
REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS
OF THE
State Bureaus of Labor Statistics
ON THE
Industrial, Social and Economic Conditions
OF
PULLMAN, ILLINOIS.

SEPTEMBER, 1884.

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At the annual convention of the chiefs and commissioners of the various bureaus of statistics of labor in the United States, held at St. Louis in June, 1884, it was determined to make a full and exhaustive investigation of the economic experiment conducted by Pullman's Palace Car Company on the plan projected by Mr. George M. Pullman, the president.

In carrying out this determination the convention met at Pullman, Illinois, in September following, and for three days studied all the economic, sanitary, industrial, moral and social conditions of the city.

Every facility was afforded for the closest scrutiny of every feature and phase of any and all the affairs the members of the convention saw fit to examine. The results of their investigations are embodied in this report, which is presented as a joint report through the various annual reports of the bureaus represented.

We have availed ourselves of material furnished the press by Duane Doty, Esq., a gentleman connected with the educational work of Pullman, and by other writers, but chiefly our report is the result of our own observations of things and conditions as we found them.

Our object in making the investigation was to give to the manufacturers and capitalists of our respective States official information relative to one of the most attractive experiments of the age seeking to harmonize the interests of labor and capital. It is no part of our duty to eulogize individuals; we have endeavored to learn results.

The enterprise of Herr Krupp at Essen; the philanthropy of M. Godin in the establishment of the Familistère at Guise, France; the humanity of Sir Titus Salt, that brought into existence the industrial town of Saltaire, in Yorkshire, England; and the broad Christian inspiration which resulted in the founding of Pullman have given the world, in the four greatest manufacturing countries, four magnificent schemes for the uplifting of a large portion of the people seeking a living through wages.

In all the countries named there have been many other experiments worth a careful study of all interested in social advancement. This is thoroughly true of our own country, and we might call attention with justice to the success at Peace Dale, R. I., at St. Johnsbury, Vt., at Willimantic, and Manchester, Conn., and at other points. But, for comprehensive plan, for careful recognition of all the strong points, and the fullest anticipation of all weak features, for the beauty of the executed plan, for the financial and social success thereof, Pullman city as the outgrowth of the newest of the great manufacturing nations stands at the head.

HISTORY.

The commissioners had no opportunity to consult Mr. Pullman personally, he being away at the time of our investigation, and we have, therefore, taken such statements of fact, as appear in our report, from documents already before the public.

Pullman's Palace Car Company was founded in 1867 with a capital of \$1,000,000; its extended operations have been conducted on the strictest business principles, and have, from time to time, necessitated increases in its capital stock, until now its capital represents nearly \$16,000,000, and \$2,000,000 in debenture bonds; its palace cars are operated on upwards of 70,000 miles of railway in America and Europe. Its capital stock has been paid in dollar for dollar, and no watering processes have ever entered into the financial operations of the company. Its dividends have been regular and ample, and its affairs conducted on the same scientific basis that has characterized the construction of the works.

Four or five years ago Mr. Pullman determined to bring the greater portion of the works of the Company into one

locality. To accomplish this he must leave the great cities for many reasons, and yet it was essential that a site should be selected where communication could be had with the whole country, and near some metropolitan place like Chicago. He wished above all things to remove his workmen from the close quarters of a great city, and give them the healthful benefits of good air, good drainage, and good water, and where they would be free, so far as it would lie in the power of management to keep them free, from the many seductive influences of a great town.

He was fortunate in securing about 4,000 acres of land on the Illinois Central Road, a dozen miles to the south of Chicago. This land was located in the town of Hyde Park, and here he built his city.

THE SITE.

The city is situated upon the west shore of Lake Calumet, which is a shallow body of water three and a half miles long by a mile and a half in width. This lake drains into Lake Michigan through the Calumet river, Lake Michigan being not more than three miles distant. The site of that portion of the city now fully covered with buildings is from eight to fourteen feet above the level of Lake Calumet. The soil is a drift deposit of tough blue clay ninety feet in depth, resting upon lime rock. The land gradually rises to the north and west to an elevation of twenty-five feet above Lake Calumet, this lake being usually from three to five inches higher than Lake Michigan. There is no land of a marshy character in this neighborhood. The bottom of Lake Calumet is of hard blue clay, from which the best cream-colored brick are made. It was deemed unwise to permit any sewage to flow into Lake Calumet, so the system of drainage adopted is what is known as the *separate* one.

On the 25th day of May, 1880, ground was first broken for the building of the Palace Car Works, and the city of Pullman. The land was an open and not over-promising prairie.

