

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN KNOXVILLE.

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THESIS

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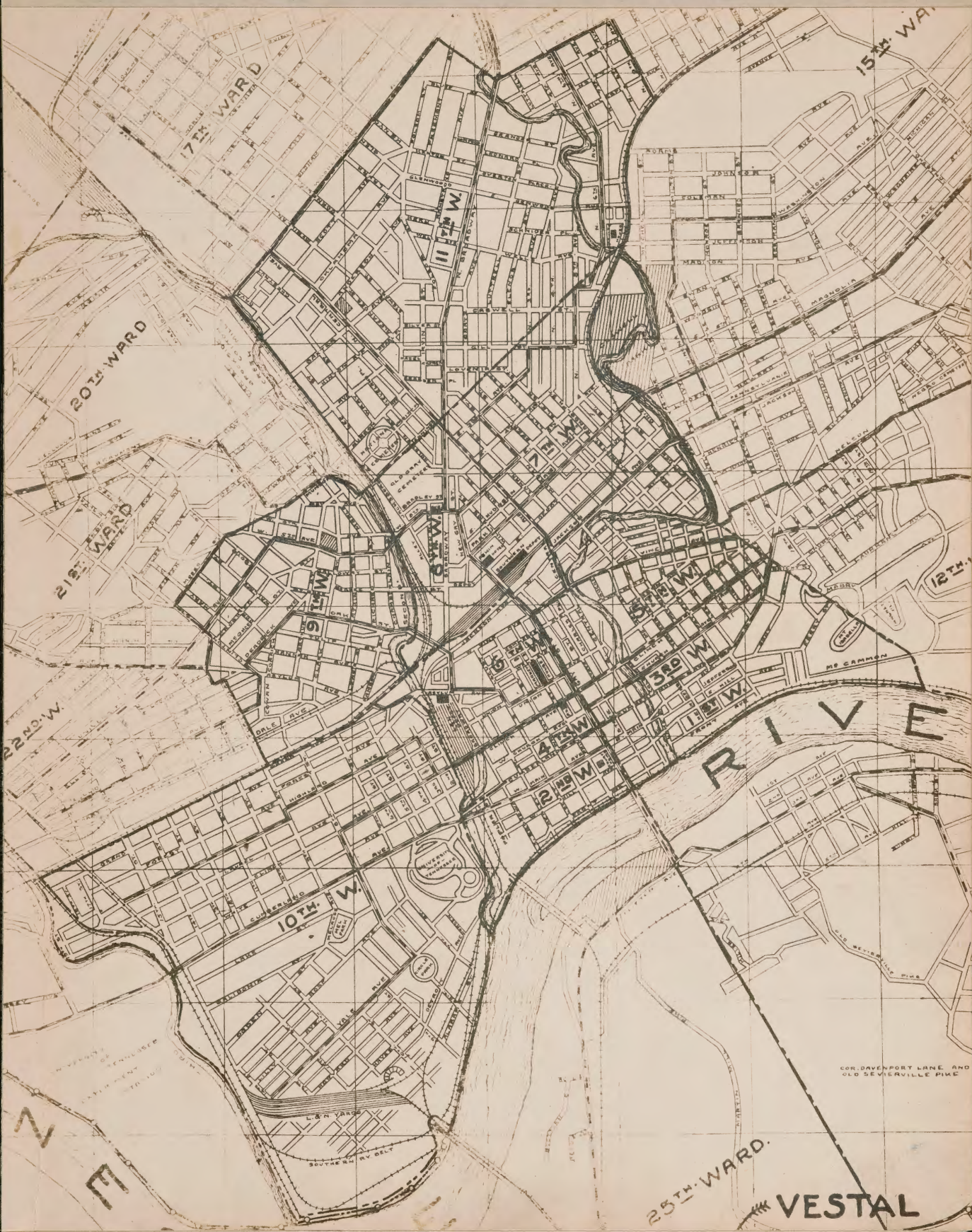
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and with cellar tenements."

Knoxville as a city has a real housing problem, although the various aspects of this problem are not the same as those found in larger cities. Knoxville has only one or two buildings where actual tenement conditions exist. It has no buildings of five or six stories, the different apartments of which are let to families and in turn sub-let to boarders. It has no "sweat-shop" industries conducted in the home under conditions injurious to health and morals with the aid of the entire family, including - in violation of the spirit of the child labor laws - the very young children. It has practically no rooms which are dark and unventilated because of the lack of windows. Its houses are not hemmed in on all sides by exceedingly tall buildings which exclude light as well as air. Finally, it does not have to contend with the very serious problem of immigrants with their low standard of living. In Knoxville there are just the two races to be considered, the whites and the negroes.

