National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Midwest Archeological Center
Lincoln, Nebraska

Historic Resource Survey

PULLMAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL MONUMENT
Town of Pullman, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Laura Walikainen Rouleau
Dr. Sarah Fayen Scarlett
Dr. Steven A. Walton
and
Dr. Timothy J. Scarlett
Michigan Technological University

31 December 2019

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY OF
PULLMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT, Illinois

Dr. Laura Walikainen Rouleau

Dr. Sarah Fayen Scarlett

Dr. Steven A. Walton

and

Dr. Timothy J. Scarlett

Department of Social Sciences

Michigan Technological University

Houghton, MI 49931

Submitted to:

Dr. Timothy M. Schilling

Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service

100 Centennial Mall North, Room 474

Lincoln, NE 68508

31 December 2019

Historic Resource Study
of
Pullman National Monument, Illinois

by
Laura Walikinen Rouleau
Sarah F. Scarlett
Steven A. Walton
Timothy Scarlett

Industrial Heritage and Archaeology
Department of Social Sciences
Michigan Technological University
Houghton, Michigan

Prepared for
Division of Cultural Resources
Midwest Regional Office
National Park Service
United States Department of the Interior
Omaha, Nebraska

December 31, 2019

RECOMMENDED:

Superintendent (Acting), Pullman National Monument. — Dec. 10, 2019 — Date

CONCURRED:

Associate Regional Director
Cultural Resource Stewardship
Midwest Region — Dec 12, 2019 — Date

APPROVED:

Regional Director, Midwest Region — 17 Dec 2019 — Date

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

This report is a Historic Resource Study (HRS) for Pullman National Monument. It is the third and final report in a series of studies for Pullman NM, including a White Paper[1] and an Archaeological Overview and Assessment.[2] Michigan Technological University and the National Park Service initiated this work in November 2016 as part of the project entitled "Cooperative Agreement for Work with Pullman National Monument" (Michigan Technological University Proposal #1609078, Task Agreement #P17AC00005). The overall agreement was established within the Cooperative and Joint Venture Agreement of the Great Lakes-Northern Forest Cooperative Ecosystems Studies Unit (NPS #P12AC31164, MTU Master Cooperative Agreement #P12AC31164).

This Historic Resource Study is a Baseline Research Report for Pullman National Monument. This HRS summarizes the historical writings about Pullman, provides context for the significant themes identified in its founding document, collates collections of primary documents and historical resources that are important sources of information on those themes, and recommends questions that will require additional study. These cultural resources include primary historical materials in archives and oral history collections, as well as architectural, archaeological, museum collections, or landscape resources. While this report includes new historical narrative based in original archival research, other sections present synthetic reviews of existing publications. National Park Service staff will use this document and included resources as they make management decisions and design interpretive programming. In addition to this report and its appendices—which are only published digitally—the research team deposited its entire library with the monument staff, including nearly 2,000 references and thousands of pages of digitally-imaged archival documents.

Among the various Baseline Research Reports, National Park Service staff can vary the definition and scope of an HRS in order to meet management needs within a particular park. The HRS should also identify needs for additional special history studies, cultural landscape reports, or other detailed studies needed in order to address themes, resource types, or additional subject matter. Finally, HRS documents may also make recommendations for resource management and interpretation.[3]

---

[1] Timothy James Scarlett, "White Paper: Designing Best Practice for Industrial Archaeology and Industrial Heritage at Pullman National Monument," (Houghton, MI: Industrial Heritage and Archaeology, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2017).

[2] Timothy J. Scarlett and Steven A. Walton, "Archaeological Overview & Assessment: Pullman National Historical Monument, Town of Pullman, Chicago, Illinois," (Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2017).

[3] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Nps-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline," (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1998), 25-26.

Pullman NM needed a synthesis of academic writing about Pullman and a catalog of related cultural and historical resources related to the monument's purpose statement, which includes three charges:[4]

1. To preserve the historic resources of Pullman.
2. To interpret the industrial history and labor struggles and achievements associated with the Pullman Company, including the rise of and the role of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
3. To interpret the history of urban planning and design.

This report begins with a chronological introduction to the major significant events related to Pullman, including the interconnected stories of George M. Pullman, the Pullman Palace Car Company, and the community and town of Pullman in Chicago, Illinois. The second chapter places Pullman into a national context, situating George M. Pullman (and his family) and the Pullman company into contexts of Chicago as a geographic and transportation hub and one of America's premier industrial urban centers, as well as defining the key role that Chicago had played in the evolution of labor relations in the United States. The third chapter details the Pullman Palace Car company's production, operation systems, and technological innovations over time, concluding with a review of competing firms offering luxury transportation in the United States. The fourth examines the town of Pullman, Illinois, as a planned community and paternalistic company town. This review situates Pullman within this history of model towns and the history of urban planning, including discussions of precedent and antecedent examples. Chapters five and six provide detailed discussion of the town's and factory's design and construction, including many of the key designers and managers, and then reviewing the existing conditions of architecture in the community. Chapter seven then examines the trend of mobility within Pullman, examining historical patterns of race, gender, and class as they were lived in the Pullman community. The report concludes with recommendations for additional studies and the development of future research tools.

[4] "Foundation Document: Pullman National Monument (Draft)," ed. U.S. Department of the Interior (Chicago: Department of the Interior, 2016).

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLDGEMENTS

We must offer our grateful thanks to many people who have helped this research effort during the past four years. It is not possible to strictly separate and isolate assistance that people offered during the Archaeological O&A and this Historic Resource Study, so we will include a combined acknowledgement here, as this report both culminates and concludes the research effort. In expressing our gratitude here, we naturally accept all responsibility for errors or omissions in our final work.

With the National Park Service, we wish to thank Timothy Schilling, our lead contact at the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center office. Pullman National Monument's Kathleen Schneider, Superintendent, and Sue Bennett, Chief of Visitor Services and Community Outreach. Both Kathy and Sue supported our efforts and we look forward to future collaborations with Pullman NM staff. We wish Superintendent Schneider the best during her retirement. Many individuals in NPS provided administrative and research support: Dawn Bringelson, Archaeologist and Agreements Technical Representative; Bob Bryson, Associate Regional Director of Cultural Resources and former Center Manager, MWAC; Tim Townsend, Historian, Lincoln Home National Historic Site; and Elizabeth Dean, Administrative Support Assistant, MWAC. Paul Labovitz, Superintendent of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, served as acting superintendent while we got the project started.

As a community volunteer, Nathanial Parks acted as a *pro tem* archivist of the Tenneco Papers in the care of the State of Illinois Department of the Interior and dedicated eight intensive hours on a Saturday to help us unstack and restack more than 178 boxes of documents. This allowed us to assess the materials identified in the preliminary inventory and bring just a bit of that amazing collection into this report. While many of the records from the manufacturing division remain to be discovered, this collection is truly a gold mine of information about the Pullman factory operations, filing the historical holes in source material at the Newberry Library and other archives. We are grateful for Mr. Parks' assistance. Once the collection is eventually fully catalogued, these papers will be invaluable to the future history of the Pullman factory complex. We hope the organizations will eventually realize their vision to create an industrial heritage archive for the Lake Calumet region.

We thank the Pullman Museum and the Pullman State Historic Site and Industrial Heritage Archives. David Schultz provided access to buildings and enabled access to the Tenneco Paper Collections. Mr. Schultz was the Site Supervisor for both the Pullman and Douglas Tomb State Historic Sites, Illinois Department of Natural Resources. Martin Tuohoy is the current site supervisor and we look forward future interactions. The professional staff in the Illinois State Historic Preservation Office provided comments at various points during this process. We are grateful for their assistance, including: Rachel Leibowitz, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer and Division Manager of Historic Preservation; Joe Phillippe, Staff Archaeologist; and Ryan Prehn, Illinois Department of Environmental Quality; During the project, these professionals struggled with the State of Illinois budgetary issues and the reorganization/relocation of their agency to the Illinois Department of Natural Resources. A number of people helped us access the Illinois Inventory of Archaeological Sites (at IDNR) and the related Illinois State Archaeological Survey records (at the University of Illinois Urbana Champlain and the Illinois State Museum): Michael Farkas, GIS and Database Coordinator, Illinois State Archaeological Survey; Jason Kuhlman of the Department of Natural Resources, Office of Mines and Minerals; Erich Schroeder, Associate Curator of the Technology Learning Center, and Michael Wiant, interim Director, both of the

Illinois State Museum. We appreciate everyone's efforts to keep the project on track during difficult times in the state.

During the preparation of this document, we were pleased to have the interest and support of many Pullman community organizations. The research team hopes that this HRS, developed independently of those organizations, will show the clear and compelling importance of the wonderful potential for close collaborations between the National Park Service and these groups. We must offer particular thanks to some of these individuals, including Mike Shymanski of the Historic Pullman Foundation; Dr. Lyn Hughes and David Petersen of the National A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum; and Paul Petraitis, historian and Pullman resident, "co-curator" of the Pullman History Facebook Group (with Andrew Bullen). We are also grateful to the Historic Pullman Foundation and the Pullman Community Organization.

The professional staff at several archives and libraries were helpful in our work, including Glenn Humphreys, Special Collections Librarian, Librarian Roslyn Mabry, and other staff of the Chicago Public Library. Staff at the Chicago Historical Society Archive Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and Harvard University's Baker Library all provided assistance. We thank Rene. Blackburn and Tyler Allen for their research assistance. Dr. Blackburn reviewed the Pullman materials in the R.G. Dun & Co. / Dun & Bradstreet Collections in the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School. Mr. Allen visited the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress on our behalf.

Several archivists and librarians deserve special mention for their invaluable help. The Sanborn and Rascher images that we georeferenced into our HGIS were provided courtesy of the Map and Geography Library, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champlain. Several individuals were tremendous help in this effort, including Jenny Marie Johnson, Associate Professor of Library Administration and Map and Geography Librarian; Krista L. Gray, Archival Operations Reference Specialist, Illinois History and Lincoln Collections; and Rimkus Kyle, Assistant Professor and Preservation Librarian.

Several staff from the Newberry Library were of tremendous help with their collections of archival material. Martha Briggs, Lloyd Lewis Curator of Modern Manuscripts was our initial contact and tremendous help throughout our effort. We also wish to thank Alison Hinderliter, Archives and Manuscripts Librarian in the Modern Manuscripts section; John Powell, Digital Imaging Services Manager; Patrick Morris, Map Catalog Librarian; and JoEllen McKillop Dickie, Reference Librarian. At the Art Institute of Chicago, we were assisted by several people who helped us access documents, images, and maps. Nathaniel Parks, Tigerman McCurry Art and Architecture Archivist of the Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, advised us on the research. We were also assisted by Autumn L. Mather, Head of Reader Services; Joe Tallarico, Digital Imaging Photographer; and Stephanie Fletcher, EResources/ Reference Librarian. Lori H. Boyer, Exhibitions and Collections Manager at the Art Institute of Chicago, provided assistance tracking down loose ends in the collections of the AIC.

Here at Michigan Tech, a number of colleagues, students, and staff have contributed to this research effort during the past four years. A group of graduate and undergraduate students made essential contributions as research assistants, including Catherine Carra, Cooper Sheldon, Jennifer Rachels, Kyle Parker-Mcglynn. Timothy Scarlett's Industrial Heritage and Industrial Archaeology seminars examined and discussed the challenges of these projects, and participants thus contributed to the recommendations in this report. While many are mentioned elsewhere here, we'd like to recognize

Maria Gimenez Prades, Brendan Doucet, Oscar Rodrigeuz Cavielles, Marie Richards, James-Benton Radson, Tyler Allen, and also Adewale Adesanya. We owe a debt of gratitude to Don Lafreniere at the Geospatial Research Core Facility and his graduate class in GIS for building the Pullman Geospatial Infrastructure, which has served as the backbone of our mapping for the site. Gerard Spikberg worked as a lab assistant, building much of the HGIS infrastructure. From that HGIS, both Daniel Schneider and Kyle Parker-Mcglynn produced excellent illustrations and maps for the reports. We also thank Cooper Sheldon for his work as a research assistant and our EndNote archivist, as well as a service year in the Americorps VISTA in Pullman, building capacity in the Calumet Heritage Partnership. Michael Bleddynn and Alice Margerum, both accompanied us to the archives to explore unknown knowns. Several of our colleagues provided advice on matters of research, sources, and narrative, and we offer particular thanks to Samuel Sweitz and LouAnn Wurst.

At Michigan Technological University's J. Robert Van Pelt and John and Ruanne Opie Library, we thank Erin Mattas, Research Support Librarian, and both Stephanie Reed and Kari Bellin-Sloat, Assistant Librarians on the Resource Sharing Team. They helped us with database access and interlibrary loans that were essential the historical background work that contextualizes the archival study with primary documents.

Our university's Sponsored Programs staff have been essential in facilitating our NPS collaborations and handling the accounting processes. We are indebted to Kim Codere, Manager of Grants and Contracts. In addition, we thank the efforts of Tracy LaPlante, Grants Accounting; Mary Yeo, Manager of Auxiliary Accounting and Banking Operations; Bobbie Dalquist, Manager of Financial Information Systems, and Leslie Turnquist, Billing Coordinator.

A number of railroad museums and collections were important in this study. We are particularly indebted to the volunteer staff of the Illinois State Railway Museum's Pullman Library in Union, Illinois. They spent time with us during which we explored their collection. They are volunteers doing a wonderful job caring for the tremendous collection of Pullman drawings, photographs, and documents transferred from Bombardier. The cataloged and uncatalogued documents at IRM's Pullman Library have great research potential. We thank Ted Anderson, Steve Hile, Nick Kallas, Bob Webber, and others in their organization for both their time and their overall preservation efforts.

We also with to thank Daniel Liedtke, Curator of Collections at the National Railroad Museum in Green Bay. Conley opened the museum's private research library to us. Justin Lambrecht, Education Assistant, continued to facilitate our work. Staff and volunteers from many railroad museums answered our survey and provided other kinds of research reports and we wish to offer particular thanks to the The California State Railway Museum.

Prof. John 'Jack' Brown from the University of Virginia kindly fielded questions and suggested a number of avenues of study that were significant to the HRS research. Rebecca Graff, Lake Forest College, discussed the World's Columbian Exhibition and Chicago archaeology more broadly. Finally, during an otherwise stressful and difficult work time, Dr. Andrew Mueller, Cultural Resource Specialist at HDR/EOC, made the time to sort the site records in the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) to help find the locations of mines and mills that related to George M. Pullman's interests in Colorado.

Abbreviations used in this and previous reports from the Pullman Heritage Project:

- AFL American Federation of Labor (sometimes A.F. of L.)
- BSCP Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids
- CA&StL Chicago, Alton, & St. Louis railroad
- CARE Colored Association of Railroad Employees
- CB&Q Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad
- CIO Congress of Industrial Organizations
- DC&MW Detroit Car & Manufacturing Works
- IC Illinois Central railroad
- MC Michigan Central railroad
- NHL National Historic Landmark
- NPS National Park Service
- NRHP National Register of Historic Places
- NYC New York Central railroad
- PNM Pullman National Monument
- PORT Protective Order of Railroad Trainmen
- PPBA Pullman Porter Benefit Association
- PPCC Pullman Palace Car Company (Previous documents used PPCCo)
- PPMPA Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association
- PRR Pennsylvania Railroad
- RRCo. Robinson, Russell, and Company

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY I

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLDGEMENTS III

Abbreviations used in this and previous reports from the Pullman Heritage Project: vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS VII

LIST OF FIGURES XII

LIST OF TABLES XVI

CHAPTER 1 **INTRODUCTION TO THE PULLMAN STORY AND THE HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY** 1

1.A George M. Pullman, the Pullman Palace Car Company, and Luxurious Travel 2

1.B Pullman Workers and the town 3

1.C The Pullman Strike and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters 6

1.D Post-War Pullman: Transitions and Preservation 12

CHAPTER 2 **PULLMAN IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT** 15

2.A Chicago's Geographic and Transportation Significance 15

2.B Chicago's Population Growth 19

2.C The Story of the Pullman Family 21

2.C.1 George M. Pullman and his Family 21

2.C.2 Pullman's Role in the Urbanization and Industrialization of Nineteenth-Century Chicago 36

2.D Creation of the Town of Pullman as a Reaction to Urbanization and Industrialization 46

2.E Pullman and Chicago's Place in American Labor History 50

CHAPTER 3 **HISTORIC OVERVIEW & DEVELOPMENT: PRODUCTION AND OPERATIONS SYSTEMS** 63

3.A Periods for Pullman Palace Car Company and Successors 66

3.A.1 Origins and Buildout (1859-1885) 68
3.A.2 Pullman at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 75
3.A.3 The Pullman Strike of 1894 81
3.A.4 Peak Travel 88
3.A.5 Multiple Declines 91
3.A.6 The End of Pullman the Company 95
3.B Railroad Passenger Car Technology 95
3.B.1 Wooden Bodies 97
3.B.2 Interlude: The Vestibule Wars 100
3.B.3 Heavyweights: Steel Frames 103
3.B.4 Interlude: Air Conditioning 106
3.B.5 Lightweights: Metal Skins and Stainless Steel 108
3.C Comparative Car Building Companies 110
3.C.1 Wagner Palace Car Co. (WPC Co.) 111
3.C.2 Mann Boudoir Car Company & Union Palace Car Company 111
3.C.3 Budd 112
3.C.4 American Car & Foundry 113
CHAPTER 4 **PLANNED COMMUNITIES AND PULLMAN 114**
4.A A General History of Planned Communities 114
4.B European Comparative Examples before Pullman 115
4.B.1 Precedent and Philosophy in English Textile Towns 115
4.B.2 English Model Town Planning 117
4.B.3 French Model Town Planning 120
4.C Comparative Examples in the United States before Pullman 123
4.C.1 Democracy and Manufacturing 123
4.C.2 Industrial Model Towns 124
4.C.3 Paternalism 126

4.C.4 Industrial Suburbs 127

4.C.5 Planned Philosophical and Religious Utopias 128

4.D Pullman's Vision of a Model Town 130

4.D.1 Pullman's Inspirations 130

4.D.2 Roots in the Housing Reform Movement 133

4.D.3 New Approach to Design and Town Planning 136

4.D.4 Housing and Social Hierarchy 137

4.E The Town of Pullman 138

4.E.1 Pullman Community Buildings 138

4.E.2 Pullman Houses 165

4.E.3 Construction and Moving In 177

4.E.4 Additional Housing 182

4.E.5 Renting and Living in Pullman 185

4.E.6 Transition to Private Property 186

4.F Interpreting Pullman's Model Town 188

4.F.1 Reception 188

4.F.2 Vernacular Architecture and the Interpretation of Space over Time 190

4.F.3 Aesthetics and Everyday Experience 193

4.G Later American Comparative Examples 195

4.G.1 Inspired by Pullman 196

4.G.2 Reacting to Pullman 198

CHAPTER 5 **TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS AT PULLMAN 202**

5.A Summaries of Innovations and Developments 203

5.A.1 Town and Factory Infrastructure 203

5.B Biographical Analyses of Lead Architects, Engineers, and Artisans 205

5.B.1 Solon Spencer Beman (1853–1914) 206

5.B.2 Irving Kane Pond (1857-1939) 214

5. B.3 Maximillian Hjortsberg (1825-1880) 216

5.B.4 Thomas Ashley Bissell (1835-1902) 220

5.B.5 Nathan Franklin Barrett (1845–1919) 222

5.B.6 Benezette Williams (1844-1914) 226

5.B.7 Duane Doty (1834/35–1902) 229

5.C Sociotechnical Systems of the Pullman Experience 231

Chapter 6 **EXISTING CONDITIONS 241**

***6.A Alley Architecture* 242**

***6.B Post-Company Domestic Architecture North of 106th Street* 244**

Chapter 7 **MOBILITY IN PULLMAN 254**

***7.A Interpreting Social Patterns of Race, Gender, and Class in Pullman, IL* 254**

7.A.1 1880s–1890s 255

7.A.2 1907–1919 259

7.A.3 1920–50s 261

7.A.4 1960s–2000 265

7.A.5 Pullman and the American Dream 269

Chapter 8 **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK 272**

8.A Industrial Heritage Networks and Routes 273

8.B Special Theme Study(ies) on Labor, Race, Civil Rights, and Pullman 276

8.C Citizen History, Deep Mapping, and Big Data for Industrial Heritage Interpretation. 279

8.E Porters and African American History. 283

8.E.1 Pullman porters, “race music,” and music heritage sites 283

8.E.2 Pullman porters and railroad accidents 285

8.F Gastronomy, African American Foodways, and Dining Car Cuisine 286

8.G Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Pullman and Lake Calumet Region. 288

8.H Pullman and luxury around the world: the global context **295**

8.I Conclusions **296**

Works Cited **298**

Appendixes (Volume 2)

Appendix A A-1

Appendix B A-19

Appendix C A-42

Appendix D A-48

Appendix E A-55

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 2.1. JOSHUA HATHAWAY, JR., CHICAGO WITH THE SCHOOL SECTION, WABANSIA, AND KINZIE'S ADDITION. 16

FIGURE 2.2, "UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN RAILWAYS, APRIL 1, 1861, PART II: CANADA AND THE MIDWESTERN STATES,". 17

FIGURE 2.3. MACHINE FOR REMOVING BUILDINGS, U.S. PATENT NO. 2225, ISSUED AUGUST 21, 1841 TO LEWIS PULLMAN. 22

FIGURE 2.4. LEWIS PULLMAN FAMILY, CA. 1850. 23

FIGURE 2.5. PATENT IMAGE OF PULLMAN'S SLEEPING CAR, PATENTED SEPTEMBER 19, 1865. 25

FIGURE 2.6. GEORGE M. PULLMAN, FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE FROM 1857.. 26

FIGURE 2.7.GEORGE M. PULLMAN JOURNAL ENTRY, OCTOBER 1860. 29

FIGURE 2.9. GEORGE PULLMAN IN AN IMAGE HE MAY HAVE SENT HIS MOTHER. 31

FIGURE 2.10. "EAGLE GOLD COMPANY," 31

FIGURE 2.11. THE PULLMAN HOUSE AS A SERVICE STATION IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY. 32

FIGURE 2.12. MRS. PULLMAN WITH TWIN BOYS," CA. 1875. 33

FIGURE 2.13. PULLMAN FAMILY, N.D. (LIKELY AT CASTLE REST).. 33

FIGURE 2.14. "BALL GOWN" 34

FIGURE 2.15. MEMORANDUM OF PAYMENTS TO ISHAM, LINCOLN & BEALE 35

FIGURE 2.16. VIEW OF AN ENTIRE BLOCK OF BRICK & STONE BUILDINGS IN CHICAGO, BY EDWARD MENDEL 1857 36

FIGURE 2.17. "MARINE BANK BUILDING" LOUIS KURZ FOR JEVNE & ALMINI, 1866-67 37

FIGURE 2.18. "TREMONT HOUSE" LOUIS KURZ FOR JEVNE & ALMINI, LITHOGRAPH, 1866-67 38

FIGURE 2.19. SAMPLE PAGE OF PULLMAN PALACE CAR INVENTORY, 1867. 40

FIGURE 2.20. "NATIVITY OF WAGE-EARNERS, SEPT. 15, 1892," 45

FIGURE 2.21. "DIAGRAM OF KALAMICK LAKE" 46

FIGURE 2.21. "PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY ANNUAL MEETING, THURSDAY, OCT. 15, 1885," 48

FIGURE 2.22. "A SECTION OF THE DINING ROOM, HOTEL FLORENCE" 49

FIGURE 2.23. PULLMAN AS PLATTED AND PARTIALLY BUILT. FROM ATLAS OF HYDE PARK, 1882. 52

FIGURE 2.24. "FRONT ERECTING SHOPS" 53

FIGURE 2.26. "ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD ON SOUTH LAWN OF HOTEL FLORENCE, PULLMAN, 1894" 54

FIGURE 2.25. "PULLMAN BAND LEADS A PARADE UP THE HILL ON 111TH STREET," 1892 55

FIGURE 2.27. ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD IN FRONT OF ARCADE BUILDING IN PULLMAN DURING RAILROAD STRIKE, 1894 55
FIGURE 2.28. PULLMAN POPULATION, 1930-2000 57
FIGURE 2.29. DAVID G. SCOTT, "HERE IS THE WORLD'S MOST PREFECT SERVANT" 58
FIGURE 2.30. PORTER HANDING YOUNG WOMAN A GLASS OF WATER, 1905. 60
FIGURE 2.31. A PULLMAN AD FROM THE 1930S. 61
FIGURE 3.1. AMERICAN RAILROAD STATISTICS, 1880–1960. 63
FIGURE 3.3. PULLMAN CO. FINANCIALS, 1875–1950. 65
FIGURE 3.4. CARS OWNED BY PULLMAN CO., 1870–1970. 65
FIGURE 3.5. CARS OWNED AND OPERATED BY PULLMAN, 1867–1926. 66
FIGURE 3.6. PULLMAN COMPANY MERGERS 67
FIGURE 3.7. PULLMAN STREETCAR NO. 15 (LOT 579), C.1895. 76
FIGURE 3.8. HOURS WORKED FOR CERTAIN EMPLOYEES AT PULLMAN, 1893–1894 85
FIGURE 3.10. PULLMAN WWII PRODUCTION. 89
FIGURE 3.9. PULLMAN WWII PRODUCTION. TORKEL KORLING PHOTOGRAPHS IN TENNECO COLLECTION. 90
FIGURE 3.11. ADVERTISEMENTS FOR AIRLINE AND TRAIN TRAVEL, 1954 92
FIGURE 3.12. PULLMAN'S ENTRY INTO STREAMLINING, THE TRAIN X, C. 1955. 94
FIGURE 3.13. SCHEMATIC OF THE HUNDREDS OF COMPONENTS ON A TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY WOODEN-BODIED PULLMAN. 98
FIGURE 3.14. PULLMAN'S DETROIT SHOPS IN 1884. 99
FIGURE 3.15. "THE PULLMAN VESTIBULE SLEEPING CAR" 100
FIGURE 3.16. WOOD AND STEEL PASSENGER CARS IN SERVICE, 1910–1950. 104
FIGURE 4.1. NEW LANARK, SCOTLAND, FOUNDED IN 1785 115
FIGURE 4.2. WILLIAM LIZARS, H. WARREN, "SALTAIRE," LONDON, 1869. 119
FIGURE 4.3. "THE LOWELL OFFERING" 125
FIGURE 4.4. SUNSHINE AND SHADOW IN NEW YORK CITY. 1868 134
FIGURE 4.5. S.S. BEMAN, ARCH., BARRETT LANDSCAPE ARCH. 136
FIGURE 4.6. PULLMAN ARCADE. PULLMAN STATE HISTORIC SITE. 140
FIGURE 4.7. INTERIOR OF THE ARCADE SHOWING MASONRY CONSTRUCTION AND STEEL AND GLASS ATRIUM SPAN. 141

Figure 4.8. Interior of the Pullman Library, c.1883 144
Figure 4.9. Interior of the Theater demonstrates what would have been called Moorish style theater ... 145
Figure 4.10. The first Market Hall c. 1883. 147
Figure 4.11. Second Market Hall, built 1893 147
Figure 4.12. Broadhead Meat Market, inside the second Market Hall, 1895–1900 149
Figure 4.13. Greenstone Church (identified as Presbyterian), 1880s. 150
Figure 4.14. Interior of the Greenstone Church after 1907. 151
Figure 4.15. Hotel Florence looking northeast toward the administration building c. 1882. 153
Figure 4.16. Pullman School. The Pullman State Historic Site. 156
Figure 4.17. Edgar Allen Poe School, c.1905 158
Figure 4.18. Second Pullman School, c. 1910 159
Figure 4.19. Stables and Fire House. 161
Figure 4.20. Casino, 1880s. 162
Figure 4.22. Detail of elevations of the front (bottom) and rear (top) of flats in block 16. 166
Figure 4.23. Detail of First Floor plans of 3-room flats in Block 16. 167
Figure 4.24. Detail of Second Floor plans showing a 3-room flat (right) and a 4-room flat (left) in Block 16 167
Figure 4.25. Detail of front elevation of three- and two-story single-family houses drawn for Block R. 170
Figure 4.26. Detail of First Floor plans for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family houses in Block R. 172
Figure 4.27. Detail of Second Floor plans for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family in Block R. 172
Figure 4.28. Detail of Third Floor plans (including Servants Room) and rooftop for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family in Block R. 173
Figure 4.29. Elevations and plans for china closets and pantries in the 3-story or "Corner House" (left) and the two-story (right) 175
Figure 4.30. Note the sheds at the rear of each lot. Detail of First Floor plans and site plan Block R. 176
Figure 4.31. Details of construction drawings for sheds in Block R. 176
Figure 4.32. "Fulton Street, Looking North" 178
Figure 4.33. View from the Arcade Building, c. 1883. 181

FIGURE 4.34. FOUNDRY COTTAGES, FOREMAN'S BLOCK, BLOCK 37. 183
FIGURE 4.35. THE NORTHWEST END OF BLOCK 27 AT 105TH STREET 184
FIGURE 4.36. "FORMANS ROW." [SIC] EARLY 1880S, ... 185
FIGURE 4.37. CHAMPLAIN AVENUE. 186
FIGURE 4.38. "MAP OF THE LANDS OF THE PULLMAN LAND ASSOCIATION AND OF THE PULLMAN COMPANY," 1905 ... 188
FIGURE 4.39. COLONIAL REVIVAL-STYLE DOOR SURROUND ADDED TO 11211–13 CHAMPLAIN AVENUE. 191
FIGURE 4.40. MODERNE-STYLE DOOR SURROUND ADDED TO 11233 CHAMPLAIN AVENUE. 192
FIGURE 4.41. 11260 S. CHAMPLAIN AVE (FORMERLY WATT AVE) 193
FIGURE 4.42. BEMAN DESIGNED IVORYDALE, OHIO FOR PROCTOR & GAMBLE STARTING IN 1883 197
FIGURE 4.43. CONCEPTUAL DRAWING OF WARREN, ARIZONA, ... 200
FIGURE 5.1. PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF BUILDINGS BY SOLON S. BEMAN. 208
FIGURE 5.2. GRAND CENTRAL STATION, HARRISON & WELLS, CHICAGO. OPENED 1890; DEMOLISHED 1971. 210
FIGURE 5.3. IRVING K. POND 214
FIGURE 5.4. INITIAL PLANS FOR FACTORY LAYOUT AT PULLMAN. 218
FIGURE 5.5. IDEALIZED MAP OF PULLMAN. 224
FIGURE 5.6. "PULLMAN SEWERAGE SCREENING TANK AND PRESSURE REGULATING VALVE" 227
FIGURE 5.7. "SEWAGE PUMPING ENGINE FOR THE CITY OF PULLMAN, ILL., USA," 227
FIGURE 5.8. "SEWAGE AND WATER PUMPING STATION AND WATER TOWER; PULLMAN, ILL." 228
FIGURE 6.1. MAP OF PULLMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT SHOWING THE PHASES OF TOWN CONSTRUCTION 239
FIGURE 6.2. DETAILS OF BLOCK 6 FROM 1887 RASCHER MAP (LEFT) AND 1938 SANBORN MAP (RIGHT). 243
FIGURE 6.3. DETAIL OF 1887 RASCHER MAP SHOWS THAT EVEN THE LOWEST STATUS HOUSING INCLUDED FRAME SHEDS 243
FIGURE 6.4. 1911 RASCHER MAP SHOWING BLOCKS 24–37, BETWEEN 103RD STREET AND 105TH STREET. 245
FIGURE 6.5. DETAIL OF 1938 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF BLOCKS 24–37, BETWEEN 103RD STREET AND 105TH STREET. ... 246
FIGURE 6.6. DETAIL OF 1952 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY OF BLOCKS 24–37, BETWEEN 103RD PLACE 247
FIGURE 6.7. DETAIL OF 1959 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY OF BLOCKS 24–37 BETWEEN 103RD STREET AND 105TH STREET.... 248
FIGURE 6.8. WORKERS' COTTAGES BUILT ON 104TH PLACE BEFORE 1911. 249
FIGURE 6.9. CHICAGO BUNGALOWS BUILT ON 104TH PLACE DURING THE 1920S. 250

Figure 6.10. Duplex housing units built during or right after World War II on the south side of 105th Street. 250
Figure 6.11. Post-war housing built after 1952 on the South side of 104th Street. 251
Figure 6.12. Varied commercial buildings filled in the west side of Corliss Ave at 106th Street 252
Figure 7.1. African American waiters in the Hotel Florence 257
Figure 7.2. map of land values in 1928 shows higher values in Pullman, Kensington, and Roseland 263
Figure 7.3. Detail showing "North and South Pullman" and surrounding area in HOLC maps of 1939 265
Figure 7.4. In 2010, southern Pullman stands out in "The Racial Dot Map" 265
Figure 7.5. Chart showing changing racial demographics in the Pullman neighborhood. 268
Figure 8.1: National Park Service sites related to Pullman National Monument. 275
Figure 8.2: Albert Scharf's 1901 map showing his reconstruction of paths and villages 291
Figure 8.3: Detail of Lake Calumet and Pullman area of Albert Scharf's map, 292
Figure 8.4: J. Harlen Bretz's map showing results of the 1930-1932 survey 293

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Earnings of Certain Employees at Pullman, 1893–94. 86
Table 4.1. Comparison of amenities and costs for 3-room and 4-room flats, and 2-story single house 171
Table 5.1. Cost of Operation for Nine Sleeping Cars, Oct. 1885–Sept. 1886. 234

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE PULLMAN STORY AND THE HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

> That is the story of this place—that, together, we can do great things that we cannot accomplish alone…. This place, historic Pullman, teaches us we have to keep standing firm and together.
>
> —President Barack Obama[1]

Pullman's history both intersects and encapsulates many of the most significant stories of the United States of America. Some of those stories are celebratory tales of visionary innovation and creation, sophistication and luxury. Others are sober and painful stories of exclusion and struggle, inequality and violence. The Pullman company touched the lives of millions of people in this country (and around the world) over a century, including those who worked for the company in manufacture and operations; persons who worked to organize, govern, or regulate the company; those that experienced travel and movement about the country via the network the company provided; and those who otherwise participated in the cultural exchanges that surrounded the company's brand. The stories of Pullman are at the center of some topics, such as labor history, urban planning, race relations and civil rights, as well as the histories of mobility and luxury. But the company, town, and people also haunt the background of other stories, such as business and management history; cultural traditions in music, food, and arts; and environmental history. Indeed, Pullman's impact was felt around the world, well beyond those locations in which the company sold train cars or operated service.

When President Barack H. Obama designated Pullman National Monument, he assigned a visionary mission to the National Park Service. Pullman NM shall preserve the historic resources of Pullman, interpret the industrial history and labor struggles and achievements associated with the Pullman Company (including both the Pullman Strike and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters), and interpret the history of urban planning and design.[2] These charges were published in the monument's Foundation Document, which will guide conservation and preservation work and shape interpretive programing as staff find ways to tell these stories in interconnected and integrated ways.

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) is a Baseline Research Report for Pullman NM. This document summarizes the historical writings about Pullman and provides context for the significant themes identified in its founding document, collates collections of primary documents and historical resources that are important sources of information on those themes, and recommends questions that will require additional study. These cultural resources include primary historical materials in archives and oral

---

[1] This quote is extracted from President Barack Obama's remarks at the designation of Pullman National Monument, February 19, 2015. Excerpts reprinted in National Park Service, "Positioning Pullman: Collaborative Ideas Workshop for America's Newest National Monument," (Chicago: National Park Service, 2016). Complete text is found https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/02/19/presidential-proclamation-pullman-national-monument

[2] "Foundation Document: Pullman National Monument (Draft)."

history collections, as well as architectural, archaeological, museum collections, or landscape resources. While this report includes new historical narrative based in original archival research, other sections present synthetic reviews of existing publications. National Park Service staff will use this document and included resources as they make management decisions and design interpretive programming. In addition to this report and its appendices, which are published digitally, the research team deposited its entire library with the monument staff, including nearly 2,000 references and hundreds of pages of imaged archival documents.

1.A George M. Pullman, the Pullman Palace Car Company, and Luxurious Travel

George M. Pullman had exceptional skill at bringing together the investment and skilled people necessary to form profitable companies.[3] From his youth in upstate New York, Pullman had learned to be a cabinetmaker, worked in retail, and eventually took over and expanded his father's business of raising and moving buildings along the Erie Canal.[4] Working with his brother, George began to expand that business into Chicago, establishing a reputation for being able to profitably organize large numbers of people to solve complex problems. In his recollection of this period, Pullman attributed his later success to his reputation for pulling off such large-scale changes without disrupting the normal business and activities inside buildings. While moving these buildings, he also undoubtedly developed relationships with the people who owned, operated, and patronized the banks and hotels in downtown Chicago, almost certainly providing him with insights into the relationship between wealthy consumers, ideas of luxury, and the built environment.

Seeing profitable opportunity in the discomforts of train travel on long journeys, Pullman began experimenting with sleeper car design starting in the late 1850s. He was not alone in this effort, as other companies had formed for similar purposes at that time. Pullman had early design successes, but lacked the capital and influence to start a serious company. When the Civil War started in 1861 and the government assumed control over railroad operations, Pullman spent some time in Colorado, away from his Chicago partners. He set up mining, shipping, and mercantile enterprises in Colorado, further improving his reputation, generating capital, and building more substantial connections with investors in New York. Using his earnings from those activities, Pullman arranged for the manufacture of the *Pioneer*, his first *luxury* sleeping car, in 1864.

George Pullman was clearly influenced by the evolution of hotels in the United States. His early luxury sleeping cars are aptly described as "rolling parlors" because each palace car created an architectural space which in form and function most closely resembled residential parlors. Yet as the types of cars quickly grew to include hotel (1867), dining (1868), parlor (1875), smoking, and drawing room cars, and technologies which allowed people to move between them, Pullman was building a network of moving hotels. Travel hotels have a long history, and by the mid-nineteenth century, luxury hotels had become symbols of urban sophistication and taste. These hotels operated as landmarks of geographic mobility

---

[3] For reference, see the offhand comment about George Pullman's understanding that he must rely upon skilled laborers to realize his "embryonic ideas" that on p. 29 of Joseph Husband, *The Story of the Pullman Car* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1917).

[4] Pullman's early life and business dealings are detailed in Chapter 2.

where travelers mixed with locals, provided mechanisms to facilitate the country's face-to-face personal business relationships that formed the nation's commercial culture, and had even begun offering high-status multi-family residences appointed with hotel services. By this time, resort hotels had evolved as luxury destinations supported by rail travel, while railroad companies had started building networks of hotels along their routes to house, feed, and support both workers and customers.[5] While the company began to market themselves as a moving hotel as early as the 1870s, Pullman would later use this idea to claim that his company should not be regulated as a railroad operator. It is not clear how this evolved in Pullman's early planning, however, as it also remains unclear if or how his success in turn effected the evolution of luxury hotels.

Sometime during the period, 1850-1865, George Pullman and his associates pieced together a vision of an exclusive railroad company, one designed to monopolize luxury travel on the fragmented, competitive rail network of the United States. Pullman incorporated three luxury car companies in 1867, including the Pullman Palace Car Company in Illinois. Pullman would manufacture the cars, but also retain ownership and operate his cars on contract for different rail lines, maintaining direct control over the quality of service and operation (while also collecting the handsome profits). Just twelve years after founding these companies, Pullman began the design and construction of his model town and factory on the outskirts of Chicago which would fully realize his vision for the manufacturing side of the company. That town included the Hotel Florence which architectural historians identify as the quintessential surviving railroad hotel, intended to serve executive business and industrial management functions, operate as a social and recreational hub for visitors, and promote tourism of the model town.[6]

Pullman's trains rapidly established their reputation for quality and luxury. In the 1870s, the company operated in much of the United States and expanded rapidly into Canada, England and parts of Europe, and Mexico, inspiring competition around the world. Pullman's cars were featured in hundreds of travel essays published in newspapers and magazines around the world and Pullman's name became synonymous with first-class travel. By the mid 1910s, one could travel across North America on Pullman trains from Quebec to Vancouver and ultimately to Salina Cruz in Mexico, just 200 miles from Guatemala. With competition from companies like the European *Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits* (CIWL), which operated the famous Orient Express from 1883-1914, Pullman became a global mark of luxury and quality against which other companies were measured.[7]

1.B Pullman Workers and the town

The Pullman company distinguished itself from competitors through quality of the luxury experience. That quality was evidenced in the physical space provided by the palace cars and by the polished service

---

[5] See particularly A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

[6] Ibid., 92-94.

[7] A discussion of the CIWL and the connection between George Pullman and Georges Nagelmackers can be found in Charles King, *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2014), 22-24. The Pullman name still evokes ideas of luxury and quality and it is still used in hotels, travel services, and luxury branding.

during the onboard experience, thus by both manufacture and service skills. The car staff was trained to be immaculate, efficient, and professional, from conductors to breakmen, porters and maids, and waiters and barbers. After initial experiments asking white conductors to provide service and then hiring women attendants, Pullman opted exclusively for African-American men to care for his passengers as porters, eventually also adding maids to facilitate the needs of female travelers. Throughout operations, tasks were soon segmented into groups of workers strictly separated by race and gender, while ethnicity or nationality was often a consequence of geography.[8]

Scholars do not know why Pullman made this fateful decision, but setting aside evidence for his reasoning, the repercussions were substantial and clear. In the years following the Civil War, The Pullman Company eventually became the single largest private employer of African Americans in the United States. The company preferred to hire African Americans who were skilled domestics, and initially that meant recruiting formerly-enslaved individuals who were literate and understood service duties. They sought people they could train to follow Pullman procedures, but who already knew how to adopt a deferential and "servile" demeanor toward white passengers, code switching as they moved from North to South on trains.

This racial division of labor meant that the sleeper and other cars of Pullman's trains became unique spaces that allowed extended (albeit unequal) interactions among black and white people at a time when many northern whites had limited exposure to people of African-American ancestry, beyond books and stage shows, while many southern blacks also knew little of northern white societies. At the same time, white southerners traveled the trains in the two decades following the Civil War, through Emancipation and the spread of Jim Crow segregation, suddenly interacting in intimate spaces with educated, literate, articulate, and professional African-American men. For these black men, the position of porter provided a rare opportunity for non-agricultural work earning cash wages, with unequalled ability to travel and see the country. So powerful were these experiences for nineteenth-century Americans, historians and cultural writers observed that white Americans transformed the Pullman porter into an archetypal character in literature, on stage, and eventually, on screen. More than a literary mechanism, the Pullman train's social dynamic allowed northern whites to share in the romance of plantation nostalgia of their southern neighbors, where the Porter became a cheerful, bumbling, and subservient character they knew from ragtime songs and vaudeville shows. It is unclear if George Pullman understood this to be part of his company's service package, but the outcome was the same regardless of intention.[9]

---

[8] Useful discussion of this process can be found in Jack Santino, *Miles of Smiles, Years of Struggle: Stories of Black Pullman Porters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Another powerful analysis in Susan E. Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*, The Working Class in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).; and also Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1973). These are useful to compare with points about the genuine complexity of George Pullman's actions toward African American men, made the first chapter of Larry Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*, 1 ed. (New York: Henry and Holt Company, LLC, 2004), 1-30.

These stereotypes were of little use to the African Americans themselves, whose lived experiences were very different than most of the elite passengers. While underpaid and overworked in a role that required them to suffer personal indignities and offered no advancement, the porters were highly respected in African-American communities. They used their financial, travel, and educational advantages to spread information about economic opportunities in the industrializing north, inspiring and shaping the Great Migration. They organized their communities; delivered newspapers, magazines, and music recordings along the line; provided support for the education of family members; and invested in businesses. To their family and friends, the porters represented professional work, geographic mobility, and a sophisticated urban and modern life that contrasted with the rural roots many of them shared. These men laid the groundwork to build the African-American middle class.

Pullman porters were not the only African-American men to work for the railroads. Thousands of black men worked a wide range of rail jobs around the country, from doing the service jobs as red caps and porters to laying and maintaining track on section crews, handling freight, and in the south, working as locomotive firemen or breakmen. Yet the railroad trade unions, particularly the "Big Four" Brotherhoods founded in the 1860s and 1870s, all excluded African Americans from membership and actively worked to discourage railroads from hiring black workers.[10] This locked African Americans out of better paying jobs and limited their access to mutual aid insurance and dispute resolution systems, while also excluding those working for Pullman as porters and maids from the protections or leverage provided by union membership. Because the brotherhoods were so focused on protecting the white men and excluding black men who worked in particular categories of jobs, they also excluded carpenters, foundrymen, machinists, painters, seamstresses, and other workers who labored in railroad manufacture and maintenance shops around the country. If these workers were organized, it was into trade unions allied with other shop or factory workers and not railroad brotherhoods that protected operations.