The first efforts were directed towards the scientific drainage of the future town. In old cities drainage follows construction, for the average village or city is but the haphazard

conglomeration of odds and ends in the way of buildings, whose inartistic forms, defective construction, and inconvenient arrangements are supplemented by such drainage and sewerage systems as can be utilized. It is rare of course in the nature of things that drainage is thought of at the outset. It comes after a lapse of time when the soil has become charged with the accumulated filth of years, and all attempts at sewerage are more or less unsatisfactory.

The city of Pullman, on the other hand, has been built scientifically in every part, and is exceptional in respect to drainage and sewerage if in no other regard. For here the drainage preceded the population, and the soil is now as free from organic contamination as when it formed a portion of the open prairie. Every house has been constructed from approved plans, and under the supervision of competent builders and engineers.

The perfection of the site selected was accomplished through surface drainage, and the construction of deep sewers.

These should be described as a matter of logical order before anything is said of the buildings of the town.

SURFACE DRAINAGE.

The atmospheric water goes from roofs and streets through one system of pipes and sewers directly into Lake Calumet. Brick mains from three to six feet in diameter are built in alternate streets running east and west, the intermediate streets being summits from which the surface water flows into the main sewers. The fall is sufficient to secure good cellars for all the dwellings in the city, the drain pipes leading from cellars being at least eighteen inches below the cellar bottoms. A two-foot cobble-stone gutter borders either side of every street, leading at short intervals of 150 feet into catch-basins, these basins, connecting either with the lateral or the main sewers. This system of surface drainage is calculated to carry easily an amount of water that would cover to the depth of one and one-half inches the entire area drained. For the drainage from lots six inch pipe is used, while for block drainage and for laterals pipe varying from nine to eighteen inches in diameter is used. The parks and play grounds are all thoroughly drained. The

amount of vitrified pipe already laid in the town is as follows:—

Of 18 inch pipe,	4,500 feet.
Of 15 inch pipe,	6,500 feet.
Of 12 inch pipe,	6,600 feet.
Of 9 inch pipe,	16,000 feet.

There are also several miles of six inch pipe. In addition to the piping of diameters from six to eighteen inches, the necessary quantity of four inch tile has been used to carry water from cellars and down-spouts to the laterals from brick houses for 1,476 families. The lands surrounding the town are well drained by ditches.

DEEP SEWERS.

In every other street running east and west, and lying between the streets having brick mains for surface drainage, there are sewers made with vitrified pipe which lead to a large reservoir under the water tower, entering it at sixteen feet below the surface of the ground. These glazed pipe sewers are from six to eighteen inches in diameter and constitute another and separate system of drains which carries the sewage proper, by gravity, from houses to the reservoir. This reservoir has a capacity of 300,000 gallons, and the sewage is pumped from it as fast as received and before sufficient time elapses for fermentation to take place. The ventilation of this reservoir is perfect. Flues run from it to the top of the tower above it, and a flue leads from it to the large chimney which takes off the smoke from the fires under the boilers of the Corliss engine. The sewage is sent to the model farm through a twenty inch iron main, and, at the farm end of this pipe, it goes into a receiving tank, which contains a screen placed in a vertical position through which substances that are more than half an inch in diameter cannot pass. The pressure of the sewage upon the tile piping in the farm seldom, if ever, exceeds ten pounds to the square inch, provision being made at the pumping station and at the farm to relieve the pipes from greater pressure. About 100 gallons of sewage are now pumped daily for each person of the population. This seems a large amount, but when it is remembered that every tenement is provided with the best of closets and sinks, and that the water taps are all

inside the houses, it will be seen that a large amount of sewage per capita is unavoidable.

THE MODEL FARM.

About 140 acres of land have been thoroughly underdrained and piped for the reception of sewage with which these acres are irrigated by means of hose. Hydrants are placed at proper intervals so that the distribution can be easily effected. There is nothing offensive about this work, nor can one detect noxious odors at the pumping station or at the farm. All organic matter in the sewage is at once taken up by the soil and the growing vegetation, and the water, making from 100 to 500 parts of the sewage, runs off through the under-drains to ditches, which carry the filtered waters into Lake Calumet. Where the sewage water leaves the drains it is as clear and sparkling as spring water, and laborers often drink it. One acre of land will take care of the sewage made by 100 persons. The population is now only 8,500, but there is land enough already prepared to receive the sewage made by a population of 15,000. The pumps now at the pumping station can handle 5,000,000 gallons a day if necessary, and the main to the farm could carry the sewage for a population of 50,000. These pumps are now required to handle about a million gallons a day, coming from shops, homes, and public buildings. All waste products at Pullman are carefully utilized, being transformed by vital chemistry into luxuriant vegetable forms.

