

gan to riot, and the wretched prince saw his house surrounded. Half clad and half starved, he tried first one door and then another; all were beset, and he was compelled to take refuge in the loft, where he remained hidden under a rubbish heap while the mob worked their will in the handsome rooms below. Next morning Charles yielded to the popular clamor and deposed him from his high offices. For thirty-eight hours he lay concealed. At last he could no longer endure the tortures of hunger and thirst; evading the attention of his own household, he reached the street, and on the 19th was taken in charge by the guards who held it. The rumor of his capture spread fast, and it required great courage on the part of the soldiers to protect Godoy from violence. Their efforts were only partly successful; they had a bloody and fainting burden when they reached their barracks and withdrew behind the doors. In that moment, when it seemed as if the mob would finally break down even the strong entrance and seize its prey, Charles despatched his son to calm the storm.

The people adored the Prince of Asturias, and without difficulty he quieted the rioters

and offered life to his enemy. The haughty grandee, broken by pain, fell on his knees and implored protection; but he retained enough of interest in the situation to murmur through his gory lips, «Are you already king?» «Not yet, but I shall be soon,» was the reply. On a promise that the traitorous betrayer of his country's honor should be delivered to the courts and tried by the rigor of the law, the excited populace withdrew. At once Charles began preparations to carry Godoy beyond their reach; but the fact could not be kept secret, and once more rioting began. The populace of Madrid burned all the palaces belonging to the prince, except one, which they spared because they thought it was the property of their sovereign. The King submitted to what was inevitable, but determined to lay down the burden of his royal dignity. On the same day (the 19th) he signed the necessary papers and abdicated in favor of his son. Next morning, in the presence of a great council summoned to Aranjuez, he explained that he was bowed by misfortune and the weight of government, and that for his health's sake he must seek the ease of private life in a milder clime.

(To be continued.)

William M. Sloane.

STAMPING OUT THE LONDON SLUMS.

BY THE SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK TENEMENT-HOUSE COMMISSION.



LONDON is spending nearly two million and a half dollars in cleansing and rebuilding one slum. American cities are just beginning to learn how serious is the cumulative evil of slum construction. They may with profit also learn how costly is the necessity of slum destruction. The objectless offer by London may be studied with interest in all our large cities, and especially in New York, where, through the efforts of the State Tenement-house Commission, legislation has with much difficulty been secured which, if enforced, perpetuated, and added to, will tend to prevent the growth of such conditions as London is now compelled to combat.

Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch are the three London parishes which have offered the most difficult problems to the city's medical officers of health and department of police. Whitechapel has become celebrated because it was the scene of a se-

ries of extraordinary crimes, made possible by its narrow and ill-lighted courts and alleys. Bethnal Green and Shoreditch adjoin Whitechapel, and have many of the gruesome peculiarities of that district, besides some of their own. Shoreditch, for instance, has given appropriate birth and breeding to more prize-fighters than has any other part of England. Bethnal Green furnishes a larger proportion of drunkenness than does any other part of London of equal size. These two parishes form a region of dense ignorance which has as yet been scarcely thinned by the operation of London's enlightened School-Board laws. Their poverty is pitiful. Their morals are rarely visible to the onlooker; details of their habitual immoralities would fill a volume. Their population is still largely English—the English of the London slum. Some outsiders have crept in. There are Irish and Germans, and a comparatively small number of Jews (who swarm in Whitechapel) have penetrated into the twisted streets and narrow alleys, but they are not regarded with

favor. Frequently, if they be orthodox, their beards are pulled; and if the spirit of religious reform has robbed their faces of convenient hair, the insular toughs, juvenile and adult, sometimes resort to missiles. One Jew was murdered in Shoreditch, most impersonally, almost merrily. A brick was the weapon, and the man who threw it proclaimed in court that he had never seen his victim before the day on which he killed him. He hurled death at him merely because he was a Jew. He had not intended to kill him: he had wanted pleasantly to break his head.

Neither Bethnal Green nor Shoreditch is commercially important. They contain few notably large factories. They have one great railroad center. Much of their industry is carried on in small workrooms, often connected with dwelling-places. Their stores or shops off the main thoroughfare are seldom large enough to require the attendance of more than one assistant to the proprietor or proprietress; and those on the great streets are, after the London fashion, mainly impressive because of their windows; they are really small and individually unimportant.