By the late 1870s, George Pullman was successful enough to implement the next stage of his vision. He wanted to build a company town outside of Chicago where he could centralize and expand his manufacturing operations. He envisioned more than a model factory, although he wanted to follow the national trend toward building larger industrial manufactories. Pullman also wanted to create a designed community which would blunt the harsh conditions of capitalism in Chicago, solving labor problems by providing healthy, sanitary, and morally uplifting residences for workers, thus countering what he saw as the moral failure of violent strikes. In his vision, the town would also be profitable for the company and provide a buffer against the fluctuations of demand in the railroad market.

Chicago was growing so quickly in the rush of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, many workers lived in squalor with inadequate wages, overcrowded and unsafe housing, without effective access to water, sewers, or public transit infrastructure. As a consequence, the city had become a center

---

[10] The largest of the brotherhood were the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors of America, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firement and Enginemen, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen all of which forbid African-American members into the 1950s and 1960s. See Chapter 1 in Eric Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

of labor organization. In 1867 there had been a general strike in demand of the 8-hour workday, but the panic of 1873 and the "Long Depression" that followed brought most national union activity to an end for several years. By 1876, about 200 railroads had gone bankrupt or into receivership among the thousands of business that failed. That year, national unemployment hit 14% and wages dropped to 45% of their pre-depression levels.

Then in July of 1877, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad cut wages for the third time that year. Workers in West Virginia started a work stoppage which rapidly spread along the rail routes, to many major cities and transportation hubs in Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Missouri. Peaceful actions by organized labor drew crowds of under- and unemployed people, at times escalating to rioting, burning of locomotives and rolling stock, and battles between strikers and deputized police forces. In Chicago, there had been daily demonstrations and mob activities starting July 23rd that culminated in the Battle of the Viaduct on July 26th. In all, the local toll was 14-30 rioters killed and as many as 100 wounded, and as many as 13 policemen were injured. Nationally, as many as 100 strikers were killed and the rioters did tens of millions of dollars in damage, mostly to railroad property.

Chicago experienced strikes, rallies, and other disruptions every year between 1870 and 1880. The disparity of wealth and the squalid conditions of the poor urban laborers drew national attention and often inspired public sympathies. When the economy turned around in 1879, George Pullman decided to enact his visionary plan to build a healthy workers' village in the suburbs of Chicago, hiring Solon Spenser Beman and Nathan F. Barrett to realize his vision. In a flurry of activity spanning three intense years with a team of engineers and designers, the group collectively created one of the United States' most distinctive experiments in industrial society. Historian Susan Hirsch aptly named this effort Pullman's "Environmental Strategy" for recruiting and managing skilled labor.[11] The town of Pullman, Illinois, became a case study in design and planning, welfare capitalism, and paternalism.

1.C The Pullman Strike and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

This report lays out the details of the town and factory in much greater detail. In general terms, there are two important themes to consider from the outset. First, the story of the Pullman town and community are complicated, mixing success and failure in due measure. Often, one's feelings about the worth of the Pullman experiment are grounded in one's individual position and perspective. Second, in hindsight, George Pullman's vision for a profitable design solution to the Gilded Age's social ills was tainted from the start by his choice to reinforce the racial exclusions and divisions used by his company.

After a long period of economic expansion in the United States, and a particularly good one for Pullman and for railroads generally, another economic panic and depression hit in 1893 and lasted until 1897, following immediately on the heels of the company's triumphant participation in the World's Colombian Exhibition (the Chicago World's Fair). Starting in February, the depression that followed the panic would see 500 banks close, 15,000 companies fail, and unemployment in some states ranged from 25%-43%.

The crisis at Pullman began, the story goes, when the company cut wages and hours to compensate for the drop-in orders for new cars. The roots of employee dissatisfaction were much deeper than that. As

[11] Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*. pp. 16-21.

soon as 1885, the skilled workers of Pullman had joined an array of different kinds of craft unions and labor organizations. The workers' organizations found common cause in advocating for the eight-hour work day and in 1886, starting a walkout just after the Haymarket bombing. After being locked out for two weeks, the allied groups decided to return to work. While the strike was technically a failure, it clearly signaled that George Pullman's Environmental Strategy for labor management had the opposite effect of what the designers had intended. The company town's restrictive rules helped to create a collective working-class culture, instead of dissuading people from forming that identity.

As the years passed, the workers in the community watched other changes occurring in shops and factories. Machine-assisted production began to privilege engineers and tool makers over artisans and shifted others into roles as semi-skilled machine operatives. This process was not a simple deskilling at Pullman, as skilled workers sometimes shifted from manufacture into the repair shops, for example, yet the community of workers saw shifts in ethnicity as skilled workers born in northern and western European countries were replaced by southern and eastern European workers. Groups of workers still organized and struck periodically and Pullman employees closely followed the events of the Homestead Strike of 1892 which resulted in the deaths of seven workers and three Pinkerton agents and seriously damaged the credibility of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.

In 1894, resentment built among Pullman's manufacturing workers after they suffered a series of layoffs and pay cuts, while the company preserved executive salaries and continued to pay stockholders their 8% dividend. The leadership also refused to discount rents for the one third of the workforce that leased their homes from the company. The unfairness gave all the production workers a common grievance and earned them sympathy among the public. After the majority voted to join the newly formed American Railway Union (ARU), their leaders took their demands to the administration where they received a cool reception.[12] In May, they voted to strike, against the wishes of the ARU's national leadership, and the company promptly locked them out of the car works as they had done in 1886.[13]

---

[12] Among the workers, there was some disagreement. Susan Hirsh illustrated this by explaining that the Dutch refused to join the strike until they found themselves locked out of the shops, then the formed into their own local of the ARU, separate from all the other workers. Ibid., 32.

[13] The Pullman Strike has been written about extensively. Excellent works include ibid.; Ralph K. Beebe, *The Worker and Social Change: The Pullman Strike of 1894* (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1970); ibid.; Michael Burgan, *The Pullman Strike of 1894* (Minneapolis, MN: Compass Point Books, 2008); John R. Chapin, "The Infamous Pullman Strike as Revealed by the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 74, no. 3 (1981). Regarding Eugene Debs and the leadership of the ARU, see Jeffrey T Darbee, "Socialist from the Heartland: Eugene V. Debs and the Pullman Strike," *Traces of Indiana and midwestern history of Education Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2001); Rosemary Laughlin, *The Pullman Strike of 1894: American Labor Comes of Age* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds, 1999); Almont Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); David Ray Papke, *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America*, Landmark Law Cases & American Society (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999); Larry Peterson, "Pullman Strike Pictures: Molding Public Perceptions in the 1890s by New Visual Communications," *Labor Heritage* 8, no. 4 (1997); Nick Salvatore, Richard Schneirov, and Shelton Stromquist, *The Pullman Strike and the*

The strike initially had little effect. The company held large cash reserves and lacked urgent orders needing completion. A protracted lockout and action seemed likely. It is interesting to consider that because the ARU had excluded African Americans from membership, the porters and maids were not part of the strike and the car shop workers lost a group that would have been their most powerful ally. The 2,000 porters could have immediately disrupted operations and put significant pressure on the company, but they did not join the strike. When the ARU held their membership meeting in Chicago in late June, the delegates voted to support the strikers at Pullman. Workers around the country, and particularly in the American West, refused to move Pullman cars. The workers at several of Pullman's repair shops struck and were joined by neighboring car shops and rail workers. The local strike quickly became national.

The major disruptions to the rail network quickly drew the federal government into the conflict. Violence and vandalism were widespread. When federal troops became involved in July, the boycott soon collapsed. The local strike continued though the end of August, but as more and more workers returned to their jobs, the effort became futile. Throughout the Pullman company's national network, many striking workers were replaced by new employees while others found employment elsewhere.

The Pullman Strike is a major turning point in American labor history. The failure of the strike destroyed the American Railway Union, but from that experience Eugene Debs and his allies launched the United States Socialist Party in an effort to harness government power to solve problems of inequality. While the company won the strike, the experience destroyed George Pullman's reputation and perhaps his health. The public largely saw him as arrogant, inflexible, and greedy, instead of the enlightened benefactor and visionary he wanted to be. The strike also seemed to confirm the assertions of those who published critiques of Pullman's planned town and George never fully recovered. He died in 1897, the same year the ARU dissolved.

As Pullman's son-in-law Robert Todd Lincoln was named director and then president of the company, prosperity slowly returned amid many changes. The company again began to grow and absorb competitors, transitioning to new management styles amid occasional smaller strikes. By 1907, the Pullman Company had committed to manufacture steel cars and undertook extensive remodeling, expansions, and improvements throughout the shops. The Illinois Supreme Court also ordered the Pullman Palace Car Company to divest itself of all non-industrial properties and while that process started quickly, it took many years to accomplish. The community never fully recovered from the strike and the economic depression. The ever-increasing industrial operations in Pullman and about Lake Calumet had increasingly negative effects upon the environment. The middle class had begun to leave the town after George Pullman's death, as notable persons moved to residences in Hyde Park and Woodlawn. By 1905, some said the city had taken a blighted appearance as new waves of immigrants were moving in. More importantly, as the properties came into private hands and as restrictions on use

---

Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics, The Working Class in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Richard Schneirov, Shelton Stromquist, and Nick Salvatore, eds., *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); R. Conrad Stein, *The Pullman Strike and the Labor Movement in American History*, In American History (Berkeley Heights, NJ, USA: Enslow Publishers, 2001).

expired, people began to modify the structures to suit their needs, adapting them into commercial structures or expanding their footprints. In 1908, the first neighborhood preservation organization was founded. The town was changing and the processes at play serve as a microcosm example of the ethnic/racial, economic, and environmental processes at play in Chicago and in urban neighborhoods around the United States.[14] Capitalizing on the shop workers' exclusion of black men and women workers throughout these periods, the Pullman company would continue to use African-American workers as strikebreakers at its shops through the twentieth century.

Concurrent to these changes, Pullman Company's service workers pushed for major improvements to working conditions throughout the national network during this time. African-American railroad workers, including shop, yard, and operations workers, had struggled for decades to organize and improve their working conditions, job security, and pay, dealing with both interpersonal and structural racism, violence, and bigotry. National unions decided to exclude blacks in order to keep solidarity among southern, western, midwestern, and northeastern white workers, despite periodic debate on the subject. African Americans had different views and organized in many different ways to advance their interests and defend themselves against violence and discrimination. The Pullman porters were the single largest group of railroad service workers, all of whom worked for a single company. This meant that their actions automatically had national significance.[15]

---

[14] These are detailed in subsequent chapters, but also see the uncritical and nostalgic take in the final chapter of Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, The Urban Life in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[15] Several excellent publications cover the history of the Pullman porters, and to a much lesser extent, maids, cooks, waiters, and other onboard and station service workers. These are discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters, but we direct readers to the excellent histories and oral history publications, including: Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*; Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*; Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name's Not George: The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998); Johnnie F. Kirvin, *Hey Boy! Hey George! The Pullman Porter: A Pullman Porter's Story* (Los Angeles, CA: BookSurge Publishing, 2010), Biography; Greg LeRoy, "Scandalized, Analyzed, Paternalized, Fraternalized, Nationalized and Company Unionized, but Nowhere near Recognized: Pullman Porters, 1913-1924," ed. Illinois Labor History Society (Chicago: Illinois Labor History Society, 1981); David D. Perata, *Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant*, vol. 22, Wayne's Oral History (New York, New York: Twavne Publishers, 1996); Robert E. Turner, *Memories of a Retired Pullman Porter*, 1st ed. (New York: Exposition Press Inc., 1954); Nat Love, *Life and Adventures of Nat Love, Better Known in the Cattle Country as Deadwood Dick*, 2017 ed. (Wilmington, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1907), Illustrated Reprint; Melinda Chateauvert, *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, Women in American History Series and the Working Class in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Santino, *Miles of Smiles, Years of Struggle: Stories of Black Pullman Porters*; Lyn Hughes, *An Anthology of Respect: The Pullman Porters National Historic Registry of African American Railroad Employees* (Chicago: Hughes-Peterson Publishing, 2009); Frederick McKissack and Patricia McKissack, *A Long, Hard Journey: The Story of the Pullman Porter* (New York:

When the United States Railroad Administration assumed control over the Pullman Company's operations in 1918, the porters quickly took advantage of federal bureaucracy and policy to petition for and win modest improvements in their wages and conditions. Local groups sent representatives to provide testimony to regulators. This inspired local groups to begin a new wave of unionization, forming into independent brotherhoods at the local level, while the company's leaders responded by increasing their anti-union activities and spying. Pullman's retrenchment meant that the porters' organization efforts were harder than those of cooks, waiters, maids, firemen, yard workers, and other black men and women who worked for other railroads. The Railway Men's International Benevolent Industrial Association (RMIBIA) formed in 1915. This was the first attempt to organize beyond the local scale and craft divisions. During its 10 years of operation, the organization started slowly, but then grew to include 15,000 national members by 1920, and two years later, Chicago was home to 1,200 RMIBIA members organized into seventeen local chapters.

In response to black workers' attempts to unionize and other organizational efforts among the white unions, the Pullman company began to expand its welfare offerings, facilitating the creation of the Pullman Porter Benefit Association (PPBA) to offer insurance for porters, setting up an Employee Representation Plan (ERP), and organizing or allying with "company unions" that could represent workers to management and draw support away from national organizations. The company also began to recruit Filipino men to work as porters, stoking racial fears among African-American workers[16]. At the same time, the continual refusal of national white-only railroad trade and labor unions to accept the RMIBIA as an affiliate led to its dissolution in the early 1920s and those locals that remained active were absorbed into other organizations like the Colored Association of Railroad Employees (CARE) and the Protective Order of Railroad Trainmen (PORT).[17]

Walker and Company, 1995); Perata, *Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant*, 22; William H. Harris, *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-37.*, Blacks in the New World (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Greg LeRoy, "The Founding Heart of A. Philip Randolph's Union: Milton P. Webster and Chicago's Pullman Porters Organize, 1925-1937," *Labor's Heritage* 3, no. July (1991); Chateauvert, *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*; Paula F. Pfeffer, "The Women Behind the Union: Halena Wilson, Rosina Tucker, and the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," *Labor History* 36, no. Fall (1995).

[16] Barbara Posadas recorded oral histories of Filipino members of the BSCP in 1979. Her analysis documenting the company's effort to use Filipino men to break the strike, workers with whom the traveling public already knew from ocean steamship, restaurant, and domestic service labor, followed in Barbara M. Posadas, "The Hierarchy of Color and Psychological Adjustment in an Industrial Environment: Filipinos, the Pullman Company, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," ibid.23, no. 3 (1982).

[17] Other factors influence the collapse of the RMIBA, including escalations of direct violence of whites on black rail workers and the hard-driving personality of the organization's president. See Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*, 60-65, 70-80.

A. Philip Randolph stepped into the chaos of African-American union organizations during this period. In 1925, he and colleagues founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) and started working to build an organization to fill the vacuum left by the dissolution of the RMIBIA. It took a decade of struggle for the leaders to build the organization, but in the end they created the first successful and nationally-significant African-American labor union in the United States, while also transforming the very basis of black union political activity from the narrow class interests of tradesmen into a broad, powerful, and unifying focus on race and civil rights. It was the leaders and activists like Randolph with George Schuyler, C. L. Delums, Helena Wilson, Milton Webster, and allies like Ishmael Flory, who shifted the labor narrative to an explicit critique of structural racism in the United States, *as well as* the link between poor pay, security, and working conditions and the cultural iconography of the servile and clownish negro house slave, the unintelligent or untrustworthy vagabond, and the blackface of minstrel and vaudeville shows.[18] This sharp focus on the intersections of race and class positioned the BSCP to challenge railroads' use of racial stereotypes to maintain boundaries between white and black workers. BSCP allied with national civil rights organizations, relationships that provided a buffer against dependency on national brotherhoods and labor unions.

The BSCP was a transformational civil rights organization that addressed an array of political, social, and economic concerns in African-American communities of the United States. For nearly fifty years, the Pullman porters had already been leaders in their communities wherever they lived in the United States. Activists began building alliances among porters, maids, dining car cooks and waiters, and others, including men and women in different ways at different times. In the years before and after the union's victories against the Pullman Company, their advocates became engaged in efforts to combat police violence and improve schools, among many different issues and campaigns.

The BSCP's membership levels went up and down along with the union's political successes and failures through the Great Depression. Once Randolph managed to get the BSCP included in the 1934 Amendments to the Railway Labor Act, it came under the purview of the new National Mediation Board and the National Railroad Adjustment Board. The leaders faced an initial challenge in 1935, when the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association (PPMPA) formed, a company-friendly union that tried to displace the BSCP leaders as the official voice of the largest group of Pullman's black service workers. In an NMB-administered election, the membership overwhelming chose the BSCP as their representatives. Following a 1937 Supreme Court ruling, the Pullman company finally signed a contract with the BSCP in August of that year.

The victory was a milestone achievement for the BSCP. It raised wages and improved conditions and the African-American press celebrated the landmark moment. At the same time, other African-American railroad trade unions did not meet with similar successes. Even the BSCP was forced to engage in constant fights to gain recognition within national labor organizations like the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L. or simply AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Within a few years of their initial victory however, A. Philip Randolph organized the March on Washington Movement and pushed for the inclusion of African-American men and women in federal defense jobs at the outbreak of the Second World War (WWII).

---

[18] Ibid., 101.

The BSCP prepared a generation of civil rights activists who developed a network and social and political infrastructure that would bear fruit during the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Pullman porters were among the most important leaders in building the African-American middle class; nurturing, educating, and empowering those that became leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. While their victories were always partial and imperfect and their labors in turn humiliating and inspiring, local porters became community leaders who (with the BSCP on the national scale) transformed life for African Americans in the United States.

1.D Post-War Pullman: Transitions and Preservation

After an era of manufacturing materials and government administered operations during WWII, the Pullman Company and its workers experienced another fluorescent period that included a round of hiring of porters and onboard staff. While rail travel had peaked in the 1920s, luxury travel in particular declined through the Great Depression and the war years, while both automobile and air travel had begun to cut into the public's demand for long distance luxury train travel.[19] After the war, people again began to move about the country. Train travel was initially central to the experience through the 1950s, but the expansion of the federal interstate highway network and the passenger air travel infrastructure, along with cultural changes associated with American leisure and commuting patterns, forced the Pullman company slowly and inexorably toward the cessation of operations in 1969. The employees hired in the late 1940s and early 1950s were the last large cohort of staff hired to care for passengers.

Pullman's operations wound down. The company's inventory of cars was all sold off or scrapped, physical property was auctioned, and the intellectual property was snapped up by international railroad and other manufacturing companies. The factories of Pullman in Chicago eventually sat vacant. By 1971, when Amtrak began to assume control of the inter-city rail from twenty different railroad companies, the porters still working on Pullman trains either retired or transferred to the new company. The "Grey Heads," as those who transferred became known, passed on their experiences and culture to the

[19] At the same time that African Americans were organizing the BSCP, newly established airlines were growing. During the first half of the twentieth century, airline executives experimented with different models of in-flight service, including African-American male porters, white men, Filipino men, and white or African-American women. Leaders eventually settled on young white women as flight attendants as fitting their modern aesthetic compared with the old-fashioned male porters. Airlines subjected these women to a similar code of embodied discipline as that expected of porters, including strictly defined racial, class, linguistic, educational, and marital status exclusions that regulated clothing and body forms, polished and polite demeanor, and issues of sexuality, motherhood, and eventually transgressive sexual access. Race was a central complication for flight attendant unions as activists battled for respectful treatment. Useful discussions include Kathleen M. Barry, *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Louwanda Evans, *Cabin Pressure: African American Pilots, Fight Attendants, and Emotional Labor*, ed. Joe R. Feagin, Perspectives on Multiracial America Series (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013); Philip J. Tiemeyer, "Manhood up in the Air: Gender, Sexuality, Corporate Culture, and the Law in Twentieth Century America" (University of Texas at Austin, 2007).

younger employees.[20] Meanwhile, Pullman-Standard began to manufacture Superliner bi-level cars for Amtrak. Workers built them in the company's shops in Hammond, Indiana.

Community advocates began to push for historic preservation and a kind of cultural memory work in the town of Pullman as early as the 1900s. After fighting off an urban renewal plan in the 1950s, however, residents organized into the Pullman Community Organization (PCO) and other community groups to resist the creative destruction of redevelopment and to tell the story of the man, the town, and the company. As detailed in the following chapters, over the next several decades, the community sought and won recognition of its historic significance, being identified as a city historic neighborhood, surveyed by the Historic American Engineering Record, listed on the National Register of Historic Places, identified as a state historic site, and eventually earning the status of a national monument. Much research still needs to be done, as recommended in the final chapter of this report.

[20] Between 2000 and 2010, Amtrak and many railroad museums made a concerted effort to recognize the role that Pullman Porters played in helping get the service running "Service and Grace Amid a Class Struggle: The Story of the Pullman Porter," Museum of the American Railroad, http://www.museumoftheamericanrailroad.org/Learn/TheLegacyofPullmanPorters.aspx.

Despite nearly a century of advocacy, it was not until the 1990s that individuals and organizations began to collect oral histories of porters, maids, and other service-side employees. The first local museum dedicated to the porters and other African-American workers did not open until 1995, almost exactly 90 years from the onset of historic preservation efforts. Perhaps more than any single fact revealed through this study is this disjuncture between the heritage resources, published research, and public memory in Pullman. The existing stories told in and about this place often sidestep the centrality and interconnectedness of race, class, nationality, and gender to the town's history. This interconnectedness, then, is the true significance of President Obama's defining mission that he assigned to Pullman National Monument. His charge echoed the insightful comment of historian Susan Hirsch which closes this introduction:

> I contend that we cannot fully understand either the strike or the Brotherhood in isolation. Nor can we understand why Pullman workers played such critical roles in U.S. history without seeing the strike and the Brotherhood as part of a larger struggle—that between the company and its multiracial, multiethnic, and gendered workforce.[21]

[21] Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*, 2.

CHAPTER 2
PULLMAN IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

2.A Chicago's Geographic and Transportation Significance

The history of Chicago and the history of Pullman (the man, the company, and the town) intersect at the outset of Chicago's transformation into the industrial center of the American Midwest. As Louis Sullivan noted, Chicago was born of "the prairie, the lake and the portage."[22]

Chicago's development as a center of American industry is inextricably linked to its geographic location and natural environment. Historian William Cronon termed the city "Nature's Metropolis" and argued "no city played a more important role in shaping the landscape and the economy of the midcontinent during the second half of the nineteenth century than Chicago."[23] The future site of Chicago lay in the heart of North America, with the vast Great Plains to the west and the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway to the East.

Chicago's location along a river connecting to Lake Michigan proved essential to the city's development. Its location, situated between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, proved as important to pre-industrial water transportation as it would later to railway transit. Before it emerged as the hub of transportation and commerce in the center of industrializing nineteenth century America, Chicago was an important trading outpost. American Indians and, later, Europeans, utilized the site's location on the Chicago River to transport and trade furs.

The river connected Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River, allowing early canoes to travel from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.[24] American Indians had utilized this river for centuries before the French founded a fur-trading post there in the 1770s and the US Army established Fort Dearborn there in 1803. Between the fort and fur posts, American Indians and Europeans traded corn, flour, animal skins, jewelry, dried meat, fish, and alcohol (among other commodities).[25] By 1830, the Potawatomi continued to control the land around the village that would become Chicago, trading with other American Indian groups, as well as French, British, and Americans.[26] The US government sought to gain control of the land to sell it. A group of Sac, led by Chief Black Hawk, attempted to reestablish their rights to the land. The Sac were defeated by members of the Illinois militia at the Battle of Bad Axe on

---

[22] Louis H. Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: American Institute of Architects, 1926), 319.

[23] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991), xv.

[24] Ibid., 26.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 27.

August 2, 1832.[27] Land agents and speculators quickly moved to purchase as much land in Chicago as possible. Land prices rose precipitously as rumors swirled that a canal would be built between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, with its endpoint at Chicago.[28] The real estate market drastically declined

Figure 2.1. Joshua Hathaway, Jr., Chicago with the School Section, Wabansia, and Kinzie's Addition (New York: Peter A. Meisner, 1834). The Newberry Library: VAULT drawer Graff 1817.

[27] Ibid. and H. Roger Grant, *The Northwestern: A History of the Chicago & North Western Railway System* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 4.

[28] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 27, 63.

in 1837 and most of these early lots of land in Chicago remained empty or uninhabited (see Figure 2.1).[29] (The financial crisis that occurred in the United States in 1837 has become known to some as "America's first Great Depression," due to the "spectacular [economic] boom of 1835–1836 and the extraordinary collapse of 1837–1839.")[30]

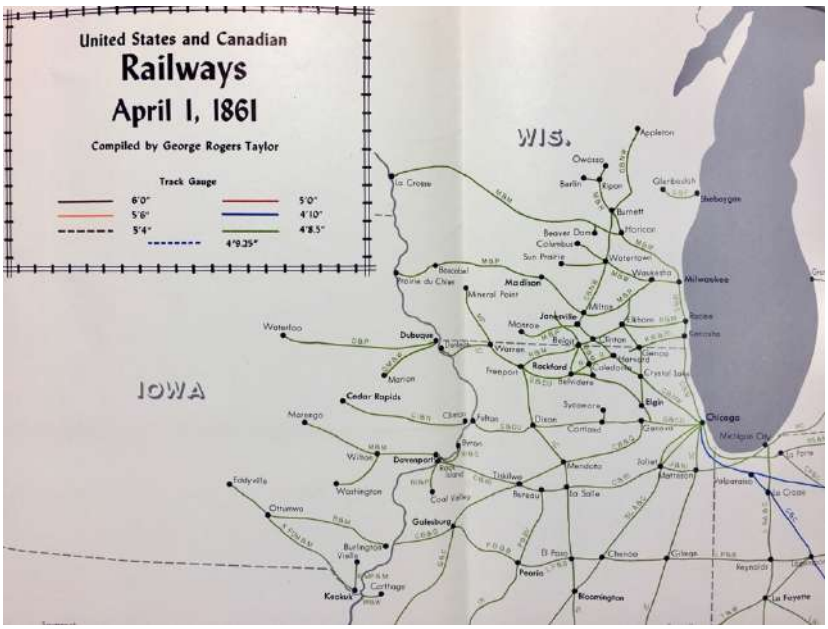


Figure 2.2, "United States and Canadian Railways, April 1, 1861, Part II: Canada and the Midwestern States," from George Rogers Taylor and Irene D. Neu, The American Railroad Network, 1861-1890 (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

After a series of delays due to financial panics and economic downturns, the Illinois and Michigan Canal opened in 1848.[31] This helped facilitate the increase of the commercial relationship between Chicago and the leading western city of the time, St. Louis.[32] That same year, the Galena and Chicago Union railroad connected Chicago to "the chief center of the prosperous lead-mining district of northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin," via rail.[33] It quickly became clear that rail was the preferred form of transport to and from Chicago. Railroads proved to be more reliable and more efficient than road or

[29] Ibid., 30.

[30] Alasdair Roberts, *America's First Great Depression: Economic Crisis and Political Disorder* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 13.

[31] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 64.

[32] Liston E. Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1992), 30.

[33] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 65.

canal travel in Chicago's climate.[34] Thus, Chicago found its place in the national project of railroad-building. While the United States' railway trackage grew from 9,000 to 30,000 miles during the 1850s, Illinois gained 2,500 over that same decade with most of these tracks connecting to Chicago (Figure 2.2).[35] By 1858, a journalist noted, "railroads cannot make mines and quarries, and fat soil and bounteous rivers; yet railroads have been the making of Illinois."[36]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Chicago had become known as the "gateway to the West." Its geographical location became essential for connecting the "trunk" rail lines of the East with the "fan" rail lines west of the city. The trunk lines east of Chicago were "low-cost, high-volume competitive routes following a tight corridor across the 900 miles to New York." The western "fan" rail lines were "high-cost, low-volume and noncompetitive."[37] In 1877, the presidents of the Chicago and Northwestern and the Chicago, Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railroads explained:

> The railways which radiate from Lake Michigan and run like lattice-work throughout the West, gather up business and centering at Chicago pour it by train-loads on to the through lines to the East. The latter have simply to forward it. It is this fortunate condition which gives the New York Central Railroad 16 miles of freight-cars daily. The western roads are feeders; the eastern lines are receivers. The latter are saved the expense of picking up this business by driblets. It comes to them in volumes. Trains follow each other in quick succession, and their constant movement insures economy.[38]

Through this growing network of railways, Chicago facilitated the development of the grain, lumber, and meat industries in the United States. Chicago grew into a large metropolis as these industries developed and was at the forefront of the urbanization taking place across the United States in the late-nineteenth century.[39] By 1919, 400,000 people were employed in the city. Half of the city's workers were engaged in heavy industry, such as iron, steel, garment manufacturing, electrical and agricultural machinery manufacturing, commercial printing, railroading, and meat-packing. The products manufactured in Chicago markets spanned the globe.[40]

---

[34] Grant, *The Northwestern: A History of the Chicago & North Western Railway System*, 12.

[35] George Rogers Taylor and Irene D. Neu, *The American Railroad Network, 1861–1890.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 2. and Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 68.

[36] Caroline Kirkland, "Illinois in Spring-Time: With a Look at Chicago," *Atlantic Monthly*1858, 484.

[37] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 90.

[38] Joseph Nimmo Jr., "First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States.," (Washington1877), 24.

[39] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*.

[40] S. Marcus Sarah, "Turn-of-the-Century Industrialization and International Markets," *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/410146.html.

2.B Chicago's Population Growth

As Chicago began to become more connected to the rest of the country through these improvements in transportation, the city's population began to rapidly increase. There were approximately 150 residents in the city in 1832, but by 1848, Chicago's population grew to over 20,000 inhabitants.[41] By 1860, there were over 109,000 people living in Chicago.[42]

Thus, Chicago was at the forefront of an urbanizing United States in the nineteenth century.[43] From 1790 to 1890, the percentage of Americans living in settlements with populations of 8,000 or more increased from 3.35 percent to 29.20 percent. The most dramatic urbanization took place in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The number of cities (classified as areas with populations of 2,500 or more) increased from 663 in 1870 to 1,737 by 1900. The population living in these cities increased from nearly 10 million in 1870 to over 30 million by 1900. Chicago outpaced other industrializing cities of the era, moving from fifth most-populous city in 1870 to second in 1890. Nearly 1.7 million people lived in Chicago in 1900, compared to just fewer than 30,000 in 1850. Between 1885 and 1886 alone, the city added nearly 125,000 inhabitants.[44]

Chicago became a chief destination for immigrants from outside the United States, as well as migrants from other areas of the United States. Fully half of all of the residents of Chicago were foreign born in 1850, and this portion remained above 40 percent through the rest of the nineteenth century.[45] Eighty percent of the city's population were either immigrants or children with at least one parent born outside the US in 1890.[46] Immigrants from Germany and Ireland made up a significant portion of Chicago's population in the nineteenth century, with 17.73 percent of the city's residents born in Germany and 13.37 percent born in Ireland, according to 1870 census data.[47]

In the early twentieth century, Chicago also became a key destination for the Great Migration of African Americans out of the southern United States. Chicago, and other northern cities, offered both the opportunity for work in the expanding industrial sector, as well as a possible escape from the Jim Crow-era South. There were many reasons why African Americans were leaving the South at this time. Although they gained some political influence directly after the Civil War, that power had been largely

---

[41] Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago, Volume 1: The Beginning of a City 1673–1848*, 3 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1937), 44.

[42] U.S. Census, "Population of the United States in 1860, Eighth Census," (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 90.

[43] Eric H. Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of the U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

[44] Carl S. Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 5.

[45] Ibid., 303.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

eroded by Southern whites by the 1890s. Jim Crow laws made segregation and discrimination legal, creating vastly inferior environments (from schools to public transportation) for African Americans in the South.[48] In the North, African Americans were relegated to unskilled, low-paying jobs in the iron and steel industries, especially after American-born or "Americanized" workers began to refuse this type of work.[49] Due to racist and discriminatory hiring practices, many African Americans had difficulty finding work beyond temporary work as strikebreakers during times of labor unrest. With decreased European immigration due to the outbreak of World War I, African American men began to enter industrial labor jobs throughout the city, while African American women were mostly restricted to domestic work.[50] Although African Americans faced challenges in the North as well, it "offered [them] more economic opportunity, more security as a citizen, and a greater freedom as a human being."[51]

Half a million African Americans moved into Northern cities between 1915 and 1919.[52] Chicago was the final destination for an estimated 50,000 to 70,000, while over 100,000 traveled through the city on their way to other destinations in the North.[53] At the height of the Great Migration, the overall black population in Chicago increased from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,458 in 1920, an increase of almost 150 percent in 10 years.[54] By the early twentieth century, the Illinois Central Railroad connected potential migrants in rural Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Tennessee to Chicago.

Pullman porters helped facilitate this Great Migration by selling copies of the *Chicago Defender* along their train routes throughout the South.[55] The *Defender*, a prominent African American newspaper, not only provided valuable information about how to move North, it also actively encouraged African Americans to migrate.[56]

---

[48] Carole Marks, *Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 16.

[49] William Julius Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 73.

[50] James Grossman, "Great Migration," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Historical Society, 2005).

[51] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 342.

[52] James R. Grossman, "Blowing the Trumpet: The 'Chicago Defender' and Black Migration During World War I," *Illinois Historical Journal* 78, no. 2 (1985): 82.

[53] Ibid., 84.

[54] Marks, *Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* 122.

[55] James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 50.

[56] Ibid., 51-53.

2.C The Story of the Pullman Family

Biographical details of George Mortimer Pullman after his rise to fame, as well as the broad details of his life have generally been known. There are, however, significant gaps in what has previously been discussed, particularly related to the early history of the Pullman Palace Company and the idea and origins of the Town of Pullman.

2.C.1 George M. Pullman and his Family

George Mortimer Pullman was born on March 3, 1831 in Brockton, Chautauqua County, New York, to James Lewis (known as Lewis) and Emily Caroline (Minton) Pullman.[57] Lewis worked as a farmer until becoming a carpenter, in order to improve the family's finances.[58] By 1825, he had moved west from his family's home in West Greenwich, Onondaga County, to Auburn, New York. There Lewis married Emily Caroline Milton in 1825.[59] Emily's family was Presbyterian and Lewis's family was Baptist. After they were married, Lewis went to a revival meeting. After the meeting, Lewis felt quite discouraged about how much the preachers focused on the wrath of God. Lewis and Emily turned to the Universalist Church, just beginning to develop in Portland, New York. George and his siblings were thus raised as Universalists.[60]

While they were in Auburn, the couple welcomed sons Royal Henry, born on June 30, 1826, and Albert Benton, born on October 16, 1828.[61] In 1831, Lewis and Emily purchased a farm, called "Budlong," in Brocton. George was born shortly after.[62] In 1845, George quit school in order to work for $40.00 a month in his great-uncle John H. Milton's general store.[63] That same year, his parents moved to Albion, NY so that Lewis could work as a carpenter on the Erie Canal.[64] Lewis had begun working on moving buildings away from the expanding Canal. He created a machine to move buildings on wheels in 1835 and patented his design in 1841 (see Figure 2.3).[65]

---

[57] Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 11.

[58] "George Mortimer Pullman," Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theMan/.

[59] Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 12.

[60] Ibid., 15.

[61] Ibid., 12.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., 15.

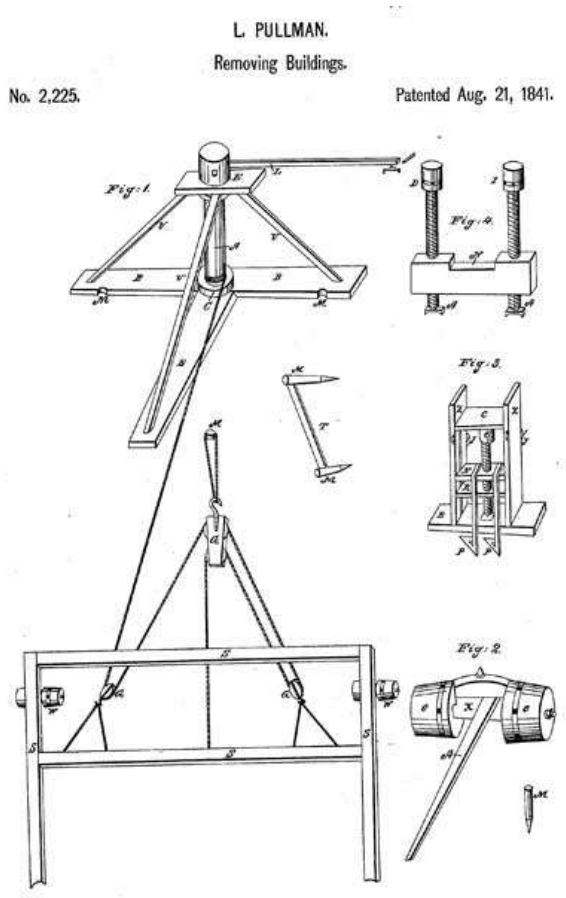

L. PULLMAN.
Removing Buildings.
No. 2,225. Patented Aug. 21, 1841.

Figure 2.3. Machine for removing buildings, U.S. Patent No. 2225, Issued August 21, 1841 to Lewis Pullman.

George had seven younger siblings, including Frances Carolan (July 2, 1833–October 16, 1834), James Minton (August 21, 1835), William Eaton (May 2, 1837–October 16, 1839), Charles Lewis (April 24, 1841), Helen Augusta (May 11, 1843), Emily "Emma" Caroline (September 25, 1846), and Frank William (May 11, 1848).[66]

Royal Henry owned a cabinet-making shop in Albion before becoming a Universalist minister and pastor of the First Universalist Church of Baltimore. He ran for Congress in 1890. Albert Benton worked for George, holding executive positions in the Pullman Palace Car Company, until his death in 1893. George's younger brother, James, was also a Universalist minister, serving as the pastor for a "leading parish in that sect in America," the Universalist Church in Lynn, Massachusetts.[67] Charles worked as the Pullman Company's contacting agent until September 1894, when he became engaged in "other

[66] Ibid., 16-19.

[67] "George Mortimer Pullman," in *Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois* (Chicago: Calumet Book and Engraving Co., 1896), 231.

business in Chicago."[68] Frank was assistant US district attorney of New York until his death in 1879. George's younger sister, Helen, married George West of New York and his other sister, Emma, married Dr. William Floorer, chief surgeon of Bellevue Hospital, New York.[69] According to a *Pullman News* article from 1932, "both daughters married well."[70]

George seems to have moved around quite a bit in the 1840s—1860s, according to a collection of personal letters he wrote to various members of his family. He co-wrote a letter to his parents with his brother, Albert from Westfield in December, 1845. He was back in Albion in October, 1848 and in Detroit in April, 1857. He wrote to his sister from Whitewater in January, 1859 and then to his mother from Grand Rapids later that month. He arrived in Chicago in June, 1859. By June, 1860 he had travelled to St. Louis and St. Joseph on his way to Denver and

Figure 2.4. Lewis Pullman Family, ca. 1850. Top row, left to right: Albert, Henry and James; middle row: Charles, James Lewis, Emily and George; bottom row: Frank, Emma, and Helen. Courtesy the Chicago Historical Society via Liston Edgington Leyendecker, Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman.

Golden City. He returned to Albion in 1861, and to Denver later that same year.[71]

---

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] "Old Daguerreotype Shows Pullman Family Group of 1850," in *The Pullman News* (Chicago: Pullman Co., 1932), 71.

[71] "Letters Written by George M. Pullman," Chicago Historical Society.

When Lewis died in 1853, George became the head of the household as the eldest, unmarried son.[72] Lewis appears to have left his land and estate in Albion to Royal, Albert, and George. That same year, George and his brothers "sold" a portion of the land and house to their mother Emily, as evidenced by a quit-claim deed filed in November, 1853.[73] George appears to have been close to his mother even before the passing of his father. In 1852, he sent her a present "as a token of affection and respect from your son George on the occasion of his twenty first birthday."[74]

George had learned the cabinet-making trade while working for his brother, Royal.[75] At that time, the Erie Canal was going to be enlarged and George won several bids to raise buildings along the bank of the Canal.[76] Soon, he turned his full attention to moving buildings, as this work was well-funded by the New York legislature.[77] He appears to have gone to Detroit in April, 1857, as he sent his mother a letter from there after a "decidedly tedious ride, owing to delay occasioned by the burning of the baggage car containing all our personal effects, so that, you see, we are left in a somewhat destitute condition."[78] By the time he left for Chicago in 1859, he brought $6,000 capital with him.[79]

On April 6, 1858, Pullman and his partners contracted with the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad to create sleeping cars that would run between Chicago, Freeport, and Dubuque. Pullman and his team began the process of turning two existing Chicago and Alton day coaches

---

[72] "George Mortimer Pullman," *Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois* (Calumet Book and Engraving Co.: 1896), 231.

[73] "Quit-Claim Deed," November 12, 1853, Chicago Historical Society.

[74] Letter to Emily Pullman, March 3, 1852, Box 1, George M. Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[75] George Mortimer Pullman," *Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois* (Calumet Book and Engraving Co.: 1896), 231.

[76] Ibid, 231–232.

[77] Leyendecker, 24.

[78] Letter to Emily Pullman, April 2, 1857. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[79] Ibid, 232.

