COMMUNITY FACILITIES IN A REDEVELOPMENT AREA: A STUDY AND PROPOSAL FOR THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY SEPTEMBER, 1955

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ABSTRACT


by

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Submitted for the Degree of Master of Architecture in the Department of Architecture on September 1, 1955.

This thesis deals with the problem of community facilities in a redevelopment area, with specific research on the Ellicott District in Buffalo, New York, a typically overcrowded and congested urban area. Research for this study was collected through interviews with and material gathered from various social agencies and planning officials in Buffalo.

The author traces the growth of the city from its medieval origin and analyzes the factors which cause urban slums and blight, phenomena that tend to expand with population increase. Growing recognition and concern over the plight of the city-dweller led to the enactment of the federal housing acts in this country, the first of which, in 1937, created the U. S. Housing Authority, a public corporation empowered to loan funds to local housing agencies for the building of low-rent public housing. Between 1941 and 1946, 20 states had adopted urban redevelopment statutes for the renewal and rehabilitation of their cities. State laws were only moderately successful, and in 1949 an act was passed which provided a broad legislative base for a national housing program of urban redevelopment through local agencies for land acquisition and subsidization. On August 2, 1954, important amendments to the 1949 Act were embodied in a new Housing Act which broadened the scope of the old Acts and widened the range of federal aid. All of the Acts place the basic responsibility for formulating workable renewal plans upon local agencies.

Buffalo, New York was established by Daniel de Chabert in 1758. Strategically located on the eastern tip of Lake Erie at the Niagara River and on the western terminus of the Erie Barge Canal, it has maintained its position as a key commercial and industrial center in the nation.

In the 1950 Census, Buffalo ranked as United States' fifteenth largest city, population, 580,132. Even though Buffalo's land area has remained virtually static since 1854, its Standard Metropolitan Area has continued to expand. Mixed land uses, overcrowded dwellings and inter-group tension are some of the factors which have contributed to the blight and slums prevalent in the Ellicott District and give the area the city's highest incidence of crime, delinquency, disease and mortality. The existing social agencies serving the District have good but inadequate facilities
and do not reach enough of its inhabitants. In addition, suitable community and recreational facilities and park space are lacking. The author proposes that a workable plan be developed in conjunction with the Ellicott District Redevelopment Plan, now in the appraisal stage under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949. The Redevelopment Plan sets aside a 28-acre tract in the center of the renewal area as a recreation space, but to date no concrete proposals for its detailed development have been made.

The author proposes that the Department of Parks and/or the City of Buffalo make available to the Buffalo Urban League a parcel on the recreation site to be developed by it as a new community building, and that the Department of Parks develop the remainder of the park as a passive park and recreation area with supporting outside facilities in conjunction with the new center.

The project of this thesis is the design of a facility to house the industrial, recreational, and group work facilities of the Buffalo Urban League, together with a small health clinic. The building-centered program would be supervised by the Urban League Executive, the personnel supplied by the League, the city, and volunteers from the community; the personnel for the recreational elements supplied by the Department of Parks. The proposed facility will be created with the hope of providing the most economical structure consistent with good contemporary design, and it is intended that it may serve as a model for the future development of parks in other sections of Buffalo.
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
September 1, 1955

Pietro Belluschi, Dean  
School of Architecture and Planning  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Dean Belluschi:

I herein submit this thesis, entitled  
"Community Facilities in a Redevelopment Area: A Study and Proposal for the  
Ellicott District in Buffalo, New York",  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of  
Architecture.

Very truly yours,

Robert Traynham Coles
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TO SYLVIA
Aerial View of Downtown Buffalo, New York
"We need buildings
which can be flooded with the joy
of bright sunlight
In which the impulse is to dance
rather than be awed.
We need buildings
which are warm with the security
of beauty in clear light --
Buildings
which we can touch and love."

Minoru Yamasaki
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Architecture should be more than just steel, stone and glass, or the laying of brick upon brick to form a work of art. Today more than in any time in history, architects and designers are facing a very real challenge in learning to understand the basic needs of the people for whom they build, and in transforming these needs into workable and livable structures.

Undoubtedly, one of the most critical problems facing us in this era is that of rebuilding our urban environment and the communities in which most of us live. Only a glance about us—if we care to look—will reveal the blight, congestion and slums which are making our cities undesirable places in which to live and raise our children. Since the early twenties, architects and planners alike have been concerned with the ever increasing growth and decay of the city, and, beginning with the depression years, numerous public programs were initiated to stem the tide of this decay. Most of these measures were only mildly successful, and in analyzing the problem more thoroughly, there emerged a comprehensive approach known as "urban redevelopment"—an approach which recognized that there were many, many factors contributing to the decay of our cities, each of which must be considered in formulating plans for urban renewal.

When provisions were made under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 for federal aid to implement "urban redevelopment", many municipalities submitted grand master plans for the future redevelopment of their localities but neglected the consideration of adequate
community and recreation facilities, one of the most important factors in this total concept.

As the time came to select a subject for his Master's thesis, the author felt strongly that there was a need for original research into the problem of community facilities in redevelopment areas and submitted this as his thesis proposal.

Scope of the Problem

This thesis deals with the critical problem of community facilities in redevelopment areas, with specific research on the Ellicott District in Buffalo, New York, a shamefully overcrowded and congested area near the central business section of this industrial city.

The most significant reason for the selection of this area by the author was that he spent much of his early life in Buffalo and thus became aware of the underlying factors which have contributed to the deterioration manifested everywhere. Certainly the Ellicott District is not unlike similar sections in most northern industrial cities, and the proposals which result from the research can be applied to other urban areas.

The Ellicott District is considered to be the most studied section in Buffalo. It is here that all of the problems of the modern city can be observed; i.e., slums, blight, racial segregation, high incidence of disease, juvenile delinquency, and others. Here, also, the failure of the depression era slum clearance program and the lack of municipal responsibility is apparent. Slums have been
torn down and new housing projects built in their stead, these only to become slums again in two decades. The lack of enforcement of city zoning, health and housing ordinances by responsible officials has resulted in living conditions far below the minimum for the city proper. In the light of plans to completely rehabilitate the area under the Housing Act of 1949, still in the appraisal stage, this study was undertaken to evaluate thoroughly the existing community facilities in the district and to submit a proposal to be incorporated in this redevelopment plan.

Method of Research

The material included in this manuscript was collected in the following manner: at the outset, the author investigated a number of books and periodicals on the growth of cities, community facilities, and all of the recent literature concerning redevelopment. After this information was digested, several weeks were spent in Buffalo contacting the City Planning Commission, the Board of Redevelopment, the Park Department, the Education Department, the Housing Authority, the Council of Social Agencies, the administrators of all the group work agencies in the area, and others whom the author felt were concerned with this problem.

On the basis of the information collected and drawing from his background of the problem and the area, the author decided upon a proposal: to develop a large community and recreation center on a site designated in the master plan for future parks, in the heart of the redevelopment area. Another field trip was made to Buffalo and the proposal submitted to the Buffalo Urban League, Inc., the agency which the author felt was the most strategically located and in the
greatest need of such a facility. The Buffalo Urban League had been thinking along similar lines and cooperated fully to work out a realistic design program with the writer.

Conclusion and Proposal

The resulting design is an actual proposal for a community building and park development to be incorporated in the urban renewal proposal for the area. It stems from the author's adherence to the strict budget limitations of the agency, with every effort being made to provide the maximum space for an almost minimum financial outlay.

More material than would actually be necessary to accomplish the design proposal has been included in this manuscript, because the author feels that the research will be reviewed by sociologists, planners, and city officials, as well as architects and designers, and that particular aspects of the total problem, such as the survey of the growth of cities and the early slum clearance programs, give a key to the continuing problems which plague our cities. Also, the author feels that too often young architects forget the ultimate reason for their existence: to provide decent shelter for human beings.
The Early City

The foundations of urbanization were established out of the essentially gregarious nature of man and of his constant need for protection. When primitive man entered into family relationships, established friendly groups, and united into villages, the first city forms were initiated. In his village, he had the companionship of his fellow man, he invented group entertainment and sports, he established a meeting place and a market place to exchange the fruits of his agrarian toil, and he made the village the site of his place of worship. Out of village life grew the need for mutual responsibility, cooperation, and co-existence. Because the inhabitants were bound together by a number of common interests, there emerged from this association an organization known as society.

Man's very instincts for self-preservation and domination led to the constant rivalry, conflict and wars between villages. In time, villages were conquered by other villages, and whole areas came under the influence of single rulers, out of which emerged the tribe, the city, the empire, and the kingdom.

The Classic and Medieval City

The primary distinction in the pattern of cities has been the transition from a slave to a mercantile society and from sling shot to gunpowder warfare. Throughout the early formation of the city, two basic urban forms evolved—the walled town and the open city. The Roman and Greek cities were both open; the city was only a part of a vast empire whose boundaries were far removed.
The Greek city was based upon democratic rule and the rights and responsibilities of its citizens. The city plan was a design to meet the needs of all the people; "...the individual... was the common denominator." Greece declined and Rome rose. The Romans were the master organizers, the engineers and administrators. While the Greeks contributed many of the laws and the philosophies which are an integral part of our present day culture, the Romans' great contribution was the solution of the technical problems created by the congestion of large numbers of people in cities. Their engineering feats included magnificent water supply and distribution systems, drainage and sanitary sewers, efficient methods of heating, and great highways to facilitate movement from place to place. Rome's decline in the Fifth Century A.D. led to the Dark Ages, out of which emerged in the Twelfth Century the medieval town, predecessor of the modern metropolis.

The Feudal Wars and the advantages of communal existence brought about the re-establishment of the city. Self-preservation was still the rule and the countryside was not safe. The early medieval town had space within and about it. As the town grew, trade was revived, and more and greater cities were established. With the increase in trade and the rise of mercantilism, the city form remained the same but more and more people were crowded into the city. The medieval town continued to grow in population, as have other cities since then, but while it extended its boundaries, the process of congestion increased in intensity of land use.

The medieval city was a walled town. With the invention

of gunpowder in the Fifteenth Century, the city walls became huge fortifications and were extended. More and more people moved to the city and congestion increased. It is often said that the medieval city was the ideal city but this seems far from true. The inventions of the Roman civilization had long since been lost. There were no sewers, no water supply, no ordinances to ease congestion, no decent standards of living. When towns remained small, there was no serious problem, for as long as the handicraft era prevailed, the number of employees was small and congestion was limited. Initially, commerce in this period was based upon the manufacture of goods by hand. Commercialism, however, as it grew was sweeping wave upon wave of new immigrants to the urban areas.

The Industrial City

With the invention of the steam engine in 1765, production was radically changed. The assembly line and belt line production led to an increase in workers, and congestion increased a hundredfold. The city became the living core for millions of people; it was here that they found the economic means to exist and it was here that they chose to live. Standards were lax, and with commercialism the dominating influence, congestion became more and more acute. Most of the great cities of the world were all faced with the same problems--London, Berlin, New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit. Man taxed his inventiveness to the utmost, and in a period of less than 100 years, the services for health, safety and convenience of urban population were advanced further than in all past history. In 1867, the first cable car was running in New York; in 1876, Edison invented the telephone; in 1882, the first central electric system was in operation; 1885 saw the
invention of the internal combustion engine; 1888, the electric street
car was introduced; Chicago built its first elevated electric line in
1895; congestion was so acute that Boston built the world's first sub-
way in 1897; and in 1903, the first heavier-than-air machine was flown
by the Wright Brothers.

In seeking to solve the problems of congestion, the de-
velopments of this new age placed new dimensions on cities. Man was
now in the era of time and space. In the days of the horse car, the
city was only two or two-and-a-half miles in radius; the electric street
car increased this to 15 miles—all still within a half hour's travel
time. In 1900, 4,192 passenger cars were sold. In 1953, 6,116,948
2
cars were sold. Rather than eliminating congestion, these devices only
increased the desirability of the city and congestion became more acute.

In the United States, immigration had no little effect
upon congestion. The period of greatest growth was that of the great-
est immigration. The advances in industry and opportunity in this
great land brought a continuous invasion of poor and hopeful people who
crowded into whatever accommodations they could find. In 1820, 8,385
immigrants were admitted from all countries. 1882 saw over 750,000
persons admitted in a single year, and in six years—1905, 1906, 1907,
1910, 1913, and 1914, the figures topped the million mark. In most
cities, the pattern was the same. The first groups were replaced by
other newcomers whenever the former found better living conditions.

1. Ibid. p. 193.
2. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Detroit, Michigan.
In this sense, new waves of population actually created a new demand for an increasing number of old structures. Because of the reprieve thus given, many areas were bypassed by new development which otherwise might have taken place, and their ultimate renewal was rendered more difficult thereby.

New York increased from 1,911,698 in 1880 to 7,891,957 in 1950; Chicago from 503,185 in 1880 to 3,620,962 in 1950; Detroit from 116,340 in 1880 to 1,849,568 in 1950; and Buffalo from 155,134 in 1880 to 580,152 in 1950. The city had grown larger than anyone had imagined possible. Metropolitan congestion was a great boon to suburban expansion, but it did not drain off the excess population from the center of the city. People responded to their natural desire to live near their work, and employment opportunities as well as cultural activities were concentrated in the city center. With the expanding commercial enterprise, the tendency to shift from job to job extended to the movement from city to city. Mobility of the individual and the family offered many advantages over fixed tenure, and the urban population became transient in character. This led to a rental population and vast overcrowding of dwelling units.

The City of Today

What are the ills that beset the city of today? Ladislas Segoe, noted planning consultant, had this to say in a speech before the Buffalo City Planning Association in 1944:

"It takes too long to get to work, too long to shop, too long to get to the park, too long to get out of town, too long to

---

"get in town, too long to get to school, to the train, to the airport. It costs too much in terms of wasted time, rubber, gasoline, and the nerves to transfer goods, to make deliveries, to make business calls. It costs too much in terms of the city's most important task--the growing of normal, healthy children. There isn't enough air, enough sun, enough open space in our big cities. There isn't enough privacy and what there is costs too much. There's too much noise. There's too much bustle and agitation, too little peace, dignity and human warmth."

All of these factors are manifested in a constantly expanding suburbia and a central city strangled in blight, congestion and slums. As defined by Miles L. Colean, noted writer on housing and urban planning:

"A potential slum exists where there is a structure so overcrowded and so carelessly kept that it becomes a menace to the health and safety of its occupants and its neighbors; and a slum is unquestionably present when any considerable number of properties in the same block or district of a city are in this condition. It is even possible that the structures might be in a fair state of repair, or might be capable of modernization; yet a slum would still exist so long as a condition of overcrowding, disorder, squalor and insanitation continued to exist." 2

Paul A. Pfretzschner, writing in the "Social Research Quarterly", has this to say about blight:

"It is generally accepted that blight is evidenced by physical deterioration, by the existence of obsolete buildings, and by loss of people from residential districts; and it is often characterized by overcrowding or high density rates... it appears not only in the form of physical breakdown of communities, but also in the shape of social and psychological deterioration; it is evidenced by poor morale, by lack of pride in the neighborhood or district, by a general slovenliness of attitude, and often by high juvenile delinquency rates... remedial measures must be aimed at these attitudes as well as at the more obvious physical deterioration." 3

The growth of blight and slums in our cities has resulted from the movement of activity from the section between the outlying suburbs and the vital central core. Little activity has taken place in the near-downtown areas, and for years, they have been passed from one economic, racial or ethnic group to another, or have been left vacant as deterioration progresses and as new building is provided elsewhere.