This farm is now a source of profit, and its products are sold in the markets of the country from Boston to New Orleans.

THE BUILDINGS.

With the scientific drainage and sewage system, in the construction of which nearly one million dollars (\$1,000,000) were expended underneath the ground before anything appeared on its surface, came the erection of the works and the dwellings of the town. It is sufficient to say that the same care exercised in guarding the future health of the place has been bestowed in the erection of works and dwellings.

In the centre stands the water tower which takes a supply of water from Lake Michigan and distributes it through the

town. Underneath this immense tower is the reservoir into which flows the sub-sewage of the place as described. Around the tower are located the principal works; to the south and north of the works, chiefly to the south, are the dwellings.

The appearance from the railroad as one approaches from Chicago is effective. The neat station; the water tower and the works in front; the park and artificial lakes intervening; to the right a picturesque hotel backed by pretty dwellings; the arcade, containing stores, library, theatre, offices, etc.; still further to the right, and beyond, a church which fits into the landscape with artistic effect.

The laying out of the whole town has been under the guidance of skilled architects aided by civil engineers and landscape gardeners.

The dwellings present a great variety of architecture, yet give harmonious effects. They are not built like the tenement houses of ordinary manufacturing towns where sameness kills beauty and makes the surroundings tame, but a successful effort has been made to give diversity to architectural design.

The streets are wide, well built, and wherever possible parked. The lawns are kept in order by the company; the shade trees are cared for, and all the police work is done under competent supervision.

Every care has been taken to secure convenience inside as well as outside the dwellings. The cheapest tenement is supplied with gas and water and garbage outlets. The housekeeper throws the garbage into a specified receptacle and has no more care of it.

The testimony of every woman we met was that house-keeping was rendered far more easy in Pullman than in any other place. In fact the women were in love with the place; its purity of air, cleanliness of houses and streets, and lessened household burdens, are advantages over their former residences which brought out the heartiest expressions of approval. The women of the comparatively poor bear most of the drudgery of life, enjoy the least of pleasures, and are most narrowly circumscribed, with little change in cares, scenes, or social surroundings. Pullman has really wrought a greater change for the women than for any other class of its dwellers.

All the works and shops are kept in the neatest possible order. The planing rooms are as free from dust as the street, blowers and exhaust fans taking away all shavings, dust, and debris, as fast as it accumulates. One notices everywhere the endeavor to save time and space in the construction of goods. As an illustration of the science which enters into manufacture we need only cite the shops where freight cars are built. All the timber is taken in in lengths at one end and is never turned around until it finds its proper place in a completed freight car, being carried constantly from one process to another in a direct line from its reception at one end to its utilization at the other.

There are 1,520 brick tenements in houses and flats. The frontage of all the buildings extends along five miles of solid paved streets, and there are fourteen miles of railroad track laid for the use of those in the shops and the town. The buildings are of brick or stone.

INDUSTRIES.

The industries carried on and for which the city was built comprise the manufacture of Pullman Palace cars, and all classes of passenger and freight cars.

The Pullman car-wheel works, the Chicago Drop Forge Company's works, the Spanish-American curled hair factory, the Pullman Iron and Steel Company for the manufacture of iron and steel and of railroad spikes, and other works which are collateral to the principal business of the place, are located here.

The Allen paper car-wheel works, and the Union Foundry for making car wheels, car castings and architectural and general castings, have been conveniently located at Pullman.

Among the manufactures of the place should be mentioned that of brick. The Pullman company's yards turned out the past year about twenty millions of brick. The ice industry is also growing in importance. There is also an extensive Carpenter's shop, by means of which the erection of dwellings, public buildings, etc., here and in other places may contribute to the industries of Pullman.

Gradually the manufacture of all the parts necessary to the construction of cars in every condition is being added to the enterprise of the town. A laundry is being established for cleansing the vast quantities of linen used in the palace

car service which will give employment to women ; it is the policy of the company to encourage the employment of women and young persons.

POPULATION.

The rapid growth of Pullman is exhibited in the following tabular statement of the several enumerations of the population that have been made :—

Table of Nine Enumerations.

DATES OF TAKING THE CENSUS.	Families and Households.	Number of Men.	Number of Women.	Number of Children.	Total Population.
Jan. 1, 1881, .	1 family, .	1	2	1	4
March 1, 1881, .	8 families, .	31	14	12	57
June 1, 1881, .	102 " .	357	119	178	654
Feb. 1, 1882, .	321 households,	1,168	445	471	2,084
March 8, 1883, .	705 " .	1,956	984	1,572	4,512
Aug. 15, 1883, .	910 " .	2,878	1,089	1,906	5,823
Nov. 20, 1883, .	1,048 " .	3,128	1,888	2,169	6,685
Sept. 4, 1884, .	1,295 " .	3,817	1,773	2,613	8,203
Sept. 30, 1884, .	1,361 " .	3,945	1,845	2,723	8,513

Of the population on September 30, 1884, 4,205 were born in the United States, 527 in the Canadas, 425 in England, 596 in Ireland, 170 in Scotland, 85 in France, 953 in Germany, 297 in Norway, 851 in Sweden, 212 in Denmark, 55 in Italy, 137 in other countries, such as Holland, Greece, and in Asia and Africa.