Most of the men in this part of London are unskilled laborers—cartmen, omnibus-drivers, porters, and the like. A few are busied in the little cabinet-making and carpentering shops which sometimes front the street, but are oftener at the rear of houses or concealed in narrow alleys. Occasionally there is a petty employer who, in busy times, hires one or two assistants. A not unimportant part of Shoreditch's buying is done at the street stalls and carts which fill Brick Lane and other narrow byways with screaming, jostling crowds in the evenings and especially on Sundays. At these picturesque sales-places almost everything is displayed, from food products to the most intimate articles of wearing-apparel. There are hundreds of mere loafers among the population, parts of London's crowd of street parasites. Among them are strong young fellows who, when driven by hunger or thirst, use their strength in the opening and closing of cab doors, in carrying an occasional trunk or valise between cab and house, in running casual errands—in doing all sorts of odd jobs; beggars of all sorts and both sexes; girls who sell wilted flowers and spend the money for ale. Scores of crossing-sweepers and such industrious semi-mendicants, most of them infirm, sleep down there. Besides, the region has its quota of the «army of the unemployed»—the legitimate unemployed. Of course there are also resident in this strange

region many professional criminals of the less expert class. Thus a considerable portion of the inhabitants depends for sustenance upon what more prosperous Londoners generously throw to it, or what it can take from them unasked.

The women there are almost invariably slatternly. Some pretty faces may be seen among the girls, and occasionally a clean, neatly fitting dress sets one of them off agreeably; but the environment and influences of the place make these girls grow old almost as rapidly as Italian girls, frequently bringing age without maturity. All the women there seem weary. A girl has a baby in her arms as soon as she is able to make any shift at all toward carrying one. Until the burden-bearer reaches the age of, say, seventeen, the baby is a brother or a sister. Afterward the relationship is apt to be closer. There are comparatively few neat homes in that part of London. Housewives are too busy with their children or their gossip or their beer to keep their rooms clean. Besides, no one has taught them the advantage of it.

The two parishes have a few churches and ten times as many public-houses. The public-houses explain a great many of the miseries of this miserable locality. There may be some teetotalers there, but there are not many; and there are almost as few drinkers who are always moderate in their libations. The curse of bitter beer, raw Scotch whisky, and «tuppenny» gin rests heavy on the place. Public opinion is no weapon against it, for public opinion openly favors drinking whenever one has the necessary money, and does not regard actual drunkenness as a disgrace worth mentioning. Women drink at the bars as unconcernedly as men do, and barmaids serve them. The bar-room is the gossip place, and babes and small children are carried to it and kept in it by careful mothers who gather there for the day's necessary talk. Infants sometimes cry, and at such times are permitted a sip from the maternal glass, quite as other children are bribed with chocolate drops. Thus bleary eyes and drink-reddened faces often have early beginnings. The children on the streets are dirty, ragged, and vociferously happy over small things. Adults are not genuinely happy. There is no reason why they should be. They derive much spasmodic merriment from the public-houses. Drunkenness and fighting are common everywhere, especially on the streets. During one noon recess I saw three fights develop among the two dozen employees of a box-factory. Nor are the combatants always men or boys.

The region is often infected with contagious disease. Nearly every year it has as many cases of smallpox as would be counted an epidemic in an American city. On one day during the summer thirty-nine cases of scarlet fever were received in London hospitals, almost all of them from this region. Water is supplied by a private company, and in the spring of 1895 warm weather added a water-famine to the vicissitudes of the East End of London, of which these parishes are part. The cold weather of the preceding winter had done the same thing, besides freezing all sewer and drain pipes.

The tenements which house the people are small and old. Though mostly of only two stories, the opportunity to secure light and air is neglected. The covered area is very great, frequently approaching and even exceeding ninety per cent. Roofs are of tile, and ground floors are laid directly on the earth. The brick walls are badly built, and tottering from decay. The small, dark rooms are primitive in plan and finish, but whole families frequently inhabit one. Sometimes two families find place in a single room, thus at once eliminating decency and fresh air from their indoor life. Health laws forbid overcrowding, but health laws are by these folk regarded as things to be violated, if possible. It is a part of the region's ignorance. The appearance of the streets is better than that of the slums in most American cities; for while they are not clean, and rarely fail to contribute to the district's unpleasant smells, they are free from such encumbrances as idle trucks and rubbish piles.

Such is the region—an area whose streets and buildings, health reports and police records, attest the danger of municipal ignorance and neglect.