A detailed and so far as possible accurate survey of the sections of the city inhabited by negroes and wage-earning whites, which was made by students of the University of Tennessee in 1916 and 1918, shows that the main problems are those of overcrowding, sewer connection, water connection and garbage disposal. The investigation of 1916 was made before the days of the Greater Knoxville, at a time when the

OLD CITY BOUNDARY LINES - FIRST ELEVEN WARDS.



entire city was contained in the first eleven wards. The accompanying maps of the city, the first eleven wards being accentuated, show that the present city with its twenty-six wards is larger than before the incorporation of outlying territory.

While Knoxville has no large tenement buildings which are rented to families who in turn sub-let space to boarders, it presents a serious problem of overcrowding which is increased, first, by the practice of taking boarders in small homes, and second, by the habit of setting aside a "space room" when the family accommodations are already too scanty for health.

A problem of bad ventilation is created not, as in large northern cities, by faulty building construction but by faulty human habits. The windows are built in the houses but the families often consider it a useless expenditure of energy to open them.

Part of the families visited lived inside and part outside the old city boundary lines. The study reveals a much larger lack of sewage connections, of water connection and of garbage and ash disposal in the districts formerly outside the city although that part of the investigation made in 1918 showed considerable improvement of conditions in some of these outlying sections since their annexation by the city.

The districts covered by this investigation have been divided into five large areas for convenience and for

the purpose of contrasting graphically conditions in different parts of the city. Three of the sections are occupied by whites and have been designated as the Northwest District, the Central District, and the Brookside District; the other two sections are occupied by negroes and have been termed the East Central District and the North Knoxville District.

A general description of conditions in the five districts forms an interesting addition to the colder and less human percentages which have been deducted from the tabulation of the individual schedules. Among the streets contained in the Northwest District for the whites may be mentioned Back Alley, Clyde Street, Cowan Street, Cureton Alley, Dale Avenue, Euclid Avenue, Fort Sanders Street, Grand Avenue, Elliott St. Hart Avenue, Logan Street, Unaka Street, Windland Alley, Woodbury Street, and a small portion of Eighth Avenue.

The Northwest District is essentially a mill section, many of its inhabitants depending for their living on the large mills, especially the Appalachian Knitting Mills, the Knoxville Knitting Mills, the Sanford-Day Iron Works and the William J. Oliver plant, which are located along the railroad tracks in this section. The presence of these large mills has naturally meant that this would be an industrial center as the employees wish to live near their work. The houses have been built as the demand for them has increased. They are poorly constructed in most instances, but there are exceptions to this general rule and fairly comfortable dwell-

DWELLINGS ON JACKSON AVENUE&



ings are found farther north toward Euclid Avenue and beyond.

The Central District for whites contains a part of Central Street, Coleman Street, East Cumberland Avenue, what was formerly Green Row, Sheridan Row, Mill Street, East Main Avenue, Mineral Street Peanut Alley, a part of the lower State Street, and Lane Street. Poverty, filth and squalor characterize this district in many sections. It is not essentially a mill district but seems to be the residence section for poor whites of unassorted varieties of occupations. Conditions have been somewhat improved through the good influence of the Hunter Settlement House which has operated in this neighborhood for a number of years. The officials and workers connected with the Hunter Settlement House have untiringly preached the gospel of housing betterment and their sermons on the necessity for cleanliness are having some effect.

Green Row and Sheridan Row were mentioned in the list of streets given above, and it was here that some of the most unspeakable conditions in the city existed at one time. The accompanying diagram will give some idea of the location of the houses on the two Rows:

Attached to one of the schedules for Green Row was the following comment made by the student who collected the information.

"Fifteen houses, twelve in Green Row, and three on an adjacent street, use the same hydrant at the end of the street next to Mill Street. These fifteen houses, with five

others, use sixteen toilets built together on the creek at the end of the Row. Half of these toilets are without doors. Some of the others are locked and used by only one family. Conditions are horrible."

On a similar street, Sheridan Row, all of the families secured water from a spring. This spring was situated only a short distance from the row of toilets mentioned in the last paragraph. Its water were said to be polluted at all times and it had been condemned by the city. Moreover, the spring was situated only a few feet from the edge of Second Creek. This Creek has always been regarded by the people of Knoxville as a convenience placed by nature for the disposal of garbage, slop and refuse of all kinds. It is an open sewer and a breeding place for a wide variety of germs. After a heavy rainfall the water from the creek flowed into this spring discoloring and seriously contaminating it.

The houses in these two rows have now been razed for the purpose of making a playground for the children of this section of the city. The playground has not yet been completed, but one deed that will rebound to the credit of the city is the destruction of these buildings which were a menace not only to the inhabitants but also to the entire neighborhood.