During the depression years, it became more and more apparent that the urban blight and slums were more than phenomena of immigration and city growth but rather a permanent characteristic of cities, which tend to expand rather than to diminish with the increase in city population. Concern was great over the many thousands of families who were trapped in the city's slums, and this concern effected the first of the great federal housing acts—the United States Housing Act of 1937.
The Housing Act of 1937

The United States Housing Act was passed by Congress in 1937, "to assist the several states and their political subdivisions to alleviate present and recurring unemployment and to remedy the unsafe and insanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low-income groups, in rural or urban communities, that are injurious to the health, safety and morals of the citizens of the United States." The act created the United States Housing Authority, a public corporation empowered to loan funds to local housing authorities established by state law to build low-rent public housing for families otherwise unable to obtain decent housing. The USHA was empowered to make annual contributions to these local authorities to bring rents within the range of low-income families.

The program was established with the initiative and responsibility placed upon the local agency—to borrow funds from the USHA for the purpose of building low rent housing developments for thousands of families who could not afford housing on their own. "The principal issue that emerged from the public housing program was the dual character of its avowed purpose: to clear slums and rehouse families who, by force of their economic status, could not afford the full cost of decent housing." The act combined slum clearance and public housing on a one-for-one basis: one unit of slum dwelling demolished for every public low-rent unit constructed. Prior to World War II, over 150,000 dwelling units were built under this program—a figure not large enough

2. Ibid. p. 156.
to make a substantial dent in the slum areas of the country.

The Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment stated recently that "... the ineffectiveness of a housing program by itself in clearing slums is due in part to the existence of a long-term housing shortage, but also to the fact that blight is a complex phenomenon related to other factors in addition to housing." Most housing authorities found that simply tearing down slums and building new housing projects only led to the re-establishment of a new slum in the same area in a few years. Such was the case in Buffalo, where several of the projects, although providing better housing than had previously existed, only led to more overcrowding, due to the acute housing shortage. Out of this realization grew the thought and comprehensive planning known as urban redevelopment: "... the name for a set of related measures, policies and programs aimed at remaking all kinds of blighted areas into districts that will fit into an intelligent plan for the future of an urban center or metropolitan region." Essentially, urban renewal is the total of all of the actions that must be taken for the continuous sound development of the urban area. Both public and private agencies will participate in this program to include aspects such as housing, zoning, schools, enforcement of health standards, community facilities, transportation, and minimizing racial restrictions.

State Redevelopment Laws

The first laws to reflect the comprehensive approach of urban renewal were enacted by the states. In the five-year period

between 1941 and 1946, 20 states had adopted urban redevelopment laws for the renewal and rehabilitation of their cities. Both New York and Illinois, the states with the worst renewal problems, enacted Urban Redevelopment Corporation Laws in 1941.

Two types of state statutes were adopted: private corporation and public agency. These acts were designed to encourage either private enterprise or public bodies, through the operations of an urban redevelopment corporation, to (1) assemble and clear land, and (2) to construct housing with the necessary community facilities. Later laws left the responsibility for land assembly and clearance upon local public bodies, with private enterprise actually doing the redevelopment of the area. All of the legislation enacted was based upon the exercise of the power of eminent domain in site assembly. These urban redevelopment statutes were distinct from and supplementary to the local housing authority enabling legislation under the 1937 Housing Act in effect in most of the states. Most of the laws granted power to the redevelopment agency to exercise continuing controls over the property after it was sold or leased to private developers, to assure compliance with the provisions of the law and the redevelopment plan as to future land uses. Probably more than anything else, these laws sought to make central land as available for development as land at the fringe, and thus to wipe out the differentials that now induce builders and residents to seek outlying land to the exclusion of the near-in land.

These laws were only moderately successful.

"What was hailed as a great panacea for many of the ills of city life, including the enervating disease of suburbanitis, unfortunately did not measure up to expectations. Too many of the complexities of urban existence were neglected. The mere inability to assemble a relatively large tract of land was an insignificant legal problem in comparison with others which urban redevelopers had to face. Many have oversimplified the causes of slum conditions. They forgot that slums stem from a great variety of factors; they are caused in part by lack of planning, inadequate building codes and code enforcement, zoning laws which do not assure sufficient protection from industrial encroachment, and tax laws which penalize slum improvements. Slums also exist because, inescapable, the slum dwellers have low incomes."

Housing Act of 1949

After facing inaction by both the 79th and 80th Congress, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act was passed in the 81st Congress, to become the Housing Act of 1949. This bill provided a broad legislative base for a national housing program for urban redevelopment through loans to local agencies for land acquisition and subsidies to assist in writing off excess land cost. These grants were provided for the first time under Title I of the act for the specific purpose of assisting cities to clear blighted areas and prepare them for rebuilding into well-planned, integrated neighborhoods.

Every locality undertaking a slum-clearance project with federal assistance must have a general local plan for the development of

the entire community to which the project must conform. Provision is made for two types of areas to be cleared; one in which housing is the predominant land use, in which case redevelopment could be for any feasible re-use. The other area is one in which non-residential land use or open-land predominates, in which case the new use is mainly for housing.

The Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency is authorized to make loans up to one billion dollars to local redevelopment agencies. Three types of loans are provided: (1) advance of funds for surveys and plans, (2) temporary loans for initial costs of preparing a redevelopment area for sale or lease, or providing public facilities to serve new uses of redeveloped land, and (3) long term loans for project areas leased for redevelopment rather than sold outright to private interests. In addition, a total of $500,000,000 in federal capital grants is authorized for distribution to local agencies. Capital grants are made only toward financing the "net cost" of a redevelopment project. This "net cost" is defined as the difference between the cost of clearance of a blighted area and the proceeds received from the sale or lease of such cleared land. The locality must put up at least one-third of the above described "net cost" in order to receive a capital grant of the remaining net cost. However, this local share need not be in cash but may be satisfied through donations of land, public improvements connected with the redevelopment area, or municipal services for the area.

Before any slum clearance project will be approved by the federal government, site occupants must be guaranteed replacement in permanent housing within their financial means in areas not generally
less desirable. A public hearing must be held prior to the acquisition of land, and in every case, maximum opportunity consistent with the sound needs of the locality must be afforded private enterprise to participate in the redevelopment program.

**Housing Act of 1954**

In his message to Congress of January 25, 1954, President Eisenhower stated that the main elements of the attack on slums and blighted areas should include:

"First. Prevention of the spread of blight into good areas of the community through strict enforcement of housing and neighborhood standards and strict occupancy controls;

"Second. Rehabilitation of salvable areas, turning them into sound, healthful neighborhoods by replanning, removing congestion, providing parks and playgrounds, reorganizing streets and traffic, and by facilitating rehabilitation of deteriorated structures;

"Third. Clearance and redevelopment of man salvageable slums."

On August 2nd of that year, the Housing Act of 1954 was passed by Congress. Entitled, "An Act to Aid in the Provision and Improvement of Housing, the Elimination and Prevention of Slums, and the Conservation and Development of Urban Communities", it embodied important amendments to Title I of the Housing Act of 1949.

Originally the provisions of Title I were applicable only to clearance and redevelopment. The new legislation broadens the scope of the old and provides for a wider range of federal aid in the kind of all-out attack referred to. In addition to aid for clearance and redevelopment, financial as well as technical and professional

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assistance has now become available for undertakings involving rehabilitation and conservation in an urban renewal area, which may be needed not only to arrest deterioration but also to reverse it and thus facilitate the upgrading of neighborhoods.

The funds originally authorized in the 1949 legislation became an "Urban Renewal Fund", and the two-thirds formula for federal subsidy is retained. It is important to note that the basic concept of the redevelopment project remains unchanged and conventional. As a prerequisite to federal assistance, there must not only be present an "urban renewal" plan for the specific project, approved by the governing body which conforms to the general plan of the locality, but also a new requirement that the locality present to the administrator a workable program for slum control.

Municipal Laws

It should be noted that all of the federal housing and renewal legislation place the principal burden upon the people of the city and their government. Congress has recognized that the welfare of the nation's cities and towns, containing as they do the majority of the nation's population and the vast preponderance of its commercial and industrial resources, is a matter of the national interest. It has made clear, however, that while the federal government stands ready to extend the most significant kind of assistance, cities and towns must be willing and able to help themselves in the renewal process.

All of the Housing Acts maintain that the basic responsibility must rest at the local level. The workable program must contain
not only an effective plan for dealing with existing slums and blight and preventing their future development and spread but also must provide for "the establishment and preservation of a well-planned community with well-organized residential neighborhoods of decent homes and suitable living environment for adequate family life. This double set of objectives is the standard against which locality activity must be measured.

Among the elements which deserve attention by the municipality are:

(1) The Master Plan - a comprehensive plan by the City Planning Commission to provide a pattern for the future development of the city. It includes not only areas designated for a particular land use but also the plan for major highways, railroads, and other circulation elements. Also, the plan does not stop at the city's boundaries, but, rather, it indicates a plan or program for both the central city and the adjacent areas.

(2) The Building Code - a law outlining the requirements for safe building, important in pointing out situations that are dangerous to the public.

(3) The Housing Code - a law based upon a model ordinance by the American Public Health Association containing minimum standards for all existing housing.

(4) Zoning Ordinance - an instrument to give effect to the master plan of the community. This law divides the community into areas in which land is restricted to certain specific uses.

(5) Community Facilities - the provision of adequate schools, parks, community recreational centers to keep blight and slums at a minimum.

(6) Other services - public transportation, an adequate street system, garbage collection, police and fire protection.
In the previous section, an attempt was made to briefly outline the origin and the growth of cities and to state some of the problems that are affecting contemporary cities, along with a summary of general remedial proposals that have been made on all levels of government. The remainder of this paper will deal specifically with Buffalo, New York, a typical northern metropolitan center, and one that this writer feels deserves a thorough analysis in the light of present redevelopment plans.

Early History

Buffalo, New York is located on the easternmost tip of Lake Erie at the Niagara River and at the western terminus of the Erie Barge Canal. The city probably derives its name from Buffalo Creek, the site of numerous salt flats which attracted herds of buffalo in the earliest days of the frontier settlement. During the early exploration of the United States, Buffalo was an important commercial and military post for the Indians and, later, the French, who controlled the area for 150 years. In 1758, Captain Daniel de Joncaire de Chabert, a French fur trapper, established a plantation here which was probably the first recorded settlement on the site. Because of its strategic location, the city was destined to grow into one of the nation's key metropolitan areas.

The Holland Land Company purchased four large tracts in western New York in 1790 and had them surveyed in 1803-4 by Joseph Ellicott, brother of Andrew Ellicott who surveyed Washington, D.C. Probably influenced by the radial plan of Washington done by the French planner, L'Enfant, Ellicott's plan of Buffalo was a system of diagonal streets crossing a gridiron pattern at the central square near the Lake Erie
Waterfront (now known as McKinley Square). Even today, the city has adhered to the planning of this pioneer surveyor.

By 1812, the settlement had a population of about 1,500 persons and became an important military post and center of frontier activity during the War of 1821. In 1813, the village was severely burned by the British but was rapidly rebuilt and continued to expand, becoming incorporated as a village in 1816. The completion of the Erie Barge Canal in 1825 transformed Buffalo into a city, and it was incorporated with a population of about 10,000 persons in 1832.

Buffalo's industrial era began with the completion of the Erie Canal, the building of the first grain elevator in 1845, and the origination of the first cheap electric power generated from Niagara Falls in 1896. Between 1825 and 1860, thousands of German immigrants flocked to the city, and between 1870 and 1900, 130,000 Poles and 60,000 Italians settled in the area. From 1810 to 1880, the city had grown to over 150,000 persons, and by the turn of the century (1900), its population was 352,000 persons.

Buffalo Today

Buffalo's role as a key commercial and industrial center has never diminished. Besides being one of the world's most important inland ports, next to Chicago, it is the country's largest railroad center and one of the greatest distributing points of western grain in the East. The city is served by eleven trunk railroad lines from the

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United States and Canada, and is the world's largest flour milling center, with a capacity equal to the next two largest centers, Minneapolis and Kansas City, combined. The major industries in the city today are the manufacture of motor vehicles, iron and steel products, chemicals, aircraft, rubber, flour and grain products, metal products, and electrical equipment. Firms such as Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Bell Aircraft, Ford and Chevrolet Motors, American Radiator Company, Westinghouse, Western Electric and Sylvania Electric, Twin Coach (buses), DuPont and Allied Chemical and Dye, all have important plants in the area. Buffalo is both the industrial and political center of the Niagara Frontier and is the seat of Erie County.

Buffalo became a major war production center during World War II and in the post-war years has maintained this position. Air Force, Army Ordnance, and Navy Prime Contracts held by area companies exceeded $408,000,000 in December of 1952, as compared to $375,000,000 at the end of 1951. However, the industrial expansion realized in the Buffalo area was not entirely the result of defense contracts, as there are comparatively few firms in the area engaged mainly in defense production. In the June 1952 issue of Buffalo Business, it was observed that, relative to population, the expansion of new plant facilities in Buffalo has been about the largest of any major industrial area. A hundred million dollars of plant and new machinery were constructed and installed during 1952.

The upsurge of new capital investment in Buffalo generated a high level of employment. Manufacturing employment in the area now averages above the 200,000 mark, with April, 1953 employment at 219,800 persons.

Growth of Buffalo

According to the 1950 Census, Buffalo was ranked as the nation's fifteenth largest city, with a population of 580,152. This is an increase of only 0.7 per cent from 1940, when the city was ranked as the fourteenth largest city. In fact, since 1920, when Buffalo had a population of 506,775 persons, its percentage of increase during the intercensal period has decreased significantly. Probably the most important factor affecting the almost static population of the city is that Buffalo's land area of 42.67 square miles has been enlarged only one square mile since 1854. The city has essentially reached the saturation point as far as population is concerned, and statisticians must look to some other index to give a true comparison of the city's growth.

Because many cities are also faced with a problem similar to Buffalo's, and also because of the nature of the growth of fringe areas of central cities, the Bureau of Census adopted the term "Standard Metropolitan Area" in 1950 to present population statistics for large cities and their suburbs. In general, "the S.M.A. consists of central cities, the entire county containing these cities, and any other counties having metropolitan characteristics which are integrated with the central city" (except in New England, where town rather than county lines are used as boundaries). The Buffalo, New York S.M.A. contains all of Erie and Niagara counties and ranked fourteenth in the nation in size with a population of 1,089,250 in 1950.

Table I showing the population and per cent of increase in population of the Buffalo, New York S.M.A. is a better guide to the growth of the area. With the exception of the depression years, the S.M.A. has continued to expand, although at a somewhat slower rate than most areas in the country.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION AND PER CENT OF INCREASE</th>
<th>OF POPULATION OF BUFFALO, N.Y. STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA, BY DECADES 1900 - 1950 *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1,089,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central City</td>
<td>580,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring</td>
<td>509,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per Cent Increase</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'40-'50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central City</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II

GROWTH RATES OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH 1,000,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS, 1940-1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank in Size</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1950 Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
<th>Rank in Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>New York - Northeastern New Jersey</td>
<td>12,911,994</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>5,495,364</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>4,367,911</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>3,671,048</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>3,016,197</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>2,875,876</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>2,240,767</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pittsburg</td>
<td>2,213,236</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1,681,281</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1,465,511</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1,464,089</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>1,337,373</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Minneapolis - St. Paul</td>
<td>1,116,509</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>1,089,230</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared to the fourteen Standard Metropolitan Areas with one million or more inhabitants in 1950, fourteenth-ranked Buffalo was eleventh in rate of growth, ahead of Pittsburgh, Boston and New York. (See Table II, Growth Rates of S.M.A. with One Million or More Inhabitants, 1940-50.) Although the growth of the Buffalo, New York S.M.A. is somewhat behind the rate for all S.M.A.'s, Table III illustrates that the city is ahead of the regional average for the northeastern United States. Whereas the average rate of growth for S.M.A.'s in this region from 1900-50 was 11.7 per cent, the Buffalo, New York S.M.A. grew 114.1 per cent.

