

II PULLMAN

PULLMAN. The very word seems like a pivot around which swings the range of our industrialism. For those who early hailed the town as providing that alchemy by which the labor problem was to be transmuted into Utopian paternalism, the mention of the name brings memories as of an Arabian Night's dream which vanished under the impact of reality. For "practical" men it signifies the futility of social betterment schemes and marks the battleground where law and order triumphed over anarchy—in the struggle of 1894 which, before it ended, embraced the transportation service of the country and saw the rise and fall of the American Railway Union under Eugene V. Debs. But for the host of warm-hearted, sane believers in the better day that is coming, it stands for a great human tragedy, yet a necessary one in so far as it made of paternalism a "lost cause."

In the perspective of the years we can understand the point of view and the disappointment of the strong man whose hopes and plans for a model industrial community were shattered even in the hour of his victory over his own men.

¹See *A Modern Lear*, by Jane Adams, p. 181.

And we can sympathize with the men who, having grievances at least in some degree just, went through the hard struggle to bitter defeat, yet in that hour knew not that their fight had sealed the fate of paternalism and left open but one road—the road toward industrial democracy.

Our concern in the Pullman of today is to find out what heritage—industrial, civic and social—the past has turned over to the present and the future. The Story of Pullman distributed at the Pullman exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, declared that "At an early date the beautiful town of Pullman . . . will be as a bright and radiant little island in the midst of the great tumultuous sea of Chicago's population; a restful oasis in the wearying brick-and-mortar waste of an enormous city."

Today, twenty years later, it would seem worth while to make a voyage of re-discovery of this little "island" and see what it means in the sea of Chicago's life—in health, recreation, housing, and community spirit. Has Chicago been led to better dwellings by the model town? What of the provisions for wholesome play under paternalism and under public auspices? What of the



ENTRANCE TO NEW PULLMAN SCHOOL



A PRIVATELY CONTROLLED CITY
Arcade Park and the "Green Stone Church" as they appeared in the old days.

people themselves who live in Pullman? Does the industry continue to supply the old houses with dwellers? Have strange people come in who know nothing of the ancient glories of their habitation? What of work conditions to-day as compared with those of twenty years ago? You and I ride in steel instead of wooden cars; how does this affect the workmen who fashion them? Does our greater safety and comfort mean greater or less skill on their part? Did they find themselves, at the change, with useless trades on their hands? What significance is there in the fact that the only Socialist who ever sat as alderman in Chicago's city council came from the ward of which Pullman is a part, came indeed from a work bench in the Pullman car shops?

The old Pullman was the subject of countless radiant descriptions. The whole country watched the dream of its founder take form. In 1880 open prairie stretched westward from Lake Calumet, broken only by the small farming community of Roseland. Five years later, when the chiefs and commissioners of the various state labor bureaus visited the new town, they found the great car works surrounded by nearly 9,000 dwellers in 1520 houses having 6,485 rooms. Every house and tenement was supplied with water and gas. The streets were wide, well built and clean, lined with beautiful lawns and trees, all cared for by the company. A complete system of drainage had been installed before the population came.

From the railroad station, fourteen miles from downtown Chicago, a broad boulevard, now Ash street, led eastward to Lake Calumet.

North of this boulevard were the great shops, a park and artificial lake forming an attractive landscape between them and the railway station. South of the boulevard and visible from the station were the hotel, the Arcade—containing stores, bank, theater and library—a park with gardens and a bandstand, and beyond it the Greenstone Church, the whole making a "civic center" which would do credit even to our modern town planning. A block south of the Arcade was the school building. Beyond this grouping of the more imposing buildings were a dozen city blocks of dwellings with a conveniently located market building. The nearer blocks contained the better houses, in solid rows, yet with some diversity of architecture, while the further blocks were given over to the cheaper tenement buildings which presented a monotonous similarity of exteriors and of interior arrangement. More blocks of dwellings occupied the tract immediately north of the shops. At the Lake Calumet terminus of the boulevard was a small island. Here the recreation field was laid out, and games of all sorts were encouraged. Crack cricket matches and the most famous rowing regattas of the middle west shared with baseball and bicycle races in bringing renown to the place as an athletic center.

But beneath this attractive picture of the "model town" was the spirit and substance of paternalism. A cardinal point in the policy of the president of the Pullman company was the retention of the ownership of land and houses. Maintenance of utilities, care of houses and lawns, repair and cleaning of streets, manage-

ment of hotel, theatre and other community activities—all were controlled by the company. Thus was established that autocratic power, which scarcely was challenged until 1885, when Professor Richard T. Ely assailed it as feudalistic. It is easy to criticize an autocrat, but even the social worker, who sometimes turns his imagination to the things he would do if he were mayor or president of a great industrial concern, little knows how subtly his own conviction as to "what is good for people" might estrange him from them when they failed to share the conviction. It is not hard to understand the jealous guidance Mr. Pullman sought to exercise over the activities of the town he so fondly created. The evident sincerity of his benevolent intentions blinded most of the early observers to the real significance of such enormous power over private affairs of life, and their descriptions consisted of unmingled praise.

In characterizing the president of the Pullman company as "the modern King Lear," Miss Addams, in her paper written just after the strike, shows how the honest desire to give his employes the best surroundings developed into a sense of pride and power in his own benevolence, how "he cultivated the great and noble impulses



JUST ARRIVED

His one response to inquiries in English was "Slovensk."

of the benefactor until the power of attaining a simple human relationship with his employes was gone from him." The story of Pullman, so far as its significance for today is concerned, centers largely in the developments whereby the feudalistic power was dislodged and shifted to the shoulders of the community. The annexation of Pullman to Chicago in 1889 was the beginning. The vigor with which the company opposed this step indicated a realizing sense that it foreshadowed the end of company control of the town.

The great strike was the next important factor in the disintegration of that control. The trouble centered in a situation involving fixed rents and sliding wage scales, both controlled by the company. The latter suffered in the general business depression following the World's

Fair. It claims to have accepted contracts at a loss in order to continue to afford work. But it cut its wage scales 22 per cent and reduced its schedules of working time. The men struck.