Omitting fractions, the religious preferences of the population may be expressed as follows :—

Presbyterian,	8 per cent.
Congregational,	2 "
Baptist,	4 "
Methodist,	3 "
Lutheran,	24 "
Episcopalian,	11 "
Catholic,	27 "
Dutch Reformed,	2 "
Universalist,	1 "
Swedenborgian,	1 "

The remaining 12 per cent. of the population includes those of other beliefs, but who expressed no religious preferences.

There are 75 pianos in the city, and the private libraries contain 30,000 volumes, while newspapers and magazines are freely taken in Pullman.

Of the 3,945 men here only about 900 are registered as voters (Oct. 29, 1884), and this is probably three-fourths of the voters residing in this city.

Nearly all the men accounted for on the population statistics are employed in the works of the company. Of course there are a few tradesmen and others. The total number employed in the works is about 4,000, but this includes some who live in surrounding villages, or who come down from Chicago.

WAGES, RENTS, AND LIVING EXPENSES.

The wages paid in the works at Pullman are somewhat higher than those paid for like work in other places. They have been adjusted on the hour basis, and from such basis piece wages have been arranged. The attempt to justly equalize and adjust wages has sometimes caused complaint amongst the workmen, and in one instance a strike of small moment. The strike took place among the freight car builders who formerly received \$18 for the construction of a car. Through a readjustment of the forces necessary to the preparation of the material of which the car was built, the price per car was reduced to \$12, four men being able to build a car in 8 hours, the result being the wage of \$3 per man for 8 hours work. Under this arrangement there was no cessation, no breaks in time; in the old arrangement, when \$18 per car was paid, the men made long waits for material, and did not earn any more, and often not as much, as at the present price per car, and with steady employment. But the first effect of the rearrangement of forces and consequent readjustment of prices was a strike of short duration. With this exception no strikes have occurred at Pullman city, and so far as we could learn there was no complaint regarding wages paid.

In the early days of the city, more men naturally were borne on the rolls than were actually necessary. In bringing

the force employed to an economic basis, under which one man should be paid for one man's work, and only one man employed where only one was necessary, discharges or transfers took place, and this caused some complaint, but as the motto of Pullman is, "work for all, and all to work," that sentiment soon found lodgment and complaint ceased.

It costs quite as much to live in Pullman as in any other locality with which it can be reasonably compared. A two room tenement in a second story flat, but having all the conveniences of water and gas, and for sewage and garbage, rents for \$4 per month, and a three room tenement, similarly situated, for \$4.50 per month. Two room flats in small houses, large enough to accommodate five families, rent all the way from \$5 to \$8.50 per month, while two, three and four room tenements in large blocks rent from \$6.50 to \$10 per month. Four room tenements on the first, second, and third floors of three story flats, rent for from \$11 to \$13.50 per month, while four and five room tenements in two story flats may be had for \$14 and \$15 per month. Single five room cottages rent for from \$16 to \$19 per month, while single houses of from 6 to 9 rooms vary from \$22 to \$100 per month.

The average monthly rental per room in the whole city of 1,520 houses, having 6,485 rooms, is \$3.30. In the manufacturing towns of Massachusetts, the average rental per room is \$2.86 per month.

The rentals at Pullman are a little higher for the same number of rooms than in Chicago, but in Chicago the tenement would be in a narrow street or alley, while in Pullman it is on a broad avenue where no garbage is allowed to collect, where all houses have a back street entrance, where the sewage arrives at a farm in three hours' time from its being deposited, and where beauty, order, and cleanliness prevail, and fresh air abounds.

There are no taxes to be paid other than personal, and, when all the advantages which a tenant has at Pullman are taken into consideration as compared with his disadvantages in other places, the rent rates are in reality much lower.

The tenant is under no restrictions beyond those ordinarily contained in a lease, except that he must leave his tenement at ten days' notice, or he can give the same notice and

quit. This short limitation has been established in order that no liquor saloons, objectionable houses, or anything likely to disturb the *morale* of the place, can become fastened on the community.

