

DONALD FRANCIS ROY
HOOVERVILLE, A STUDY OF A COMMUNITY OF
HOMELESS MEN IN SEATTLE

27
HOOVERVILLE A STUDY OF A COMMUNITY
OF HOMELESS MEN IN SEATTLE

by

DONALD FRANCIS ROY

A thesis submitted for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Donald F. Roy
Dept. of Sociology

UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1935

295368

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION

BY DONALD FRANCIS ROY

ENTITLED HOOVERVILLE A STUDY OF A COMMUNITY
OF HOMELESS MEN IN SEATTLE

COMPLIES WITH UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS AND IS APPROVED BY ME AS FULFILLING THIS
PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

SIGNATURE Norman S. Hayner

OFFICIAL TITLE Associate Professor of Sociology

DATE August 15 1935

THIS THESIS COMPLIES WITH LIBRARY REQUIREMENTS.

Charles W. Smith LIBRARIAN

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

	Page
I. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE	40
II. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FILIPINO AND NON-FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE	41
III. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF THE HOOVERVILLE WHITE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE	42
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
	Page
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM	1
CHAPTER II. METHOD: PROCEDURE AND DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED	5
Physical Description	5
Population Analysis	9
Social Behavior	18
CHAPTER III. HOOVERVILLE: A NEW RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT	20
CHAPTER IV. THE HOOVERITES: A POPULATION ANALYSIS	38
Sex	39
Age	39
Race	42
Nationality	43
State of Birth	43
Residence in the United States	45
Residence in Washington	51
Residence in Seattle	54
Residence in Hooverville	55
Education	57
Occupation	60
Marital Status	72
War Veterans	75
Summary	75
CHAPTER V. THE HOOVERVILLE MANNER OF LIFE--THE INDUSTRIALLY "LIBERATED'S" PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS	77
Political	77
Economic	80
Family	87
Recreation	89
Social Attitudes	91
CHAPTER VI. ON TO HOOVERVILLE--THE NEW AMERICAN FRONTIER	95

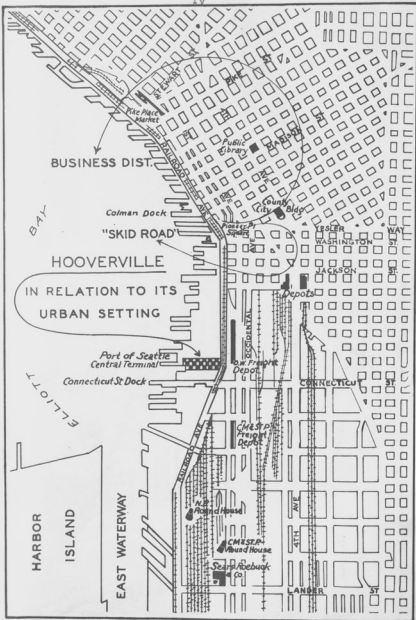
TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

TABLES		Page
I.	AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE	40
II.	AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FILIPINO AND NON-FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	41
III.	COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	44
IV.	STATE OF BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN-BORN POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	46
V.	YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE NON-FILIPINO FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	47
VI.	YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	49
VII.	AGE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN OF HOOVERVILLE AT TIME OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES.....	50
VIII.	YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE, BY RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS.....	52
IX.	AVERAGE LENGTH OF ADULT RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON AND IN STATES OF THE UNITED STATES OTHER THAN WASHINGTON OF FIVE RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS OF HOOVERVILLE.....	53
X.	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SEATTLE AND WASHINGTON OF THE FILIPINO AND NON-FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	55
XI.	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOOVERVILLE OF THE PRESENT POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY.....	56
XII.	YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF THE MAJOR RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS OF HOOVERVILLE.....	59
XIII.	PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	63
XIV.	PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE FILIPINO, MEXICAN, AND NEGRO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE.....	71

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

TABLES		Page
XV.	LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE, BY RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS..	73
XVI.	MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE BY NATIONALITY GROUPS.....	74
MAPS		
I.	HOOVERVILLE IN RELATION TO ITS URBAN SETTING...	iv
II.	DISTRIBUTION OF SHANTIES IN HOOVERVILLE.....	v





DISTRIBUTION OF SHANTIES IN 'HOOVERVILLE': MARCH 1934



HOOVERVILLE A STUDY OF A COMMUNITY
OF HOMELESS MEN IN SEATTLE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM

In January, 1934, the writer was hired by the Washington Emergency Relief Administration to investigate Hooverville, one of the newer and increasingly popular residential districts of Seattle. During a widespread and protracted slump in real estate and the building trades, this area had been favored with an extraordinary "boom"--an expansion in open, noisy disregard of carefully draughted graphs and diagrams which showed clearly the critical state of a bed-ridden economic system. From the sandy waste of an abandoned shipyard site, almost in the shadow of the multi-story brick and steel sanitaris of indisposed business, was swiftly hammered and wired into flower a conglomerate of grotesque dwellings, a Christmas-mix assortment of American junk that stuck together in congested disarray like sea-soaked jetsam spewed on the beach. To honor a distinguished engineer and designer this unblueprinted, tincan-esque architecturaloid was named Hooverville.

Not to discover the why of this contrariness to business trend and rejection of contemporary patterns in art, but to understand the structural and functional aspects of the pheno-

menon as it had come to exist was the objective of the W.E.R.A. Instructions were indeterminate; the planning as well as execution of the campaign was to be left to the judgment and inquisitorial resources of the investigator. The suggestion of Joseph Cohen, head of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the W.E.R.A. and chief advisor of the investigator, that the latter acquire property in Hooverville and move into the community as a bona fide resident was accepted as the initial step of the survey under the assumption that one who participates in the "native" domestic life and is identified as "one of us" by the other members of the community can make more accurate observations and gain more verbal information than one who snoops and quizzes as an outsider. In accordance with this tip, the writer accepted \$15.00 from state relief funds to cover the cost of a furnished dwelling, convinced an easily influenced Hooverite that in three five-dollar bills there inhered values very favorable in comparison to those of home and fireside, closed the deal, and moved in. To provide professional companionship for investigator and assist with preliminary reconnoitering, a young unmarried ex-relief recipient was employed; he was to share the new domicile.

Two Webster definitions of "house" as (1) "a structure intended or used for human habitation" and (2) "anything serving an animal other than man for shelter or habitation" unquestionably apply to that into which the investigator moved; but due to the writer's emotional bias against calling his Hooverville residence a house, the place will hereafter be referred to with

such terms as shack, shanty, hut, hovel, shelter, lean-to, or shed--and will be mentioned as little as possible. The man who got away with the \$15.00 boasted that his creation was one of the better homes of Hooverville. That statement the investigator will not dispute, nor will he take issue with such exaggerations as "It's made entirely of boards; there's no tin in this shack" or "The roof never leaks"; but he does point out that the creator might also have boasted that his hand-fashioned board bunk almost noticeably padded with burlap was slightly superior to a sidewalk for a night's repose, and that one could quickly smoke a winter's supply of fish by keeping a fire in the strictly homemade stove.

In the smoke screen of his first evening "at home" the investigator conceived his task to include the following:

1. A description of Hooverville in its physico-environmental aspects.
2. An analysis of the population of the community.
3. A description of the social behavior of the inhabitants.

What is Hooverville; who are the Hooverites; and what are they doing here?--were three basic questions that loomed up as the core of the problem.

By morning, another question just as fundamental and vastly more pressing than the first three had presented itself; namely, how was the investigator to adjust himself organically to the physico-environmental aspects of the community while he studied them? Participation in the village life as a "native" meant mingling with the Hooverites in their social activities, sitting

in on their "palavers," and trying to view the world through their shaft of glasses; but beneath these assimilative processes and now evident as unescapably necessary to their maintenance, were certain elementary physical accommodations such as eating, sleeping, breathing, etc. The issue had become a compound one of (1) obtaining information and (2) remaining an integrated organism capable of receiving and recording impressions. His back to a slivery wall, the investigator was forced to make the following aggressive adaptations to insure survival in a hostile physical environment:

1. Acquiring a second-hand mattress and more blankets.
2. Recalling the assistant, who snored vigorously from 11 P.M. to 8 A.M.
3. Placing a curse upon the rat that gnawed under the flooring at night.
4. Getting an occasional night's rest in an uptown hotel.
5. Eating at least one meal a day in a restaurant.
6. Preparing food at home which required no cooking--hence no fire and no smoke.
7. Wearing caulked shoes on trips to the local lavatories, located at the end of trescherous "rat walks" over the waters of the bay.

The other part of the compound problem, that of obtaining the desired information about Hooverville and the Hooverites placed an even greater tax upon the investigator's ingenuity.

CHAPTER II

METHOD: PROCEDURE AND DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Since there existed no reliable literature on Hoover culture or quantitative data on the community's population, and since the investigator was loathe to accept as valid for his purposes the reports, gossip, tidings, and complaints about Hooverville distributed by the city officials, welfare workers, casual visitors, or University of Washington student tourists, the gathering of facts naturally focused upon two sources, (1) direct observation of phenomena as they existed or occurred and (2) second-hand acquaintance with events through communication with the inhabitants. The description of the physical aspects of the community was obtained entirely by direct observation; population data were gathered in interviews with the residents; and the gaining of insights into institutional and attitudinal patterns involved both direct observation and the acceptance of verbal behavior as representing the facts.

Physical Description

Aside from the problems involved in the construction of

a map, a description of the physico-environmental aspects of the community offered no particular difficulties. Non-residents visit Hooverville everyday, and one may stroll about in old clothes without arousing suspicion or even curiosity. A complimentary remark concerning the structural or aesthetic qualities of a shanty to its owner, an expressed interest in purchasing property in the community, or a friendly greeting and willingness to follow it up with an equally friendly chat are almost unfailing entrées to the interiors of the dwellings.

The mapping of Hooverville without instruments of precise measurement was a difficult and exasperating task. Five hundred shanties are scattered over the terrain in insane disorder; a street pattern is non-existent, and the trails for human traffic form nothing short of a rat maze. In this labyrinth the investigator wandered for days, pacing off lengths and widths and distances from this to that, and achieved after a great sacrifice of leather a fairly accurate map. Without the aid of several buildings that loomed up at the southern border of the area, the task would have been even more difficult. The east and west ends of these structures served to gauge points that lay in line with them.

During the map drawing, certain engineering difficulties arose that were due to a subjective factor, the investigator's emotional instability; the mood of the moment affected the length of pace and caused discrepancies to appear that had to be corrected. The weather proved to be the most aggravating variable behind this emotional fluctuation; on bright, sunny

days strides tended to be brisk and long of swing; on dull, gloomy, cloudy days the investigator just plodded along. Sarcoterial carelessness also brought miscalculations that later had to be ironed out with great loss of time; one day the investigator ventured forth with heavy logging boots; that shorter strides were taken that day was exasperatingly evident later on when measurements were cross-checked.

Map drawing was more than an engineering problem. This activity involved pencil and paper work that could not be concealed, and the curiosity and suspicions of the residents had to be met with adequate "reasons" for the work.

Fortunate circumstances set an opportune moment for the undertaking. Relief agents had been insisting that those Hooverites receiving relief should number their shanties to facilitate the finding of recipients for questioning. In response to this demand the relief-receivers numbered their houses, but this did not solve the problem. There were many duplicates, and numbers were not applied in consecutive order. Three number 8's lay in close proximity; "7" and "1500" might well be neighbors. Complaints of the relief agents as to the difficulty of finding residents were relayed to the investigator by the "mayor" of Hooverville, with whom he had "struck up" an acquaintance. His honor was promptly informed that the investigator had obtained a C.W.A. job to make a rough map of the community for the use of the relief workers. To a suggestion that he cooperate in devising a numbering system that would be applied to every shanty in the village, the mayor responded with alac-

rity, maintaining that the idea was one that he had long cherished. With the help of a fellow Hooverite he soon had a number painted on the front of every dwelling. The numbering system involved a rough division of the community into twelve districts, lettered A to M (excluding "I" because it might be confused with the number "1"); within these districts the shacks were numbered in consecutive order starting with 1; thus each residence had a district letter and a number, e. g., A1, A2, A3, etc., B1, B2, B3, etc. These identification marks that were slapped on shanty doors and walls were later applied to the corresponding symbols on the map, insuring the representation of each structure in its proper position.

During the construction of the map, the investigator was questioned by nearly every resident of Hooverville as to the nature, purpose, and auspices of the undertaking. Curiosities both idle and suspicious were allayed by answers that almost invariably elicited expressions of approval. That Hooverville homes should have been numbered long ago, not merely for the benefit of relief agents but also for the convenience of the residents themselves was quite evident to the inhabitants when it was pointed out that friends might wish to look them up, and that an address was prerequisite to registering for voting. It was even suggested that mail might some day be delivered directly to the shanties. The emotionalized climax of the investigator's "line" that Hooverville was no longer a "jungle" but a recognized residential area of Seattle with as much right to house numbers as the homes of other districts stifled all rebut-

tals. To establish logical connection between the numbers and the map, it was clearly pointed out that the latter was needed by relief authorities to enable them to spot residences quickly and easily.

Since the Hooverites were made to feel that the investigator's "C.W.A. job" was to result in definite benefits to themselves, the social contacts made during the map-drawing tended to develop a rapport that facilitated the subsequent gathering of population data by "census." The new numbering system, at least, did actually prove to be of definite benefit. Two cases were later brought to the investigator's attention where Hooverites, one inebriated, the other new in residence, and both unable to find their way home, revealed their addresses to obliging residents who knew and were able to make their way about, and were duly escorted to their respective shacks.

Population Analysis

At the beginning of the survey it had been the plan of the investigator to gather personal data from the residents by engaging them in chance conversations. It had been his intention, upon moving into the community as a bona fide Hooverite, to strike up acquaintanceships with his neighbors and to talk eventually with nearly every person, so directing or leading conversations that desired facts would be brought to light. For several weeks this procedure was followed. The investigator would stroll casually about the community, engaging in conversation individuals who happened to be puttering around outside

their shacks, remain with the victims until the desired information was obtained or until the other party ended the interview, and then scurry home to record the facts before they were lost to memory.

