

言 著

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The Menace of Great Cities and a Remedy.

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Synopsis.

In this paper, the writer discusses many evils caused by modern over-grown cities, such as, loss of amenities, breakdown of criminal justice, slum menace, traffic dangers, lack of houses for working men, high tax, per capita etc., with special reference to American cities and Tokyo. The best remedy for these evils of fast growing cities is, according to him, the decentralization of industries, that is, the removal of industries from great cities, both plant and employees, out to small cities or villages, thus forming new towns in country districts. The finest example of this decentralization is the English Garden City of Letchworth, of which the advantages have already been realized from the industrial, social, economical, sanitary and esthetic points of view.

Introduction.

In these days of new and fast growing cities it requires some courage to publicly discuss the Menace of Great Cities and to advocate a limit on the size of cities in the interests of the city dweller. The fact that a **larger and larger** city usually does not mean a **better and better** city in which to live, work and play is not generally understood.

Many Chambers of Commerce, subdividers of real estate and others primarily interested in financial gain, advertise and emphasize unduly the advantages of the growth of the city in area, in population, in bank clearings, in the number of skyscrapers and new factories, until people forget that often such developments go hand in hand with the loss or curtailment of the amenities of life, in fact the loss of conditions which insure the physical and moral health, safety and civic beauty of the community. It is proposed in this paper to very briefly discuss some of these points:

Loss of the Amenities.

When cities were small their cottage homes had a generous allotment of land. Privacy, quietness and contentment were every-where to be found, crowded slums were unknown and the open country with its wild flowers and

tempting vistas was only a few blocks away. We know our neighbors and enjoyed them, we were in fact living a sane and enjoyable life.

Then came this great increase in population of which most citizens seem so proud, and the city spread over the country even swallowing up whole villages. The pretty cottages with their former ample grounds were then replaced by houses and apartment buildings, 4 to 10 or more families now living where one family lived before. All gardens, sideyards and front yards have now disappeared and all privacy and quietness is at an end.

The short and pretty walk to the office or work shop has been replaced by a tiresome street car ride during one hangs to a strap perchance and is jostled by an unfeeling crowd of citizens quite as unfortunate. Such are usually the conditions in our large and fast growing modern cities.

Breakdown of Criminal Justice.

Experts in such matters agree that the main cause for the serious impairment of Criminal Justice in the United States is largely due to the abnormal growth of cities. Our American jury system was designed for small communities with homogeneous citizenship, conditions now seldom realized.

Such a breakdown constitutes a real menace to our large city populations, for what is more important than the security of life and property?

Slum Menace.

Again, the crowding of the land with houses, apartments and tenements without necessary allowances for sunlight and air and the ultimate crowding of all housing with families, together with the usual fast changing character of residence districts to business in fast growing cities is resulting in city slums, which in turn, breed sickness, poverty and crime. The vicious circle is then complete. It is a great mistake for those who are well housed to think that they are not affected by this evil housing of other citizens, less fortunate but not less deserving than they. The entire city suffers from slum conditions.

Community drives and community chests so commonly relied on in U. S. barely touch the real problem which continues to grow in size and seriousness. Neither will replacing slums by reasonable housing solve the problem. In the first place, the cost of so doing on any large scale is prohibitive, and even if

this were not so, rehousing slum districts always unhouses many families who naturally go to other slums which are thereby made even worse.

The real remedy consists not in attempting to cure slums but rather by creating city conditions which will **prevent** slums. This is one of the objects of the English Garden City as shown in the oldest example at Letchworth, thirty miles from London.

Housing the Worker.

A reasonable housing of the industrial worker and day laborer is in fact the greatest world problem for it underlies so many other social and political problems. The size and seriousness of the housing problem has been greatly augmented by the general industrial expansion during and following the world war, an expansion which has caused our cities to grow abnormally fast a growth for which we are quite unprepared.

But while all European countries have virtually declared housing of labor a public utility we in America have for many years built very few houses for the working men. "Let the worker come to the factory with his house on his like the turtle," seems to have been the motto of our industrial leaders.

Leaders of industry in all countries are spending immense sums for housing **industrial** machinery but the housing of the **human** machine is far more important because upon his health and that of his family, depend his ability and willingness to work or in other words the cost of all that is manufactured.

Then too inadequate and bad housing of labor is the prime cause of the excessive **labor turnover** in America which has often reached over 400 per cent, thereby also adding very greatly to the cost of production and the high cost of living.