In the midst of the struggle a sympathetic strike was ordered by the new American Railway Union whose members crippled the railway service of the country by their refusal to handle Pullman cars. The action of President Cleve-



INSIDE THE WORKS

The advent of the steel car has almost revolutionized the industry.

land in sending federal troops to Chicago started a bitter controversy in which the governor of Illinois and local officials claimed that their control of the situation was adequate and that the President's action was unwarranted. The imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, gave added sting to the defeat of the organization by the railway managers and undoubtedly helped to give Debs his leadership of the Socialist Party. The sympathetic strike and its attendant violence was widely condemned—the railroad brotherhoods, for example, refusing to take part in it. But the original and more orderly strike of the Pullman employes was based upon grievances in some measure just, in the estimation of nearly every investigator, from the government commission, headed by Carroll D. Wright, to an attorney for one of the railroads later involved, who is now identified with one of our largest industrial corporations. It was this strike that demonstrated how unsatisfactory the domination of community interests by the industrial authority could be if the form was kept up without the loyalty of both parties.

The third great event in the waning of this domination was the Illinois Supreme Court decision in 1898 to the effect that the charter of the Pullman company did not permit it to hold real estate beyond the necessities of its manufacturing business. Five years were allowed for disposing of these holdings, and at the end of that period an extension of five years was granted. By 1908, therefore, the possessions of the Pullman company were reduced to little more than the car shops. However, the remaining vacant land was retained by much the same interests. The Pullman Land Association was the agent by which this was accomplished, and of the 4,000 acres originally purchased, approximately 2,900 are still owned by this association. The shops occupy about 500 acres, and some 600 acres were sold. Hotel, market building, school, church—all passed out of the company's hands. To retain some remnant of the cherished project of her husband, Mrs. Pullman purchased the Arcade, which she still owns.

The change from company ownership and management to that of individuals and the public has meant a distinct gain in many respects, especially in provision of schools and recreation facilities and healthier community relationships. But nevertheless it has left the old town with a forlorn air of faded glory. The city of Chicago does not maintain the streets so well, and out of sheer regard for the immediate surroundings of the shops, the company still assumes the maintenance of 111th street—the boulevard—and the thoroughfare along the west-front. The old lawns which made each beautiful in the old days are kept up or

not as the present owners happen to care, and often adjoining premises show a glaring contrast. Hard, bare ground in front of the tenement blocks permits their ugly monotony to stand out today in all its nakedness, a monotony previously softened by the flanking greensward and hedges. These block houses, unsuitable for sale to the occupants of their tenements, were bought by Mr. Pullman's daughter, Mrs. Frank O. Lowden. Her agent rents them under the supervision of the same caretaker, or "house boss" as he is called, who has been employed since the beginning.

Except for these block houses and some of the cheaper rows of dwellings north of the shops, which are held by the Pullman Land Association, the houses of the town were offered to the occupants at prices averaging one hundred times the monthly rental. Easy terms of payment were arranged, on installments scarcely larger than rent, and some purchasers are still paying off the few remaining installments. The



"BLOCK HOUSES"

These cheaper tenements are today inhabited almost exclusively by Poles, Hungarians, Italians and Greeks.

number of employes who thus became owners of the houses which they and their families had come to call homes was gratifying to those whose hearts clung to the high hope in which the town was founded. Individual effort due to pride in home ownership has brightened the Pullman of today with an after-glow reflecting the earlier beauty. A Saturday afternoon stroll shows many a householder working to improve his own dwelling.

The substantial original construction of brick and the architectural scheme still give the houses of Pullman a distinct stamp in contrast with the stretches of dingy, frame houses characteristic of Chicago's poorer sections. They appear like a transplanted fragment of one of our eastern cities. Chicago's housing seems not to have been influenced in the slightest degree by the "model" on its outskirts. While Chicago has only recently come up to tenement light and air standards set by Pullman thirty years ago, that progress seems due to the country-wide advance in standards.

The block houses which contain the bulk of the cheapest tenements show the lowest conditions of living in the town of Pullman. Seven of these houses south of the shops contain 246 apartments: 36 of two rooms, 88 of three rooms, 98 of four rooms and 24 of five rooms. The rents vary from \$5 a month for two rooms to \$8 for four rooms, while some of the five-room tenements are \$10. While rents in general have risen, those at Pullman show very little actual change from the rates of thirty years ago. Then Pullman rents were considerably higher than tenement rents in Chicago, or in Massachusetts manufacturing towns, as the report of the labor commissioners showed. The accommodations were much superior, however. Now, for accommodations of even poorer grade in Chicago a rate of at least a third more must be paid.



THESE ARE BETTER

Though holding in general one family to a house, the monotony which gives the block houses the appearance of a penitentiary is not altogether lacking.

Sanitary conditions are not as bad as one usually finds in the cheaper of Chicago tenements. Each room has one or more windows giving adequate light and air. Practically none opens on a narrow court. A bath tub is a rarity, which seems strange in a "model town," but it must be remembered that the standards of 1880 were not those of today. Spasmodic overhauls of plumbing and sanitary conveniences in the block houses have kept them in a fair state of repair, though there is considerable complaint concerning dilapidation of sinks and odors from them, and renovation of walls might be more frequent. The scrubbing of hall floors is arranged for by the rather unusual method of apportioning the space equally among the families whose tenements are entered through the hall.

Crowding is doubtless more serious than formerly, though statistics on this score for the earlier days are difficult to find. The "house boss" of the block houses estimates that about 1,600 people now live in the 848 rooms of the 246 tenements above mentioned. This is an average of about six to a tenement and nearly two to a room. But a relief visitor considered

even this estimate of crowding as conservative, because of the secretiveness of the families as to the number of boarders they have. One case, for example, was cited of a husband and wife, eight children and two boarders—all in a tenement of two rooms. Not infrequently a large group of single men, usually Greeks, inhabits a tenement. That the problem of the boarder, however, is not a new one is indicated by a description of the town written in 1893 by the wife of an official. At that time it appeared that no fewer than 900 families in Pullman had one or more boarders or roomers, and that from 2,500 to 3,000 "bachelors" worked at Pullman. The work force at that time numbered fewer than 7,000.

This crowding cannot fail to be a menace, especially since the tenements in the block houses have little privacy with respect to toilet arrangements. The three tenements on each floor of an entry-way have their closets grouped at one end of the common hall.