This chance conversation method called for a combination of aggressiveness and seeming indifference on the part of the investigator. Since many of the residents were not talkative of their own accord or tended to enjoy harping on limited strings of interest or prejudice, the writer had to take the initiative and be doggedly persistent in attempts to guide the discussion into information-yielding channels; yet he dared not appear "nosey." Direct questioning always brought suspicion and negativism; the Hooverites had to be encouraged to reveal themselves without feeling that they were being "pumped." Even by employing all the friendliness and tact at his disposal, the investigator found some of the men taciturn and unwilling to "open up." Others were suspicious at the start, and could not be successfully approached. In one instance the writer was openly accused of being a stool pigeon before a group of Hooverites gathered at one shack to drink "dehorn," he was rescued from this embarrassing situation by one of the guests who cleared the atmosphere with "Oh, Red is all right. I've known him a long time. We worked together at camp ----!" The writer was also taken for a welfare worker, a college boy gathering material for one of his classes, and a magazine writer; but in each of these cases of mistaken identity was able to emit forced laughs and glib explanations that seemingly convinced

the dubious that he was "OK" after all.

In the "chance" conversations, the investigator found it profitable to be in sympathy with the moods and biases of his victims. If they were grouchy, he let drop such remarks as "I know just how you feel, and I don't blame you a d--- bit." If they were in a gay mood, he joshed and guffawed with them. Great care had to be taken to curb his own sense of humour, however, for his brand of wit was not appreciated. One "conversation" ended abruptly when a resident misinterpreted a statement and called the investigator a "young smark alec."

One difficulty, almost as exasperating as dealing with the taciturn and suspicious, lay in the garrulity of some of the Hooverites. In several cases the investigator could hardly get a word in edgewise while the interviewees ran away with the conversation into non-information-yielding courses. On a few occasions the writer experienced difficulty in breaking away from a talkative resident after he had either obtained the desired data or decided that the situation was hopeless. Since the investigator was expected to finish his survey in a reasonable period of time, he felt that he could ill afford to put in an entire morning with one resident.

Another problem, undoubtedly one of the most exasperating, seemed to inhere in the personal appearance of the investigator, although the attitudes and habits prevalent in the social milieu were factors of equal importance. On several occasions the writer was "sounded out" on the subject of sodomy by sex-hungry interviewees, and in three instances was directly "proposition-

ed" by individuals of misdirected passion who offered him money, oranges, and a happy home life, respectively. And the investigator sensed at many other times from the love light in their eyes that he was desired as a foil for homosexual ardor, although no overt passes were made. The three open "propositions" were met with firm, but unwrathful refusal; the writer felt it wise to keep in rapport with all his sources of information.

It became increasingly evident after several weeks of "casual" conversations with the "natives," that this method would never achieve the success in population analysis that the investigator sought. Its weaknesses were obvious the first few days of the survey; that it was so long continued may be laid to the writer's inexperience. A shift in methodology finally came about with the occurrence of a crisis that definitely indicated the futility of "carrying on." One morning a member of the local vigilance committee insinuated that the investigator's interest in his fellow Hooverites was sexual, with the declaration expressed in threatening tones that "we're going to run all the punks out of here!" As he spoke, his narrowed eyes were focused squarely upon the writer. The latter had been seen, of course, at many shacks talking to the residents, and it had been observed that he occasionally ventured inside with the owners for varying lengths of time. Naturally he was suspected of commercializing Hooverville homosexuality. Either gossip had reached the committeeman's ears, or he had made observations and deductions of his own--or both. Undoubtedly the investigator was beginning to acquire, from his point of

view, an undesirable status. A few "interviews" here and there would not have excited suspicion, but to be seen everyday conversing with different men would naturally lead the sophisticated to one conclusion.

The "conversation" method would not have yielded an adequate population analysis even if the investigator had been able to continue it. For one thing, it was far too slow for the amount of time that the W.E.R.A. would have allowed for the survey. Half a dozen new case histories was a hard day's work with casual undercover techniques; often the data gathered on one individual would be incomplete, and follow-up chats would have to be engineered. Then, too, information might never be obtained from the taciturn or suspicious.

Although the conversation method was a failure as far as population analysis was concerned, it was not without value nor a total waste of time. It better lent itself to the gaining of insights into the social life of the community and intimate glimpses into the lives of the residents than did the speedier and surer but also more superficial "census" method subsequently adopted. In friendly chats with a supposed "fellow", life history narrative was freely volunteered, while responses to direct questioning and schedule filling were affected by a variety of inhibitions. Even those who had confidence in the investigator, and in fact had "told him all" in fireside tête à tête became "leary" when confronted with "official" documents, and hesitated on such simple items as age and marital status.

The "census" method of acquiring population data was adopted soon after the abandonment of the "conversation" method and immediately after the completion of the community map. Stocked with 6" x 8" cards upon which was mimeographed a short schedule headed by the word "census" in bold type, the investigator set out to obtain from every householder certain personal data. The same "gag" was used to explain the "census" that was employed to allay suspicion in the map undertaking; namely, that the investigator had acquired a C.W.A. job of short duration. In answer to a batter of questions even more grueling than the map-making ordeal, the men were told that the W.B.R.A. wanted a census of all the shanty dwellers in the state, and that in consideration of the merits of his Hooverville map, the investigator was given a job taking census in that area.

Although it did not lead itself to the gaining of intimate insights into the personal lives of the Hooverites, the census approach was successful in the obtaining of facts of a classificatory nature such as age, race, nationality, etc. Without it a population analysis could not have been made. Armed with the official-looking home-made "census" cards the investigator was able to contact and question nearly every man in Hooverville. Although attitudes toward these cards were almost universally negative to varying degrees and forced the writer to use his "salesmanship" to the fullest extent, the system "covered the ground."

On the census cards the name, age, sex, race, country or state of birth, length of residence in the United States, Wash-

ington, Seattle, and Hooverville, marital status, past occupation, length of unemployment, and present means of "getting by" of each person thus "officially" questioned were recorded. The residents were also asked if they owned the shanties in which they dwelt; if they built them, bought them, or received them as gifts; if they were on relief, and if so, what kind of relief; and if they were World War veterans. In the upper right hand corner of the face of each card was written the shack number of each interviewee; in case two or more Hooverites occupied the same dwelling, an additional number was inscribed in parentheses after the house number to represent the individual inhabitant (i.e., Al⁽¹⁾, Al⁽²⁾, and Al⁽³⁾, or K27⁽¹⁾, and K27⁽²⁾). Thus every person was accounted for and none recorded twice. Without the application of a numbering system to the homes of Hooverville, taking a "census" would have been very difficult; in the confusing labyrinth of shanties many residents might have been skipped, and others annoyed a second or third time.

The great problem of the census lay in meeting the negative attitudes of the Hooverites. The latter were hostile to the idea of giving information concerning themselves for several reasons. In the first place, most of the men considered the census distinctly a nuisance, objecting that they had already been grilled by relief agents or clerks at the employment registries, and balking at the idea of going through the ordeal again. "They have my record at the employment registry" or "you can find out all about me at the relief headquarters" were common protestations. "I have given my life and family history back to the ark

three times now, and never got a thing out of it" was a familiar complaint. The Hooverites seemed to have unhappy recollections concerning former long quizzes at the hands of government authorities, and expressed mild to severe irritation at the sight of the census cards. This type of resistance, in all but two cases was successfully beaten down, the disgruntled natives yielding to varying degrees and kinds of pressure. "I don't blame you for being sore; I know just how you feel," "this will take just a minute of your time; it isn't like those other questionnaires," "If I didn't bother you with this, it would be somebody else because they want this done," or "If you are busy right now, I can come around later" were some of the more successful wedges driven into these attitudinal barriers.

Negativism toward the census arose from causes other than the fact that it was a nuisance. Some of the men feared that the information would be used by the police to trace them; a few evidently had criminal pasts, while others feared the power of long arm of the law to return them to former unpleasant family situations. Several men of radical political and economic views feared that the census was the first step toward deportation; others were afraid that the personal information would later be used by a fascist regime to seek out and persecute those not in active accord with its policies. Those who feared the census for criminal or political reasons were told that their names would not be necessary if they would give the rest of the information; but even after this concession and a "word of honor" assurance that the census was merely a quantitative measurement of the

population and not concerned with individual personalities, several men remained adamant in their refusal to cooperate. "I think that you are all right, Red; you really believe what you say; but the men who sent you here haven't told you the true reason for wanting this information," was the verbal reaction of several of the more "cagey" to the investigator's avowals.

One rumor that circulated throughout Hooverville at the time that the census was taken was that the shanties were to fall under the lash of government taxes. Negativism brought on or augmented by this rumor was combatted by "laughing it off" and pointing out how ridiculous the whole idea was. It was also noised about that the Hooverites were about to be sent to transient camps to work for a dollar a week and board. For this the investigator had the convincing argument "Why would they be interested in numbering and mapping this place and making a real residential district out of it if they're going to move you out? It stands to reason that they figure this will be here for some time. Besides, they could put you into transient camps in short order if they wanted, whether they had this census or not."

Two more difficulties that merit mentioning were encountered; some of the men gave the investigator trouble by their chronic absence; others found it difficult to understand the questions asked. Most of those who seemed never to be at home when the investigator called either were eventually cornered or the desired information concerning them was given by part-

ners or neighbors, but census cards for several elusive Hooverites, about whom no one knew anything or cared to tell, remain blank.

In questioning two racial groups, the Mexicans and Filipinos, the investigator was occasionally forced to resort to his high school Spanish, and when that failed, to enlist the aid of interpreters. There were always English-speaking friends of the "no sabes" who would willingly offer their services. A few men who were hard of hearing gave the investigator anxious moments. Especially exasperating was one negativistic Norwegian whose near deafness and hostile attitudes made as abyss of social distance that only perseverance and patience could bridge.

During the "census" ordeal, the enumerator found it the best policy to keep cool and affable, no matter how aggravating the situation. In several cases success came after two or three refusals to cooperate; the investigator had become more of a nuisance than his census, and the latter was finally accepted as the lesser evil. The result of all this persistence was 598 filled schedules out of a possible 639.

Social Behavior

The gathering of information concerning the various phases of the social life of the men of Hooverville and the attitudinal complexes found in that community presented no particular problems to the investigator, because he made no attempt at quantitative analysis save in the matter of economic organization. Information as to the current mode of "getting by" of each resi-

dent was recorded on the census schedules. Otherwise, insights into social activity and social attitudes were obtained from a general observation of the men in their community and extra-community life and from conversations in which were revealed threads in the pattern of their social contacts and characteristic viewpoints in relation to various issues. The early "conversation" method yielded more intimate glimpses into private lives than did the census procedure, although contacts made while filling the schedules were fertile sources of insights into certain social attitudes.

The investigation was completed the first week in April, 1934. After approximately two months of residence in the community, the writer abandoned his estate. Perhaps someone acquired it since upon payment of back taxes.

CHAPTER III

HOOVERVILLE: A NEW RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT

The name is deceiving. Hooverville is not an incorporated community, proudly referring to itself with the surname of one of its distinguished founders--not a small rural village struggling to preserve its identity in an era of voracious metropolitanism. It is not a discrete community at all, but an integral part of a highly differentiated urban design. Within the city, and of the city, it functions as a segregated residential area of distinct physical structure, population composition, and social behavior.

The most evident characteristics of this unique "natural area" lie in its physical appearance. Five-hundred tiny shanties huddle in the rain and steam in the sun on a former shipyard site to form a picture quite different from the usual American residential scene. Even the traditional street patterns of occidental civilization have been discarded. Aside from one graded road that bisects the community to form connections with a pier, there are no streets or boulevards--no named and numbered avenues to aid the stranger in finding his way about. Paths weave in and out like animal trails; each

resident learns to run his own maze in zigzag courses involving the least possible time, space, and energy. Some of the wider and better worn "runs" afford transit for two-wheeled junk carts that scurry along under human power in the manner of 'rikishas in an oriental city. Doors open here and there, inward and outward, hinges to the right and hinges to the left, according to the whims of the architects.

Hooverville is bounded on two sides by Puget Sound, on one side by warehouses, and on a fourth by Railroad Avenue, Seattle's main water-front thoroughfare. At high tide the water's edge approaches within ten feet of the nearest shacks; each winter high water completely surrounds several of the dwellings, making access to them a difficult matter for several days. A few years ago one resident was forced to leave his house in unorthodox fashion when he awoke to find his floor covered with three feet of water and his bed a rocking cradle of the deep. Happily a panel was easily removed from the roof, and he made a pantless takeoff to higher ground. The sea appears to be eternally licking its chops in anticipation of swallowing the entire community in one juicy gulp.

Across several blocks of urban warehouses and switching yards the engines of three transcontinental railroads whistle daily invitations to "see the country." But nearby beckons a counteracting lure, the "skidroad," where soot-dimmed street lights illuminate the façades of "hock shops," "Greasy Spoons," pool halls, cheap burlesques, "flop-houses," "cribs," and Chinese gambling "joints"--and deepen by contrast the darkness

of narrow alleys.

It has been over sixteen years since rivets were slung in the shipyards, on the former site of which Hooverville has arisen; but sixteen years have not obliterated all signs of the work that was carried on. Old wooden pilings thrust scaly heads through the sand, and big blocks of cement lie embedded in the earth here and there like ruins of an ancient Mediterranean city. These cement foundations sometimes provide flooring for the flimsy dwellings that are scattered like scrubby parasitic growth over the remains of former grandeur. Save for a few tufts of grass here and there that have managed to survive the thin-soled shuffle of second-hand shoes, the only natural vegetation found in Hooverville is furnished by a fast-growing deciduous bush that seems to thrive on the salty soil; it takes on a tree-like appearance when trimmed of lower branches. Many Hooverites prune up this indigenous shrub to improve the landscaping about their "estates."