In recent years we have seen many illustrations of the fact that a new industry in a city which does not provide good and sufficient **houses** for its workers has proved a **liability** instead of an asset to the Community. Bad housing will always be followed by lower standards of living, higher sickness and death rates and most important of all by an **inferior** citizenship. Such conditions constitute one of the greatest of menaces to the perpetuity of democratic institutions. The nation working people should form its backbone. They fight its battles both in the field and in industry and they deserve good treatment.

A nation which neglects the housing needs of its industrial workers is certain in the end to pay a heavy penalty. America is already paying it. The industrial unrest and socialistic movements in our industrial centers often rests upon a real social grievance and the lack of a decent home in which to live and bring up a family is the most common cause of such movements. People can not be expected to live like pigs and act like good citizens. Must we not admit that the great war has not made the world safe for democracy. Concentration of industry in great cities has greatly complicated industrial problems.

Traffic Dangers.

Let us now consider another menace of great cities, perhaps more obvious, but certainly not more important than those just discussed. In America the former one and two story buildings of our small towns and cities have in recent years been replaced by many story tenements, housing in a few blocks whole villages, while in the high downtown office buildings thousands of clerks must arrive and depart at 9 a. m. and 5 p. m. respectively.

Streets designed for three or four story buildings are now called upon to carry the traffic of 20 or more story buildings, with the result that in 1925 1001 persons were killed in street traffic accidents in New York City and 700 in Chicago. Over twenty times these numbers were injured in these cities. Even more alarming is the fact that the number of traffic accidents is increasing at a high rate as the cities grow in size and population. Then too we have a most serious problem in providing parking room in streets designed for horse traffic only.

Tokyo Conditions.

In view of the comparatively few automobiles using Tokyo streets the number of street accident show a surprisingly large number as will be seen from the following table II.*

Table II. Accidents in Tokyo Prefecture.

1916-25.

Year	Total Number	Killed	Injured	Automobile	Accidents Killed
1916	4 595	36	3 493	535	6
17	5 329	51	3 647	814	10
18	5 008	75	3 945	2 015	16
19	7 493	79	5 418	2 015	28

* Note. Data furnished by Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research.

20	8 438	104	6 053	2 014	30
21	8 435	98	5 451	2 000	24
22	10 245	122	6 405	2 586	44
23	10 536	143	6 492	3 505	71
24	15 194	189	9 169	6 423	81
25	15 567	192	9 274	6 268	87

The limits of this paper preclude an analysis of these figures further than to say that the automobiles, while constituting only a fraction of the total vehicles using the streets of Tokyo prefecture, are causing about 40 per cent of the total accidents and nearly 50 per cent of the fatalities. In fact the number of fatal accidents in 1925 (viz: 192) is 20 more than those of Los Angeles and 79 more than San Francisco during the same year. Over 300 000 automobiles are using the streets of Los Angeles and about 10 000 using Tokyo street!

Table III. Street Traffic Accidents in City of Tokyo. **

1922-3-4-5.

Vehicle	No. of Accidents	Killed	Injured	Killed and Injured	Per cent of Total Killed and Injured
Automobile	16 083	233	8 344	8 577	39.3
Street Car	7 421	133	5 525	5 658	26.0
Bicycle	11 354	34	7 433	7 467	34.2
* Rikisha	227	0	71	71	.003
* Cart	4 840	37	5	42	00.2
Total	39 925	437	21 378	21 815	100.0

Table III gives the traffic accident record of the city of Tokyo for the years of 1922-5. As would be expected the percentage of killed and injured by automobiles is less than in the prefecture because of the abnormal number of street cars and bicycles using the streets of the city. The large proportion of bicycle accidents is very significant. A total list of 21 815 persons killed and injured in four years on Tokyo streets is a truly alarming record.

It must be clear from the above that even now Tokyo has a real traffic menace, a menace that is increasing alarmingly fast and calling loudly for regulation and remedy. But what has the future in store, as the city grows in population and in automobile owners? What may be the condition when its 150 000 one story buildings are largely replaced by others of from two to eight stories. Even after present reconstruction is completed of the total 476

* These data cover 1923-4-5 only.

** These data furnished by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research.

miles of streets, 359 miles will have a width of streets of only 3 to 11 meters, while only 16.3 miles will be wider than 33 meters.*

The remedy is three fold-better and more regulation of traffic-wider main arterial streets and a lower limit to building height.