To accommodate more people in a given space, some of the smaller houses seem to have gone through an evolution from single to two-family dwellings. For example, a whole block of exactly similar houses north of the shops, each formerly containing five rooms and renting for \$12, is now divided, so that each contains a two-room tenement down stairs, and a three-room tenement up stairs, each renting for about \$6.50. The appearance of the houses from the street remains unchanged, but the only entrance to the up-stairs tenements is through the rear alley and thence up a flight of wooden stairs from the back yard.

South European immigration displacing earlier comers from the North is responsible in some measure for the crowding and for many other changed conditions in the town. The influx of new nationalities is shown most strikingly by a comparison of tables giving the nativity of wage-earners in different years. In 1892 there were among the 6,324 wage-earners:

American born	1796	or about	28 per cent
Scandinavian	1422	" "	22 " "
German	824	" "	13 " "
British	796	" "	12.5 " "
Dutch	753	" "	12 " "
Irish	402	" "	6 " "
Polish	116	" "	2 " "
Italian	99	" "	1.5 " "
Bohemian	26	" "	.4 " "
Russian	12	" "	.2 " "
Hungarians and Austrians	77	" "	1.2 " "
Lithuanians	none		

There was but one Greek. The extent of the change which has come about in twenty years is vividly shown by the fact that within one week after the opening of the hostilities between Turkey and the Balkan states, no fewer than 200 out of an estimated 500 Greeks in the vicinity of Pullman started back to join the army



THE FRONT

Though monotonous in appearance, these houses seem to be one family dwellings, but from—



THE REAR

—the rear, each house is seen to have two tenements, the second story tenement being reached only through the rear alley.

of their fatherland. In 1912 out of 10,000 employes in the Pullman shops there were:

American and English born	3151	or about	31.6	per cent.
Scandinavian	1828	"	18.	" "
Hungarian	1412	"	14.	" "
Italian	808	"	8.	" "
German	707	"	7.	" "
Polish	695	"	7.	" "
Russian	508	"	5.	" "
Hollanders	503	"	5.	" "
Lithuanian	281	"	3.	" "
Greek	229	"	2.	" "
Bohemian	39	"	.4	" "

The flood of foreigners from southern Europe to America has been coincident with many changes in industrial processes lessening the premium upon skill. Pullman affords spectacular proof of this. The advent of the steel car threw wood carving, cabinet making and many other skilled crafts on the scrap heap and substituted metal work demanding distinctly shorter training. Steel sleepers were first made about 1907. This year not a single one of wood is being manufactured. Of the ordinary coaches built on contract for railroads, about 75 per cent are steel body and wooden interior finish, 15 per cent are all steel, and only 10 per cent are of wood. More would probably be made entirely of steel but for the difficulty experienced in heating them.

The works, employing now 10,000 men, consist of three principal divisions: the passenger car construction shops with about 6,800, the repair shops with about 1,000, and the freight car shops with about 2,200. In 1885 Professor Ely found that the great majority were skilled artisans and that the unskilled constituted about one-quarter of the force. Today the force may be classified into: 5,000 or 50 per cent skilled, 2,600 or 26 per cent semi-skilled, and 2,400 or 24 per cent unskilled. The proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled would be still greater were it not for the introduction of many labor-saving devices.

When the steel construction began all the older and skilled employes were encouraged to learn the newer trades and officials say that many of the cabinet makers readily adapted themselves

to the changed conditions, utilizing much of their old skill in the steel cabinet work. But they frankly admit that the great amount of semi-skilled work such as the assembling, erecting and riveting of steel cars has borne hard on the older employes who cannot "stand the racket." Slavs, who "don't seem to have any nerves," take these jobs. What this means for the older employes was vividly pointed out by a Dutch tradesman in Roseland who said that when the steel car work came in about two hundred members of the Dutch church he attended left, saying that the change of trades was too much for them and that anyway "no white man would now want to work in some departments of the shops."

Nevertheless, the company officials are able to show a proud record as to the average length of service of their employes. Those who have served less than two years are for the greater part unskilled "floaters." The remainder—between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole—have served over two years and make up the permanent force with an average service of no less than twelve years. In 1906 the number who had served twenty years or more was 641. Today it is estimated at over one thousand. A considerable number of employes started as young men of twenty to thirty when the shops were built in 1880, and are therefore men of fifty to sixty now. While the experience of these men includes the great strike of 1894, and company officials claim that most of the strikers came back, the other side of the picture is shown by a "broken and discouraged man" representing a superior type of the English working class—one of the strike leaders—who stood before Miss Addams three years afterward. "Although he had been out of work most of the time since the strike," she says in *Twenty Years at Hull House*, "he had been undisturbed for six months in the repair shops of a street car company, under an assumed name, but had then been discovered and

dismissed," believing that he was so blacklisted that his skill could never be used again.

The average wage is nearly 30 cents an hour. The lowest rate paid is 20 cents an hour, to unskilled day labor. The average for semi-skilled labor is 24 to 26 cents an hour for work by the day, but much more than this for piece work in the erecting and riveting departments. Mechanics earn generally over 40 cents an hour. It will be noted that the rate for unskilled labor compares favorably with the 17½ cents an hour paid by the steel corporation at South Chicago and Gary. There is a 54 hour week in all departments—9¾ hours a day, except Saturday when the shops close the year round at 12:15, as against the ten and twelve hour days, and until recently the seven-day week, of the steel workers.

Wage rates signify little, however, unless yearly earnings are computed from the time books. The company claims that work is steady, that in general fluctuations are not matters of weeks and days, but that at various times the orders of railroads for cars drop seriously, as they did in 1910. The only periodic slack season is one of six weeks each summer in the repair shops, the surplus workers being used in the construction shops. But the freight car shops, using mainly semi-skilled and unskilled labor are most often affected by intermittency of employment. Tested by different years the industry would seem to have rather serious ups and downs. In 1905, for instance, the number of employes went nearly as low as 1,100; in early 1910 it was almost up to 15,000; while at present it is about 10,000, which may perhaps be considered normal.

What becomes of the "casuals"? Many of them are wandering workmen who rarely stay long in one place, even with steady work, but are off the some spot of real or fancied advantage. Others are immigrants. But many, doubtless, native and foreign alike, "stay put"—especially if they own their homes—and worry along over periods of unemployment, or seek other work

in the vicinity to fill in. "Very irregular" work is given by the Chicago United Charities as one of the causes of poverty among Pullman work people. A man of good habits can usually get credit to tide him over the periods of unemployment. "It takes, however, a large part of the wages of the regular season to pay up these bills, so a decent standard of living is often impossible." Typical applicants for relief are:

1. Young man, support of old parents, laid off for three months. Bills accumulating and assistance asked.
2. Italian with wife and five children. Only irregular employment. Grocer had cut off credit, landlord pressing for rent. School principal reports children in need of shoes.
3. Dutch family. Father had been employed in shops twenty years, laid off for three months. Wife and six children.