While these two rows have disappeared, other streets having conditions but little better still exist in this section. One of these is Mill Street, adjacent to

THE UNSAVORY MILL ST. SECTION-
TWO BLOCKS FROM GAY ST.



Green Row, of which the following note appended to one of the schedules will give some idea: "At 20 Mill street, two people, one woman and a female roomer, live in one basement". The schedule gives no information as to where the roomer sleeps, but says that the woman who lets the "apartment" has a bed on the floor which is shared by her with the household dog. According to the schedule they seem to alternate their naps on this pallet.

The schedules for Lane Street, also in this district, show that conditions even more unbelievable exist along its entire length. The schedules for Lane Street are not included in the tables presented in this study on account of the fact that the detailed information which they contained was too meager to use. While lacking in data for actual statistics they abounded with comments on the general living conditions. Excerpts show the following facts:

At 912 Lane Street a family of four persons lived in a basement room of a two-story house. The schedule said that negroes lived in the upper story and that a white family, which had been unable to secure the first floor, had taken rooms in the basement. All four of them slept in one room and in one bed. The same room was used for cooking and eating, and of course for general living purposes. From the schedule one infers that there was a serious lack of light and ventilation. The shades of the three windows were kept down, and all of the windows were tightly closed, the explanation being

that they had never tried to open them. The door opened directly into the street which seemed to be their sewer as they throw all their waste water there. An outside privy completed the family living conveniences.

At 914 Lane Street a colored person lived in the same house with a family of whites and used the same toilet.

At 915 Lane Street, a fifteen year old girl and her illegitimate baby lived in the basement. The other occupants of the house were a woman of sixty-five and one male boarder, unmarried.

At 920 Lane Street there was friendly intercourse between the whites living on the first floor and the negroes on the second floor of the same house. This house was supplied with running water, but there was not a sink in any house on that side of the street. They poured the water in the yard so that it ran to the street. In the summer it became stagnant and was said to be malodorous and a breeding place for insects. The family did not keep the windows open, saying they were afraid to do so.

At 924 Lane Street there were seven in the family, the head of the household being feeble-minded. There were unmarried girls of eighteen, fourteen and twelve. The family kept boarders, one of whom was a man of nineteen and unmarried. The schedule reads that this place was distinguished for its immorality, but failed to give adequate data concerning the

ONE OF THE BETTER SECTIONS OF THE
BROOKSIDE DISTRICT.



sleeping arrangements for the family and the boarders. All these people lived up stairs in three rooms while the down stairs was occupied by another family consisting of a widow and her two children.

In the Brookside District the living conditions are not so flagrantly appalling, but are at least primitive in many instances. The homes in one part of this section are in the vicinity of a creek whose waters have suffered a discoloration and have acquired a very disagreeable odor from the acids and refuse of a tanning factory. In summer this creek and the swamp which surrounds it create conditions which are quite unwholesome. In the Brookside District are such streets as West Baxter Avenue, Lee Avenue, Davana Street, Maple Street, Pawpaw Alley, King Street, Link Street, LeRoy Street, Marion Street, Mercer Street, Teddy's Alley, Munson Street, and Virginia Street. The great majority of the people living in this section are employed at the Brookside Mills which, according to the superintendent, have over 1300 operatives.

One of the two negro sections in the East Central District which includes Brigham Street, Campbell Street, East Church Avenue, Condon street, Drew Alley, Georgia Street, Jackson Avenue, Kentucky Street, King's Alley, Lithgo Street, Owen Street, Payne Street, Patton Street, New Alley, Patterson Street, Paddleford Street, Temperance Street, East Vine Avenue, Water Avenue, Welker Avenue, Mee Street and Willow Street.

This section is the most desirable for the colored aristocracy of the city. To reside in this district shortens immeasurably the climb up the ladder to social prominence. But there are bad housing conditions in some parts of the district, particularly along the banks of Second Creek. On a few of the principal streets, however, the houses are in good condition, well repaired, and the inhabitants seem to have some idea of proper sanitation.

The North Knoxville District contains Wallace Street, University Avenue, McGhee Street, Mary Street, Crooked Alley, Boyd Street, Clinton Street, Brandau Avenue (now Lucky Street) Elmer Avenue, Exeter Avenue, and Karnes Alley. This district is more or less dominated by the influence of Knoxville College, and is a good respectable district. Many of the houses are small, some are shanties, but the majority of them are comfortable dwellings in a fairly good condition of repair.

A CITY OF HOMES.

Knoxville is essentially a city of homes. The classes of people considered in this survey have an intense love for home life and will almost invariably be found living in a house that they can call home, even though they may have only one or two rooms, and seven of the family may sleep in one room. Boarding houses among this class are scarce.