Table III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intercensal Period</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
<th>Total U.S.</th>
<th>North East</th>
<th>North Center</th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940-50</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-40</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-30</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-20</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-10</td>
<td></td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>160.3</td>
<td>111.7</td>
<td>179.1</td>
<td>114.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negroes in Buffalo

The tremendous growth of Buffalo before 1900 can be largely attributed to waves of immigrants from Germany, Poland and Italy; however, from 1930 on, the growth of Buffalo's Negro population has certainly been a significant factor in the city's development. Between 1940 to 1950, while the city itself added only 4,231 persons total, some 18,951 Negroes moved to the city, an increase of over 100 per cent in a decade. By and large, most of these were from the South and moved to Buffalo for economic reasons, seeking employment in the area's many industries. Table IV below shows the growth of the Negro population in Buffalo between 1910 and 1950.

TABLE IV

GROWTH OF NEGRO POPULATION
IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1910 - 1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Per Intercensal</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,773</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1910-1920</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>4,511</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13,563</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>17,694</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1940-1950</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>36,645</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1910-1950</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based on statistics by the Bureau of Census

Of the 36,645 Negroes who were living in Buffalo in 1950, 29,137, or 79.4 per cent, resided in the Ellicott councilmatic district.
Housing and Redevelopment

A large majority of Buffalo's inhabitants are singularly fortunate to reside in single-family or double-family houses with some yard space surrounding the dwellings. According to the 1950 Census of Housing, there were 180,000 single and double dwelling units in the city. In addition, there were 30,730 dwelling units in groups of three to nine units, with only 8,295 dwelling units in medium or large apartments. The percentage of single and double dwelling units to the total dwelling units in the city is an unusual and most desirable condition from the standpoint of living conditions of the people and is seldom found in an industrial city the size of Buffalo.

However, "...the concentration of large numbers of people in a limited area, as in Buffalo, always tends to increase realty values. This, in turn, causes real estate dealers to divide realty developments into the smallest possible dwelling sites, or to pile apartment dwellings on top of each other in the form of tenement or apartment houses. The results are shown in very limited yard spaces (or no yard space at all); in limited floor space and cubic feet of air space, and oftentimes in lack of natural light. In particular districts invaded by transportation lines and factories, especially in districts formerly desirable as dwelling sites, rental values may decline although realty values may rise. This may cause landlords, in order to get an interest from their investment, to crowd more people into their properties than is proper for the welfare of the people, either from the standpoint of health or wholesome family life. Landlords, in such instances, are also loath to spend much money in keeping properties in first-class condition or to provide modern sanitary facilities. Into such districts usually
"crowd the economically poor groups of the population. In their extreme development, such districts form the slums of American cities."

These words were written in 1925, and in the quarter century since, many of these overcrowded districts have become slums. It became evident after World War II that Buffalo, like Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Chicago, and many other large cities, was in need of a large scale and total renewal. Whole neighborhoods were deteriorating as a result of overcrowding and mixed land uses; traffic conditions were worse than congested because of the increase in automobiles and an archaic street system, and large numbers of people were passing up the city in favor of nearby suburbs. Although the city attempted to clear some of these areas in the early depression years with low rent housing and slum clearance programs under the Public Works Administration and the U. S. Housing Act of 1937, it was soon realized that what was needed was a wholesale rehabilitation of entire communities.

With the passing of the Housing Act of 1949, the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority was designated as the official redevelopment agency for the city. This agency is an independent unit of government incorporated under New York State law in 1934 with the power to conduct its own affairs, and it has administered all of the low rent housing developments in Buffalo. A capital grant reservation of $1,574,040 under Title I of the 1949 Act was approved in February, 1950, and the Authority, along with the Buffalo City Planning Commission, proceeded to designate general redevelopment boundaries which defined the four redevelopment survey areas and began preliminary work on the first project proposed.

General Redevelopment Area

There are many types of substandard areas and many contributing factors which cause their blighted condition. In general, however, deteriorated housing, low economic status, and high incidence of poor social and health conditions, along with inadequate recreation- and community facilities all delineate the boundaries of substandard districts. Buffalo's problem of blighted neighborhoods, like that of most cities, can be attributed to another important condition, as pointed out by Miles L. Colean in "Renewing our Cities":

"In large cities where substandard ethnic minorities exist, these blocs tend to congregate in or to be directed by economic, social and sometimes legal compulsions to the vacuum areas that have been left behind in urban expansion. Once such a pattern of segregation has been established, and so long as it is maintained, at least a tenuous sort of social stability may exist. Change comes gradually, usually as a result of population pressure under which the higher-income elements 'break through' the boundaries of segregation. . .

"Racial segregation greatly magnifies all the difficulties created by a housing shortage. When a general housing shortage exists, its most exaggerated manifestations will be found in the areas of segregation; and even when the housing supply may otherwise be fairly ample, a shortage is likely to persist in the segregated sections. . .

"This problem exists wherever there is a substantial minority having sharply differential racial, religious or national characteristics, its gravity varying roughly in proportion to the size and rate of growth of the minority group. It is usually most serious in respect to Negroes, although in some parts of the country, Mexicans and Orientals share in the disabilities. With the other minority groups, mainly religious and national in character, discrimination in the real estate market, while widely prevalent, is usually less rigid than with Negroes and tends to be softened or eliminated in the course of time as a social amalgamation takes place.

"Community attitudes regarding this situation vary widely from city to city, not so much according to geographic location as to size and rate of growth of the minority group."

Recognizing this condition as particularly characteristic of Buffalo, and drawing upon its many sources of information and research, the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority found that there was a consistent pattern of substandard conditions within the city over a 20-year period coincident to the location of Negroes in Buffalo. On the basis of all factors, the boundaries of a general redevelopment area were agreed upon by the City Planning Commission and the Municipal Housing Authority. (See Figure 2.)

In determining the general redevelopment area, housing was especially considered. The accompanying chart (Fig. 3) shows the ranking of census tracts based upon four housing factors.

The general area of blight in Buffalo is adjacent to the central business district and is centered in the Ellicott Councilmatic District. This area was once a prosperous residential section, but with the expansion of central business and the pull of undeveloped districts, original structures have deteriorated without replacement, and uses conflicting with the environment pattern have been allowed to creep in. The net result of these influences has been declining economic value and the increase of health and safety hazards due to congestion, poor land use and inadequate residential structures. There is a great deficiency of play space, and the streets are carriers of heavy traffic.
Fig. 3

BUFFALO

RANKING OF CENSUS TRACTS

LOWEST FIFTH

RANKING BASED ON FOUR CENSUS FACTORS: CONDITION, CROWDING, MONTHLY RENT, VALUE OF ONE-DWELLING STRUCTURES.
The Ellicott District

The Ellicott Councilmatic District includes the area from Main to Virginia; from Genesee to Sherman; from Broadway to Smith; Smith to South Park, South Park to Louisiana, and Louisiana to the Lake Front. The district contains the fourth, fifth, and eighth wards of the city and Census Tracts 12, 13, 14, 15, 25, and 26. (See Fig. 2.)

In 1950, the population of the area was 73,242 persons, of whom 29,137 or 39.8 per cent were Negroes. 19,154 Negroes alone were crowded into the 14th and 15th Census Tracts. In recent years, many new families from the South and displaced persons have been moving into the Ellicott District. With the exception of the Willert Park Public housing projects of 472 units (completed before World War II), no new housing has been made available. Some families have moved out of the community, but many more have been unable to do so. More and more people with a variety of cultural backgrounds have been crowded into deteriorated buildings. Adjustment to the customs and laws of the city of Buffalo has been difficult for many individuals and families who have had different patterns of living. Inter-group tension has increased, and family problems intensified.

Although the Ellicott District is predominantly residential, a variety of mixed land uses has had no little effect on its present blighted condition. Amid the run down and deteriorated dwellings are no less than three large breweries, two large heavy industrial firms, a lumber yard, and a number of large trucking terminals. The system of radial streets converging upon the central business district has also been detrimental to the area; as this district is so close to the downtown commercial area, these broad, heavily traveled arteries
have sliced the community into a number of unrelated and unsafe sections. William Street, which is routed through the center of the district, is undoubtedly the most unsightly thoroughfare in Buffalo. A strip commercial development lines the street from the center of the city to its outer limits. Probably no other street can boast so many bars, liquor stores and pawn shops per block, along with a variety of other insignificant enterprises.

Compared with the city increase of 0.7 per cent, population in the Ellicott District increased 4.2 per cent between 1940 and 1950. The per cent change in the Census Tract 14 was 14.4 per cent, one of the highest increases for such a near-in area. Over 15,000 Negroes moved into the area during this period, an increase of over 100 per cent. The average population per residential acre in each of the tracts was 71 persons per net residential acre, compared with a city-wide average of 36.5 persons. In Tract 14, there are 86.5 persons per net residential acre, and the figure is well over a hundred in a substantial part of this tract. (See Project Proposals below) The average adult has completed 8.2 years of school, compared with a city-wide median of 9.1 years.

The 1950 Census figures substantiate the Ellicott District's status as a low-income area. The average income was $2,252, as compared with a city-wide median of $3,079. Tract 13 reported a median income of only $1,280—the lowest in the city. Based upon an estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics released in May, 1952, the annual cost of a "modest but adequate" level of living for a four-person Buffalo family (two adults and two minors) was $4,127. Certainly, not many of the families in this area were able to reach this average, nor
could they afford many of the $12,000 minimal homes being built outside of the city. (For a complete population summary, see Table VIII and Table IX in the appendix.)

Housing in the Ellicott District

The median rental cost in the Ellicott District was $24.45 a month in dwellings valued at $4,506, compared to a city median of $32.27 in dwellings valued at $8,818. The percentage of overcrowding in Tract 14, 18.8 per cent, was far greater than the city-wide average of 7 per cent. Over 30 per cent of the houses in the District were rated as dilapidated by census researchers. In a block survey made in 1954, (See Housing Quality Survey in Appendix) deficiencies consistently ran as high as 80 per cent and 90 per cent, and one block was rated as 100 per cent. Seventy-five to 90 per cent of the dwellings were built before 1919. Only 20.4 per cent of the families in the district owned their own homes, compared with 32 per cent for the city of Buffalo. With the population as dense as it is in the area, and with the existing housing shortage, landlords have gone into the worst forms of exploitation and are realizing returns as high as 100 per cent on their investments. Only in 1953, when the city passed a Minimal Housing Ordinance patterned on a recommendation by the American Public Health Association, did the municipality begin to exert pressure upon these absentee owners. It is interesting to observe that this area in Buffalo--probably the most blighted, the most run-down, the shabbiest in the city--has one of the highest asking prices of any parcels except in the central business district. (For a complete Housing Summary, see Table VII in the Appendix.)

How did this condition arise? The answer is fairly simple. Speculators who invested in the area before the depression years
were trapped when the central business district ceased to expand. Rather than attempt to rehabilitate their holdings, they have used the housing shortage and patterns of segregation in the area to great advantage while enjoying a tax rate far below the city-wide median. A study of cases of land acquisition for public housing in slum areas (see "Who Owns the Slums", National Housing Bulletin No. 6, National Housing Agency, Washington, March, 1946) revealed that about two-thirds of the equity holders were not residents of the area and that about 25 per cent of the amount going to equity holders was paid to corporations, institutions, and estates of government agencies.

The following data (Table V) compiled by the Erie County Health Department and printed in "Tract Facts for the Buffalo Area" and other publications illustrates the toll that poor social and living conditions can take. The tuberculosis death rate for Census Tracts 12 and 13 was 150.6 per 100,000 population, compared to the 26.2 per 100,000 population rate for the city. The average tuberculosis rate for the district is 100.9 per 100,000 persons. The pre-natal death rate (infant mortality) is close to 50 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to a city average of 26.1 per 1,000 total births. According to a report published by the Council of Social Agencies, the Ellicott District has "an illegitimate live birth rate which is over four times as great for some sections of the Ellicott District as it is for the average of the City of Buffalo."

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<tr>
<td><strong>Average Birth Rate</strong></td>
<td>24.5</td>
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<td><strong>Average Death Rate</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Average TB Death Rate</strong></td>
<td>12.5</td>
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<td><strong>Rate per 100,000 Pop. 1950-1952</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Average Pre-natal Death Rate</strong></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>46.0</td>
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<td>46.5</td>
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* Source: Erie County Department of Health.
Project Proposals

In February, 1952, a preliminary planning grant of $20,000 was allotted to Buffalo for studies to serve as the basis for defining specific redevelopment projects. The following June, a committee--later to become the Board of Redevelopment--was appointed to specifically deal with redevelopment in the city. The three agencies--the City Planning Commission, the Board of Redevelopment, and the Municipal Housing Authority--working together reduced the general redevelopment area to four survey areas in order to provide a smaller working basis for the selection of project sites.

The four areas selected are representative, if not the extreme, examples of blight in Buffalo. In addition, they are the proposed locations of extensive public improvements over the next few years. In Area No. 1, the New York State Thruway will pass along the lake boundary, and a new park and recreational development is proposed; in Area No. 2, the Cherry Street Expressway connection and centrally located recreation are contemplated; in Area No. 3, a future public park falls in the center of the area, and two new public housing projects are now under construction; in Area No. 4, a new Ohio Basin recreation area, a new public housing project, and new shopping facilities are planned.

As the result of a Housing Quality Survey conducted in the area in October, 1954 by a team of collegiate researchers under the direction of the American Public Health Association (See Map and Report in Appendix), Redevelopment Area No. 3 was given first priority for further appraisal. This is the area including the blocks bounded by William and Swan Streets on the north and south, and Michigan and Jefferson Avenues on the west and east, and, excluding streets, totals
RELATIONSHIP OF REDEVELOPMENT AREA NO. 3 TO THE GENERAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA AND THE ELLICOTT COUNCILMATIC DISTRICT
87.3 acres (See Fig. 4). The present population is 12,090 persons, housed in 2,714 dwelling units, giving a net residential density of 138 persons per acre. Included in the area is most of Census Tract 14 and parts of Census Tracts 12 and 13. Because of a multitude of mixed land uses, the penetration of heavy traffic arteries and the generally low level of the housing, it was felt that this area warranted total redevelopment. (See Fig. 5)

The Buffalo City Planning Commission has already prepared a Proposed Land Use Map of this area, which indicates the trend of the future development of the site (See Fig. 6). In general, a number of streets will be eliminated, and through traffic will be routed around the area. Residential development will comprise the major land use in the area, with limited commercial developments on the fringe. Two major proposals are; to develop a large park area in the center of the site, and to locate two public housing projects near the east and west boundaries of the area.