In the midst of this region existed until 1891 a smaller area of fifteen acres wherein all the evils of East London seemed to concentrate and fester. There were 730 tiny rookeries in this small area, and their dilapidation was unique. Many of them, from long standing on soft earth without firm foundations, had sunk until in one instance the ground floor was eighteen inches below the level of the street. This helped to save the area from fire: the houses were reported as being "too damp to burn." The area between the streets was almost entirely covered by the wretched buildings, and the twenty streets themselves dwindled from a width of twenty-eight feet to mere passages between unstable walls.

The 5719 residents of this plague-spot

were even worse off than were their fellows in other parts of Bethnal Green and Shore-ditch. In these fifteen acres the mortality for two years averaged 40 per 1000. The same years showed for Bethnal Green entire a death-rate of 22.8 per 1000, while that of London as a whole was only 18.8 per 1000. Zymotic diseases furnished in the whole of Bethnal Green 3.7 deaths per 1000, and tubercular diseases 3.9 deaths per 1000. In this selected area, however, zymotic diseases caused 7.9 deaths per 1000, while consumption and allied complaints killed 8.5 per 1000. Infant mortality was 159 in Bethnal Green; in these fifteen acres it was 252. In a general way, twice as many people in proportion to the population died in this area as in Bethnal Green taken as a whole. It is not surprising that the medical officer reported "a low standard of vitality" throughout the district. Two thousand one hundred and eighteen persons lived in single-room tenements, 2265 lived in two-room tenements, and 1183 were able to afford the luxury of three-room homes. The remaining 153 were residents of lodging-houses. One hundred and seven rooms had five or more tenants each. All this was the growth of a century in London. It was worse than New York's worst slum in only one item—the overcrowding of single rooms. In some respects there are parts of New York which do not compare favorably with it. The density of population in this London area was 373 persons to the acre, against 168 persons to the acre in the whole of Bethnal Green. There are three wards in New York city more densely populated. Of them the Tenth Ward shows a density of more than 621. This is in a large measure due to the greater height of the New York buildings; but covering as they do in some especially bad blocks, almost, if not quite, as large a proportion of the ground area as those destroyed in London, it is not likely that their upper stories get more light and air than the two stories which made up the London rookeries, and it is likely that their lower stories get a great deal less.

London neglected action for too many years. Few of its recent works of demolition and construction, in the tenements or out of them, have been undertaken until the danger of one kind or another became imminent. This area was filled with buildings old, dilapidated, damp, devoid of good sewer or water service, wholly bad; it was peopled with crowded thousands largely born of it, bred of it, "low in vitality" of mind and body, glad of the opportunity to herd together, in

dread alike of the police and the health officers; it was a breeding-place of disease, and the conditions which produced its own high death-rate were capable of spreading death throughout the city.

But when London moved, it acted effectually. The work of construction and reconstruction is now more than half finished; it will probably be completed in 1897.

First by act of Parliament the County Council was empowered to acquire the land. The right of condemnation is absolute, and the value of the land and condemned buildings is carefully fixed at what they would be worth if used properly for proper purposes. Thus the owner is not allowed a premium because he has unduly increased the rentals of his property by permitting overcrowding. The estimated value of the area in question was \$1,855,000. Until recently it has been the practice for lands so cleared to be offered for sale or lease to private builders agreeing to erect structures of a nature approved by the authorities. The losses by this plan were, however, heavy, and the results unsatisfactory. The increased cost of building stopped the operations of the big private companies, and the fact that the Council could borrow money at three per cent. gave it a vast advantage over unofficial borrowers, who had to pay from four to five per cent. So with this area, as with others, the Council bought the land in itself at its estimated value of about \$530,000, after clearance, and is erecting its own buildings, at a cost of about \$900,000, making a total cost here of about \$1,430,000. On this the buildings must yield an annual profit of three per cent., and must, besides, repay the original cost into the treasury within fifty-four years, when London will own the land and buildings, free from encumbrance. Financially this sum may therefore be considered profitably invested. But the difference between what the Council paid for domain and destruction (\$1,855,000) and the price at which it bought the land in again (\$530,000) is loss, and when to this amount is added \$175,000 for the cost of paving, this loss is brought to \$1,500,000. This, then, may be looked upon as what London has actually had to pay for permitting this particular slum to reach the stage of vileness which necessitated its destruction. Of course that is only its direct money cost. There is another money cost which is so distributed among the police department, the health department, and the department maintaining the almshouses, that it cannot be estimated. It is still more impossible to guess the moral cost.