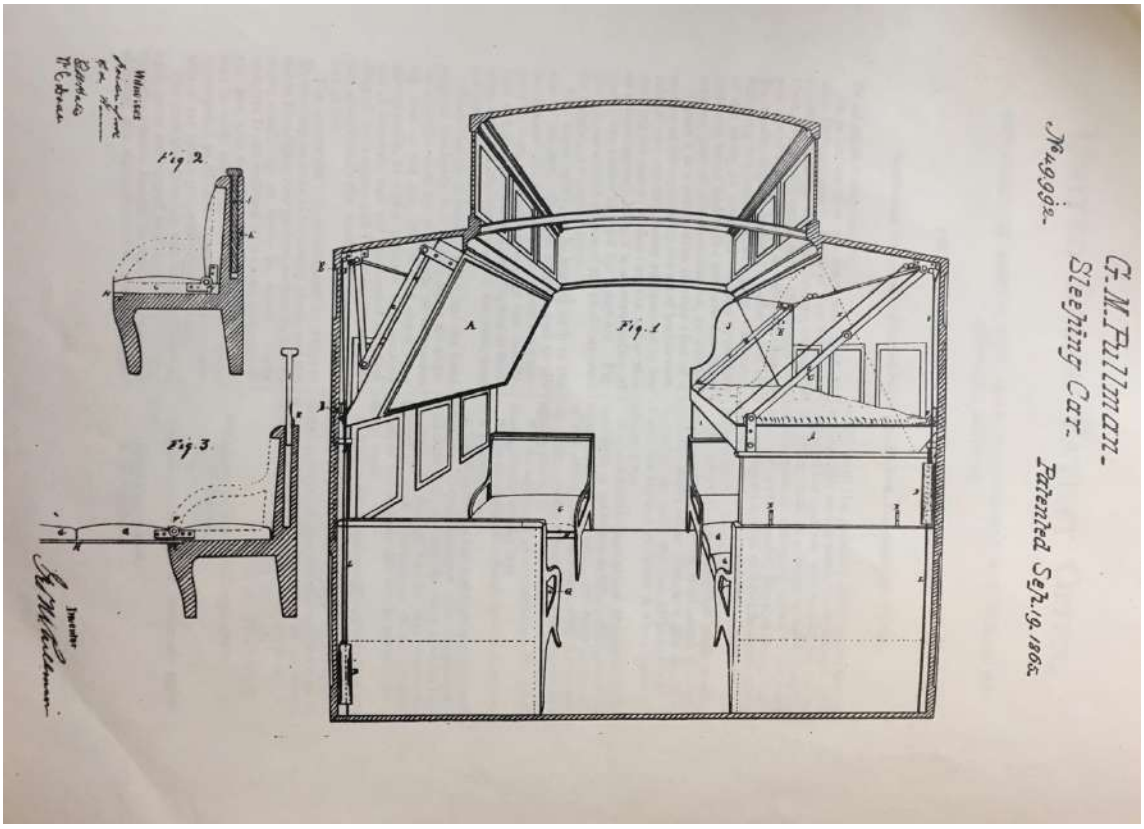


Figure 2.5. Patent image of Pullman's Sleeping Car, patented September 19, 1865. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

into sleeping cars. These became known as cars No. 9 and No. 19. "The backs of the seats were swung together to form the lower berth, while the upper was lowered from the flat roof by means of ropes and pulleys."[80]

Shortly after Pullman created the first No. 9 Pullman car, the United States entered the Civil War. The federal government "took over" the Pullman cars and George began to look for new ventures in the meantime. He left Chicago for Denver, Colorado, in June 1860. In a letter to his mother from the middle of his journey in St. Louis, Pullman stated:

> If the balance of the route proves as pleasant as my journey from Chicago to this City, I shall have no cause to complain. I left Chicago last evening, availing myself of one of 'Pullman's Elegant Sleeping Cars' and in care of its gentlemanly conductor (W. L. Winton) resigned myself to slumber in which I was undisturbed until we reached Springfield (distant 200 miles) when I was gently reminded by the aforesaid conductor that it was time to get up to breakfast, a hint which I acted upon at once. . . and through the politeness of the engineer allowed a seat on the locomotive where I rode upwards of eighty miles, and can truly say that never before have I enjoyed a ride of that

[80] Peter D Vroom, "George M. Pullman and the Colorado Tradition," *Colorado Magazine*1940, 113.

distance. The evening was beautiful and the route being nearly as a line through a vast expanse of prairie over which we thundered along at what seemed to me to be almost lightning speed. I can assure you the effect was thrilling in the extreme.[81]

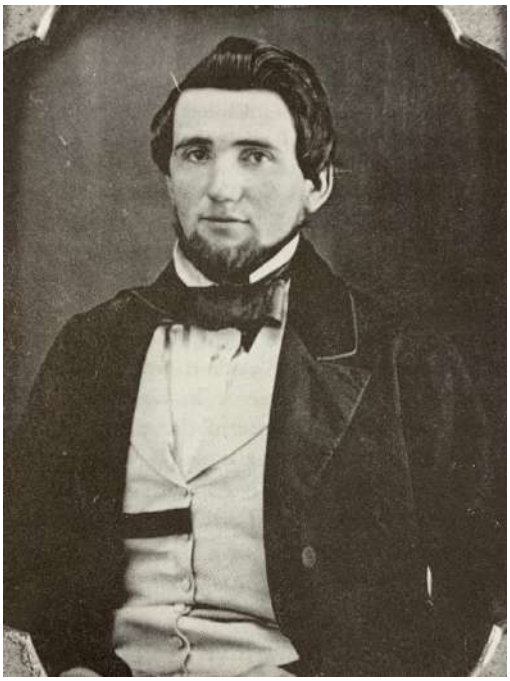


Figure 2.6. George M. Pullman, from a daguerreotype from 1857. Courtesy the Chicago Historical Society.

It is clear from this letter, as well, that George was still providing for his mother and younger siblings. George sent thirty dollars to his mother so she and his siblings could commence their "vacation visits," after his sisters Helen and Emma passed their "examinations."[82] George also made provision for remitting twenty dollars to [his mother's] credit on the first of every month, during his time away. He assured his mother, "so you can make your calculations accordingly and see how large a fund you will have in Bank when I return." (George also paid five dollars for his sister Emma's tuition).[83]

Upon arriving in Denver on July 21, 1860, George wrote to his mother that he planned to take a prospecting team "into the mountains a distance of about 45 miles [and] on my return I shall of course

[81] Letter to Emily Pullman, June 20, 1860. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

be better posted as to the probable success of the enterprise in which I am engaged."[84] George seemed unsure of the venture, stating that "the accounts received here from the mines are so conflicting that it is impossible to form a definite opinion . . . at this time."[85] George was pleased by the "state of society" in Denver as he found it "much better than I supposed [and] there are a great many good families here from the East and more constantly arriving."[86] He continued, "if the gold mines yield anything like the supply that is now confidently expected this is destined to be a large city and a splendid opportunity is presented to enterprising men with a fair amount of capital to realize a fortune in a few years and at the same time enjoy all the comforts of a pleasant home."[87] George was not nearly the only "enterprising" man to make a claim on the Colorado gold rush. He told of "occupying a little rough 7 by 9 room containing three beds which are each occupied by two persons and this is one of the best rooms in the house."[88]

On his journey to Denver, George met James E. Lyon of Ogdensburg, New York, and soon agreed to enter into a partnership in freighting and storekeeping in Denver. They formed Lyon, Pullman and Company and included George's friend and business partner, Charles Moore, as a silent partner.[89]

Communication with this family in New York was very important to George. In August, 1860, he wrote his mother:

> I have not received a letter of any description from the States in more than two weeks and as I have no doubt but you have written regularly it has occurred to me that possibly the letters I have written lately may not have reached you as there is a great deal of trouble here now concerning the carrying of the mails, which I hope will soon be satisfactorily assuaged so that letters will go and come with some degree of regularity, for it occasions me great anxiety when so long a time lapses that I cannot hear from home or from my business in Chicago.[90]

He went on to state he had just got his "Quartz Mill in operation, but have not tested it sufficiently to know yet whether we are likely to make any money with it or not." The underground lottery of mining had not been kind to everyone. George confided in his mother that, "there are a great many men that have been bought machinery here and become discouraged, sold out at a great sacrifice and returned to the States thoroughly disgusted with this whole country . . . [while] other are making some money

---

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Leyendecker, 48.

[90] Letter to Emily Pullman, August 20, 1860. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

though not as much by any means as they had been led to suppose they could previous to leaving home."[91]

George seemed determined to prove himself a success, despite the difficulties facing him and his fellow prospects. He described a story to his mother, wherein he had "bought one of the largest Steam Engines and portable saw mills with lumbering wagons, blacksmith tools, etc., that has been brought into this country":

> I purchased off a company from Oshkosh, Wisconsin consisting of thirty two men that started out with high hopes of making a fortune here, but their courage failed when they got to the foot of the mountains and they began to quarrel among themselves so that it finally became necessary to divide up and sell out. I heard of the "mess," saddled my mule immediately and came down to the scene of action and after remaining with them two days, finally bought them out for about $1200 less than their machinery cost in the States. And most of them have returned to their homes. I have got the mill into the mountains and shall have it in operation by Thursday of this week. You can judge by what I've written that I keep pretty busy. My mule gave out on my way back home after buying the machinery and left me to go on foot about seven miles in the evening, and through mud and rain. Which I can assure was not particularly agreeable. I got through safe but . . . a mountain road is not the pleasantest place in the world in which to take an evening walk."[92]

The quartz mill must have been somewhat successful for George, as he had daguerreotypes made of the mill and cabin there in September 1860.[93] That same month, in a letter to his mother, sisters, and "little brother," he indicated that the quartz mine had been in operation for four weeks and "employ[ed] fifteen men and six yoke of cattle."[94] The mill "require[d] pretty close attention in prospecting for Quartz that has gold in it for there is a very larger proportion of that material that is entirely worthless, and as a consequence there is now only about one mill in ten that pays expenses."[95]

That same month, George recorded in his journal that he had gone to Denver "to see about copper" and paid $26.75 for "freight on copper."[96] By September, he sold "50# copper . . . for $200 and 12# for cash,

---

[91] Letter to Emily Pullman, August 20, 1860. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[92] Letter to Emily Pullman, August 20, 1860. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[93] George M. Pullman journal, September 25, 1860. Chicago Historical Society.

[94] Letter to Emily Pullman, September 17, 1860. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[95] Ibid.

[96] George M. Pullman journal, August, 21, 1860 and August 25, 1860. Chicago Historical Society.

$50.00."[97] For most of 1860, George's journal reveals that he was focused on a sawmill he owned, which he visited nearly every day.[98]

George noted feeling ill and headaches fairly frequently in his journal and his letters to his mother. On December 7, 1860, he recorded only "Sick abed all day" in his journal. In a letter to his mother on March 4, 1866, he apologized for not writing the day before, "the anniversary of my birth, but was prevented on account of illness."[99] (He appears to have tried to write to his mother on his birthday every year, as evidenced by other letters). George was "under the doctors' care for two or three days past, but am very much better now so that I shall resume business again tomorrow."[100] A prescription for a mixture to be taken one "teaspoonful in a wine glass of water before each meal," was prescribed by a Dr. Pilsberry on March 9, 1874.[101]

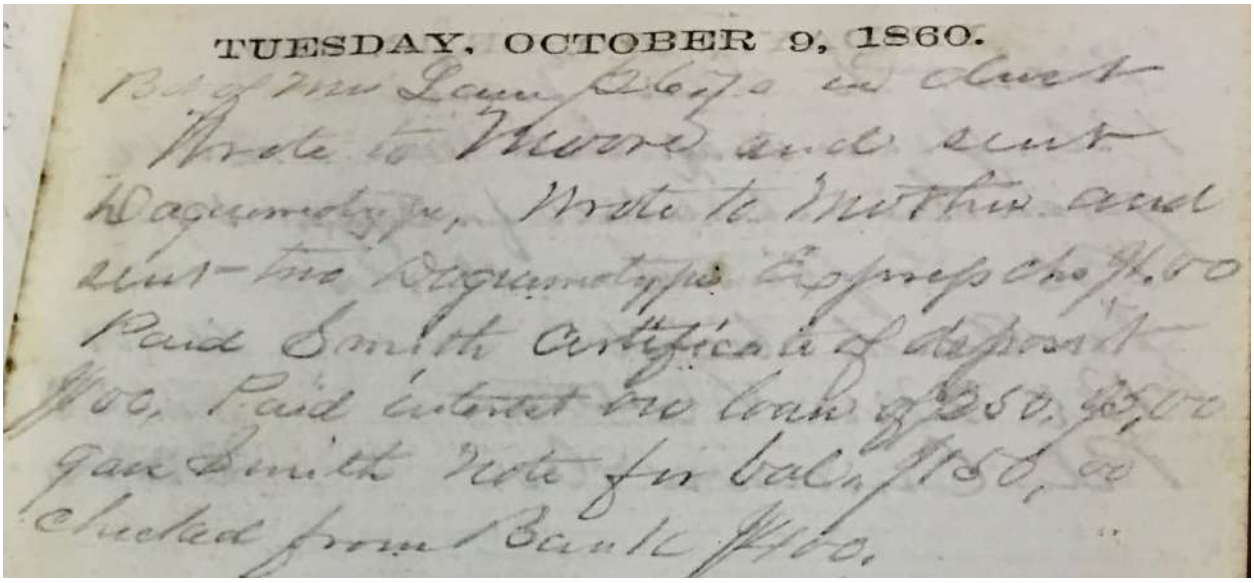

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1860.

Figure 2.7.George M. Pullman Journal entry, October 1860. Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

After two years in Colorado, Pullman returned to Chicago with his $20,000 in capital. It was this capital that he used to build his *Pioneer* car. This was the first sleeping car built entirely by Pullman.[102]

---

[97] George M. Pullman journal, September 3, 1860. Chicago Historical Society.

[98] George M. Pullman journal, Chicago Historical Society.

[99] Letter to Emily Pullman, March 4, 1866. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

[100] Ibid.

[101] "Copy of Prescription," March 9, 1874, Box 1, George M. Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[102] Vroom, "George M. Pullman and the Colorado Tradition," 115.

From 1862 to 1864, Pullman moved to Central City, Colorado, to "buy ore and outfit miners."[103] Although some argued that Pullman first conceived the idea of "two tier berths" for his Palace Cars while he was in Colorado, he had already built 10 cars with upper berths before leaving for Colorado.[104] By 1864, Pullman was on the board of directors of the Eagle Gold Company, a gold mining company with $1,000,000 capital. Their mines worked the "celebrated Gold Dirt Lode" in Gilpin County, Colorado" outside of Central City. The Gold Dirt Lode was

> considered one of the richest mines in the Territory. The vein has been thoroughly opened and worked to some extent, and about $150,000 taken out, the ores averaging by the present crude and imperfect mode of working them, $400 to the core or $50 to the ton. On Discovery, and claims one and two there have been eleven shafts sunk, from 140 to 170 feet deep each, thus opening the mine sufficiently for an immediate and large production of ore, and fully demonstrating the richness and inexhaustible quantity of the gold bearing rock. While by the present imperfect mode of working, the ores produce only $400 to the cord, or $50 per ton, the ores contain by analysis from $1,500 to $5,000 per cord, or from $187 to $625 per ton. By the improved method of working these ores, new being introduced, the amount of gold obtained will be three or four times greater than by the present mode, without essentially increasing the expense.[105]

[103] "George M. Pullman's Colorado Experiences," Letter from Vice-President at Pullman to Ms. Mary Arnold, December 19, 1933. Newberry Library, Pullman Company Records, Series 3, Box 2, Folder 90a.

[104] Ibid.

[105] "The Eagle Gold Company," *New York Mining Journal*, March 26, 1864, page 2,

Figure 2.9. George Pullman in an image he may have sent his mother and his business partner, Charles Henry Moore, during his time in Colorado. Colorado Historical Society.

Figure 2.10. "Eagle Gold Company," Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.

Local lore perpetuated the myth that George got his idea for the sleeping car after witnessing miners' bunks in Colorado well into the twentieth century. A sign "announcing that there George M. Pullman evolved the sleeping car" stood in front of Cold Spring Ranch, between Denver and Golden (see Figure 2.11).[106]

Even as George began to accelerate toward the creation of the Pullman Car Company, he remained close to his family, especially his mother and younger siblings. He wrote to his sister Emma, who was still living at home with their mother and younger brother Francis, while he was in St. Nicholas, New York, in 1864: "How are you and Frankie progressing with your studies this term? I would like right well to drop in upon you and spend this evening, for I feel really lonesome here in this great city and have an intense desire to spend a few hours at least in the society of those I love."[107]

[106] Vroom, "George M. Pullman and the Colorado Tradition," 114.

[107] Letter to Emma Pullman, November 3, 1864. Letters Written by George M. Pullman From Dec. 14, 1845 to April 5, 1866, Chicago Historical Society.

Figure 2.11. The Pullman House as a Service Station in the early 20th Century. Courtesy Golden History Museum, City of Golden Collection via http://gardnerhistory.com/pullman/history4.htm.

George began a relationship with Harriett ("Hattie") Sanger sometime in 1865, although "according to family tradition, he met her at a celebration honoring the completion of the first hotel car in 1867."[108] Hattie was the daughter of Mary Catherine McKibben Sanger and James Y. Sanger, "a builder who helped construct railroads in Illinois, Missouri and California."[109] Hattie served as a volunteer during the Civil War, visiting all of the hospitals in Memphis in 1862. Later that year she returned to Chicago to work for the Union Soldiers of the Sanitary Commission.[110] Hattie lived with her family on Wabash Avenue in 1866–1867. That winter her father became ill with what was likely pneumonia due to his exposure to cold and wet conditions as his company (Sanger, Steel and Company) worked on excavating sections of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.[111] George and Hattie's relationship had grown during the spring of 1867 and on June 13, 1867, they were married at James Sanger's bedside. [112] While on their honeymoon in Montreal, they received word that James' condition had worsened. Hattie and George returned to Chicago on July 2 and James died July 3.[113]

---

[108] Leyendecker, 92.

[109] Leyendecker, 92–93.

[110] Leyendecker, 93.

[111] Leyendecker, 93.

[112] Leyendecker, 94 and *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago, (Chicago, Illinois: Wilson & St. Clair, 1868), 475.*

[113] Leyendecker, 94.

George and Harriett had four children: Florence (August 11, 1868), Harriet (September 17, 1869), and twin sons, George Jr. and Walter Sanger (June 25, 1875).[114] The Pullman children often traveled with their parents, but the twins often remained in Chicago. Both Florence and Harriet enrolled in Miss Brown's School in New York, graduating in 1888 and 1887, respectively. The boys had tutors until they entered St. Marks School in Southborough,

Figure 2.12. Mrs. Pullman with Twin Boys," ca. 1875, Collection of the Industrial Heritage Archives - Pullman State Historic Site (http://www.pullman-museum.org/main/pfp.12.28.07.260.jpg).

Figure 2.13. Pullman family, n.d. (likely at Castle Rest). Carolands Foundation (http://carolands.org/history/#18).

Massachusetts, in 1888 (this move proved initially difficult for the boys and their mother, but they came to enjoy their time at school). In 1889, George Jr. and Walter entered the Dobbs Ferry School in Brooklyn and then attended the Hill School for Boys in Pottstown, Pennsylvania in 1892. Later, they went to the University of Chicago and the Chicago Manual Training School, each for one year.[115]

Florence married Frank O. Lowden in 1896. The wedding cost $4,640.76 and Florence's trousseau was worth $3,364.81.[116] Harriett graduated from Miss Brown's Fifth Avenue School in New York City in 1889. She married Francis Carolan in 1892 and moved to Burlingame, California.[117] It is likely that Harriett

---

[114] Ibid.

[115] Leyendecker, 123.

[116] Florence Pullman Wedding Expenses, 1896. Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 1, Box 8 Folder 125.

[117] "Harriett Pullman Carolan," Carolands Foundation, <http://carolands.org/history-extras/harriett-pullman-carolan>.

spent quite a bit of time away from Chicago, so a collection of letters from George to his daughter survive in the Chicago Historical Society.

Figure 2.14. "Ball Gown," gift of Harriet Sanger Pullman Carolan Schermerhorn, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009.300.1250a,b (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/155944).

George M. Pullman died in his home at 1739 Prairie Ave. on October 19, 1897. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that "death was caused by an affection of the heart, angina pectoris, which seems to have been recently aggravated by the hot weather of the last few weeks."[118] According to the *Chicago Record*, "while bidding a party of friends good-night late [the night before] Mr. Pullman complained of a slight indisposition, but cheerfully predicted a quick recovery, and retired . . . six hours later he awoke with a groan of pain, staggered from his bed, groped blindly, and then sunk into final unconsciousness, just as the Rev. Charles H. Eaton of New York, a guest, who had been occupying an adjoining room, ran in to the apartment and caught the dying man in his arms."[119] The *Tribune* also reported that "no member of his family was present, Mrs. Pullman being in the East with their son, Sanger W. Pullman."[120] Newspapers from around the country reported on his passing.

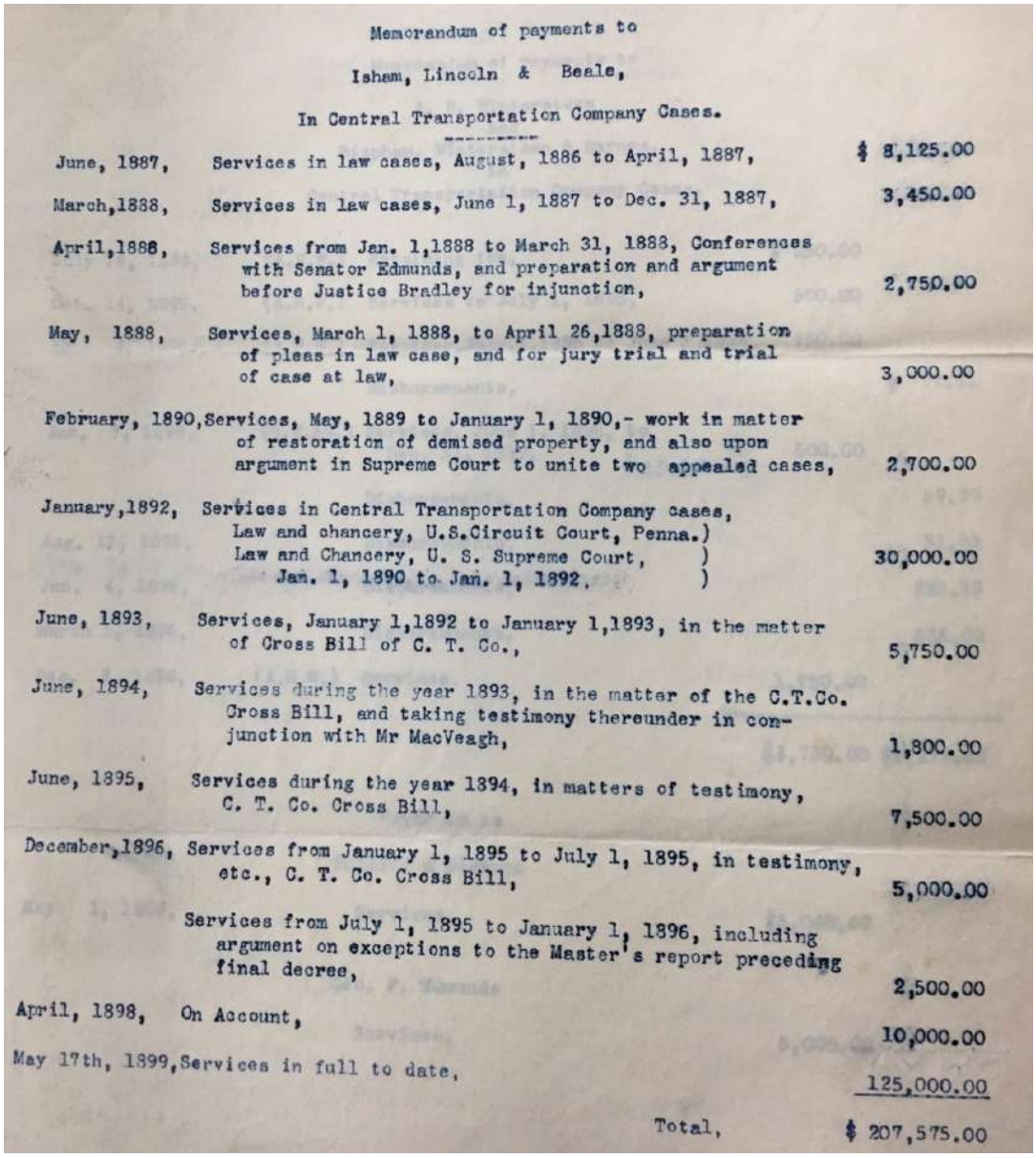
---

[118] "George M. Pullman Expired Suddenly," *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1897.

[119] "G.M. Pullman Gone," Chicago Record, October 20, 1897.

[120] "George M. Pullman Expired Suddenly," *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1897.

Robert Todd Lincoln succeeded George Pullman as the president of the Pullman Company, having previously served as a lawyer for the company.



Memorandum of payments to

Isham, Lincoln & Beale,

In Central Transportation Company Cases.

June, 1887,	Services in law cases, August, 1886 to April, 1887,	$ 8,125.00
March,1888,	Services in law cases, June 1, 1887 to Dec. 31, 1887,	3,450.00
April,1888,	Services from Jan. 1,1888 to March 31, 1888, Conferences with Senator Edmunds, and preparation and argument before Justice Bradley for injunction,	2,750.00
May, 1888,	Services, March 1, 1888, to April 26,1888, preparation of pleas in law case, and for jury trial and trial of case at law,	3,000.00
February, 1890,	Services, May, 1889 to January 1, 1890,- work in matter of restoration of demised property, and also upon argument in Supreme Court to unite two appealed cases,	2,700.00
January,1892,	Services in Central Transportation Company cases, Law and chancery, U.S.Circuit Court, Penna.) Law and Chancery, U. S. Supreme Court,) Jan. 1, 1890 to Jan. 1, 1892.)	30,000.00
June, 1893,	Services, January 1,1892 to January 1,1893, in the matter of Cross Bill of C. T. Co.,	5,750.00
June, 1894,	Services during the year 1893, in the matter of the C.T.Co. Cross Bill, and taking testimony thereunder in conjunction with Mr MacVeagh,	1,800.00
June, 1895,	Services during the year 1894, in matters of testimony, C. T. Co. Cross Bill,	7,500.00
December,1896,	Services from January 1, 1895 to July 1, 1895, in testimony, etc., C. T. Co. Cross Bill,	5,000.00
	Services from July 1, 1895 to January 1, 1896, including argument on exceptions to the Master's report preceding final decree,	2,500.00
April, 1898,	On Account,	10,000.00
May 17th, 1899,	Services in full to date,	125,000.00
	Total,	$ 207,575.00

Figure 2.15. Memorandum of Payments to Isham, Lincoln & Beale, George M. Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

Figure 2.16. "View of an Entire Block of Brick & Stone Buildings in Chicago, on Lake St. Between Clark & LaSalle Strs. While Being Raised to the New Grade a Height of 4 Feet," by Edward Mendel 1857, Chicago Historical Society.

2.C.2 Pullman's Role in the Urbanization and Industrialization of Nineteenth-Century Chicago

George Pullman's role in Chicago's development begins below-grade—he was responsible for raising the level of the city in order to accommodate a sewage system. Pullman worked to raise several buildings, including the Matteson House, Democratic Building, Jackson Hall, New York House, and J. H. Dunham's store.[121] According to the one biographer, Pullman was "full of the spirit of push and progress which animated Chicago in those days, and did not hesitate to enter upon undertakings of great magnitude."[122] In 1860, he and his business partner raised an entire block of buildings on Lake Street, between Clark and LaSalle. This was the largest building

raising endeavor in the city of Chicago. The buildings weighed 35,000 tons and were 320 feet long. "This was successfully accomplished by the aid of six thousand jackscrews, without interruption to the business conducted in the structures, or the breaking of a single pane of glass or a yard of plaster."[123] The work cost $17,000 total and the buildings on the block included the Marine Bank building. Pullman and his partners commissioned artist Edward Mendel to create a lithograph of their achievement (see Figure 2.16). According to the 1868 biographical volume, "the business of all these continue almost

[121] Martha T. Briggs and Cynthia H. Peters, ""Pullman Inc." from Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820–2000)," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Historical Society, 2005).

[122] "George Mortimer Pullman," 232.

[123] Ibid.

unimpeded during the process—a feat, in its class, probably without a parallel in the world."[124] That same year, Pullman and his partners were commissioned to raise the buildings directly across Lake Street from their earlier effort. After George went to Colorado for a brief period in 1861, his brother

Figure 2.17. "Marine Bank Building" Louis Kurz for Jevne & Almini, 1866-67, Chicago Historical Society.

Albert worked on raising the Tremont House hotel (Figure 2.18).

Even as George was in the midst of raising a full city block of buildings in Chicago, his train-building enterprise seemed to be first in his mind. In his journal entries from 1860, he first recorded the "reports from Car no. 9," and then wrote about the progress with building raising. For example, on January 3, 1860, he wrote, "Weather mild and very pleasant. Car no. 9 reports cash $8.50, tickets $1.00. Commenced work on J.H. Dunham's store."[125] As important as car-building was to him, he also seems to have trusted and delegated to his partners. On January 2, 1860, Pullman wrote "received message that

[124] *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago*, 472.

[125] George Mortimer Pullman diary entry, January 3, 1860. George Mortimer Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

sleeping car no. 19 had run off the track near Bloomington and badly smashed up. Field went down on morning train and I gave him cash $5.00."126

Figure 2.18. "Tremont House" Louis Kurz for Jevne & Almini, Lithograph, 1866-67, Chicago Historical Society

George Pullman began modifying railroad passenger cars in the 1850s.[127] The initial inspiration for Pullman's sleeping cars has been debated, but at least one biographer noted "the idea of the sleeping-car came to him one night while observing his fellow train passengers buying head-rests from a vendor to mitigate the discomfort of an all-night ride."[128] Pullman's experience with and interest in travel, the expanding western frontier marketplace, and Chicago's centrality to it, all led to his interest in railcars.[129] Pullman and his business partner Ben Field completed their first luxury sleeping car in 1864.[130] The *Pioneer* cost $18,000 to produce, compared to the $4,000 price tag of the most luxurious train car then

[126] Ibid.

[127] Briggs and Peters, ""Pullman Inc." from Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820–2000)."

[128] "George Mortimer Pullman," 232.

[129] Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 74.

[130] Ibid., 74-75.

in use.[131] One of Pullman's biographers described the initial reception of Pullman's creation: "the two palace cars . . were regarded by very many as specimens of foolish extravagance, but the people soon found out that he knew better than they what they wanted. The cars were visited by a great many prominent gentlemen, all of whom took considerable interest in examining them, even while decrying them."[132] John W. Brooks, president of the Michigan Central Road, was one of the earliest investors to "appreciate [the cars'] value."[133] In 1865, Pullman contracted for an "exclusive" run of Pullman's sleeping cars on the Michigan Central Railroad for ten years.[134] Pullman soon made similar contracts with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad and the Great Western Railway of Canada.[135]

In 1867, the Pullman's Palace Car Company was incorporated in Illinois "with capital of one million dollars."[136] The initial investors and members of the board of directors included Pullman, John Crerar, Norman Williams Jr., J. Irving Pearce, S. S. Benjamin, H. E. Sargent, and Robert Harris.[137] Pullman became president while Williams served as secretary. On July 27, 1867, the Board of Directors "adopted a resolution. . . for the purpose of taking an inventory to appraise the value of the Sleeping Car property together with all the privileges and franchises under which the said cars now run on the Michigan Central Railroad, the Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railroad, the Great Western Railroad, of Canada, the Chicago Alton and St. Louis Railroad, the Chicago and Great Eastern Railway, and the Chicago and Northwestern Railway."[138] What followed was a full inventory of all of the holdings of the Pullman Palace Car Company in 1867 (see example in Figure 2.19).

---

[131] *Contemporary American Biography: Biographical Sketches of Representative Men of the Day*, (New York, NY: Atlantic Publishing Co., 1895), 259.

[132] *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago*, 473.

[133] Ibid.

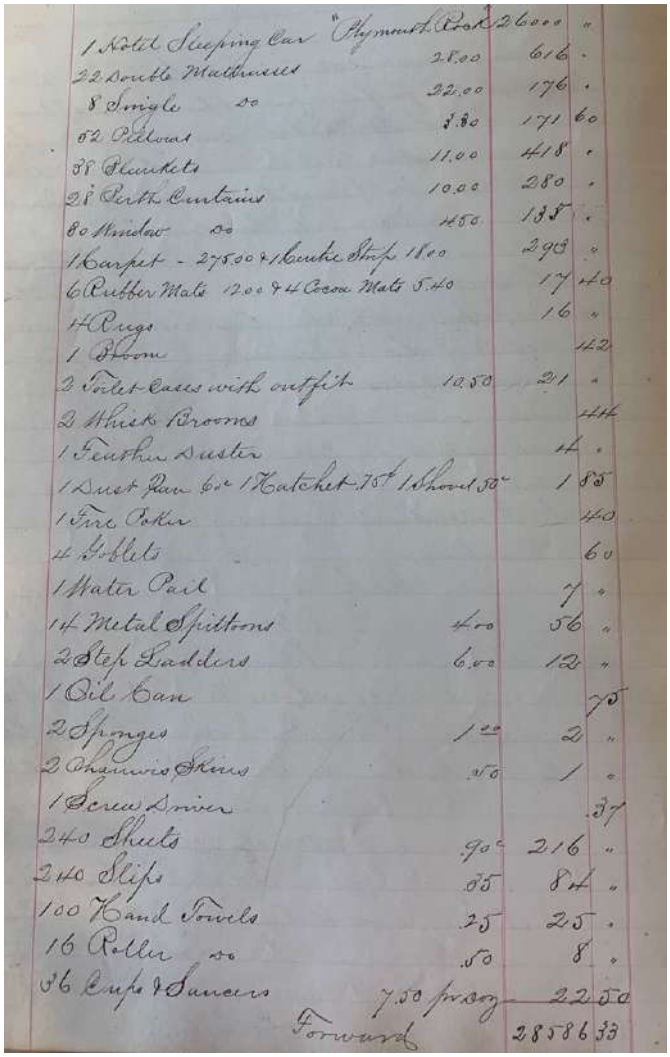
[134] Ibid and Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 80.

[135] Ibid.

[136] *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago*, 474.

[137] "Pullman Palace Car, Co. Director's Meeting Minutes & Annual Stockholder's Meeting Minutes, 1867–April 20, 1887," Pullman Company Collection, Secretary & Treasurer Office of the Sec. & Treas. Board of Director's Records, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 2, Vol. 1.

[138] Ibid.



1 Hotel Sleeping Car "Plymouth Rock"		26000	"
22 Double Mattresses	28.00	616	.
8 Single do	22.00	176	.
52 Pillows	3.80	171	60
38 Blankets	11.00	418	.
28 Berth Curtains	10.00	280	.
80 Window do	4.50	135	.
1 Carpet - 27.00 & 1 Entire Strip 18.00		293	"
6 Rubber Mats 12.00 & 4 Cocoa Mats 5.40		17	40
4 Rugs		16	"
1 Broom			42
2 Toilet Cases with outfit	10.50	21	"
2 Whisk Brooms			44
1 Feather Duster		1	4 .
1 Dust Pan 60c 1 Hatchet 75c 1 Shovel 50c		1	85
1 Fire Poker			40
4 Goblets			60
1 Water Pail		7	"
14 Metal Spittoons	4.00	56	"
2 Step Ladders	6.00	12	"
1 Oil Can			75
2 Sponges	1.00	2	"
2 Chamois Skins	.50	1	"
1 Screw Driver			37
240 Sheets	.90c	216	"
240 Slips	.35	84	"
100 Hand Towels	.25	25	.
16 Roller do	.50	8	"
36 Cups & Saucers	7.50 per doz	22	50
Forward		28586	33

Figure 2.19. Sample page of Pullman Palace Car Inventory, 1867 "Pullman Palace Car, Co. Director's Meeting Minutes & Annual Stockholder's Meeting Minutes, 1867-April 20, 1887," Pullman Company Collection, Secretary & Treasurer Office of the Sec. & Treas. Board of Director's Records, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 2, Vol. 1., pg. 16.

Manufacturing was initially set up in Detroit and Elmira, New York. At about the same time, he organized the Pullman, Kimball & Ramsey Sleeping Car Company, headquartered in Atlanta, and the Pullman Pacific Car Company to run on the Pacific Railroad.[139] The company grew to 460 luxury

[139] *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago*, 474.

passenger cars in operation by 1877.[140] The company later claimed to have received quite a bit of notoriety when at least one Pullman car joined the train carrying President Abraham Lincoln's body back to Springfield, Illinois.[141]

Decades later, George Pullman would tell the story:

> When I came to Chicago, I had a little money I had made in the mining operations at Pike's Peak and a clear conception of how a sleeping car ought to be built. The cars of those days were low and narrow with a curved roof. The monitor-top car, now the universal plan, was then unknown. I think I was the first to hit on the idea in my search for more air space in my proposed cars. I submitted my plan to many railroad men, but all said it was impossible to build and run cars so large. Thus, thrown back on my own resources, I got the use of an old car shop, hired a gang of men and a foreman and began to build a car with my own money. It was larger even than the Pullman car of today, for I foresaw that ample space was a necessity. After much difficulty I succeeded. To construct it I had used up my money, and was in the position of the man with the white elephant. Without a dollar, without influence enough in railroad circles to get a freight car side-tracked, I was the proud passenger of one sleeping car so broad and high that it couldn't run a mile on any road without smashing everything along the line. This was the turning point of my career and good luck tided me over. President Lincoln was assassinated, and his funeral party comprising all dignitaries of the nation, was coming to Chicago. The officials of the Vandalia road, over whose line the party was to enter Chicago, were anxious to make a display and impress the eastern men. They borrowed my car, turned out all their wrecking trains worked day and night pulling up platforms and widening bridges and cuts and in two days had things in such shape that the car could run safely from one end of the road to the other. It did duty as the funeral car, and its description was published throughout the country. The war came to a close and General Grant, the conquering hero, came westward on his triumphal tour. The Michigan Central had to have my car. Again the wrecking gangs did their work, making straight the road to Detroit for my sleeper. So it happened that what was once spoken of as 'the folly of the Pike's Peak lunatic' became the car of the state, observed of all observers; and without effort of my own the value and importance of my invention became established among railroad men and known to the general public. Pullman's Palace Car Company was formed and the work of developing the sleeping car system was begun.[142]

---

[140] Briggs and Peters, ""Pullman Inc." from Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820–2000)."

[141] *Leyendecker, Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman, 77-78.* The validity of this story has been debated and there is lack of evidence from contemporary newspapers that this story is accurate.

[142] Interview with George Pullman, (December 1, 1897), Newberry Library Pullman Collection, Series 1, Box8, Folder 11. Again, this interview is published after Pullman's death, and this story about President Lincoln's body being transported back to Illinois in a Pullman car may be fabricated. For

Our research confirmed the findings of railroad historian Charles Long, who noted that press accounts of the period did not mention the *Pioneer* as part of the funeral train, nor do they hint at the frantic modifications to bridges and platforms along the route. It seems that this origin myth story may have originated as a tall tale from George, but Pullman company executives knowingly retold it during the early 20th century until it was repeated by historians and biographers.

By 1868, Pullman was also the "principal owner" of the Eagleton Wire Works in New York, with over one thousand workers employed there.[143] One biographer noted, "the whole of this vast enterprise has been accomplished without any aid except that commanded by Mr. Pullman in his business relations. He had no influential friends, except as he made them by showing that he was working for the benefit of society, and that it would be to their advantage to assist in the labor."[144]

As historian Susan Hirsch has argued, Pullman sought to create a monopoly in the sleeping car industry, even as "many railroad officials believed that each railroad should own and operate its own sleeping cars."[145] In order to achieve this monopoly status, Pullman quickly expanded beyond Chicago. As Chicago was known as the "gateway to the West," this was the ideal location from which to launch his new company into the western market, where the comforts of his cars were most appreciated as the western roads covered the longest distances.[146] Pullman invested in the reconstruction of southern railroads after the war, thus enabling him to dominate the region's sleeping car industry. The well-established railroads in the east made that region the most difficult for Pullman to break into.[147]

As Pullman's company became more successful, he began to develop and flex his political power. In 1871, President Grant invited George and Harriett to spend a week at the White House.[148] Pullman also received several confidential letters from Horace Porter, Grant's personal secretary. While Grant was still in office, Porter officially became the vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company.[149] It was

---

comparison, see Charles Long, "Pioneer and the Lincoln Funeral Train: How "Honest Abe" Was Used to Create a Corporate Tall Tale," *Railroad History*, no. 186 (2002).; Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*.

[143] *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago, 474.*

[144] Ibid.

[145] Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*, 8.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid.

[148] President U. S. Grant to George M. Pullman, November 22, 1871, Box 1, George Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[149] "Memorandum of agreement made this twenty sixth day of November 1872 between Pullman's Palace Car Company, a corporation of the State of Illinois and General Horace Porter of Harrisburg," Box 1, George Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

clear that while Porter was working in the White House for President Grant, he was also pressing his position as vice-president of the Pullman Company. On November 17, 1872, Porter wrote to Pullman:

> I went to Child's party last evening and was very glad I did. I had a long talk with Thomson, Seatt, Jewett, Kneass, Cassatt, Roberts, Smith and lots of R.R. men. The latter expressed great interest in my connection with the P.P.C. Co. and was exceedingly kind and attentive during the evening. Childs and others expressed great regret at your not being there, but I explained fully your reasons. I had my brother go over the contracts. He started to suggest several changes, but I told him you and I considered the matter closed, and I could not consent to alter a word, unless it was of actual legal importance, or explanatory of the contents of the contracts simply. You will find only a couple of explanatory words added and a useless phrase "more or less" struck out. The words "transfer to" [and] "in trust," are inserted to reference to the securities you put up as collaterals which words my brother says are actually necessary in order to enable the trust company to comply with all conditions of the trust named in our agreement. This, I have no doubt coincides with what you intended the sentence would mean. There was a law in Penn. (since repealed) limiting an option to a brief time. It would be well to inquire whether any such law exists in Ill. If you would rather have me run out to Chicago now and execute the contacts there, please telegraph me to that effect.[150]

In 1879, Pullman received correspondence from J. Sterling Morton, a politician from Nebraska, (written on U. S. Senate stationary) regarding a bill "regulating the Pullman prices for sleeping car accommodations." Morton enclosed "a copy of this stupendous statute on sleeping cars." He assured Pullman "it cannot I think by any chance get through Congress before March 4th, ie, this session." "But what," he cautioned Pullman the "idiots of the next Congress, in their exuberant imbecility, may accomplish no one can foretell."[151] In 1893, President Benjamin Harrison wrote Pullman, a "private" letter stating:

> My dear Mr. Pullman, Your telegram favoring Judge Pardee came after I had nominated Judge Jackson to the Supreme Bench. I cannot, in a letter, undertake to explain the situation of things here, or my reasons for making the nomination I did, further than to say that I know Judge Jackson to hold constitutional views more nearly like ours than any Southern democrat I know of, and that he is a man of the highest integrity and the finest sense of what the judicial office implies. In the trial of democrats for election frauds in Tennessee he has shown the most vigorous and honest indignation at such crimes. Sometime when I have an opportunity to talk with you, as I hope to do after getting away from here, I will explain to you somewhat fully the situation in the Senate, which in some degree influenced my decision. You know I am a pretty stalwart republican and I have no doubt you have observed that our republican majority in the

---

[150] Horace Porter to George M. Pullman, November 17, 1872, Box 1, George Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[151] J. Sterling Morton to George M. Pullman, January 22, 1879, Box 1, George Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

> Senate has not always shown that quality. I am struggling along here to finish my work, very tired and very anxious to be released. I thought, after putting this and one or two other matters behind me I might have a quiet sail to the end, but the Hawaiian question has broken upon us and I suppose I shall not be able to get away even for a day for the rest, the need of which I feel more and more. With kind regards, very truly yours, Benjamin Harrison.[152]

Clearly Pullman was connected to influential individuals throughout the country and the business world. He had a personal account with General Hart L. Stewart in 1871 to 1879, just as his Pullman company began to flourish. He also had an account with a member of the "Field" family by 1890. By 1886, the Pullman Company was selling Palace Cars to other companies, including the New York Central Sleeping Company, for $13,000 per car with orders of up to twelve cars at a time.[153]

Due to the company's success, Pullman began construction on a new factory just south of Chicago, where he also created the model town of Pullman to house his workers in this new factory. One contemporary commentator noted, "what Saltair was to England and the Krupp works at Essen are to Germany, so Pullman is to the United States."[154] They continued, "the town of Pullman, without being in any sense a socialistic enterprise, has been able through its inception and judicious management to do for the workingman far more than socialism has ever even pretended to do. No possible commune could ever have the stability which is an essential part of the organization of Pullman, founded as it is on large capital securely and wisely administered."[155] There were 9,000 inhabitants in the town by 1885. The town grew to house nearly half of all Pullman employees in the nation by the 1890s. This centerpiece of the Pullman Company's production manufactured 12,000 freight cars and 1,000 passenger cars per year.[156] The company and the town drew immigrants from around the world to work there (see Figure 2.20). By 1893, the Pullman Palace Car Company also operated repair shops in Wilmington, Delaware, St. Louis, and Ludlow, Kentucky.[157]

---

[152] President Benjamin Harrison to George M. Pullman, February 3, 1893, Box 1, George Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[153] Letters from Dr. Webb to George M. Pullman, October 7, 1886. Newberry Library, Pullman Collection Series 1, Box 3, Folder 46.

[154] *Contemporary American Biography: Biographical Sketches of Representative Men of the Day*, 263.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Briggs and Peters, ""Pullman Inc." from Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820–2000)."

[157] T.H. Wickes, "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission," (Washington: U.S Government Printing Office, 1894), 5.

NATIVITY OF WAGE-EARNERS, SEPT. 15, 1892.

Types.	Countries where born.	Number in each country.	Total of types.
American	United States	1,796	1,796
Scandinavian	Denmark	89	
	Finland	1	
	Norway	169	
	Sweden	1,163	1,422
German	Austria	66	
	Bohemia	26	
	Germany	732	824
British	Australia	2	
	Canada	264	
	England	365	
	Scotland	131	
	Wales	34	796
Dutch	Holland	753	753
Irish	Ireland	402	402
Latin	Belgium	16	
	France	26	
	Italy	99	
	Spain	1	
	Switzerland	28	170
All others	Asia	14	
	Africa	3	
	East Indies	2	
	Hungary	11	
	Mexico	2	
	Poland	116	
	Russia	12	
	Greece	1	161
			6,324

Figure 2.20. "Nativity of Wage-Earners, Sept. 15, 1892," from Mrs. Duane Doty The Town of Pullman, Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries (T.P. Struhsacker: Pullman, IL, 1893), 35.