The two housing projects for which land has already been cleared and plans completed are being financed by the New York State Division of Housing and administered by the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority. A total capital loan of $26,000,000 has been made available for these two projects, for a third in another section of the city, and for the dedication of two park areas (within the area shown on the land use map) to the City of Buffalo. Talbert Mall (Fig. 7) covers the area bounded by South Division, Clinton, Jefferson Avenue, and Spring Street. Three blocks east of Talbert is Ellicott Mall (Fig. 8), bounded by South Division, Eagle, Michigan Avenue, and Pine Street. Talbert Mall will
PROPOSED LAND USE

LEGEND
- LOW MEDIUM DENSITY RESIDENTIAL R-2
- HIGH MEDIUM DENSITY RESIDENTIAL R-3 OR R-4
- COMMUNITY BUSINESS
- LIGHT INDUSTRY OR GENERAL COMMERCIAL
- RECREATION
- PUBLIC BUILDINGS
  1. PUBLIC SCHOOL NO. 32
  2. TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL
  3. EMERGENCY HOSPITAL
  4. ST. LUCY SCHOOL
  5. PUBLIC SCHOOL NO. 6
  6. ST. COLUMBA SCHOOL

D.U.'S. = DWELLING UNITS

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT WITHIN DOTTED LINE ON MAP TO BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ALLOW EITHER GARDEN OR MULTI-STORY DEVELOPMENT. EXISTING STREETS COULD BE CLOSED IF CONVENIENT TO A BETTER PLAN.

NOTE: NUMBER OF DWELLING UNITS BASED ON
A. 20000 FT. MINIMUM PER D.U.
B. 1250 SQ. FT. MINIMUM PER D.U.
C. 5200 D.U.'S. TOTAL PERSONS
D. 404 TOTAL PERSONS

REDEVELOPMENT AREA NO. 3
ELLIOTT COMMUNITY
have nine 8-story buildings and three 7-story buildings, while Ellicott Mall will have eight 8-story buildings. The new development will cover less than 15 per cent of the land and provide 1,353 dwelling units ranging from efficiency and one-bedroom units to five-bedroom units. Included within these units will be almost 80 units for the aged and handicapped. Based upon the existing family character of 3.2 persons per dwelling unit, 4,330 persons will occupy the site—a substantial increase over the 2,464 persons in prior occupancy. The projects will occupy 31 acres, achieving a density of about 140 persons per net acre, substantially the same as the over-all density in the Ellicott District.

As a result of recommendations by the Leisure Time Interest Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, the Municipal Housing Authority incorporated a nursery school, a health clinic, and a number of social and craft rooms, including special facilities for the aged, in each of the projects. All of these facilities are in ground floor locations and in close proximity to adjacent terraces and play spaces. It is believed that kindergarten classes will be held in the nursery schools when the projects are occupied.

Ellicott and Talbert Malls illustrate two important factors that should be considered in the future development of the area. First: that the prevalent one and two-family dwelling units widely existing in Buffalo place severe limits on how large the metropolitan population can grow without extensive overcrowding; and, secondly: that these densities can be increased greatly when necessary to accommodate the population by using high-rise apartments which can substantially free the ground—on which can be provided many of the amenities that are presently lacking in these areas. In any particular system, the
case in point being housing, the extent of growth is limited by its capacity for growth, necessitating a complete revamping of the system.

The City Planning Commission has indicated that the total redevelopment site will house some 13,000 persons after renewal—a figure which may not be altogether realistic if it is assumed that private enterprise is to participate in the program. "The crux of the problem is the discrepancy between the value which the owner places upon the land and the use to which the property can be appropriately and economically put." The cost of acquiring the land already purchased in the area for public housing projects averaged $2.50 per square foot, plus an additional $1.00 per square foot to clear the site—a total of $3.50 per square foot, or over $150,000 an acre. If private developers are to keep within the limitation recommended by the Planning Agency, inducement write-offs may run as high as 90 per cent of the cost of preparing the site for construction, which may not be economically feasible. The only alternative remaining then is an increased density in the area in order to provide a reasonable return for investors. It seems probable, and perhaps also desirable, especially in an area so close to the heart of the metropolitan district, that all future housing developments will be composed of high-rise units.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES IN THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT

Introduction

As was stated in Part II of this report, the causes of slums and blight in our cities and the interruption of the renewal process has been over-simplified by many persons. The decay of our cities has been a complex phenomenon which stems from a great variety of problems, one no less important than another. This paper is primarily concerned with community facilities in redevelopment areas, certainly a factor involved in curbing the growth of blight and slums. Much has been said about the lack of these facilities in the Ellicott District but too little consideration has been given to this condition in the present redevelopment plans.

In 1921, the Social Welfare Conference of Buffalo (later to become the Council of Social Agencies) conducted the first comprehensive study to formulate a practicable program of extending recreational facilities throughout the city. This study logically recognized that the greatest extension of these facilities should be in the least well-supplied districts. The study was taken over by the Buffalo City Planning Association the following year, and three years later resulted in the publication of "Recreation Survey of Buffalo". It is interesting to note that many deficiencies in recreational facilities revealed in this report have remained unchanged to the present day.

After the end of World War II, great attention was again focused upon the lack of recreational facilities in the area, and the National Recreation Association was asked to make a comprehensive survey

of the Buffalo area and to present recommendations which would be used by the Department of Parks and the City Planning Commission in drawing up a Master Plan of the area. Although the city has a lake and river front of almost forty miles, due to lack of foresight of early planners, most of the areas have been developed for industrial use. Buffalo, like Chicago, Detroit and St. Louis, devoted its splendid site to industrial plants, the railroad, and the tankers of the new factory system. The land was platted and advertised as "desirable sites for industry". One of the most important recommendations to come out of the 1946 Recreation Survey was that a system of 26 neighborhood parks be established throughout the city, to include comprehensive recreational and community facilities. The park reservation of 28 acres in the center of the Ellicott District Redevelopment Area is based upon the conclusions of this survey.

In the city of Buffalo, the area with perhaps the greatest deficiency in recreational facilities, and, consequently, the area of greatest need, is the Ellicott District. Both of the studies mentioned above recognized this need and made special recommendations to provide additional facilities in the area. A more recent survey of this tract was made in 1952 by the Ellicott District Project Committee of the Council of Social Agencies to determine the role of private group work agencies in the community. The committee's recommendation, not generally accepted by the private agencies in the area, was that the Council of Social Agencies establish a community council to serve as a planning body for agencies and community groups in the District to: (1) coordinate present services, and (2) to extend these services under the direction of the council.

These studies have been mentioned mainly to emphasize the fact that a number of agencies have been concerned with recreational and community facilities in the Ellicott District and in the city in general for over a quarter century. With the present urban renewal project in the planning stage, some sort of appraisal should be made of these facilities in the Ellicott District, and concrete proposals should be included in the Redevelopment Master Plan. The following comprehensive survey was made to aid in this proposal.

Group Work Agencies

Of the eight leisure time, group work agencies in Buffalo under private auspices with building centered activities, four are located within a mile of the center of the Ellicott District. They are the Buffalo Urban League, the Hickory Street Christian Center, the Neighborhood House Association, and the Westminster Community House (See Fig. 9). These groups, along with the Michigan Avenue Branch YMCA and Central Branch YWCA, are filling a much needed service to the community. The coordination of program and activities and cooperation among these groups is made possible through the Council of Social Agencies of Buffalo and Erie County (COSA).

Council of Social Agencies

The Council of Social Agencies was formally organized on April 11, 1922 because of the mounting realization of the need for team work, cooperation and coordination among the growing group of social agencies in the area. From a modest beginning of twenty-one charter members, the number of member agencies has since expanded greatly, totaling

LOCATION OF AGENCIES WITH BUILDING CENTERED PROGRAMS SERVING THE ELLIOTT DISTRICT

1. Buffalo Urban League, Inc.
2. Central Branch Y. W. C. A.
3. Hickory Street Christian Center
4. Michigan Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A.
5. Neighborhood House Association
6. Welcome Hall (Municipally Operated)
7. Westminster Community House

Fig. 9
118 in 1954-55, the highest in the group's history. Over the years, the Council has been concerned with a number of programs, including a very active and positive program relative to social legislation and the study of vital social problems and programs.

The COSA's objectives and purposes as stated in its constitution are:

1. Offering opportunity for the executives and workers in different fields of social endeavor to discuss with one another their aims, purposes and methods;
2. Including persons interested in various departments of social work to unite for the study of particular problems, to abstract the assured results of common experience, and to make such information available to the members of the council and to the community;
3. Inviting existing groups of agencies to unite for the study of the needs in special fields, and to report on possible coordination and extension of their services;
4. Discovering through the comparison of experiences new needs and seeking to meet such needs through the improvement of existing work, public and private, through the encouragement of new work, or through legislation;
5. Inaugurating and carrying on joint activities;
6. Seeking to increase the interest of the citizens in the economic independence, mental and physical well-being, and good citizenship of all families in the community.

The broad policies of the COSA are established by a Delegate Board composed of one lay and one professional representative from each member agency, and seventeen individual members. The Executive Board, composed of twenty-five persons from the member agencies, takes care of the more immediate program of the Council. The activities of the Agency are made effective through four departments, four standing committees to handle special projects, such as the recent Ellicott District study. The departments include the Social Service Exchange, the Research Department, the Neighborhood Recreational Council, and the Information Committee.

1 "Twenty-five Years of Progress", Council of Social Agencies (Buffalo, 1947).
The Social Service Exchange acts as a clearing house, bringing the number of social agencies in closer working relationship with one another, eliminating the duplication of service and welfare grants. The Research Department is a source of factual information regarding health, recreation and social service problems. This department was responsible for the publication, "Tract Facts", which has been referred to frequently in this study. The Neighborhood Recreational Council was organized to "help the neighborhoods to help themselves". It has stimulated greater interest and participation in neighborhood problems by the formation of neighborhood councils, composed of leaders and representatives of citizens in each area. The Information Department handles the many inquiries concerning the social service resources, programs, and problems. The COSA has a staff of 21 employees, including the Executive Secretary, and operates on an annual budget of over $90,000, received from the member agencies, plus contributions from the Community Chest, including the Jewish Federation, Catholic Charities, American Red Cross, City of Buffalo, and the County of Erie.

In addition, the COSA has worked closely and cooperatively with the University of Buffalo and Buffalo State Teachers College to provide field work placements for Social Work students in its member agencies including many of those in the Ellicott District.

**Hickory Street Christian Center**

The Hickory Street Christian Center is one of 57 Christian Guidance Centers sponsored by the Home Mission Society of the American Baptist Convention. The Agency is located in a large brick

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residence at 280 Hickory Street, in the heart of the Ellicott District. Originally established as a Jewish Shelter House, the center was later owned by the Lutheran Church, from which it was purchased over 50 years ago by the Buffalo Baptist Association.

The agency has a three-phase program, consisting of: (1) Christian education outside of its building, such as programs and cooperation with local churches, schools and other groups; (2) group work within the building, including over 20 different programs; and (3) the recreation program within the building. Its area of operation extends from Main to Stanton, and from Genesee to Swan.

Compared to the other agencies in the community, the Center's program is small, due to a number of reasons including size of building, staff, budget, and type of program offered. The agency has an all-Negro program staff of four paid workers—a director who is the administrator, a secretary, a program director, and a boy's worker. In addition, there are twenty-four volunteer workers from churches, interested parents, and cooperative programs in field work with the University of Buffalo and Buffalo State Teachers College. The center's yearly budget is around $20,000 and is derived chiefly from the Buffalo Baptist Society and the Home Missionary Society of the American Baptist Convention. Recently the agency applied for Community Chest support and was rejected because of the uncertainty of the redevelopment plans for the Ellicott District. The broad policies of the agency are formulated by its 17-member board of directors, composed of lay members from local churches and from the community in general. Over the past five years, the normal attendance curve has been around 600 persons a week, including
90 adults, in the categories mentioned above, which embrace some 20 to 25 various activities. With 99 per cent of its membership Negro, the Hickory Street Center is far from being interracial.

The building is also utilized by the community for activities such as organization meetings (PTA, NAACP, etc.) and Public School release time religious education. Although sponsored by the Baptist Church, the center is for children of all faiths and seeks to provide leisure time activity for everyone in an atmosphere of Christian influence.

The physical facilities of the building are old but clean, and in general good condition. The building which houses the agency is a large converted residence which probably dates back to the 1890's. The center includes a game room, ping pong room, showers, lockers, and boiler room in the basement, and a large gymnasium connected to the building on ground floor level as an annex, built around 1955 by the federal government under the Public Works Administration program. On the first and second floors, facilities include two offices, a kitchen, and approximately ten rooms for crafts, group work activities and day nursery. The third floor of the center is reserved as a residence for the director.

The facilities listed above rightly indicate that the Center is well-qualified for a small but extensive group work program. Its activities include knitting, tennis instruction, arts and crafts, dramatics, music, Bible classes, skating and club groups. The director of the Center feels that the small membership enables the individual to get a meaningful program. Because of the feeling that a social worker becomes a monitor and not a teacher when the group becomes too large,
activities are limited to twelve persons. Rules include: (1) smoking or drinking prohibited; (2) opening all activities with a prayer, and (3) limiting membership to participation in three activities.

Membership fees are nominal and are on a graduated scale from $.25 to $1.00. Of the five agencies surveyed in the Ellicott District, the Hickory Street Christian Center appears to be giving some of the best service to the District. Its group work program seems excellent; however, it is greatly handicapped by lack of finances and by limited space. Because of this, the Center is forced to close each year from July to September, a time when a social agency's services are undoubtedly most needed. The agency cannot be expected to expand in the future unless its facilities and staff are increased greatly. The Center's future place in the area is uncertain, since the neighborhood will also be subject to renewal.

Westminster Community House

Next to the Michigan Avenue Branch YMCA, the agency in the Ellicott District with perhaps the largest facilities is the Westminster Community House, located at 424 Adam Street on the eastern boundary of the area. Originally established by the Westminster Presbyterian Church to administer relief to fifty-five families in the area, the agency's present purpose is to maintain a community center for people of all ages, races, and religions; a center where recreational, social, and educational programs provide social outlets, teach skills, broaden outlets, strengthen character, and train members in the

2. Interview with Rev. Kenneth A. Bowen, Director, Hickory Street Christian Guidance Center.
Responsibility of good citizenship. Its program coaches the whole family, with a membership range from 2 to 85 years old. The objectives of the Westminster House are: (1) to provide wholesome recreation, (2) to teach skills and broaden interests, (3) to promote racial understanding and cooperation, (4) to foster religious life in the church of one’s choice, (5) to develop respect and responsibility among members, and (6) to stimulate and train members for service. The area of operation of the House is between Clinton and Dodge Streets, and Michigan and Fillsmore Avenues. However, the bulk of its 1,229 members is within a mile’s radius, 43 per cent within a half mile.

The agency’s broad program covers all age groups and has found its facilities so effective as to continue to draw members even though they have moved out of the neighborhood. Some of its members have been attending the House for over 30 years. The administration of the Westminster House feels that this continuity is a good measure of the agency’s program.

The agency’s staff includes four full time workers—a Director, Assistant Director, and two group workers who supervise a staff of 40 volunteer workers from Buffalo State Teachers College, and 40 volunteers from its own membership. In addition, the City of Buffalo provides 4 playground workers during the winter months. Three-quarters of its yearly budget of $20,000 is contributed by the Westminster Presbyterian Church; the remaining $4,000 is collected from a nominal membership fee or 25 cents plus rental fees for building activities (bowling, cooking, pool, room rentals, etc.). The Board of Management, which meets monthly, is the governing body in the agency and is composed
of 17 lay persons from the church's organizations. Also, there is a local house board composed of two representatives from each center group.

The facilities of the agency include a large gymnasium, convertible to an auditorium with a stage; two bowling alleys; a pool room; club and classrooms; kitchen; lunch counter; locker and shower rooms; woodworking shop; game rooms; ceramic room; and offices. They are housed in a large three-story brick building which probably dates back to the late 1800's. An adjacent wood frame house is used as a residence by the full time staff. The Westminster House also runs a camp outside Buffalo at Angola during the summer months which has a capacity of 75 persons a week.