Constructed for the most part from materials picked up along docks, railroads, alleys, and dumps, the homes of Hooverville evidence a variety of "rustling" effort, besch-combing luck, carpentry skill, and aesthetic taste on the part of those, who, like human pack rats, carried, wheeled, and dragged bits of lumber, tin, cardboard, tar paper, glass, composition roofing, canvas, and other materials of utility for shanty building to the site of Seattle's new "real estate boom."

On first impression Hooverville appears to be an odd assortment of junk painfully assembled to form a conglomerate

of shacks all more or less of a uniform type; on closer inspection, however, striking differences stand out, differences that inhere not in the materials from which the structures are built, but chiefly in organization of those materials. Qualities and proportions of lumber, tin, and paper used vary noticeably, it is true; but it is in construction that the most striking differences lie. The shanties range from small bungalows to semi-dugouts that might be described as "lairs." Two dwellings may be made entirely of lumber; one will have the appearance of a loosely thrown together shed, while the other may be a neatly and compactly built little cottage with double floor, weather-boarded or ship-lapped walls, tar-papered roof, a window on every side, and a latticed porch. One compact little cottage, built by an unemployed carpenter, boasts four tiny rooms including kitchen, dining room, and two bedrooms, besides a store room and a small front porch. Ship-lapped and painted, and surrounded on two sides by a stone walk and a picket fence, it bears the appearance of a toy bungalow. Although this particular residence is in a class by itself, there are many other dwellings which show considerable carpentry skill and aesthetic appreciation. In general, however, the shed type tends to predominate.

A high percentage of tin in its composition does not necessarily relegate a shack to a low construction rating. Although most of those which would assay high in this metal are but loosely slapped together affairs of scraps of sheeting, with leaky roofs and draughty walls, some are neat structures

of nicely fitted and tightly seamed strips. The tacking of tin over walls of lumber is very common; a few residents have carefully flattened out coal oil cans to procure this type of exterior finishing. Lathes are sometimes used as outer boarding; when nailed down neatly, they give the shack an effect of brightness and newness which is pleasing to the eye.

Tin is universally popular as roofing material, though the manner in which it is laid down varies. While some builders nail the tin down tightly, others lay it on loosely at a gentle angle and weight it down with rocks or scraps of iron. Roofing paper is also used to protect the homes of Hooverville from Seattle's aqueous elements, and several of the more alert "natives" have salvaged strips of composition roofing for their dwellings. Canvas has not gained popularity as building material; there are but three tents in "town."

Painted walls are by no means rare, though in general exteriors are left unfinished. On some of the shanties as many as three coats of paint have been applied. There seems to be no community in color taste; every hue of the rainbow and a few shades not found there are represented. The brush wielders use whatever they can find; the mixing of colors is frequently resorted to in quantitative necessity, if not in artful experimentation, and startling blends often result.

Paper is used chiefly for interior finishing. Many interior walls and ceilings are equipped with strips of cardboard obtained from pecking boxes. This cardboard not only functions to conserve heat, but also lends shack interiors a more finish-

ed effect. Some of the dwellings are papered with thick wrapping paper in place of the cardboard; in several homes genuine wallpaper of assorted patterns graces the walls. Although the papering of interiors enhances appearance and insulation, it sometimes has a red ink side of great concern to the Hooverites; small carnivorous fauna, particularly of the species "Bedbug," cunning, aggressive, and nocturnipresent, find in papered walls comfortable housekeeping quarters within walking distance of their public markets.

Glass is in universal use for windows. Nearly every dwelling is equipped with at least one window, and a few are very well lighted. These windows range in size from large plates several feet square to mere glass covered slits a few inches wide. In many instances frames are cleverly set in the walls, permitting ventilation by swinging or sliding open; in other cases windows are merely pieces of glass placed over openings in the walls, serving for the admittance of light only. In one shanty, almost half of one wall is of glass, and an additional window, 4' by 6', is set in the gently slanting roof to lend the place a sun-room appearance. One ex-carpenter has made his home distinctly unique by setting two vertical skylights, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' by 5', in a roof of fairly steep slope. The amount of light admitted into the shacks varies not only with the size and number of windows but also with the nature of the glass and the extent to which it is kept clean. Some of the windows are of translucent glass. The near opaqueness of others could be remedied by washing.

The shanties of Hooverville are fairly uniform in size and shape. Most of them are rectangular, one-room affairs from 6' by 9' to 12' by 15', sheltering one or two men. The largest structure covers a ground space of approximately 15' by 25'; the smallest, a space of 3' by 6'. Sometimes these dwellings are divided into two rooms, kitchen and bedroom; one house has four rooms; several have three; but in general one room is multifunctional as most of the residents consider partitioning unnecessary. The accretion of additions to the original structure is quite common; queer offshoots spurt out suddenly like an overnight sprouting of some xerophytic plant; but for the most part these additions serve merely as woodsheds or storerooms and not as living quarters.

Ceilings are low, from 6' to 8' in height; thus the shacks heat up rapidly, and, when stoves or drafts are defective, become smoky little sweatboxes. Some of the smaller dwellings would make ideal Turkish baths, with the addition of a hole in the roof for one's head.

Except for a few dugout-like dwellings, the floors of which are laid a few feet below the surrounding terrain, Hooverville domestic life goes on at one dead level; there are no cellars nor attics. As a health measure, building regulations promulgated in 1933 by city authorities specify that Hooverville homes must be built at least one foot off the ground. These regulations, made when the community was already fairly well settled, were not retroactive; nor were they finically observed by subsequent builders; so while some of the shacks com-

ply in exaggerated fashion, their floors being several feet above the earth, others are set flat upon the ground; and several resemble the town houses of the Siberian Chukchee, with floors three or four feet below the ground level. One one-eyed individual of sixty winters is remindful of a gopher as he putters around the periscope-like roof of his burrow. The one-foot minimum was more than a health measure; according to the "mayor" that much space under flooring facilitates the pursuance of rats by cats and prevents the former from nesting under the shanties.

Only one Hooverite has attempted vertical expansion; his skyward venture, a 4' by 6' piano-crate-like structure, looms above the surrounding ecological insanity like a minaret in Cairo; one almost expects a fuzzy-faced muezzin to appear in its lopsided magnificence and lead Hooverville in prayer.

Not all of the shacks were constructed from "rustled" materials. In a few cases the acquiring of lumber and nails involved a cash nexus. To several men of means, owning a home on the tide flats meant not the accumulation of the spoils of war from alley raids, waterfront forays, and boxcar ambushes, but a severing of relations with legal tender. Two residents report the cost of their building materials at \$30.00. One man, who offered his place for sale at \$15.00, sticks to his story that the estate "set him back \$52.00," f.o.b., unassembled.

Selling price provides an extremely fallible index to structural quality. Certain personal variables such as desire

for immediate cash, desire to leave town quickly, and state of intoxication at time of sale, influence prices. A home worth at least \$12.00 at the current adjustment of supply and demand sold for \$4.00 because its owner was on a "drunk" and needed funds immediately to carry on festivities. Seasonal variation in demand is also an important factor in determining prices. Shacks that would sell for \$10.00 in the spring or summer, when skies are fair and every turn in the road is a beckon, could command \$30.00 in the fall when small-staked seasonal labor turns to thoughts of hibernation. In general, shacks may be had for \$10.00 to \$15.00; \$4.00 and \$30.00 may be said to mark the extremes. It should be mentioned that the hazard of destruction by administrative forces is implicit in every transaction and acts as a depressant upon the sale price. Only one man in Hooverville is immune from this threat; this fortunate person lives in the cabin of a twenty-five foot boat near the water's edge. If Seattle's mayor again decrees that the haunts of the Hooverites shall be swept by fire, the boat dweller may launch his home upon the waters of Puget Sound and seek terra firma elsewhere.

Hooverville homes show uniformity in amount and variation in quality of internal furnishings. Beds, stoves, tables, chairs, and kitchen utensils are articles of universal use; but they evidence the same interesting differences in effort, skill, luck and taste as the structures in which they are placed. Beds, for instance, vary from homemade board bunks with poor or no padding to large steel frame bedsteads with

coil springs and thick mattresses. Board bunks, always built next to the wall, are usually stoutly constructed; and, when equipped with enough padding to negate their boxcar floor effects, are indeed fairly comfortable. In several homes of multiple dwelling, bunks are decked one above the other in "forecastle" style. Second-hand springs and bedsteads are fairly numerous; they vary from rickety, treacherous old traps in which only a Brodie would dare to ride, to later and less abused models that might receive a bid on the auction block. Cots do not seem to be popular; very few are in evidence. A hotel lounge that occupies half the floor space in his shack and so placed that one can never sit down without sitting beside the stove, is used by one fellow as "classy" living room furniture in the daytime and as a bed at night. To one man every morning is resurrection; he sleeps in a coffin!

Everyone has bedding of some sort; many have blankets and quilts that are fairly new and in good appearance; others use bedding that has seen considerable wear and an occasional tear. One man possesses no blankets at all; he sleeps under three old overcoats. Another stretches out on the grass to count his sheep; his pastoral surroundings consist of several layers of artificial lawn, the startling greenery of which brightens up an otherwise drably furnished room. Canvas is popular material for bedspreads; it protects the blankets from dirt, soot, and moisture and wears well. On rainless days mattresses of varying thicknesses may be seen hanging over "two by fours" outside dwellings infested with little "sharks

of the night." Where mattresses are not in use, padding may be provided by layers of quilts, straw, or excelsior.

Every shanty has a stove of some sort. Needed for both cooking and heating, they form a very important part of the household equipment. Stoves vary from second-hand kitchen ranges and small coal-burning heaters to rusty tin cans with two holes knocked in them, one for fuel feeding, one for the stovepipe. Second-hand ranges and heaters are the exception; homemade heating plants are the rule. The latter are usually small tin affairs, the size of a five-gallon kerosene can, set in structures of brick and mortar upon stout pedestals of wood, and so lined inside with brick that their fireboxes may be only a few inches square. In several shacks oil drums and boiler heads are in use; they are of impressive appearance and offer ample cooking space. A few stoves are made almost entirely of brick, the only metal employed being a square of sheet iron or heavy tin set in the top for a cooking surface. These Dutch-oven looking affairs are delightfully quaint; and, when the furniture is rough hewn, harmonize well with their surroundings.

None of the home-made stoves are equipped with ovens; and since the ovens of the kitchen ranges never seem to function properly, boiling, stewing, and frying are the prevailing methods of preparing food. Only two Hooverites have found success with the baking process; one owns a fair second-hand range for which he paid \$5.00; the other uses a small \$1.25 portable camp stove.

Home fires are kept burning, or at least smoking, with fuel picked up along the water front and railroad yards--drift logs, lumber, and old boxes. One resident, who had been borrowing bituminous after regular business hours from Seattle coal dealers on the "help yourself and scream" plan, was reduced to restricted environs when representatives of the law observed and frowned upon the transactions.

A high percent of the smoke produced in Hooverville stoves finds its way out of the shanties through stovepipes of varying lengths and breadths and angles of perpendicularity. The rest either locates avenues of escape through doors, windows, and cracks, or settles down in sooty ubiquity upon walls, furniture, food, and lung tissues.

The home-made also predominates in chair and table equipment, though there are many second-hand kitchen chairs and even some "swivel-bound" office furniture. Chairs of domestic manufacture are merely backless stools and benches; the tables are for the most part broad shelf affairs built out from the walls to conserve space.

All the men have cooking and eating utensils of some sort; old pots, pans, dishes, and silverware seem to be fairly easy to procure. Kerosene cans are in common use as water vessels and slop pails; they are usually fitted with wooden handles to facilitate carrying. Another household article found everywhere in the community is the kerosene lamp; in electricity-less Hooverville it has come into its own again.

Mirrors and pictures appear on the walls of nearly every

shack; a few of the latter are paintings equipped with glass and frames, but in general walls are decorated with postcards, magazine covers, or lingerie ads. Aesthetic taste runs heavily to the feminine: face and scantily adorned form. Bureaus, rugs, clocks, and radios are articles which, though not in universal use, are nevertheless found here and there with a frequency meriting mention. The radios, with one exception, are crystal sets that perform almost audibly; that one exception, a gift to Hooverville's mayor from some charitable organization, is placed on the porch so that other housekeepers may listen in on Prudence Penny or learn the latest stock-market maneuvers of "American Can."

The Hooverites vary greatly in housekeeping ability. Some of the shanties are kept neat as a pin; others give visual and olfactory evidence of extreme slovenliness. One man, an ex-sailor of the German Navy during the World War, swabs his galley with outstanding frequency, and even the flagstones in front of the place are washed and swept. In contrast, some of the shacks are so filthy that one hesitates to sit down in them--even in old clothes. The men who take an active interest in denatured alcohol are the worst housekeepers; known as "dehorners" in the "skidroad" vernacular, they seem oblivious to dirt and disorder.

Although cleanliness and neatness within the shanties vary considerably, the village grounds are remarkably clean. Except for two spots where tin cans are scattered, interstices between dwellings harbor very little trash. Firewood is piled

alongside walls or in small woodsheds built for that purpose. Even sawdust and chips are swept up and burned. That the terrain is kept in such good order is not due to the initiative of the residents; Seattle administrative authorities demand that Hooverville premises be kept clean and free from fire hazards. Frequent visits by health and fire department officials insure the continuation of present standards. Notices of the health department to "Commit no nuisance" are posted here and there to serve as constant reminders. Some of the residents have personal habits of cleanliness and would not tolerate filth and rubbish around their homes under any circumstances; but others have, by the appearance of interiors, very low standards, and with them compulsion is necessary.