Diversity of employment is probably a buffer against idleness when the main industry runs slack. The report of the state labor commissioners in 1884 shows that even at this early date Mr. Pullman was seeking to assure greater industrial stability to his town by encouraging other manufacturing concerns to locate near. Today, plants of the Sherwin-Williams Paint Company, the Chicago Drop Forge and Foundry Company, the Griffin Car Wheel Company, and other concerns are grouped just south of Pullman; the Illinois Central railroad shops are just to the north; the West Pullman factory district includes a plant of the International Harvester Company; and street or interurban cars reach many other large plants in the general region.

The labor policy of the Pullman company is conservative. While many of its employes are trade union members, the organizations are in no way recognized, but an "open shop" practice prevails. There is little indication of any more liberal attitude toward collective bargaining than that indicated in the reply of Vice-President Wickes nearly twenty years ago when President Cleveland's commission to investigate the Pullman strike asked if it was not inevitable that with the company's great power its representatives were always far superior in bargaining ability to the individual workman. "Yes, that's



SAME ALLEY ON CLOSER VIEW

This is a closer view of the alley through which the tenements shown at top of preceding page are reached.

November 2, 1912.



ON CALUMET LAKE SHORE

The federal census enumerator had to use a boat in 1910 to make his count. Some of the shanties are blind pigs.



THE WORKS TODAY

The picture shows also the grade crossing of the Illinois Central and Michigan Central tracks, half a block from the main entrance to the Pullman works. Across the tracks, in Roseland, Kensington and other neighborhoods, live the majority of Pullman employes. Counting the Interurbans, from 200 to 300 trains rush over this crossing every day. Two through trains pass at top speed within a few moments of 5:30, quitting time for 9,000 men. The coroner's records for a recent period of 22 months show 41 deaths on railroad crossings in Pullman and vicinity. A showing up of the situation by a local newspaper, coupled with vigorous activities on the part of the South End Business Men's Association and various Improvement associations, stirred the whole community. A committee of fifty citizens recently induced the Chicago City Council to pass an ordinance requiring the elevation of the tracks before December 31, 1916.

his misfortune," said he. Yet the question whether the 54-hour week should be divided into six days of nine hours each or into five of 9¾ hours, leaving Saturday as a 5¾ hour day was submitted to a vote of the men, who chose the latter arrangement. But one wonders how far the company would go in submitting questions which mean more to it than the alternative between six or half a dozen. The company's conservatism is indicated by its electing not to come under the provisions of the Illinois Workmen's Compensation law. Yet its policy in payment of damages to injured workmen is said to be increasing in liberality. Attention is also being directed to welfare work and as the readers of *THE SURVEY* know, the activity of one stockholder roused the company to an effort in preventing occupational diseases.¹

It had been needlessly killing men by lead poisoning in the paint shops and by dangerous acids, fumes and dust-laden air in other departments. The success of the preventive efforts is shown by the fact that in July, 1911, there were 77 cases of lead poisoning out of 450 men employed in the paint department, while in August, 1912, not a single case was reported among 470 employed. Five doctors now care for injuries

as compared with one formerly. Thus far no nurse has been employed though her services, especially among the single men living in lodgings, would go far to prevent infections due to the improper care of minor wounds.

Civic conditions and agencies show interesting comparisons between the old paternalistic regime and the present company control. Decent housing was not the only way in which the company sought at the beginning to provide wholesome home surroundings. Exclusion of demoralizing influences was also part of the effort. With the exception of the bar in the Florence Hotel, no saloons were allowed in the town. Liquor interests seized upon the nearest available spot and thirty grog shops soon clustered at Kensington just across the railroad tracks and south of Pullman. This place quickly merited the name of "Bumtown" which still clings to it. Even until recently the last suburban train each night from the city down to Kensington and return was known as "the Bumtown turn-around."

With the changes in population and the property sale which did away with the early restrictions, saloons seem strangely slow in invading the old town. Aside from the hotel bar mentioned only five saloons have started up, one of them in a corner of the market house. And in the part of the town north of the shops but ten have come in. In fact few things are more striking to the observer who watches the swarms of men at the main gate during the noon hour than the absence of beer cans and the prevalence of milk bottles. From two milk wagons as many as 200 to 500 bottles of milk are sold each noon, and the number in very warm weather rises still higher. "Bumtown," however, lives up to its old reputation and boasts of fifty-two saloons, twenty-five of which are on the single block nearest to Pullman. The southern part of "Bumtown" is dubbed "Snarltown"—due, it is said, to its quarrelsome dogs—and is notoriously tough. Several prohibition districts, however, are stoutly maintained in Roseland and vicinity under the local option law.



PULLMAN'S NOON BEVERAGE

A typical roadside after lunch time. The two milk peddlers at the main gate—only one of seven entrances—have a combined sale of 200 to 500 bottles each noon, and as many as 600 in the warmest weather. One of the surprising things to the stranger is the almost entire absence of beer cans "rushing."

¹See What One Stockholder Did, *THE SURVEY*, June 1, 1912. P. 387.

The police administration of the district has not the highest respect of the better citizens. Indeed a scandal which came to the attention of all Chicago developed in an indecent entertainment to celebrate the presentation of a diamond star to the police lieutenant by a group of citizens of the sort usually interested more in the non-enforcement than in the enforcement of law. With such officials of law and order it is fortunate that the region seems to need their attention but little. An officer of the Juvenile Protective Association declares that although there are some "blind pigs" in the doubtful shacks along Lake Calumet and a few dance halls in "Bumtown," the neighborhood is the cleanest she has ever worked in. She finds evidence, particularly in Burnside, however, of loose relations in houses where a group of Slavic men have one woman as housekeeper.

The company management of the town sought to provide various wholesome substitutes for the demoralizing influences which were barred. Through the generosity of Mrs. Pullman the library, already mentioned, is still maintained, and its present circulation of books, greater now than formerly, is noteworthy in the face of the incoming Slavic, Greek and Italian population and the fact that it has no books in these languages. It is used mainly by children. The theater is now little used. Its location up one flight of stairs conflicts with Chicago's building requirements. And the people of Roseland, which has outstripped Pullman in size, prefer to patronize their own three motion picture and vaudeville theaters.