Even after the creation of the town of Pullman, George appeared to have managed the company from his offices in downtown Chicago and New York.[158] Business correspondence appears to have been addressed to him in those locations. In addition, George seems to have relied on reports from others in order to keep up with various aspects of his growing business, as evidenced by daily reports from the Pullman Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.[159]

[158] See "Correspondence-Miscellaneous, 1884-1892," Office of the President, George M. Pullman Files, Business Papers. Newberry Library.

[159] See "Reports on World's Fair," George M. Pullman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

2.D Creation of the Town of Pullman as a Reaction to Urbanization and Industrialization

Figure 2.21. "Diagram of Kalamick Lake," Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 7, Box 4 Folder 3.

According to Pullman's obituary in *Railway World*, the idea for the model town of Pullman began after 1880, when "the success of his car company was assured."[160] Pullman "studied the subject carefully for two or three years, and had visited Europe in search of practical suggestions."[161] Since the Pullman Palace Car Company's charter would not allow the corporation to own "more land than was actually needed for manufacturing purposes . . . Mr. Pullman personally bought 3,500 acres of land near Chicago, and, after deeding to the car company 500 acres on the center of the tract for manufacturing purposes,

[160] "Obituary: George Mortimar Pullman," *Railway World*, October 23, 1897 1897, 1050.

[161] Ibid.

he placed the remaining 3,000 acres in the trust for the Pullman Land Association."[162] He also "took the precaution to restrict the sale of lots, so that no persons or business of an objectionable character could intrude."[163] An 1876 survey of the land described it as "marsh and meadow land with a very heavy growth of vegetation.[164]

The creation of the model town of Pullman was also George Pullman's reaction to the urbanization and industrialization taking place in Chicago. "The object in building Pullman," according to George Pullman, himself, "was the establishment of a great manufacturing business on the most substantial basis possible, recognizing . . . that the working people are the most important element which enter into the successful operation of any manufacturing enterprise."[165] He continued:

> We decided to build, in close proximity to the shops, homes for workingmen, of such character and surroundings as would prove so attractive as to cause the best class of mechanics to seek that place for employment in preference to others. We also desired to establish the place on such a basis as would exclude all baneful influences, believing that such a policy would result in the greatest measure of success, both from a commercial point of view, and also, what was equally important, or perhaps of greater importance, in a tendency toward continued elevation and improvement of the condition not only of the working people themselves but of their children growing up about them.[166]

As stated in an 1885 report by the Bureau of Labor, Pullman "commenced with the foundation idea of furnishing his workmen with model homes, and supplying them with abundant work and with good wages, feeling that simply better conditions would make better men and his city would become a permanent benefaction."[167] As one reporter for the *London Times* exclaimed, "The Pullman town, like the Pullman coach, is a model of neatness and elegance."[168] A company history boasted that the homes in Pullman were, "much superior to those for any other entire community of workmen."[169] Each

---

[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Letter from Sam V. Niles to S.S. Burdett, February 3, 1876. Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 7, Box 4 Folder 3.

[165] "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission," (Washington: U.S Government Printing Office, 1894), 1.

[166] Ibid., 1-2.

[167] Carroll D. Wright, "The City of Pullman, Illinois," *Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics* (1885).

[168] "A Visit to the States," *London Times* (October 24, 1887), reprinted in Bessie Louise Pierce and Joe Lester Norris, *As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 242.

[169] "Pullman," 1890. Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 7, Box 4, Folder 7.

tenement was connected to municipal water and gas, conveniences that were not yet standard at the time.[170]

	No. of Acc't.	Bal. Deposit.	Average per Acc't.
Aug. 1st, '84....	578	$ 83,943	$145 23
" 1st, '85....	625	98,605	157 76
Oct. 13th, '85 ...	652	108,200	165 95

Figure 2.21. "Pullman's Palace Car Company Annual Meeting, Thursday, Oct. 15, 1885," Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago: October 16, 1885).

At the 1885 Annual Meeting of the Pullman Palace Car Company, George Pullman indicated that the population of his town had grown to 3,752 men, 1,945 women, and 2,906 children, totaling 8,603.[171] The average household had approximately six people and two children. The mortality rate was "7 per 1,000 per annum, which is believed to be the lowest death rate in the world." The average rental rate for all of the houses in Pullman was $3.30 per room, per month. This number included "the better class of houses occupied by officials, merchants, professional and business men." The average monthly rent for "operatives" was $2.50 per room, and was compared with "the average monthly rental of rooms in neighboring towns, occupied by manufacturing operatives, is about $2.50 per room." This rate was lower than the $2.86 per month paid by workers in the "manufacturing towns of Massachusetts," according to the report of the Commissioners of the State Bureaus of Labor Statistics. George added that"the houses in Pullman are built of brick, on broad, paved and shaded streets, with a perfect sewerage and drainage system, and are furnished with all modern conveniences and comforts of gas, water and complete sanitary arrangements." George argued that "the employees at Pullman enjoy a reasonable degree of prosperity, [as] shown by the following statement from the savings department of Pullman Loan and Savings Bank" (Figure 2.21). "It is fair to assume," Pullman continued, "that the gradual increase in savings is, in some degree, attributable to the absence of saloons and other debasing influences, and the general healthful and moral surroundings of the place."

In 1896, the International Hygienic and Pharmaceutical Exposition of Prague named Pullman, Illinois, "the most perfect town in the world." Indeed, the town's orderly layout and homogenous aesthetic seemed the ultimate achievement of that nineteenth-century faith in ambition, planning, and follow-through. Professionalization and credentialing among the building trades created newly-defined experts in the fields of architecture, landscape design, and utilities systems design. Pullman saw the possibilities of bringing together these new experts to help him realize his vision for a model town built at the same time as his factory.

---

[170] "Pullman," 1890. Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 7, Box 4, Folder 7.

[171] This and the following statistics are from "Pullman's Palace Car Company Annual Meeting," *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 16, 1885 1885.

The town of Pullman stood out nationally for being modern in many ways. First, the predominance of brick construction combatted the threat of fire, of particular significance in Chicago, which was still rebuilding its city and reputation after the disastrous blaze of 1871. The utilities in Pullman also set it apart from most parts of the country and certainly from any planned community. Each living unit had running water and access to toilets connected to a specially-built sewer system. Pullman also envisioned his town to be self-sufficient in terms of commercial and service needs. It would have its own stores, schools, and a church. Part of this approach was dictated by necessity, since little surrounded the factory town in 1881. This whole cloth approach, however, set up Pullman as a model in the benefits of pre-planning.

Pullman stood out nationally for its emphasis on aesthetics. Nineteenth-century America was a hotbed of debate about the emotional and psychological power of beauty. Pullman's belief that a collective style for the town's buildings—industrial, commercial, and residential—would bring moral uplift to workers at all status levels marked a high-water point in the nineteenth-century belief in the power of beauty. The debates about how much money was worth spending on workers would rage among industrialists and housing reformers for decades, with Pullman standing out as an example to many that from the perspective of company owners and investors, creating beauty for working people would not pay off in the long run.

One aspect of Pullman received almost no commentary at the time, but is critically important in understanding its role nationally and in the development of Chicago: the town of Pullman did not allow African American residents, an exclusion based on employment discrimination as

Figure 2.22. "A section of the Dining Room, Hotel Florence. 100 guests can be here accommodated at a time without any effort or discomfort. The service is faultless and in keeping with the surroundings." H.R. Koopman, Pullman: The City of Brick (Roseland, IL: 1893).

much as on housing discrimination, as will be discussed further in later chapters in this report. In Chicago in 1881 the African American population was very low, only 1.1 percent of the overall

population of half a million.[172] Those black Chicagoans tended to live among white residents but did face discrimination in employment and public accommodations.[173] When Pullman began to rent houses in 1881 with de facto racial exclusion in place, it may have helped set a precedent in the industrializing city, whose white residents in the 1920s employed widespread restrictive covenants to prevent African American "infiltration."[174] A demographic questionnaire from 1885 estimated the entire African American population of Pullman at ten, all working as waiters in the Hotel Florence.[175] The neighborhood segregation so well documented in the twentieth century did not begin to become dramatic until the 1910s when the Great Migration gained speed and white animosity took the form of real estate exclusion.

This racial exclusion bears emphasis because the company was creating some of the best jobs for African Americans as porters while simultaneously denying them the housing and all the moral uplift it supposedly bestowed. The fact that this racial exclusion went without comment at the time indicates the degree to which segregation in domestic landscapes dominated expectations in the post-Civil War north.

2.E Pullman and Chicago's Place in American Labor History

Chicago and Pullman are inextricably linked to the history of labor in the United States. This history is punctuated by two specific episodes: the 1894 American Railway Union strike and the 1925 formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The racial segregation of the Pullman workforce is essential to understanding not only the labor history of the Pullman Company, but American labor history more generally. From the company's foundation in 1867, George "segmented" his workforce. "Pullman hired white people for managerial, clerical, and craft work and black people for service work."[176] This practice of segmenting the workforce along racial lines served to undermine a united working class, in Pullman and beyond.

Pullman's workers began organizing by joining the American Railway Union in 1894, in response to decreased wages and unrelenting rental rate hikes in Pullman housing. The ensuing strike of 1894 forever changed the relationship between workers and management in the United States, as George Pullman's bargain with his workers began to unravel.

After an economic downturn in 1893–1894 (which caused Pullman to close his Detroit shops), George Pullman reduced the wage of some workers, laid off workers, and reduced the work schedules for other

---

[172] Allen H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto: 1890-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 12.

[173] Ibid., 7.

[174] Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[175] "Pullman Town: A Demographic Questionnaire, ca. 1885" Historic Pullman Collection, Chicago Public Library

[176] Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*, 10.

workers.[177] The pay for some Pullman employees was changed from wages to piecework. Workers were further aggravated when Pullman declined to reduce rents in company-owned worker housing.[178] When workers requested that their grievances be submitted to arbitration, George Pullman responded "that no prudent employer could submit to arbitration the question whether he should commit such a piece of business folly." "How could I," he argued, "as president of the Pullman Company, consent to agree that if any body of men not concerned with the interests of the company's shareholders should, as arbitrators, for any reason seeming good to them so decree, I would open the shops, employ workmen at wages greater than their work could be sold for, and continue this ruinous policy indefinitely . . .?"[179]

[177] Wickes, "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission," 5-6.

[178] John S. Garner, *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 6-7.

[179] Wickes, "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission," 36.

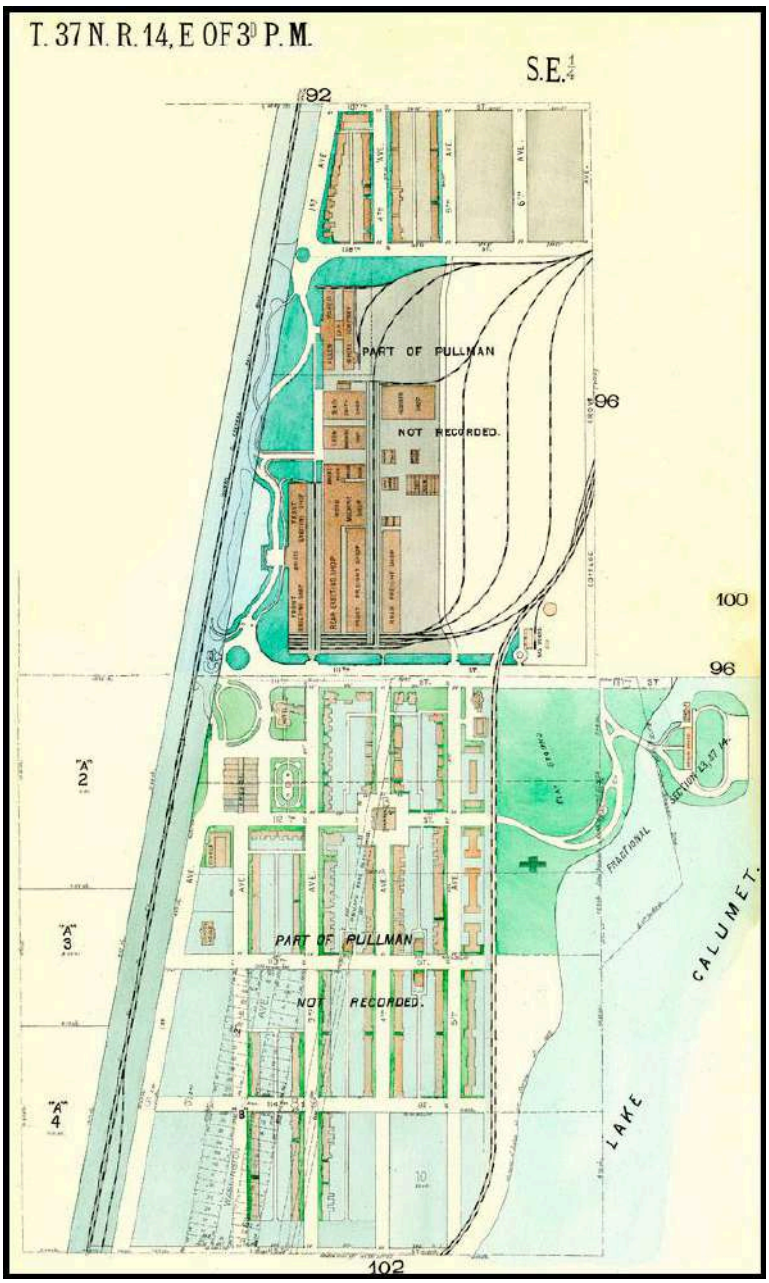


Figure 2.23. Pullman as platted and partially built. From Atlas of Hyde Park, 1882.

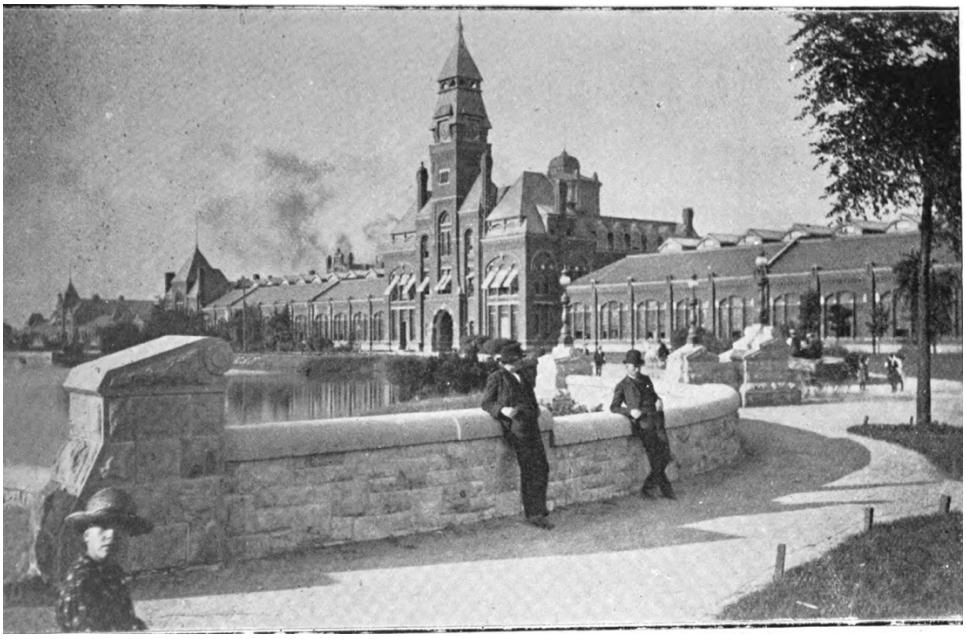


Figure 2.24. "Front Erecting Shops," from Mrs. Duane Doty, The Town of Pullman, Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries *(Pullman: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893), 35.*

Prior to the strike, George received correspondence from a company spy. On May 11, 1894, he reported, "there is still a great deal of dissatisfaction among the men and they are not at all easy in their own minds as to what best to do." That night several meetings of workers took place, including "a meeting of the Laundry and sewing girls . . . in Room 53, Arcade," and a meeting of "the Carpenters which was held in a room back of the Dew Drop Inn, which is situated a few doors west of Turner Hall." The meetings were "crowded."[180]

By the twentieth century, social commentators weighed in on the reason for Pullman's "failure." Ida Tarbell argued that the town was the victim of "over-paternalism." According to Tarbell, "men want to putter about their homes; Mr. Pullman insisted on doing the putter himself. Women like to hang their clothes in the yard, Mr. Pullman provided the enclosure." Although "Mr. Pullman gave this country a standard for building and landscape gardening which was a revelation to many of us," Tarbell continued, "he gave, also, a valuable lesson in what not to do."[181]

[180] "Pullman, Ill. May 11, 1894," Newberry Library, Pullman Collection, Series 1, Box7, Folder 97.

[181] Ida M. Tarbell, *New Ideals in Business* (New York: MacMillan, 1917), 146.

Figure 2.26. "Illinois National Guard on South Lawn of Hotel Florence, Pullman, 1894" Midwest MS Kerr Series 5 Box 6 Folder 124, Charles H. Kerr Company records, 1885-1999, Newberry Library.

Figure 2.25. "Pullman Band Leads a Parade up the Hill on 111th Street," 1892, Chicago Historical Society.

Figure 2.27. Illinois National Guard in Front of Arcade Building in Pullman During Railroad Strike, 1894, Chicago Historical Society.

The strike of 1894 excluded a significant portion of the Pullman workforce: African American porters. Union organizations in many industries, including the railroad industry, were often blatantly racist in their membership practices. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors of America, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, created in the 1860s and 1870s, explicitly stated that their members must be "white born, of good moral character, sober and industrious, sound in body and limb, not less than eighteen nor more than forty years of age, and able to read and write the English language."[182] The American Railway Union adopted similar restrictions when it organized in 1893 "for the purpose of including railway employees born of white parents in one great brotherhood."[183]

As such, African American workers were not only disconnected from the Pullman strike in 1894, some actually organized against the strikers. One African American newspaper editor stated "the colored have not lost any sleep over the [1894 Pullman] strike."[184] Another newspaper article declared the strike "a white man's war; let him fight it out alone."[185] One group of African American workers in Chicago created the "Anti-Strikers' Railroad Union" in opposition to the American Railway Union's efforts during the strike. Some African American brakemen and firemen maintained the operation of freight trains running out of other locations during the strike, as well.[186]

---

[182] *Constitution and General Laws of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen* (adopted in September, 1886), in Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*, 28.

[183] United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1895), XXIII. Also see Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*.

[184] Ibid, 29.

[185] Ibid, 29.

[186] Ibid, 30.

Year	Total (and by category)		Foreign Born	Native with foreign parentage	Males per 100 females
1930	6,705		41.3%	43.3%	123
	6,634	White (98.9%)			
	71	Other (1.1%)			
1960	8,412		16.2%	1.8%	101
	8,400	White (99.9%)			
	12	Other races (0.1%)			
1990	9,344		6.5%	—	82
	1,419	White (15.2%)			
	7,367	Black (78.8%)			
	9	American Indian (0.1%)			
	31	Asian/Pacific Islander (0.3%)			
	518	Other race (5.5%)			
	780	Hispanic Origin* (8.3%)			
2000	8,921		5.3%	—	82
	1,070	White alone (12.0%)			
	7,285	Black or African American alone (81.7%)			
	15	American Indian and Alaska Native alone (0.2%)			
	21	Asian alone (0.2%)			
	417	Some other race alone (4.7%)			
	113	Two or more races (1.3%)			
	795	Hispanic or Latino* (8.9%)			

Figure 2.28. Pullman Population, 1930-2000, From Janice L. Reiff, "Pullman," The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago *(Chicago Historical Society, 2005).*

The formation and recognition of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters punctuates the other essential moment of Pullman's place in our national labor history. The Pullman Company would go on to become the "single largest employer of African-American labor in the United States," with approximately 6,000 black workers in 1914.[187] In 1917, Joseph Husband, author of *The Story of the Pullman Car*, claimed the Pullman Company was the "greatest single employer of colored labor in the world." He went on to claim that "trained as a race by years of personal service in various capacities, and by nature adapted faithfully to perform their duties under circumstances which necessitate unfailing good nature, solicitude, and faithfulness, the Pullman porters occupy a unique place in the great fields of employment."[188] By 1918, journalist Opie Read commented that the presence of the African American railroad porter had been established as "one of the most distinctive institutions of America."[189]

---

[187] Ibid, 17.

[188] Husband, *The Story of the Pullman Car*, 155.

[189] Opie Read, "Caste of Negro Porters Defies Time and Change," *Chicago Journal,* May 30, 1918 in Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*, 17.

Figure 2.29. David G. Scott, "Here is the World's Most Perfect Servant," Pullman News *2, no. 8 (Dec. 1922), 233.*

In establishing African American porters as the face of the Pullman Car, the Pullman Company reflected and enhanced white America's continued "association of servility and race . . . well into the twentieth century."[190] Then Pullman Company president L. S. Hungerford revealed the company's racist preference for Southern African American porters in his statements to the US Commission on Industrial Relations in 1916. He claimed Northern men were not always "of the right caliber." Hungerford stated that the Pullman company maintained representatives in the South to "get men of a desirable class" to work as porters. He argued "the South is the source of the negro . . . You have a bigger field to make selections from . . . [and] I think that the old southern negro is much more acceptable a man on the cars than the younger colored man that is found around the slums of Chicago." According to Hungerford, most Southern African American men hired as porters had previously worked as house servants. "I think the old southern colored man makes the best porter on the car," Hungerford argued, "because he is more adapted to waiting on the passengers and gives them better attention and has a better manner, that is more acceptable to them and more pleasant."[191]

In 1922, *The Pullman News* (the company's official newsletter) extolled porter David G. Scott as the "world's most perfect servant." Although Scott "received 476 credit marks and one demerit" in his 45 years of service, he was never promoted to the rank of conductor.[192]

---

[190] Ibid.

[191] "Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations," ed. Senate (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 9553.

[192] "Here is World's Most Perfect Servant," *The Pullman News* December, 1922 vol. 1, 8, 233.

This connection to plantation nostalgia was not lost on the porters themselves. Porters often passed down their jobs through several generations. "It was like on the plantations," one former porter noted.[193] The porters also worked brutal schedules with lack of sufficient sleep. They typically worked 400 hours per month, or thirteen hours every day, in the Pullman Company's early days. And their wages were "independent of hours or miles accrued, and few porters dared to complain."[194] Although some Pullman employee manuals suggested porters be "off duty from 10pm to 3am," they also needed to be "available at 'important stations' and answer the bell anytime a rider rang."[195] In addition, the US Railroad Administration found that in 1915, porters made an average of $34.09 per month, while conductors made $94.09, car cleaners made $49.70 and messengers made $36.46."[196] Tips, via shoe-shining or exemplary service were the only opportunity for porters to add to their income. The California Railroad Commission investigated the Pullman Company in 1914 and reported what everyone had already known was the case: "The Pullman Company deliberately attempts to pay the employees which it hires from the gratuities given by the public." With tips on the line, porters were often expected to entertain their customers, in addition to performing all of their other duties. One company official justified this by stating porters were members of "a singing race."[197] Many porters resented this experience and with one even referring to fellow porters who complied as "the monkeys of the service."[198]

[193] Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*, 86.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid., 86-87.

[196] Ibid., 88.

[197] Ibid., 93.

[198] Arnesen, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*, 90.

Figure 2.30. Porter handing young woman a glass of water, 1905. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-116409.

Figure 2.31. A Pullman ad from the 1930s. The white plantation overseer and slaves had now been replaced by the white Pullman conductor and his porters." from David D. Perata, Those Pullman Blues *(Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1999), 163.*

This was not the only racial discrimination and harassment the porters faced. In another callback to the planation past, passengers took to calling all porters "George" the name of their so-called "master," and implying that each porter had no self-identity.[199] In addition, Pullman porters were referred to variously as "boy," "nigger," "uncle," etc. This happened so often, porters had created their own expression to describe the indignity: "being called out of one's name."[200] Even some conductors called porters "'their boys' and could be extremely possessive of and protective toward them when confronted by outsiders."[201]

[199] Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*, 95.

[200] Ibid., 92-94.

[201] Perata, *Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant*, 22, xxv.

Then, in 1925, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized under A. Phillip Randolph, editor of the *Messenger: The Only Radical Negro Magazine in America*.[202] Although the Pullman Company already had an in-house union, Pullman porters like Ashley Totten, Roy Lancaster and William H. Des Verney, knew they needed an independent union. Their earlier attempts at gaining shorter hours and higher wages had been blocked by management.[203] The Pullman Company utilized its donations to religious and civic organizations to prevent community support of the Brotherhood.[204] The company also tried to intimidate porters by trying to usurp the hold they had on their jobs. Immigrants from the Philippines were briefly hired in 1925, shortly after the Brotherhood began organizing.[205] The Brotherhood utilized the press and the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor in their quest to be recognized.[206] After more than a decade of hard-fought battles, the Brotherhood negotiated its very first contract with the Pullman Company on August 25, 1937.[207]

[202] Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*, 126.

[203] Ibid., 131.

[204] Ibid., 134-35.

[205] Ibid., 139.

[206] Ibid., 140.

[207] Ibid., 162.

CHAPTER 3
HISTORIC OVERVIEW & DEVELOPMENT: PRODUCTION AND OPERATIONS SYSTEMS

The rise and decline of the Pullman Company is an important case study in the development of American industry, but also in the development of America itself. From its rapid growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to its struggles during the Great Depression and partial resurgence during WWII, the company follows the traditional pattern of industries of the Industrial Revolution. And like other industries, the story of its replacement—in this case by automobiles and airplanes (a story which will not be told in this report)—the story of Pullman can be told by focusing on both growth and on decline.

First, a section on company and industry statistics will help set the stage for the detailed description of the history of the company within the American railroading system from about 1870 to about 1960. Data for the following charts are based on either White's *The American Railroad Passenger Car* or on records in the Pullman Company archives at the Newberry Library.[208] Data is not always consistent and in some cases the average for values reported for any given year or period had to be taken for the sake of presentation, but the overall arc of this disparate data all generally agree.

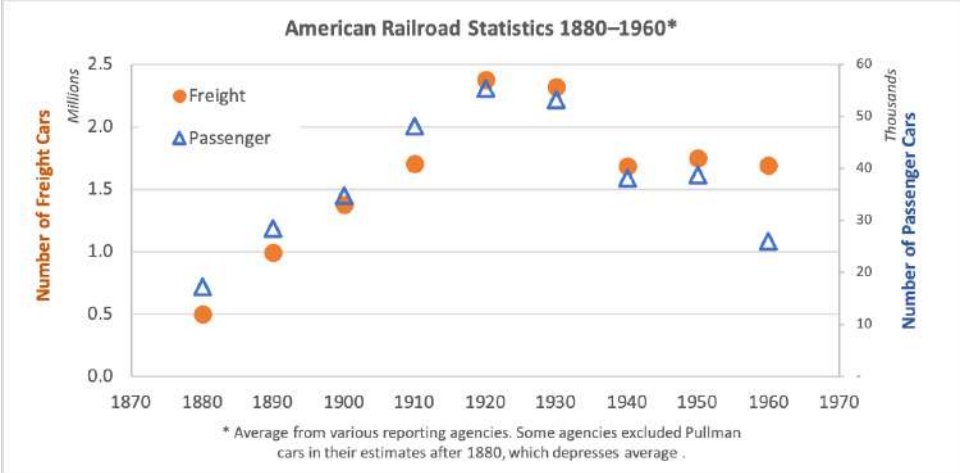


Figure 3.1. American Railroad Statistics, 1880–1960. From John H. White, The American Railway Passenger Car *(1988), Appendix B.4*

The overall trajectory of American railway traffic is one of steady growth after the Civil War to a peak in the mid-1920s (Figure 3.1). Freight traffic has consistently been about forty times that of passenger traffic and as the chart indicates, this held true until the collapse of the latter in the 1950s in the face of

[208] John H. White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988; repr., 3rd edition); *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 2* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988; repr., 3rd edition). White was the curator for transportation at the Smithsonian and nothing has surpassed this magisterial work.

personal automobile and airplane travel. However, American passenger traffic did not collapse precipitously as one might have guessed, or rather, the way railways responded did not directly mirror passenger numbers. Throughout this entire period Pullman had the majority of passenger cars on the rails, although over time their dominance was steadily eroded (Figure 3.2). Notably, the 1947 antitrust breakup of Pullman's monopoly does not seem to be terribly consequential as reflected in these numbers, which are derived from national reports. One presumes that in the statistics for 1950 and 1960, what they are calling "Pullman" cars are in fact Pullman-type cars (probably those previously owned by Pullman, in fact) that were then run by the various railroads. Although traffic started falling off slightly in the mid-1920s, the Great Depression caused a direct downturn of passenger traffic that then also depressed car production. The situation continued and bottomed out in about 1933 with traffic rebounding slowly until 1937, and then remaining flat until the war. As with many sectors of the economy, WWII was a boon to industry and reversed the fortunes of many companies, and railroading was no exception. Both freight and passenger traffic stabilized and in fact increased by 1950, and freight continued to strong thereafter.

Many of these developments are reflected in Pullman's annual earnings reports from the 1870s through about 1950, although these are complicated by corporate reorganizations and reporting conventions (Figure 3.3). Pullman saw strong, even growth from the 1870s until just before 1900, when their earnings started increasing rapidly. Although their assets continued to increase during World War I, their earnings dropped considerably when the federal government nationalized the railroads under the United States Railway Administration (USRA) during and briefly after the war. This only affected railway operations as manufacturers were not directly affected by the USRA. Earnings after WWI kept growing at an even sharper rate until the Great Depression. Unfortunately, the picture of the company's fortunes is muddied by a corporate reorganization in 1927 that changed their basis of income reporting. As a result it appears that their total earnings suddenly dropped from about $90 million to under $20 million, even while their passenger traffic continued to increase. It is clear however that their assets kept growing until the Depression hit. Pullman also passed through a watershed year in 1947 when a federal antitrust case (initiated in 1940 and decided against Pullman in 1943) took effect and Pullman chose to sell off its operations division to a consortium of fifty-seven railroads. Throughout the lifespan of the company, Pullman was a consistently good dividend-payer, with only a few downturns during corporate reorganization, the Great Depression, and then as the antitrust consequences took effect.

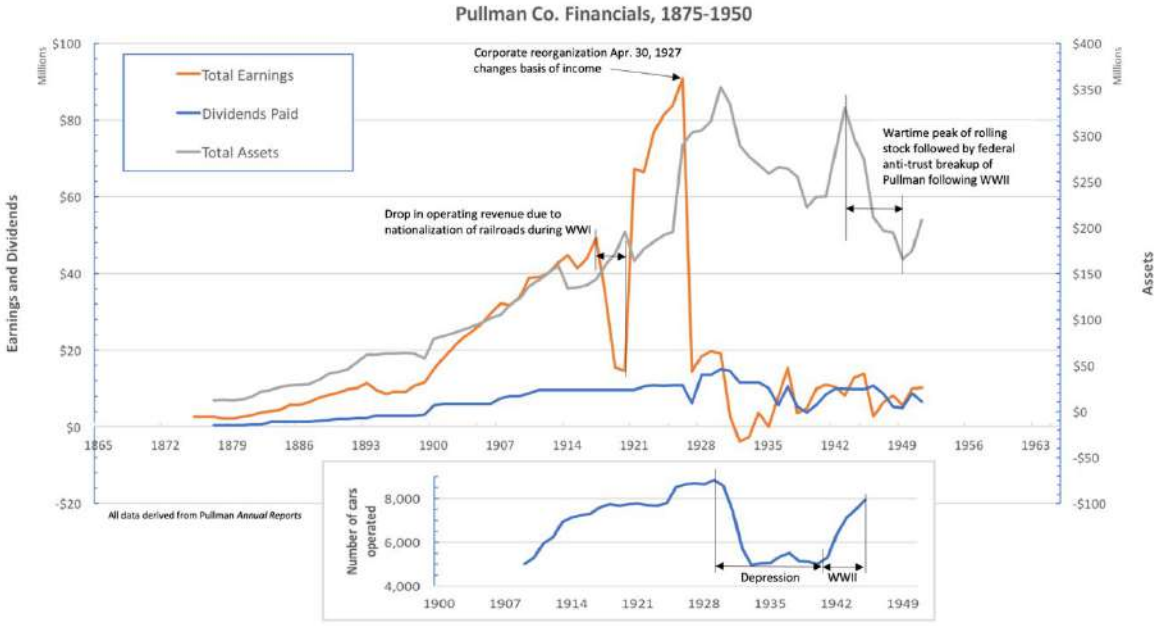


Figure 3.3. Pullman Co. Financials, 1875–1950. Source: Pullman Annual Reports

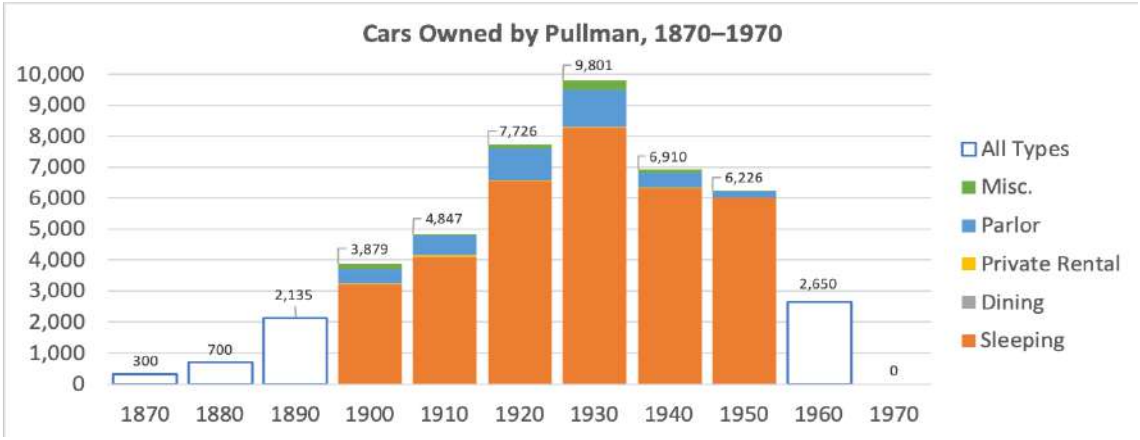


Figure 3.4. Cars Owned by Pullman Co., 1870–1970.

When one looks at the makeup of Pullman cars, it is clear that the majority of their traffic, and thus their profits, were tied to their sleeping cars (Figure 3.4). This is partially due to the fact that considerably more sleeping cars are needed per passenger than other types of cars, such as dining, parlor, or saloon cars. But the clear preponderance of sleeping cars in their company-owned rolling stock during their peak years also helps explain how those cars became the most iconic element of the brand that was Pullman. However, Pullman both owned cars that were run on various railroad lines and operated Pullman Cars that were owned by those railroads. Over time Pullman recognized the value of owning the cars that operated and worked to bring them all into the company wherever they could (Figure 3.5). Until about 1885, Pullman owned all the cars that it operated. For the next decade, it operated more cars than it owned, partially due to competition with other car builders and partially due to their relationship with the railroads. By the mid-1890s, however, the Pullman Company obtained a virtual

monopoly on all sleeper car operations in the country. They entered a decade of considerable growth but by

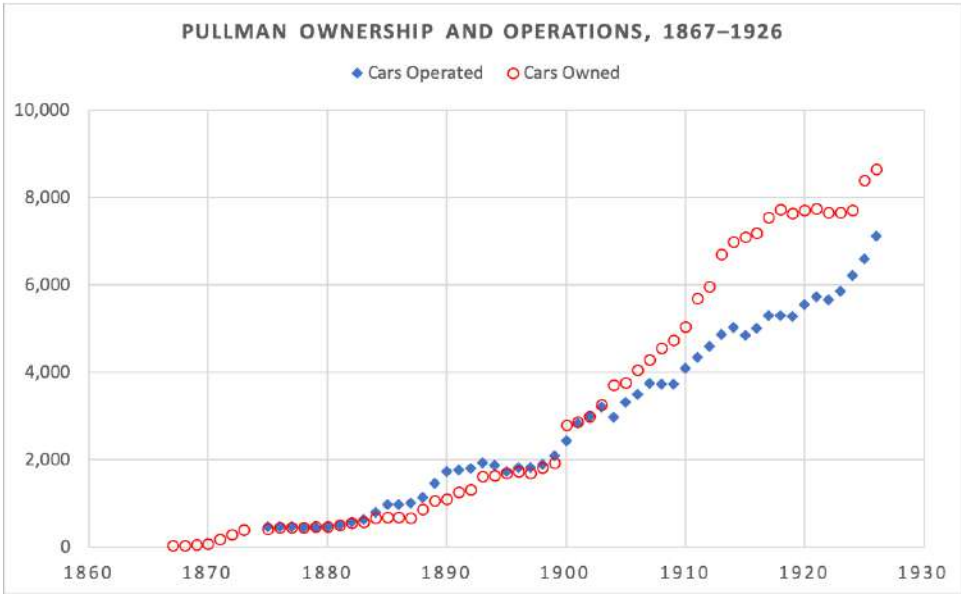


Figure 3.5. Cars Owned and Operated by Pullman, 1867–1926. From Smithsonian NMAH Archive Center acc. 0181.

about 1904 they started owning more cars than they operated. This seems to reflect the fact that they started leasing their cars to railroads, though they retained many of the servicing contracts at their repair depots across the country. It is interesting to note that the gap between cars owned by Pullman and cars operated by Pullman was at its largest just as American passenger rail travel peaked (Figure 3.5). Unfortunately, we do not have data for this statistic after 1926, which happens to be the record year for peacetime traffic for Pullman. World War II not only reversed the declines in regular passenger traffic, surpassing 15 billion riders per year by 1944, but also added another 1.7–12.5 billion passengers by moving troops around the country in special cars above and beyond regular service. (Troop movements for World War I are reflected in regular traffic, so although one can see an uptick in 1919 and 1920, the effect was not nearly as dramatic as it was in World War II.

3.A Periods for Pullman Palace Car Company and Successors

Strictly speaking, the Pullman Company has existed in a number of incarnations throughout its history. This discussion will refer to the Pullman Palace Car Company (PPCC) from its inception to 1899, the Pullman Company from then until 1947 and Pullman-Standard (P-S) thereafter (Figure 3.6).[209] Further, there is no good corporate history of the company (as compared to

[209] The full corporate history is as follows: Field & Pullman 1858-1867; Pullman's Palace Car Co., 1867-1899; Pullman Co., 1899-1927; Pullman Inc., 1927-1930; Pullman-Standard Mfg. Co. (div. of Pullman Inc.), 1930-1947; Pullman-Standard Co., 1947-1969 (And the dates shift slightly for their Worcester, MA plant as well).

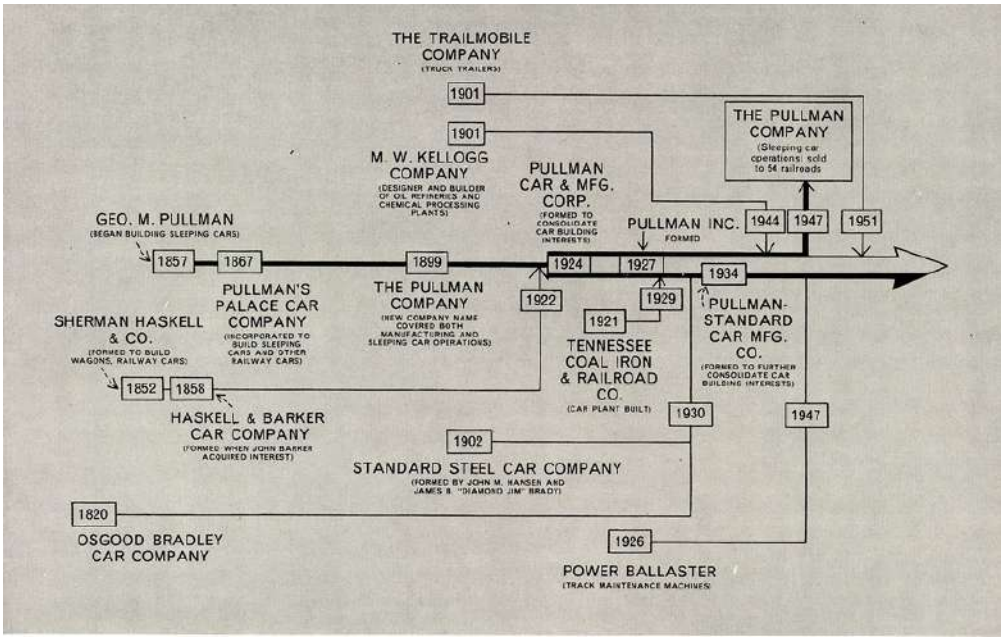


Figure 3.6. Pullman Company Mergers. Courtesy of Pullman Library at Illinois Railway Museum.

biographies of Pullman himself),[210] though Welsh and Howe do a nice job in a coffee table book fashion.[211] Husband's early panegyric is pure corporate self-promotion (Husband was president of the company at the time) and should be used with caution as a critical source.[212]

There are, however, a number of assembled timelines that in the aggregate give clear mileposts in the company's history. One company-produced list from 1930 lays out its own internal milestones, while a number of websites have developed their own slightly more critical and contextualized timelines.[213] One

---

[210] Carroll Rede Harding, *George M. Pullman, 1831-1897, and the Pullman Company*, Newcomen Address (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1951); Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*; Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*. and there is even a biography for children: Elisabeth P. Myers, *George Pullman: Young Sleeping Car Builder* (1963).

[211] Joe Welsh and Bill Howes, *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service* (St. Paul, MN: MBI Publishing, 2004).

[212] Husband, *The Story of the Pullman Car*. Details can also be gleaned from Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*. Note that corporate history was not his concern.

[213] "Many Changes in Pullman Cars since 1858," *Railway Age* 88, no. 20 (1930).; Beberdick, 1997 & 2002 #671;Strack, 2018 #1662}; and "Pullman / Pullman-Standard Research Information," Pullman Library at Illinois Railway Museum, http://www.pullmanlibrary.org/Research.htm.

other important internal document is in the Tenneco Papers that lays out the full interconnections of the various subsidiaries from 1913–1949.[214]

3.A.1 Origins and Buildout (1859-1885)

1859: origins and contracted purchasing

In 1858, George M. Pullman built his first car, the No. 9, for the Chicago & Alton Railroad (C&A) and by the following spring he had fitted out two more old C&A cars as sleeping cars. Despite lore that Pullman invented the sleeper, such cars certainly existed before this time. Pullman may well be credited for inventing a contemporaneous "modern" sleeper that privileged luxury over mere functionality in this class of car.

Although Pullman's conversion cars were well received, he then took a four-year sojourn in Colorado (see Section 2.C), suggesting that making money in the Pike's Peak gold rush was more appealing than the sleeping car business at that time. After the subsequent interruption of the Civil War, Pullman returned to Chicago determined to develop the idea into a business. He and his business partner, Benjamin Field, set up in the car shops of the C&A in Bloomington, Illinois, reportedly spending $18,000 to build his (new) first car. Weathering a good deal of skepticism that such an undertaking would be profitable, the *Pioneer* debuted in 1865:

> The Pullman Palace Car, viewed simply as a stationary miniature palace, would be a wonder of architectural and artistic beauty. But it is a thing of a thousand mechanical devices; a vehicle in a house; a kitchen, dining-room, parlor, office, sleeping room and boudoir, all in one. To have made this alone would have ranked Mr. Pullman as an inventor of world-wide celebrity.[215]

In truth, the car that Pullman and Field built was indeed opulent, but had relatively few novelties to it. They also had a number of cars already in service, so it was neither the first Pullman sleeper, nor a particularly innovative new type of car. The *Pioneer* has also gone down in lore as the car that Pullman not-so-selflessly offered to the government to move President Lincoln's body to Springfield for burial that spring—but that story has been thoroughly disproven and appears to have been entirely fabricated in the 1880s (see Section 2.C.1).[216] Even without that element of promotion, George Pullman was already a moderately important man in Chicago, a status that then only increased with time, playing a valuable role in the recovery efforts after the Great Chicago Fire of 1871.

---

[214] "Historical Information in Respect to Corporate Organization from March 1, 1913 to December 31, 1949," Tenneco Papers, no. 100033 [=954316].

[215] Quoted in American Biographical Publishing Co., *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: American Biographical Pub. Co., 1893), 694.

[216] J.W. Becker and William S. Porter, "The Lincoln Funeral Train," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 9, no. 3 (1916); Long, "Pioneer and the Lincoln Funeral Train: How "Honest Abe" Was Used to Create a Corporate Tall Tale."; John H. White, "A Pullman Postscript," ibid.