To the tide is relegated the work of sewage disposal; garbage is also deposited in the bay. The toilets, five in number, are located at the end of piling-supported footbridges over the water. The largest and most inviting of them, a fairly well-built structure about 7' by 10', is reserved for women, although nearby male residents have been known to use it in emergencies. The other four, used by the men, are unattractive little shelters, loosely thrown together and quite offensive to olfactory nerves when the tide is out and the ground beneath them is exposed. The beach in general, with its rubbish, dead fish, and scaly, salt-soaked pilings, is highly productive of unpleasant odors which onshore breezes waft inland.

Several of the homes near the edge of the escarpment formation of the west beach are furnished with private toilets; the residents of these exclusive "Heights" are more fortunate than their fellow Hooverites, who must scurry for varying distances to privies often to be forced to await their turn after the goal has been reached. As urinals the recognized depots are unnecessary; ground space between shacks is freely used day and night. Nor should the residents be sharply criticized for this latter behavior; it is bad enough to use the cat-walk terminals once a day, not only because of their aesthetic shortcomings, but also because the trip out and back on the narrow planks is an undertaking fraught with danger to life and limb, especially for the alcoholic or the hasty. One resident charged out of his bungalow toward the nearest depot one night, only to "miss the switch" and land on the rocks below. He claims that he lay in his shack for ten days unable to move his legs as a result of the injuries sustained by that misstep.

Good water for drinking, cooking, and washing purposes may be obtained at two taps, one within the community and one just outside on a nearby dock. Two residents enjoy running water in their homes; from large elevated barrels the fluid may be had at the turn of a spigot. The installation of such a system does not bring freedom from drudgery, however, for periodical trips to the village pump must be made to replenish storage supply.

Outstanding among the drawbacks to acquiring a town house

in Hooverville is the lack of bathing facilities. A few hardy residents, who in years "on the bum" have built up attitudes of indifference toward epidemic discomfort, stoically deny their pores the luxury of soap and water. The less ascetic majority preserve the Saturday night folkway, when the mood strikes them, in laundry tubs inside their shacks; or, if they possess the proper credentials, pamper their bodies in the transient shelter uptown. That Hooverville needs a bath-house has long been the conviction of a few of the civic-minded, but thus far dreams have failed to materialize.

Everyday is Monday in Hooverville. Shirts, socks, and long woolen unmentionables may be seen fluttering in the breeze any time of the week. Except for a few hermit-like tatterdemalions who maintain a grimy aloofness from anything that smacks of soap bubbles, the Hooverites keep clean of raiment.

Hooverville will probably never be classed among the leading health resorts of the Pacific Northwest, but neither is it a second Panama Canal Zone. When the age distribution of the population is considered, it is surprising that morbidity is not more noticeable. Certainly the low, damp ground of the village, freckled with innumerable puddles after a heavy rain should be a health hazard of great menace to a community heavily represented in the higher age groups. But, as a matter of fact, the men of Hooverville, even the old men, appear remarkably well.

Opinion varies among the Hooverites as to the healthful-

ness of their environs. One man claims that he regained his health in Hooverville after doctors had given him up, that he would surely have died had he remained in the transient shelter any longer. Others notice distinct improvements in their health since taking up the shanty life, stressing as Hooverville's specific health benefits the fresh sea breeze, the active outdoor life, and the feeling of contentment that comes with having a home where one may do as he pleases. They contrast the free and easy shanty life, with plenty of tinkering to keep occupied, with the stiff regimentation of the transient shelter at night and idleness on the sidewalks in the daytime--correlating mental attitudes with health. Certainly psychological states affect the physical; and it does sound logical that men should be more content in individual quarters with plenty to do at their own inclination, and no one to dictate their hours of repose--than they would be herded together in drab shelters during arbitrarily set sleeping periods, and forced to spend day after day on downtown streets with empty pockets.

On the other hand, there are a few who levy negative criticism on Hooverville from a health standpoint. It is one man's conviction that "you can never get rid of a cold in this place." Another fellow found the village too damp for his rheumatism and moved out.

Nearly all the physical complaints expressed center on the digestive tract, and those who mention or discuss in detail stomach or intestinal ailments almost invariably lay the

blame on soup line diet. But since these taxpayers' star boarders always augment charity porridge with concoctions brewed at home, and since such concoctions seldom dietetically balance, all stomach aches cannot fairly be laid to soup-line fare. Then, too, the effect of predisposing causes such as former eating habits and present drinking habits should be carefully weighed before fingers of condemnation may be pointed at W.E.R.A. cooking. A few men quite frankly admit that the cause of discomfort is the use of denatured alcohol.

In any description of health aspects of the community, the great Plague of '33 deserves a prominent place. During this awful pestilence uncalculated thousands of feline lives were lost, computed at the standard rate of nine to one. The cats, previously transplanted from working class alleys to aid in the war on rats, sickened and died by the hundreds. Their mangy carcasses were picked up in the "streets," dragged from under floors, fished off roofs and thrown out of houses. And so severe was the disease on the few who survived it, that it has taken the latter better than a year to breed back to the optimum.

possible to a variety of classifications. The conventional sex, age, nationality, and occupational groups and correlations, the numerically stated may fit in with the arithmetic community. The writer of this monograph had been toward statistical conservatism.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOOVERITES: A POPULATION ANALYSIS

Hooverville presents interesting facets to the surveyor, the architect, the interior decorator, and possibly the poet or painter who discerns theme or scene in odd detail or crazy-quilt panorama; to those who focus attention upon the people who dwell in this picturesque squalor, the village should prove even more fascinating. The writer with his flair for the unique and the social scientist with his emphasis upon the classifiable may find there a common source for material with which to express their divergent points of view.

Certainly to the statistician's nose for numbers, Hooverville's motley of frequencies offers a quantitative delight; for in this petit population conglomerate there are 639 individuals amenable to a variety of classifications. From conventional sex, age, nationality, and occupational counts and correlations, the numerically minded may flit to heights of arithmetic absurdity. The writer of this monograph tends here toward statistical conservatism.

Sex

Hooverville is first of all a men's town; of its 639 human inhabitants only seven are females.

Age

From fuzzy-faced striplings of eighteen to seventy-three-year-old candidates for Father Time's antiquated harvester, men of all ages have chosen to make Hooverville their home, although selective forces behind the age composition of the village population have shown a decided preference for the mature. Only 30.6% of the 602 individuals whose ages are known have not attained the age of forty; for the other 69.4% life has already "begun." The average age of the Hooverites is 45.4 years. When age is classified by five-year intervals, the mode of the resultant distribution is found to be 50-54 years, with population almost as heavily clustered in the 40-44 and 45-49 groupings; 52.4% are in their forties or fifties. That Hooverville is predominantly a community of the middle-aged is evident from Table I.

The maturity of the population is even more striking when the Filipinos, who tend to average much younger than any other racial group of the community, are eliminated from consideration. Of the 483 non-Filipinos whose ages are known, 375, or 77.6% are forty years of age or over, and the average age is 47.9 years. Only 36.1% of 119 Filipinos have reached the age of forty, and the average age of this social group is 34.9 years. Table II compares the age distribution of the

TABLE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE
(In Five-year Intervals)

Age	Number	Percent
15-19 (18-19).....	4 .....	.6
20-24.....	33	5.2
25-29	43	6.7
30-34	46	7.2
35-39	58	9.1
40-44	85	13.3
45-49	87	13.6
50-54	95	14.9
55-59	68	10.6
60-64	55	8.6
65-69	22	3.5
70-75 (70-73).....	6 .....	.9
Unknown.....	37	5.8
Total.....	639	100.0

TABLE II

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FILIPINO AND NON-FILIPINO
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

(In Five-year Intervals)

Age	Filipino		Non-Filipino	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
15-19 (18-19).....	1	.8	3	.6
20-24.....	22	18.4	11	2.1
25-29.....	21	17.5	22	4.2
30-34.....	16	13.3	30	5.9
35-39.....	16	13.3	42	8.0
40-44.....	19	15.9	66	12.7
45-49.....	13	10.8	74	14.3
50-54.....	8	6.7	87	16.8
55-59.....	1	.8	67	12.9
60-64.....	2	1.7	53	10.2
65-69.....	0	.0	22	4.2
70-75 (70-73).....	0	.0	6	1.2
Unknown.....	1	.8	36	6.9
Total.....	120	100.0	519	100.0

Filipinos and non-Filipinos.

None of the womenfolk of Hooverville would be candidates for the Follies; the belle of the village hovers close to the thirty-year mark; the other six reminisce. The seven ages are, in order: 28, 38, 39, 42, 49, 67, and 73.

There are no children because, in the words of the local "mayor," "Hooverville is no place for kids." In 1933 a woman who attempted to bring her small son and daughter of fifteen to her shanty was expelled from the community by the police and given living quarters elsewhere by a relief agency. The youngest resident encountered by the investigator was a white boy of sixteen, who dwelt for several months in connubial felicity with a man of fifty-three. A chronic adulterer, he was caught in the act one day by an outraged spouse and promptly divorced. This estrangement occurred before the "census" was taken; the lad left the community immediately, and was not included in the totals.

Race

In its racial composition, Hooverville forms an ethnic rainbow. White, black, red, yellow, and brown brush frayed elbows in shabby camaraderie. The white race is dominant by sheer force of numbers, current odds being heavily against the rising tide of color along this strip of waterfront. Classification by race finds civilization's torch bearers with the preponderant total of 455 or 71.2% of the total village population and the colored with only 184 or 28.8%. The only

numerically significant colored groups are the Filipinos, Negroes, and Mexicans, represented by 120, 29, and 25 individuals, respectively. The smattering of other races and hybrids includes two Japanese, two Eskimos, two American Indians, three Costa Ricans, and one Chilean.

Nationality

The nationality composition of Hooverville's white stock provides ingredients for an ideal "jungle" mulligen. Out of American broth may be fished English mutton, Irish potatoes, German carrots, Scandinavian turnips, Polish cabbage, Balkan rutabagas, Spanish onions and Italian garlic. And a stiff "spiking" with Russian vodka may be detected.

Of the 455 whites, 132 or 29.0% are native-born Americans, while 292 or 64.2% were born in foreign countries. The birthplace of the remaining 31 was not determined. Table III classifies the foreign-born white by country of birth.

It is evident from Table III that Nordic stocks are numerically predominant in Hooverville's foreign-born white population, with Scandinavian-born in an impressive majority; 70.9% hail from Northwest Europe and Canada; 58.9% from the three Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway, and Finland. The former Austria-Hungary, and Poland were outstanding Eastern European contributors.

State of Birth

In addition to the 132 native whites, 29 Negroes, two Indians, and one Mexican claim the United States as their coun-

TABLE III
 COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION
 OF HOOVERVILLE

Country	Number	Percent
Northwest Europe (and Canada).....	207	70.9
Sweden.....	77	26.4
Norway.....	50	17.1
Finland.....	45	15.5
Germany.....	17	5.8
Denmark.....	4	1.4
Canada.....	4	1.4
England.....	3	1.0
Ireland.....	3	1.0
Scotland.....	2	.7
Wales.....	1	.3
Louzebourg.....	1	.3
South and East Europe (and Armenia)	85	29.1
Russia.....	36	12.3
(Poland.....)	21	7.2
(Russia.....)	7	2.4
(Lithuania.....)	5	1.7
(Latvia.....)	3	1.0
Austria Hungary.....	23	7.9
Greece.....	9	3.1
Albania.....	5	1.8
Spain.....	4	1.4
Bulgaria.....	3	1.0
Serbia.....	2	.7
Italy.....	1	.3
Portugal.....	1	.3
Armenia.....	1	.3
Total.....	292	100.0

try of birth; these 164 native Americans trace their origins to 35 states. Table IV gives this classification in detail.

Of the American-born Hooverites 46.4% hail from Mid-western states, with Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota making the greatest contributions. Eastern states, led by Pennsylvania, and New York rank second in regional origins with 31 destitute delegates, closely followed by the Western states with 28 representatives, 16 of whom were Washington local boys who failed to make good. Of the 23 Negroes whose state of birth is known, 13 were born in the South, constituting 65% of the 20 native-born Hooverites from that area.

Residence in the United States

With the exception of the dusky sons of the Philippines, who came, saw, and got broke in comparatively recent times, the foreign-born Hooverites have been seeking their fortunes in American environs for several decades. Of the 316 non-Filipino foreign-born, 269 or 85.1% have been in the United States twenty years or longer; only nine individuals have been in this country less than ten years and none less than five. That the high tide of this immigration came from 1900 to 1914 when 217 or 68.7% arrived is shown by Table V.

The Northwest Europeans of Hooverville boast the highest average length of residence in this country with 29.7 years as their mean, followed by the South and East Europeans with 26.3 years and the Mexicans with 20.7 years--roughly correlative with the temporal position of those nationality groups in the history of United States immigration.

TABLE IV

STATE OF BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN-BORN POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

State	Whites	Negroes	Indians	Mexicans	Total	Percent
EAST	<u>29</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>31</u>	18.9
Massachusetts	5	0	0	0	5	3.1
New Hampshire	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Connecticut	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Vermont	1	0	0	0	1	.6
New York	8	0	0	0	8	4.9
Delaware	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Pennsylvania	10	0	0	0	10	6.1
New Jersey	2	1	0	0	3	1.8
Maryland	0	1	0	0	1	.6
SOUTH	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>	12.1
Oklahoma	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Georgia	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Tennessee	1	3	0	0	4	2.4
Texas	3	2	0	1	6	3.7
Louisiana	0	3	0	0	3	1.8
Mississippi	0	1	0	0	1	.6
Kentucky	0	2	0	0	2	1.2
Arkansas	0	2	0	0	2	1.2
MIDWEST	<u>71</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>76</u>	46.4
Nebraska	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Indiana	1	0	0	0	1	.6
South Dakota	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Ohio	4	1	0	0	5	3.0
North Dakota	2	0	0	0	2	1.2
Iowa	4	2	0	0	6	3.7
Missouri	8	0	0	0	8	4.9
Illinois	8	0	0	0	8	4.9
Michigan	18	0	0	0	18	11.1
Wisconsin	12	1	0	0	13	7.9
Minnesota	12	0	0	0	12	7.3
Kansas	0	1	0	0	1	.6
WEST	<u>23</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>28</u>	17.1
Washington	14	1	1	0	16	9.8
California	4	0	0	0	4	2.4
Colorado	2	0	0	0	2	1.2
Montana	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Oregon	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Nevada	1	0	0	0	1	.6
Arizona	0	2	1	0	3	1.8
Unknown	3	6	0	0	9	5.5
Total	132	29	2	1	164	100.0

Sharply distinct in length of national residence is the
Filipino population of the community. Part of the tide of
Malay immigration that struck the Pacific Coast with the
greatest force in the early years of the century.