All the houses in Pullman city are owned by the company. This policy has been considered the best in the early years of the city in order that a foundation may be securely laid for a community of good habits and good order.

The men are employed without restriction. There are no conditions laid upon their freedom; they are paid fortnightly, and they expend their wages when and where they see fit, their rent being charged against their wages. This, at first, caused some complaint, but the system is now generally liked, for when wages are paid there is no bother about rent bills, and the wife and the children know that the home is secure. Repairs, if due to the carelessness or negligence of the tenant, are made by the company at the lowest possible expense, and charged against the tenant. Of course, the company, like all landlords, expects to keep the houses in tenable condition.

There has been some friction in this matter, but as the policy of the company becomes more generally and better understood, the complaint ceases.

SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, AMUSEMENTS, ETC.

The company has erected a very fine school building having fourteen commodious rooms, which now contain about 900 pupils. The schools are under the charge of the school authorities of Hyde Park. They are in a prosperous condition and well accommodate the school population.

There are two or three religious societies, and the beautiful church which has been built by the company, while occupied by any sect or by any body that wishes to hold meetings there, is awaiting the occupancy of some society that chooses to lease it at a fair rental.

In the arcade is to be found a library handsomely fitted and well stocked with books.

The company have also provided a gymnasium, an amphitheatre for games, base ball grounds, and in the arcade is one of the most æsthetic theatres in the country.

All these influences are gradually elevating the society of Pullman city, and their influence is largely felt.

There is but little crime or drunkenness in Pullman, and one policeman, an officer appointed by the authorities of Hyde Park, constitutes the police force for 8,500 people. In two years but 15 arrests have been made; there is no general beer drinking, for there are no liquor saloons in the town. The hotel provides its guests with liquors, but under orderly restrictions.

There is no pauperism; two or three families, where the head had been taken away, or where some accident or misfortune had rendered it necessary, have been aided; but pauperism, as such, does not exist at Pullman.

HEALTH, ACCIDENTS, ETC.

In a Paper entitled "Pullman From a State Medicine Point of View," by Oscar C. De Wolf, M. D., commissioner of health, Chicago, read before the American Public Health Association at Detroit, at the session of November, 1883, we find the following significant statements:

"The town has now 7,500 inhabitants, and its average annual population has been 5,000. During the two years of its existence 69 persons died, its death-rate being therefore 6.9 per 1,000. The death-rate of the rest of Hyde Park (a village of which Pullman is legally a part, and which includes much rural territory) is 15 per 1,000. The causes of death were,—

Zymotic diseases,	23
Constitutional diseases,	3
Local diseases,	22
Developmental diseases,	3
Violence,	17
Unknown,	1
	<hr/>
	69

"The large percentage of deaths by violence is due to the fact that Pullman is the centre of numerous railroads, and to the casualties attendant on its manufactures. The deaths under five years of age were thirty. Of these there

died from zymotic diseases twelve, of which there died from—

Cholera infantum,	6
Diphtheria,	3
Scarlatina,	2
(Toy pistol) Septicæmia,	1
	12

“ This favorable showing speaks for itself.”

Dr. De Wolf's statement had reference to the two earlier years of the existence of Pullman. The last year presents as good a record.

From November 1st, 1883, to November 1st, 1884, there were 53 deaths in Pullman. Hence there was an average of 7.599 deaths per year for every 1,000 of population. For three years Pullman has had this low death-rate. The average for American cities is over three times this number and the average annual death-rate of the world is 32 out of every 1,000 of population. The average death-rate in the city of Mexico is 56 per 1,000 or eight times the rate in Pullman. Of these 53 deaths, 2 were of persons over 50 years of age, 2 of persons between 40 and 50, 2 of persons between 30 and 40, 4 of persons between 20 and 30, 4 of persons between 10 and 20, none of persons between 5 and 10. Eleven were of children over 1 and under 5, while 28, or more than one-half the deaths, were of children under one year of age. The healthful conditions here are unequalled by those in any city of the world. The lowness of the death-rate is remarkable. With one quarter of the physicians that ordinarily administer to a population of this size, Pullman has only a little more than one-quarter of the deaths usual in the same number of people.

The company has adopted a very broad and liberal policy relative to compensation for accidents received during or by means of work in the shops. At present it is contemplated to secure the insurance of all the employes of the company against accidents by the men taking out policies in worthy companies, from which insurance, in case of disability, they would receive \$1 per day, Pullman's Palace Car Company guaranteeing to pay an additional \$1 per day. This arrangement is perfectly just and must result in putting the men on

the best possible basis as regards compensation for accidents. It is generous on the part of the company employing them because it is not by law liable for damages in case of accident.

MORAL INFLUENCE.