But if London sustained this great loss through the short-sightedness of the past, she has set about remedying it in a way so thorough and so admirable that the future will have no cause to complain of neglect. American cities cannot study the methods too carefully. First, London kept a watchful eye over the people she unhoused. Only enough of the old buildings were at first demolished to permit the new work to be intelligently begun. Those remaining were repaired until they were in habitable condition, and retained as long as possible, so that only a small proportion of the old tenants should be forced out at once, the idea being to get some of the new buildings ready for occupancy before all the old ones were torn down. In addition to that, care was taken to see that such of the residents of the old district as were forced to remove found desirable and sanitary dwelling-places. A complete list of all the vacant rooms within half a mile of the condemned territory was prepared and kept on view at the Council's office on the ground; and moreover, with every notice to quit was issued a statement that the Council would withhold from tenants their compensation for the cost of moving until the proper official had visited their proposed new home and was satisfied that they were going to premises which were healthful and in every way suitable for their occupancy. Thus, while it was of course impossible to improve the condemned area with great rapidity, yet within a few months from the time operations began the Council knew that every person who had hitherto been subject to the evil influences of the slum had found comparatively good surroundings.

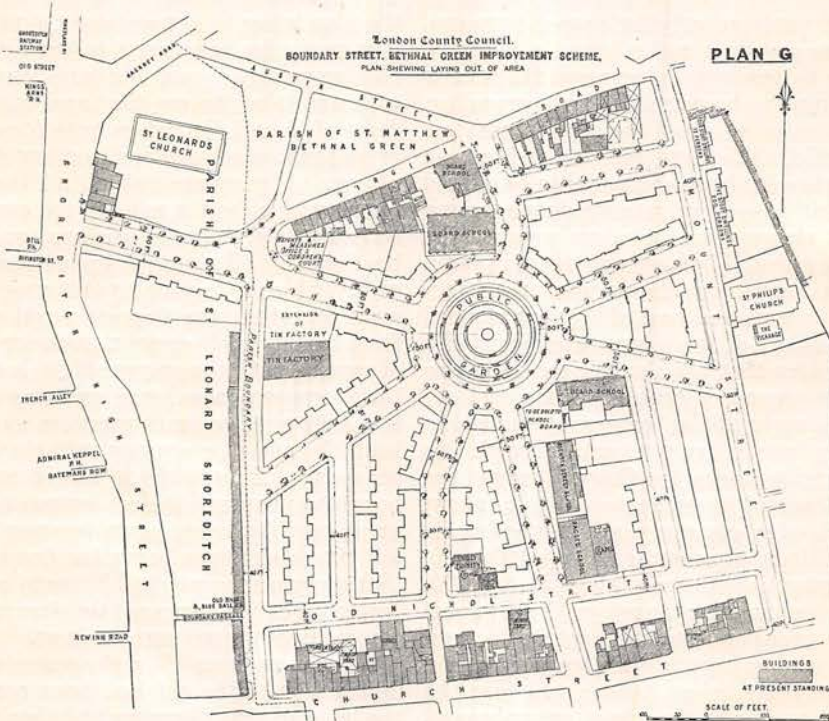
As soon as complete arrangements for the destruction of the old had been completed, the labor of first planning and then building the new was begun. It was decided that the narrow old streets and dark, blind alleys should be replaced by fine tree-lined avenues, from fifty to sixty feet wide, radiating from an elevated public garden two hundred and seventy feet in diameter, terraced, and offering at once a breathing-spot and a point of vantage for a band of music; and that in the place of the noisome rookeries of yore should rise great dwellings, as handsome and as perfect in plan and equipment as the skill of Mr. Thomas Blashill, who is at the head of the County Council's architectural department, could make them.

The persons who so earnestly opposed the comparatively mild recommendations of the New York Tenement-house Commission cannot do better than to study the requirements

which London's greater experience has taught her are wise, and which these buildings have to meet.