TABLE V

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE NON-FILIPINO
FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

(In Five-year Intervals)

Years in United States	Number	Percent
Less than 5	0	.0
5-9	9	2.8
10-14	22	6.8
15-19	16	4.9
20-24	65	20.1
25-29	82	25.3
30-34	70	21.6
35-39	21	6.5
40-44	17	5.3
45-49	6	1.8
50-54	4	1.2
55-59	0	.0
60-64	4	1.2
Unknown.....	8	2.5
Total.....	324	100.0

The average length of residence in the United States is 23 years; the interval 20-24 years represents the peak of the age distribution.

Sharply distinct in length of national residence is the Filipino population of the community. Part of the tide of Malay immigration that struck the Pacific Coast with the greatest force during prosperity's prime, these oriental Hooverites average a sojourn of only 10.8 years. Of the 119 Filipinos whose length of residence is known, 74 or 62.1% have been in the United States ten years or less, and 51.3% came to this country during the four years of 1927 to 1930 inclusive. With European immigration severely restricted and other Asiatics excluded, the Filipinos had been the ones to respond to American demands for cheap and docile labor.

From north, south, east and west journeyed 444 eventually-to-be-Hooverites to Uncle Sam's promising land. They were not as they are now, economic cast-offs and social pariahs growing old in the shadow of a pauper's grave, but young manhood eager to respond to the beckon of economic opportunity. In Table VII can be read a story that Horatio Alger overlooked: how the industrious immigrant youth wound up in Hooverville.

It is clear from Table VII that a high percentage of the foreign-born Hooverites entered the United States as young men. Of the 434 whose age at time of entry is known, only 12 came to this country as men of forty or over, and only 32 were children under 15; 83.1% were men between the ages of 15 and 34 inclusive. The average age at time of immigration was 23 years; the interval 20-24 years represents the mode of the age distribution.

TABLE VII
AGE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN OF HOOVERVILLE AT TIME OF
IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

(By Five-year Intervals)
TABLE VI

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE
FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

(In Five-year Intervals)

Years	Number	Percent
Less than 5	16	13.4
5-9	58	48.7
10-14	9	7.6
15-19	14	11.8
20-24	14	11.8
25-29	5	4.2
30-36	3	2.5
Total.....	119	100.0

Residence in Washington

The longer the duration of residence in the State of Washington. TABLE VII

AGE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN OF HOOVERVILLE AT TIME OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

(By Five-year Intervals)

Age	Number	Percent
Less than 5	5	1.1
5-9	9	2.0
10-14	18	4.0
15-19	114	25.7
20-24	119	26.8
25-29	90	20.3
30-34	46	10.4
35-39	21	4.7
40-44	9	2.0
45-49	2	.5
50-54	1	.2
Unknown	10	2.3
Total.....	444	100.0

Residence in Washington

The Hooverites claim varying lengths of residence in the State of Washington. Excluding the Filipino population, 73.1% of which migrated to this state less than ten years ago, and 93.3% of which came here since 1914, the Washington influx of Hooverites-to-be commenced in significant proportions after the turn of the century; and since 1905 the flow was quite steady for the six five-year periods. Next to the Filipinos, the Mexican and Negro elements of Hooverville have furnished the shortest waves of this internal migration. With the exception of one individual who came to this state 21 years ago, all of the Mexicans have resided here since 1914; 65.2% of the Negroes came during the last ten years and 43.5% since 1929. From Table VIII comparisons may be made between these racial groups in length of state residence.

Sixteen of the Hooverites were born in Washington; the others spent from two to seventy-two years of their lives in other states of the Union before migrating to the far Northwest. A comparison of average lengths of residence in Washington and average lengths of residence in states other than Washington shows that the residents of Hooverville have spent a high proportion of their adult lives and laboring years in this state. In this "life and labor" contribution the racial elements show variation. Of the foreign-born Hooverites the foreign-born whites, with averages of nineteen years residence in Washington and nine years in other states, have contributed a much higher proportion of their laboring years to this state

TABLE VIII

YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVENVILLE,
BY RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS

Years of Residence	Total Population		Non-Filipino		Native White		Foreign-bn. White		Filipinos		Negroes		Mexicans		Other Races	
	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %	No.	Cum. %
Present Residence	592	100.0	473	100.0	130	100.0	259	100.0	119	100.0	23	100.0	24	100.0	7	100.0
5 years or more	484	81.8	410	86.7	104	80.0	272	94.1	74	62.2	13	56.5	17	70.8	4	57.1
10 " " "	391	64.4	349	73.8	92	70.8	236	81.7	32	26.9	8	34.8	9	37.5	4	57.1
15 " " "	306	51.7	295	60.3	76	58.5	195	67.5	21	17.6	5	21.7	6	25.0	3	42.9
20 " " "	228	38.5	220	46.5	62	47.7	150	51.9	8	6.7	4	17.4	1	4.2	3	42.9
25 " " "	144	24.3	143	30.2	46	35.4	90	31.1	1	.8	4	17.4	..	..	3	42.9
30 " " "	69	11.7	69	14.6	29	22.3	37	12.6	..	..	2	8.7	..	..	1	14.5
35 " " "	27	4.6	27	5.7	16	12.3	9	3.1	..	..	1	4.3	..	..	1	14.5
40 " " "	15	2.5	15	3.2	12	9.2	1	.3	..	..	1	4.3	..	..	1	14.5
45 " " "	10	1.7	10	2.1	9	6.9	1	.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 " " "	5	.8	5	1.1	4	3.1	1	.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55 " " "	2	.3	2	.4	2	1.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 " " "	1	.2	1	.2	1	.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown.....	47	..	46	..	2	..	3	..	1	..	6	..	1	..	3	..

than have the Mexicans, who claim an average Washington residence of only nine years and an average residence elsewhere in the United States of twelve years. Of his eight years sojourn in this country, the average Filipino has spent five in Washington.

The native whites of Hooverville average nineteen years in Washington and twenty-seven in other states; when the age of industrial debut is arbitrarily set at fifteen years, they approximate the foreign-born whites in proportion of laboring career devoted to Washington. Forty-six years of age, the average native white of the community has been working and looking for work for thirty-one years, twelve of which he spent in other states before migrating to Washington in his late 'twenties. Thirty-eight years old, the average Negro of the village has lived ten years of his adult life in this state. Table IX shows these differences.

TABLE IX

AVERAGE LENGTH OF ADULT RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON AND IN STATES OF THE UNITED STATES OTHER THAN WASHINGTON OF FIVE RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS OF HOOVERVILLE

	Native White		Negro		Foreign-born White		Mexican		Filipino	
	No. Yrs.	%	No. Yrs.	%	No. Yrs.	%	No. Yrs.	%	No. Yrs.	%
U. S.	31	100.0	23	100.0	28	100.0	21	100.0	11	100.0
Washington	19	61.3	10	43.5	19	67.9	9	42.9	8	72.7
States other than Wash.	12	38.7	13	56.5	9	32.1	12	57.1	3	27.3

In the above table average length of adult residence in the United States outside Washington is computed for the foreign-born groups by subtracting the average Washington residence from the average United States residence; for the native-born groups by subtracting average Washington residence and fifteen years from the average United States residence.

Length of residence in Washington recorded as given by each Hooverite is not a highly accurate measure of actual time spent in this state. Without land or family ties, many of these men have responded from time to time to the lure or possibility of seasonal or construction jobs from other western states and Alaska since they came to Washington. No attempt was made to deduct short periods from the length of time given as state residence. However, the above figures do present roughly the general picture; length of residence in this case means the period of time during which Washington is definitely regarded as "home" state.

Residence in Seattle

That Seattle has been the headquarters of the Hooverites during their stay in Washington is evident when lengths of city and state residence are compared in Table X. For the Filipino population of Hooverville length of residence in Seattle and Washington have been almost identical.

It should be understood that very few of the men of Hooverville have lived and worked within the city for long periods of time; for most of them, length of residence in Seattle

TABLE X

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SEATTLE AND WASHINGTON OF THE FILIPINO
AND NON-FILIPINO POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

(In Five-year Intervals, In Cumulative Percentages)

Years of Residence	Total Population		Filipino		Non-Filipino	
	Wash.	Seattle	Wash.	Seattle	Wash.	Seattle
Present Residence	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5 years or more	81.8	76.6	62.2	62.1	86.7	80.3
10 " " "	64.4	57.3	26.9	27.6	73.8	64.9
15 " " "	51.7	44.0	17.6	18.4	60.3	50.5
20 " " "	38.5	31.3	6.7	5.8	46.5	37.8
25 " " "	24.3	19.3	.8	.8	30.2	24.0
30 " " "	11.7	8.4			14.6	10.5
35 " " "	4.6	2.5			5.7	3.1
40 " " "	2.5	1.0			3.2	1.2
45 " " "	1.7	.7			2.1	.8
50 " " "	.8	.2			1.1	.2
55 " " "	.3				.4	
60 " " "	.2				.2	

means the number of years during which Seattle was the chosen place to squander "stakes", spend periods of unemployment, and look for work.

Residence in Hooverville

Like the old western frontier community Hooverville has experienced a rapid growth. Its 479 sleazy shanties and 92.4%

of its present population have come to grace its terrain since the fire of 1932 when the crude dwellings of a few pioneers were destroyed by the city administration. Forty-five men may boast of dwelling over two years in Hooverville; six of these old-timers are truly pioneers, for they claim residence of more than three years.

The Daniel Boone of them all, a bearded hermit of 50, has been "jungling up" in dugouts and tin shelters on the site for six years, reconstructing or reassembling his hovel immediately after each demolition by city authority or high wind. The length of residence in Hooverville of its present population is roughly described in Table XI.

TABLE XI

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN HOOVERVILLE OF THE PRESENT POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Months in Hooverville	Number	Cumulative Percent
Present Residence.....	595	100.0
1 month or more.	572	96.1
7 months " "	429	72.1
13 " " "	303	51.0
25 " " "	45	7.6
36 " " "	6	1.0
Unknown.....	44	---

"Months in Hooverville" does not refer to the time that residents have actually dwelt in the village, because for many

Hooverites residence has been intermittent since shanties were built or purchased. The summer months witness an exodus to fisheries, canneries, and farms; and throughout the year men go on short jobs or trips about the country. During such absences shacks are left padlocked or in care of friends or neighbors. Several residents move to cheap hotels uptown when they are able to obtain work in the city for any length of time.

By building a home in Hooverville, a man does not necessarily reach the bottom of the social chute; he may lower his status by acquiring a worse house than the one he first moved into. Whether for better or for worse, seventy Hooverites have changed residences within the village; for five-hundred and twenty-eight, home has been under the same old tin roof since they came to Hooverville. Sometimes a newcomer will live with friends before he gathers and assembles a shack of his own; a few residents have sold their estates upon leaving on a job or looking for work, only to return and rebuild weeks or months later.

Education

Hooverville represents no earthly Valhalla of mental giants; its tortuous corridors do not echo the solemn tread of the learned; its shaky portals are not leaned upon by the lofty-browed; nor do its sooty interiors exude an atmosphere of profound thought. That entrance requirements to the tide-flat colony are not highly academic is attested to by the fact that 89% of the "brothers" proceeded no further in scholastics

than the 8th grade; and to nearly 12%, songs about the little red-schoolhouse will touch off no reminiscences whatsoever. Those who formally imbibed of the Spring of Knowledge did so in draughts varying in quantity from less than a first-grade education to five years of exposure to university curricula. Only five Hooverites drank deeply enough in prescribed doses actually to graduate from college, although several more wore down campus grass for one or two years. Nineteen reached the zenith of their academic careers at high school commencement, while thirty-three who met the hazards of gym and algebra failed to obtain the coveted diploma. Three men started on the road to success via business college.

Of the major racial groups of the village the South and East Europeans have had the least impressive intellectual training; only 21.7% claim more than a fourth grade education; and 39.8% neglected to put any formal touches at all on their "preparation for life." The Mexicans run a close second; 83.3% were never presented with the opportunity of marking up a fifth grade reader, and 20.8% sent their regrets to first grade teachers at the beginning of each educational season.

The Filipinos are ranked only by the native whites in education status; 19.3% of their group went to high school; 3.4% were college undergraduates; and only 11.8% did not attend school at all. Four of the ten ex-collegians of the community are Filipinos, the remaining six are native whites.

Table XII describes these differences in familiarity with class room routine.

TABLE XII

YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF THE MAJOR RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS OF HOOVERVILLE

Schooling	Total Pop.		Native White		North West Europeans		South East Europeans		Scandinavian		Filipino		Mexicans		Negroes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None.....	69	11.7	6	4.6	..	..	33	39.8	8	4.7	14	11.8	5	20.8	1	4.4
1-4 years.....	139	23.5	20	15.4	4	11.4	32	39.5	25	14.7	38	31.9	15	31.9	5	21.7
5-8 years.....	318	53.8	79	60.6	29	82.9	16	19.3	150	76.5	44	36.9	3	12.5	13	56.5
9 years or less	526	99.0	105	80.8	33	94.3	61	97.6	163	95.9	96	80.7	23	95.9	19	82.6
Attended High School.....	52	8.8	17	13.1	2	5.7	2	2.4	6	3.5	19	16.0	1	4.2	4	17.4
Graduated High School	19	3.2	5	3.9	1	2.9	..	..	3	1.8	8	6.7	1	4.2	..	..
Attended Col-lege.....	10	1.7	6	4.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3.3	..	..	..	..
Graduated Col-lege.....	6	1.0	4	3.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1.7	..	..	..	..
Business Col-lege.....	3	.5	2	1.5	..	..	..	..	1	.6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	591	100.0	150	100.0	35	100.0	85	100.0	170	100.0	119	100.0	24	100.0	23	100.0
Unknown.....	48	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	6	..

