastery or power. If any one of these general desires is not getting adequate expression in the social environment the individual or group concerned tends to show signs of restlessness and discontentment, which may finally end in disorderliness or some other form of emotional disturbance. Whenever we find such dissatisfaction and maldirection of attention on the part of members of a

TABLE XVII  
PARENTAL STATUS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Parental Status	No. of Households Reporting	Percentage
Both parents . . . . .	818	81.8
One parent—father . . . . .	20	2.0
One parent—mother . . . . .	120	12.0
Neither parent present . . . . .	16	1.6
Non-family groups . . . . .	26	2.6
Total . . . . .	1,000	100

family group, we call that group an “unwholesome family.” Such families may not come under the supervision of any organized social agency; nor is it necessary that they be in adverse economic conditions to show signs of degeneracy and social unwholesomeness. Slums have been characterized as “areas of lost souls and missions,”<sup>2</sup> areas where individuals and family groups are living in enforced intimacy with people whom they naturally shun and avoid; areas where there are no standards of decency or social conduct except those imposed by outside authority. In such an environment the individual has no status, there is no representative citizen, the human desires for recognition and security remain unsatisfied.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXVII (September, 1921), 160.

<sup>2</sup> From a mimeographed circular issued by Division of Immigrant Heritages, Americanization Bureau, New York, January, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Lee, referring to the disorganizing influence of the slum environment, writes (*Play in Education* [1919], p. 382): “The danger, often realized, is that the city dweller may have no neighbors, or at least no neighborhood—no group of any

There are many instances of unwholesome families to be found within this neighborhood; let us give a few typical examples.

Case A: This is a family composed of husband, wife, and four small children. They live in a four-roomed dwelling for which they pay \$10 per month. The home contains none of the modern conveniences such as bath, ice box, or toilet facilities. It is also bereft of musical instruments of any sort, books, or magazines. The family does not even take a daily paper. The husband is a day laborer and during the early part of the year was off work on account of illness for four weeks. According to its own report the family occasionally attends the street mission but none of its members belong to any outside social group. In the informant's language, "We never visit no one." The visitor makes the note, "The little girl, E, has never gone to school although she is nine years of age and apparently bright."

Case B: This family is composed at present of just father and mother, the children are all grown up and away. The couple live in about the same conditions as family A. The home is devoid of conveniences and cultural marks of any description. The husband drinks. He visits saloons and his wife does fancy work all day. They are not on friendly terms with their neighbors who say, "They swear and drink too much." The old lady says, however, "They are jealous of us, they throw bricks at our windows; it's a rough district." Investigator's note: "The wife wears a huge sunbonnet, has a frightened, piping voice, crochets, tats, and does fancy work continuously; she has four yelping dogs and three cats penned up in the kitchen, evidently to protect her; she is a regular story-book type of woman."

Case C: In this family there are husband, wife, and four children, the eldest of whom is but eleven years of age. The family lives in a five-roomed frame dwelling which is obsolete in every respect. They have been in the neighborhood five years and in the city six. The wife and children occasionally attend the Church of Christ but, outside of this, they have no form of social life. The wife dislikes

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sort in which he feels a membership—no immediate social atmosphere, no standard which holds him up and which he feels it his business to uphold. He easily becomes the man without a neighbor almost as maimed as the man without a country or the man without a home."

the neighborhood because, "There are too many niggers and dogs." With regard to her neighbors she remarks, "We leave each other alone." Investigator's note: "The woman told me that she lacked but one month of graduating from a southern Presbyterian college when she married. She seems satisfied with the slum life but told me how awfully poor they are; they can't even afford an evening paper."

Case D: This family has seven members, father, mother, and five children the eldest of whom is about eighteen. The family has been in the neighborhood just six months, having moved there from a country district. So far, it has not found itself in its new environment. The only recreational or social life reported by the family is an occasional attendance at the motion-picture show. The family has lost social status since coming to the city and is in a position to become disorganized. The mother said to the investigator, "We used to keep up in society, but just can't any more, my son could dance like they danced in the country but of course town dancing is more like society." They do not like the neighbors round about them because "they fight and beat each other."

These are but a few cases selected at random from a large number of a similar sort. They represent what we call "unwholesome families," that is to say, some of the dominant attitudes and values which are necessary to make life wholesome and thriving are missing. It should be part of the duty of the neighborhood social worker to get acquainted with all such families under his jurisdiction and help them to help themselves by discovering their wants and needs and then linking them up with the organization or social group with which the respective members most closely identify their personalities, thereby arousing a new interest and motive for living.

*The marooned family.*—It is quite as important for the social worker in a broken-down neighborhood to know his sources of aid as to be familiar with the pathological conditions with which he has to deal. For this reason we wish to call attention to the fact that there are many families in all parts of this neighborhood who are as competent and as intelligent citizens as are to be found in any other section of the city. Many of these families are long-

time residents of this neighborhood, who on account of home-ownership or other local attachments have been compelled to remain here long after the surrounding area has become disintegrated and broken down. Such families usually have a desire to help rehabilitate their surroundings, but, realizing their individual helplessness, despair of any accomplishment. A few become rancorous and soured toward the region of their habitation and hold themselves aloof from any form of contact with the people round about. Their interests and associations are in other sections of the community, consequently they feel no dependence whatever upon their neighborhood institutions and have no interest in their welfare. The two following cases are typical examples of "marooned families."

Case A: This family consists of father, mother, and three grownup children. They own their home and have been living in the neighborhood for the past fifteen years. The father is an engineer, the daughter a stenographer, and one of the sons is a student at the university. The family is living in a section of the neighborhood that has fallen to pieces during the last few years. The mother informed the investigator: "This is a horrible place to live in but we can't leave on account of our property." Investigator's note: "This is a high type of family, not to be compared with the people round about."

Case B: This family is living in the eastern section of the neighborhood. They have been in their present home for thirty-nine years. The family is composed of a widowed mother, sixty years of age, and three grownup children, two sons and a daughter. The older boy is an automobile salesman, the younger one had not returned from the army on the date of visit. All members of the family belong to the Catholic church which they report attending regularly. They have a phone, piano, and over one hundred books in their library. The family is anxious to sell their home and get out of the neighborhood. They consider the people living round about as "nothing but trash." Investigator's note: "This is a nice old lady; she considers the neighborhood run down and refuses to have anything to do with the families around her except the K's."

[*To be continued*]