Because of the large ratio of volunteer to paid workers, the House's program is built around the skills of the particular group worker and includes cooking, tap-dancing, sewing, woodworking, dramatics, crafts, model building and other activities. The ratio of members to volunteers depends upon the activity and is around 30:1 at the most. Only 35 per cent of the agency's members are from the low income group.

The Westminster House is located in a section of the Ellicott District which was predominantly white before World War II. Due to the influx of Negroes in the area, the composition of the neighborhood was radically changed. After the war, integration was attempted at the House, and it has not yet been totally successful. At first, there were strenuous objections over admitting Negroes because of the close and long association of the members of the group. After ten years on an integrated basis, about 50 per cent of the grade school membership is Negro, but
the adult membership is still almost 100 per cent white. Even now, in a neighborhood which is 50 per cent Negro, the total membership composition of the House is 90 per cent white. A full time Negro worker was first hired a year ago, largely because of a desire by the Presbyterian organization to establish a new church in the area.

Although the agency claims to work on the neighborhood level, the widespread membership does not substantiate this. It appears, rather, that the agency had turned its back on the community for a more ambitious city-wide program and has only begun to realize its responsibility to the citizens in the neighborhood where it is located.

Neighborhood House Association

The Neighborhood House Association has the newest and finest facilities of any agency in the Ellicott District. The Center, organized many years ago as a function of the Unitarian Church, moved to its present building at Virginia and Orange Streets in 1954 after the area in which it was formerly located shifted from a predominantly residential land use to industrial land use. As a settlement house, its excellent program of group work on a neighborhood level is based upon the following: (1) the concept of neighborhood; (2) the belief that its program should aim at detecting and utilizing leadership, and (3) the idea that a thorough group work program is essential. The agency's motto is: "Plan, Play, Work, Live".

Like the Westminster House, its program is aimed at all ages, with a great deal of stress upon the family group. Operating in

1. Interview with Miss Elizabeth A. Roblin, Director; and Rev. Gabriel Lee, Boys' Worker, Westminster Community House.
the area bound by Main and Jefferson Avenues, and Best to Sycamore Streets, the director of the House feels that most of the 35,000 persons of all age groups in this area are potential members of the Association.

A great deal of credit for the agency's efficient functioning must be given to Miss Rose Steinkrauss, Executive Secretary of the agency, who planned the present facilities for the Neighborhood House Association. The group purchased two frame houses on one street and a masonry building in the rear fronting on the street paralleling it. Working on a budget of less than $100,000, the Association demolished one of the houses and converted its site to a play-yard with a bituminous surface. The adjacent house was remodelled and an addition added, connecting it to the masonry building in the rear which houses the main facilities of the agency. The frame house contains offices for the Association's director, 5 full-time staff members, 8 part-time staff members, and 40 volunteer workers, plus a second floor residence for the janitor, who is always on the premises.

The addition and remodelled masonry structure house the agency's group work and leisure time facilities, and represents a pleasant departure from the typically institutionalized atmosphere of the other centers in the Ellicott District. Its warm, inviting color scheme and contemporary furnishings probably serve to attract the large and enthusiastic membership it has already established.

Included in this section of the building and addition is a small but fully equipped gymnasium, which serves for both recreational and assembly activity; an adjoining auxiliary kitchen for serving and storing of chairs and demountable stage; shower and locker rooms; and a
First Aid room. The main floor has a pleasant lobby, large lounge, two large club meeting rooms, and an Arts and Crafts room. The agency's kitchen, complete with two electric ovens, an 8-burner electric range and dumbwaiter, can serve up to 250 persons at dinners and is used mainly for cooking classes. The woodshop and modern mechanical room are in the basement.

The Neighborhood House Association has been a member of the Community Chest since 1919 and receives 95 per cent of its $37,162 yearly budget from this agency. Its membership policies are based upon the belief that the community and the individual should both share the costs of operation. Its fees, although not nominal, are moderate, and range from $2.00 for teen-agers and "golden-agers" to $4.00 yearly for young adults and family membership. Approximately 600 persons belong to the Association, including 150 families with over 200 children. The building is open from 1:00 to 9:30 P.M. and attendance is limited to two activities a week per person.

The Neighborhood House Association has the newest facilities and the largest staff of any settlement house in the Ellicott District. The agency believes, however, that these are only the tools which are used to attract people and are not the end in themselves. It hopes that its philosophy of neighborhood will not stop in the agency but will be carried out in the community in daily living. The staff, membership, and the neighborhood which it serves are all integrated racially and can be looked up to as a model for the District.

The area in which the House is located is a low, middle-income residential community on the fringe of the Ellicott District,
over a mile from the immediate redevelopment site. The neighborhood was predominately German before the war, but it became integrated as Buffalo's Negro population expanded. It is unlikely that the present urban renewal plans will have any effect upon this agency. However, any future expansion of community facilities in the area should be partly based upon this agency's example.

Michigan Avenue Branch YMCA

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was founded in London, England, in 1844 by twelve young workmen. They joined together to improve the working and leisure time conditions for young people such as themselves. The Michigan Avenue Branch YMCA, one of 7,000 associations in almost 80 countries, was established in Buffalo in 1925. The group's aims are to extend the spiritual values of the "American way of life" through (1) reverence for God, (2) respect for the character of the individual, (3) promotion of the common good, and (4) the application of the Golden Rule. Each member must subscribe to these ideals.

This agency is located at 585 Michigan Avenue, just north of the proposed Redevelopment Area No. 3. Because of its extensive program and firm place in the community, the Michigan Avenue YMCA can be expected to play a key role in developing additional community facilities to meet the needs of the population in the urban renewal area. The group has a fine building with complete facilities, an active staff of professional and lay members, and its financial position is such that gives it the independence most agencies--and particularly also those in the Ellicott District--lack.

1. Interview with Miss Rose Steinkrauss, Executive Secretary, Neighborhood House Association.
From a modest beginning, the Michigan Avenue YMCA advanced to a $285,000 four-story building in 1928 which is today used for its major activities. In addition, the association owns four nearby frame buildings, an adjacent three-story brick building which is used for club-rooms and overflow activity, and it operates the Cold Spring YMCA, an extension of the main branch, which serves 5,000 Negro families in an adjacent community. Until recently, the branch owned and operated its own 44-acre summer camp at Wales Hollow, but it is now free to use the 1,000-acre Weona Camps which are operated by the YMCA of Buffalo and Erie County.

The YMCA has perhaps the largest authorized areas of operation of any agency in the Ellicott District--from Main Street to the city line, and from Genesee Street to Exchange Street. Its program depends upon many active committees made up of voluntary leadership. Because each branch establishes its own program within the national framework, the layman has a great deal of authority. Supervised by a staff of 5 professional and 6 part-time program workers, the membership has established an active program which implements the ideals and principles of Christianity for which the agency was established. Broad policies of the YMCA are made by the active and conscientious 18-man Board of Managers. With 40 volunteer workers and over a hundred committee members, the agency's greatest shortage is in professional staff personnel.

The Association's physical facilities include a large modern gymnasium, office, equipment rooms, locker and shower rooms, indoor swimming pool, cafeteria, game rooms, social rooms, several lounges, and 55 dormitory rooms. On an adjoining property is a small playground.
with parking facilities and handball courts. Its immediate building plans—in the preliminary stage—are to build a $100,000 two-story addition to the main building to house a lunch counter, a coffee shop type of facility, kitchen, locker and shower rooms, new offices, assembly room and club rooms, plus additional parking on the premises.

In June of 1954, the YMCA had a membership of 1,767 persons, in 179 groups, with 2,075 persons enrolled. The annual attendance in YMCA and non-YMCA group activities in the branch is probably over 100,000 persons.

Four major departments maintain the agency's extensive program—the Department of Health and Physical Education, the Youth Work Department, the Women and Girls' Department, and the Adult Program Department. The gymnasium and swimming pool are major attractions to the many persons who participate in the Y's program. The YMCA has a cooperative program with the public schools in the area in which children of all ages and races are introduced to the building and program through a brief but thorough "Learn-to-Swim" program. Through this program, it is hoped that more and more children will begin to recognize the program of the YMCA.

The yearly budget for the branch is over $50,000 a year, of which one-third is contributed by the Community Chest. The remaining two-thirds is contributed by the membership fees, the dormitory income, and the agency's Booker T. Washington Endowment Fund. This fund amounts to over $500,000 and was contributed to the Michigan Avenue Branch YMCA by Mr. and Mrs. George B. Matthews of Buffalo between 1928 and 1942, to enhance the educational and cultural program of the center.
The YMCA is a middle-class agency which aims at the middle-class family. Its membership fees are substantially higher than the other agencies in the area ($3.00 to $10.00 per year), but the administration feels that they are not so high as to exclude persons who need the services that the branch administers. Even so, these fees contribute less than 12 per cent to the annual budget.

Being located in a predominantly Negro area such as the Ellicott District poses many problems to the agency. One of its main efforts has been to reach out and touch family units in the community. Because of a tendency toward weak family groups, children are not encouraged to take part in the agency's program. To combat this condition, the YMCA has established GRA-Y Clubs in the primary and secondary schools in the area in order to bring the branch's program to the children. In the future, the YMCA will probably build smaller buildings and utilize public facilities such as schools and churches. The agency has also re-emphasized the religious nature of its program.

The YMCA is an agency which never closes its door--someone is at the main desk 24 hours a day (mainly due to the dormitory facilities). In addition to the regular building and camp programs, the YMCA also carries on a program of group work during the summer at Wendy Playground at Spring and Broadway. Although the staff is all-Negro, the YMCA is much more integrated than the neighborhood which it serves.

________________________________________

Interview with Mr. Russell N. Service, Executive Director, Michigan Avenue YMCA.
"Pictures Tell the Story", The Michigan YMCA. (Buffalo, Nov., 1946)
Buffalo Urban League, Inc.

Of all the group work agencies in the Ellicott District, the organization which has the most widely used facilities and program is the Buffalo Urban League. Strategically located in the heart of the Ellicott District at 155 Cedar Street, a site which is included in the proposed renewal area, the agency has provided both guidance and recreation for almost 30 years in a neighborhood of blight and slums. The local group is a branch of the National Urban League, an organization founded to provide guidance and employment for the many thousands of Negroes who left the South during and after the first World War to seek employment in northern cities.

The purposes of the Buffalo Urban League, as defined by its Board of Directors and contained in the Articles of Incorporation, is:

"To bring about the coordination and cooperation among existing agencies and organizations; for improving the industrial, economic, social, and spiritual conditions of Negroes, to develop other agencies and organizations where necessary; to make studies of the industrial, economic, social and spiritual conditions among Negroes; to remove the causes of interracial friction and to promote the forces that make for harmony, and through its social center, to attempt to meet the needs of the immediate neighborhood in making possible a fuller and happier life for the community and every individual in it. To conduct and promote activities in the fields of education and recreation; to develop community leadership to act as an interpreter by providing a place where people of different backgrounds, races and opportunities may meet one another in a natural human relationship, leading to a fuller mutual understanding and sympathy, and in general to promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving conditions within the City of Buffalo. . ." 1

The organization was established in Buffalo in 1927 and was housed and associated with the Memorial Center, a religious education

1. "Memo on Expansion of Urban League Services". The Buffalo Urban League, Inc. (Buffalo, 1953)
institution owned and operated by the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church. In 1928, operating funds were withdrawn from the Memorial Center because it was no longer engaged in religious education, and the two groups subsequently merged, forming the "Memorial Center and Urban League". In 1934, the Memorial Center withdrew from the merger, and its building was rented to the Urban League until 1940, when the League formally acquired title to the property. In 1943, the agency was again incorporated in New York State as the Buffalo Urban League, Inc. by amending the original certificate of incorporation.

It can be said that the area of operation of the League is wherever there are Negroes in Buffalo. Its program, unlike most branches in the country, is divided into two broad categories: (1) industrial relations, and (2) group work. The Industrial Relations Program is a traditional Urban League function and aims at securing employment, education, housing and vocational counseling and guidance for the Negro migratory population. More than just an employment agency, the program is aimed at the broad area of employment opportunity in the widely varied industries of the metropolitan area. It seeks to examine the training, aptitude, experience and work records of applicants, place them in desirable positions after proper counseling and guidance, and to follow up these placements with field visits and interviews to determine progress or adjustment. Beyond this, the Industrial Relations program is focused directly upon management through receptions, dinners, panels, field contacts, surveys and other means which seek to encourage industry to take advantage of the skills, training and experiences the Negro has to offer. The scope and magnitude of this phase of the agency's program can be
appreciated by reviewing the following statistics for the twelve months of 1954:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registrations for work</td>
<td>2,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recorded placements</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field contacts with industry and business</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referrals</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling activities</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews - Men</td>
<td>2,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1,212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The group work program of the Urban League is directed mainly toward the increasing number of children and young people in the Ellicott District. Because most Urban League branches do not have building-centered activities, this aspect of the agency's program is unique and is a continuation of the functions of the original Memorial Center. This phase of its program has probably been derived from the structure of the community, and the key location the Center has in it. Among the activities offered by the League is a complete gym program, crafts, scouting, club groups, domestic service, and other functions.

The program is geared to the socio-economic needs of those who cannot afford membership in other agencies in the area. Its fees are nominal and range from $.25 to $1.00. Membership in the group work program has ranged from 1,200 to over 1,500 persons with an annual attendance of around 100,000 a year, although, only recently, a sharp decline has been noted in the center's registration.

The staff of the Buffalo Urban League includes four full-time persons, one of whom is engaged exclusively in group work; 9 part-time professional group workers; and 3 part-time personnel assigned to the agency by the City Recreation Department. The League's $60,000

annual budget is derived mainly from Community Chest contributions.

The physical facilities of the agency are old, poor, cramped, and generally not too pleasant. Its 75-year old building, dating back to the days of the original Memorial Center, is still affectionately referred to as the "chapel" and includes a 300-seat auditorium with a stage on the third floor and two adjoining storage areas; administrative suite; kitchen, two small meeting rooms, multipurpose room on the second floor; and lounge-pool room, office, lobby, lavatories, shower and locker rooms, boiler room and craft room on the ground floor, with a spacious gymnasium in a not-so-recent addition. The indoor swimming facilities in Public School No. 32 located across the street are also made available to the agency. Operating 50 weeks a year, the agency is open from 9:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. every day except Sunday.

In addition to the two broad programs outlined above, the Buffalo Urban League has been extremely active in civic and political affairs during the years of its establishment in the area. The Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra was housed in its building during the depression years. After World War II, the agency was effective in establishing a State Commission Against Discrimination, a municipal Board of Community Relations, and a Full Employment Committee for Buffalo. It has worked on local, state, and federal levels to find a reasonable solution to the housing problem, and it has actively endorsed the Ellicott District Renewal Program.

It is difficult to make an appraisal of the contribution

1. William L. Evans, "Inventory for 1952--Buffalo Urban League, Inc." (Buffalo, 1952)
this agency has made to the area. Probably more than any other community group, the League has been acutely affected by the tremendous increase of Negroes in the Ellicott District and it has been beset by many of the same ills that are destroying the neighborhood. Because the Urban League has never shut its door on anyone, its facilities are greatly overloaded, its building outmoded and overgrown, its program too broad, and its staff overworked. For these reasons, even though it is doing a maximum job in a community offering a maximum challenge, the League's group work program does not measure up to those offered by other agencies surveyed. This is the great dichotomy in group work agencies. Is it better, especially in an area like the Ellicott District, to provide a program near minimum for a maximum population, or should the participation be limited so that a more thorough program can be administered to the individual?