Most of the houses may be termed "shacks". They are typically two or three room affairs, built low on the ground, sometimes raised on brick stilts, and sometimes resting flat on the ground, dingy, unpainted, and thoroughly unprepossessing affairs.

The tables show that for both whites and negroes the one story type of building predominates. For the three white and two negro districts the figures are as follows:

Table I.

Number of stories to the House.

Whites.

Northwest District.

Stories	Houses	Percentages.
1 story	141	92
2 story	<u>93</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	154	100

Central District.

1 story	49	70
2 story	<u>21</u>	<u>30</u>
Total	70	100

Brookside District	Houses	Percentages.
1 story	140	95
2 story	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	147	100

	Negroes.	
East Central District	Houses	Percentages.
1 story	329	81
2 story	<u>78</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	407	100

North Knoxville District.		
1 story	140	85.3
2 story	22	13.4
3 story	<u>2</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total	164	100

Total for Whites in Three Districts.

Stories	Houses	Percentages.
1 story	330	89
2 story	<u>41</u>	<u>11</u>
	371	100

Total for Negroes in Two Districts.

1 story	469	82.14
2 story	100	17.51
3 story	<u>2</u>	<u>.35</u>
	571	100.

The negroes have a greater percentage of two story houses than the whites. This is due in great measure to the fact that such a large proportion of them live in the East Central District, a section formerly occupied by white families who had built more comfortable and adequate dwelling places than had been the custom among the negroes. Only two three story houses were found, and they were located among the negroes in the North Knoxville District.

While the negroes have, on the whole, a larger proportion of two story houses than the white wage earners, yet of the five sections of the city covered by this study, the one having the greatest percentage of two story houses is the Central District for poor whites. As in the corresponding Central District for negroes the now dilapidated houses in this part of the city were once the dwelling places of prosperous citizens. The high percentage of two story houses in the Central District is offset in the total for all white districts by the preponderance of one story houses for whites in the suburbs of the city. As new industrial plants have

GULLY ROW IN THE BROOKSIDE DISTRICT.



been built in these districts poorly constructed shacks have been erected for the employees who wish to save car fare by living near their work.

This brings us to a consideration of the number of rooms occupied by each family:

Table II.

Average Number Rooms per Family.

Whites.

Northwest District.

Rooms	Families	Percentages.
1 Room	0	0
2 rooms	2	4.57
3 rooms	52	32.5
4 rooms	76	49.4
5 rooms	13	8.44
6 rooms and over	<u>8</u>	<u>5.92</u>
Total	154	100

Central District.

Rooms	Families	Percentages.
1 room	3	4.
2 rooms	16	29.
3 rooms	21	30.

4 rooms	23	33.
5 rooms and over	<u>1</u>	<u>1.</u>
	70	100.

Brookside District.

1 Room	0	0
2 rooms	4	3.
3 rooms	78	53.
4 rooms	45	31.
5 rooms	12	8.
6 rooms	<u>8</u>	<u>5.</u>
Total	147	100.

Negroes.

East Central District.

2 rooms	33	8.
3 rooms	119	29
4 rooms	115	28
5 rooms	76	19
6 rooms and over	<u>68</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	407	100

North Knoxville District.

2 rooms	5	3
3 rooms	60	37
4 rooms	51	31
5 rooms	17	10
6 rooms and over	<u>31</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	164	100

The form as shown by these two tables is the three and four room house. The negroes have larger homes than the whites. Seven per cent. of the whites as compared with five per cent. of the negroes live in only one or two rooms. On the other hand, thirty-five per cent. of the negroes, as compared with eleven per cent. of the whites occupy more than five rooms. Not a single white family occupied seven or more rooms, while twenty-nine negro families or five per cent. of the total had homes of this size. The negroes in the East Central or down town district have a slightly larger percentage of homes with five or more rooms than those in the outlying northern section. On the other hand, while thirty per cent. of the white families in the down town or Central District live in two story houses, only one per cent. occupy five or more rooms.

In other words, several white families are now packed into the old mansions originally built for one. The

GULLY ROW. KNOXVILLE GENERAL HOSPITAL
IN BACKGROUND.



result is a smaller home for each family than in the two suburban white sections, where notwithstanding the prevalence of small one story houses, five to six per cent. of the families have five or more rooms. The final result is not only great overcrowding in the Central District for whites but also, since the buildings are wholly unfitted for occupancy by several families, lack of privacy and inadequate water and toilet facilities.

ROOM CONGESTION.

Local congestion is confined almost solely to room overcrowding rather than to land overcrowding. In other words the families are too large for the houses, rather than the houses being too large for the lots on which they are built. In examining over 1000 schedules record of only one house was found which covered the entire lot. In certain sections the houses are built closely together, while in others they are scattered widely and irregularly over a block as if planted by some inefficient gardener.