Cars from as early as the 1830s had an upper berth that folded up against the corner of the ceiling during the day and bench seats below that pivoted flat to make a lower berth. A mesh shelf for one's belongings hung above each. When fitted out as beds for the nighttime, each upper and lower pair were then sectioned off from the next and from the corridor by heavy curtains. Pullman and Field did patent a new mechanism for lowering the upper berth using counterweights,[217] but their real innovation was to make cars of the day as luxurious as possible.

The Palace Car quickly shifted from luxury to necessity: "this mode of travel is not only a necessity, but a preference with the greater part of the American public … some of whom claim that they rest better than when sleeping in any other situation—even in a pew."[218] Virtually all long-distance rail lines wanted them on their routes. A case in point is the Michigan Central Railroad. The railroad put Pullman's early cars into service, but at the rate of $2.00 a ticket, rather than the standard fare of $1.50. The Michigan Central's president thought that the public would object to higher fares, but Pullman convinced him to let the experiment run to see whether the public was willing to pay more for his cars. In the end, they were so enamored of the better cars that all of the old cars were removed from service, even though the number of Pullman cars was quite limited (incidentally creating an artificial scarcity and the perception of demand due to full bookings). The Michigan Central immediately became the premier Midwestern rail line, forcing rival companies to follow their lead of "superior accommodation at an increased rate."[219] And so, on February 22, 1867, the Pullman Palace Car Company was organized with a capital stock of $1,000,000 (about $17 million today) to meet the demand for Palace Cars across the American rail network. At the time the network was pushing past 40,000 miles so the demand and potential for growth was obvious.

A snapshot of Pullman's nascent empire in 1867 may be had from the list of his assets recorded in the minutes of the first board of directors meeting in 1867. At that time he owned thirty-seven cars with two more being built and two leased from the Michigan Central RR, for total assets of just under

---

[217] Ben Field and George M. Pullman, "Improvement in Sleeping-Cars," U.S patent no. 42,182, filed April 5, 1864. In the patent, they refer to "certain improvements in that class of sleeping-cars in which the seats can be converted into a continuous couch, and a second tier of couches is provided by a platform, which is raised to the roof of the car when not used and lowered to a convenient height when it is to be used." This shows that such sleepers were already a recognized class of car. The novel claim of their patent was for "certain novel means for locking the backs when the seats are to be used in their ordinary capacity, and also to a certain novel arrangement for sustaining the upper platform when lowered and to guide it in its up and down motion, and to the combination, with said upper platform, of hinged trap-doors to form partitions throughout the car when the same is to be used for sleeping purposes."

[218] "A New Sleeping Car," *Engineering* 45 (1888). For a great early comparative source about Pullman's luxury, see "The Luxury of Travel," *Detroit Free Press*, May 22 1866.

[219] "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago," *Engineering* 55 (1893).

$992,000.[220] Of this, $563,000 were the cars themselves (with another $76,000 for the fittings) and his six hotel sleeping cars were considerably more valuable at either $26,000 or $28,000 per car than his thirty-one regular sleepers, which ranged in value from only $4,000 to $22,000 (average and median in the $12,000s). In browsing each car and its contents, one can see the evolution of his cars. The early cars (lettered C, G, J, etc.) were worth only a couple thousand dollars. The mid-level state and city cars (*Indiana*, *Missouri*, *Kalamazoo*, etc.) were worth $12–17,000. The top-of-the-line hotel sleepers like the *Viceroy* and the *President* were $28,000 each with another $4,200 in fittings, linens, and accoutrements. It is also interesting to note that each type of car within a class was typically outfitted exactly as the others, already showing his awareness of the value of standardizing, even if there were only two or three cars of that type. By 1867 he clearly had his system worked out and ready to take off.

1870: PPCC Begins Making its own Cars

Pullman had been running palace and sleeping cars for a decade when he started consolidating. In the late 1860s he gained controlling interest in a number of car builders, making some in effect wholly owned subsidiaries. In 1871 Pullman purchased the Indianapolis & St. Louis Sleeping Coach Co. (founded 1862) and the next year two-thirds of the stock in the Erie & Atlantic Sleeping Coach Co. In doing so, he gained control of the lucrative sleeping car service between Chicago and New York, doing a slight end-run around both the Michigan Central and the New York Central.

Before he built the town of Pullman, George Pullman had contracted with a local car building firm to build cars to his design. Once the demand started growing, he purchased the existing car shop of The Detroit Car & Manufacturing Co. in 1869 (some sources say 1870) which had been incorporated the same year as the PPCC, 1867. The shops stood between St. Aubin Ave. and Dequindre St. (now in the Lafayette Park neighborhood; the area was entirely redeveloped as public housing in the 1960s) and offered a tight but modern car building shop for the PPCC expansion (for more on shop layout, Figure 3.14). Simultaneously, Pullman formed the Pullman-Union Pacific Association in October 1871 (renewed in April 1884 and dissolved in 1898) that agreed to a joint ownership and operation of the Pullman cars on the Union Pacific (UP) roads, moving into a better position with the UP than he had had since 1868 when he had only built cars for them.[221]

Capitalizing on this enormous success, in the mid-1870s Pullman became president of the New York Loan and Improvement Company, and owned one-third of the stock. This company built the Metropolitan Elevated Railway (begun as the Gilbert Elevated Railway Company) on 2nd and 6th Ave. in New York City. Pullman's fortune and entrée into elite New York circles, which also led to his opulent home on the Jersey Shore, allowed him to bankroll the construction of the town of Pullman. One of the less well studied aspects of the story of George Pullman is where he was and who he knew in the 1870s. The fortunes of the PPCC were quite rosy in that decade, though its corporate history makes the details

---

[220] PPC Co., Board of Directors Records, minutes for July 31, 1867, Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 02/01/02, vol. 1.

[221] A related contract was signed in 1889 for the joint ownership of dining cars: owned by the association (so mostly by UP) and operated by Pullman. The association was dissolved in 1895 and most of the dining cars were sold to Union Pacific.

rather opaque between 1867 and 1875. When incorporated in 1867, it seems that all of the initial $1 million stock offering was snapped up by Chicago railroad magnates, so PPCC did not issue its first annual report until 1875. At that time they had $2.6 million in revenue and a net profit of just over $400,000. They held $1.7 million in assets, of which $2.3 million was unencumbered for investment. By 1879 that surplus had grown to $3.7 million, enough to seriously consider the expansion they so desperately needed.

Although George Pullman had direct experience with the New York elevated railway system (and may have made part of his fortune there in the 1870s),[222] PPCC seems to have played relatively little role in the vast expansion of local rail transportation or the light interurban market. They did supply some cars to local Chicago concerns, such as the Lake Street Elevated Railway Company on the south side and the Intramural Railway (later the Metropolitan West Side Elevated Railway Company) in the 1890s. Despite being at the forefront of prototyping aluminum subway trains for Philadelphia in the 1930s (in a competition with Budd), it was not until after World War II that Pullman-Standard was more active in building subway cars for cities such as Cleveland and Boston.[223]

It was also clear by the later 1870s that the Detroit shops were running out of space and could not expand, constrained as they were to one square block (a bit more than four acres). The manager of the facility, T.A. Bissell, told a newspaper reporter, "if I knew where there was a foot of space to spare, it would be put to use. We are much crowded, and a great deal of extra work has to be done after regular hours in order to keep up."[224] It is therefore clear why Pullman needed a new and bigger manufacturing facility. The development of Chicago as the main rail hub for the center of the country,[225] combined with its ample empty land just beyond the city limits, made the choice of location for his new model city fairly obvious. Furthermore, the adoption of and partnership with the patented Allen paper car wheel, which also led to them building a branch factory in Pullman, catalyzed their expansion and move to Illinois.[226]

---

[222] For example, in 1878, New York City's Metropolitan line ordered a number of "luxurious extra-fare drawing room cars … finished in oak and mahogany paneling decorated and the Queen Anne's style, with architectural window cornices, and fitted with red leather seats, tapestry curtains, guilt kerosene chandeliers, and Axeminster carpeting." Unfortunately, riders were unwilling to pay for this luxury on a local elevated train line. P. Harvey Middleton, *Railways and Public Opinion; Eleven Decades* (Chicago: Railway business association, 1941), 166-67.

[223] Ibid., 30, 36, 100, 78-81, 85-89.

[224] "Pullman's Palace Cars," *Detroit Free Press*, May 16 1880.

[225] David Young, *The Iron Horse and the Windy City: How Railroads Shaped Chicago* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005); Michael W. Blaszak et al., *Chicago, America's Railroad Capital: The Illustrated History, 1836 to Today* (Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2014).

[226] American Biographical Publishing Co., *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 695; Helena E. Wright, "George Pullman and the Allen Paper Car Wheel," *Technology and Culture* 33, no. 4 (1992): 763-64.

By the 1870s, the concept of traveling in the Pullman Car had taken such hold in American railroading that Pullman and a number of other firms saw demand for their cars go through the roof. Railroad traffic was also growing exponentially, roughly doubling every decade from 1860 to 1910.[227] The growth was so dramatic and its economic impact on railroading so profound, that already by 1879, the authorities were investigating how much it cost to build and run such a system, for fear of collusion and profiteering.[228]

By 1880, Pullman was in a position to sue the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) railroad to prevent them from "preliminarily, provisionally, and perpetually, from directly or indirectly making, constructing, using, vending, delivering, working, or putting into practice, operation, or use, in any wise, counterfeiting or imitating sleeping cars containing or embodying any of the features of construction or improvements to the sleeping cars covered by the patent of the Pullman Palace Car Company."[229] Pullman continued his consolidation in the 1880s, purchasing the Union Palace Car Co. in 1889.

1880: Establishment of Pullman, IL

In 1879 Pullman began acquiring land—quietly, so that the land speculators did not swoop in, buy it before he could, and then resell to him at inflated prices—about twelve miles south of Chicago on the western shore of Lake Calumet. Here he built his manufacturing town from the ground up. Although there were a number of settlements in the area, such as Roselawn to the west, and Kensington Junction to the south, as well as good service with established railways on what would become the town's western border and to the south, the land he purchased was basically flat, empty prairie: a perfect blank slate for his grand experiment. He also bought far more than he initially or even eventually thought he was going to need, both to provide agricultural land for the town as well as a buffer between him and the rest of the world and its potentially harmful social influences.

Ground was broken in May 1880 and the Pullman shops began operation in April 1881, a remarkable achievement, though the buildout of the town continued for the next three years or so. At this time, his Detroit shops were building about two cars a week (114 for the year of 1881). The Chicago shops could build considerably more, though the initial capacity is not certainly known.[230] By 1883 the company

---

[227] See Paul H Cootner, "The Role of the Railroads in United States Economic Growth," *The Journal of Economic History* 23, no. 4 (1963); Robert William Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth* (Johns Hopkins Press Baltimore, 1964).

[228] There is a very good snapshot of the sleeper and parlor car Industry in 1879, just before Pullman builds Pullman, in "Pullman Sleepers," *The Inter Ocean*, Feb. 18 1879.

[229] "Pullman Palace Car Suit for Injunction," *The Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 27 1880. The outcome of this suit was not discovered during this research, but it seems to have cowed the B&O into only running Pullman cars.

[230] One writer in 1885 noted that "Exact statistical information of yearly production is very hard to obtain as Pullman Co. is very reticent in this respect," though he noted that in Aug. 1883, 100 freight cars were made in a single 10-hour day. Wilhelm Heinrich Uhland, "Pullman Workers' City," 1884, Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 09/00/03, box 2, fol. 113.

employed 7,000 men, operated over 1,000 sleeping, parlor, and hotel cars, and had building and repair shops in Pullman, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Elmira, NY, as well as international operations in Derby in England and in Italy. In 1882–83 (fiscal year ending July 31), the company had revenue of $4.1 million, the next year $4.5 million, and $5.6 million each in both 1884–85 and 1885–86, turning a pure profit in that last year of $1.16 million.[231]

One interesting feature of the town is that the five broad avenues that run north-south are named after giants of invention: Stephenson Ave., after George Stephenson (1781–1848) the English mechanical and civil engineer revered as the "Father of Railways"[232]; Watt Ave., after James Watt (1736–1819), the Scottish inventor who perfected Thomas Newcomen's steam engine; Fulton Ave., after Robert Fulton (1765–1815), the American inventor of the first commercial steamboat; Morse Ave., after Samuel F.B. Morse (1791–1872), the inventor of the telegraph; and, with no sense of humility at all, Pullman Ave.

By the early 1890s the factories had become, it was claimed, the largest railroad manufacturing interest in the world. The following statistics, widely reported at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, serve to highlight that: capitalized at $40 million and with $45 million in assets and property additionally valued at $60 million; $12 million in stocks held by 3,246 stockholders, of which 1,800 were institutional trust investors (showing the perceived safety of the investment), which paid reliable and sizable dividends; something like 2,200 (some sources claims more than 2,500) sleeping, parlor, and dining cars (over 700 of those) in service across the country carrying 5.5 million passengers over 187 million rail-miles annually; and employing just short of 14,000 manufacturing and operating workers earning a net sum of $3,331,527.44 (an average wage of $610 per person per annum across all employees, when an average annual wage in America ranged from $450 for laborers, $1,000 for a cabinetmaker, to $2,000 for skilled ironworkers).[233] The foreign press noted that, "There can be no doubt as to the success of the town of Pullman from a moral, as well as from a financial point of view," noting that it is obvious that it has developed a "superior class of workmen," and that the town bank

---

[231] "Pullman Palace Cars," *Engineering* 40 (1885). See also "Pullman Palace Cars," *Engineering* 42 (1886); "The Arcadian City of Pullman," *Agricultural Review and Journal* 3, no. 1 (1883). Incidentally this also allowed him to weather the 1878 theft of $150,000 by his secretary, Charles W. Angell.

[232] One wag, however, noted that Pullman and Westinghouse (of railcar air break fame [1869] before his electric fame [1880s–]) were by that time more famous Georges than Stephenson in terms of railway travel. "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago."

[233] American Biographical Publishing Co., *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 695; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 5 vols. (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 552; "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago." Wage estimate derived from Bureau of Labor Statistics, *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928* (Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O., 1934).: in 1890 male laborers earned $1.50–2.00 per day (p. 258); cabinet-makers $2.50-4.00 a day (p. 457); highly-skilled rollers and catchers in dangerous iron mills $4.00–4.50 and about $7.20 a day, respectively (pp. 242, 242). Historical wage statistics for car-builders do not appear in this volume until after 1908.

had 2,000 accounts with an average savings of $316, “sufficient proof of the economic solidity of the undertaking.”[234]

Pullman was designed to be a moral town and for Pullman and many at the time, that meant a dry town. As one commentator said, “even that strange invention of man in his estate of sin and misery, the saloon, is subjected to the eternal fitness of things, and, inasmuch as a community, however large, needs no saloon at all, that is the number laid out by the thoughtful architect and built by the founder. It receives its due proportion of time and money,” namely none.[235] This is not as uncharacteristic for late nineteenth-century America as it may seem. One wag put it, “Pullman is to be a temperance town; it being evidently considered that when workmen are privileged to dwell in Queen Anne houses with Gothic roofs, beer and bourbon become indeed superfluous.”[236] One Mme. Grandin had noticed the curious phenomenon while travelling in America in 1893 where she saw workmen building the Columbian Exposition, noting that they needed “to fill out a number of forms and … obtain many different authorizations” if they wanted to bring beer for lunch: “The temperance regime is respected in America. During a three- or four-day train trip, it is sometimes not possible to purchase wine or any drink other than water for periods of twenty-four hours or longer while crossing part of the temperance zone. In France, such a law would cause an outcry.”[237]

One other European wrote a report about Pullman, and his essay highlights how “American” the experiment really was. Wilhelm Heinrich Uhland (1840-1907), a German engineer and patent attorney in Leipzig, described the town as “an example of what advantages can be obtained through coordinated planning of construction and through a central management of the City.” Mainly he saw the economies of scale and noted that, “No doubt, this is the first time that one lone architect made a layout symmetric with the scientific principles of a whole town.” He framed the whole experiment in contemporaneous European experiments in communal living and socialist political movements, yet concluded that,

> So far, the experience of the Workers City of Pullman has proved to be an income producing as well as a truly philanthropical undertaking. Above all, the healthy and pleasant surroundings under which the workers live not only increases their efficiency, but also, in accordance with statistical comparisons, decreases the death rate. It must, however, be understood that the material advancement of the individual depends on his skill and hard work. The wages here are not higher or lower than in other establishments. For the lazy and incapable worker, the social problems remain unresolved. They live in the most crowded, cheapest, and poorest houses, but their living quarters are still better than that of the poor in New York City, without receiving

---

[234] "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago," 737.

[235] American Biographical Publishing Co., *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 695.

[236] "The Town of ‘Pullman’," *Engineering* 38 (1882).

[237] Madame Léon Grandin, *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 42. She did add, “I, however, am far from condemning this practice, as alcoholism plagues all large cities and can never be battled energetically enough.”

welfare benefits from the city, while the capable and dependable worker is under all circumstances provided with satisfactory wages.

That said, and with further praise that overall the workers tended to like working and living at Pullman, Uhland recognized that the factory town, "no matter how mild and humanitarian it might be," breeds jealousies and resentment. Workers do not appreciate the constraints of the paternalism, and the constraint on them (including even limiting freedom of the press in town) "is directly opposed to the absolute independence of the American people, who value their independence more than the comfortable peace under a well-organized but despotic management."[238]

For more on the town of Pullman, see Sections 4.D-F.

3.A.2 Pullman at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893

Just a decade after George Pullman constructed his model town, the World's Fair came to town. Such an opportunity was not to be missed to show off his achievement. At that time, and before the 1894 strike would color perceptions for all, Pullman's cars were generally seen as premier modes of travel the world over, and people coming to the Fair would be quite pleased to see his products as well as his town. At the Exposition itself, the company exhibited two complete trains with locomotives and eight passenger cars each (by comparison, the Wagner Co. had only five) in the annex to the Transportation Building that they shared with "a vast collection of American cars locomotives and railway appliances of every possible description." They also installed an exhibit with a 30' x 80' scale model of the town itself, "for the many who are curious to know the plans and accomplishment of this practical example of a perfect city."[239] Pullman himself also ultimately subscribed $100,000 to help bankroll the Fair, though in the initial phases of planning he had offered "a large sum" to locate the Fair "in the neighborhood of the town which owes to him its existence; but this was more than twelve miles from the business quarter of Chicago."[240] Incidentally, S.S. Beman, the architect of Pullman, designed a number of the Exposition buildings and the PPCC was also the exhibitor with the largest number of incandescent lights, 287, on their train displays, mainly in their trains (they were followed next by the Wagner Palace Car Co., and the Pennsylvania Rail Road [PRR] and New York Central [NYC]).[241]

---

[238] Wilhelm Heinrich Uhland, "Pullman Workers' City," 1884, Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 09/00/03, box 2, fol. 113, which is a translation of Wilhem Uhland, "Pullmans Arbeiterstadt," *Vom Fels zum Meer* 2 (1885). The translator is unknown and it is unlikely that Uhland visited Chicago himself. For more on Uhland, see Jan-Peter Domschke and Hansgeorg Hofmann, "Der Beitrag Von Wilhelm Heinrich Uhland (1840-1907) Zur Anerkennung Des Ingenieurberufes in Der Industriegesellschaft," *Sächsische Heimatblätter: Zeitschrift für sächsische Geschichte, Denkmalpflege, Natur und Umwelt* 62, no. 4 (2016). This sheds no light on whether Uhland may have visited Pullman.

[239] In one publication published before the fair, the model was expected to be 35x100 ft.

[240] Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 966, 51. For a general description of the Pullman display, see Bancroft, 551-554.

[241] The Religious Herald, *Picturesque Chicago and Guide to the World's Fair* (Hartford: D.S. Moseley, 1893), 294; Trumbull White and William Igleheart, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*

Figure 3.7. Pullman streetcar no. 15 (lot 579), c.1895. Source: promotional photo card in author's [SW] collection to be donated to the Pullman State Historical Society.

The train exhibits "afford[ed the] opportunity of saying that the three finest complete trains of cars ever built are to be seen on exhibition."[242] They consisted of "a Vestibuled Limited [Express] Train consisting of baggage and smoking room, dining room compartments, sleeping rooms and observation parlor, [and] a Vestibuled [Day] Train consisting of postal car, passenger coach, and parlor car."[243] They also

---

(Boston: J.K. Hastings, 1893), 275; "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago."; James Dredge, *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1894), 101 and esp. 385-403, with many diagrams of exhibited items. His manager at the fair actually noted that they had trouble keeping the lights on because Westinghouse frequently turned off their generators early each evening.

[242] Moses P. Handy, ed. *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to Oct. 30th, 1893. A Reference Book.* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), 781.

[243] These cars are nicely illustrated in John C. Wait and R.H. Soule, *The Car-Builder's Dictionary: An Illustrated Vocabulary of Terms Which Designate American Railroad Cars, Their Parts, Attachments,*

exhibited a replica of Pullman and Fields' original car No. 9,[244] two six-wheel trucks, a Patton motor car,[245] four street cars (perhaps like that in Figure 3.7) with variations like central- or end- entrances and one with an upper deck. At the Exposition they also introduced what came to be known as the "Columbian deck-ceiling": a sort of tongue-and-groove decking for the ceiling that was installed in a longitudinal elliptical vault with cross-vaults (groins) to rows of elliptical arch windows along both sides of a clerestory roofline.[246] This arrangement let in a great deal of light to the carriage and gave the car a high, airy feel, with prominent ribs in the main vault that often had relatively novel electric lightbulbs on them, brightly lighting the car at night.

The company built several special cars for the Exposition, both for display and to transport fairgoers to the Fair, which would later be reconverted into ordinary passenger cars. Train lines advertised special "World's Fair Lines" to Chicago, with "all … equipment of the latest improved Pullman construction."[247] Although one would expect that these "extraordinary" cars might be made of the best materials, T.H. Wickes, the second vice-president of Pullman Company, amusingly proposed that the cars be fitted up with "material removed from our standards cars which have been remodeled from time to time," whatever might then be on hand. This included "upper berths and fixtures, seat ends, seats and backs, head boards and trimmings, curtain rods and brackets, coat and hat pedestals, wash stands, and tanks" – in other words, virtually everything but new upholstery and carpeting. Wickes was not particularly concerned about the styling of the carriages, noting that they might use No. 79 washstands, but No. 30 or No. 31 models might do, "or any other that may be suitable for the space." The car trucks and wheels, too, could be more or less whatever was on hand. An estimate sheet for "Output of cars for World's Fair travel" shows that they initially thought they could get as many as 310 cars ready (at both Pullman and

---

and Details of Construction (New York: The Railroad Gazette, 1895), fig. 106–11, 17, 22–23, 26–28, 31–34, and 87–93. And for their vestibules, see fig. 2424 and 2423 [*sic*: 2425].

[244] Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 38.

[245] The Patton Motor Company of Chicago manufactured small electric street cars used as feeders to main streetcar lines. An early version of what we would call a 'hybrid' vehicle, they used a gasoline engine to drive a dynamo that charged batteries and drove the motor wheels. The system also used an early form of regenerative breaking to charge the batteries. The motor and transmission system was patented by William H. Patton in 1890 ("Motor for Street-Cars," U.S. patent no. 434,993). The car shown in the Pullman display was a double-decked streetcar "finished in dark mahogany" and it is possible that it or another Patton was running on the streets of Pullman at the time ("Street Railway Exhibits at the World's Fair," *The Street Railway Journal* 9, no. 7 (1893): 435; Dredge, *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893*, 73; Barney N. Smith, "The Patton Motor Car," *Railroad History* 129 (1973).).

[246] Wait and Soule, *The Car-Builder's Dictionary*, 32. The effect was much like a monitor roof in factory buildings of the day.

[247] Advertisement for the "Monon Route" of the Louisville, New Albany, & Chicago RR in Handy, *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to Oct. 30th, 1893. A Reference Book.*, 638.

Detroit), though by February of 1894, even with some standard sleepers they apparently only prepared 271 cars.[248]

George Pullman seems to have received daily or near-daily reports from his manager on the ground at the Fair, Mr. Fritsch.[249] Overall the exhibit went smoothly and was very well received, despite the heat in the building (Fritsch was sympathetic to his staff and did not make them stay inside cars for more than an hour at a time), with as many as 6,000 people visiting the trains in a day. Many grandees visited, including various of the international commissioners, the president of the PRR, and even Cornelius Vanderbilt (a competitor to Pullman at the time who had come to the Fair in his own private car, berthed at the terminal there; he was given a private tour and was apparently well impressed and also visited the Pullman office at the fairgrounds to presumably talk about orders). Fritsch often escorted notable personages to Pullman town to stay at the Hotel Florence. He reported on judges' whims on giving awards, the profits made on donations for music and food at their display (apparently individual exhibitors could set up concession stands, at least on their theme days – "railroad day," in this case), as well as his distribution of over 300 copies of *The Story of Pullman* pamphlet in 30 minutes one day.[250]

The Story of Pullman pamphlet, an unabashed piece of public relations for the company, extolled the virtues of the cars, and to a lesser extent the town. But in the pamphlet they[251] also took the opportunity to respond to critics of the town.[252] It reminded Fair visitors that "A frequent source of error seems to lie in a failure to grasp the fundamental fact that it is upon solid *quid pro quo* business principles that the whole fabric is reared." Arguing that from sound business principles "self-sustaining strength," "benefits to humanity," and the general good is "made self-renewing and self-perpetuating," the pamphlet bristles that most critiques of the town are those of "irrelevant fields of philanthropy" that seem to think that Pullman thought his workmen were "weaklings to whom things are to be given." In fact, "the [true] meaning of Pullman" is fundamentally a business principle:

> The better the man, the more valuable he is to himself, just in that proportion is he better and more valuable to his employer; on this simple business theory an attempt

---

[248] T.H. Wickes to W.H. Fry, 27 May 1891 [copy, forwarded to GMP on the same day], in "World's Fair Travel – Car Construction 1891-1892," Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 01/01/01, box 7, fol. 105.

[249] "Reports on the World's Fair Exhibit, 1893," Chicago Historical Society, George M. Pullman Papers, box 2.

[250] Pullman Company, "The Story of Pullman," (Chicago: Publisher not identified, 1893), 31-33. (Copies in the Chicago History Center, Pullman Company Archives, box 10, folder 15).

[251] That is, the company, for we do not know who wrote the pamphlet. It may well have been Duane Doty, town supervisor, but it could just as easily have been the head office; it does refer to Mr. Pullman in the third person, so it is less likely that he had a direct hand in it, though it is possible.

[252] See Richard T. Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 70 (1885). A number of other reviews had been more positive:"The Town of 'Pullman'."; "The Arcadian City of Pullman."; "An Industrial City.—Pullman, Ill," *Scientific American* 50, no. 18 (1884).

has been made to surround the workingmen in Pullman with such influences as would most tend to bring out the highest and best there was in them.

Pullman in fact assumed that the "men are the best type of American workmen, who stand solidly and firmly on their own feet, and will work out valuable and well-rounded lives just in proportion to their opportunities." The town, then was rather a capital investment to "give them better conditions than they could get elsewhere, but to give those conditions at prices wholly within their power to pay; and yet sufficient to return a moderate interest on the investment, and so sustain it and make it enduring."

Given that, it is interesting that in addition, a number of residents of Pullman had independent exhibits at the Columbian Exposition: R.N. Allen exhibited his patent streetcar wheels (the Allen paper wheel); C.O. Allen Co. and W.H. Wellman exhibited a model of combination coach dining car and sleeper; Gustav Bruegger, a Swiss emigrant, had a historical exhibit in the Individual Foreign Exhibit section; and Eugenie McLean showed an oil painting of "A Head" and a painted tapestry in the Women's Building.[253] So perhaps, in a way, Pullman city *was* attracting "men [and women] of the best type."[254]

The model of the town of Pullman, constructed under S.S. Beman's direct supervision, showing every building at about 1:100 scale, attracted great admiration at the Fair. As described at the time, the model showed the factory complex and the nearly 1,800 houses and other public structures, all "models of elegance and good taste in architectural designs, and provided with every modern convenience and appliance requisite to comfort and sanitary completeness. Improvements are constantly being made," and by that time (1893) noting that "nearly eight million dollars [had] been expended in bringing the place to its present state of completeness."[255]

Pullman was expecting that the model town would reinforce the positive image that this same hagiographer of him had of the experiment:

---

[253] Handy, *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to Oct. 30th, 1893. A Reference Book.*, 7: [3], 15, 11, 7, 1061, 62. capitalization as in original and Dredge, *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893*, 685.

[254] The pamphlet continued to defend the experiment: "During the eleven years that the town has been in existence, the Pullman workingman has developed into a distinct type—distinct in appearance, in tidiness of dress, in fact in all the external indications of self-respect. Not only as compared with the majority of men in similar walks of life do they show in their clearer complexions and brighter eyes the sanitary effects of the cleanliness and the abundance of pure air and sunlight in which they live, but there is in their bearing and personal demeanor what seems to be a distinct reflection of the general atmosphere of order and artistic taste which permeates the entire town." It further claimed that Pullman workers were 40% better "in evidences of thrift and refinement and in all the outward indications of a wholesome habit of life" than any others in the country, which explained why they were "universally in demand and sought after" by other employers. Pullman Company, "The Story of Pullman," 33.

[255] American Biographical Publishing Co., *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 694.

> The social, moral and intellectual character of the place is greatly superior to that of the average industrial town. Taken all in all, it is a most remarkable illustration of practical philanthropy, and the wonderful success that has attended the enterprise from its inception verifies the theory of its originator and promoter: "That beauty and culture have an economical value, and that the working classes are capable of appreciating and appropriating the highest ministries of excellence and art.[256]

The model display may also have slightly backfired, however, as it elicited a long digression on the whole project in one publication on the Transportation Building:

> Though it is one of the fundamental rules of the city that no houses or land shall be sold within the Pullman domain, it is the case that out of 2,200 workmen employed at the car factories, 1,000 own their houses on the borders of the town. It is worth noting, too, that a strip of land, perhaps half a mile wide, surrounds a part of Pullman; this belongs to the company, but is not built upon, as it is desired to hold the surrounding suburbs of Chicago at a distance, and to maintain the rigid order of temperance, to which Pullman undoubtedly owes a large part of its success, by keeping drinking saloons at arm's length. The laws of Pullman are strangely autocratic for a republican country, and are viewed with great disfavour by many people outside its limits—a sentiment that may be easily understood. But there is no gainsaying the fact that commercially it is a vast success; that the workmen are of a better class, with better homes and more money in the savings bank than any similar number of workmen elsewhere; that they live in better houses, work more cheerfully, and earn more wages than in any community where the agitator is allowed to set his foot and organise trade unions. There is no possible compulsion to go to, or to remain at, Pullman, but there is always competition for employment there, and it is a remarkable fact that during the busy times at Jackson Park [*i.e.*, building the Columbian Exposition grounds], where more money could be earned, none of the Pullman workmen were tempted to leave. … Probably the sleeping car business is the only industry in the United States that could have created and maintained a flourishing industrial town; but it is evident that so long as the hotel branch of the company's business can fill the shops at Pullman, so long must this interesting place continue to flourish and increase.[257]

On the other hand, a Parisian visitor to the Exposition, Mme. Grandin, went down to Pullman itself and observed that George had furnished the "well-paved streets that are swept and bordered with houses, several churches, schools, and even a theater …. In the manner of a true feudal lord." She walked back that comment a paragraph later: "Thanks to the liberal ideas of its owner, Pullman City is a model city. Let me quickly say that Mr. Pullman does not administer his lands with a feudal firmness. He only

---

[256] Ibid., 694-95.

[257] Dredge, *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893*, 73. The reference to "hotel branch" refers to the company's operating the sleeping cars across the country's rail network.

dreams of making the inhabitants who work in his factories as happy as possible."[258] Thus, the distinctly premodern overtones of this supposedly modern experiment were not lost on this European visitor.

Other publications rather more fawningly declared that the town was "unquestionably one of the greatest attractions Chicago has to offer her visitors," stating that,

> Pullman to-day presents the most advanced and improved example of city construction which the world has seen and it is carefully studied for its suggestive value by men of science capitalists, economists, and students of social science throughout the world.[259]

Visitors to the Fair found the Pullman exhibit on the grounds enjoyable, but it seems to be a bit of lore that they could also take a special Pullman train from the fairgrounds' depot directly to Pullman to tour the works and town.[260] There is no mention of such excursions in the Exposition literature of the day, and no obvious advertisements for such trains in the local papers. It is true that luminaries were given exclusive tours of the Exposition and the town and stayed at the Hotel Florence, and other visitors could visit the works with the proper credentials. Mme. Grandin noted that "a simple letter suffices to get permission to visit the immense factory." Once there, presumably on the regular commuter train along Cottage Grove Ave., "one can stroll through the factory and ask the workers questions. They respond politely, all the while continuing their work."[261] So the works were open to visitors, but not through regular excursions from the fair as it seems to have been believed. By the end of the Exposition, Pullman had shown the world the great success of his paternalistic and profitable town, but this success was about to be tested.

3.A.3 The Pullman Strike of 1894

In 1894 the Great Pullman Strike brought the great enterprise of Palace Car construction and the operation of its national Pullman car service on many rail lines to a standstill. The strike took the wind out of the sails of the claim only a year earlier that,

> In brief, the Pullman enterprise is a vast object-lesson. It has demonstrated man's capacity to improve and to appreciate improvements. It has shown that success may result from corporate action which is alike free from default, foreclosure or wreckage of any sort. It has illustrated the helpful combination of capital and labor, without strife or stultification, upon lines of mutual recognition.[262]

In 1893, the national economy went into a slump, with credit contracting and depositors making runs on banks across the nation. The sharp contraction ultimately became known as the Panic of 1893.I It lasted

---

[258] Grandin, *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 118-19.

[259] The Religious Herald, *Picturesque Chicago and Guide to the World's Fair*, 156.

[260] This may be a confusion with the *Exposition Flyer*, a special 20-hour New York–Chicago limited train put on specially for the fair by the New Your Central, although, ironically, the *Flyer* was equipped with Wagner cars! (Welsh and Howes, *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service*, 30.)

[261] Grandin, *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 119.

[262] Pullman Company, "The Story of Pullman," 34-35.

four years and saw tens of thousands of businesses and hundreds of banks fail. Unemployment rates peaked as high as 25% in Pennsylvania and 43% in Michigan. As with all businesses, the Pullman company experienced a considerable decline in orders which resulted in its workers' income to also decline by an average of nearly 30% according to contemporary reports. This was specifically true for the skilled tradesmen in the factory who were paid by the hour per specific job rather than a set wage for a certain number of hours per week[263] Many of these skilled workers, lived in Pullman houses in the town, and their rents did not decrease. It was therefore these highly paid workers whose fortunes were squeezed. Trapped in what they saw as an unfair system, with their employer decreasing their wages while at the same time maintaining their rents, they brought labor organizers to their cause. To be fair, the problem was that their employer and their landlord was the same company. Typically, it is not your landlord's problem to be concerned with fluctuations in your income, but in this case Pullman (the landlord) was clearly insensitive to what Pullman (the employer) was doing. This was made worse in that all along Pullman had boasted that his town was not only for the moral uplift of its residents, his workers, but also itself a profitable enterprise.

Over the course of three months (May 10 – August 2, though typically the strike proper is said to have occurred in June and July), 125,000 railway workers brought traffic to a standstill in twenty-seven states of the Union: "The suspension of transportation at Chicago paralyzed a vast distributive center, and imposed many hardships and much loss upon the great number of people whose manufacturing and business operations, employment, travel, and necessary supplies depend upon and demand regular transportation service to, from, and through Chicago."[264] Under the command of General Nelson A. Miles, head of the US Army's Department of the East and who had until this time been in charge of Indian fighting in the West (he claimed credit for capturing both Chief Joseph and Geronimo), over 14,000 federal troops, state militia, local police and deputized marshals and sheriffs struggled to maintain order that summer. But, as the strike report put it, "when the depression of 1893 came, morally calling for mutual concessions as to wages, rents, etc., … a very wealthy and unyielding corporation" chose to take out that financial pain on "a multitude of employees of comparatively excellent character and skill, but without local attachments or any interested responsibility in the town, its business, tenements, or surroundings."[265]

---

[263] Timesheets of the day were tied to individual car orders and show workers logging hours, *e.g.*, two hours installing trim on card no. 3244 one day, one-hour upholstering seats for car no. 3188, another 15 hours over the biweekly pay period assembling the frame for another car, and so on. These skilled men should be contrasted to general employees in the Pullman company, such as central office staff or town employees for things like the farm or the greenhouse for the brickworks, who were paid a set either daily or monthly wage for a set number of days on a biweekly schedule. These latter workers were not particularly affected by the decline in car orders.

[264] United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894*, xviii. For the Pullman part of the story, see xxxii–xxxix. For recommended secondary sources, see David Ray Papke, *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1999); Stein, *The Pullman Strike and the Labor Movement in American History*.

[265] Pullman Company, "The Story of Pullman," xxii-xxiii.

Pullman released a statement to the press on May 10 that seemed set to avert the strike by offering to open the company books to show that he was not squeezing his employees while still making strong profits,[266] but by June tensions flared. In the face of the Panic and the economic plight of Pullman's skilled workers, Eugene V. Debs and the American Railway Union (ARU, which had interestingly been founded for unskilled railway workers) attempted to unionize all Pullman workers. This was slightly problematic because the ARU's own mandate was to serve "persons employed in railway service," not manufacturing. The PPCC had no interest in letting its workers unionize because of the wide reach of the Pullman network. At the same time, the ARU actually recommended against Pullman workers striking. Nonetheless, other unions across the country rallied to their cause. Debs, a fiery orator, whipped up sentiment and by the end of June what could have been a local strike in south Chicago turned into a national rail strike. With little progress in the unionization effort, by early July around 10,000 railway workers had converged on south Chicago and the gathering turned into vandalism. Hundreds of railcars and switching yards were vandalized and burned (estimates put the total damage for the strike at something like $80 million), prompting President Grover Cleveland to claim that the strike was disrupting the US mail service. This and the general oversight that the federal government exercises over all interstate commerce gave him the legal justification to send in federal troops. He did so over Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld's protests. Altgeld feared that the federal troops would insight further violence, which as it turns out, was correct. Over the next month, a series of clashes ensued, ultimately leading to thirty dead strikers in Chicago and perhaps another forty across the national rail network that summer.[267]

Before the strike started, it seemed to outside observers that the town was a roaring success. One Parisian visitor noted in her travel journal that workers were happy and content.[268] The journal *Engineering* from the UK waxed poetic on the great success of the experiment:

> Mr. Pullman may well be proud of his vast enterprise, and especially proud of the benefits he has conferred upon thousands of his working fellow-countrymen. … The story of the town of Pullman is but a repetition on a large scale of the building of the first Pullman car. The same fundamental solidity of the structure, the same faith in the intrinsic commercial value of the beautiful, which entered into the one, entered into the other. Indeed, this same logical unity of purpose and allegiance to fundamental

---

[266] In fact, annual reports show profits of $4.0 million in 1893 (year ending June 31), $2.3 million in 1894, and $1.4 million for 1895, so while the Panic of 1893 did cut into his business, he was hardly in the red. The strike report claimed he had nearly $25 million stocked away in "undivided profits" (xxi).

[267] John R. Commons and et al., *History of Labour in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), 2: 502. As far as we are aware, there is no more modern source on casualties in U.S. labor history, and we were led to this source by Wikipedia. The U.S. Strike Commission report (n. 264, above, xviii) relates 12 deaths, 515 local arrests for "murder, arson, burglary, assault, intimidation, riot, inciting to riot, and lesser crimes," and then 190 federal arrests, of whom 71 were indicted.

[268] Grandin, *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 119. Discussed visiting Pullman in October 1893. Either the Panic had not yet fully affected the workers at Pullman by this time or the company made sure that they still maintained a façade of contentment.

> conviction, which is manifest to all, the great fabric reared through many years of labour, is the dominant, the most impressive feature of the achievement. At every step, more over, the convictions upon which Mr. Pullman has acted, and the faith to which he has held, have been vindicated, and more than that, they have either actually wrought, or have had in them the germs of radical benefit. … [T]he town of Pullman along the new lines gives a hope of bettering the relations of capital and labour. The issue of this last is a question of the future, but it is at least a legitimate subject for speculation, whether what the car wrought in one direction, with all its attendant and lasting benefits to humanity, may not on some sort of broader scale, and with benefits to humanity even more far-reaching and enduring, be repeated in the great field where the town of Pullman now stands, as the advanced guard of a new departure and a new idea.[269]

The Pullman dwellings were indeed quite profitable to the Pullman Company. Already from July 1883 to the following July, the town's population had grown from 6,685 to 8,329 and the town brought in a net income of $207,000 (the car shops in the same year made a total profit of $303,000).[270] A decade later, in the year leading up to the strike, the company had invested just under $70,000 in maintenance and superintendence, but had made over $205,000 in rents, a net profit of over $136,000. This represented a return of 6.31% on their investment in the dwellings to date of $2.16 million. Given their net $3.5 million investment in the whole town to that point (for the dwellings plus arcade, market, church, school, streets, and parks), this still represented an annual rate of return of 3.82%.[271]

---

[269] "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago," 737. The sub-head reads, "Works Run at a Loss," and "Plant Operated Only to Keep Men Employed" (both claims were patently untrue).

[270] "Pullman Palace Cars," *Engineering* 38 (1884).

[271] "Revenue from Dwellings, Year Ending July 31st, 1894," Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives, 01/01/01, box 7, fol. 101, Town of Pullman – Revenue from Dwellings, 1894. Further against much sympathy for the company, with the success of business for the World's Fair, the company had issued 50,000 shares of stock which were rapidly gobbled up and then in May 1893 they had expanded their capital stock issue by 20%—one month before the stock market crashed. So they were sitting on considerable new capital while their shareholders partly lost their shirts. Leyendecker, *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman*, 220.

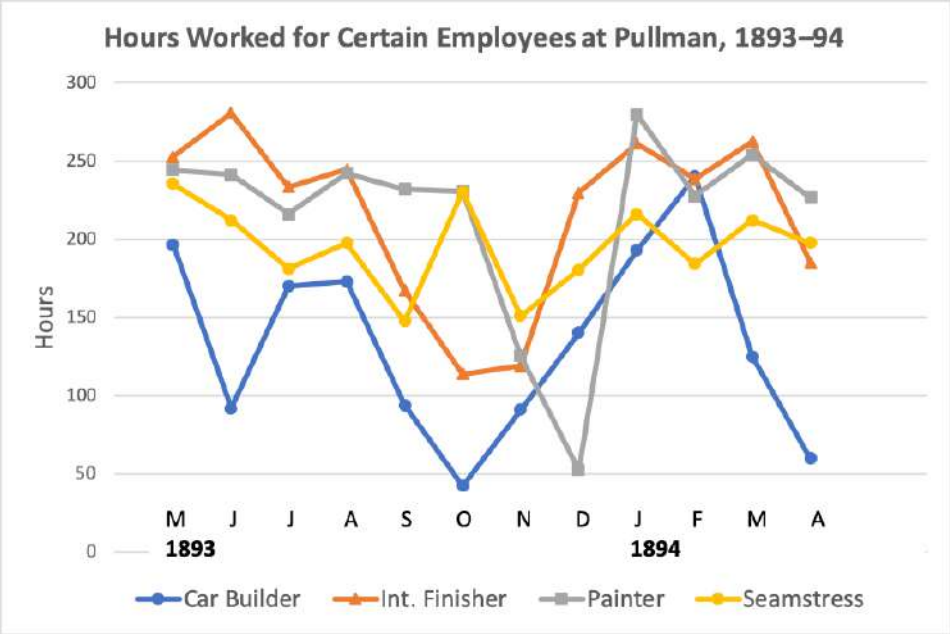


Figure 3.8. Hours worked for Certain Employees at Pullman, 1893–1894.

But in the twelve months from May 1893 to April 1894, workers were thrown into uncertainty in terms of their work hours and wages. As the Strike Commission recorded, depending on which job one held at Pullman, one's hours could be slashed to less than 20% of their peak, with pay falling to as little as 12% of their best month in that period (Table 3.1 and Fig. 3.8). The car builders fared the worst, losing the greatest number of hours and thus pay, while seamstresses were less idled than other workers; interior finishers and painters were in between. It appears that work fell off most rapidly for the car builders and interior finishers in September and October, with the painters' work holding out about a month longer but then

Table 3.1. Earnings of Certain Employees at Pullman, 1893–94.