Other Agencies

Other local and city-wide social agencies, both private and public, which serve the citizens of the Ellicott District, include the Children's Aid Society, the Erie County Children's Court, the Erie County Department of Social Welfare, the Buffalo Friendship Home, the American Red Cross Home Service, Family Service Society, the YWCA, the Erie County Probation Department, the Boys' Club of Buffalo, the Erie County Health Department, and the Visiting Nursing Association.

Most of these groups are concerned with the breakdown of the family unit and the social and emotional problems that result. Their administration covers child placing, homes for children, homes for older girls and women, service for children with behavior problems, social
service for families, service for homeless and transient, probation and parole, caring for unmarried mothers, boys' clubs, vocational guidance and rehabilitation, and miscellaneous health services.

Almost without exception, these agencies have found that the Ellicott District requires more social service than any other area of the city. To illustrate: the Children's Aid Society reports that 23.8 per cent of the county's active case load of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is found in the Ellicott District. The Family Service Society, highly active in the area, feels that much more service is needed. The Visiting Nurse's Association has redistributed its nurses so that each one in the Ellicott District has a relatively small territory to cover. The Health Department is concerned over the need for more contact with parents to supplement its program in the schools and wants to find more ways of meeting parents. The Department's program includes establishing "well-baby clinics" to help new mothers learn proper child care. Almost 25 per cent of the Erie County Probation Department's current case load is in the Ellicott District.

Schools

The Public School System in Buffalo consists of seven academic high schools, seven vocational high schools, and 84 elementary schools. Ten of the elementary schools are located near the proposed renewal area, and of these, School No. 32, School No. 6 and Annex, and School No. 87 (a 7th and 8th grade center) along with St. Lucy's Parochial Elementary School are on the redevelopment site. According to figures

2. Buffalo Evening News "Almanac and 1950 Fact Book". (Buffalo, 1955)
released by the Board of Education, attendance in all public schools in Buffalo during the last week of school (June 1955) was 66,653 students; 874 students were enrolled at School 6, 483 at School 32, and 688 at School 87. All of the schools have either adjoining or nearby playgrounds, which provide some supervised recreation during school hours and in the summer. The Board of Education has instituted several "lighted schoolhouse" programs in the Ellicott District in an attempt to reduce juvenile delinquency by providing a supervised program of crafts and group activity in the evening. One such project was a "Community Youth Program", operated in two of the area's schools and drawing some 700 persons in 1950.

School 87, formerly Technical High School, remodelled into an efficient seventh and eighth grade center to meet the need of a shifting youth population age, makes its facilities, personnel and equipment available one evening each week so that children and adults alike can develop additional skills and interests. In addition, several of the schools provide adult evening classes and all have worked from time to time with the many social agencies in the area. School 32 has a cooperative arrangement with the Buffalo Urban League, Inc. in which that agency is free to use the school's swimming and gymnasium facilities.

All of the schools except St. Lucy's are in good physical condition and will remain after redevelopment. Schools 32 and 87 are sited on adjacent sides of Clinton Street at Cedar and face each other. The two buildings were erected in 1913 and have just recently

been remodeled. School 87, a converted high school, boasts a large gymnasium, cafeteria, auditorium, and up-to-date classrooms, laboratories and shops. Both School 87 and School 32 share a large adjoining playground and Bennett Park. School 6 was built just prior to World War II and is located in the southeast section of the redevelopment area. The School has a gymnasium and adjoining playground which is used before and after school, and at recess time. The Buffalo Department of Education was an organized summer playground program at both School 32 and School 6 but has only been partly successful in reaching the under-12 age group.

School 87 has no playground, and the other schools all have play spaces of less than one acre. This is certainly not a desirable situation in view of the acute congestion in the area.

Parks and Playgrounds

Buffalo has one of the finest park systems in the United States. First planned in 1868 by Frederick Law Olmsted, designer of Central Park in New York, Prospect Park in Brooklyn, and the Fenway in Boston, the present system can be attributed almost entirely to the foresight of this outstanding landscape architect. The complete park system in Buffalo totals 2358.26 acres, or about 2,500 persons per 10 acres of park land. Although rated favorably with other cities in the nation, this is considerably below the generally accepted goal of 10 acres per 1,000 persons as a city-wide total for active and passive recreation space, recommended by the American Public Health Association.

The Ellicott District, minimum also in almost every other category, has only 10.233 acres of park area, or over 7,500 persons per acre of park. Bennett Park, adjacent to School 87 and comprising 2.39
acres, is the largest of these parks. More a passive area, it does contain a shelter house, two tennis courts, and a softball diamond. Willert Park, 2.33 acres, is just north of the Redevelopment area and contains a shelter house, swimming pool and other active recreation facilities.

The other major parks and playgrounds include Chicago Street Playground, 0.48 acres; Bennett Playground (adjacent to School 32), 0.97 acres; Welcome Hall, 0.66 acres; and Wende Playground, 0.81 acres. Bennett Playground and Park contains a softball diamond and two tennis courts. The 1954 seasonal attendance was 27,616. The Chicago Street playground contains a basketball and handball court, and it had an attendance of 15,919 persons in 1954. Over 33,000 persons participated in the activities of Wende Playground. Its facilities include a softball diamond, a handball court, and a basketball court.

The nearest swimming facilities, at Houghton Playground and at Masten Playground, are at least two miles from the area. Willert Park does include a large wading pool.

Welcome Hall Playground, near the southern boundary of the renewal project at 404 Seneca Street, along with its outdoor facilities, contains a community building providing a group work program under the supervision of the Division of Parks of the City Department of Parks. Established originally as a private agency, the Center's present activities are not extensive and it has an average daily registration of about 200 persons.

Welcome Hall is one of five community houses under the jurisdiction of the Department of Recreation in the city. (Neighborhood

1. Report of Buffalo Parks Department, Division of Recreation, 1954.
LOCATION OF PARKS, PLAYFIELDS, AND PLAYGROUNDS SERVING THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT

Bennett Park
Willert Park
Bennett Playground (School 52)
Chicago Street Playground
Welcome Hall Playground
Wende Playground

School 6 Playground
School 12 Playground
School 31 Playground
School 41 Playground
School 47 Playground
Houses Nos. 1, 2, and 3, and the Massachusetts Community House, the other four.) Most of these public agencies are open from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M. during the week, and 9 A.M. to noon on Saturday. Among the programs offered are ladies' sewing classes, a Well Baby Clinic, a branch library, various crafts, knitting, dramatics, gymnasium activities, and classes in Americanization, Beginner's English, and Parliamentary Law. (See Fig. 10 showing the location of parks, playgrounds and playfields in the Ellicott District.)

It has been mentioned earlier that the City has proposed to set aside a 28-acre site in the center of the redevelopment area, taking in Bennett Park, and south of Bennett Playground, for a public park, school and recreation center as part of its fulfillment of the Title I obligation. The Buffalo Evening News (January 25, 1952) reported that the Commissioner of Parks had suggested that the Urban League, Welcome Hall, and the Chicago Street Playground be replaced by a city-operated recreation center costing $500,000, to be erected on the proposed park site. This plan, which would include an almost equal area of open space in the two state housing projects, at least indicates that the future planners of this community are beginning to realize the need of relieving the acute congestion plaguing our cities.

Churches

In the United States, present-day churches play an important part in the social and cultural, as well as religious, life of a community, serving in part as both recreational and educational centers.

1. "The History of the Buffalo Park System", Department of Parks, City of Buffalo, (Buffalo, 1951)
2. "Parks, Park Districts, and Playfields". Compiled by the Landscape Architect, City of Buffalo. (Buffalo, 1953)
The city of Buffalo has 419 churches, representing 56 denominations, with more than 500 clergymen. Over 13 per cent of the total 56 churches are located in the Ellicott District.

Twenty-three of the institutions cooperated with the COSA in a survey conducted in 1949 to determine the social extent of the use of their facilities. As was anticipated, it was found that the Ellicott District ranked lowest of all districts in recreational space and facilities. At least 22 per cent of the churches had no space available whatever, and only two out of 23 had gymnasiums. The 23 churches cooperating in the survey were sponsors of 18 Boy Scout Troops, 16 recreational groups, 14 social groups, at least 8 athletic groups, and 3 miscellaneous organizations.

It should be pointed out that although the distribution of the churches in the District is proportional to the area's population ratio to the city-wide total, over 50 per cent of these institutions could be considered as transient in nature. A great many of the churches are revivalist in character, many are housed in vacant store fronts, and most do not have programs which contribute to the well-being of the community.

This is not meant to discredit many of the established churches that play an integral part in the community, cooperating with both public and private agencies to better the position of its citizens. These churches are the pivot points around which the community revolves, and it is expected that they will play an increasingly important part in the future of the area.

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to make a thorough analysis of the Ellicott District, to show the causes and magnitude of its deterioration, to point out the shortcomings in community and recreational facilities as one aspect of this problem, and to develop a workable plan in conjunction with the Redevelopment Project which will eliminate this deficiency.

The Ellicott District Redevelopment Plan was again discussed in a public hearing on June 15, 1955 by the Buffalo City Planning Commission; and the following day, at its regular meeting, the Commission reaffirmed its approval of the preliminary plan. Although there will undoubtedly be many changes before the final renewal is effected, it will be assumed that the over-all plan will not be greatly altered. The Redevelopment Plan, as approved, sets aside an extensive tract in the center of the area as a recreation space, but, to date, no concrete proposals have been made to develop this area for the maximum use of the residents of the District. Certainly the solution to the community's recreation problem has already been initiated with the designation of this 28-acre area. Its success depends upon the final development of the site.

To date, the only proposal suggested has been that by the Commissioner of Parks, which would eliminate both Welcome Hall and the Buffalo Urban League, in the redevelopment area, and to replace them with a city-owned community building costing $500,000 on the Park site. This suggestion was made without prior consultation with the members of
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Pagination error - Page 69 does not exist.
the Urban League, a private agency, and the proposal has not been officially considered by this agency. In an interview with Mr. William Evans, the Executive Secretary of the Buffalo Urban League, it was found that the League is also making plans to build a new facility costing approximately as much as the city-sponsored proposal. In the June, 1955 meeting of its Board of Directors, the Executive was instructed to investigate the possibilities of finding a new location for the Urban League.

The position of the Urban League is essentially this:

1. Even though there are six private and public agencies with building-centered programs in the Ellicott District, very little duplication exists due to the vast difference in the programs of the agencies.
2. The Urban League is doing an essential job in the community since it has an "open door" policy; i.e., providing services for those who cannot afford to belong to the other organizations.
3. The private social agency is an indispensable asset to the social welfare of the community.
4. The Urban League is in a strategic location in the center of the Negro community.
5. The Urban League is equipped to handle special problems affecting the Negro population, with 40 years of experience nationally and 25 years locally.
6. The Urban League does not object to the proposal for a city-owned center, since there still would be a large gap between the actual and desirable services in the community.
7. The League is strongly against a merger with any agency, private or public, because of a desire to retain its autonomy, and to pursue a program consistent with its objectives.

The question of the proposals of the Commissioner of Parks and the Buffalo Urban League was submitted to Joseph V. Dundon, Research Director of the Council of Social Agencies, who replied: "... the idea of a public community recreation center is a good one, but in view of the city's financial status, it is doubtful if such a $500,000 building will be constructed in the near future. If such a building were
"constructed, however, it would not displace the existing small private agencies now serving the community.

"Traditionally, the public centers concentrate on mass recreation activities, while the small private agencies serve special groups with special needs. The two are not in competition. It is . . . very unlikely that the Urban League's program would be eliminated."

In case the Urban League's present building is razed, "the agency will undoubtedly seek another location".

Mr. Dundon also points out the fact that the two state housing projects in the same area (Talbert and Ellicott Malls) provide some recreation space but that the leadership and program must come from other agencies.

"While the Urban League appears to be the logical agency to develop such a program, there is also the possibility that other agencies might have something to offer . . . If more than one agency is interested in offering programs, it will be necessary probably to have a project coordinator within the project itself, whose function would be to coordinate the recreation service offered by all agencies serving the area."

The latter proposal seems to be in line with the recommendations of the Ellicott District Project Committee in their 1952 Report, which was not favored by the Urban League in its original context because it appeared that the Council was invading the field of private agencies.

Although there is a great deficiency in community
facilities in the Ellicott District, the two proposals mentioned above must be resolved for the greater good of the community. Certainly, two new recreation centers, costing a half-million dollars each, and located adjacent to each other is not a practical solution to the problem. Inquiries made at the Department of Parks indicates that no preliminary plans or studies have been made on the subject, so that the proposal is subject to change.

This research seems to support the position of the Urban League. The Census figures for 1950 indicate that there were 14,346 school age persons (5-19) years in the Ellicott District. Table VI shows that at this period, approximately 3,675 school age persons were enrolled in the six agencies in the District. There is still a vast gap between the number of persons served, and those who could be served, which must be eliminated by extending the services already offered, building new facilities, or a combination of the two. Because of the complexity of the problem of the Ellicott District, whatever new facilities that are built should not end in recreation alone but should be used to attract residents and to develop community leadership which is so lacking in the area. The author feels that the breadth of the Urban League program, the factors pointed out by Mr. Dundon, and the desire of this agency to build logically points to the League for the development of such a program.
TABLE VI

ESTIMATED ATTENDANCE
IN BUILDING CENTERED RECREATIONAL FACILITIES
IN THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT, 1954 - 1955 *

| Agency                     | Weekly Attendance | School Age Attendance** | Annual Attendance  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Urban League</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hickory Street Christian Center</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood House Association</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcome Hall</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster House</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan Avenue YMCA</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Ellicott District</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>3,675</td>
<td>319,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based upon figures supplied by individual agencies and the Department of Recreation, City of Buffalo.

** Refers to 5-19 age group. Two-thirds of weekly attendance assumed to be in this range in most agencies.
Proposal

The City of Buffalo already owns a part of the area for the proposed recreation space in the Ellicott District Redevelopment Plan. Public Schools 6 and 87 are in this area, along with Bennett Park. The Municipal Housing Authority has indicated that it will purchase and turn over to the city additional parcels in this area. The remaining land will be assembled by the Board of Redevelopment and revert to the city as part of its contribution to the Title I project.

No comprehensive plans have yet been made to develop this area. The proposal of the Parks Department to build a recreation center here is on doubtful financial grounds, and the Urban League has indicated that it would like to build a similar center in the same area. Since the most desirable site for such a center would be on the park area, the proposal is that the Department of Parks and/or the City of Buffalo make available to the Buffalo Urban League on a long time lease at a nominal fee, a parcel on the recreation site to be developed by the Urban League as a new community building. Since the recreational program of the League is completely open, the building of such a facility by this agency would be a substantial saving to the people of Buffalo. It is further proposed that the Department of Parks develop the remainder of the park as both a passive and active recreation area, and build supporting outside recreation facilities—such as swimming and wading pools, tennis courts, etc.—in conjunction with the new center.

The new building would house the industrial, recreational and group work facilities of the Urban League, along with a small health clinic to provide an additional needed service to the community.
and the personnel supplied by the League, the city, and volunteers from the community. The Department of Recreation would supply personnel for the outside recreation elements. Certainly, such a joint proposal would do much to make the redevelopment of the community a success.