Recreation facilities show one of the most significant developments in the change from old to new. The island athletic field was a notably serviceable provision, but its glory is eclipsed by the splendid recreation center, Palmer Park, which the South Park Commissioners admirably placed so as to serve Pullman on the east, Kensington on the south and Roseland on the west. Its forty acres provide football and baseball fields, tennis courts, swimming pool, children's playground and wading pool, outdoor and indoor gymnasiums for both sexes, club rooms and an assembly hall for social gatherings and entertainments. The fine civic service of these Chicago recreation centers has often been described in *THE SURVEY*¹. Suffice it here to say that the director of Palmer Park is intelligently alert to promote its neighborhood utility, and the "Pleasant Sunday Afternoons" he arranges through the fine assembly hall. It is worth noting that Palmer Park, serves as a frequent meeting place for the district representatives of the Juvenile Protective Association, the United Charities and the Visiting Nurses' Association and that in all the efforts for neigh-

borhood welfare which center at the park the school principals are enthusiastic co-operators. It is a pity that the same cannot be said of all the clergy. Although the churches are probably larger and better attended than in the average city neighborhood, they have in general taken little share in movements for community betterment.

Schools no less than recreation facilities serve to give assurance that public authority can go paternalism one better in meeting community needs. It is not fair, of course, to contrast the fine new George M. Pullman grade school which the Chicago Board of Education has built, with the discarded and forlorn building across the street, which marks the remains of a glory now dim. But the school built by the company is declared by school authorities to have been not up to the highest standards of its time. And it is particularly pointed out that its location where it would be a part of the showy front of



THE PULLMAN CLUB

Organized and still maintained by company officials and foremen and other leading residents of the town.

the town as seen from the railroad was not the best from the standpoint of its efficiency as a school. When Pullman became a part of Chicago the Board of Education might have bought the building, but the company would not sell. When the property was disposed of in accordance with the court order the board refused to buy, but continued to rent until it built the new school. Three other schools, including a high school, serve the vicinity of Pullman, and three of the principals have twenty years or more of service to their credit.

The community is now looking forward to the Pullman Free Manual Training School for which Mr. Pullman's will in 1897 provided \$1,200,000. This has now increased to well over \$2,000,000. While it has been contended that delay was necessary in order that the sum should become large enough to carry out the project most effectively, the trustees have been taken to

¹See *THE SURVEY* for July 2, 1910.

task by a local newspaper, which also sought to show by the estimate of an accountant that the fund should by this time have reached nearly \$3,000,000. A head for the school has been chosen, Prof. L. G. Weld, formerly of Iowa State University, and it is expected that early in 1913 ground will be broken on the site of forty acres facing Palmer Park on the north.

The health conditions of Pullman and its vicinity seem to be fully up to and perhaps better than those of the average city neighborhood, though among the children of the poor in the block houses and other cheap tenements the work of an infant welfare nurse from the Chicago Department of Health finds plenty of scope. The most pressing immediate needs are for sewage disposal and hospital service. The sewerage system empties, through the Calumet river, into Lake Michigan which supplies the city's water. Accordingly plans are under way to provide a canal which will connect with the main Chicago sanitary canal and thus divert all sewage to the Mississippi. The problem of hospital service is one which affects the whole southern portion of Chicago.

Mr. Pullman, for some unknown reason, failed to include a hospital in his elaborate scheme of buildings. There are private hospitals at the Illinois Steel Works in South Chicago and at the Illinois Central Railroad shops at Burnside. Public-spirited citizens organized a small hospital in Pullman, which receives patients from the car shops as well as from the town in general. But the charity patient, whether for a clinic or the county hospital, must make the long journey into the central part of the big city. A fifteen mile journey—by Kensington police ambulance to the Illinois Central suburban train, thence in the baggage car to downtown Chicago, and then by another police ambulance to the county hospital— is certainly not conducive to a sick man's improvement. Instances are not lacking of deaths en route. But the situation will be remedied when a branch of the county hospital, for which land has already been bought at Burnside just north of Pullman, is built.



WHERE COMMUNITY PLANNING EXCELS

The new George M. Pullman School recently built by the Chicago Board of Education.

The growth of the neighborhoods west of Pullman directs attention to the matter of city planning. While the number of people living in the old town of Pullman is nearly the same as it was twenty-five years ago, Roseland, Kensington, West Pullman and Gano have all developed from rural communities until now, according to the 1910 census, the population table shows:

Roseland	20,901
Pullman	7,931
Kensington	6,328
West Pullman	6,025
Gano	4,660

The history of these towns is interesting. Roseland was settled by a group of Hollanders who left the old country in 1849 because of religious difficulties. Preaching services in Dutch are still held in three churches. Gano, just west of Kensington, and south of Roseland, contains many French Canadians, who are said to have come originally about 1885 to act as strike breakers during a strike at the brick yards. The Catholic church they founded has French preaching services on alternate Sundays.