First of all should be mentioned the provisions for the two great requisites of light and air. The buildings will be four and five stories high, and each building must be separated in all directions from any opposing building by an open space at least equal to its own height. It was with the greatest difficulty that the New York commission secured the passage of an act limiting the ground area to be covered to seventy-five per

cent. must be of not less than one hundred and forty-four feet superficial floor area. Bedrooms must be of not less than ninety-six feet superficial floor area, nor less than seven feet nine inches wide. Staircases must have horizontal ventilation direct to the open air; corridors must be ventilated on the open air; staircases and halls must be lighted day and night. The last-named regulation is with a view to preventing the immorality and frequent accidents which lack of light in such places is known to produce in tenement-houses. A proposed statute calling for light



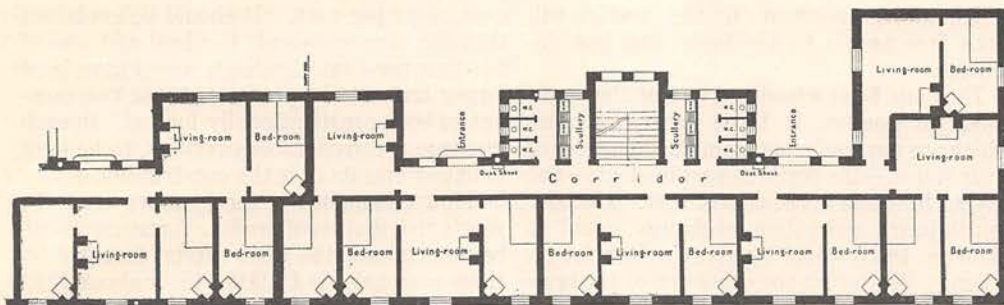
THE GENERAL SCHEME.

cent. These official London tenements will not cover more than fifty-five per cent. of the building-lots.

Habitable rooms must not be less than eight feet six inches in height. Rooms must have efficient ventilation, «the principle on which (back-to-back) houses are built being carefully avoided.» This precludes the construction of a building more than two rooms deep. If such a rule were enforced in New York, the city would be revolutionized. The aim of tenement-house architecture in America is to get at least two, and perhaps four, families on each floor of twenty-five feet width. The London houses, as a matter of fact, will be only one room deep. Living-rooms in them

after 8 A. M. until 10 P. M. aroused much opposition in Albany.

After light and air, safety from fire may be regarded as the next essential of model tenement-house construction. The London law provides that all walls shall be of «fire-resisting» material, and that all staircases must be fire-proof, and so separated from apartments that they will not afford a flue for the conduct of fire from one floor to another, as has so often occurred in the tenements of New York. But the County Council has learned that it will pay to go beyond the law, and to make the buildings absolutely fire-proof. The first cost will be very little greater, and will be far more than offset by



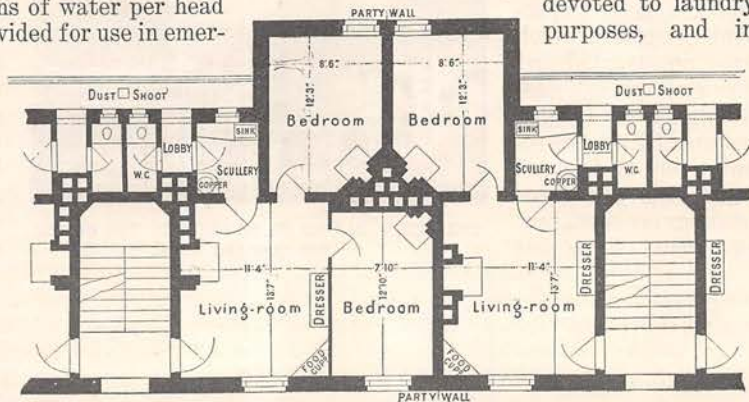
PLAN OF ASSOCIATED DWELLINGS.

the decreased cost of repairs and the greater permanence of the buildings. Without going into technical details of construction, it may be said that stairways are of iron, stone, and cement; that floors are built with iron girders and brick arches; that the wooden surface is laid on solid cement; that as little woodwork is used in the rooms as possible; and that the plaster, even of the partitions between rooms of the same apartment, is laid on iron or wire instead of on wooden lathing. Of the buildings completed it is no idle boast for the architect to say that a fire might be started in any room without endangering any other room. The cost of repairs is thus reduced to a minimum, and the life of the buildings is increased until it is estimated at four hundred and fifty years simply because it seems absurd to name a longer period. As a matter of fact, the buildings, if undisturbed, will practically last forever.