**Financing**

The Urban League has indicated that it would negotiate for something near the replacement value of the present building, which was estimated to be $175,000 to $200,000 when the League acquired title in 1940. With the construction index more than twice as high today, it seems unlikely and perhaps unreasonable of the League to expect such a price. The present facility, three stories high, occupies a site 61 feet wide and approximately 120 feet deep. It is difficult to estimate what price the agency could expect to receive from the Board of Redevelopment, but for the purpose of this study, $150,000 will be assumed to be the maximum. Since the agency is willing to spend as much as $500,000 on a contemporary building, this would leave $350,000 to be raised through a capital expenditures drive by the Urban League.

**Architectural Project**

The project of this thesis is the design of a new facility for the Buffalo Urban League, Inc., to be located on the recreation area set aside in the approved Redevelopment Plans for the Ellicott District. The design problem will consist of the main facility--to include an industrial department, a group work department, a recreation department, and a health clinic and the development of supporting outdoor recreational elements. Included in this design will be a suggested plan
for the development of the entire park area, to be used as a pattern for the future development of similar neighborhood parks in other sections of the city. The new facility will be contemporary in design, and every attempt will be made to provide the most economical structure (or structures) consistent with good design. The proposed building design and landscaping, but excluding the outdoor recreational elements, will be limited to a maximum cost of $500,000.

Site Considerations

The general site selected is the area designated "Recreation Space" on the Proposed Land Use Map approved by the Buffalo Common Council for the redevelopment of the Ellicott District. This over-all renewal area has been designated as Redevelopment Area No. 3 in the city's redevelopment plans. Included in the proposed park area is Bennett Park and Public Schools No. 6 and 87. The specific building site for the proposed facility is located in the northeast boundary of this area, between the two public schools, and fronting on Clinton and Hickory Streets (See Aerial Photo). This particular parcel of land will be cleared by the Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority and dedicated to the City of Buffalo.

The average elevation of the site is approximately 600 feet above mean sea level and is generally flat. For the purpose of this project the assumption will be made that the area is level. Because of the removal of several streets, two rows of two parallel lines of trees will run north-south. In addition, there are trees lining the perimeter and the interior of the site. Soil pressures are such that no special footing will be necessary for the type of facility proposed. The amount
of land necessary will be determined by the final design.

Zoning

The district in which the facility is to be erected was zoned R-3 Dwelling District by the City Planning Commission in 1951. However, due to its location in the proposed park and recreation area designated on the later Proposed Land Use Map for the renewal of the area, there will be no inconsistency of use.

Building Program

The moderate budget of the Buffalo Urban League necessitates the use of strict economy in the design of the facility. The building requirements will be listed under the general functional use of the area, and, with the exception of the health clinic, were generally formulated by the Executive Secretary of the League. The designer has felt the necessity of including the health facilities in the program, due to the research herein included pointing to a high incidence of disease in the area. The functions, as listed below, are:

A. Executive Department
B. Industrial Department
C. Program Administration
D. Group Work and Crafts
E. Indoor Recreation
F. Public and Service Areas
G. Community Health Clinic
H. Outdoor Recreation Elements
   (not included in budget)
I. Maintenance and Mechanical Equipment
J. Site Development

A. Executive Department. The over-all administration of the agency will originate from this department. Offices are to be
provided for the Executive-Secretary and his assistant, along with a combination conference, library, and Board of Director's room. The broad policies of the Urban League are formulated by this body, which meets monthly. Although the average attendance for these meetings is 25 persons, this room is to accommodate the entire 30-member Board and is to be removed from the other administrative areas. In addition, space is to be provided for storage adjacent to the assistant's office.

B. Industrial Department. The Industrial Relations program of the agency originates from this department and is administered by the Industrial Secretary. This program includes interviewing employers and employees alike, counseling, vocational guidance, and testing. Space is to be provided for the Industrial Secretary in the form of a combined office and conference room. In addition, there will be a general reception area for an interviewing secretary and a counseling secretary. The interviewing secretary, besides working with this department, will be general receptionist for the entire agency. The reception area is to include two small interview rooms and a waiting room large enough for 30 persons. The storage area to be provided in the executive suite could very well work in with this department.

C. Program Administration. The entire personnel who administer the group work and recreation program of the Urban League are to be officed in this area and will work under the general supervision of the program director. An office is to be provided for the program director large enough to accommodate 8 persons at staff meetings. Two additional offices, each accommodating three persons, are to be included for the boys' and girls' workers. An equipment room is to be provided
for storage of items such as movie projectors, television set, records, etc. In conjunction with this suite of offices, it would be desirable to include a separate staff lounge and rest room for both male and female personnel from all of the League's departments.

D. Group Work and Crafts. Meeting rooms for agency and community groups and activity areas for crafts, games, sewing, cooking, and other functions are to be included in this area. Three medium-sized, and two large clubrooms, a woodworking shop to house equipment recently donated to the agency, and an additional craftsroom for ceramics, leather-crafts, and drawing and painting are provided for under this plan. A kitchen will be required for cooking classes and other functions such as teas, dinners, parties, etc. The League would also include a large game room for activities such as billiards, ping pong and shuffleboard, and possibly a small snack bar. In addition, space is to be provided for a small auditorium or multi-purpose room seating approximately 300 persons. This facility is to be used for Boy Scout meetings (the agency has one of the city's largest troops), dramatics, dances, movies and shows sponsored by member groups. It would be desirable to provide a temporary or permanent stage for this room. Adequate storage for chairs and supporting elements is to be provided for the spaces outlined above.

E. Indoor Recreation. This is undoubtedly the area which will attract most people to the agency. The League's present undersized gymnasium is used to capacity during the winter months, with activities such as basketball, volley ball, and indoor tennis. As many as 24 teams have participated in the agency's basketball league, and many of these have advanced to win the municipal championship. A full-sized gymnasium
should be provided with folding bleachers to accommodate several hundred persons. The agency has never had an indoor pool of its own, although it has often used the one across the street, at Public School 32. The designer will include such a facility in the program and will investigate the possibility of its functioning both as an indoor and outdoor area. Provision is to be made for a small office in conjunction with both of these areas for personnel, equipment (towels, basketballs, etc.), along with space for administering first aid. In addition, separate locker and shower areas will be needed for both men and women taking part in these activities.

F. Public and Service Areas. A general lobby and lounge is to be provided for waiting and for those who will not be using the facilities outlined above. Included in this area will be a trophy case, equipment for reading and writing, a book and magazine rack, bulletin board, exhibit space, and general lounge chairs. In addition, public toilets and a check room accommodating 500 persons will be provided.

G. Community Health Clinic. This is a function which the designer felt should be included in the program, due to the high incidence of disease, coupled with low incomes prevalent in the Ellicott District. No attempt will be made to duplicate any facilities already provided in the community through schools, public housing projects, hospitals, or private physicians, and the function suggested will be mainly diagnostic in nature.

Among the health services which the designer feels could
be carried under this function are the following:

Antepartum and postpartum maternity clinic
Infant health service
Communicable disease clinic and registration office
Innocation service
Tuberculosis clinic
Dental clinic
Nutrition education
Visiting nurse service

Although budget considerations will define the space allotted to this area, the research included in this report demands that some facilities be provided for tuberculosis control, maternity health services, and a well baby clinic. The designer feels that at least two examining rooms should be provided, with supporting toilets, an X-ray room, a general office and equipment room for a secretary, and waiting space for no less than fifteen persons. Certainly, this would be one of the most valuable services the Urban League could offer to the community.

H. Outdoor Recreation Elements. This section of the design program will include the development of suitable outdoor recreation facilities to support the proposed building and a suggested plan for the utilization of the remainder of the park area. The design of these elements will be based upon standards of the National Recreation Association and the American Public Health Association. It is the feeling of the Urban League that these supporting elements should include an adjacent playlot for very young children, a playfield, a girls' sports area, at least three tennis courts, and wading pool facilities. Other facilities could be developed in conjunction with the playgrounds of the adjacent elementary schools.

The designer feels that the remaining park area is large enough to provide an extensive passive recreation area somewhat similar
to the Public Gardens and Common in Boston and will investigate the practicability of such a development.

I. Maintenance and Mechanical Equipment. A separate mechanical room is to be provided, either on or below grade, to house the utilities to support the proposed building. In addition, the designer is to provide several small maintenance closets throughout the facility to aid in the performance of janitorial service. The building will be heated by an economical wet system—either hot water, steam or vapor, and will be based upon the consideration of the effective control of the heated spaces. No air-conditioning is anticipated for the proposed facility since its summer program is essentially an outdoor program. The designer will investigate the feasibility and possibility of purchasing heat from the central boiler plant of the State Housing Development located in the area.

J. Site Development. Planting the site is to be considered an integral part of the design and will include not only landscaping around the proposed building but also extending to the adjacent park and recreation areas. Off-street parking for 10 to 20 cars adjacent to the design will be effectively screened from the major parts of the project.
The Design Program

GROSS AREA REQUIREMENTS. 30,700 sq. ft.

A. Executive Department. 1,150 sq. ft.
   1. Office for Executive Secretary. 350 sq. ft.
      a. 1 person and 4 visitors.
      b. Built-in safe.
   2. Assistant. 200 sq. ft.
      a. 1 person and 2 visitors.
      b. 8 section, 4 high files.
      c. Adjacent storage for office supplies and equipment.
   3. Board of Director's Room. 600 sq. ft.
      a. 30 persons meeting.
      b. Will double as conference room and library.

B. Industrial Department. 1,050 sq. ft.
   1. Office for Industrial Secretary. 250 sq. ft.
      a. Office and conference room.
      b. 1 person and 3 visitors.
   2. Reception Room. 300 sq. ft.
      a. 2 secretaries and 2 visitors.
      b. 2 interviewing booths (50 sq. ft. each).
      c. Switchboard, records.
   3. Waiting Room. 500 sq. ft.
      a. 25-30 persons.

C. Program Administration. 1,050 sq. ft.
   1. Office for Program Director. 250 sq. ft.
      a. Should accommodate 8 for staff meetings.
      b. Desk, chairs, files.
   2. Office for Boys' Workers. 250 sq. ft.
      a. 3 persons at desks.
      b. Space for volunteers.
3. Office for Girls' Workers. 250 sq. ft.
   a. Three persons at desks.
   b. Space for volunteers.

4. Equipment Room. 100 sq. ft.
   a. Storage of movie projectors, TV sets, records.
   b. Adjacent to program director.

5. Staff Lounges. 200 sq. ft.
   a. Separate for male and female.
   b. Studio couch, table, chairs.
   c. Adjacent toilets.

D. Group Work and Crafts. 7,000 sq. ft.

1. 3 Clubrooms. 1,050 sq. ft.
   a. 350 sq. ft. each.
   b. 10-20 persons meeting.

2. 2 Clubrooms. 1,500 sq. ft.
   a. 750 sq. ft. each.
   b. 20-50 meeting.
   c. Small dinners, teas.

3. Woodwork Shops. 500 sq. ft.
   a. Shop equipment.
   b. Storage and Workspace.

4. Craftroom. 500 sq. ft.
   a. Ceramics, leathercraft, drawing, painting.
   b. Provide sink.
   c. Work tables, chairs, cabinet storage.

   a. Cooking classes.
   b. Teas, light meals.
   c. Food, utensil storage.

6. Game Room. 750 sq. ft.
   a. 3 billiard tables.
   b. 3 ping pong tables.
   c. Equipment, snack counter.
7. Auditorium or Multipurpose Room. 2,000 sq. ft.
   a. Seating for 250 persons.
   b. Meetings, dances, large dinners, stage presentations.
   c. Provide stage (could be movable).

8. Chair and Equipment Storage. 350 sq. ft.

E. Indoor Recreation. 14,750 sq. ft.

1. Gymnasium. 8,000 sq. ft.
   a. 50' x 90' x 20' high min.
   b. Bleachers for 200.

2. Mens' Locker Room. 1,000 sq. ft.
   a. Capacity for 50 persons.
   b. 50 double lockers (12" x 18" x 72").
   c. 5 gang showers.
   d. Self-contained toilets.

3. Women's Locker Room. 500 sq. ft.
   b. 25 double lockers.
   c. 5 individual showers.
   d. Individual toilets.

4. Indoor Swimming Pool. 5,000 sq. ft.
   a. Pool size - 30' x 75'.
   b. Could open to exterior.

5. Office and storage. 250 sq. ft.
   a. First aid, instruction, equipment.
   b. 2 desks, 1 studio couch.
   c. 3 visitors.

F. Public and Service Areas. 4,850 sq. ft.

1. Public lobby and Lounge. 750 sq. ft.
   a. Trophy case, magazine racks.
   b. Chairs, sofas.
   c. Telephones.

2. Public Toilets. 250 sq. ft.

3. Check room. 500 persons. 250 sq. ft.

4. Mechanical Equipment. 500 sq. ft.
5. Circulation. 10 per cent gross area. 3,100 sq. ft.

G. Community Health Clinic (Optional). 950 sq. ft.

1. Two Examining Rooms. 300 sq. ft.
   a. 150 sq. ft. each.
   b. Toilets.
   c. Desk, 3 chairs, bed.

2. X-ray room. 100 sq. ft.
   a. Lead sheath.
   b. X-ray machine.

3. Staff Office. 300 sq. ft.
   a. 3 desks.
   b. Equipment storage.
   c. Files.

4. Reception and Waiting. 250 sq. ft.
   a. 15-person minimum.
   b. Receptionists.

Additional Outdoor recreational elements and off-street parking for 20 cars are to be included in the design. See Building Requirements.
Building Plan

At the outset of the planning stage, every attempt was made to develop a multi-story solution for the community building. However, as the design developed, it became evident that such a scheme had very definite functional limits. In analyzing the design program, four distinct spacial units are discernible—each demanding a fixed ceiling height, based upon function. (1) The gymnasium is the largest unit in the building and requires a 20-foot minimum ceiling height, with 24-foot height desirable. (2) The swimming pool requires a clear ceiling height of 16 feet over the diving board. (3) In the multi-purpose room, a height of 14 to 16 feet would be desirable. (4) In the last unit are all of the other areas in the building, requiring an average ceiling height of 8 to 9 feet.

Other important factors considered were flexibility of use, the ability to carry on a number of different activities at the same time in the areas provided without interference, and the desirability to place the various activities at the most convenient location with respect to the user.

The resulting design places the multi-purpose room, the swimming pool, and the gymnasium on an axis, separated by an open court and locker facilities, which act as acoustical buffers. The remaining elements are grouped around these areas, forming a rectilinear plan. The long axis of the plan runs north-south, parallel to Hickory Street. The public use areas, including the Industrial Relations Department, the Community Health Clinic, and the Executive Department, are located on the east side of the building, adjacent to the street. The assembly and
meeting areas are located on the southwest and adjacent to the main entrance to the facility. On the west side of the building are the group work facilities, in close proximity to the adjacent outdoor recreational elements. The bulk of the service areas, i.e., mechanical equipment, storage, etc., are located on the north along Clinton Street and act as buffers to screen the noise of the adjacent busy street.

The designer felt that the main entrance of the building should be from Hickory Street, a relatively quiet and shaded residential street, rather than on Clinton Street, which will become even more important as a thoroughfare with the closing of adjacent parallel streets. The lobby, lounge and exhibition area are located directly opposite the pleasant interior court. Control is achieved through the reception area of the Industrial Relations Department, to the left of the entrance. The lounge and exhibition area is to the right of the entrance, with the Community Health Clinic and Executive Suite next in line.