Land overcrowding is naturally greatest in the down town sections - the East Central District for negroes, and the Central and Northwest District for whites, where land is more valuable. But even in these sections there are no really alarming conditions. Little or no cutting off of light

and air by building houses too close together has resulted.

The problem of room overcrowding in Knoxville is, on the other hand, a serious one. The Model Law for Housing Betterment prepared in 1914 by Lawrence Veiller, Secretary of the National Housing Association, states that "the health officer may order the number of persons living or sleeping in one room to be so reduced that there shall not be less than 600 cubic feet of air to each adult and 400 to each child under twelve." The estimated average size of the room visited in this Knoxville survey was about ten by ten by eight feet, or 800 cubic feet of air space.

Rooms containing two or more people would have, therefore, less air per person than the amount prescribed by Veiller in his Model Law and, in studying the figures in the following table, are to be considered as overcrowded.

Table III.

Average Number persons per room.

Whites.

Person in each Room	Families.	Percentages.
Less than 1	89	24
1 and less than 2	210	56.6
2 and less than 3	65	17.52
3 and less than 4	<u>7</u>	<u>1.88</u>
Total	371	100.

Negroes.

Less than 1	284	50
1 and less than 2	247	43.2
2 and less than 3	35	6.
3 and less than 4	4	.7
4 and over	<u>1</u>	<u>.1</u>
Total	571	100

The tables for the whites show that 19.4 per cent. live in homes where there are more than two persons per room, as against 6.8 per cent. of overcrowding for the negroes. The overcrowding is actually worse than this table would indicate, however, because of the tendency of the whole family to congregate in the kitchen and conduct there most of its activities including washing, ironing, cooking, eating, and the general social life of the household.

The overcrowding is greater in the evening when all the members of the family have returned from work and gravitate to one small poorly ventilated living room. This overcrowding of the living room is not only unhealthful but causes the young women to subject themselves to grave moral dangers. Often young girls do not care to entertain their callers in a room already occupied by other members of the family. The young men also get to the point where they do not care to have the whole family from a reception committee

IN LONSDALE. ACROSS FROM UNIVERSITY
AVENUE SCHOOL.



for their benefit. So the men take the girls to the "movies" or to entertainments more questionable in character. The girls make appointments to meet their "steadies", or even casual acquaintances, on the street corners or other trysting places.

The overcrowding is also great, as the following table shows, when the family retires for the night to their bed rooms or to their one bed room.

Table IV.

Average Number per Sleeping Room.

Whites.

Persons in each sleeping room.	Families	Percentages.
Less than 1.	4	1
1 and less than 2	176	47
2 and less than 3	62	17
3 and less than 4	75	20
4 and over	<u>54</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	371	100

Negroes.

Less than 1	21	4
2 and less than 3	66	11
1 and less than 2	383	67

3 and less than 4	76	13
4 and over	21	4
No information	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	571	100

The average number of persons per sleeping room is naturally greater than the average for each room of the house; but the difference is unduly large for these families. Thus the number of families sleeping with three or more persons in a bed room is nineteen times for the whites and twenty-two times for the blacks and number of families averaging three or more persons for each room of the house. The above figures indicate that the excess of night-time over day-time overcrowding is greater for the negroes than the whites. Nevertheless the negroes are much less overcrowded in their sleeping rooms than the whites. For example thirty-five per cent. of the white families as compared with seventeen per cent. of the negroes, average three or more persons per sleeping room, and fifteen per cent. of the whites in contrast to thirty-six per cent. of the blacks, average four or more persons per sleeping room.

The bed-room overcrowding is augmented by the habit of keeping spare bed rooms. The extent of this custom is shown by the following table which gives the percentage of occupied and unoccupied bed rooms for whites and blacks:

Table V.

Whites.

Bed Rooms	Families	Percentages.
Occupied bed rooms	668	87
Unoccupied bed rooms	<u>102</u>	<u>13</u>
Total	770	100

Occupancy of Bed Rooms.

Negroes.

Occupied bed rooms	1075	89
Unoccupied bed rooms	<u>131</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	1206	100

The spare bed room problem is acute, as can be seen from the foregoing table. Many families seem to think that it is much more "genteel" to maintain one, and sometimes two, spare bed rooms and in their efforts to conform to this standard of gentility, crowd the entire family at night into one small, poorly ventilated room.

The maintenance of a spare bed room has often been considered a habit peculiar to the negro race. This perconception is exploded for Knoxville, however, by the above

TYPICAL HOMES IN DALE AVENUE DISTRICT.



table which shows that this habit is slightly more prevalent among the whites than among the negroes.