Dr. De Wolf in the report already cited, in speaking of the influence of Pullman city on its inhabitants, says:

“The change in population from emigration amounts to one per cent. *per annum*. These emigrants go forth educated in a way that entitles them to be called sanitary missionaries. There are no special requirements to induce change in the habits of people taking up residence in Pullman, but it is a matter of common observation that insanitary habits—such as making yard cesspools, etc.—soon vanish under the silent but powerful influence of public opinion as shown in the habits of neighbors. Families with dirty, broken furniture soon find it convenient to obtain furniture more in accord with their surroundings. Men who are accustomed to lounge on their front stoops, smoking pipes, and in dirty shirt-sleeves, soon dress and act more in accordance with the requirements of society. All this is accomplished by the silent educational influence of their surroundings. There are no saloons in the town, and one great element of debasement is thus avoided.”

Dr. De Wolf has spoken the truth, and another year's experience at Pullman has intensified the force of all he has said.

When Pullman city was first founded, many families came there who had been in the habit of living in a filthy, shiftless way. They came from tenements that were not neat, and that had no pleasant surroundings. Their presence in the new city was like a rubbish heap in a garden,—out of place, and unseemly. One may contemplate the feelings of Mr. Pullman on witnessing these evidences of unappreciation of all the beauty he brought into existence, and it would have been natural for him and for his coadjutors to have indulged in some fault-finding.

On the other hand, the untidy families were left to themselves. As they walked about the streets of Pullman city, and witnessed everywhere orderly ways, well kept lawns,

tidy dwellings, clean workshops, and could turn nowhere without meeting order, they naturally began to make comparisons, and such comparisons have resulted in setting their own houses to rights. This is the influence of order and cleanliness everywhere. So the moral influence of Pullman city is an ever present lesson to every family that takes up its abode there. This perfect order and the cleanliness which comes of it is often felt as a restraint upon those who have been brought up under disorder and in uncleanness, and sometimes causes a sigh for the looser ways and the consequent looser morals of other communities. Such people do not find the air of Pullman city congenial, and no obstacle is thrown in their way should they desire to leave.

These considerations make it easy to see how the company secures the best mechanics.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

We have given the history and the facts relating to Pullman city. There is a deeper side which requires a closer study.

The principle on which Pullman city is founded, and on which its success largely depends, is that in all industrial enterprises business should be so conducted and arranged as to be profitable to each of the great forces, labor and capital.

Mr. Pullman does not believe that a great manufacturing concern can meet with the highest economic and moral success where the profit is unduly large to capital, with no corresponding benefit to labor. The mutual benefit which comes from well adjusted forces is to his mind what brings the best success.

On the other hand, he has made no claim to being a philanthropist; the sentiment prevails in his city that true philanthropy is based on business principles and should net a fair return for efforts made.

Promiscuous charity has no place in the establishment of Pullman. Personally, the president of the company makes the favorable conditions, and, having made them, he then concerns himself chiefly in supplying his people with steady employment. The art interests, the moral interests, the social and the human interests, with favorable conditions supplied, take most excellent care of themselves. Incidentally his competent staff have an eye to all interests.

Mr. Pullman is no dreamer; he has studied the plans of socialists and reformers and the schemes of philosophers for the benefit of humanity.

Beginning at the bottom rung of the ladder and therefore familiar with the wants and aspirations of the workers of society, he has risen by the force of his own character and genius to his present position; he does not care to leave the world and look back upon his action and see that he has only offered a glass of water to the sufferer by the wayside, but he wishes to feel that he has furnished a desert with wells of living water that all may come and drink through all time. So he commenced with the foundation idea of furnishing his workmen with model homes, and supplying them with abundant work with good wages, feeling that simply better conditions would make better men and his city become a permanent benefaction.

He saw great amounts of money being used in speculative schemes, in stock operations, and in all the questionable ways which men take to increase their capital. He saw the energy, the enthusiasm, and the ability which entered into such operations. He could see no reason why all these elements could not be diverted into channels whereby the public should be the gainer and not the loser by great money operations. If capital could be invested in great industrial schemes like Pullman instead of in stock operations, but in such a way as to net a handsome profit to capital and thereby attract it, then not only would capital be safely, securely, and profitably invested, but it would bring even returns without the feverishness of the other method, and the great benefits which would come to the workingman, and thus directly to society itself, would be a positive and absolute gain.

Mr. Pullman's plans did not stop with the founding of an industrial city, but they contemplated establishing alongside great mechanical works where all the science of mechanics is practically applied in every day labor, technical schools where the young might learn the theory and see the application of great mechanical powers. There could not be a better location in the whole country for the highest development of mechanical skill. With technical schools successfully established, Mr. Pullman saw far enough in the future to contemplate a great university.