	Car Builder		Interior Finisher		Painter		Seamstress	
	Hours	*Wages*	*Hours*	*Wages*	*Hours*	*Wages*	*Hours*	*Wages*
May 1893	196.50	$ 47.42	252.75	$ 78.00	244.25	$ 65.66	235.50	$ 39.85
June	92.00	$ 21.00	280.50	$ 96.85	241.25	$ 65.28	212.25	$ 31.24
July	170.00	$ 38.75	233.25	$ 69.12	216.00	$ 57.05	181.00	$ 27.72
Aug.	173.00	$ 36.91	244.50	$ 62.75	242.00	$ 65.14	197.75	$ 30.18
Sept.	94.00	$ 21.50	167.25	$ 44.77	232.00	$ 62.62	147.75	$ 23.90
Oct.	42.25	$ 7.39	114.00	$ 26.92	230.75	$ 62.04	230.25	$ 34.62
Nov.	91.00	$ 20.51	119.00	$ 29.05	125.25	$ 32.58	151.00	$ 24.39
Dec.	140.25	$ 18.37	229.75	$ 47.85	52.50	$ 12.52	180.25	$ 28.18
Jan. 1894	192.75	$ 34.00	261.00	$ 49.30	279.75	$ 66.84	216.00	$ 34.21
Feb.	240.00	$ 60.00	238.50	$ 44.95	227.75	$ 51.69	184.00	$ 25.47
Mar.	125.00	$ 30.80	262.50	$ 51.53	254.00	$ 51.12	212.00	$ 24.92
Apr.	60.00	$ 9.00	185.25	$ 37.77	226.50	$ 48.65	197.50	$ 22.14

Source: U.S. Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894* (Washington: GPO, 1895), xxxiv.

falling off sharply. Painters' and interior finishers' work rebounded by January and held somewhat steady into the spring, while car builders' work grew steadily from a nadir in October to a peak in February, but then plummeted again for the next two months. In terms of an overall average monthly wage over that year span, car builders were most severely hit, losing overall something like 52% of their wages. Interior finishers lost something like 45%, seamstresses 27%, and painters only 20%—though it is worth noting how extremely volatile pay was during this time for all these workers.[272]

The strike, however, ended all that. As a result of the action, in which the workers and unions prevailed, a federal court decision forced the PPCC to divest itself from the town and rental units. Opinions ranged from defending the right of any landowner to make a reasonable profit on his holdings (and a 6% annual return was not seen as unreasonable at the time) to an argument that the whole town should be leveled because it was "a crime against the commonwealth and an insult to humanity," and that to annex this "feudal city" to the city of Chicago would be unconstitutional.[273]

---

[272] The table is on United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894*, xxxiv.

[273] Ibid., 676.

The legacy of the strike is well-studied, and one is best directed to the standard literature on it, starting with the federal investigation[274] and then a number of contemporary[275] and modern studies.[276]

While the labor history of subsequent unionization attempts at the Pullman factory or in its operations division on the rails across the country is not yet written (and is beyond the scope of this report), it is worth noting that George Pullman and successive company leaders were managers of the type that tried continually to stave off unionization by offering better benefits. By 1914, the company had a pension

---

[274] George Mortimer Pullman, T. H. Wickes, and Pullman Company, *The Strike at Pullman. Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman and Second Vice-President T.H. Wickes, before the U.S. Strike Commission. Also Published Statements of the Company During the Continuance of the Strike* (1894); United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894*. In the later extensive report, the testimony of the Pullman residents and the PPC Co. on pp. 416-68 and 468-641 is most enlightening and occasionally darkly entertaining.

[275] Most importantly in our estimation are Thomas Burke Grant, "Pullman and Its Lessons," *The American Journal of Politics* 5, no. 2 (1894). and A.P. Winston, "The Significance of the Pullman Strike," *Journal of Political Economy* 9, no. 4 (1901). But see the various opinions: William H. Carwardine, *The Pullman Strike*, Unity Library 36 (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1894); Joseph Nimmo, *The Insurrection of June and July 1894, Growing out of the Pullman Strike at Chicago, Ill. An Address Delivered before the National Statistical Association at the Columbian University, Washington, D.C., October 9th, 1894. By Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Ll. D* (Washington, DC: Age printing Company, 1894); W.J. Ashley, *The Railroad Strike of 1894. The Statements of the Pullman Company and the Report of the Commission, Together with an Analysis of the Issues*, Publications of the Church Social Union (Cambridge: The Church social union, 1895); Charles King, *A Tame Surrender, a Story of the Chicago Strike*, The Lotus Library (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott company, 1896).

[276] The following is a sampling of the literature; Almont Lindsey, "Paternalism and the Pullman Strike," *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 2 (1939); *The Pullman Strike*; Donald L. McMurry, "The Legal Ancestry of the Pullman Strike Injunctions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 14, no. 2 (1961); Beebe, *The Worker and Social Change: The Pullman Strike of 1894*; Gerald G. Eggert, "The Great Pullman Strike," *American History Illustrated* 6, no. 1 (1971); Harry Jebsen, Jr., "The Role of Blue Island in the Pullman Strike of 1894," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67, no. 3 (1974); William W. Ray, "Crusade or Civil War? The Pullman Strike in California," *California History* 58, no. 1 (1979); Chapin, "The Infamous Pullman Strike as Revealed by the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection."; Matthew C. Lee, "Onward Christian Soldiers: The Social Gospel and the Pullman Strike," *Chicago History* 20, no. 1/2 (1991); Jonathan Bassett, "The Pullman Strike of 1894," *OAH Magazine of History* 11, no. 2 (1997); Laughlin, *The Pullman Strike of 1894: American Labor Comes of Age*; Salvatore, Schneirov, and Stromquist, *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics*; Darbee, "Socialist from the Heartland: Eugene V. Debs and the Pullman Strike."; Stein, *The Pullman Strike and the Labor Movement in American History*; Hirsch, *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*; Burgan, *The Pullman Strike of 1894*; Almont Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

plan, by 1922 a life insurance plan, and by 1929 a group insurance plan (just in time for the Great Depression, which certainly did not help the company). Under F.L. Simmons in 1920, Pullman created an Industrial Relations Department, which formed in-house "unions" to keep national railway and service unions at bay. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters did not make headway at organizing the Pullman Porters until 1934, when the New Deal Railway Labor Act prohibited companies from impeding union organization and operation.

3.A.4 Peak Travel

The pinnacle of Pullman dominance can be easily bookmarked by the dates 1899 and 1927. In the former year, Pullman bought out the last of its major competitors in car building, the Wagner Corporation. Also in 1899, PPCC achieved monopoly status operating sleeper coaches on long distance routes in the United States (though they had in fact a near monopoly from the time of George Pullman's death in 1897) and in 1900 reincorporated itself as The Pullman Company.

At the end of WWI, in 1919, and for the first three months of 1920, the Pullman Company was operated by the United States Railway Administration (USRA), though this does not seem to have affected the manufacturing side very significantly, other than 8,000 cars that the USRA ordered from Pullman (The USRA ordered 100,000 cars nationwide).[277] Then in 1924 Pullman quite consciously separated its car-building operations from its car-servicing operations (including repair) in Pullman itself by consolidating all car building (trains, trollies, interurbans and auto bodies, which it expected to take off) into the Pullman Car & Manufacturing Company. This eventually necessitated a corporate reorganization in June 1927 that saw The Pullman Company reorganized as Pullman, Incorporated (Standard Steel Car Co. was also folded into Pullman Inc. in 1929, though the name change to Pullman-Standard would come later in 1934).

When the Depression hit, it caused a decrease in passenger and especially freight traffic, and most certainly a near collapse in car orders, but the Pullman service was by this time a monopoly for sleeper car service on American railroads and had become indispensable for cross-country and even intercity travel. Faced with a collapse of both rail travel and especially new car orders, the Pullman Company partly worked to update its existing cars with things like air-conditioning (see Section 3.B.4) and promoting new, modern streamlined travel to keep itself financially viable. In 1934 Pullman Car & Manufacturing Company and some of the other Pullman, Inc. subsidiaries merged with Standard Steel Car Company to form the Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company.

The Depression affected both the top and the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder quite severely, and stock tropes of bankers who "lost it all in the crash" as well as dispossessed rural poor hit simultaneously by the collapse of prices and the Dust Bowl fill our collective national consciousness. However, it did not entirely throttle the disposable income of the middle and upper-middle classes that were the principle

[277] There is apparently no consolidated correspondence with Pullman (*i.e.*, sorted by company) in the records of the USRA (RG 14) at the National Archives in Washington, DC. It would take a strategic hunt to find those that would undoubtedly be scattered in the 1,829 cubic feet of records generated by that agency between 1917 and 1938.

Pullman patron. Still, Pullman had to push harder to convince potential riders to travel.[278] They also had to operate around a number of the major rail lines in the country operating under bankruptcy protections throughout the 1930s. Pullman was losing money steadily through the decade, and to make matters worse, it had to capitulate to the railroads' demands to shift from the image of the heavyweight luxury car to the lightweight coach. At the same time, railroads began exploring the enticing possibility of internal-combustion (eventually diesel) locomotives, which by the mid-1930s were looking like they could provide greater power (though again, helping argue for lightweight cars) and continuous operation (because they did not need watering and coaling stops) with far less pollution (smoke-abatement laws were being passed in numerous cities at this time).[279]

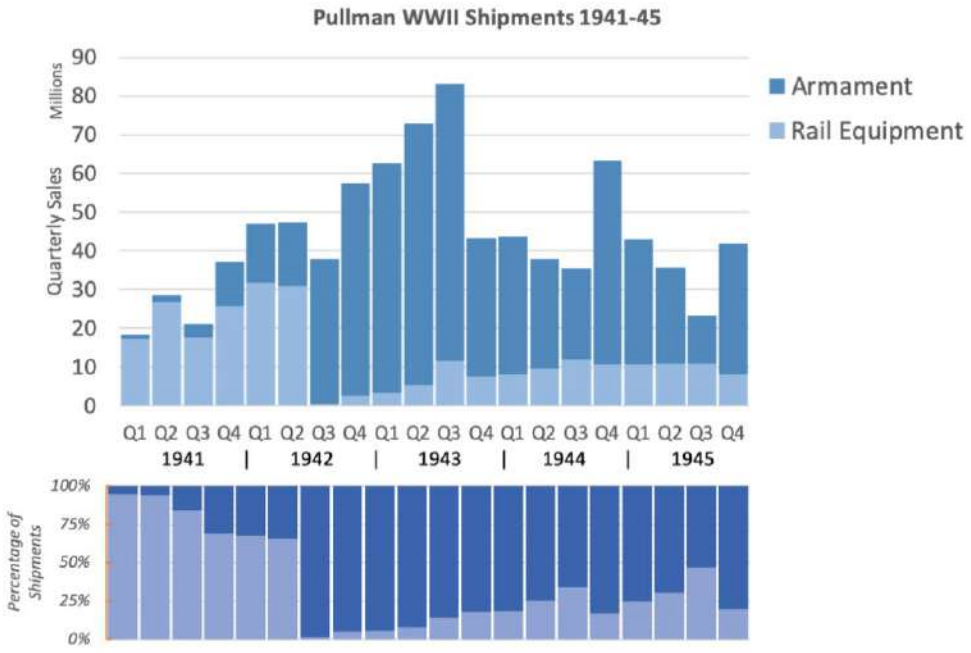


Figure 3.10. Pullman WWII Production.

World War II, however, looked like it would save the company, and for the duration of the war, that was true. Passenger traffic picked up across the country, and the added demand for troop transport on top of that saw ridership nearly triple between 1940 and 1944. More importantly in Pullman itself, and other Pullman shops around the country, wartime orders replenished their bottom line. Initial orders came in 1941 and 1942 for tens of millions of dollars in railway equipment, but by the third quarter of 1942 orders for at least twice as much per quarter came in for armaments (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). After Victory

---

[278] One amusing example is a Pullman district storekeeper in Memphis who had "Ride PULLMAN (SLEEPING) CARS. **Reduced Rates**" (emphasis in the original, using colors) painted on the back of the spare tire cover at the back of his personal automobile. "This Employee Advertises Pullman Service on His Auto," *The Pullman News*, Jan. 1933.

[279] Arthur Tayler, *Illustrated History of North American Railroads: From 1830 to the Present Day* (Edison, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1996), 126-27.

over Japan (V-J) Day in 1945, orders were canceled, shops had to retool for an uncertain future of rail car production, and by 1950 the writing was on the wall.

L to R: Pullman workers assemble field gun chassis; put final touches on a M4 Sherman tank; and test and finish artillery shells, probably all at the Pullman Michigan city plant. Source: Torkel Korling photographs, nos. A-22, A-33, and A-3, Tenneco Collection, acc. 593708.

Figure 3.9. Pullman WWII Production. Torkel Korling photographs in Tenneco Collection.

By the mid-twentieth century, Pullman reservation bureaus were spread around the country and along the lines that operated with Pullman cars that dealt with the sleepers parallel to the regular ticketing and scheduling of the rail line itself. By the early 1950s their fifty-six operating locations were connected by a dedicated "manual tape teletypewriter" system installed by AT&T ("manual" in this case refers to the fact that the teletapes would print out at a regional bureau, but then an operator would need to feed that tape back into a tape reader to send it to the right local office). They had bureaus in Chicago and Los Angeles, for example, that included a two-way printing telegraph services between these bureaus and the Santa Fe Rail Road offices in New York, and the telecommunication systems were specially designed to meet the complex scheduling demands for sleeper cars originating and interconnecting between more than a dozen main cities east of the Mississippi River (and all the stops in between).[280]

From the 1920s through the 1950s, Pullman also tried at times to get into some parallel manufacturing lines, exclusive of the wartime work it did manufacturing tanks and artillery shells, among other things.[281] Between 1919 and 1936 Pullman made tens of thousands of all-metal automobile bodies at their 104th and Erickson Ave. shops for various automobile companies, including Packard, Willys-

[280] S. Kip Farrington, *Railroading from the Rear End* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1946), 158; "The Pullman Company," *Long Lines* 34, no. 7 (1955).

[281] For example, in 1919, Pullman received a $2 million order for 50,000 Edison Co. phonograph cabinets, which it built to high standards in an underused shop at 103rd and Maryland in North Pullman. "Pullman Palace Car Co. Builds Edison Cabinets," *The Music Trades*, Sept. 20 1919; "Wm. Maxwell Enthusiastic over Pullman Production," *The Music Trades*, Nov. 8 1919. A want ad in the *Chicago Tribune* asked for "CABINET MAKERS – ON PHONOGRAPH Cabinets; good wages and working conditions; steady work. Apply Pullman Car Works" (Dec. 11, 1919, p. 25).

Overland (later known for Jeep), and lesser-known ones like Moon, Peerless, and Velie.[282] Their skill at pressed steel frame members and panels in railcars transferred nicely into the early era of all-metal auto bodies and the push for standardization in railcars also then affected the nascent closed-top car bodies. In fact, it would appear from a 1924 showing of their new Packard design that they were consciously working hard to develop the all-metal body both as a style and for the high efficiency manufacturing process for the industry.[283] The peak of their work in this area was concentrated in the period from 1922 to 1925.They sold off the auto body division to Budd in 1930 as they acquired the Standard Steel Car Company in 1929 in what became Pullman-Standard in 1934. Their Worcester, MA plant (the Osgood Bradley Car Company, acquired in 1930, and a subsidiary of the Standard Steel Car Corporation) also built about 2,300 trolley busses (i.e., rubber-wheeled busses drawing power from overhead wires) between 1932 and 1952 (They had been building streetcars and interurbans at their Calumet shops since 1891. See Figure 3.7). Their fame also led to their building Adm. Richard Byrd's snow cruiser, *Arctic Explorer* in 1939, at the time the largest road vehicle ever manufactured.[284] Pullman even made trailers for a brief time under the Trailmobile brand after they acquired that independent company in 1951.

3.A.5 Multiple Declines

World War II was both the savior and the hangman of Pullman Corporation. It partly saved the company in that the necessity of moving goods, troops, and civilian personnel around the country to meet the wartime pressures caused travel to spike, pushing the company's Depression-era balance sheet back into the black. The government and the train lines were also grudgingly happy with Pullman's monopoly fleet of passenger cars that could always be shifted around the country as needed. However, the antitrust view was that without any competition on long distance lines, Pullman was set to abuse its position. An antitrust suit against them was filed as early as 1940, though it was put on hold through most of the war. As soon as the war seemed to be ending, however, the suit was revivified and on April 20, 1943 the US District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania ruled on *United States v. Pullman Co.* that regardless of the circumstances under which "competitors were all absorbed," Pullman did use its business practices to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. The court therefore proposed separating the Pullman Company that operated the sleepers from the Pullman-Standard Car

---

[282] Mark Theobald to Coachbuilt, 2015, http://www.coachbuilt.com/bui/p/pullman/pullman.htm. Theobald contains a substantial but somewhat undigested compilation of Pullman Co. autobody-related news articles.

[283] J.E. Schipper, "Chicago Salon Shows Present Trends in Body Design," *Automotive Industries* 50, no. 6 (1924).[cited in Theobald] noted that Pullman exhibited an "all-steel model built in accordance with railroad practice," and that the "limousine" type auto (where the chauffeur was in an exposed front seat in front of the closed passenger compartment) would be replaced with this "berline type" ("a limousine having the driver's seat entirely enclosed"; we now call it 'sedan' style) that Pullman was developing, though the company did not invent it.

[284] "The Arctic Explorer," Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theCompany/arcticExplorer.html.

Manufacturing Company as the "simplest method of accomplishing" a resolution to the suit.[285] In doing so, the court decreed that railroads had the right to buy Pullman cars rather than only entering into a lease arrangement in which Pullman retained ownership of them. Pullman additionally had to provide through service to any railroad requesting it, Pullman had to operate cars by other builders (in effect only Budd), railroads could operate their own sleepers, and Pullman could no longer engage in "exclusive dealing" with the railroads.

The Interstate Commerce Commission mandated that by the end of 1947, Pullman had to divest itself of either its car building or its operations arm. Choosing to maintain the former, Pullman was broken up as a near monopoly passenger car company for long-haul trains, and its 4,700 cars and 20,000 employees were reorganized to be run by a consortium of 59 train companies. The car building operations in Illinois and Michigan, as well as repair and rehabilitation shops around the country remained in operation. For the next two decades, Pullman-Standard was "just" a car builder—admittedly, the most powerful in America, though facing increasing competition from Budd and from American Car and Foundry (ACF). At the end of 1968, Pullman-Standard was out of business as a railroad manufacturer. Pullman cars, now under the control of the railroad consortium continued for another decade, though even by the late 1950s, lines like the PRR and New York Central put its own parlor cars and sleepers on the line. Incidentally, 1958 was the same year as the first commercial jetliner flight.

Figure 3.11. Advertisements for airline and train travel, both from the October 1954 issue of National Geographic *magazine*

[285] The legal reference for it is 50 F. Supp. 123, 126, 137 (E.D. Pa. 1943), and the text of the decision is at https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/50/123/2181766/. Although the breakup is noted in American business history, it is only the ninth-largest and is not widely studied in antitrust historiography; see George Bittlingmayer, "Antitrust and Business Activity: The First Quarter Century," *The Business History Review* 70, no. 3 (1996).

Soon after World War II, the passenger car started making a serious dent in passenger railway traffic. For example, in 1956 Pullman was forced to raise passenger fares by 5% for first and coach class, and by 7.5% for parlor and sleeping cars. This response was more a response to the rise of the personal automobile than the airlines, but at least United Air Lines, also based in Chicago, took advantage of it. They released a sales bulletin that noted to their agents that this development "is extremely important to all travelers and, as such, it is vitally important that we take full advantage of it." They were concerned that although they had some advantage at the time in coach travel, the new price differential might allow them to start to "introduce the speed and luxury of air travel … for the budget minded." The head office made it clear that it was the job of the sales agents to "*tell him* [the traveler] *about it*" (emphasis in original). The various rail passenger associations complained directly to the president of United, noting that direct comparisons of costs between competing products by mentioning the competitor's rates was really "hitting below the belt" and "a new low." It is not clear whether United directed its agents to continue the tactic, but by this time the pressures from air and automobile were clearly driving some rail routes into a "non-profit" status (only buoyed by feeder lines that kept people in the system) and it would not be long before air travel would indeed come to dominate the long-distance sector.[286] For the next decade, the two industries waged an advertising war for the hearts and pocketbooks of American travelers (Figure 3.11).

One response was that the Pullman Corporation, under G.W. Bohannon (president) and A.E. Greco (manager of PR), pushed out a series of articles in numerous publications under the "Hotel on Wheels" campaign and then, once published, pushed out reprints to numerous people of influence around the country. Touting their 100,000 beds on 4,000 sleeping cars in constant motion around the country, Pullman emphasized that their cars could provide through journeys, even on different rail lines, allowing passengers to travel great distances without transfer. Their trains served as "fine hotels–on wheels" and included porters for luggage and valet service, room service, and "soft pillows for daytime relaxation." Inadvertently admitting that they were, on average, only at one-third capacity on any given night, the company emphasized its role as a concessionaire to determine where, when, and in what quantities Pullman cars operated on the train lines. This they thought would assure riders that if the train line was happy to have the cars on the line, the service must necessarily be superior (ignoring, however, that there were few to no competing concessionaires on most lines).[287]

---

[286] "Advertising - Miscellaneous, 1956-1958," Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 09/01/01, box 1, fol. 1. By the 1960s, it appears that the ICC system was rigged against passenger train travel, and certainly federal infrastructure spending after WWII favored automobiles and air travel over train. Dominick Pisano, *The Airplane in American Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Stanley Berge, "Why Kill the Passenger Train?," *Journal of Marketing* 28, no. 1 (1964).

[287] Ronald Schiller, "Hotel on Wheels," *Dun's Review*, Apr. 1952., 1957 #1460 The Schiller piece also later ran in *Reader's Digest*, though a letter of Apr. 16, 1952 from Greco confirms that in fact *Reader's Digest* people wrote it and "planted" (his quotation marks) in *Dun's Review* so that they could later reprint it (Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 09/00/01, box 1, folder 9, Articles on Pullman Cars – Correspondence, 1952–1954). Pullman also provided drafted speeches for their

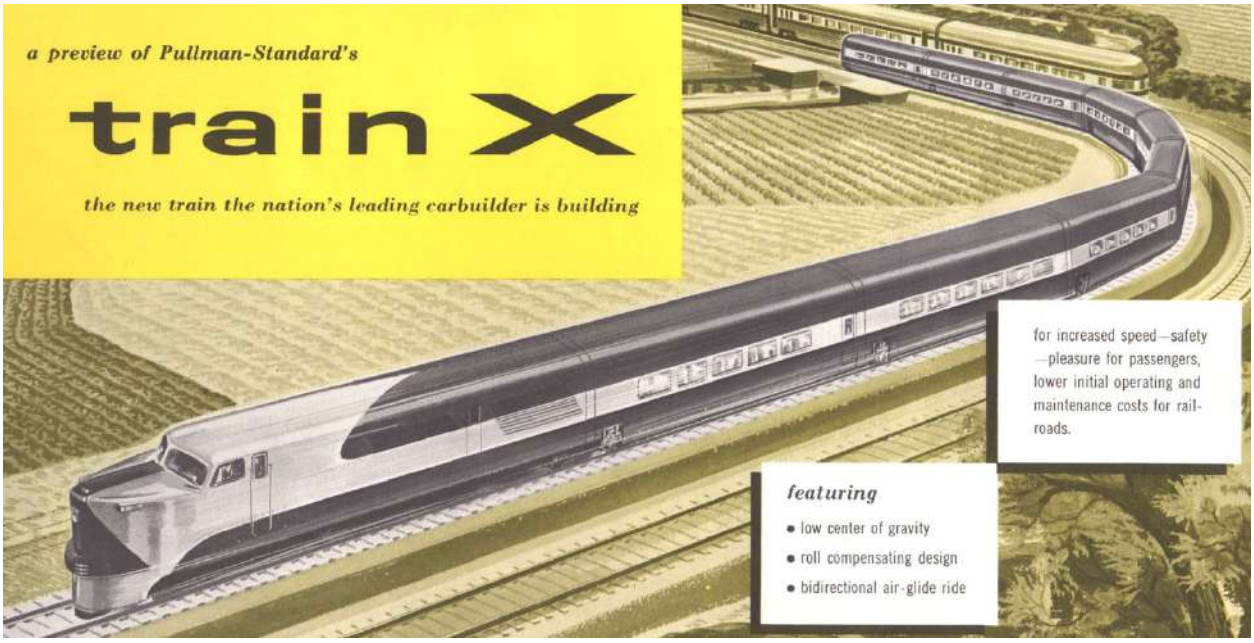


Figure 3.12. Pullman's entry into streamlining, the Train X, c. 1955. Pullman-Standard Co. brochure.

Railroads started looking for ways to simultaneously increase speeds and reduce operating costs so that ticket prices could drop to attract more riders. The most promising approach to this problem was to create lightweight, low center of gravity trains which would require less power (and thus fuel) to pull them, and could take curves at higher speeds (thus decreasing travel time and labor costs). Numerous train corporations designed trains for this initiative and the Aerotrain and Talgo are perhaps the most well-known, mainly because they were stylish even though neither were considered acceptable for general service.[288] Pullman's entry into this competition was known as the Pullman Train X (Figure 3.12), designed in the early 1950s and placed into operation in 1956 and 1957 on only two rail lines. Their operation last only until 1958, though a modified evolution of it became the Turbo train in 1967.

On one hand the mantra of "progress" helped reinforce air travel and the personal automobile after World War II, but social forces contributed as well. Federal transportation policy in the 1950s was shifting towards both of those newer forms of transport, with less investment in rail. Railroads and rail planners recognized that freight was still principally going to be shipped by rail (the rise of the semi

---

representatives to give to local civic groups around the country (*e.g.*, Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives 09/00/03, box 2, fol. 108, "Pullman—The World's Largest Hotel on Wheels," Jan. 1954) and publicity photos to outlets to advertise the utility of train travel (Marion Noyes, "Handbook—You Make Travel Reservations," *Today's Secretary*1955.).

[288] For the overall missed opportunity of the US to develop high speed rail, see Joshua Rogers, "The Great Train Robbery: How Statutory Construction May Have Derailed an American High Speed Rail System," *University of Illinois Journal of Law, Technology & Policy* 2011, no. 1 (2011). For the European "Aerotrain" which was actually innovative, see Vincent Guigueno, "Building a High-Speed Society: France and the Aérotrain, 1962-1974," *Technology and Culture* 49, no. 1 (2008).

tractor-trailer on the interstate highway system was dimly glimpsed in 1950, and was only coming into its own in the 1960s), but it was clear that passenger transportation was on the decline. A conference on the future of rail transportation was held in 1961, and included numerous papers on technology in railroads, as well as papers like, "Is Nationalization of Common Carriers Inevitable?", "The Possibilities of Automation in the Railroad Industry", or "The Railroads, the Laws, and the New Congress." Of particular interest here, however are two papers: "Sociological Barriers to Technological Change" by William Haber, and "Technological Change in the Future of Passenger Traffic" by John D. Loftis.[289]

3.A.6 The End of Pullman the Company

The Pullman Company operations ceased at midnight on December 31, 1968. This corporate behemoth, which only a few decades before had been hailed as the "World's Greatest Hotel" and had hauled tens of millions of passengers each year—100,000 every night by some accounts—ceased as a manufacturing company, though its holdings lived on in other companies and financial entities for another decade or so until final ceasing to exist in 1981. The town of Pullman, of course, lived on, though in private hands after the post-1894 sell-off of the houses and land (see Section 4.E.6). Many Pullman cars still survive in railway museums to this day to give a sense of the golden age of luxury rail travel (see Appendix B).

Amtrak was incorporated upon the bones of the various failed railroad lines to provide, in theory, a unified rail transportation network throughout the continental United States. It was created as well in response to the rail lines arguing that they should be relieved of their unprofitable interstate commerce requirement to carry passengers as well as freight (which is profitable, indeed). Taking over at "the nadir of the U.S. passenger-rail business," Amtrak has struggled to run without massive losses since that time, though it may be seeing the change of pulling even in the near future.[290]

———————————

3.B Railroad Passenger Car Technology

With the decline of rail in the face of air travel and automobile ownership since the 1950s, today trains in America are synonymous with hauling freight. And while it is true that historically there were always something like 30 to 45 freight cars for every passenger car (see Figure 3.1), from the very beginning railroads were seen as a crucial passenger transportation technology. Passenger car development, though far less appealing than that of engines and even of cabooses, therefore plays a prominent role in the story of the development of railcar technology. Thus from here on, any reference to railcars refers implicitly to passenger cars unless otherwise explicitly indicated.

Pullman, the name synonymous with the sleeper, rode the great wave of railcar technology as one of the world's largest railcar companies and the most recognized. The sleeping car, however, was not

---

[289] In Robert S. Nelson and Johnson. Edward M., eds., *Technological Change and the Future of the Railways* (Evanston, IL: Transportation Center at Northwestern University, 1961), 83-97 and 169-84, respectively.

[290] Ted Mann, "Amtrak Has Lost Money for Decades. A Former Airline Ceo Thinks He Can Fix It," *Wall Street Journal*, July 6 2019. In general, see James McCommons, *Waiting on a Train: The Embattled Future of Passenger Rail Service* (White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Pub. Co., 2009).

George M. Pullman's invention. Some trains as early as the late 1830s had bunks for sleeping, but only at night, and often only used while parked in a siding. In 1854 Henry B. Myer received the first patent for convertible seats that became bunkbeds and two years later, T.T. Woodruff patented the more modern form of facing bench seats that converted to beds.[291] With the 1854 patent of F.R. Myer (no relation to Henry) and F.H. Furniss, the Rock Island Rail Road began running a sleeper in 1858 and would do so for nearly two decades before signing an association agreement and effectively becoming a subsidiary of Pullman.

The story goes that Pullman was riding on one of Woodruff's cars in 1858 from Buffalo to Chicago and realized he could improve on the design and began running some converted day carriages on the Chicago and Alton (C&A) Railroad the next year. Then in 1864 he built his *Pioneer* at the C&A shops for $18,000. At almost the same time, a wagon maker named Webster Wagner embarked on a similar process of (re)inventing the sleeping coach from his Wagner Palace Car Company (originally the New York Central Sleeping Car Company, founded in 1858) car shops in Buffalo.[292] The Wagner and Pullman companies would be rivals for the next four decades until Wagner became a subsidiary of Pullman on January 1, 1900.

Most railroad histories are organized around the type of traction engine that drew the train and far more attention is paid to the locomotives and cabooses than to passenger cars. The age of early engines giving way to multiple-bogie locomotives identified by their wheel pattern[293] and then a focus on the power plant (steam leading to diesel) is useful for one type of train history, it is not so useful for understanding passenger car evolution. Further, studies of specific car builders and of car-building shops

---

[291] Henry B. Myer, "Mode of converting the backs of car-seats into beds or lounges," patent no. 11,699, Sept. 19, 1854 and Theodore T. Woodruff, "Improvement in railroad-car seas and couches," no. 16,159, Dec. 2, 1856. August Mencken, *The Railroad Passenger Car; an Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years, with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), 57–59. Myer's name is often misspelled as Meyer, and the date 1858 is frequently erroneously all over the Internet. Woodruff was from Alton, IL, just upriver from St. Louis and put his first cars in service on the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railway, but built his first car in Watertown, NY, and put it into service on the New York Central between Albany and Buffalo by 1856 and then founded the Central Transportation Company with the assistance of Andrew Carnegie and J. Edgar Thompson, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

[292] Frank J. Bramhall, "Luxury in American Railway Travel," *Cassier's Magazine* 15, no. 2 (1898); Robert S. Farnsworth, *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads* (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Dorrance Publishing Co., 2017), 267. Henry B. Myers, "Mode of converting the backs of car-seats into beds or lounges," Patent no. 11,699, Sept. 19, 1854; F.R. Myers and F.H. Furniss, "Improvements in Couches for Railroad Cars," Patent no. 21,436, Sept. 7, 1858.

[293] This is typically given using the "Whyte notation" from 1900 that gives the number of leading, traction, and following wheels, such as the 2-8-0 Consolidation type locomotive.

are remarkably limited in the literature.[294] Even general studies of machine shops and organization from a work (as compared to management) perspective are uncommon, particularly in the formative period for Pullman.[295]

Although the changes in passenger car technology in some ways track the changes in locomotive technology, the two evolved independently of one another. Similarly, the relation between Pullman as car builder and the various rail lines also evolved over time. Rail lines might buy Pullman cars outright, Pullman might operate cars under their ownership coupled to a rail line's locomotive (and other cars), and from the late 1920s through the 1950s, Pullman operated all-Pullman trains on major routes for all the big lines: B&O, PRR, NYC, and others.[296]

From the beginning of Pullman's production in 1859 with the first car for the Chicago & Alton Railroad, cars were termed Palace Cars but this also corresponds with the period of wooden framed cars, which extends to 1910. From 1910-1931, steel became the base for standardized and modernized passenger cars, and from 1934 onwards there were the so-called lightweight cars designed for speed and weight savings.

3.B.1 Wooden Bodies

The earliest passenger cars were, like carriages and wagons before them, made of as much wood as possible, for it was plentiful and easy to work, while wrought iron and especially steel were expensive and difficult to work. And although it was recognized early on that wooden carriages were weak and quite dangerous in collisions, they persisted for over fifty years. The era of wooden cars has been studied at length by Lucius Beebe in terms of the opulence of interior decoration and by John H. White for both passenger and freight cars, and it is to their volumes readers are directed for much greater detail than could be marshalled here.[297]

---

[294] *E.g.*, James E. Watters, "The Regulation of Railroad Technology between 1860 and 1920 and Its Effect on the New England Carbuilding Industry" (Clark University, 1989).

[295] Although too early for our needs, see John H. White, "The Alexandria, Va., Shops of the U.S. Military Railroads," *Railroad History* 212 (2015). And see more generally David Stephen Unger, "A Place of Work: The Geography of an Early Nineteenth Century Machine Shop" (Harvard University, 2013). Such studies are more common after about 1910 when Taylorism makes it a field in its own right.

[296] Bob Johnston, Joe Welsh, and Mike Schafer, *The Art of the Streamliner* (New York: Metro Books, 2001), 50.

[297] Most importantly, White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, 2-115. but then also Lucius Morris Beebe, *Mr. Pullman's Elegant Palace Car: The Railway Carriage That Established a New Dimension of Luxury and Entered the National Lexicon as a Symbol of Splendor.* (New York: Doubleday, 1961); Lucius Morris Beebe and Charles Clegg, *The Trains We Rode*, 2 vols. (New York: Promontory Press, 1990); John H. White, *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

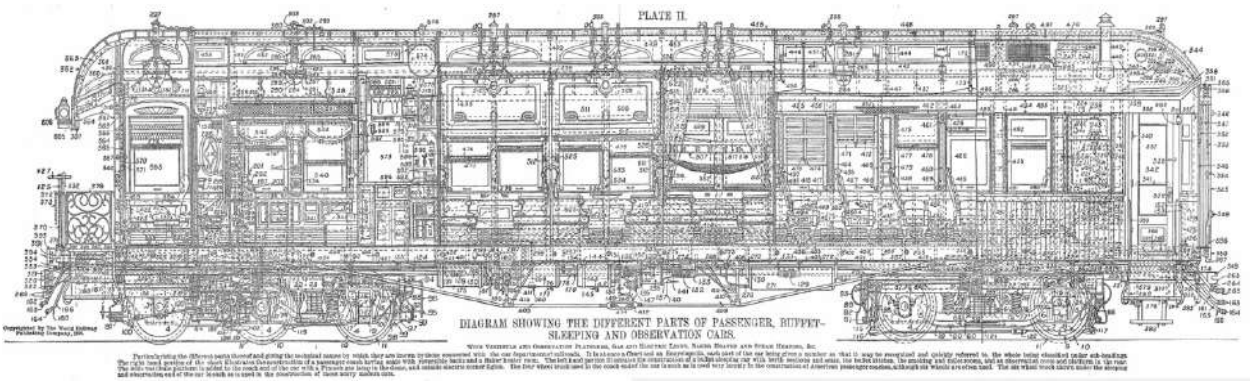


Figure 3.13. Schematic of the hundreds of components on a turn-of-the-century wooden-bodied Pullman. Source: Marshall M. Kirkman, The Science of Railways *(1902), pl 2.*

The earliest wooden cars had substantial timber underframes, on top of which the complex house of the carriage sat (Figure 3.13). As weight reduction became a priority early on, designers figured out how to turn the sides of each carriage into a load-bearing truss system that supported the car, rather than the underframe.[298] This then allowed the trucks to move further towards the ends of the carriage and for developments in suspension and shock absorption (too detailed to go into here), all of which led to smoother and more stable rides.

What this meant in practice for Pullman in the early years, is that a railroad car manufacturing shop was largely a union of a blacksmith shop and foundry support rods, and a much larger carpentry and joinery shop for the woodworking. Pullman initially used the car making shops of Chicago & Alton RR in Bloomington. Although we have not researched these shops, a good sense of the tradition in this type of car building before the construction of Pullman, IL can be gleaned from looking at the company's Detroit shops (Figure 3.14). There, the work was divided into separate units within the two buildings. The majority of components for the car would begin to be shaped in the central area of the north building. This building included the planning and sawing mill on the first floor, a sawing shop on the second, and a general woodworking shop on the third (notice that woodworking continues on the second and third floor over the metal shops as well). This is somewhat counterintuitive, as it would be expected that more finished components would move upwards in the factory building. Surely Pullman was constrained by the tight quarters in Detroit, but this does run counter to the early-twentieth-century design of factories where raw materials were initially received on the top floor. As they were fabricated, components descended by gravity to final assembly on the ground.

[298] Tayler, *Illustrated History of North American Railroads: From 1830 to the Present Day*, 61. the telltale sign of these cars are the long diagonal wrought iron bars under the sides of the car between the trucks.

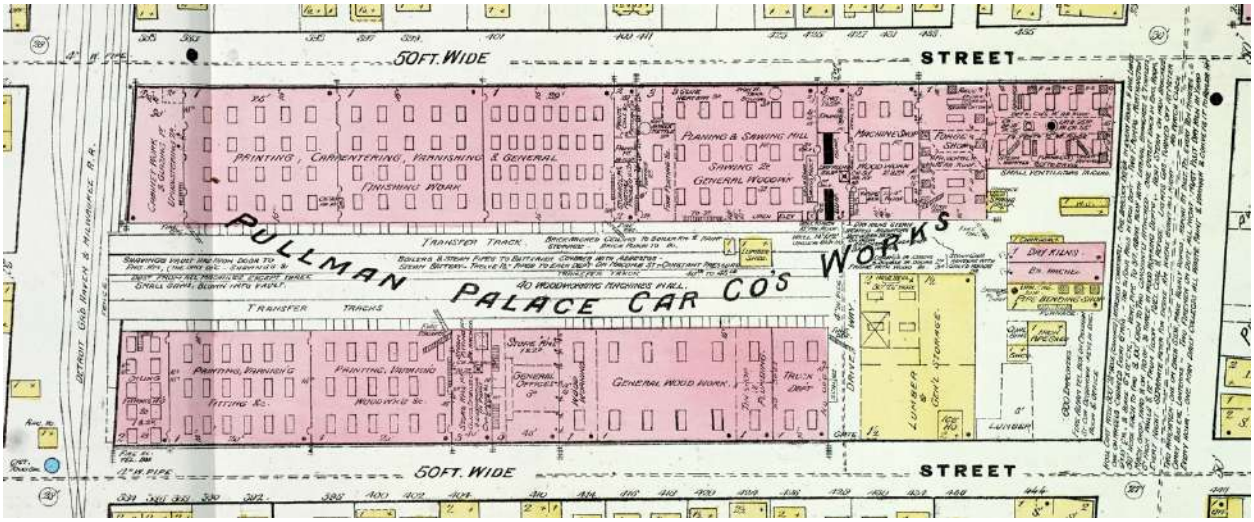


Figure 3.14. Pullman's Detroit Shops in 1884. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan. Vol. 2, sheet 60 [detail]. Original from the Library of Congress.

The early Pullman system at Detroit may represent the survival of a nineteenth-century production system in multi-story factories.[299] The small lumber storage in the southeast corner of the lot and the dry kilns along the eastern fence suggest that wood was brought in from yards elsewhere as needed and was also kiln dried as needed. Metalworking in the forge shop and machine shop in the north east corner of the building prepared things like tie rods and fittings to be delivered to the assembly areas. The truck department, which built up the four wheel trucks on which every car rode, was located at the eastern end of the south-western building and was a largely independent unit within any car building firm The wheels and springs were typically purchased from another firm; in the case of Pullman, the Allen Paper Car Wheel Company supplied wheels to them, and when Pullman built his new factory in Chicago, Allen also built a large shop adjacent.

Railway car building in this period was very much a custom manufacturing process, done at individual stations where each car sat for a number of days to weeks. Materials were brought to it that were needed in that step and it was in no way an assembly line process. When it came to assembling individual cars, a pair of trucks were moved to an assembly bay and most of the car was built up on top of them. Once the car was structurally integral, mostly complete, and fitted out with its major internal components such as walls, it was then moved to the painting shops for overall exterior (and, if applicable, interior, though in this period that would have been rare) painting. Once dry (or perhaps even before, depending on backlogs), it was then moved to yet another bay for installation of movables such as seats and births and cabinetry, and final trimming out with upholstery and everything from latches and handles to wash basins and pull cords.

---

[299] Lindy Biggs, *The Rational Factory: Architecture, Technology, and Work in America's Age of Mass Production*, ed. Philip B. Scranton, Studies in Industry and Society (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 108-17. and for example William Floyd Hunt, *Handling Material in Factories*, Factory Management Course and Service (New York: Industrial extension institute, 1922).

Cars were moved between various assembly bays by using the transfer table (in the Detroit plan labeled as a “transfer track”). The largest bays are in the section of the south building labeled “General woodwork”, which makes sense, as it was here that the larger wooden members would need to be moved about and assembled into a car frame. More room around each set of trucks would make that easier. When each car was then moved across to the northern building for “printing, carpentry, varnishing, and the general finishing work” the bays were somewhat narrower. It was similar in the southern building in the shops for painting, varnishing, fitting, etc. (It is unclear why there is a separate section for “oiling, varnishing, etc.”).

The era of the wooden car saw both incredibly utilitarian wooden clapboard boxes and elaborately carved mahogany dens of opulence placed upon trucks and run over the rails. Although Pullman made his name with the latter, a great many boxcars for freight and relatively utilitarian parlor cars also came out of his shops. The records at the Newberry Library probably has enough information for a diligent researcher to determine which part of that production really paid the bills, even if all the attention was paid to the Palace Cars.

3.B.2 Interlude: The Vestibule Wars

In the later 1880s, a new but important development was added to railroad passenger cars: the vestibule (Figure 3.15). Seemingly an obvious improvement to enclose the porches at either end of the car and connect one to the next, the difficulty was engineering a connection between cars that would seal the vestibules together and still allow for the independent horizontal and vertical movement of each car as it rounded corners or navigated uneven tracks. This innovation has been called “the last

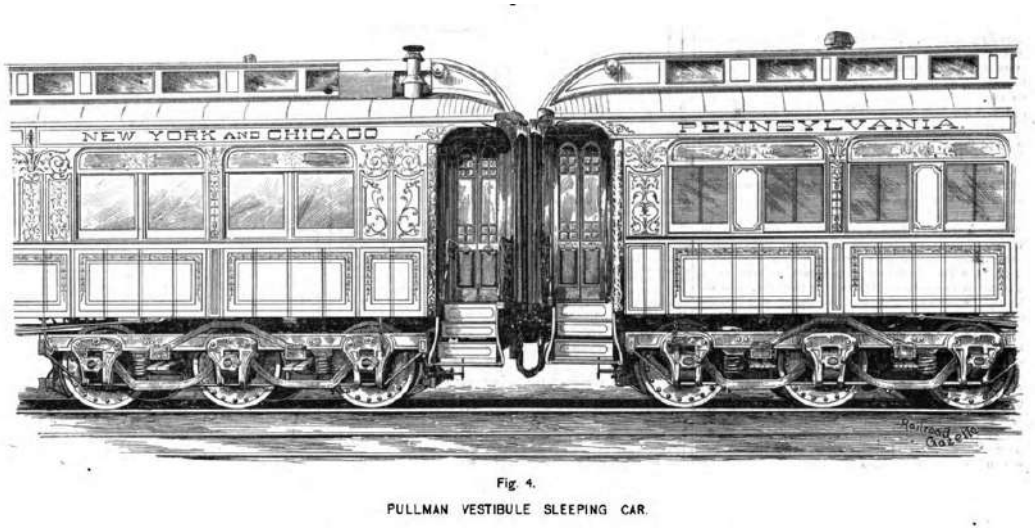


Figure 3.15. “The Pullman Vestibule Sleeping Car,” Railroad Gazette*, Nov. 23 1888, p. 767.*

major innovation needed to assure the success … of the concept of the land-based traveling hotel.”[300]

[300] James D. Porterfield, *Dining by Rail: The History and the Recipes of America's Golden Age of Railroad Cuisine* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), 47; Mencken, *The Railroad Passenger Car; an Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years, with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers*, 32-35.