It is well known that city traffic, both vehicular and pedestrian increases at a much faster rate than the population, in some case nearly as the square of the population. Even from this brief and incomplete survey the conclusion seems clear that great of fast growing cities no longer furnish the best conditions for a safe and happy community life, nor does the future hold secure promise for betterment. The three remedies named above will be found to be mere palliatives, assisting for a brief time only.

Instead of boasting of the city's growth in size and population, the thoughtful man will be filled with chagrin and dismay at the city's growth.

Other Menaces.

The above are only a few of the serious menaces of present day great cities. No mention has been made of the costly and often futile efforts of large and fast growing cities to provide adequate supply of pure water, for fire and police protection, for enlarged public buildings, traffic terminals, parks and play grounds and other imperative needs of the over-grown city. How serious are such problems is seen in the excessive and ever increasing local tax rates and the city's ever increasing burden of bonded indebtedness. Much of the latter must be assumed by children yet unborn and paid for in addition to the still greater city liabilities of the future.

In this connection the growth of Tokyo per capita tax may be of interest Tokyo like other large cities is paying the penalty of being the largest city.

Table I of Tokyo per Capita Taxes **

1897	¥ .534	1915	¥ .981	1919	¥ 2.709	1923	¥ 6.667
1902	.962	1916	.870	1920	5.414	1924	8.608
1907	.964	1917	1.484	1921	6.010	1925	8.862
1914	1.271	1918	1.936	1922	9.413	1926	9.797

It will be noted that the Tokyo per capita tax of 1926 is 3.5 times the rate 14 years previous. This increase in taxes must continue if conditions

* These data are furnished by the Federal Bureau of Reconstruction.

** Taken from "Outline of Municipal Administration of Tokyo 1926, published by the City.

in American cities are any guide.

A Proposed Remedy.

Decentralization of Industry. What then are the remedies for the growing evils of great cities? Zoning, city and regional planning here have a large and important field, but the lack of sufficient leadership and of popular understanding of the need of action has often greatly curtailed their application until it was too late. Moreover such remedies often function as palliatives and only postpone the real remedy, the **decentralization of industry**.*

By this term is meant the removal of the industries from the great cities both plant and employees—out to the small cities or even to villages, or it may be, forming new towns in country districts.* Such decentralization of industry is in fact now going on in a fairly large way even in cities like New York, though not as generally as the benefits accruing to both capital and labor deserve.

By such decentralization the great industries have been able to secure abundant cheap lands for both present needs and future enlargements. More important still the improved housing and healthful living conditions of labor have resulted in a more stable and efficient labor supply with resulting savings in manufacturing costs.*

The employees have gained in lower rents, better houses, less sickness and more hours for leisure and recreation because of the nearer location of homes and factory.* The even greater gains of the entire community are sufficiently obvious.

The English Garden City. The finest example of the decentralization of industry is seen in the English Garden City of Letchworth. The garden city has been defined as a self-contained town, industrial, commercial, agricultural and residential, **planned from the beginning** as a whole and occupying land sufficient to provide garden surrounded homes for from 35 000 to 50 000 people as well as a wide belt of open fields. It combines the advantages of town and country and insures the permanence of this advantage.

* A good example of this is found at Morgan Park, Duluth, where the U. S. Steel Co. have laid out a complete industrial city, correcting the obvious mistakes by that company at Gary, Indiana.

"It prepares the way for a national movement, stemming the tide of population now leaving the country side, and sweeping into our overcrowded cities and creating a counter movement of the population countryward.* Among the other accomplishments of the garden city of Letchworth the following are the most worthy of statement.

(a) The establishment of the principle of business administration in the organization and management of a wellnigh ideal community.

(b) The making of cooperative enterprise the controlling factor in the business success of home and community building.

(c) The elimination of parasitic enterprise from the business of home and community building.

(d) The development of a scheme of community planning that will do away with the evils of intensive urbanization now found in the great metropolitan centers of population.

(e) In short, the revival of the eighteenth-century town into a new creation full of romance of modern progress in the art of living.**

Briefly the attainment of these ends is made possible by adoption of the following protecting conditions and restrictions.

1. A cooperative stock company is organized and from 4 000 to 6 000 acres of land is purchased at its agricultural value. Expert town planners and architects are employed who then design and layout a complete plan for the future city designed for a maximum population of from 35 000 to 50 000 people. The limitation of size is such that the unit may be capable of being repeated.