Occupation

If the Hooverites are really a group of retired business and professional men seeking sanctuary from the burdens and cares of a chaotic economic world, they have thus far been very clever in concealing their identity. That Hooverville is a leisure-class hangout, no one can deny; that its inhabitants are not wage-slaves is equally tenable; but to say that this leisure and freedom are residua of success at "laissez faire" roulette would be to clash head on with "common sense" empiricism and statistical measurement. All criteria seem to indicate that Hoover's tide-flat bedouins are unemployed unskilled laborers, footloose and fancy free because they cannot find industrial pegs to hang on.

Not only do the Hooverites look like "shovel stiffs," behave like "shovel stiffs," and possess the educational qualifications for pick and shovel work, but they also claim wide practical experience with various forms of manual labor. When these verbal indices of past occupation are listed by several rough industrial classifications, it appears that the breadwinners of Hooverville are most familiar with the extractive industries of logging, mining, fishing, and agriculture, and construction work on railroads, highways, and dams. Relatively few boast experience in some type of skilled labor, and a mere handful speak of past white-collar or professional careers.

Since the Hooverites, as unskilled laborers have "knocked about" on a variety of jobs in a variety of industries, it is

difficult to classify them according to past occupation. Where a few will state "I've been a logger all my life," others will boast "I've worked at everything, logging, mining, fishing, construction work, and harvesting. I went wherever I could get a good job." Some of the men have devoted their entire adult lives to one occupation, while others have been industrial "philanderers," flitting from job to job and industry to industry in response to ephemeral personal whims, seasonal fancies, and deeper-seated changes in taste. In admitted industrial experience, the Hooverites average over two "affinities" per man.

The native American and the foreign-born whites average approximately the same number of occupations per individual, 2.3 and 2.5 respectively; the 132 native-born mention 304 past occupations and the 292 foreign-born, 716. The two groups vary considerably, however, in emphasis given to the migratory, unskilled types of labor and the skilled or more permanent "city" jobs. Of the 304 native white occupations given, 80 or 26.3% might be described as skilled, white-collar, "steady" with some urban business concern (such as janitor, night watchman, etc.), or involving the ownership of capital (independent farmer, wholesale fish business for self, etc.); but only 55 or 7.7% of the 716 foreign-born white occupations given may be considered in these categories. This means merely that the native whites have dabbled into or actually spent years of effort in pursuits of more skilled or stable nature

than have the foreign-born. Nearly all of these "skilled" men also claim experience in the hard, rough labor of the railroads, mines, or forests. With but few exceptions the white Hooverites may be said to represent a sample of the unskilled labor that cut our forests, built our railroads, highways, and bridges, worked our mines, and harvested our crops in the "boom" decades of the 'teens and 'twenties. One of these exceptions is a 73-year-old physician who, no longer able to pay his room and office rent uptown, cast his lot with the Hooverites; another is a 30-year-old former dairy instructor of a Swiss college who found his services little in demand in the United States. Table XIII classifies the 1020 occupational "affinities" of the white population of Hooverville.

The 120 Filipinos of the community are predominantly cannery workers, farm laborers, and section hands who migrated to Puget Sound in response to the labor demands of the late 20's, and who for the most part still find seasonal employment in their vocations. This group averages 2.5 occupations per individual, slightly higher than the average for the whites because nearly all of the Filipinos have worked both in the canneries and on the farm, and half of them have had employment in railroad section or extra gangs. Canneries, particularly the Alaskan Salmon canneries have attracted 95; 112 have worked on the truck farms of Puget Sound and the Yakima Valley; and 60 were employed as section hands. A handful varied this seasonal labor with domestic work as dishwashers,

TABLE XIII

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE #

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total No. of Occupational "Mentions"	1020		304	100.0	716	100.0
Logger	226	22.1	54	17.8	172	24.0
Lumber, saw and planing mill laborer	23	2.3	8	2.6	15	2.1
*Forest service employee	3	.3	1	.3	2	.3
Fire fighter	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
Total timber inds.	254	24.9	64	21.0	190	26.5
Section, steel and extra gang laborer	176	17.2	34	11.2	142	19.9
R. R. construction worker	22	2.2	6	2.0	16	2.2
Section Foreman	2	.2	2	.6		
*Engineer	3	.3	1	.3	2	.3
*Fireman	5	.5	2	.6	3	.4
*Brakemen	2	.2	2	.6		
Total R. R. labor	210	20.6	47	15.4	163	22.8
Construction worker	92	9.0	20	6.6	72	10.0
Const. foreman	5	.5	5	1.7		
*Civil engineer	1	.1	1	.3		

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
*Bridge Carpenter	8	.8	3	1.0	5	.7
*Shovel runner	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Steam shovel fire- man	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Hoisting engineer	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Powder monkey	2	.2	..	...	2	.3
Total constr. work	111	10.9	32	10.5	79	11.0
General miner	77	7.5	12	3.9	65	9.1
Coal miner	20	2.0	7	2.3	13	1.8
Gold miner	11	1.1	3	1.0	8	1.1
Hard rock miner	13	1.3	5	1.7	8	1.1
*Steam shovel fire- man in mine	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Total mining	122	12.0	28	9.2	94	13.1
Fishermen	35	3.4	3	1.0	32	4.5
*Partner in whole- sale fish business	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Total fishing	36	3.5	4	1.3	32	4.5
Farm laborer	79	7.7	28	9.2	51	7.2
*Farmer	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
Total farming	81	7.9	29	9.5	52	7.3

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Seaman	25	2.4	9	1.3	21	2.9
*Steamboat firemen	8	.8	3	1.0	5	.7
*Sailor in U. S. Navy	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Sailor in Coast Guard	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Ship carpenter	2	.2	..	...	2	.3
Total navigation	37	3.6	9	3.0	28	3.9
*Camp cook	5	.5	4	1.3	1	.1
Camp flunky	4	.4	2	.7	2	.3
Camp dishwasher	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
Camp bullock	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Restaurant cook	7	.7	5	1.7	2	.3
*Rest. waiter	5	.5	4	1.3	1	.1
Rest. dishwasher	9	.9	3	1.0	6	.8
*Cook on boat	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
*Waiter on boat	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Total kitchen work	37	3.6	23	7.6	14	2.0
*Painter	6	.6	4	1.3	2	.3
*Steamfitter	2	.2	2	.7	..	...
*Machinist helper	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
*Electrician	2	.2	2	.7	..	...

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
*Auto mechanic	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
*Carpenter	3	.3	2	.7	1	.1
*Mechanic	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
*Machinist	4	.4	1	.3	3	.4
*Pipefitter	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Stationary eng.	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Paperer	2	.2	2	.7	..	...
*Barrel head maker	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Millwright	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Street grader	1	.1	1	.3	...	...
*Blacksmith	5	.5	..	...	5	.7
*Stonecutter	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Shoemaker	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Moulder	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Plasterer	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
*Bricklayers helper	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Bricklayer	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Mechanics helper	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Structural iron worker	2	.2	1	.3	1	.1
*Tinsmith	2	.2	..	...	2	.3
Total skilled mech- anical labor	49	4.8	27	8.9	22	3.1

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
*Storekeeper	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Salesclerk	2	.2	1	.3	..	...
*Shipping clerk	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Butcher	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Shipping dept. employee	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Night watchman in department store	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Rest. owner and manager	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
*Janitor in dept. store	5	.5	1	.3	4	.6
House to house salesman	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
*Filling station employee	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Total city trade	17	1.7	9	3.0	8	1.1
Truck driver	5	.5	3	1.0	2	.3
Teamster	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
R. R. trucker	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Longshoreman	16	1.6	3	1.0	13	1.8
Coal yard packer	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
*Telegraph oper.	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Streetcar Cond.	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Total city trans.	28	2.7	13	4.3	15	2.1

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Laborer in: Bottling works	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Cannery	5	.5	2	.7	3	.4
Steel mills	3	.3	..	...	3	.4
Shipyards	5	.5	3	1.0	2	.3
Box factory	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Machine factory	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Steel plant	2	.2	..	...	1	.1
Ford plant	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Flour mills	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Tot. factory labor	20	2.0	6	2.0	14	1.9
*Physician	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Nurse	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Hosp. orderly	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Animal trainer	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Dairy instructor Swiss College & Maryland private farms	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Indian missionary & schoolteacher	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
Total professional work	6	.6	6	2.0	..	...

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (CONTINUED)

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Total Population		Native White		Foreign-born White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sewer digger	1	.1	1	.3	..	...
*Landscape gard.	3	.3	3	1.0	..	...
Washerwoman	1	.1	..	...	1	.1
Newsboy	4	.4	3	1.0	1	.1
Housecleaner	3	.3	..	...	3	.4
Total miscellaneous city labor	12	1.2	7	2.3	5	.7

These figures represent the total number of times a given occupation is claimed as "past occupation." Each individual is classified by as many occupations as he claims as his own. Those occupations considered as either skilled, white collar, or relatively "steady" urban employment are indicated by asterisks.

or houseboys in the city. Only 11 or 3.8% of the 293 "past" occupations given represent skilled or white collar labor. One man claimed to have been an assistant instructor in an air service school in Wisconsin.

The Mexicans of the community show similarity to the Filipinos in occupational background. They, too, are ex-farm and section hands; but unlike the Filipinos, were not generally employed in canneries. This group averages 2.0 occupations apiece; only 3 or 5.97% of 51 occupations given may be considered as skilled. The Negroes, on the other hand boast experience in certain personal and domestic services such as porter and kitchen work, and in certain types of skilled labor; 41.9% of the 43 occupations given may be classified in the latter category. Table XIV describes the occupational backgrounds of the Filipino, Mexican, and Negro elements of Hooverville in the same terms that Table XIII presented the past occupations of the whites.

The above occupational classifications involved considerable "memory" work on the part of the Hooverites. For most of them, occupational history is becoming dryly mediaeval if not dustily ancient; save for a fortunate dozen and a half who were either working or leaving on "jobs," employment was not a contemporary phenomenon to be written home about. Only 9.4% of the white population whose employment history is known had been employed since the previous summer; and of the 90.6% who had failed to find work in the preceding six months, nearly half hadn't obtained even an "odd" job during that period;

TABLE XIV

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF THE FILIPINO, MEXICAN, AND NEGRO
POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE

Occupation	Filipino		Mexican		Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total No. of Occupational "mentions"	293	100.0	51	100.0	43	100.0
Farm laborer	112	38.2	19	37.2	2	4.7
Cannery worker	95	32.4	1	2.0	..	...
Section or extra gang laborer	60	20.5	21	41.2	4	9.3
*R. R. brakeman	..	...	..	...	2	4.7
Logger	1	.3	..	...	2	4.7
Sawmill worker	1	.3	1	2.0	..	...
Miner	1	.3	4	7.8	3	7.0
Construction worker	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
Steel Mills laborer	..	...	..	...	3	7.0
Automobile factory laborer	..	...	1	2.0	3	7.0
Longshoreman	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
Common laborer	..	...	..	...	3	7.0
Truck driver	1	.3	..	...	2	4.7
*Cook	..	...	1	2.0	4	9.3
*Waiter	1	.3	..	...	1	2.3
Dishwasher	3	1.0	..	...	..	...
Kitchen worker	5	1.7	..	...	..	...
Houseboy	2	.7	..	...	..	...
*Porter	..	...	..	...	4	9.3
*Chauffer	1	.3	..	...	..	...
Bus boy	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Hotel watchman	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Barber	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
Horse groom	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Garage foreman	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Auto mechanic	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Machinist	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Blacksmith	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Steamship fireman	2	.7	1	2.0	..	...
*Boilermaker	..	...	1	2.0	..	...
*Craneman	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Painter	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Mortar maker	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Tailor	..	...	..	...	1	2.3
*Post office clerk	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Labor contractor	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Asst. instructor in air service	1	.3	..	...	..	...
*Musician	1	.3	..	...	..	...
Dope peddler	..	...	1	2.0	..	...

84.1% hadn't worked for a year and nearly 80% hadn't worked for two years! That only 4.5% of the whites claim to have been unemployed for over five years points to the depression as a major factor behind this industrial retirement.

Although 87.4% of the Filipinos found no employment whatsoever in the preceding six months, most of them had work in the canneries, on the truck farms, or on the railroads during the past summer months. Only 10.1% were unemployed one year or more. This optimistic picture is destroyed, however, by the fact that seasons were short and "stakes" very low in the summer of 1933. "Just a week or so in the hop field" was a common complaint. Very few faced the winter with over \$100.00.

The Mexicans also seem more fortunate than the whites of Hooverville in that only 25.1% have been unemployed for one year or longer. As in the case of the Filipinos, most of them found seasonal labor during the preceding summer or fall. Table XV sketches quantitatively this unemployment history of the Hooverites.