Minor but by no means unimportant details which must be met in the construction of these buildings give the extremely poor class of persons for whom they are intended conveniences and comforts as yet apparently beyond the conception of the ordinary American tenement-house builder. Storage for not less than fifteen gallons of water per head per diem must be provided for use in emergencies. Construction must be vermin-proof. This, among other things, does away with wall-paper, carpets or matings on halls, and wainscoting or other woodwork offering interstices which can harbor vermin. The fittings required for each living-room are a cooking-range, two feet or more in width,

containing an oven and a boiler; a ventilated food-cupboard (to take the place of the American refrigerator) close to the outer wall; a coal-box; a dresser with two shelves, two drawers, and a pot-board; a cupboard for crockery and the like; and half a dozen coat-hooks affixed to a rail. Adjoining the living-room in the «self-contained» dwellings must be a small scullery with a sink, copper, and towel-rail, and this scullery must connect with a lobby open to the outer air and leading to the water-closet, which is thus entirely cut off from the living-apartment. One water-closet must be furnished for every five rooms. The «associated dwellings» are very slightly less elaborate, and are let at smaller rentals. In them there are common sculleries for the use of all the tenants on a floor, and from which the water-closet for women is approached, while a similar convenience for men is furnished elsewhere, as shown in the plan.

In all the County Council dwellings, heretofore, careful provision has been made for the washing and drying of clothes; but this has been entirely omitted from those which are being built on the area now under consideration. It has been found possible there to erect a separate building to be entirely devoted to laundry purposes, and in



PLAN OF INDEPENDENT OR SEPARATE DWELLINGS.

which all the residents of the district will have free access to the latest and best facilities.

Thus has been wiped out one of the worst slums in London. If those American cities which are now suffering from the influences of their slums,—the fruits of past neglect,—and paying for them in the cost of their expensive health-board and police machinery, could do likewise, there would be great reason for rejoicing. But during the existence of the present unstable and oftentimes corrupt system of American municipal government it would probably be unwise to advocate the city construction or city management of dwellings for the poor. Much is possible, however, without the trial of any dangerous experiments. Under the amendments secured by the Tenement-house Commission the Health Board of New York has the right to condemn and order the destruction of persistently unsanitary tenement-houses. And while it may be for a time impossible for the spaces thus cleared to be utilized officially by the construction of such improved dwellings as London is building, there should be no lack of private individuals and companies who will step in to supply the need. The report of the New York State Commission showed that model tenements can be profitably constructed and maintained in New York city, and the experiences of these London companies is strong corroboration; for while the cost of land, material, and labor is less in London than it is in New York, the rents obtained are enough smaller also practically to reduce the London investment to the same basis of profit possibility as that on which a similar enterprise in New York would stand. Thus there is interest in the information, gleaned from official reports, that the five most important companies which have constructed and now maintain artisans' dwellings in London have paid dividends respectively of five per cent., four and three quarters per cent., four per cent., three per

cent., four per cent. It should be explained that the three-per-cent. dividend and one of the four-per-cent. dividends would have been larger had not the profits of these two companies been constitutionally limited. In each instance a considerable overplus, to be used in improvements or in the construction of new buildings, remained in the treasury after the year's distribution of profits. As nearly as can be ascertained, the total capital invested by these companies is £4,904,345, or about \$24,500,000. A scarcely less astonishing fact is that more than 60,000 persons are housed in the improved dwellings which this capital represents. More than 3000 persons live in model houses already built by the County Council, and 4700 will be provided for in the new Bethnal Green and Shoreditch buildings. Thus, in all, over 67,000 people of the poorest class will have been furnished with sanitary and comfortable homes and surrounded by many attendant good influences in London before two years have passed. What effect the dwellings already erected have had on the life and death of their inhabitants is but imperfectly recorded. One company, however, reports that the death-rate last year was 13.4 per 1000 in its buildings, against 21.5 for the city; and that the birth-rate of its buildings was 33.8 per 1000, against 30 for the city. Another reports 129 births and 73 deaths in a population of 3245. Another reports a death-rate 3.7 below the city's, and a birth-rate 4.1 above the city's. The population which yielded these last statistics is made up almost exclusively of common laborers. Unfortunately, no figures at all which definitely show the effect of these improve-

ments upon the criminal rate of neighborhoods are in existence. Police, owners, and other interested citizens unite, however, in declaring that, as a logical sequence, a great diminution in crime has invariably followed the construction of improved dwellings in a bad locality.



THE PUBLIC GARDEN TO BE BUILT IN THE CENTER OF THE CLEARED AREA.

Edward Marshall.