2. Homes for all classes of people are then constructed care being taken to use the lands best adapted for this purpose.

3. Provisions are adopted which for all a time will prevent overcrowding the houses with people.**

4. Factory districts are allocated with reference to the health and convenience of the people as well as for side track facilities for the factories.

* For full explanation of the objects and methods of organization see "Garden Cities of Tomorrow" by Ebenezer Howard, also Satellite Towns by G. B. Purdon (pub. in London 1925).

** Not more than 12 (and frequently only 8) houses can be built on an acre of land. Compared to this there are hundreds of acres of land in Philadelphia with 50 or more houses per acre. See the Annual Reports of the Philadelphia Housing Association.

5. A belt of the agricultural lands is permanently reserved in the outlying districts of the town, a large part of which is intensively cultivated in the form of allotment gardens.
 6. Dividends on capital are limited to 5 or 6 percent and the expenses of the town are chiefly met from the revenue of the land and house rents, both being from an **American** standpoint, surprising low.*

Community Savings: Under these circumstances it is obvious that for the sake of the tenants themselves, as well as in order to secure the fulfillment of the objects of the company, it is desirable to apply the most equitable conditions of the land tenure possible both in respect of public and private interests.

This can only be accomplished if the company in the first place maintains the full control of the development of the town, and in the second place adopts the system of land tenure which will secure as far as possible, under the established laws and customs of the country, that the increase in the value of the land shall benefit those who create it. As the greater part of this increased value is due to the social activities of the people as a whole (i. e. in their collective capacity) it is in this capacity that they should receive the benefit, and not as private individuals.

That the unearned increment in real estate values of the growing community should go to those who created it, is not a doctrine calculated to please land subdividers and land speculators, but that its application in a "garden city" like Letchworth has resulted in cheap rents and exceptionally low local taxes to all its citizens, admits of no doubt.* Again, a careful examination of the garden city homes built by the home company or by its subsidiaries will disclose the fact of their superior design and construction as compared to the houses built by private enterprise or for speculation in the United States.

The front flower gardens likewise give a singular beauty to the residence streets, while from the generous sized back gardens, planted to fruit and vegetables, the tenant derives a revenue equal to a large proportion of his rent bill.***

* See "Satelite Cities" by C. B. Purdom, England 1925.

** On excellent home of five rooms and garden rents in Letchworth for less than \$ 15 or £30 per month. This amount includes the taxes by the tenant in England.

*** The writer of this paper visited Letchworth in 1913 when the city was ten years old and again in 1920 and both times, was much impressed with the truth of the above statements.

Death Rates in Letchworth and U. S. and Japan. But the citizens of Letchworth Garden City gain not only in rent economies and the amenities here recorded, but records show the very low death rate of 10 per 1 000 inhabitants as compared to the average death rate in the United States of about 12 per thousand and 20 in Japan. This difference corresponds to an annual excess of deaths in the United States of over 200 000. The infant death rate in Letchworth which is a still better index of superior living condition, is only 30 per 1 000 births. This is about half the infant death rate in the United States and one fifth that of Japan. In other words a baby has over twice the chance to live in Letchworth that it has if born in an American city and five times the chance of a baby born in Japan.

Letchworth as an Industrial City. But a true garden city, like Letchworth is not simply an ideal place of residence, it is also fast becoming an ideal industrial city. Already over seventy firms have either started new industrial plants or have removed their plant from some adjacent large city like London.* In every case the industrial worker, coming to the new works finds a good home already prepared or one is promptly forthcoming.

The reasons advanced by these firms for locating in Letchworth are given in great detail in Mr. Purdon's recent book "Satelite Cities" and will make good reading for one seeking to improve the living and working conditions of American workingmen. In appendix "B" will be found typical reasons given by the manufacturers for moving to Letchworth with a statement of the advantages they have experienced. Practically every firm reports they are entirely satisfied with Letchworth labor and factory conditions and many speak very enthuseistically concerning the improved living and working conditions of the Garden City.

It has not been possible to discuss all of the interesting and unique festures of the Garden City, though some of them were described in connection with the 90 lantern slides shown in the lecture.

It is not claimed, nor can it be expected that all of the features of the English Garden Cities could be incorporated in any foreign Garden City. Laws and customs regarding land tenure, home ownership etc. will require some notable changes in the English plans to adopt them to Japanese or American conditions. As simply one promising means of assisting in overcoming

* London is located only 33 miles distant.

the growing evils of the world-wide urbanization, the garden city plan is here presented to the Tokyo Civil Engineering and Architectural Engineering Societies for discussion and possibly later report.