) The first part of this problem was finally and effectively solved by Henry H. Sessions, general manager, and his team at the Pullman Company in Chicago. Only a retrospective problem, it was like many technological solutions. Once introduced, people wondered how they had lived without it beforehand. As early as the 1830s, railroads had infrequently worked on ways of connecting cars that allowed for passage from one car to the next without being exposed to the elements and to flying cinders from the engine, but only US and UK postal sorting cars had made significant use of such innovation.[301] Sessions' solution was to invent a sort of spring-loaded door frame that projected beyond the end of each car that would mate with a similar frame on the next car, in order "to diminish the racking effect upon a car-body, due to its momentum when it is suddenly brought from a state of motion to a state of rest [and] to diminish the tendency to a swaying or oscillating movement … developed whenever a train is running at high speed upon an ordinary railroad-track."[302] Sessions specifically claimed that the "vestibule feature is no [*sic*] part of the present invention" as his frames could as easily be attached to cars with vestibule, open platforms, or even cars without platforms. However, by more tightly coupling each car to the next and reducing the overall sway of the carriages, the spring-loaded frame, when easily sided with a flexible bellows material, incidentally created the continuous tunnel to keep the passengers out of the elements that had been desired all along.

The first cars made with Session's airlocks rolled out in April 1887, trialed on the Illinois Central, and then debuted on the New York & Chicago Limited service of the PRR. The amenity was an instant success, and for a brief time, a "vestibule train" was synonymous with a luxury service, throughout the cars filled with "buffet[s], writing desks, [a] library and cabinets," and with "carpets throughout of the richest Wilton make [a high-end English woven rug], wrought in attractive designs," leading to a "general effect of the decorations and furniture [that was] not only highly luxurious but pleasing to the most refined and fastidious taste."[303] The cars had electrical lighting and were introduced just as steam heating of cars for winter travel appeared (Pullman would later be a leader in air-conditioned cars in the 1930s; see Section 3.B.4), further increasing passenger comfort. By the summer of 1887, a "vestibule craze" had swept the industry and other lines were forced to convert their existing cars or order new ones from Pullman or his competitors (who worked hard to get around Sessions' patent). The B&O, for example, advertised to its customers that by August it promised to have all its best cars outfitted with vestibules within sixty days.[304]

---

[301] "The First Vestibule Train in the World," *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 1 (1891); "Vestibules, Platform Canopies and Hoods," *Railway Gazette*, Mar. 2 1894; ibid., 449–51.

[302] Henry Howard Sessions, Assignor to the Pullman's Palace Car Company, "Railroad-Car," patent no. 373,098, Nov. 15, 1887.

[303] "The Pullman Vestibule Sleeping Car," *Railroad Gazette*, Nov. 23 1888, 767.

[304] Farnsworth, *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads*, 265–67.

Between 1888 and 1892 vestibule car building expanded across the entire railway industry. A series of patents were filed for vestibules,[305] numerous railroads added vestibule cars built by firms other than Pullman to their lines, to which Pullman initiated a series of patent infringement suits.[306] The first big test case was *Pullman v. Boston & Albany RR* in 1890, which held largely in Pullman's favor.[307] But in 1892, Sessions' original Pullman patent was voided by a challenge from T.A. Bissell at the Wagner Company (but formerly of the Pullman Company; see Section 5.B.4), and the railcar builders became free to add spring-loaded bellows vestibules and vestibule hardware as they saw fit.[308] The vestibule became standard on most cars by the early 1890s, just as steel frames came into service, and so it had to be adapted to their characteristic features. Sessions, still at Pullman, attacked the problem and by mid-1896 had two patents covering the situation.[309]

---

[305] See for example, George M. Pullman, "Vestibule-Connection for Railway-Cars," patent no. 403,137, May 14, 1889; but then also, from all over the country: Thomas E. Thompson, "Vestibule-Car," patent no. 394,313, Dec. 11, 1888; Newell P. Cowell "Vestibule-Car," patents no. 394,339, Dec. 1, 1888 and no. 394,340, Dec. 11, 1888; Arthur G. Leonard, "Vestibuled Railroad-Car," patent no. 414,228, Nov. 5, 1889; Thomas W. Moore, "Vestibule-Car," patent no. 417,496, Dec. 17, 1889; Jacob N. Barr, "Railway-Car," patents No. 421,375, Feb. 18, 1890 and no. 429,834, June 10,1890; John J. Kirkham, "Vestibule Car," patent no. 439,523, Oct. 28,1890; Thomas E. Thompson, "Vestibule-Car," patent no. 394,313, Dec. 11, 1888; Henry M. Jones, "Vestibule-Car," patent no. 448,186, Mar. 10, 1891; Charles S. Smith, "Vestibule Car," patent no. 451,227, Apr. 28, 1891; August Feine, Carl Koch, and August Miller, "Vestibule Hood for Cars," patent no. 454,996, June 30, 1891; James Kent Griffin, "Vestibule Car," patent no. 455,427, July 7, 1891; Arthur J. Barber, "Car-Vestibule and Step Therefore," patent no. 461,156, Oct. 13, 1891; Samuel W. Tanner, "Vestibule-Car," patent no. 461,927, Oct. 27, 1891; Arthur M. Kittredge and John Kirby, Jr., "Vestibule Connection for Cars," patent no. 474,796, May 10, 1892; James F. McElroy, "Vestibule for Cars," patent no. 474,966, May 17, 1892; Edward L. Perry, "Vestibule for Cars," patent no. 455,427, Aug. 15, 1893, and so on. See also "The First Vestibule Train in the World," 19.

[306] E.g., "The Vestibule Cars. The Pullman Company Suing the New-York Central," *New York Times*, Dec. 19 1887.

[307] E.g., "Pullman's Palace Car Company V. Boston and Albany Railroad Company Et Al.," *Decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts in Patent and Trade-mark and Copyright Cases* (1890). And also see "The Legal Controversy over the Vestibule Patents," *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 3 (1891); "The Legal Controversy over the Vestibule Patents. Ii.," *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 4 (1892).

[308] "The Vestibule Patents," *The Railway and Corporation Law Journal* 8 (1890).

[309] Patents no. 562,343. "Railway-Car" (June 18, 1896) and 575,994, "Metallic Platform and Buffer for Railway-Cars" (Jan. 26, 1897). Farnsworth, *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads*, 297.

3.B.3 Heavyweights: Steel Frames

The desire for an all-metal car was seen as far back as the 1840s, and at various times, inventors experimented with tin sheathing, an overhead truss from which the passenger compartments were suspended, or custom-built ornate wrought iron carriages. In the 1850s, two notable patents appeared which proposed an iron frame with sheet iron panels to create a fully iron car (shades of the race towards naval ironclads to come), and a number of railroads apparently built them, but the idea never caught on.[310] For the next half century numerous other inventors kept trying various ideas for metal bodies. John Roebling of Brooklyn Bridge fame proposed one model and T.A. Bissell, who had worked for Pullman in the 1870s and early 1880s, developed a steel framing system for the platform of steel cars that used Z-beams rather than Pullman's I-beams.[311] However, it was not until the end of the century that a truly viable steel body entered the market. The era of the steel frame then went through an overlapping era of steel frame with a wooden skin and then fully steel-bodied constriction before streamlining and lightweight metal bodies took over after 1930.[312]

---

[310] Thomas E. Warren, "Improvement in iron car-bodies," patent no.10,142, Oct. 18, 1853 and Bernard J. LaMothe, "Improvement in railroad-cars", no. 10,721, Apr. 4, 1854. Mencken, *The Railroad Passenger Car; an Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years, with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers*, 36-41.

Warren is also noted for having invented the modern swiveling office chair with a central spring ("deemed immoral because it was too comfortable"[!]; see Diane Mary Shewchuk, "Thomas E. Warren, the American Chair Company and the Centripetal Spring Chair" (Fashion Institute of Technology, 1993).) and two other patents for railway car and seat design. La Mothe also patented passenger car seats (nos. 1794, July 14, 1857 and 138,899, May 13, 1873), "Improved metallic framing for ships and other navigable vessels" (no. 37,236, Dec. 23, 1862), an "Improved mode of lubricating car-axles" (no.43,033, June 7, 1864), and two for metallic car platforms (nos. 170,480, Nov. 30, 1875 and 185,446, Dec.19, 1876). Then in a later flurry of patenting: a metallic bedstead and lounge (no. 264,7l1, Sept.19,1882); two for "Improvements in metallic cars" (105,699, July 26, 1870 and 198,631, Dec. 25, 1877) and a second "Metallic frame for railway cars" (no. 368,343, Aug. 16, 1887); a "Metallic platform for railway-cars" (no. 390,026, Sept. 25, 1888); three for railway car trucks (nos. 402,167 – 402,169, all on Apr. 30,1889) and one for a railway car spring (no. 385,061, June 26, 1888); and three patents for iron building construction ("Iron building frame," no. 11,809, Oct. 17, 1854; "Construction of buildings," no. 71, 185, Nov. 19, 1867; and "metallic building," no. 43.364, July 1, 1890). He also patented a fountain pen (no. 47,432, Apr. 25, 1865).

[311] Farnsworth, *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads*, 297.

[312] White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, 116-57.

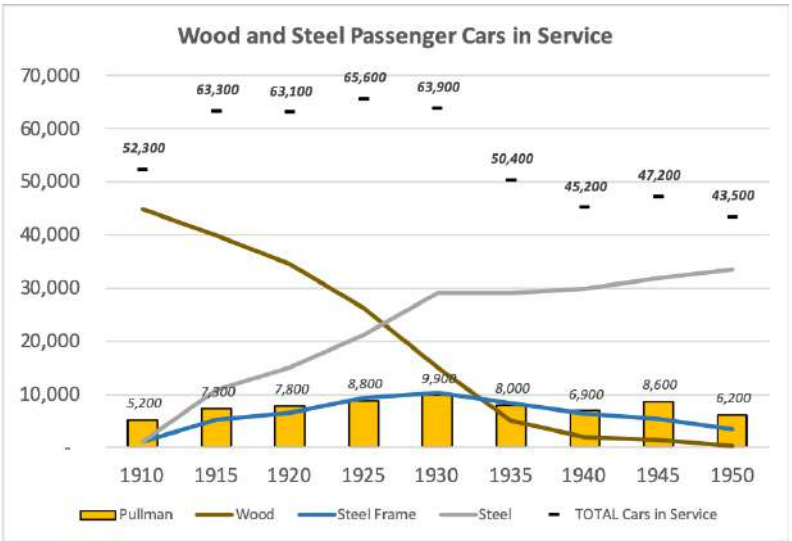


Figure 3.16. Wood and Steel Passenger Cars in Service, 1910–1950. Source: John White, American Passenger Car (1988), table 2.1.

By 1900, over eighty railroads were using steel-platformed cars. This was partly due to the longstanding desire for safer, more solid cars, but it was also the new availability of ductile steels to form ribs, coupled with the availability of riveting and later welding techniques that made steel cars viable both economically and in terms of labor. The transition ultimately happened quite quickly. In 1890 virtually all cars were still wood and then steel platforms with wooden bodies came in very rapidly (Figure 3.16). The first all-steel sleepers were manufactured in 1907 and by 1910 most railroads were already rapidly phasing out their wooden-bodied cars (either all-wood or steel platforms). In 1915 about 75% of new rolling stock was steel-framed with wooden panel interior and not a single wooden-bodied car was made in America. At the same time one-third of all Pullman cars were already all steel.[313]

Starting in about 1907, Pullman began developing a steel frame for its cars to make them stronger and, counterintuitively, proportionally lighter even while the cars grew in size. Pullman entered the steel era by building a new, all-metal fabrication shop by expanding the south wing of the original buildings and by 1910 was turning out dozens of metal cars per year. By 1930, 80% of Pullman cars were steel and five years later they all were (strictly speaking, 0.8% were steel underbody and the new aluminum skin bodies, but regardless, wood was gone). This was also when standardization of the car frames—whether parlor, sleeper, baggage or specialty—took over and henceforth all character of a given car was in the

[313] Ibid., table 2.1; George Gibbs, "Origins of the Steel Passenger Car," *Railroad History*, no. 138 (1978); Farnsworth, *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads*, 297; Graham Romeyn Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs* (New York: D. Appleton, 1915), 43. Taylor notes that only 15% were all steel and it would have been more "but for the difficulty experienced in heating them while in service."

internal divisions of the car and in its windows, doors, and paint scheme.[314] This growth ushered in the age of the giant railroads, with locomotives over 500 tons and trains that could be miles long (though that was admittedly rare).[315] Between the *Jamestown* in 1907 and the *Dreamland* in 1958 (built by Budd), Pullman built and operated thousands of heavyweights in all sorts of configurations.[316] Although this was the era of the heavyweight cars (as compared to the welded steel and aluminum cars that were to come), Pullman engineers were quite good at being efficient and managed to bring the weight of one of these cars down by 15% to only sixty-eight tons per car.

Steel platform cars and all-steel cars were stronger and proportionally lighter than wooden cars. The former meant that the life of a car was considerably extended and the safety of passengers was increased, especially when the wooden bodies that became so many flying shards of matchsticks in severe collisions were replaced with steel skins. The latter meant that the cost to haul railcars decreased (fuel costs are proportional to total weight hauled) and that more load, whether a longer passenger train or a heavier total freight load, could be hauled by the same locomotives. Consequently, trains became longer and faster, getting more people to their destination, more safely, and sooner.

But the changeover had some profound impacts on the production side as well. Not only was the car manufacturer now far more dependent upon the steel mill and steel trusts than on the sawmill, as one critic put it in 1915, "The advent of the steel car threw wood-carving, cabinetmaking and many other skilled crafts on the scrapheap and substituted metal work demanding distinctly shorter training."[317] That, combined with powered labor-saving machinery meant that between 1885 and 1915, the proportion of skilled workers at Pullman dropped by a third (from roughly 75% to 50%) and unskilled and semi-skilled workers increased by a factor of two (from 25% unskilled to about 25% each for unskilled and semi-skilled), while production increased.

Although the twentieth century brought widespread mass production techniques, including the moving assembly line forever identified with Henry Ford, steel passenger car production remained a custom station process, albeit at a large scale. Because every railroad wanted a distinctive set of cars on its line, the production process had to retain elements of nineteenth-century manufacture, including customization where standardization might have made sense.

Arrival of the steel frame prompted a considerable shift in the skill set required at the Pullman shops. Wooden frames were the domain of joiners and cabinetmakers, while steel cars demanded riveters. It was thought by the company officials that the skilled tradesmen would simply shift their work to the

---

[314] Theobald Field & Pullman, [Etc.].

[315] In the early 1940s, the "Big Boy" steam locomotives of the Union Pacific could tow 4,000 tons up a 4.6% grade or a 650-car, 27,000-ton freight train nearly (33,000 feet = 6¼ miles) long.

[316] For an attempt to catalogue "every Pullman-owned or operated heavyweight and lightweight passenger car throughout its service life, [to] enable the railroad modeler and historian to know what any car looked like and how it was equipped, from delivery until it left Pullman control," see *The Pullman Project* at http://www.pullmanproject.com.

[317] Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, 42-43.

new material (and in fact, they claimed so), but, like many shifts of technology within an industry, the older craftsmen left for not wanting to work in the new material and were replaced by new tradesmen who could or would work in it. As it turns out, there was also an ethnic (or as they saw it, racial) component to the shift. Many of the accomplished joiners were Dutch and had considerable roots in Roseland, the older village just west of Pullman.[318] When the steel riveting jobs began going to Slavs (it is not clear if they were new immigrants or had been in Chicago for some time), as many as 200 of the Dutch left Pullman's employ. Claiming that the older employees could not "stand the racket," they ceded their jobs to Slavs (who "don't seem to have any nerves" that the noise would jangle), and besides, "no white man would now want to work in some departments of the shops."[319] The policies of Pullman towards ethnicities in the factory and town as well as changing criteria by which new immigrants became white could indeed be studied in microcosm within the Pullman shops.[320]

3.B.4 Interlude: Air Conditioning

One of the great concerns in rail travel is the comfort of passengers. Heating had been included in passenger cars from as early as the 1850s. Initially each car had a potbellied stove, but early on systems were developed where air was drawn in by the movement of the cars, passed across a coal- or wood-fired heater in a service chamber at the end of each car and then distributed through ceiling ducts. Radiators utilizing steam from the locomotive appeared in the 1880s.[321] Vestibules helped to solve this in one way by connecting one car to the next so that passengers did not have to go outside in freezing temperatures or rain or experience the air blast when moving between cars. But the vestibule did not solve the problem of overheating cars in the summer. While one could always open the window to a ready breeze, the problem was that in the era before the diesel-electric locomotive, it also opened the compartment to coal smoke and cinders. Railroads partially tried to alleviate this bother by coupling baggage and service cars immediately behind the locomotive, thus placing passenger cars near the rear where smoke was more diffused. But the problem still persisted.

Modern methods of what we now call air conditioning had been developed in 1902 by Willis Carrier in Buffalo, but for the next quarter century, the cooling plants were far too cumbersome and expensive to install aboard a train. Public spaces and especially theaters had begun to install them by the 1920s and the public got a taste for perfect 70 degree comfort year-round. In 1929, Pullman installed an experimental air-conditioning system using ice as the coolant in its twelve-cabin sleeper *McNair*, though the onset of the Depression slowed the construction and rehab of cars with air conditioning. Still, air conditioning became a major area of investigation by numerous rail lines in the 1930s, and in that period Pullman developed the Pullman Mechanical (PM) System that used a brine tank to chill air passing over it. Freon also became commercially available in the early 1930s and this allowed air-conditioning machinery to become considerably smaller and more efficient. It may seem strange today, but the

---

[318] Marie K. Rowlands, *Down an Indian Trail in 1849: The Story of Roseland* (Palos Heights, IL: Dutch Heritage Center, Trinity Christian College, 1987).

[319] Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, 44.

[320] Brent Staples, "Opinion: How Italians Became 'White'," *New York Times*, Oct. 12 2019.

[321] Tayler, *Illustrated History of North American Railroads: From 1830 to the Present Day*, 59.

public was actually not immediately sold on air conditioning in trains because it necessitated cars with windows fixed shut. Fresh air was seen as a cure for all ills, and to be bottled up in a hermetically sealed steel tube was less than palatable to many people. In addition, air conditioning failures were not uncommon, and the sealed metal tubes could quickly become very hot. Even this early moderate-distance airplane flights were also starting negatively impact train business and the new industry missed no opportunity to note that air travel was both faster and cooler than an un-air-conditioned train.[322] On trains, the promise of comfort quickly surpassed any qualms, and by May 1932, the New York to Chicago *Capitol Limited* advertised itself as the first all-air-conditioned, all-Pullman train.

Throughout the 1930s, various railroads are credited with developments in air conditioning, though in many cases it was the car builders who both developed and perfected, not to mention manufactured and tested, these systems. Railways, still trading on the idea of their services to businessmen as *hotels de luxe*, capitalized on the idea of climate control to promote train travel. In most cases, the railroads first air-conditioned the dining cars, and then worked on solutions to the parlor and then sleeping cars. The Aitchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, for example, introduced its air-conditioned dining car in February 1930 and marketed it to businessmen who could make the trek across the Mojave Desert at a cool 68 degrees (and also have their cigar smoke drawn out "as if by magic"). In cities, air conditioning was sold to the masses in movie theaters, but Pullman targeted "the [business]man who was in a position to buy it for the masses."[323] By the later 1930s it was rare to find any long-distance train that was not mostly, if not entirely, climate controlled. This was partially accomplished by reorienting its large, skilled workforce that had been heavily idled by the reduction of orders during the Depression into retrofitting and rebuilding older cars with air-conditioning units. These heavyweights had originally been built with various types of heating units, so it was often a matter of custom design and fitting the new systems to each old car.

By 1950, Pullman had developed numerous air-conditioning systems which were in service in 5,500 cars on over six dozen rail lines. These included diesel-electric, electro-mechanical, "ice actuated", plain mechanical and brine-activated mechanical, and steam ejector systems, as well as a mechanical system by Frigidaire, a Waukesha propane gas system, and yet another by the York corporation.[324]

---

[322] A similar comparison that highlights the class aspect of this development is that in 1930, a newspaper article noted that "A Pullman or a day coach in mid-summer may … be cooler than an outside cabin on an ocean liner" ("Railroad Trains Make Own Climate," *St. Joseph Gazette*, June 15 1930.).

[323] Marsha Ackermann, *Cool Comfort: America's Romance with Air-Conditioning* (Smithsonian Books, 2010), 57-61.

[324] J.J. Nolan and The Pullman Company, "List of Standard and Tourist Cars," in *Passenger Traffic Dept.* (Chicago1950); "Air Conditioning . . . A Vital Part of Our Service," *The Pullman News*, Apr. 1953. See Pullman Richmond Shops, "Richmond Pullman: Air Conditioning Program," http://www.pullmanshops.com/1934_AC.htm. and Thomas C. Madden, "The Pullman Project: Air Conditioning Topics," http://www.pullmanproject.com/AC.htm. for a number of promised vignettes on AC developments on trains. Ammonia systems, used in building air-conditioning, turned out to be too dangerous for passenger trains.

3.B.5 Lightweights: Metal Skins and Stainless Steel

The last evolution of passenger railcars in the Pullman era came when designers realized that the skin of the car could serve as an integral part of the structure rather than merely being applied to the surface. While even tongue-and-groove paneling on a wooden frame stiffened the overall cars, throughout the wooden and steel-frame eras it was assumed that the frame itself should provide the majority of the strength of the car and the exterior skin and interior panels were merely hung on the frame. An initial step was simply corrugating the metal panels on the steel frame to stiffen the car, but eventually designers realized that the walls of the carriage could be made integral as the frame, somewhat like corrugated cardboard boxes, resulting in greater strength with less material and thus less weight.

The manufacturing process for a single car was, by the 1940s, an exceedingly complex job. It was calculated that an average twelve-car train required 900 separate drawings for parts. A complete itemized description of everything for that train would take something like 675,000 words. Each side of a car was formed of fifteen separate pieces with hundreds of corrugated stiffeners welded to them. Pullman-Standard developed a 45-ton spot welder operated by a "magic eye" that could make 1,400 welds per minute. A total of twenty-eight stainless steel sheets were formed over a frame as the traveling bridge made 8,000 spot welds while simultaneously seaming sheets together to form a continuous 85-foot roof for each car. Once these and the ends of the car had been prefabricated, the shop would "lay down the car":

> A mammoth crane picks up the completed body structure, swinging it over the tops of other cars being assembled, and sets it on temporary wheels for movement about the 135-acre plant to various operations locations. Joiners, trimmers, electricians, painters, and other skilled craftsmen swarm over the car, converting it finally into a completed passenger carrying unit, capable of carrying passengers at Century speed in the utmost comfort and luxury.[325]

The production at that process mixed the large-scale industrial use of jigs and fixtures, along with mammoth machinery to fabricate parts, but still merged it with hand craftsmanship to make "decorative masterpieces."

Despite the scale and complexity of each car, as well as the great number of cars turned out each year by Pullman, each car effectively remained a custom job. Each railroad wanted its own layout and detailing, and even if the dozen or so cars of a branded train line looked the same from the outside, each one had a different function, interior layout, and amenities.

Pullman also manufactured its light weight trains using a great deal of aluminum. Although some of the earliest production use of aluminum was too lighten the weight of trains (J.P. Morgan had introduced lightweight passenger cars on the New Haven, New York, & Hartford Railroad that used aluminum seats as early as 1894) aluminum only became a viable structural material in the early twentieth century. Henry Ford had developed his iconic 4-AT "Tin goose" trimotor, an all-metal plane, in 1925, but it was only with the development of aluminum alloy rolled sheets in the 1920s and especially during World War II (tied to aircraft skin production), that the material became a widely available, viable train-

[325] S. Kip Farrington, *Railroads of Today* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1949), 32-33.

construction material. In something of a return to old heavyweight construction methods, the car frames were formed from riveted girders, but now made of aluminum alloys. Inside the car, Pullman made use of aluminum in sheets for the walls, frames for the windows, and vestibule doors. They also used new modern materials like Prestwood (a forerunner of particle board) and Plymetal (metal-faced plywood) for internal doors and tables, resorting to stainless steel only where there was a likelihood of denting or water splashing. Even with the underframe of each car still being made of high-strength steel, and cast steel trucks, the aluminum superstructure and skin saved about two and a half tons of weight per car.[326]

A side note on streamlining

The most identifiable evolution of trains to the non-specialist is the arrival of streamlining in the 1930s, which added an aerodynamic skin of metal to existing chassis. That change, however, encouraged Pullman and other car manufacturers to rethink how they built the cars themselves and to integrate the skins as the structural member of the car itself. Although the resistance of the wind as an impediment to train speed and fuel efficiency was long understood (the first patent to this effect had been taken out in the 1860s),[327] it was not until the 1930s that railroads and car builders started seriously adapting the shape of their cars to minimize drag.

The world's first streamliner was the Union Pacific's M-10000, built by Pullman in Chicago and delivered to the road in February 1934. Although only a 204-foot long, 3-unit train, the cars included a 60-seat coach and 56-seat coach buffet with the galley buffet tucked in the bulbous end of the rear car, all drawn by a noteworthy 600 horsepower distillate-engine locomotive (also a great innovation). The cars shared wheel trucks at their junctions that were not interchangeable with other rolling stock, so the streamline trains were much more single, semi-permanent units than an amalgamation of components. This feature later receded so that cars could more easily be added or removed from a trainset. These lightweight and fast trains (110 miles per hour on the straightway and averaging over 60 miles per hour with stops) were constructed using a tubular aluminum space frame with Duralumin skin. The M-10000 was also the first train with a notable paint scheme, in this case "leaf brown" and "Armour yellow" with the latter for safety because with higher speed trains, grade-crossing collisions were becoming alarmingly more common. The M-10000 had evolved from William Bushnell Stout's *Railplane* built by Pullman-Standard in 1932 and had had its shape refined in a wind tunnel at the University of Michigan, giving it low drag but a slightly awkward (from the point of view of interior design) 'fish-belly' cross

---

[326] Ibid., 144-45.

[327] S.R. Cathrop took out a patent in 1865 that regarded "the whole train as an aerial ship" and modeled "its whole surface in accordance with the principles so successfully applied to ship building" (actually more like submarine-building, although that had itself barely been invented (*e.g.*, the CSS *Hunley* during the Civil War), as Cathrop noted that "the railway-train is wholly immersed in the fluid through which it is passing"). He also realized that minimizing the air running *under* the train by means of skirts and air dams would both reduce drag and increased down-force on the rails, thus increasing traction. "Improvement in Construction of Railway Train and Cars," U.S. patent no. 49,227, Aug. 8, 1865; Brian Solomon, *Streamliners: Locomotives and Trains in the Age of Speed and Style* (Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2015), 13-14.

section, wider in the waist and tapering to the roof and with a lower profile by eighteen to twenty-four inches than contemporaneous trains.[328]

By the mid-1930s, car builders like Pullman were working with notable industrial designers like Raymond Lowey and Herbert Dreyfuss to create cars with modern, aesthetic features. The Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) had hired Lowey to "streamstyle" its locomotives in 1934 and their Pullman-built *Broadway Limited* trains (identical to and coordinated with the New York Central's new cars for the *20th Century Limited* in order to standardize production in the shops) would follow that style. In this case, Pullman-Standard retained ownership of the combined production of 114 cars and leased them to the PRR and NYC for operation.[329]

3.C Comparative Car Building Companies

It is worth emphasizing again that George Pullman neither invented nor initially revolutionized anything in sleeping car design, except for making it extremely opulent. That said, by the turn of the twentieth century the company effectively owned the American long-distance train market, particularly for sleepers. In order to evaluate the Pullman Palace Car Company (PPCC), Pullman Incorporated, and Pullman-Standard, they must be measured against their competitors in each period. In short, while PPCC was not the first in the game in terms of car builders, Pullman Inc. came to dominate the field by the end of the nineteenth century, and then started to face competition even at its peak just before the Great Depression. Although that hammered all railway car builders and Pullman-Standard was the industry leader when formed in 1934, , it was others, namely Budd and ACF that emerged more successfully after World War II.

Histories of specific car building companies have generally not been a priority for railway historians, who prefer to focus their attention on the rail lines and locomotives themselves. In fact, as we are learning in compiling our list of surviving Pullman cars (Appendix B), it turns out that museums that hold cars are often not even clear on which maker built a given car in their collections. The preamble to the Pullman story in terms of wooden car building has already been amply told by John White.[330] Briefly, the most salient competition history is that in 1856, two years before Pullman began doing anything with railroads, the R.T. Woodruff Co. was formed and began doing just that: building sleeper cars, both opulent and functional. While Pullman was in Colorado, the Central Transportation Co. was formed by a merger of Woodruff and E.C. Knight in 1862. They controlled the Eastern routes and most sleeping-car patents, introduced Silver Palace Cars in 1866 and became the largest sleeping-car company in the country. There were other car builders like Wagner in Buffalo, NY and Jackson & Sharpe in Wilmington,

---

[328] Johnston, Welsh, and Schafer, *The Art of the Streamliner*, 11-15; Solomon, *Streamliners: Locomotives and Trains in the Age of Speed and Style*, 32-37; Harold E. Ranks and W.W. Kratville, *The Union Pacific Streamliners* (USA: Kratville Publications, 1974). Stout had previously worked for Ford and designed the Trimotor.

[329] Johnston, Welsh, and Schafer, *The Art of the Streamliner*, 43-45.

[330] White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, Chapter 1. There is also a very good and growing selection of car company histories by the Mid-Continent Railway Museum, online at https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/.

DE that were important for late nineteenth-century American car building, although they were both, in the end, bought out by Pullman and became just one of their shops across the country.

3.C.1 Wagner Palace Car Co. (WPC Co.)

Wagner was for many years a major competitor to Pullman. Although the company by this same name dates to 1886, it has its origins in the rapid development of sleeping cars right after the Civil War with the 1866 incorporation of the New York Central Sleeping Car Co., formed by Cornelius Vanderbilt and Webster Wagner (1817-1882). As Pullman entered the market a considerable rivalry with Vanderbilt developed, with Wagner obviously providing cars to his lines and Pullman to his competitors. Despite an initial agreement to use Pullman patent berths on Wagner cars in the early 1870s, as contracts with rail lines were made and expired, tensions developed. Although there does not seem to have been the concept of exclusive contracts of car maker with car lines, in some cases it worked out that way, partly because Vanderbilt demanded complete control over his contractors. Vanderbilt's operation of the Chicago & Northwestern is a case in point: he made an alliance with WPC Co. specifically to try to thwart Pullman's expansion in the 1890s. Pullman responded with patent infringement lawsuits that dragged on for years (and which Pullman ultimately lost). Wagner had been elected to the New York State House in 1872, promoting his and Vanderbilt's interests in that state, but was killed in a rear-end collision in one of his own drawing room cars in 1882. When Vanderbilt died seven years later, WPC Co. sold out to Pullman and the Wagner shops became Pullman's Buffalo shops. The competition did, however, spur car design innovations as each company tried to out-do the other. For example, the C&NW's *The North Western Limited*, *The Short Line Limited*, *and the Vestibuled Limited* (see Section 3.B.2 on the 'vestibule war') included bright solarium lounge cars that would prefigure the idea that eventually led to domeliners in the twentieth century.[331]

3.C.2 Mann Boudoir Car Company & Union Palace Car Company

After the Civil War, William D'Alton Mann (1839-1920; perhaps a civil engineer and who incidentally commanded the 7th Michigan Cavalry under Gen. Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Gettysburg) moved (as a carpetbagger) to Mobile, AL and developed a sleeping car that was an early rival to Pullman. In 1872 Mann received a patent for compartmentalizing passenger cars for long-haul cars to "promote the comfort and convenience of passengers." It proposed internal double walls to make whatever convenient partitions were desired, and which also featured descending bed platforms that retracted to the ceiling when not in use (the sash weights were ingeniously hidden in the partition walls) as well as the possibility of a toilet and wash basin in each compartment.[332] Six years later, Mann followed with a patent that codified a number of interior design features that we would today associate with a European

---

[331] John H. White, Jr., "Mann, William D. (1839-1920)," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, ed. William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk, and Roberta L. Diehl (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Beebe and Clegg, *The Trains We Rode*, 514; Mid-Continent Railway Museum, "Wagner Palace Car Company," Mid-Continent Railway Museum, https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/wagner.htm.

[332] William D. Mann, "Improvements in Compartment-Cars for Railways," U.S. patent no. 122,622, Jan. 9, 1872.

sleeper car: the side-aisle layout with transverse bench seats that converted into berths. This design, however, put separate men's and women's communal toilet and wash room at either end of the car.[333]

Mann spent the 1870s in Europe (which is why European coaches still tend to have a side rather than central passage in each car) and when he returned to the US, chartered the Mann Boudoir Car Company (MBCC) in 1883. The company apparently operated at a loss for its first five years because Pullman already had a strong lock on the major transcontinental lines and so the MBCC was restricted to smaller, East Coast lines. Although the public liked the design, railroads were reluctant to purchase Mann cars rather than Pullman cars as they held fewer passengers in each car and thus generated less revenue.[334] In 1888 Job H. Jackson of Jackson & Sharp[335] chartered the Union Palace Car Co. (UPCC) and took control of both MBCC and the Woodruff Sleeping & Parlor Coach Company. Jackson was already in the management of that firm which had been started with the Woodruff brothers were forced out of their Central Transportation Co. by Pullman. In early 1889 they managed to secure contracts to operate a few more than three dozen cars on 5,000 miles (they claimed 15,000) of railroad in the eastern half of the country. This was so startling to and threatened Pullman that within two months he had bought the UPCC for $2.5 million.[336]

3.C.3 Budd

The Budd Co. arose just before World War I as an all-metal car builder. Edward G. Budd (1870-1946) had come up through the machine shops and then studied engineering in the 1880s. In the 1890s he worked for Pullman on an early all-metal design for the Pennsylvania Rail Road. By 1908 Budd pioneered pressed steel for railcar interiors and produced the first steel interiors for Pullman's first several thousand steel sleepers. Although he got his start in railroads, in 1912 he founded the company in Philadelphia that bore his full name (with a reincorporation as just Budd Co. in 1932) to build pressed metal steel frames for automobiles. He convinced the Dodge brothers to take the chance on an all-metal open touring car in 1916. Within eight years, all-metal *closed* bodies were dominant, with Budd in the forefront of their development. His success in automobiles was also paralleled in rail cars, with Budd at the forefront of all-metal construction methods with which Pullman had to catch up. They were, for example, early

---

[333] William D. Mann, "Improvements in Sleeping-Cars," U.S. patent no. 198,991, Jan. 8, 1878.

[334] In general, see Andy Logan, *The Man Who Robbed the Robber Barons*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965). More specifically, White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, 227-30.

[335] A rival car builder out of Wilmington, DE founded in 1869, but which severely contracted during the panics of the 1870s, though it won a "Centennial Award" at the 1876 Exposition and a gold medal at the 1881 Cotton International Exposition in Atlanta for its luxury cars and "elegance in design and superior workmanship." Its business then boomed by 1880 to be able to claim in 1882 to be the largest passenger car manufacturer in the country.

[336] See White, "Mann, William D. (1839-1920)."; John H. White, "Railroad Car Builders of the United States," *Railroad History*, no. 138 (1978). and *Builders of Wooden Railway Cars*: "Mann Boudoir Car Company,", "Jackson & Sharp," and "Woodruff—Central Transportation," at Mid-Continent Railway Museum, online at https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/mannboudoircar.htm, /jacksonsharp1.htm, /woodruff-central_transportation.htm, all accessed 10 June 2019.

leaders in the 1930s of stainless steel fabrication for train cars, with their most famous being the *Pioneer Zephyr* for the CB&Q RR in 1934, as well as the first all-stainless amphibious seaplane in 1930. Budd was also the developer of the shotwelding process for joining stainless steel panels without a seam. Budd's revolutionary developments in construction and styling of streamliners faced an uphill battle against railroads and Pullman Inc. in the 1930s. Incidentally, they were also the manufacturer of the original "Bazooka" in WWII. Budd Co. lasted until the late 1970s.[337]

3.C.4 American Car & Foundry

Formed as the brainchild of William Keely Bixby (1857-1931) through the consolidation of thirteen existing car builders located in nine states from Missouri to New York, the American Car & Foundry Company came into being in New York City in 1899. It remained in business until 1954, when it became ACF Industries, which still continues today. The consolidated company started at the very end of the wooden-car era quite specifically to head off the challenge of the consolidation of Pullman and Wagner (the former having already absorbed Mann), and quickly developed strong capacity in steel cars. They had developed all-metal cars as early as 1910 and by early 1920s they had sixteen plants in nine states. The ACF is most important here not so much as evidence of the stiff competition that Pullman faced in the twentieth century from other steel car builders, but rather to show that by 1899 Pullman was such a juggernaut that all small car builders across the country had to band together or fail entirely.[338]

---

[337] Michael E. Zega, "Budd Co. (Edward G. Budd Manufacturing Co.)," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, ed. William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk, and Roberta L. Diehl (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Budd Co., *Edward G. Budd (1870-1946): "Father of the Streamliners" and the Budd Company* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1950). and from various online entries about Edward Budd and Budd Co. The major repository of Budd Co. documents is at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, DE: see *Budd Company historical file* (1914-1993, bulk 1929-1982), acc. 2411, 2 lin. ft.; *Budd Company legal documents* (1926-1965), acc. 2557, 1.25 lin. ft.; and *Budd Company photographs* (1912-1990s), acc. 1999.228, 10 lin. ft.

[338] Mid-Continent Railway Museum, "American Car & Foundry Company," Mid-Continent Railway Museum, https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/amercar&foundry1.htm. The museum notes that the only company history is mainly just a photo album: Edward S. Kaminski, *American Car & Foundry Company 1899-1999* (Berkeley, CA: Signature Press, 1999).

CHAPTER 4
PLANNED COMMUNITIES AND PULLMAN

4.A A General History of Planned Communities

Pullman, Illinois is among the most influential planned company towns in the United States, but it was not the first or the last. A *planned community* features a spatial arrangement and other characteristics both physical and social that were calculated and designed in advance for a particular intended outcome. The first planned community in the US was New Haven, Connecticut, whose nine-square layout defined the independent colony starting in 1638. Throughout the nineteenth century, planned communities included utopian communities separated both for practical and philosophical ideals. Currently, the New Urbanism movement has created planned communities whose dense residential units interspersed with grocery stores, schools, and other amenities challenge the unplanned nature of suburban sprawl. The first of these was Seaside, Florida (1981) and examples more recently, like Atlantic Station, Georgia (2005), often reclaim brownfield sites and include conscious efforts at environmental remediation and improvement.

A *company town* is a special kind of planned community specifically designed by an employer to house and provide services for employees. The idea has ancient roots but gained significant followers wherever industrial production spread in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[339] Some companies created *model villages* or *model industrial towns* intended to demonstrate the perceived advantages of paternalistic planning for ameliorating the overcrowding and inequality being caused by new industrial systems. Pullman stands out among American company towns as being perhaps the most thoroughly planned and comprehensively integrated with company agendas, both of which contributed to the ultimate downfall of George Pullman's vision and served as cautionary lessons to companies building towns in later years.

The Town of Pullman may be America's most well-known company town, but new scholarship is sorely needed. Stanley Buder's 1967 book *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning* remains the dominant source for most people interpreting the town of Pullman. Scholars Janice Reiff, Susan Hirsch, and Jane Eva Baxter have used important documentary records and archaeology to update Buder's mainstream narrative and produce vital contributions to long-term understandings of this community. But no one has returned to the vast company records in any systematic way since Buder. Now fully catalogued at the Newberry Library (Buder worked with them before being accessioned there), 2000+ linear feet of company records contain incredibly rich documentation about the town. Photographs, drawings, and other kinds of records—not to mention over 1000 pieces of extant architecture—can all offer entrées for revisiting Buder's history with contemporary lenses of interpretation. What follows is a contextualization of the town of Pullman, a preliminary reading of the architectural evidence, and suggestive topics for future interpretation.

---

[339] John S Garner, *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 9–10.

4.B European Comparative Examples before Pullman

4.B.1 Precedent and Philosophy in English Textile Towns

The Industrial Revolution spread throughout England, Europe, and its colonies beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The ideal of a *planned* model village centered around an industrial concern, as compared to many factory towns that grew organically (though some we might say metastasized) around an industrial core of one or a group of factories. The first planned model village dates back to 1785 when the Scottish industrialist David Dale, the textile machinery inventor Richard Arkwright, and Dale's son-in-law and utopian socialist reformer Robert Owen, partnered to build the model industrial town of New Lanark (1785), south of Glasgow (now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, 429 Rev). Surrounding the cotton mills, which grew to be among the largest in the world, this company built housing, schools, and commercial buildings with the explicit intent of limiting illness, crime, and the misery of industrial work. This paternalist environment influenced model villages around the world including Pullman.

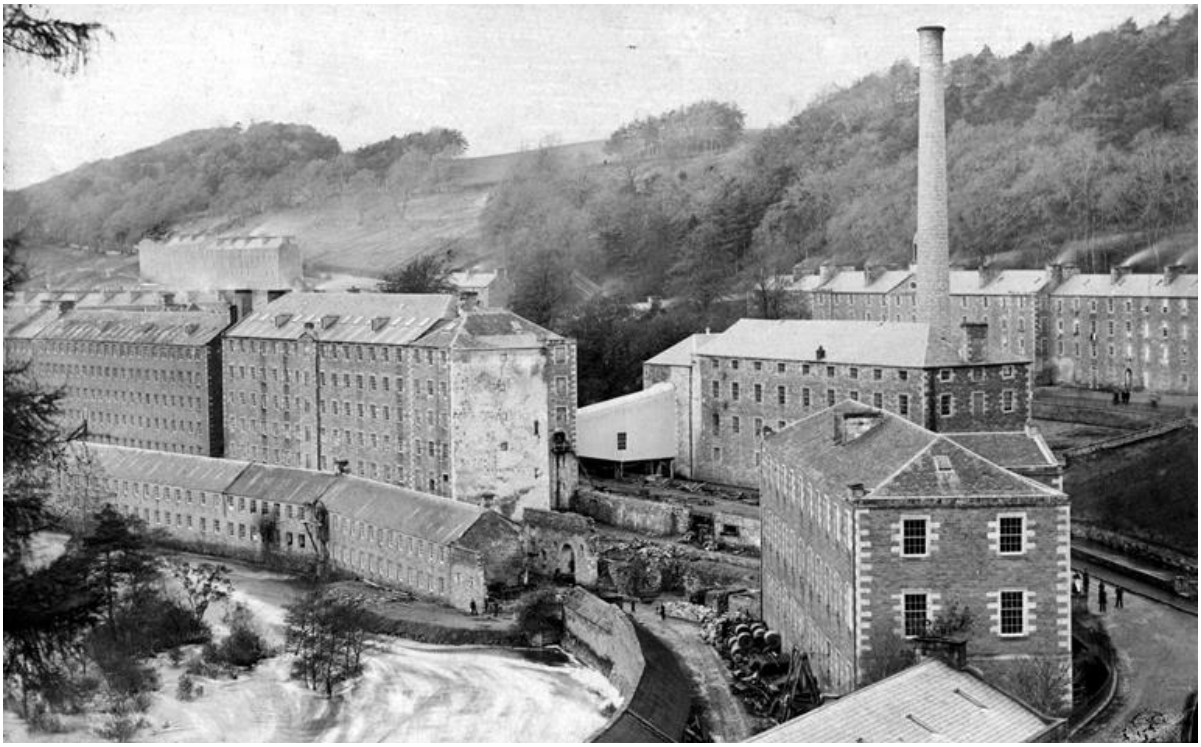


Figure 4.1. New Lanark, Scotland, founded in 1785 to create a model village for workers in large industrial cotton mills. Photo: New Lanark Trust, https://www.newlanark.org/world-heritage-site/new-lanark-trust.shtml.