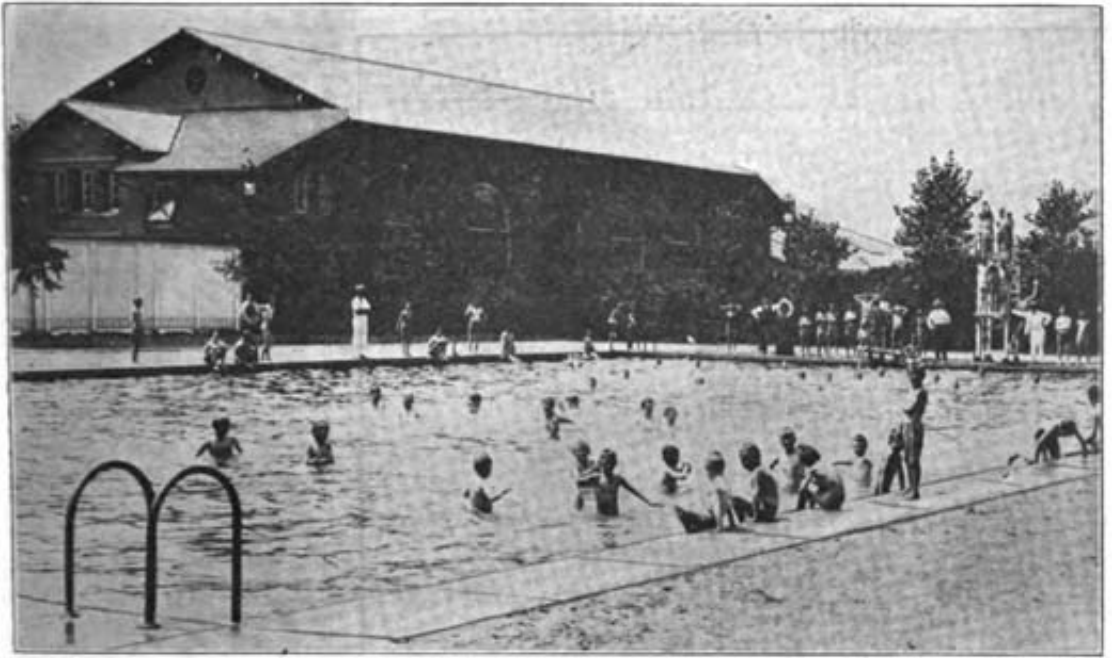
The development of the section seems to have been along natural lines of traffic. From the standpoint of the Chicago City Plan no peculiar problems are apparent either in this newly built-up region or in the old arrangement of Pullman. The general district is following the usual course of an outlying portion of the city. Real estate operators are developing it by subdivisions. This means more or less haphazard growth, with attention focused on the profits to be gotten out of given plots rather than upon the development of the whole area in accordance with modern scientific town planning.

Interest in city planning seems to be absorbed in industrial, and particularly harbor, development rather than in residential growth. The utilization of Lake Calumet for harbor purposes was part of the original Pullman scheme. But in these later days the enterprise interests not only the industries of the Pullman vicinity but the whole of Chicago. With a direct channel leading from the Calumet river to Lake Calumet,



WHERE PRIVATE INITIATIVE SHOWS

A contrast often afforded today by adjoining houses. The yard of one made attractive with flowers, vines and trees and the other showing only hard, trampled soil.



IN PALMER PARK

This swimming pool exemplifies modern community provision for recreation.

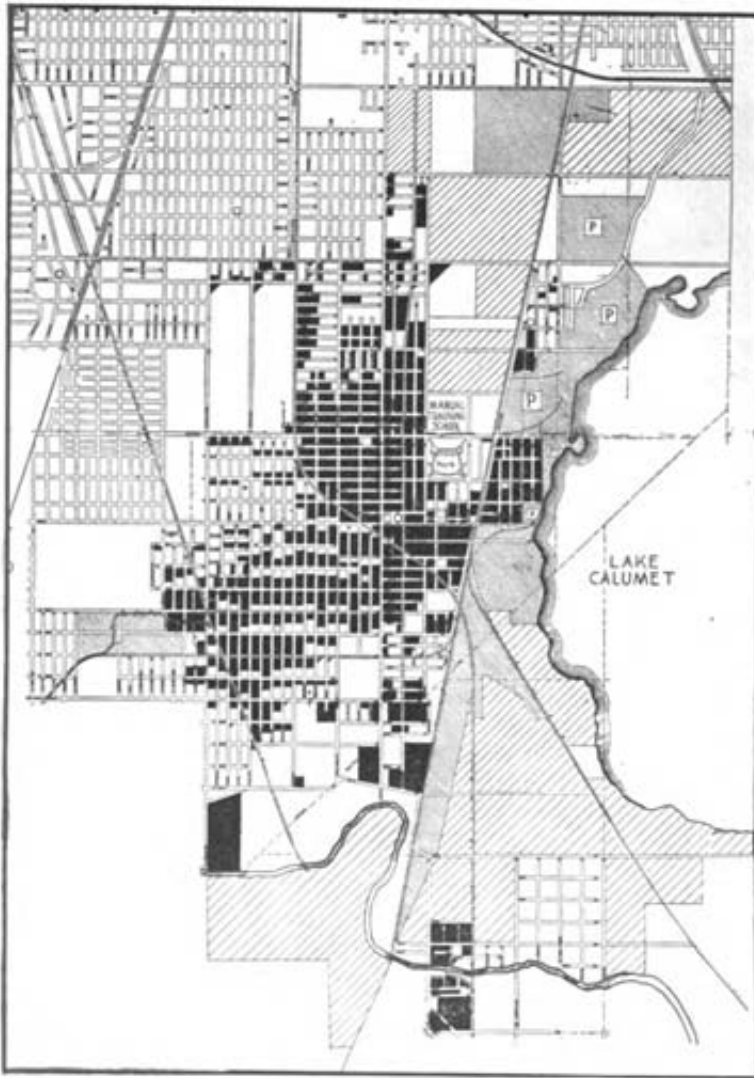
the dredging of the latter, and the construction in it of huge docks, the metropolitan harbor facilities would be greatly increased in a way to relieve congestion nearer the city center. A map indicating one of the tentative schemes is shown on another page. This scheme includes not only the harbor development, but a much needed diagonal avenue from Pullman and vicinity to South Chicago, another boulevard connecting with the Chicago boulevard system, and a park to be made possible by a filling in of the northern part of Lake Calumet. The location of the latter feature is criticized because of proximity to docks which would shut it off from the Lake Calumet water front. A park along the wooded banks of the Calumet river to the south is also proposed. Both lake and river shores are suggested park areas in the Chicago City Plan.

The civic spirit of the people shows strongly the influence of their experiences with industrial authority. Even in 1885 Professor Ely found difficulty in getting real opinions on living and working conditions from the dwellers in the town who feared "spotters" and dire consequences if they criticized the company. "To beat the company" was already considered praiseworthy. But the bitterness generated by the strike is of course the central fact which illumines prior and subsequent feeling.

While the company declares that the men were free to live where they chose, it is scarcely disputed that it felt compelled to give preference in work opportunities to company tenants. In ante-

bellum days the sturdy Dutchmen who had founded the neighboring village of Roseland made it one of the important stations of the "underground railroad" from the Ohio river to Canada. Lively stories are told of how Constable Kuyper played the genial host to the man-hunters who were searching for runaway slaves stowed in his own chimney. A similar spirit of independence was shown by not a few Pullman employes who chose to live in the freer air of Roseland rather than be sure of a job under the wings of paternalism. And when the Pullman company finally relinquished its ownership of Pullman the trend to Roseland continued.