A flagrant instance of the love of space bed rooms was found in a family of seven negroes who lived in a five room house containing three bed rooms, but slept in one room so that the other two might be reserved for "company".

A corresponding example among the whites was found which contained a white family of seven members. Three rooms had been set aside for sleeping purposes, and if all of them had been used there would not have been any overcrowding. Two of the bed rooms, however, were kept in their pristine freshness for "company" while all seven of the family slept in the one remaining room. Moreover one of the seven was a consumptive, and the windows were not kept open at night except in summer. Another family of six members slept in one room rather than desecrate the guest room, and did not keep the windows open for fear of burglars.

The increase in overcrowding at night resulting from the custom of keeping a spare bed room is shown in the following table which eliminates the unoccupied room and gives the number of people in the sleeping rooms actually occupied.

Table IV.

Distribution of People in Bed Rooms.

Rooms occupied by	Whites. Families.	Percentages.
1 person	106	16

2 persons	269	40
3 "	143	21
4 "	86	13
5 "	39	6
6 "	17	3
8 "	1	.1
No information	<u>2</u>	<u>.3</u>
Total	668	100.00

Negroes

Rooms Occupied By	Number of Families	Percentages.
2 persons	492	46
1 "	281	26
3 "	156	15
4 "	57	5
5 "	15	1.5
6 "	1	.1
7 "	2	.2
8 "	2	.2
No information	<u>65</u>	<u>6.</u>
Total	1075	100.00

ONE OF THE BETTER STREETS OF THE
DALE AVENUE DISTRICT.



These figures giving the number of persons actually occupying each sleeping room show that the overcrowding at night is greater than is indicated in Table IV. Twenty per cent. of the sleeping rooms for negroes and 43.7 per cent. of those for the whites contained three or more persons. In three instances there were eight people in the sleeping room.

The negroes have less bed-room overcrowding than the whites as shown in the preceding tables either because the average number of bed rooms to each family is larger or because the size of the negro family is smaller. The following table gives the number of bed rooms to each family for whites and blacks:

Table VII.

Number of Bed Rooms.

Whites.		
No. of Rooms	Families.	Percentages.
1 room	74	9.6
2 "	430	55.8
3 "	192	25.
4 rooms and over	<u>74</u>	<u>9.6</u>
Total	770	100.00

Negroes.

No. of Rooms	Families.	Percentages.
1 room	116	9.6
2 rooms	622	51.5
3 rooms	524	26.9
4 rooms and over	142	11.8
No information	<u>2</u>	<u>.2</u>
Total	1206	100.00

The table shows that the number of bed rooms for the negro and white families is very nearly the same. We may argue, therefore, that the greater overcrowding among the whites is due to their larger families and this prior statement is indeed confirmed by the information collected in this survey concerning the size of negro and white families.

PREVALENCE OF BOARDERS.

Few of these families, white or black, take boarders. In many other cities, the already congested conditions are greatly aggravated by the tendency on the part of the different families to rent every available inch of floor space to boarders.

When the boarders are young men, as is so frequently the case, there is added to the health problem, a moral one in the danger to the young girls of the family who are brought into such intimate contact with them in rooms so filled that

privacy is difficult or impracticable.

The prevalency of boarders in the different districts can readily be seen from the following table:

Table VIII.

Prevalence of Boarders.

Whites.

Northwest District.

Families	Number of Families	Percentages.
Families without boarders	123	80
Families with boarders	<u>31</u>	<u>20</u>
Total	154	100

Central District:

Families with boarders	8	11
Families without boarders	<u>62</u>	<u>89</u>
Total	70	100

Brookside District:

Families with boarders	29	20
Families without boarders	<u>118</u>	<u>80</u>
Total	147	100

Totals:

Total families with boarders	68	18
Total families without boarders	<u>308</u>	<u>82</u>
Total	371	100

Prevalence of Boarders.

Negroes.

East Central District:

Families	Number of Families	Percentages.
Families with boarders	27	7
Families without boarders	<u>380</u>	<u>93</u>
Total	407	100

North Knoxville District:

Families with boarders	10	7
Families without boarders	<u>154</u>	<u>93</u>
Total	164	100

Totals:

Families with boarders	37	6
Families without boarders	<u>534</u>	<u>94</u>
Total	571	100

Eighteen per cent. of the white families and six per cent. of the negroes took boarders, in other words three times as many whites as blacks. There seems to be no connection between the size of the house and the prevalence of boarders. The Central District for whites had a smaller percentage of boarders than the two suburban white districts with their one story shacks; and the down town district for negroes with its

larger houses had the same percentage of boarders as the outlying negro section with its smaller homes.