The great advantages of the geographical location of Pullman city warranted his vast plan; being the centre of the United States commercially, and not far from the centre geographically, he saw no reason why, with scientific works established and with well equipped technical schools, Pullman city should not only teach the nation the way to build up a magnificent class of workmen living under happy and moral conditions, but furnish the country with the most skilful foremen and leading mechanics. To accomplish successfully what Mr. Pullman has undertaken is to carry the world, so far as such men can reach it, to a higher level in civilization.

To do this it was necessary for him to open new avenues for the investment of capital, investments, which as we have said, not only return ample interest in the form of money dividends, but make a grander return in the form of happy homes, and happy hearts. Men must grapple with such enterprises in the belief that the life of the laborer should be something more than a weary round of hard toil, and in the belief that in aiding him to help himself and become a better man, a better brother, a better father, and a better citizen, they are rendering him the best possible service, and in the belief that individual charity, that is merely giving a man something, often does more harm than good.

The general management at Pullman of course partakes of the sentiment of its founder, a broad, comprehensive humanitarian. As we have said, without restrictions upon labor, but so far as we could see, always with justice; for instance, discharges are made with a view to being just; if one of two men must be discharged, other things being equal, the single man must leave and allow the married man to remain; or, if one of two men must be discharged, and each has a family, and one resides away from Pullman, and the other at Pullman, the resident is to be preferred.

All such matters give rise to complaints through superficial consideration, but the even handed justice which prevails is shown by an examination of all sides of the question.

After very careful investigation and the study of Pullman city from the standpoint of the manager, and that of the laborer, the mechanic, the physician, the priest, and from all points of view that we could muster, the question naturally arose, as it might arise in all men's minds who examine

such institutions, what are the weak points in the plan? Superficially, we could see at once that the workman had no status as an owner of his home, but we could see that in the early years of Pullman city, if he had such a status it might be the means of his ruin financially. The company owns everything, manages everything; the employés are tenants of the company. This feature will be for some time longer the chief strength of the place, but in this strength lies its weakness. This feature is its strength so long as the industries of Pullman city belong to one great branch, the manufacture of one thing, or the things auxiliary to that manufacture. Now, should the industry of car building collapse or stagnate to any degree, the tenant employé is at liberty to remove at once; he has to give but ten days' notice to vacate his tenancy. He is free to take up his abode where he chooses, without the fear or the fact of any real property going down on his hands. But Mr. Pullman and his company have contemplated this very state of affairs, and are doing all in their power to bring in a diversity of manufactures so that if one kind of goods are not produced another will be. The industrial operations of the place, through Mr. Pullman's exertions, are being extended to the erection of houses, public works, and public buildings. The manufacture of brick, the capacity of all the works to turn out finish, and all the wood materials of buildings, and the other features mentioned under "Industries," have given the place a diversity of employment and of industry, which is leading it into strong and permanent industrial conditions. The result of these conditions, should the railroads of the country operate their own palace cars, will preserve the industrial integrity of Pullman city. With these advantages, or, when these advantages come, the tenant employé at Pullman may become the owner of his home. For this purpose a large tract of land has been set aside, and when the time comes will be sold in small lots to the workman, his house built at cost, and he allowed to pay for it on easy terms; then, what would now be a weakness at Pullman will become its strength, and the plan of the city which has been projected on the basis of a population of 100,000 will meet its great success, and these two weak

points, the lack of diversified industry and the lack of home ownership, will no longer exist.

To enable this feature of the purchase of homes to be carried out, a savings bank has been established having now deposits to the amount of about \$100,000. This money is held subject to immediate call whenever the plans are perfected for the purchase of homes, and will be used in loans to the workingman. It is invested on call so as to be perfectly available whenever wanted. These deposits are entirely the savings of the workingmen of Pullman, and made during the period in which the bank has existed.

The Pullman establishment must, we think, impress the most casual observer as rare enough to be remarkable, and good enough to be commendable. Even superficially it presents a novelty and attractiveness which in themselves command approbation, but the closer scrutiny which we were permitted to give it developed the fact that its excellence was by no means superficial, that it is not only as good as it looks, but better, and that every promise has been made more than good.

Physically, it is better for the reason that its underground system is as complete and costly as the improvements upon the surface, so that there is not only a justification for the fair exterior, but a guarantee of its permanence, and of the welfare of the workers and dwellers in the town.