The corridors run parallel to the long axis of the building on the east and west sides, with one major, and two minor, crossovers provided. The major crossover is directly opposite the main entrance of the building and runs along the open court, separating it from the multi-purpose room. Access to the multi-purpose room is from this corridor, which opens to the court during the summer. This corridor leads to the group work facilities on the west side of the building, providing a direct connection from the main entrance to the adjacent outdoor recreation elements.
All of the meeting and assembly rooms are grouped at the southwest corner of the building, around the multi-purpose room, and in close proximity to the kitchen and home-making area. These rooms have built-in closets, lockers, and storage cabinets along the corridor wall. One of the major considerations in the design was to provide a great deal of flexibility in plan. The plan was conceived on a six foot module to achieve this desired flexibility in office and meeting areas, and to provide an economical structural system. All of the larger meeting rooms have access to either end of the area, and have folding partitions at the center. Sinks have been provided in some of the rooms so that a variety of uses can be made of the spaces, i.e., crafts, nursery, classrooms, etc.

Directly across the court from the lounge, on the west side of the building, is the game room. This area overlooks the outside recreation area and the interior court and has access to an adjacent game court. Control for this area is from a soda bar located in the space. Public toilets have been provided opposite the main entrance adjacent to the Industrial Relations Department and on the west side of the building next to the game room, convenient to the outdoor recreation areas.

Program Administration is located at the northwest corner of the building. The program director is adjacent to the wood-working shop and directly opposite the gymnasium. Next in line are the offices for the group worker and staff lounges which overlook a planting area.

Dominating both the plan and the elevations are the indoor recreation elements, which the designer felt were the heart of the
building. The swimming pool is located on the south, adjacent to the interior court, and access is provided directly to this area. The pool is 30 feet by 75 feet and was designed so that occasional AAU and inter-scholastic meets could be held here. The entire south, as well as the east and west, walls of this area are glazed.

To the north is the gymnasium, and it is treated much in the same manner as the adjacent pool. A maximum playing court measuring 50 feet by 90 feet is provided and is glazed on the east and west, with additional clear-story light from the north. Both the swimming pool and gymnasium are glazed on the corridor level, providing a pleasant change from the typical enclosed facilities. Louvers are placed on the east and west walls of these elements to control sunlight. A large equipment room for the gymnasium is located on the north side of the building, between the woodworking shop and the mechanical equipment area.

The gymnasium and swimming pool are separated by an island in the center which contains a large office - first aid - equipment room, and locker and shower facilities for both men and women on the ground level. Space is provided on the second level for spectator seating, and informal games such as shuffleboard and ping pong. Access to this area is by steps placed at either end of the island. A secondary corridor runs between this area and the swimming pool and is glazed on the pool side. The lockers open from this corridor as well as from the gymnasium and are in close proximity to an exit leading directly to the outdoor recreation area. The designer visualized the center island as the core of the indoor recreation area. Spectators will be able to watch functions in both of these areas from the upper level, and
participants in the activities in the gymnasium and pool can come to
the second level to rest, as well as take part in the recreation pro-
vided.

A penetration in the building is made just opposite the
swimming pool, creating a visual tie between the area and the outdoor
recreation elements. Besides serving as a game court (see above), an
informal garden is provided in the space next to the staff lounge.

Elevations

After deciding upon the plan, the greatest difficulty en-
countered by the designer was that of arriving at suitable elevations.
At first, an effort was made to frankly express the three higher ele-
ments as had been done in plan. However, when this was attempted, the
building had no real dominating element. The final design combines the
swimming pool and gymnasium masses into one by using a multiple curved
roof, placing all of the emphasis on this element by suppressing the
exterior expression of the multi-purpose room. Although the two funct-
ions are combined into one mass, the louveres are spaced to permit a
break in the fenestration, clearly stating that the two separate elements
exist.

The lower elements which surround the gymnasium, pool,
and multi-purpose room are enclosed by a prefabricated system of alter-
nating panels and glass placed in the six-foot structural module. This
system is interrupted only at the entrances and at the west court.

To free the building from the ground, the floor level
was established at 18 inches above grade and the exterior panels mounted
in front of the foundation, throwing a deep shadow below the floor line.

The portion of the Hickory Street facade, just opposite the interior court and including the main entrance, is recessed and glass extends from floor to ceiling.

Structure

An exposed structural system of 14-inch steel joists spanning 24 feet and spaced six feet O.C. is used on the lower element. This economical system, supported on light steel columns, gives maximum flexibility to the spaces enclosed. The ceiling is of lightweight pre-cast insulating plank construction, left exposed on the interior for its acoustical properties. A continuous poured concrete foundation extending around the perimeter of the lower element carries the steel pipe columns. The clear ceiling height in this area is 7'-6" below the steel joist, and 8'-8" to the insulating plank. The total height from grade to roof is 10'-6".

The multi-purpose room is framed with steel trusses, approximately 4'-0" deep and spaced 15'-0" on steel columns. Bar joists are used as purlins, carrying the roof plank, which is also left exposed for acoustical reasons.

The structural system for the gymnasium and swimming pool differs from the other areas and is expressed by freeing it from the adjacent low elements. Because of the problem of condensation in the swimming pool, the designer recommends using exposed laminated wood throughout. An option would allow the use of steel, but it would have
to be treated in the pool area to prevent corrosion. The multi-curved roof over these areas is formed by using two pairs of different height pitched bents, and extending the pitch of the gymnasium bent over the locker and recreation core to meet the knee of the bent carrying the swimming pool roof. These bents are spaced 15 feet O.C. and 6 feet from the structure of the lower element. The roof, carried on steel or laminated timber purlins, is cantilevered to connect the areas. The glass in the gymnasium is screened with fish netting and a padded rail is provided at either end of the playing floor.

Interior partitions in the building are either 4" or 8" lightweight concrete, prefabricated panels, or cabinet curtain walls. Every effort has been made to use prefabricated units whenever possible to reduce the cost of labor in building.

Areas

| A. Executive Department | 1,400 sq. ft. |
| B. Industrial Department | 1,195 sq. ft. |
| C. Program Administration | 1,400 sq. ft. |
| D. Group Work and Crafts | 8,555 sq. ft. |
| E. Indoor Recreation | 14,600 sq. ft. |
| F. Public and Service Areas | 6,670 sq. ft. |
| G. Community Health Clinic | 1,300 sq. ft. |

Total Gross Area 35,310 sq. ft.

Cubage

| A. Lower Element | 179,400 cu. ft. |
| B. Multi-purpose Room | 39,000 cu. ft. |
| C. Swimming Pool | 98,000 cu. ft. |
| D. Locker-Recreation Core | 51,500 cu. ft. |
| E. Gymnasium | 165,000 cu. ft. |

Total Cubage 532,900 cu. ft.
Cost Estimate

The type of construction used in the facility is similar to that of many contemporary school buildings. Many cost analyses have been made of these structures, resulting in an average figure of $10 to $15 per square foot, or about $1.00 per cubic foot. Taking the maximum figures above, and computing the maximum cubage and area, the costs listed below are arrived at:

Area: \( 35,310 \text{ sq. ft.} \times \$15.00/\text{sq. ft.} = \$530,000.00 \)

Cubage: \( 532,900 \text{ cu. ft.} \times \$1.00/\text{cu. ft.} = \$532,900.00 \)

Since no allowance has been made for the gymnasium-swimming pool spaces, these figures are far from conservative and indicate that the facility could be built within the budget allotted.

Site Development

The location of the community building at the Northeast corner of the recreation site places it at the pivot point between the two elementary schools (Public Schools 6 and 87) and serves as a guide to the development of the area. With the relocation of streets on the site, a number of rectilinear or square spaces are formed by the remaining trees--also a guide to the development of the site.

Along Hickory Street and between the new community building and School 6, a water plaza has been developed. This includes a swimming pool, 50' x 120' and a 50' square wading pool separated by a bath house and shelter 50' long and 24' wide. The designer felt that this area would serve as a formal entrance to the interior areas. Next to this area is a playfield containing a softball diamond and a junior league baseball diamond. The plot plan submitted suggests that bleachers could be erected in this area.
Between the community building and Public School 87, a girls’ playfield is developed containing a softball diamond and hockey field. A battery of four tennis courts, erected according to A.A.U. Standards, is sited adjacent to the new building. To the west of School 6 and adjacent to South Division Street, an apparatus area plus a large depressed, paved, multi-use area is provided. Control for this area would come from the school.

A "tot lot" is located adjacent to the southwest corner of the new community building, allowing close supervision from the facility. The area adjacent to the game room and game court is used for outdoor games such as horseshoes, table tennis, etc.

Due to the close proximity of Emergency Hospital, and adjacent residential developments, only the land to the east of the trees which formerly lined Cedar Street is developed as an active recreation area. The existing tennis courts in Bennett Park adjacent to School 87 remain, but the baseball diamond has been eliminated.

The one new development to the west of the site is a band shell and outdoor assembly plaza. The remaining area is abundant in trees and is designated as a passive park and picnic area.

Two off-street parking areas for 75 cars each have been provided—one along Clinton Street between the new community building and Public School 87; the other on Hickory Street just opposite the new water plaza. These areas include the parking requirements for the building.
ellicott district recreation plan

buffalo, new york
## Appendix

### TABLE VII

**HOUSING DATA**

BUFFALO, N. Y. AND THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT  
BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1950 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Buffalo City</th>
<th>Census Tracts</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Rent, 1950</td>
<td>32.27</td>
<td>25.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Median Value of Dwelling Units</td>
<td>88.18</td>
<td>48.54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per Cent of Dwelling Units Overcrowded</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>15.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per Cent of Houses Dilapidated</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>24.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Multiple Dwellings</td>
<td>24.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per Cent Built 1849 or Earlier</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons/Dwelling Unit</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>No Private Bath, Running Water, or Dilapidated</td>
<td>23,399</td>
<td>1,251</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per Cent Owner Occupied</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>24.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Per Cent Renter Occupied</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>75.0</td>
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* Source: 1950 U. S. Housing Census.*
### Appendix

**TABLE VIII**

POPULATION DATA
BUFFALO, N. Y. AND THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT
BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1950 (PART I) *

<table>
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<th>Subject</th>
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<td>13,376</td>
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<td>8,538</td>
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<td>542,432</td>
<td>10,658</td>
<td>8,026</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>7,118</td>
<td>12,240</td>
<td>4,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>472,282</td>
<td>9,090</td>
<td>6,204</td>
<td>1,191</td>
<td>6,241</td>
<td>10,566</td>
<td>4,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White - Negro</td>
<td>37,700</td>
<td>1,858</td>
<td>2,711</td>
<td>12,957</td>
<td>6,258</td>
<td>4,584</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Races</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population 1940</td>
<td>575,901</td>
<td>11,148</td>
<td>10,311</td>
<td>12,624</td>
<td>13,157</td>
<td>16,788</td>
<td>5,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>557,618</td>
<td>10,572</td>
<td>9,451</td>
<td>3,547</td>
<td>10,233</td>
<td>14,963</td>
<td>5,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>18,283</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>9,077</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>1,825</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population per Household</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median School Years Completed</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Income (Dollars)</td>
<td>$3,079</td>
<td>$2,744</td>
<td>$1,280</td>
<td>$1,878</td>
<td>$2,515</td>
<td>$2,314</td>
<td>$2,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Age Population</td>
<td>114,100</td>
<td>3,206</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td>3,117</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>1,061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: 1950 U. S. Population Census
### Appendix

#### TABLE IX

**POPULATION DATA**  
BUFFALO, N. Y. AND THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT  
BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1950 (PART II) *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Buffalo City</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Change in Population '40-'50</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. Per Residential Area</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Newcomers, '49-'50</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Non-Whites</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Pop. 14 and Under</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Pop. 65 and Over</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Attended College</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Professional, Managerial, etc.</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Private Household, Service Workers, &amp; Laborers</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Widowed or Divorced</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: 1950 U.S. Population Census
Appendix

REPORT OF THE ELLICOTT DISTRICT
HOUSING QUALITY SURVEY *

STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

28 Blocks

992 Structures recorded

960 Structures reported

3 per cent - not reported

89 " " - wood construction

7 " " - contain rooming units

14 " " - contain business units

25 " " - entered by rear yard or alley

6 " " - inadequate fire escape

8 " " - no public hall lighting

15 " " - 1 or 1-1/2 story in height

79 " " - 2 or 2-1/2 stories in height

5 " " - 3 stories in height

1 " " - 4 or more stories in height

49 " " - outside deterioration Class III or extreme

38 " " - rat infestation

32 " " - lack outside sanitation

30 " " - inadequate basement sanitation

38 " " - no basement

* Source: Board of Redevelopment, City of Buffalo, Prepared by M. G. Syracuse (October, 1954.)
Appendix

DWELLING UNIT ANALYSIS

28 Blocks
1953 Dwelling Units Recorded
1762 Dwelling Units Completely Reported
7292 Persons Occupy the 1762 D. U. Reported

3 per cent - dwelling units not reported

1 per cent - dwelling units vacant

*10 " " - no hot water
* 5 " " - share toilet facilities
* 3 " " - share bath facilities
*12 " " - no bath available
57 " " - no washing facilities
78 " " - no central heating system
*45 " " - inside deterioration Class III or extreme
38 " " - rat infestation
44 " " - sanitary index
*28 " " - no dual egress from the dwelling unit
10 " " - doubling of families in dwelling unit
22 " " - have lodgers
76 " " - inhabited by non-whites
21 " " - owner occupied
*48 " " - lack heaters in 3/4 of the total number of rooms per unit
* 2 " " - lack windows in habitable rooms
38 " " - lack closets in 3/4 of the total number of rooms per unit
85 " " - one or more sleeping rooms of substandard area
68 " " - one or more non-sleeping rooms of substandard area
38 " " - own a car
59 " " - prefer to rent if relocated

(* Basic Deficiency)
### Appendix

**Block analysis of dwelling units having one or more basic deficiencies by per cent**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Block No.</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix**

The total distribution of Basic Deficiencies by per cent -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Basic Deficiencies</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HOUSING QUALITY SURVEY
IN THE
ELLICOT DISTRICT
PREPARED BY
BOARD OF REDEVELOPMENT
BUFFALO, N.Y.
OCTOBER 1954

STRUCTURE ANALYSIS
28 Blocks
992 Structures recorded
960 Structures reported
3% Not reported
Wood construction
7% 89%
Contain rooming units
14% 15%
Contain business units
14% 15%
1 or 1 1/2 stories in height
5% 70%
2 or 2 1/2 stories in height
5% 3%
3 stories in height
5%
4 or more stories in height 11%

DWELLING UNIT ANALYSIS
28 Blocks
1953 Dwelling units recorded
1762 Dwelling units completely surveyed
8% Not reported
7292 Persons occupy the 1762 dwelling units reported
Dwelling units vacant
11%
Owner occupied
21%
Have lodgers
22%
Car owner
35%
Prefer to rent if relocated
59%
Inhabited by non-whites
76%

FACILITY DEFICIENCIES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2% windows in habitable rooms</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share bath</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share toilet</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate fire escape</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No public hall lighting</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No hot water</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubling of families in dwelling units</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No path available</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entered by rear yard or alley</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No dual egress from dwelling unit</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack closets in 1/3 of the total number of rooms per unit</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No basements</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack heaters in 1/3 of the total number of rooms per unit</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No washing facilities</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or more non-sleeping rooms of substandard area</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four or more sleeping rooms of substandard area</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No central heating system</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAINTENANCE DEFICIENCIES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate basement sanitation</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside sanitary index</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling unit not infested</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure not infested</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside sanitary index</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme inside deterioration</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme outside deterioration</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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