Some of the families seem to regard the taking of boarders not as a commercial asset, but as a mark of social distinction. One woman, when asked about the boarders in her family, proudly replied that she had two men roomers and one "lady stayer". Another woman said that she had one roomer and that she had given her the "drawing room" to sleep in. It is evident that some of these "stayers" receive every consideration when they can demand the "drawing room" in a four room house.

USE OF THE KITCHEN AND DINING ROOM AS A BED ROOM.

Seven families, or 1.9 per cent. among the whites used the dining room for sleeping as well as eating purposes. Eight families, or 2.2 per cent. used the kitchen as a bed room when the other rooms became so full that sleeping was impossible.

Conditions were better among the negroes. Only one family used the dining room as a bed room, and only two families occupied the kitchen for their night's repose.

FROM THE HILL STREET BRIDGE, LOOKING EAST.



VENTILATION.

There are more advocates of fresh air among the negroes than among the whites. Sixty per cent. of the negroes as contrasted with fifty-four per cent. of the whites realized the value of fresh air in the sleeping rooms and claimed that they kept the windows open at night. There was no information about forty-six negro families and about fifty-three white families. Some of the investigators who gathered this information held that though the negroes had a better conception of the need of ventilation perhaps by contact as servants with the better class whites, nevertheless some of them lied in order to gain the good opinion of the questioner. Some of the whites on the other hand exhibited a naive ignorance. Others refused to take the question seriously and insisted upon joking about it with the investigator.

Each family was asked to give its reason for keeping the windows either open or closed. The reasons showed great variety of opinions on the subject. Most of the families who kept the windows open, however, did it for the sake of fresh air. Those who kept them down defied classification. Their answer varied from that of the family who stated that they had never tried to open them to that of the family who kept them down because they were afraid of cats.

The family giving the last answer lived on LeRoy Street in the Brookside District, and it will always remain a mystery why they should select cats instead of some of the real dangers for which any family might have entertained a wholesome apprehension in that neighborhood. On Dale Avenue six persons slept in one room but were afraid to keep the windows open for fear of kidnapping. One family of seven slept in one room in the East Central District and did not keep the windows open because they were afraid of burglars. The men of this family could constitute themselves into a formidable posse at a moment's notice and the fear should be on the part of the burglar.

A woman who evidently had strong convictions of her own said that she was not opposed to fresh air for those who wanted it, but had no desire for it herself. Two of the families said they "could keep the windows open just as well as not, but didn't see no use of it" as they got all the air they wanted through the cracks in the walls and floor. Several of the families remarked that the children had learned a lot about air at school, but that they had not seen fit to make any experiments in ventilating their hermetically sealed sleeping apartments.

CELLARS.

The great majority of these homes were constructed without cellars. There were 324 out of a total of 371 white

IN EAST KNOXVILLE, TWO BLOCKS FROM GAY ST.



families and 448 out of a total of 571 negro families who had no cellars.

Information was also gathered concerning the dampness or dryness of the houses. Many of the houses were built directly on the ground with no intervening foundation, and as a result were quite damp. Other houses were raised from the ground on brick piles which allowed air and ventilation from underneath but did not prevent water from standing under them after a heavy rain. Statistics showed that 38.3 per cent. of the white families and 14.6 per cent. of the negroes had damp cellars.

The dampness of the ground under the houses is due in some cases to the rather primitive drainage arrangements of the families. In some of the houses there is no sink under the water faucet and hence no drainage pipe to the sewer or to the outer wall of the houses. To make up for this deficiency, the enterprising head of the household has sometimes resorted to the simple expedient of cutting a hole in the floor of the kitchen. Through this apartment the waste water is poured and gathers in puddles underneath.

WALLS AND ROOF LEAKING.

Some of the houses were damp because of leaking walls or roof. The condition of the negro and white homes was about equal in this respect since the statistics showed

that 22.1 per cent . of the whites and 22.8 per cent. of the negroes lived in houses having leaking walls or roof. The kitchen and the back porch seemed to be the most affected by holes in the roof and loose shingles, a particularly undesirable condition since practically all of the home life of the family, with the exception of sleeping, is usually spent in the kitchen.

RENTS OF HOUSES.

The house rents paid by negroes and whites are shown in the following table.

Table IX
Rent of Houses

Rent per month	Whites.	
	families	percentages.
One to three dollars	25	8
Four dollars	50	15
Five dollars	59	26
Six dollars	63	18
Seven dollars	25	8
Eight dollars	56	16
Nine dollars	11	3
Ten dollars and over	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	339	100

Negroes.