In little ways the old suspicion and smoldering bitterness continues to crop out. It is related that soon after Professor Weld became the head of the projected manual training school he fell into conversation with a Pullman workman who did not know with whom he was talking. The professor sought to test out the enthusiasm of the workers for the new technical opportunities which would soon be available. But he is said to have been discomfited by a reply to the effect that "we have sweated our years away in those shops and if possible we'll keep our boys from slaving their lives out in them too." Whatever there may have been in the incident is not so important in itself as in its expression of some measure of sentiment, however unrepresentative of the whole. The prevalence of a similar feeling among the boys themselves with reference to working in the shops is vouched



A VALUABLE LAND HOLDING

Growth of population and civic development are daily enhancing the value of the 2,900 acres of vacant land still held by the Pullman Land Association as part of the original tract of 4,000, regardless of any effort the Pullman Land Association may put forth. This is probably the largest single holding of vacant land in Chicago.

As pointed out in the first article of this series, the booklet distributed at the Pullman Company's exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 contains the statement that "the day is not only coming, but is near at hand, when the thirty-million dollar present capital stock of the Pullman Company will be covered by the value of the 3,500 acres of land on which is built the town of Pullman."

The price paid in 1880 is said to have averaged about \$200 an acre. A real estate man estimates it to be worth now at least \$1,500 an acre.

The association is selling portions from time to time for development as residential subdivisions.

HOW THE REGION AROUND PULLMAN IS BUILDING UP

Map showing the location of schools, the territory used for manufacturing, railroad yards and other industrial purposes, and the approximately 2,900 acres of vacant land still held by the Pullman Land Association—the remainder of the original tract of 4,000 acres bought in 1880. The town of Pullman lies between Lake Calumet and the nearest railroad west. The recreation center—Palmer Park—and the forty acre site for the Pullman Free Manual Training School are also shown.

Solid Black ■ Indicates territory built up.



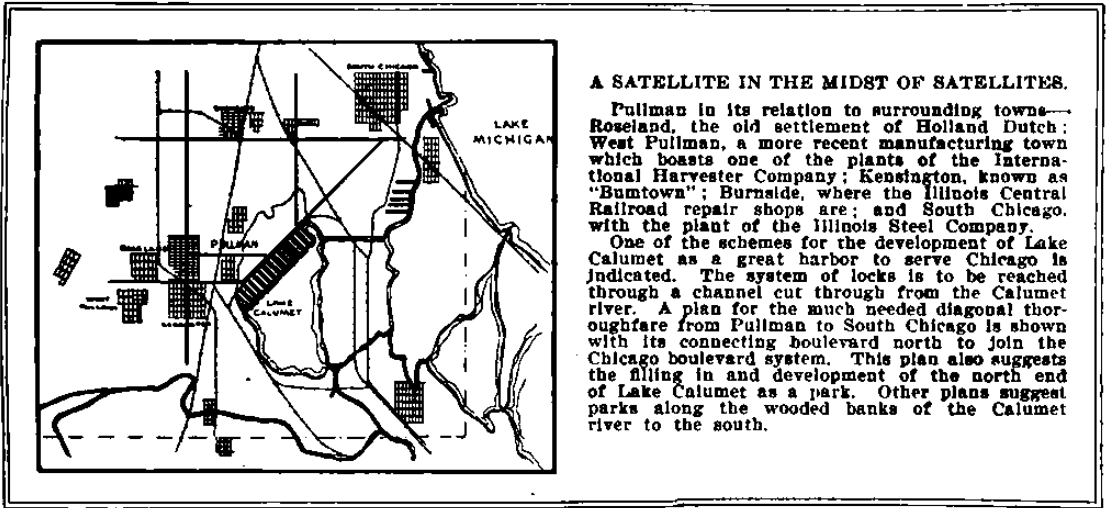
indicates territory used for manufacturing, railroad yards, and other industrial purposes. That marked with a large P is occupied by the Pullman car shops.



indicates the vacant land still owned by the Pullman Land Association.



indicates schools.



A SATELLITE IN THE MIDST OF SATELLITES.

Pullman in its relation to surrounding towns—Roseland, the old settlement of Holland Dutch; West Pullman, a more recent manufacturing town which boasts one of the plants of the International Harvester Company; Kensington, known as "Bumtown"; Burnside, where the Illinois Central Railroad repair shops are; and South Chicago, with the plant of the Illinois Steel Company.

One of the schemes for the development of Lake Calumet as a great harbor to serve Chicago is indicated. The system of locks is to be reached through a channel cut through from the Calumet river. A plan for the much needed diagonal thoroughfare from Pullman to South Chicago is shown with its connecting boulevard north to join the Chicago boulevard system. This plan also suggests the filling in and development of the north end of Lake Calumet as a park. Other plans suggest parks along the wooded banks of the Calumet river to the south.

for by a man whose position brings him into intimate contact with them. And the temper of the community is indicated in some degree by the fact that a fair minded and influential citizen was quite willing to believe the report—which may have been utterly false—that after a well paid old German had become expert in giving steel car fittings a "graining" to resemble mahogany the company put some young fellows alongside to learn the secret of his skill and then discharged him.

But the politics of the community afford perhaps the most significant side lights on civic spirit and the feeling toward the Pullman company. One of the struggles of the early days is related by the late William T. Stead in his book *If Christ Came to Chicago*. John P. Hopkins, as a young man, held a good position with the company but showed both his independence and usefulness to such an extent that although he was discharged for insubordination the company later re-employed him. Then, although Mr. Pullman was a pronounced Republican, Hopkins proceeded to carry the town for the Democratic ticket, his popularity among the voters being due, it is said, to admiration for his standing unabashed and victorious before the company. This was too much and he was discharged without ceremony. By the turn of political fortune he was Chicago's mayor at the time of the Pullman strike.

The extent to which the company has sought to dominate the politics of the community is a matter on which opinions vary, though probably any efforts of this sort were much more in evidence formerly than now.

At the time of Professor Ely's study, the village of Hyde Park—of which Pullman was then a part—had as town clerk and as treasurer officers of the Pullman company. With one exception every member of the local board of education was an officer of the Pullman company or its allied concerns. But no resident of Pullman, who was not an officer of the company, had any public office.