We found the *morale* of the place even better than we expected. Merely external appearances may not clearly indicate social conditions nor the motives and the policy of the management in such an establishment, yet, if the commissioners did not find that the whole plan was conceived and executed in a spirit of broad and unostentatious philanthropy, our observations and conclusions were at fault throughout. We must regard our investigation as having generously confirmed the good impressions of all those who are predisposed in favor of the Pullman enterprise, and it must disarm those who may have felt some degree of prejudice against it.

In order to arrive at any just estimate of the credit due the projectors of the industrial community under investigation, we were in duty bound to recognize the fact that the company merely proposed to manufacture railway cars for profit; no obligation rested upon them to enter upon any scheme of

general beneficence or to jeopardize their financial interests by a costly experiment in the interest of their employés. For the initial disposition in this latter direction, however, they and all men like them deserve praise and encouragement. Having determined that such an experiment might justify itself in a commercial sense as well as on humanitarian grounds, it was still in their option to provide merely comfortable tenements for their men, plain structures for shops and ordinary facilities for cleanliness and sanitation, and for these even they would have deserved well, and yet they go much broader and deeper, and decide upon the most perfect methods of drainage for which their site afforded no facilities, and for a system of gas and water distribution to every house and apartment. They construct permanent streets, and an elaborate system of drainage. Not content with plain buildings, they exhaust the architect's skill in designing the greatest variety of forms for dwellings suited in size and appurtenance to all grades of employés; they erect costly and beautiful buildings for public uses, the church, library, and market house, public halls, theatre, savings bank, and stores; they furnish a park for field sports, amphitheatre for games, and every facility for recreation, physical and mental; and the place is neatly and attractively ornamented with lawns, shade trees, artificial lakes, fountains and flowers. In brief, they stop at nothing short of a model establishment constructed upon plans which are the result of the widest experience, and the best observation for which modern life affords opportunities.

While all this is done at a considerable outlay of money, which, to the ordinary manufacturer, might seem reckless, and commercially at least unjustifiable, the conviction grew upon us, as the details of this magnificent work became understood, that although no such motive has ever been proclaimed, there was really a noble and broad inspiration in the original conception of the undertaking beyond that of merely making the greatest possible amount of money, beyond that of mere personal glorification; an inspiration looking to an actual elevation of the standard of life among the working people who might be fortunate enough to be identified with it. Nothing could be more laudable from our point of view than this, and the Pullman company deserve well of their employés and of all men, not only for what they have accomplished for

themselves and their own, but for the conspicuous example they have given the world of the nobler uses of great wealth. It is our view of the case moreover that even if they had attempted and accomplished much less, or even had made great mistakes, they would still deserve commendation for their manifest disposition to recognize the welfare of their employés as of the first concern to themselves. To the growth of such a sentiment among employers, and the practice of it in whatever degree circumstances may permit in smaller establishments, must we look for the real alleviation of the burdens which labor imposes upon those who live by it.

As to the question of earnings in the various grades of employment, and the cost of living within as compared with that outside the community, we are not, as we have already indicated, disposed to insist that the one be greater, and the other less, than elsewhere in order to demonstrate the advantages of the place. We should rather say that were there to be an actual money balance, or not, at the end of the year in favor of the average workman at Pullman, there must be a balance in his favor in all those things which go to make up comfortable and healthful living, in opportunities for the education of children, and their protection from dangerous influences; in the incentives to self-respect and self-culture, and in all the social, moral and sanitary influences which surround the life of every one at Pullman.

If the workman at Pullman lives in a "gilded cage," we must congratulate him on its being so handsomely gilded; the average workman does not have his cage gilded. That there is any cage or imprisonment about it is not true, save in the sense that all men are circumscribed by the conditions with which they surround themselves, and imprisoned by the daily duties of life.

It is quite possible that the Pullman community has been organized and developed thus far on a plan as comprehensive as commercial prudence permits, but when the experiment as now outlined shall have become an established success, it would be gratifying to see certain additional features considered, and if feasible introduced for practical test.

To make Pullman the ideal establishment of the theorists, in addition to the option of purchasing homes and the strength which must come from diversified industry, one would naturally expect that when this enterprise shall have survived adversity as well as prosperity, and the wise and

beneficent policy now being tested shall have borne its fruit in a permanent community of intelligent and prosperous workmen, it may then be found possible to advance them to a share of the profits of the business itself. However this may be, we think we are justified in the belief that, as long as the present management or the spirit of the present management exists, the beneficent features of this most progressive industrial establishment will be extended as rapidly as circumstances may ripen for them.

Let the model manufactory and the industrial community of Pullman city be commended as they deserve for whatever they are or what they promise to be. Let them be held up to the manufacturers, and employers of men, throughout the country as worthy of their emulation. Let Mr. Pullman and his coadjutors be assured of the good wishes of all those who seek the advancement of their kind.

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