Rent per month	Families	Percentages.
Four dollars	29	7
One to three dollars	11	3
Five dollars	48	12
Six dollars	113	29
Seven dollars	42	11
Eight dollars	65	17
Nine dollars	18	5
Ten dollars and over	<u>61</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	387	100

The median rent for whites and negroes is about five or six dollars. Only six per cent. of the whites and sixteen per cent. of the negroes paid ten dollars and over. The negroes pay higher rents than the whites. Thus there is a larger percentage of white than negro families paying from one to three dollars per month for rent and on the other hand thirty-three per cent. of the white as compared with forty-nine per cent. of the negroes paid over six dollars per month.

Home owning is much more prevalent among the negroes as 39.9 per cent. of the negroes own their homes as compared with 6.6 per cent. of the whites.

The higher rents paid by negroes do not necessarily indicate that they pay more for the same accommodations, but that they may have larger homes. A better basis of comparison is, therefore, the average rent paid for each room as shown in the following table:

Table X.

White

Rent per Room.

Rent per month	Families	Percentages.
\$0.50-99	12	4
1. -1.99	71	21
1.50-1.99	150	44
\$2 and over	<u>106</u>	<u>31</u>
Total	339	100

Negroes.

Rent per month	Families	Percentages.
\$0.50-.99	5	1
1.-1.49	66	17
1.50-1.99	87	23
\$2 and over	<u>228</u>	<u>59</u>
Total	387	100

Fifty-nine per cent. of the negroes, as contrasted with thirty-one per cent. of the whites, paid two dollars and over in rent for each room per month. In other words, the negroes are paying higher rents not only because they occupy larger homes but because they are paying more for the same accommodations.

KEEPING OF ANIMALS.

The negroes seem to have an especial fondness for animals. Almost one fourth of them have some sort of an animal such as chickens, dogs, cats, horses, mules or hogs. Only nineteen per cent. of the whites kept animals, and a large number of these are to be found in the Brookside District, a suburban section, where the keeping of animals such as hogs is possible, though not always pleasant for the neighbors. The whites owned a total of fifty-seven hogs, while among the negroes only forty-eight were found. The negroes had an especial fondness for dogs, owning forty-four of them in contrast to twelve kept

by the white families.

Five times as many negro families as whites kept chickens. This is rather surprising as the larger percentage of negro families was living within the city limits, while a larger proportion of the white families lived in the outlying sections of the city and might be supposed to have larger yards and more space in which to raise chickens.

One family among the whites had a team of mules, but no such opulence was noted among the negroes, only one family having one mule. The negroes, however, had more horses than the whites.

One conclusion that can be drawn from our information concerning animals is that the whites seemed to keep animals primarily for commercial purposes while the negroes seemed to keep them as domestic pets. The one exception is the preponderating ownership of chickens by negroes and may result from the proverbial fondness of the black man for his chicken dinners.

DRAINAGE IN YARDS.

In the yards of many homes visited there were no gutters nor drainage pipes so that unless there was good natural drainage, puddles of more or less stagnant water were found.

The drainage in the yards of the negro homes was, like

other housing conditions, better than for the wage earning whites.

The following table will indicate the difference in the drainage for the two races:

Whites	Whites Percentage	Negroes Percentage
No Puddles	23	48
Puddles in yard	42	20
Puddles in street	7	3
Not good natural drainage	8	12
Natural drainage	15	16
Stagnant pools	5	1

Among the negroes there were ninety-six families about whom there was no information.

Puddles and stagnant pools seem to be more numerous in the white section than in the negro districts. The accumulation of puddles of water in the yards cannot be controlled by the people living in the houses in many instances, but in some cases could very probably be prevented.

In the Brookside District there are some very disagreeable stagnant pools. On LeRoy Street in this section several houses were visited which are located within a few feet of a pond that was at least twenty or thirty feet in

IN THE HEART OF THE CITY ON PARK AVENUE.



diameter. This pond was also a hog wallow much enjoyed by the many hogs kept by the families in this vicinity.

The negroes have better housing facilities than the wage earning whites in this city. The negroes pay more rent, to be sure, but their homes prevent a better appearance and are in a better state of repair. They are less overcrowded, have better habits of ventilation, and better drainage in their yards.

Improvement of housing conditions in the five districts covered in this investigation presents problems that could be solved by the owners of the real estate or by amendments to the present building code of the city which has been in effect since March 15, 1916.

Where owners have not concerned themselves with the repairs of their rented houses, the sanitary conditions around the premises, adequate water supply and sewer connections, the building department of the city should be given the right, by means of the enforcement of an amendment to its code, to condemn for dwelling purposes every building, the floor, walls, and roof, of which do not afford protection against rain, snow or wind; or which is structurally deficient in such standard facilities for heat, light, ventilation and refuse disposal as would enable the housekeeper to maintain a sanitary condition of the premises without unusual effort; or about which the ground is not so graded and the gutters and water leaders so arranged as to keep the ground beneath the house reasonably dry at all times.