Today, one of the aldermen from the ward of which Pullman is a part, declares that an officer of the Pullman bank has frankly told him that he thought the company ought to have representation and influence in local politics especially with reference to police administration. But as a matter of fact the suspicion that any aldermanic candidate is "in" with the company is enough to make his defeat certain. This has actually happened twice—upon one occasion a



"BUMTOWN"

This was the name given to Kensington, across the tracks from Pullman, which provided the saloons and toughness not allowed in the town. It still lives up to its tradition, and the block shown in the picture has twenty-five saloons today.

former Pullman shop manager going down to disaster. A study of the election returns from the various precincts during a period of years shows a greater anti-company strength among men of independent mind who moved over to Roseland than among the more docile dwellers in Pullman.

The ward is known as a "banner ward" among the Socialists who normally poll from 12 to 18 per cent of the vote. Neither Socialists or their opponents say that this strength of their party is due directly to the strike of 1894, or to personal loyalty to the leader of the sympathetic strike, Eugene V. Debs. But there can be no doubt that the events of that tragic summer did much to give many men the frame of mind which made them easy converts to the Socialist Party, and the Socialist handbills pasted on the inside walls of the car shops indicate Socialist strength and zeal among the Pullman employees.

It seems reasonably clear, however, contrary to the conclusion to which the average man would naturally jump, that the election in this ward of the only Socialist alderman who ever sat in the Chicago City Council had little relation to any feeling generated by the strike a few years before. The Democratic candidate was manifestly unfit and the Municipal Voters' League endorsed the Republican. But a few days before the election the league learned of his suspicious past and issued a special bulletin advocating the election of the Socialist. Although the ward is normally Republican, its voters showed remarkable independence by electing the Socialist, who was a workman in the Pullman shops. He turned out to be a hopelessly incompetent, though entirely honest and sincere, alderman. It is interesting to speculate, however, what might have happened in Chicago's later politics if he had been a man of the vigorous ability of Victor L. Berger.

The independent voting thus shown is characteristic of the ward, and later when two Republican aldermen seemed to become less efficient and devoted in their public service, it promptly elected two Democrats who are now rendering efficient service, according to the estimate of the Municipal Voters' League. Both of the repudiated aldermen had voted for doubtful franchises. Even one of the better of these granted twenty-year rights to a street car company whose rights had still nine years to run. Under the terms of the new franchise there is a continuance of the old ten cent fare for the ride from Pullman into Chicago's downtown section. During these same tenures of office, moreover, a so-called "bargain" was made whereby the Pullman company agreed that if the city of Chicago would collect the garbage and refuse from Pullman it might dump

the same in Lake Calumet along the company's riparian rights. Thus considerable land was "made"—illegally, according to an Illinois legislative commission.

A better alderman who followed fought not only against this so-called "grab," but against the filling in of more land in Lake Calumet by manufacturing concerns just south of the Pullman shops. He furthermore stopped these concerns from building a fence across a street which had been open to the public for thirty-eight years. So it has come about that thirty years from the founding of this feudal industrial town a citizenship has developed which can scarcely be matched elsewhere in Chicago for vigorous independence in standing out against encroachment upon community rights by industrial interests.

The development of Pullman shows the constructive foresight of a pioneer mind. Mr. Pullman early recognized the advantages of the removal of industry to the suburbs and saw the strategic possibilities of a Calumet harbor. He secured much land while yet it was cheap, and realized the economics of wholesale town and house building. And he provided recreation and tenements far in advance of the times, setting standards which Chicago failed to follow until years later.

But, as we have seen, the break-up of the model scheme came through failure to reckon with the human element. The collective land values and other advantages of collective ownership were originally sought for the benefit of the company and not for the community. The company ownership of housing was not flexible. Nor would individual home ownership probably have been under the stress of industrial changes which have so affected the make up of the working force. There was no effort to devise a newer or more flexible plan. We have seen this neglect of the human side illustrated again in the failure to provide a hospital and adequate protection against industrial diseases.

Throughout the twenty years following the early clash between paternalist and striker, Pullman has had a new equilibrium. Inside the plant, the company has been in control. Like monopoly prices, kept down by potential competition, its power over the work day is limited only by the potential bargaining ability of the workers and not by their actual collective voice. But this autocracy which remains in control of the newer field of industry could not extend to the community life where citizenship is reinforced by the long traditions of Anglo-Saxon democracy. The experience at Pullman has shown that while the men have not been able to dictate to the company as to work, the company has not been able to dictate to the men as to life.

One thus returns with mingled impressions

from a voyage to rediscover Pullman. The melancholy reminders of a past, which had much that was worthy but which was swept away with the inrush of a newer spirit, cannot fail to appeal to the emotions. But the big feeling is one of faith in the movement of American democracy, which found at Pullman a turning point significant in ways we may yet only dimly appreciate. William T. Stead lamented over the fact that Marshall Field, Philip D. Armour and George M. Pullman—Chicago's big business triumvirate of that day, "each supremely successful in his own respective lines, each superbly generous and liberal in the matter of private benefaction"—failed

to utilize their remarkable talents in promoting the efficiency and service of Chicago as a municipality. But today, as one sees at Pullman the people providing for their own needs—splendidly as in the case of the schools and recreation center, imperfectly as in such administrative matters as street maintenance, gropingly as in the one-sided efforts toward city planning—and sees the instinctive righteousness and good judgment of the "plain folks" as revealed in political action, one finds a firmer assurance that not alone through the genius of great men but rather of America's common life the way lies toward the better civilization.



PULLMAN PRIOR TO THE STRIKE OF 1894.



A MODERN LEAR

JANE ADDAMS



[This was written in 1894, just after the Pullman strike and read before the Chicago Woman's Club and the Twentieth Century Club of Boston. It was not published at the time because of its personal nature. By chance it was written in a tense "as if it were already long past." Its present publication, however, has more than grammatical appropriateness; there is a message for today in its powerful analysis of the human equation in industry.—Ed.]

THOSE of us who lived in Chicago during the summer of 1894 were confronted by a drama which epitomized and, at the same time, challenged the code of social ethics under which we live, for a quick series of unusual events had dispelled the good nature which

in happier times envelops the ugliness of the industrial situation. It sometimes seems as if the shocking experiences of that summer, the barbaric instinct to kill, roused on both sides, the sharp division into class lines, with the resultant distrust and bitterness, can only be endured if