Marital Status

The men of Hooverville are not the "marrying" kind. Only 14.9% of the Hooverites plead guilty to matrimony--and only 1.9% are still living with their professedly legalized mates. This 1.9% represents six of the seven females of the community and their husbands. The majority of the 95 who let church or state have a hand in their nuptials use secondary media of communication to express their affection--or don't express it at all; 59 are separated from their wives, 21 are widowed, and

TABLE XV
 LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE, BY RACIAL AND NATIONALITY GROUPS

Time Unemployed	Total		Whites		Filipinos		Mexicans		Negroes		Other Races	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 3 mo.....	9	1.5	6	1.9	..	..	1	4.2	..	..	..	..
3-5 mo.	37	6.2	16	3.9	14	11.6	7	29.1	..	..	..	..
"since last summer"	129	21.9	27	6.5	92	77.3	9	33.3	1	4.3	1	14.3
1 year.....	22	3.7	18	4.3	1	.8	1	4.2	1	4.3	1	14.3
2 years.....	88	14.9	62	19.6	4	3.4	..	..	2	8.7	..	..
3 "	126	21.4	111	26.5	4	3.4	3	12.5	6	26.1	2	28.6
4 "	92	15.6	63	19.9	2	1.7	1	4.2	5	21.8	1	14.3
5 "	46	7.8	38	9.1	1	.8	1	4.2	5	21.8	1	14.3
6 "	12	2.0	11	2.6	..	..	..	..	1	4.3	..	..
7 "	7	1.2	5	1.2	..	..	..	..	2	8.6	..	..
8 years and over..	3	.5	3	.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Never worked for re- muneration (females)	2	.3	1	.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	14.3
Not unemployed, or leaving for work	18	3.0	15	3.6	1	.8	2	8.3	..	..	..	..
Total.....	591	100.0	418	100.0	119	100.0	24	100.0	23	100.0	7	100.0
Unknown.....	48	..	37	..	1	..	1	..	6	..	3	..

TABLE XVI
 MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF HOOVERVILLE BY NATIONALITY GROUPS

Marital Status	Total		Native White		N. W. European		S. & E. European		Scandinavian		Filipino		Negro		Mexican		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Living with wife	12	1.9	6	4.5	1	2.9	...	...	1	.6	1	.8	1	3.4	...	...	2	20.0
Separated from wife.....	59	9.2	8	6.1	2	5.7	8	9.4	2	1.2	32	26.7	5	17.3	1	4.0	1	10.0
Divorced from wife.....	3	.5	1	.8	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...	1	3.4	1	4.0	..	...
Widowed.....	21	3.3	6	4.5	2	5.7	5	5.9	..	...	3	2.5	4	13.6	1	4.0	..	...
Married sometime	95	14.9	21	15.9	5	14.3	13	15.3	3	1.6	56	30.0	11	37.9	3	12.0	3	30.0
Single.....	504	78.9	111	84.1	30	86.7	71	83.5	169	89.2	63	69.2	13	44.8	22	88.0	4	40.0
Unknown.....	40	6.2	..	...	..	...	1	1.2	..	...	1	1.8	5	17.3	..	...	3	30.0
Total.....	639	100.0	132	100.0	35	100.0	85	100.0	172	100.0	120	100.0	23	100.0	25	100.0	10	100.0

three are divorced. The rest of the Hooverites have never known the joys of married life.

Of the various racial and nationality groups of the community, the Negroes and Filipinos evidence the highest per capita investment in marriage licenses, and the Scandinavians the lowest; nearly 40% of the Negroes have at some time in the past exposed themselves to the marriage ritual, and 30% of the Filipinos have done likewise; but less than 2% of the Scandinavians could ever say "This is the Misus."

Hooverville's single blessedness is statistically described in Table XVI.

War Veterans

Only 19 of the Hooverites served in the United States Army during the World War, and only 12 went overseas. In addition to these American veterans, two Hooverites served in the Canadian Army, one in the Russian Army and one in the German Navy during the period of conflict.

Summary

Who is the Hooverite? If a Mr. Hooverville were chosen to represent the community in a nation-wide contest for the selection of the Unknown Rugged Individual for future depression memorials, the man most qualified on a basis of "average" characteristics might well be described by the Associated Press reporters as follows:

"Mr. Hooverville, Seattle's candidate for all-American oblivion, shuffled lackadaisically upon the platform, and the tin

pan quartet struck up an enthusiastic "Washington, My Washington." Every inch a Nordic, Mr. Hooverville was born in Northwestern Europe and received a grammar school education there. Now in his late 'forties, he has been a resident of these United States for twenty-eight years, nineteen of which were spent in the State of Washington. Until 1931, intermittent labor in the logging, mining, railroad, and construction camps of Seattle's sylvan hinterland afforded him a livelihood and an occasional "spree" in the city. Save for odd jobs a few days in duration, he has been unable to find work since 1931. Jobless, propertyless, familyless, and savings spent, he came to Hooverville in the fall of 1932 to make that community his home.

"The careless ease with which Mr. Hooverville wore his shiny serge coat and contrasting denim pants was unnoticed by the judges, still studying national album tintypes of the rugged individuals of 1776."

CHAPTER V

THE HOOVERVILLE MANNER OF LIFE--THE INDUSTRIALLY "LIBERATED'S"
PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

Hooverville is an expression of the human need for shelter; moreover, as a relatively permanent place to come in out of the rain, it has come to stand for the type of person who seeks its shaky sanctuary. But the name connotes more than a housing pattern and a social type; it also represents a manner of life, a way of individual and group adjustment to a complex social situation. In their tideflat fastness the Hooverites have developed peculiar political organization, economic techniques, family customs, recreational patterns, and social attitudes.

Political

Although Hooverville is a part of the city of Seattle, subject to the same administrative regulations as any other "natural area" of that urban unit, it possesses certain characteristics of internal organization not found in ordinary residential districts. In addition to the influences that emanate from the mayor's office, the police station, and the Fire and Health Departments, Hooverite behavior is controlled by "home rule" forces. But since the measures of the latter are at all times

subject to the absolute veto of the former, and since the local officials function mainly as agents of city-wide authorities, the elements of local autonomy are more apparent than real.

In the spring of 1933, at the "suggestion" of city officials a group of one-hundred Hooverites held an open air caucus to elect a vigilante committee to attend to the policing of the grounds and the settling of minor disputes between residents. The city ultimatum had been that Hooverville either exert its own social pressure as to sanitation and orderly behavior or undergo the fate of Nero's Rome. Jungletown-by-the-Sea seemed to present possibilities of becoming a first-class nuisance in the matter of health, fire and petty crime; and the city administration felt no inclination to court the need of concentrating its forces on one small patch of waterfront.

The observable results of the caucus were six Hooverites bearing the title of "Committeeman"; two of these sudden arrivals were white, two were Negro, and two were Filipino. Proportional representation is evidently not a principle of Hooverville political economy. However, the numerically preponderant whites have come to dominate local politics through the ascendancy of an aggressive representative over his fellow committeemen. This local Bismarck, a Texas cowpuncher who turned logger when he came to Puget Sound, where cow-hands grab wheelbarrows instead of saddlehorns, has acquired popular reference as the "mayor" and a permanency of tenure that indicates just another perversion of democratic governmental forms to fit the ambitions of power-hungry personalities.

Although city officials have insisted that Hooverville do its own policing, Seattle's law enforcement organization stands ready to cooperate in any crisis. The "mayor" may obtain police wagon or ambulance service in short order by telephoning from the office of a nearby coal yard. This coordination of forces was demonstrated one eventful spring night when one Hooverite, in the height of an anti-social enthusiasm produced by alcoholic stimulants, announced in loud and unmistakably blasphemous terms that he was about to decapitate certain of his immediate neighbors with an axe. A preliminary wardance around his own teepee was interrupted by the "mayor," another vigilante, and several of the intended victims. He of the purging proclivities struggled fiercely, but the odds were against him, and down he went like the Spanish Armada under a wave of counter attackers. Came Black Maria bringing up the "secondary," and the losing side retired to the city jail. Hooverville's mayor proved to be the Charles Martel of the conflict; his leadership on the side of civilization was brilliant if not actually inspirational. In the most doubtful stage of the battle he rose to great heights to intercept a coffee cup thrown by his antagonist. The collision netted him one large gash on the top of the head which he later bandaged with a towel. For days he stalked about the village in his turban-like headgear in the manner of an oriental potentate eyeing sadly his tottering empire.

Immediately after the unconditional surrender of the leader of the one-man uprising, fellow Hooverites commenced demol-

ishing the stronghold; by morning the only sign that remained of the weary fort was the mouldy outline of its former position on the sandy terrain. Good boards were welcomed by the Hooverites as material for needed repairs and additions to their own dwellings, while uncertain timbers were valued as fuel. Thus one result of the war was to stimulate the building trades.

Although his role was not quite up to a repetition of former heroism, the mayor soon again played an active part in the removal of undesirables from the community. When three Costa Rican entrepreneurs organized a poultry co-partnership that operated contrary to modern business ethics and were caught by blue-coated protectors of private property with several sacks of stolen pullets in their shack, the mayor personally attended to the razing of the local branch office. One morning's work with crowbar and clawhammer, and the mortuary of many a lusty young cockrel was reduced to neat piles of assorted boards ready for the critical selection of an afternoon stream of bargain hunters.

The police power of the local administration involves not only the preserving of peace and order, but also the maintenance of health and safety from fire. It is the committee's duty to see that the premises are kept clean and free from fire hazard. Their inspection is frequently augmented by visits from officials of the city fire department.

Economic

Hooverville's is primarily a "rustling" economy, although the extractive industries of fishing and agriculture and domes-

tic handicraft for home consumption are carried on to a limited extent. Over half the population relies heavily upon public charity, but since this charity is considered inadequate to cover the daily chemical depreciation of the human organism, the "bumming" of food from grocery stores and meat markets plays an important part in the economic life of every Hooverite. Markets seem to be generous in giving away scraps of meat, loaves of bread, potatoes, etc. One resident stated in a matter-of-fact manner that he had "bummed" fourteen loaves of bread in one afternoon from different grocers. Garbage cans of the larger stores offer one important source of nourishment; many Hooverites visit them at night with sacks and paper bags, picking up the choicer cuts of meat and the least spoiled vegetables.

Of the 602 residents whose means of subsistence is known, 310, or 51.5% admit current dependency upon some form of public charity; 188 possess the necessary credentials for breadline patronage; 86 receive weekly commissary vouchers of \$1.20; 25 look forward every month to \$6 worth of county welfare; and another 10 work six days a month on the King County woodyard at the rate of \$3 a day. Those who have been unable to obtain public aid, or who feel that they can "get by" comfortably without it, take pride in keeping off the relief and assume attitudes of superiority over those who plod uptown twice a day to dine in the breadline or worry about making both ends meet on \$1.20 a week. However, they feel no stigma attached to the "bumming" of groceries from householders and retail

stores. In Hooverville a man of great "rustling" prowess seems to achieve, in his own mind at least, a status comparable to that of the best providers among peoples of a "hunting" economy.

Those who help form the breadline express a variety of complaints against the dietetic situation. The most bitter among these dissatisfactions center around the food itself. The latter not only contains no "strength," but also has negative effects upon the viscera of those who consume it in anticipation of nourishment. However, accurate generalizations as to the poisonous qualities of charity soup must await the factoring out of home cooking, for the scant and denatured breadline tables d'hôte are almost invariably reinforced with à la cartes brewed and served in local kitchenettes. Other complaints are that too long an interval elapses between a four o'clock dinner and breakfast the next morning, and that the breadline is so far from Hooverville that one gets hungry again on the long walk from the dining room to the drawing room.

Sea food furnishes a welcomed addition to "rustled" provisions; several residents have small skiffs which they either constructed themselves or salvaged from the bay and repaired; with these boats they are able to fish in the Sound for salmon, trout, and smaller fry. The catches of the eight or ten men who thus invest their spare time are usually shared with friends and neighbors. It is the common opinion, however, that fishing is not worth the effort it involves, since fish scraps may easily be obtained in the markets. Evidently the pastime has

values other than economic for those who indulge.

The gathering and sale of paper and junk is practiced by 105 Hooverites as a means of obtaining cash for the little luxuries of life, such as tobacco, liquor, and picture shows. Paper gathering is the most profitable of the "pickup" enterprises; newspapers net 40¢ per 100 pounds at the dealers; cardboard, 20¢ per 100 pounds. This merchandise is collected from the alleys of the business district in two-wheeled home-made carts and stored at home until enough is accumulated to make profitable a trip to market. If a man works steadily and has good sources for cardboard boxes, he may earn several dollars a week. One industrious Negro claims to have made \$11.00 in one week by working night and day, but no one believes him. The two-wheeled carts are used for purposes other than paper gathering; they have value in the hauling of fuel and building materials, both of which must be transported from distances varying from several blocks to several miles.

The collection of metals, bottles, and rags does not gain the popular approval of paper gathering. In the first place, these materials are scarce, and secondly, their market value is low. Copper brings 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per pound; lead, 2¢. Bottles are hardly worth the trouble of carrying them to the junk dealers. One Hooverite, a Filipino, earns a dollar or so a week by collecting old strips of burlap and sewing them into sack form. He pays 1¢ for three torn sacks and receives 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ apiece for sewn sacks. He possesses a sewing machine which he uses in his work.

Agriculture has been attempted in Hooverville. One resident cultivates a small garden 10' by 20' every summer; last season he planted carrots and cucumbers. Another Hooverite carefully nursed a small patch of cabbage beside his shack. Both ventures proved failures, for crops were harvested by unknown reapers before full maturation.

Poultry culture also finds representation in the community; one Filipino receives an egg a day from seven chickens that he keeps in a pen at the rear of his dwelling. Since three of the birds appear to be roosters, investigation into the matter of who is doing the work is narrowed down to four. Formerly there were eight fowl; one was kidnapped. Now the owner brings his stock in the house every night.

A few of the more fortunate Hooverites keep in touch with the economic currents of a larger world, and incidentally earn money for luxuries, by working part-time in downtown establishments at menial labor or by obtaining an occasional odd job. One man works several days a week in a junk shop, another cleans up in a bakery at \$2.25 a week, another works as shoemaker's helper several days a week, another is employed a few hours a day in a fish market at 50¢ a day, and another washes dishes in a restaurant at \$9.00 a week and board. Four Hooverites sell newspapers on downtown street corners. One of the Negroes is employed in a shoeshining stand on Saturdays and Sundays, and a Filipino receives his board and room as cook in a Filipino boarding house. The latter accepts the board, but waives the room to live with his Hooverville

friends. Five men gather drift logs with their skiffs and saw them up for sale to fuel dealers at \$3.00 a cord. One man, a carpenter, is under contract with a packing company to make boats for their use in Alaskan fisheries; he is aided in his work by a fellow Hooverite; the two turn out skiffs with striking regularity in their open air workshop beside their shack. There are altogether 36 Hooverville residents who have full or part-time work in the city.