The conclusion of this paper may be summarized as follows:

I. The Menace of Great Cities.

American cities are growing abnormally fast and in size and population, but are losing ground in other respects which control the joy and fullness of life. This is shown by . . .

- (a) The loss of the home amenities and home ownership.
- (b) The breakdown of Criminal Justice as discussed by Dean Pound before the Institute.
- (c) The creation of city slums and inadequate housing of the workman. High rents.
- (d) The menace of the growing city's traffic problem.
- (e) Problem of fire and police protection, traffic terminals, parks and play grounds and without limit to rising taxation and bonded indebtedness of cities.

II. Our Remedy—The Garden City.

- (a) The decentralization of industry, a **real** remedy.
- (b) The essentials of Letchworth, the English Garden City.
- (c) Community savings in methods of financing.
- (d) Comparison of death rates in Letchworth and in United States.
- (e) Letchworth an ideal Industrial City.
- (f) Garden City Plans must be changed to meet American conditions.

III. Appendix "A" **Living Conditions in a Large City vs. Those in a Garden City.**

IV. Appendix "B" **Reasons of Letchworth Manufactures** for coming to this garden city and their **Statement of Advantages to Industry and Labor** which have been realized.

Appendix "A"

Living Conditions in a Large City vs. Those in a Garden City.

Life in a Large City.

1. Noise and rush, waste of nervous energy.
2. Two or three hours travelling under dis-

Life in a Garden City.

1. Natural, vigorous and healthy life, conservation of nervous.
2. Thirty minutes walking a day under plea-

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| <p>fasteful condition with fares to pay.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Meals away from home, costly and inconvenient and not like mothers. 4. Plenty of dust and dirt and little air and sunshine for wife and kiddies. 5. Suburban dullness, slums squalor, tenements. 6. No agriculture. 7. An hour away from real country and then a struggle for a bus. 8. Large taxes and small lots, 9. Building and land costs high. 10. Vegetables old and high in cost. 11. Death and sickness rate high. 12. Education expensive because of high child death and sickness rate. No room for recreation around school houses. 13. Local government complex and poor because of poor citizenship. | <p>sant conditions, including that for mid-day meal at home. No fares.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. All meals at home with family. 4. Little dust and dirt and plenty of air and sunshine at home and in the factories. 5. Ideal City, no slums. 6. Organic contact with agriculture by gardens. 7. Always within easy walking distance of real country. 8. Smaller taxes and larger lots. 9. Building and land cost low. 10. Vegetables fresh from workers own garden. 11. Low death and sickness rate. 12. Education cheaper and more efficient. Plenty of playgrounds & Better home influences. 13. Local government simple and well ordered. Good Citizenship. |
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Appendix "B".

Typical Opinions of Manufacturers at Letchworth upon the Town as an Industrial Center and Their Reasons for Coming to Letchworth.

"We came to Letchworth because we could get more room and a better life for our employees than in London. We are certain that we have given their lives a better chance altogether, especially in the fact that we have at least doubled their hours of leisure, as they are close to their employment and save the fearful waste of time in travelling"
J. M. Dent and Sons, Limited.

"We moved to Letchworth to get healthy working conditions low ground rent with room for the expansion of our works" Fester Instrument Co.

"We came to Letchworth because of the facilities offered for establishing an industrial undertaking in more healthy and congenial surroundings than were possible in London"
Marmet Co. Limited.

The following are typical answers given by Letchworth manufacturers to the question "What advantages they had found in Letchworth.

"The stamina of the employee in Letchworth is greater than in an overcrowded industrial area and in a self-contained community, such as we have, closer individual touch with the worker is obtainable, with the result that the estrangement between employer and employee is less marked than in the larger towns" Spirella Co of Gt Britain.

"We enjoy the general advantages of fresh air, better light, and advantages of being able to live near our work."

Furmston & Lawler.

"Good housing conditions, no overcrowding, no drink."

The Westinghouse Morse Chain.

"Cleanliness, good water and railway facilities."

Garden City Pure Food Co, Limited.

"The families who came in order that one or two of their members might enter the weav-

ing works are much better off as far as health, housing, friends and recreation are concerned."

St Edmundsbury Leaving Works.

"Experiences we have and indicates that we get a far more regular and punctual attendance on the part of our employees than a similar firm in a large industrial town."

Bowyer-Lowe Co., Limited.

—The End—