An occasional odd job is obtained by those who succeed in making the right contacts; these short jobs include longshoring, packing coal, washing windows, housecleaning, mowing lawns, repairing fences, painting, gardening, truck driving, and cleaning up in warehouses and markets. One man "swamps" occasionally on the city garbage crew for "pickings" he may find. The number who claim an occasional "odd job" in the city totals 40. An additional seven men profess to be working "off and on all the time" on longer-time jobs in the woods or on the railroads, and twelve more were leaving for work outside the city when interviewed.

Some of the Hooverites possess savings hoarded from the seasonal labor of the preceding summer, but they are justifiably reluctant to confess their financial status. The life of one who is known to have a few dollars "in the sock" may be worth as much as the life of one who is believed to be destitute, but less likely to endure. In the summer of 1933 one resident of Hooverville, who had won \$300.00 in a Chinese lottery, was found murdered in his shack soon after his gambl-

ing success, and the money was not to be found. Another resident tells of his near demise at the hands of a fellow Hooverite who thought that he was hoarding former earnings. The would-be murderer fled the scene after felling his intended victim with an axe. The latter recovered from several deep gashes in the back after many months in a Seattle hospital. The Negro who professes to have made \$11 in one week gathering waste paper graphically relates his experience with two thugs who attempted to relieve him of his earnings. According to his story, one assailant was dropped with a nicely directed uppercut to the "schnozzle" (a blow which removed an entire upper row of incisors) and the other one put to rout. The Negro, an ex-heavyweight boxer, shows a broken hand set in a plaster cast as evidence of the occurrence. Only five Hooverites admit the possession of savings; another two confess receiving money occasionally from relatives.

Domestic manufacture of non-commercial products is carried on every day. Homes are being built or repaired, furniture and carts are being constructed, and boats are being made all the time. Much of this economic activity may be considered as recreation. Time doesn't drag so heavily when there is something to do, and most of the Hooverites are not accustomed to idleness. In the words of one resident, "We've got to do something. Either that or go nuts." "Dehorn" provides one outlet for pent-up energies; building and maintaining a home another.

Family

Family life is practically non-existent in Hooverville. There are only six married couples, and whether all their respective relationships have been legalized by ritual is somewhat doubtful. The rest of the men are living without the domestic companionship of the opposite sex; their transient association with women might better be described under the heading of "Recreation" instead of "Family." Such social contacts are necessarily limited in the main by economic considerations. Some of those who occasionally come in possession of legal tender through odd jobs or junking invest small sums in the more "economical" brothels of the skidroad. Now and then "squaws" from uptown participate in little "firesides" at the homes of popular Hooverites. When sober, these older and less attractive "battleaxes" offer their services for sums ranging from 10¢ to 35¢. When they are properly intoxicated, or are presented with the prospects of becoming so, cash is not necessary. In the words of one Hooverite "All you need to do is wave a bottle around and they'll come on the run." A few residents have lived for extended periods of several weeks with "charity" girls that they picked up in box-cars or ten-cent theatres. Since most of the Hooverites were migratory workers before they were reduced to the present situation, with only occasional contacts with the opposite sex during spree periods of "stake" spending, a life devoid of constant feminine association is no great disruption of normal social relationships for them.

Homosexuality is undoubtedly rampant. Women may be scarce, but there is certainly no dearth of fellow-men. While most of the "natives" would be loathe to confess such a stigmatizing relationship, several make no pretense of concealing their "marital" status. One man, who sought to win the writer's favor after the loss of a former male paramour, declared in all seriousness "If you live with me I'll treat you fine and get you a good job later on when I get mine back. I always get my boys jobs and they always come to amount to something." Another Hooverite, a Negro, propositioned, "stay with me and I'll hustle you all the food you can eat. I'll bring you chickens, pork chops, oranges or anything you want." Another Negro, who had wooed and won a white lad, turned out to be indeed a good provider, but insisted that his "wife" perform a few household duties, and from this demand there arose a domestic discord that ended in tragedy. After months of wrangling over the question of who should sweep out the shack, during which time the place accumulated more and more dirt and rubbish, the white boy turned upon his nagging "husband" with a revolver and shot him.

Much of Hooverville sex drive finds verbal outlets. Conversation runs heavily to sex in the form of reminiscing, boasting, and wishful thinking out loud. Many find vicarious experience in reading Snappy Stories, listening to exploits of their neighbors, or observing the romantic behavior of the village cats.

Nearly half of the Hooverites find a substitution for

women in companionship, if not in sex, by living with other men. Those who share their joys and sorrows with a partner total 188, while 57 divide housework among three persons. Eight shanties house four or more; one, a hive of Filipinos, shelters seven individuals. Table XVII describes misery's love for company in statistical terms.

TABLE XVII
MULTIPLE DWELLING IN HOOVERVILLE

Grouping	Number of Men	Number of Houses	Percent of Men
Singles	358	358	56.0
Doubles	188	94	29.4
Triples	57	19	8.9
Quadruples	24	6	3.8
Quintets	5	1	.9
Septets	7	1	1.0
Total	639	479	100.0

recreation

Commercialized recreation does not rely heavily upon the Hooverites for support. The latter may be "long" on leisure time, but they are decidedly "short" on purchasing power. Thus their recreational life necessarily centers on the more spontaneous and "natural" pleasures such as hiking, walking, strolling, promenading, and hill climbing. These activities may or may not involve the additional enjoyments of nature

loving, architectural appreciation, window shopping, and deep breathing and may be either group or individual pastimes. The hub of all sight-seeing seems to lie at the intersection of Occidental and Washington Streets, where mission music, communist lectures, and an occasional fight or epileptic fit intensify the gay whirl of the winter season. Those who possess the necessary dime may "shoot the works" on one of a half dozen theatres and clear up all doubt as to whether Lady Whiffleten kept her virtue at the Riviers or whether Buck Jones left any of the Utes in his two-gun eagerness to rescue the boss's 19-year-old daughter. Ten cents may also entitle the sex-hungry Hooverite to an eyeful of assorted limbs at one of three cheap burlesques.

"Social" life within the village itself revolves around reading, card-playing, "bull-festing," and "dehorning." The latter two pastimes seem to have gained the greatest popularity. The Hooverites like to talk, and they like to get drunk. The consumption of liquor, by building up sentiments of brotherhood or aggressive social distance, of course facilitates the talking-over process; an evening's discussion, begun on more or less an intellectual level may, with the ciling of larynxes with anti-freeze, develop into group singing or quarreling, distinguishable as such in the early stages. "Dehorn" a form of denatured alcohol obtainable at 50¢ a quart is locally proper for both meat and fish courses and as cocktails and after-dinner liqueur; its nauseating orchard-spray aroma seems to be in good taste at all

Hooverville social gatherings, formal and informal. Chronic tipplers of this viscera-corroding fluid are known as "dehorners."

Hooverite taste in literature, or what there is of it, tends more toward the racy and adventurous. "Western Story" affords an outlet from the humdrum of household routine, and "True Confessions" or "Paris Nights" meet sex desires on a verbal level. Or perhaps the type of magazine found in Hooverville homes is more an index of the reading taste of other elements of Seattle population, for nearly all this literature is acquired as second-hand donations.

The Hooverites spend a good proportion of their leisure time puttering about their estates--making necessary repairs and additions, constructing furniture, sawing firewood, etc. From one point of view, the Hooverites may be said to be eternally "camping out," and after all, have the Boy Scouts and midsummer vacationists a corner on the rugged pleasures of our great out-of-doors?

Social Attitudes

A picture of the Hooverville manner of life is not complete without the background of social attitudes that shades and accentuates the more striking and clearly focused institutional foreground. The Hooverites have not only developed common patterns of "doing," but also characteristic ways of thinking. If it is true that they live and move about in a distinctive physical and social setting, it is equally true that they breathe a distinctive "psychological" atmosphere.

One of the most refreshing "pockets" of the Hooverville attitudinal "air" is an almost universal geniality, friendliness, and hospitality. In general, the Hooverites are easy to approach, quick to pick up conversational cues, and ever eager to share their humble fare with acquaintances or strangers who appear in need. One who happens along at meal time is invited to partake of food and drink. In this respect the Hooverites have carried over to their stable community the traditions of the "jungle." Here is an urban area where mobility and impersonality of contacts have not choked out the flowers of open, unaffected friendliness and kindness toward fellow men.

This spirit of camaraderie is carried over racial barriers. Mutual adversity has brought animosity to a minimum, and white and colored are tolerant if not actually friendly. Although spatial and social segregation of the Filipinos and Mexicans is a general rule throughout the village, this sorting may be the result of acquaintanceship ties and preferences and difficulty of expression in English. Eleven shanties shelter individuals of different color; two whites live with Negroes, three with Filipinos, and four with Mexicans; one Filipino lives with a Negro, and another with an Eskimo. The attitudes of the Negroes, particularly, showed an utter absence of feelings of resentment or inferiority toward the whites. On many occasions the writer strolled arm in arm up skidroad streets with Negroes and Filipinos; his gestures of friendliness were taken for granted. Only rarely would a

white be heard to express antipathy toward the colored races, although several believe the depression due to the influx of Filipino labor to the United States.

Another striking aspect of the Hooverville attitudinal pattern is a passivity in regard to the national politico-economic order. Although this submerged poverty group sees no light in the darkness of depression and unemployment, and is convinced that some form of socialism is both desirable and inevitable, it is not violently bitter about the present state of affairs, nor does it violently agitate for a new system. The Hooverites have a general notion of the salient factors underlying our economic disorganization; they realize that they are victims of a vicious situation, but they betray no consuming desire to work for necessary change. Sometimes they growl and criticize, but their epithets are directed mainly at the city administration or the W.E.R.A. Their behavior is "all bark and no bite." Several residents are members of the Communist Party, but their activities in Hooverville are confined to the passing of circulars and canvassing for subscriptions to party periodicals.

The Hooverite lacks hope. With so many of its citizens in the upper age group it is not surprising that the community should not present an attitudinal front of eager anticipation of the future. It is by no means uncommon to hear men of fifty years of age declare "I never expect to get work again anyhow. They all say I'm too old." The problem of the old men is not one of finding work, but one of keeping out of the hospital.

Their great dread is illness necessitating charity medical care. They fear the "black bottle," the container of a deadly potion supposedly used by county hospitals to rid society of its useless old men.

The Hooverites not only lack hope for betterment of their economic state; they actually fear turns for the worse. Suspicion of governmental forces has become a veritable paranoia with many residents. They read personal repression in every movement and word of national and local authorities. They fear destruction of their homes; they fear concentration camps; they fear deportation. For the inquisitive snooper or government agent they entertain negativism. There is a persecution complex.

CHAPTER VI

ON TO HOOVERVILLE--THE NEW AMERICAN FRONTIER

The slump in the building trades goes on--and on; but Hooverville hammers continue to beat a hollow rat-a-tat all out of tune and synchronization with the business cycle and several octaves too high to fit the gravity of the situation. And not only does Hooverville expand, but similar eruptions break out elsewhere on the urban countenance. In Seattle there is not one, but several "Hoovervilles," two of which threaten to surpass the original. That the same phenomena have occurred in many other American cities indicates that the local trend is of more than local significance; the coincidence suggests a nationwide movement similar in scope to our westward expansion of the nineteenth century. In place of one long frontier beyond the river or the mountains and far from the older and larger centers of population, there are now many small frontiers along the railroad tracks and as "close in" as local administrations allow. The American pioneer of the 1830's moved west to hew himself a home in expectation of improving his economic condition; his prototype of the 1930's entertains like motives as he "hotfoots" it to the dump to gather mater-

ials for a shack in Hooverville.

The Hooverites may be described as ragged epitomes of rugged individualism in a world of "closed" economic resources--individualistic because they have no ties with industry, ragged because of this independence, and rugged because they have to be to survive. Ruthlessly, albeit impersonally, rejected by the industrial chameleon that once wooed their services, these men have no way of obtaining money to pay their way in modern society. Not only has the tap been shut off, but the faucet has been disconnected and the pipes taken out. The Hooverites are "up against it." A half century ago, men in such a predicament could have struck out for the frontier; but since that outlet is no longer available, primary needs must be met in some other way. Customary city haunts, the cheap hotels and lodging houses, don't offer free shelter, nor do restaurants big-heartedly provide the nourishment necessary for metabolic upkeep. These men cannot move in with the Indians; the reservations are full now. Nor can they cave up in the Olympics with hopes of subsisting for any length of time on the ten deer that lead Seattle sportsmen to the Northwest's most interesting scenery every fall. The nut crop is limited and uncertain; and, stimulated by the invigorating Puget climate, squirrels work long hours during harvest season to corner the best of the market. Thus the only rational course is to remain in the city, where one can cling parasitically to men still embraced by the "long arm of the job." This parasitism may take either the form of scratching for public

relief crumbs like shivering sparrows on wintry streets, or foraging like alley cats in garbage cans, chicken coops, and at the back doors of sympathetic housewives. In the "quest for calories" the Hooverites have combined both methods; but their answer to the problem of lodging has been a spurning of the public transient shelter for more comfortable nests of their own creation. At first loosely thrown together make-shifts patterned after the rough shelters of the hobo "jungle," these expressions of individuality were later reinforced or remodeled to achieve a greater degree of stability and permanency.

Thus has arisen Hooverville to glorify the hobo "jungle" and carry on to new frontiers the traditional American spirit of rugged individualism. And there remains Hooverville, scrap-heap of cast-off men, junk-yard for human junk, an interesting variation of the grimace of laissez faire.