When Owen became New Lanark's mills manager in 1800, he instituted a number of social and welfare programs, such as schools, libraries, and mutual aid societies, for the approximately 2,500 workers. The firm's partners thought these amenities too expensive, though the mills were overall commercially profitable, and after an ensuing showdown over what level of investment in the workers was appropriate, the reformers under Owen (including the economist Jeremy Bentham, who had joined the

Board of Governors) succeeded in buying the mill/town.[340] The experiments continued for more than a decade, to mixed success. On one hand the paternalistic endeavors did provide above-par worker housing and amenities, though often at higher rents than would have been available in nearby towns (assuming such housing was available or viably close), but on the other hand it came at the cost of social control of the community by the factory owners. Such control, though at least rhetorically benevolent, could be benign or draconian, but it was control, nonetheless. Capitalists saw this worker housing first and foremost as a profit center – sometimes returning up to 13% annual return when most capitalists were happy with 5–6%[341] – even if they may have been sincere in working for the social and moral uplift of their workers. New Lanark is an excellent example of the struggle between labor and capital, as well as between the managers and the Board of the partnership. It is also an early, telling example that in order to affect a totally socializing vision, owners needed to maintain or consolidate control over the planned community. This is why many such endeavors seem to work for a time, but then some other faction, be it labor, investors, or government, intervene and the grand social experiments inevitably fray.

The idea of model industrial villages, "a distinct concept [representing] a pragmatic application of utopian (or arcadian) ideals to an industrial context,"[342] grew somewhat slowly in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century but by the early years of that century, working and especially living conditions in a great number of English cities had become appalling for the working classes. Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), the noted UK politician and eventually prime minister (1874–1880), rose to prominence in leading the charge to rectify this situation. In his fictional, yet transparently pointed novel, *Sybil, or The Two Nations* (1845) he laid out the idea of a model industrial village, which could solve much of the plight of the working classes, even if the description still suffers from condescending and heavy-handed paternalism of the English class system.

Disraeli describes the "proportionately wide" streets of the town of Mowbray with "broad pavements and … blazing gas-lights [that] indicated its modern order and prosperity." The factories and warehouses rose on either side, "not as beautiful as the palaces of Venice, but in their way not less remarkable," while "here and there, though rarely, [one saw] some ancient factory built among the fields in the infancy of Mowbray by some mill-owner not sufficiently prophetic of the future, or sufficiently confident in the energy and enterprise of his fellow-citizens, to foresee that the scene of his labours would be the future eye-sore of a flourishing posterity."[343] This he contrasts to the squalor of Wodgate, where its

---

[340] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark: The Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785* (Edinburgh University Press, 1993); Ophèlie Simèon, *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism*, Palgrave Studies in Utopianism (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Terri Martin Wright, "A Community in a Garden: The Pullman Paradigm in Southern Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1998).

[341] Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of 19th-Century Bradford* (London: Temple Smith, 1983), 257.

[342] Howard Eaglestone et al., *Two Airedale Landscapes: St. Ives & Saltaire (Landscapes Designed During the Industrial Revolution)*, New Arcadian Journal 25 (Leeds: New Arcadian Press, 1987-88), 9.

[343] Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil: Or, the Two Nations*, Nelson Classics (London: T. Nelson, 1957), 107–8.

"population by swarming thousands, [are] lodged in the most miserable tenements in the most hideous burgh in the ugliest country in the world."[344]

Disraeli's novel appeared in the same year that Friedrich Engels also blasted the industrial order in his *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and both followed a number of reform movements in the 1830s and 40s: the *Report of the Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour* (often known as the Sadler Report after Michael Sadler, the chairman of the parliamentary committee) on the abysmal conditions and child labor of the textile mills in England was released in 1831–32;[345] in 1838, a group of Parliamentary reformers proposed "The People's Charter," kicking off a decades-long struggle known as "Chartism," where petitions to Parliament, signed by millions of workers, argued for universal male suffrage (although the movement was not a success, it did lead to two major general strikes in 1842 and 1848, so employers had to pay attention); and the formation from 1844 onwards of nearly two dozen societies devoted to the betterment of worker housing and labor conditions (which generally agitated towards labor unrest if conditions did not improve). These developments led owners, who saw themselves as the ones who should determine any social changes that were to be had, to provide, here and there, a number of small-scale worker accommodations like better housing, schools, or perhaps a social club and sports league. But they also led to larger-scale urban-industrial planning experiments, often labeled "utopian" or "utopian socialist," that tried to get control of the social forces in the population of industrial workers in such a way that industrial production could be sustained along with the social welfare of the workers—or in the parlance of the factory owners of the day, in order to improve "the moral, social and intellectual character of the working classes."[346]

4.B.2 English Model Town Planning

Various industrialists took what they perceived to be the "worker problem" to heart and specifically paid attention to Disraeli's ideas. Edward Akyroyd enacted the first such scheme at Copley (1847) near Halifax in Yorkshire, though it did not open until 1853 and never fully flourished.

---

[344] Ibid., 199–200.

[345] P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England, Its Moral, Social, and Physical Conditions, and the Changes Which Have Arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery; with an Examination of Infant Labour* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1833).

[346] Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of 19th-Century Bradford*, 256. More formal architectural suggestions came later, as for example with Charles Henry Hartshorne, *The System of Building Labourers' Cottages: Pursued on the Estates of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, Practically Examined* (Northampton: J. Butterfield, 1849); Henry Roberts, *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Their Arrangement and Construction* (London: SICL, 1855). and subsequent works buy Roberts; or the very influential book by James Hole, *The Homes of the Working Classes with Suggestions for Their Improvement* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1866). By the time Pullman was designing his town, such suggestions were easily ready to hand, for example, in Alfred Tredway White, *Improved Dwellings for the Laboring Classes* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879). We do not know, however, what (or whether) Pullman or Beman read on the subject.

In that same year, Titus Salt (1803–1876) opened Saltaire (1853), which became a successful model industrial village.[347] Salt was a leading industrialist in the Yorkshire town of Bradford, which in the first half of the nineteenth century had, along with neighboring Leeds, exploded from a rural market town into a high-density textile manufacturing town. Fortunes were made and conditions declined; Salt saw an opportunity to make a fresh start with a state-of-the-art new factory on the River Aire (for transport, not water power, as steam had become the mainstay of large factories in the coal-rich region overlapped by the canal system), a mere 3½ miles northwest of the city. He conceived of Saltaire in 1850 and it opened three years later.

Model industrial towns like Saltaire, first and foremost, were developed in order to avoid the problems associated with high density urban living and sought to provide a replacement for traditional (if idealized) village life, particularly by trying to replicate a replacement for the extended family and the social stability of community that came with it. By design however, model industrial towns did not see this sort of relationship grow organically; rather, it was imposed from above in terms of the organization of the living and working space and to a degree, the social relationships—and "orderly and disciplined life" was Salt's belief—between workers (but never, of course, between workers and owners). Salt planned to build a town with a population of approximately 10,000, and laid out his gridded town with all the civic amenities of a proper village: town hall, church (notably Congregational, not Church of England, though the Wesleyan Methodists were offered a lot for a chapel in 1866), a market and shops, a green, schools, and eventually almshouses, as well as some slightly reformed amenities such as wash-houses for clothes and bath-houses for the residents, a central dining hall, music room, literary society and institute, and a speaker series. Notably, there were no pubs, for although Saltaire was not strictly speaking dry, Salt approved of the temperance movement in general. He also, however, made sure that Saltaire would not be subject to control by the greater Bradford/Shipley municipal region, remaining under his control alone. Finally, in 1869, Salt built an impressive institute—an evolution of the small Mechanics' Institutes that were common in most industrial towns by then[348]—which had a "reading room, library, chess and draughts room, smoking room, billiard room with four tables, bagatelle room with three tables [the billiards game with pegs as obstacles]," two lecture halls, two art rooms, a number of classrooms, a gymnasium and rifle drill room, and a School of Art and a School of Science. He finished the whole endeavor with a landscaped park across the river with tended walkways and

---

[347] The following is derived from Abraham Holroyd, *Saltaire, and Its Founder, Sir Titus Salt, Bart.* (Bradford: T. Brear, F. Hammond, Abraham Holroyd, and Thomas Harrison, 1873); *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of 19th-Century Bradford*; ibid., 256–82; Eaglestone et al., *Two Airedale Landscapes: St. Ives & Saltaire (Landscapes Designed During the Industrial Revolution)*; Stuart Rawnsley, "Saltaire: From Old Paternalism to Romantic Capitalism," *New Arcadian Journal* 25 (1987-88); John Styles, *Titus Salt and Saltaire: Industry and Virtue* (Shipley: Salts Estates Ltd., 1994); David James, "Salt, Sir Titus, First Baronet (1803–1876)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[348] This movement has generally been studied in local contexts of individual Mechanics' Institutes, but see Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond Supporting Further Educations for the Adult Working Class*, Research in Education (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

flowerbeds, and areas for boating, swimming, lawn bowling, croquet, archery and cricket. The park however was not an area for free-for-all play. No dogs or unaccompanied children under eight were allowed, and smoking, drinking, swearing, and religious or political demonstrations were completely prohibited.

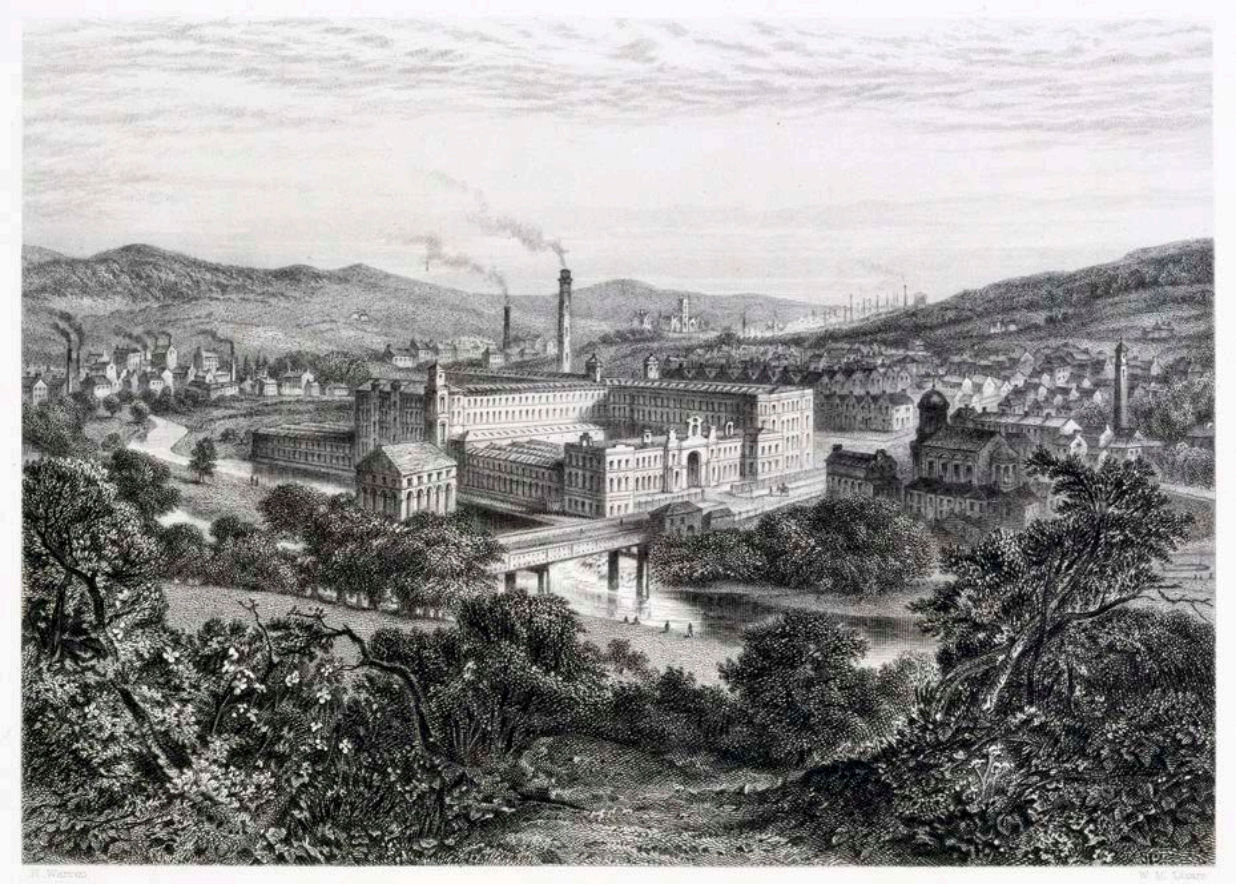


Figure 4.2. William Lizars, H. Warren, "Saltaire," London, 1869. Science Museum of London, O'Flynn Antiquarian Books, 1983-1329/2.

Notably, one element Salt and other model town developers paid attention to that was not available to Pullman in the flat land around Chicago, was setting the new town within a picturesque, and ostensibly uplifting, landscape. Salt built his town with three types of housing, all with running water, gas, and a privy in each backyard (twice the sanitation as required by code of the time): boarding houses, "overlookers" houses for mid-level housing for his foremen, and detached two-bedroom cottages for married workmen. Eventually the plan also included two dozen large, well-appointed single-family houses for senior executives and professionals in the town. Although naturally Salt expected to receive a return on his investment on these properties, rents were actually relatively modest by the standards of

the day.[349] The construction of Saltaire took over 15 years to complete, whereas Pullman was substantially complete in about four.

In the end there was a great deal of boosterism and praise for the project at Saltaire, and overall the Victorians (or at least the upper classes for whom much of the press was favorable) saw the town as a great success. By the 1880s, things like worker associations or profit-sharing, and other forms of housing such as the novel concept of the apartment, also began to turn social critics' attention towards other models of social relationships between labor and capital. Some critics saw the town as a sort of flytrap: "Salt [had] trapped a labour force at Saltaire by the promise of good wages and excellent conditions and having achieved the objective was now beginning to pull wages down;" a later evaluation of the experiment in 1923 was mixed (though also a reflection of changing norms):

> [Saltaire] is an example of the kind of philanthropy, which reflects credit on the promoter, but provides very little real happiness to the recipient. For at best it can only be said that it is a thirty to the acre congested scheme of terrace houses, surrounded by a park and an extravagance of public buildings.[350]

Similar debates and experiments in using the built environment and town planning to ameliorate relationships between workers and employers occurred throughout Europe and its colonies. For instance, manufacturing enterprises in the Rhine Valley sparked experiments in worker housing that later influenced American developments. In the old textile town of Mulhouse, for instance, large eighteenth-century housing units intended for multiple unrelated families sparked criticism in the 1830-40s over health and standards of propriety. In response, the Dollfus Company commissioned smaller units for one to four families partly underwritten by the French government that were then sold to working families. The belief that more individualized housing units (and sometimes homeownership) encouraged workers to take responsibility for maintaining their houses as well as their own healthy wholesome lifestyles grew from the building campaigns inspired by Mulhouse.[351] The extractive industries of mining and lumbering in Scandinavia inspired early model towns in the eighteenth century that continued to evolve and influence policy-makers into the nineteenth century.[352]

4.B.3 French Model Town Planning

In France, as early as the 1830s, industrialists were also exploring what made successful factory working and living arrangements. The most notable in terms of attention being paid in the Anglo world, was Charles Fourier's idea of the *phalanstère*, Jean-Baptiste Godin's realization of that idea(l) near Guise.

---

[349] This may be a function of demand, for Saltaire is expanding the needed workers, while nearby Bradford was overcapacity and had a housing shortage, but at least Salt was not overcharging from the start.

[350] Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of 19th-Century Bradford*, 284. It is not entirely clear whether this was happening at Saltaire, or if so, was not a reflection of wages general.

[351] Garner, *The Company Town*, 43–73.

[352] Garner, 75–91.

Proselytization for such ideas was occurring in New York in the 1870s, just when Pullman began contemplating his new town.

Charles Fourier (1772–1837) had proposed in the early nineteenth century that the most harmonious form of a factory and its workers was a self-contained, communal utopian community in a single building that he called a phalanstère (a monastery for a *phalanx*, or military fighting unit in ancient Greece). The idea was notable because it contained not only the workshops and living quarters for the workers, but also communal dining spaces, social halls, and recreational and educational amenities like music rooms and libraries. Jean-Baptiste Godin (1817–1888) created a foundry complex within the town of Guise (1848-52), northeast of Paris near the Belgian border, where he tried to actualize Fourier's ideas. There he built *Le Familistère de Guise* (shifting from the "phalangeal monastery" to the "familial monastery"), a centralized living and working utopian cooperative community.[353] He built a cast iron foundry, three four-story apartment blocks with two to three room workers' apartments, and a self-contained shopping building with a number of shops, a café, restaurant, and casino. This was not quite the arcade model Pullman would later use, though the Familistère's apartment blocks did have glass-roofed central courtyards where residents could socialize or have fêtes and the children could play in all weather. Notably, Godin's vision was multi-generational, and he consciously included the education of children from nursery to two-tiered pre-school to school to work, and the teachers themselves were chosen from among the inhabitants (Howland, see below, seemed most energized by his theories here). There was no explicit accommodation for retirement and the whole scheme seems to rely on a pre-modern, zero-mobility model of workers being tied to one industry for life, and for generations. Still, about a thousand residents lived and worked there for over four decades and in 1880, Godin converted it to a fully worker owned-and-operated cooperative society that ran the foundry and housing until after WWII.

Although he was developing the Familistère throughout the 1850s and 60s, Godin's ideas appeared in English and were widely disseminated after 1881 and thus would more likely have influenced the operation, if not design, of Pullman city.[354] That said, throughout the 1870s Maria and Edward Howland

---

[353] Literature on this community is extensive in French, but see Theresa M. McBride, "Socialism and Domesticity: The "Familistère" at Guise," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 19 (1981); Erik de Gier, *Capitalist Workingman's Paradises Revisited. Corporate Welfare Work in Great Britain, the USA, Germany and France in the Golden Age of Capitalism, 1880-1930* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 132-44. Importantly for potential contemporaneous connections, see Edward Howland, "The Social Palace at Guise," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 44, no. 263 (1872). This was also reprinted as *The Palace of Industry, or the Workingmen's Home: Capital and Labor in Harmony. An Account of the Experiment at Guise, France* (New York: Samuel Leavitt, 1874). Howland's points seem to parallel much of Pullman's thinking (other than the co-operative ownership, of course). The complex is now a museum; see https://www.familistere.com/fr.

[354] Jean Baptiste André Godin and Edward Vansittart Neale, trans., *The Association of the Familistére, at Guise (L'aisne), France. A Lecture ... Delivered September 8th, 1881* (Manchester: Central Co-operative Board, 1881); Woman's Social Science Society of New York, *The Association of Capital with Labor: Being the Laws and Regulations of Mutual Assurance Regulating the Social Palace, at Guise, France* (New York: Evening Post, 1881). Godin's own writings appeared as *Solutions sociales* (Paris: A

promoted Godin's ideas, coupled with a socialist (now more Marxist) interpretation of industry and labor.[355] Maria Stevens (1836–1921) had been a Lowell mill girl and, like many, ended up becoming a school teacher and eventually principal once she left the factory in the mid-1850s.[356] Teaching in Five Points on Manhattan in New York, she gravitated to Stephen Pearl Andrew's urban anarchist commune and became close friends with noted "father of Fourierstic socialism" in America, Albert Brisbaine.[357] "Somewhere between the mill, the slum, and the commune, Howland became an ardent feminist and cooperative-minded socialist."[358] Howland, now married to her second husband, Edward Howland (a Harvard man, as was her first husband, Lyman W. Case), took the ideas and ran with them, pitching such communes in Philadelphia (largely rejected), assisting the design of another in Topolobampo, Mexico (which did moderately well), and publishing novels promoting the ideas.[359] The Howlands were circulating in east coast society just as Pullman was forming his ideas of the manufacturing city that would bear his name, though their shift to more strident Internationalism by the later 1870s would likely have alienated them directly from Pullman. For example, they helped found the Sovereigns of Industry, an anti-monopolist collective for industrial workers that paralleled the agrarian grange movement. Still, many of the greater ideas of Godin, and the Howlands' rendering of the Familistère as the "Social Palace" in English, do seem to parallel the logic of Pullman city, but interpreted under Pullman's capitalist-as-great-man philosophy. It is also interesting to note that Godin began his reforms right after the 1848 revolutions in France disrupted their social order, and it seems that Pullman had the similar reforming spirit shocked into him by the disorder of the 1878 Great Railway Strike.

Le Chevalier, Guillaumin & Co., 1871) and in translated into English by Marie Howland, then appeared as Jean-Baptiste André Godin, Marie Howland, and Edward Howland, *Social Solutions* (New York: J.W. Lovell Company, 1886).

[355] It is notable that the very next issue of *Harper's* after the one with Howlands' description of La Familistère carried George M. Towle, "Saltaire and Its Founder," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 44, no. 264 (1872). The ideas circulated widely and drew intense public's attention.

[356] Paul M. Gaston, *Women of Fair Hope* (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 1012).

[357] Brisbaine was quite successful at promoting pre-Marxist socialist ideas in the U.S. in the 1840s and 50s, and helped found a number of Fourierist *phalanestère* in America. For general reference, see Carl Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[358] Timothy Messer-Kruse, "The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876," (1998): 236-40.

[359] Charles W. Moore, "Paradise at Topolobampo," *The Journal of Arizona History* 16, no. 1 (1975); Dolores Hayden, "Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaigns for Kitchenless Houses," *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978).

4.C Comparative Examples in the United States before Pullman

4.C.1 Democracy and Manufacturing

In the new United States, the role of manufacturing specifically and capitalism at large in shaping American life created intense debate almost as soon as the Constitution was ratified. A famous debate ensued between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, both members of George Washington's cabinet, about the degree to which the new United States should follow England toward manufacturing. Jefferson believed that land ownership and farming created and sustained democratic principles and attitudes. His vision of an "Agrarian Democracy" made up of small-scale yeoman farmers, he argued, would keep the US from developing large manufacturing cities, which many saw as centers of vice, drunkenness, sickness, and – worst of all – a taste for luxury and greed. Jefferson's argument appeared in the "Manufactures" section of his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, written in 1781 while in Paris (which he regarded as a quintessentially problematic city) and published in London and the United States in 1787.[360]

Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton promoted a counter-vision that used good planning to mitigate the harmful effects of industrial production. Hamilton and like-minded colleagues believed that manufacturing had to be the way forward to establish a US economy and favorable basis of trade. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia argued that manufactures would not necessarily alter America's agricultural basis but rather free it from the tyranny of British tariffs and tax system. Tench Coxe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was among those encouraging Hamilton to set up a "national manufactory," which Hamilton argued for in his *Report on Manufactures* presented to Congress in 1791.[361]

Hamilton and a group of investors established a model town at the great falls of the Passaic River called Paterson, New Jersey (1792). The Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures (SUM) was a public-private partnership that gave Paterson a ten-year reprieve from state taxes to grow into a textile manufacturing center. They hired Frenchman Pierre L'Enfant, who was also designing the new capital city in Washington, DC, to plan Paterson's layout and brought in English mechanics to set up mill machinery. Despite this well-planned scheme, the 1792 bank failures disrupted funding leading to widespread dissatisfaction and collapse. While Paterson did eventually grow into a wool and then silk manufacturing center, these early plans did not come to fruition for several decades.

Critics painted Paterson's initial failure as an indication that manufacturing unfairly wasted government funds, favored wealthy investors, and undermined the rights of individual farmers and manufacturers. However, the debate lost steam in the early nineteenth century when manufacturers began to dominate

---

[360] Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), 11-15; Hardy Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2012), 11-13.

[361] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 13-15; Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy*, 11-13.

economic activity. Paterson's model town and its English precedents eventually influenced nineteenth-century American industrial development.

4.C.2 Industrial Model Towns

Robert Owen sold out his interest in New Lanark to move to the US to found New Harmony, Indiana (1825) in the southwestern tip of Indiana, where he tried to develop his ideas for social, intellectual, scientific, physical development of the town that would allay the problems vexing industrial communities everywhere (including by that time New Lanark). Although the physical fabric of New Harmony had already largely been built by an earlier religious utopian community, Owen recruited educational and scientific reformers to remodel the social and behavioral components of the town to prove his theories of Owenism correct. The concern was a financial failure within two years and Owen departed by 1829. The scheme had attracted a fair number of frontier opportunists that worked against success, and residents—even the committed ones who had signed up and moved from the East to be part of the experiment—found living in this new "mode of life" chafing and ultimately unworkable. Still, numerous social and educational reforms were incubated at New Harmony, including cooperative ownership schemes, co- educational public schools and industrial schools (including new educational philosophies based on Pestalozzian theories),[362] and mutual self-betterment institutions (which fed the Mechanics' Institutes movement in mid-century and later the idea that towns should have public amenities like libraries and parks). On the other hand, the heavy-handed rationalist control from the top, even in this case though a committee acting on supposedly higher principles rather than one authoritarian paternalist, chafed the residents, as did some of the precepts such as communal property requirements and Owen's insistence on an established town religion (Scottish Presbyterianism; also incidentally running afoul of the US Constitution's First Amendment).

[362] Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) was a Swiss Romantic educational reformer who instituted the idea that education should be tailored to children and encompass relevance to four "spheres": the familial, the vocational, the "national" (*i.e.*, for the state), and that of the "inner sense" (a wholistic idea of personal, moral, and religious fulfillment). Gerald Lee Gutek, *Pestalozzi & Education* (New York: Random House, 1968); J.O. Smith, "Pestalozzian Principles," *The Journal of Education* 38, no. 9 (no. 934) (1893).

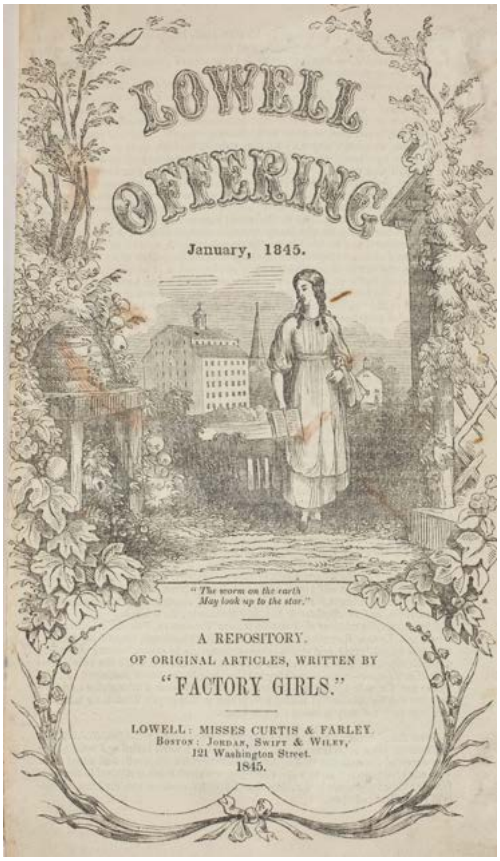


Figure 4.3. "The Lowell Offering," (Lowell: Misses Curtis & Farley; Boston: Jordan, Swift, & Wiley, January 1845).

Most celebrated of American factory towns is Lowell, MA (1826), where the industrialist William Cabot Lowell moved his Waltham textile manufacturing plant when it outgrew its old space and waterpower resources. The Boston Manufacturing Company was a well-funded version of the already-established Rhode Island System of manufacture, which had been propelling thousands of small textile mills throughout New England since the 1790s. Whereas these small mill towns, such as Pawtucket, RI, Whitneyville, CT, and Rockdale, PA featured small cottages rented by families who all fulfilled needs in the factories (including children), Lowell instituted boardinghouses for female employees. His company's more mechanized looms required more knowledge than children could provide but did not need the strength of men. They could be operated by women, who could be paid less than men, making the family model of employment old fashioned. This new so-called Waltham System made famous the Lowell mill girls. They came from farms to supplement their family incomes and save money for a favorable marriage. Some reformers hoped the women would return to their communities after stints in the mills, thus avoiding a proletarian underclass. Many women, however, remained at the mills and helped to create growing industrial cities. The boardinghouses operated as *in loco parentis* with female housekeepers enforcing strict rules required by the mill companies. These rules, including mandated bedtimes, church attendance, and overall "propriety," reassured families that the moral well-being of their daughters would be looked after. Mill officers promoted projects such as the *Lowell Offering*

magazine filled with essays written by female employees who somehow found time to pen stories and poems after their shifts.[363]

Lowell, however, was not a true company town because although it was developed as an industrial center with elements of social control and social betterment at the core of Lowell's philosophy, these experiments took place primarily within the factory. Only some of the boarding houses were directly owned by Lowell.[364] The town itself was not largely a planned concern beyond the industrial core, itself conditioned by the terrain of the Merrimack River. The waterpower system, for example, was a consortium of independent firms managed by the Lowell Associates, whose main concern was rents and the allotment of water to each firm.[365] The rest of the town, its civic infrastructure, residential areas, amenities, and regulations, were much like any New England village, albeit one with a fairly heavy-handed central paternalistic mono-industry guiding its development. Planning historian Margaret Crawford has called Lowell a "corporation city."[366]

4.C.3 Paternalism

As industrialization accelerated in the 1840s and in earnest after the Civil War, American companies found themselves more frequently confronted with the need to house and provide for workers. The notorious "closed" towns of the Pennsylvania coal mining region and elsewhere emerged at this time and states as well as the public in general recognized problems with such total control. Companies embraced what Crawford calls the "New Paternalism," finding ways to balance appealing housing and services with profitability and a better public image.

This new paternalism appeared in New England and Middle Atlantic towns, and also along the resource frontier at a distance from population centers. In the mining regions of Lake Superior, for instance, where companies began to profit in the 1850s, companies had no choice but to build housing for their

---

[363] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983); Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 11-15; Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy*, 8, 113-14.

[364] While Lowell is a well-known story, the literature on it is surprisingly thin: Laurence F. Gross, *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boott Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1835-1955*, Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Mary Carolyn Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski, *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts*, 3 vols., Cultural Resources Management Study (Boston, MA: Division of Cultural Resources, North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1987-89); Stephen A. Mrozowski, Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary Carolyn Beaudry, "Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts," (1996); Benita Eisler, *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women (1840-1845)* (New York: Norton, 1998).

[365] Patrick M. Malone, *Waterpower in Lowell: Engineering and Industry in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

[366] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 23.

employees who had no other housing options. The country's first profitable copper mine, The Cliff Mine in Keweenaw County, Michigan, built workers' houses first of log and then larger frame structures. They often started with a boardinghouse but moved as quickly as possible to single-family houses to attract families and a stable workforce. Quite early in this region's development, companies decided not to run "closed" company towns that prohibited workers from buying housing or goods from non-company sources. Instead, these companies encouraged entrepreneurial merchants to run the retail operations of their burgeoning region and sold them mineral-poor land to set up a commercial town. This kept the companies from bearing the burdens, both financial and social, of paying employees and also meeting their needs as consumers.[367]

Copper Country companies, however, did build significant workers' housing. Companies in the Copper Country, including the Quincy Mining Company and the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, starting in the 1880s and continuing into the 1920s, built single-family houses and rented them to employees based on a fixed price per room. They usually built houses near each mine shaft or "mining location" and each location captain or "boss" allocated housing to the employees he most valued. Companies often named each group of houses after traditions of the various ethnic groups constituting their workforce. Swedetown, Frenchtown, Limerick, and Hardscrabble (a common moniker in Cornish mining regions), all appeared on the landscape. Studies have shown, however, that employees moved frequently to better their situation and rarely lived in the ethnic segregation suggested by the location names.[368]

Companies in this region, did however, use housing as a tool in their strategies of social control. The underground mining hierarchy was manifested above ground in the arrangement and quality of housing. The managers rented the largest most convenient houses situated in line with the mine shafts and pay offices. Among the workers, those with the best jobs and from the most favored ethnic group got the best houses, again the most convenient and newest. The same kind of physical manifestation of social hierarchy that drove the design of Pullman was being established in the Copper Country in the 1880s.[369]

4.C.4 Industrial Suburbs

In addition to the success of paternalistic town planning by companies like those on Lake Superior, George Pullman also probably saw the results of unplanned industrial expansion. What researchers today call industrial suburbs were appearing on the outskirts of growing cities including Chicago. People running and expanding industrial factories increasingly needed more space and found opportunities at the perimeter of town where land cost less and taxes were lower. Logically, workers followed them. As

---

[367] Don H Clarke, *The Cliff Mine*, Copper Mines of Keweenaw (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1976).

[368] Alison K. Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Larry D. Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[369] Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country*; Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines*; *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s-1990s*, Great Lakes Books (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010).

long as the population center remained close enough, companies did not need to build whole towns as on the resource frontier. In these industrial suburbs, housing appeared haphazardly built to accommodate new-comers and then often rebuilt and improved as more and more people stayed. These "Unplanned Suburbs" as geographer Richard Harris has termed them, were not suburbs built by developers for the middle class following street cars and commuter rail lines. Rather they were organic communities built out of necessity that often created social conflict and problems for municipalities dealing with sewer and drinking water delivery.[370]

Pullman would have seen industrial suburbs like these arise in Chicago. The town of Lake, for instance, arose in the 1870s around meat packing and other industries that valued space away from the population center but also could not be too far from the financial networks and access to market that Chicago afforded. Working-class Chicagoans left the city to follow the jobs to Lake in the decade before Pullman established his town so he would have known labor would leave the city.[371] Geographer Robert Lewis suggests that Pullman was among the pioneers creating the industrial suburbs that built up the Calumet region, but that his choice to control the design set him apart.[372]

4.C.5 Planned Philosophical and Religious Utopias

It bears remembering that while these places battled the problems of industrial capitalism with model town design, other Americans planned communities to establish alternative relationships with the mainstream marketplace of goods and ideas. With the United States itself being somewhat of a utopian experiment, the nineteenth century became a hotbed of activity for planned communities with experimental religious or philosophical ideals, all of which could have been familiar to George Pullman and his designers.

Some utopian communities, for instance, embraced ideas of communal property to counteract inequality and hierarchy. First among these were the Shakers, founded in England and reorganized in the new United States following the Revolutionary War in the 1780s. They jointly owned their towns, products, and profits, and believed that making things by hand constituted a spiritual act of devotion. They embraced equality between the sexes, which allowed for female leadership. Likewise, celibacy removed both the legal inequality of marriage and related property rights, and the perceived moral distraction of sexual intercourse. They used architecture to keep men and women separate and to

---

[370] Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Robert D. Lewis, *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004).

[371] Elaine Lweinnek, *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2014.

[372] Robert D. Lewis, *Chicago Made: Factory Networks in the Industrial Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe*.

facilitate productive manufacture of seeds and furniture, whose simple design became notorious among early twentieth-century modern design advocates.[373]

Also among the utopian communities embracing communal property were the Amana Colonies in central Iowa, which were founded in 1855 by a group of German Pietists escaping religious persecution. Having set up first near Buffalo, New York, this group found the isolation they sought in the new state of Iowa where they built several small towns each with a church, school, bakery, dairy, wine-cellar, post office, sawmill, and general store. One hundred nearly identical stone houses created capacity for each colony. The Amana Corporation's charter established communal property among all adult men, an arrangement that lasted until 1932.

The Oneida Community in upstate New York not only embraced ideas of communal property for material possessions but also for sexual partners. Its founder John Humphrey Noyes coined the phrase "free love" and advocated that sexual freedom of choice within the community removed the social problems of jealousy, possessiveness, and repression of emotions. The community built communal housing structures and a silverware factory to support itself. When the philosophical community ended in 1881, the manufacturing wing survived and became Oneida Limited, the successful silverware company.[374]

Among the most successful nineteenth-century utopian communities was The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS or Mormons). They called their communal embrace of resources "collectivization," and used town planning and architecture to reflect and shape their goals to establish economically successful communities based on divine revelations given to their leader Joseph Smith. Mormon towns followed a shared street grid, in which wider-than-average streets facilitated commerce and trade, and houses were arranged perpendicular to one another on alternating blocks to blur the boundaries between public and private space and promote mutual surveillance. Early Mormon architecture facilitated complex marriage and economic equality, but by the 1870s Mormons were Americanizing. Social hierarchies based on wealth and power had grown up in their communities, and they were adjusting their utopian visions to connect their industries with the booming American West. George Pullman, like most Americans at the time, certainly would have condemned the LDS practice of polygamy, but he would have known about their successful utopian town planning and may have encountered it either at Nauvoo, Illinois or in his travels to the West.[375]

Overall, a wide range of experimental solutions that combined capitalist production, social mores, and the design of residential and industrial space were well-known as Pullman formulated his plans. Charles

---

[373] Stephen Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Sally M Promey, *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[374] Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992); Ellen Wayland-Smith, *Oneida: From Free Love Utopia to the Well-Set Table (Picador, 2016).* (New York, NY: Picador, 2016).

[375] Tomas Carter, *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).

Nordhoff, a German-born American newspaperman, had in fact, published an extensive survey of all the then well-known (and some which are today largely forgotten) American planned communal communities—mostly those that were religiously-based—with Harpers in 1875, and debates on the ability to found and run communities on socialistic and communistic lines were quite common throughout the decade.[376] Many of these communities used architecture to communicate and create communal ties between residents, and a sense of shared purpose. Pullman intended the beauty, order, and assets of his town to do something similar: to inspire communal loyalty to the company. But he also used town planning to enforce middle-class values at home and corporate hierarchy at work.

4.D Pullman's Vision of a Model Town

4.D.1 Pullman's Inspirations

By the late 1870s, model industrial towns in Europe and the US were well-known throughout the English-speaking world, and when Pullman was contemplating his own version, we can only assume that he had some familiarity with the comparative examples discussed above. Unfortunately, we have no statement by Pullman or his associates that Saltaire or New Lanark or any other model towns were his explicit models, though most assume that Robert Owen's well-known ideas were known to Pullman.[377] Curiously, in the summer of 1881, Pullman and his family travelled to Scotland, visiting Glasgow, Inverness, Dundee, and Edinburgh. The local papers took notice and they made the connection to the idea that Pullman "has cherished for many years[:] to found a modern manufacturing town, in which free play should be given to the most advanced scientific and philanthropic opinion." The writer then explicitly invoked Titus Salt at Saltaire (judged an "imperfect conception") and Dr. Benjamin Ward

---

[376] Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States: From Personal Visit and Observation Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel, Aurora, Icarian, and Other Existing Societies, Their Religious Creeds, Social Practices, Numbers, Industries, and Present Condition* (New York: Harper, 1875). Republished as Charles Nordhoff and Robert S. Fogarty, *American Utopias*, American Classics (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993). See the interesting review that noted one could learn a lot from these "quaint and shrewd societies" at "*The Communistic Societies of the United States; from Personal Visit and Observation; Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Etc.* By Charles Nordhoff. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. Pp. 439," *The North American Review* 120 (1875). *The Boston Globe* also noted that "these associations, while not desirable for imitation as a whole, yet furnish illustrations of industry and self-denial which may be useful in stimulating similar qualities among people in general society;" "Nordhoff's Communistic Societies of the United States," *The Boston Globe*, Jan. 27 1875. Nordhoff also had some curious economic arguments against slavery with respect to working men a decade before: Charles Nordhoff, *America for Free Working Men! Mechanics, Farmers and Laborers Read! How Slavery Injures the Free Working Man. The Slave-Labor System the Free Working-Man's Worst Enemy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1865).

[377] Wright, "A Community in a Garden: The Pullman Paradigm in Southern Illinois."; Thomas J. Schlereth, "Solon Spencer Beman: The Social History of a Midwest Architect," *Chicago Architectural Journal* 5, no. 1985 (1985).

Richardson at Hygeia ("a Utopia" whose "city of health" was deemed unrealizable).[378] Pullman, with his unlimited capital, insatiable demand for his product (and thus huge demand for employees), had an opportunity that no one man had hitherto had: "The experiment is a noble one … and the scale on which it is tried makes the trial an epoch in the history of social philanthropy."[379]

We have little indication of exactly when or why Pullman decided to create a model industrial town. Despite all the media attention and company promotion, he never provided an origin story, as it were, for his idea. Like many of his compatriots, Pullman worried about the rapidly changing social relations in American society. Historian Stanley Buder argued in 1967 that Pullman worried both about keeping labor relations peaceful at his newly successful company, and about the growing problems of urban poverty under his nose and those of his peers.[380] Having survived the 1873 economic downturn and watched the nationwide labor unrest that came to be called the Great Upheaval of 1877, Pullman understood that a stable labor force meant good business. Pullman never credited a direct inspiration for his town, claiming only that its orderly systems were in "natural logical sequence" with his company. Toward this end, he embraced the paternalistic company town approach that had been used in New England textile towns, combined it with newly professionalized approaches in design and planning, and incorporated it into his supreme faith in his corporation's ability to shape social improvements. As Buder put it, "Pullman wanted to perfect, not alter, free enterprise."[381]

This ultimate combination of influences made Pullman different, in some ways, from many planned model towns before and after it. A primary difference between Pullman and both New England mill towns and mining towns was its independence from geographical requirements. Pullman did not need to rely on a river for power (though he needed good navigation) nor did he need to locate near resources to be extracted. He had the freedom to choose the location for his town. His choice to build on the far outskirts of Chicago gave him both more control and also removed his town from the preconceived notions about the city. Anti-urban sentiment was already festering in the American imagination in which picturesque suburban ideals carried considerable cultural weight. The "machine in the garden" idea tempered the anxiety about enormous and new technologies and labor arrangements

---

[378] In 1875, Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson (1828–1896) proposed a model city of "Hygeia: a city of health" based on sound sanitary science as his presidential address to the health department of the Social Science Association at Brighton: Benjamin Ward Richardson, *Hygeia, a City of Health* (London, UK: Macmillan & Co, 1876). This was reprinted as Robert Pemberton, ed. *The Happy Colony* (New York, NY: Garland Press, 1985).

[379] "Founding a City," *Annandale Observer and Advertiser*, July 29 1881, 257. Despite the praise, the correspondent from the Glasgow News ended on a pessimistic note: "if, in spite of their beautiful houses, their shady walks, their Parks, their schools, their churches, their libraries, their art galleries, and their clubs, they will have that which must introduce a powerful influence for evil, there would seem to be nothing left to the philanthropist but to weep over the incurable and inexplicable perversities of human nature."

[380] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 37.

[381] Ibid.

that were driving the new industrial economy.[382] Pullman not only built a town that embraced middle-class ideals of domesticity by separating home from factory (at least nominally), he also separated his entire town from the industrial city. He hoped for a *tabula rasa* in which to shape the feelings of his workers and indeed the world about his company and its figurehead.

Another factor setting Pullman apart was the number of and degree to which service industries remained under his control once built. As planning historian Margaret Crawford argues, Pullman's control exceeded even the "closed" mining towns on the resource frontier. The Arcade was filled with retailers who had to apply for a retail space; Pullman would not rent the theater to a third party so that he could personally approve the propriety of the performances; the library had a $3 membership fee and the librarian lived in an adjacent apartment; the hotel lodged the company's visiting associates and served as their *de facto* greeting center; all the utilities sprung from company-run technologies; and even the railroad transportation was operated by Pullman partners. Excluded amenities—like saloons and a hospital—also indicated Pullman's priorities. This total control modeled corporate efficiency and the principles of scientific planning.

Driving Pullman's combination of manufacturing and community planning was the quintessentially industrial goal of efficiency for profit. At the dedication of the Pullman Library, Professor David Swing recognized Pullman as one in the long line of experimental and planned communities of people like George and Sophia Ripley or Robert Owen, but suggested that "The Moral quality or basis of Pullman is not abstract philosophy or socialism like that of… New Harmony, but is common sense of the highest and best order. Industry, and economy, and comfort are the foundation stones of this latest and wisest experiment." Efficiency in all things, it seemed, would bring benefits both financial and social. At Pullman, "industry, sobriety, [and] economy," coupled with each man (family) having a clear means of support in the employment of the Pullman Palace Car Company, the perfect experiment had been created. Swing avowed that "industry will always surpass philosophy as the basis of welfare" in this new town.[383] Moreover, Swing expressed even more bluntly that the town would always be in service to profit. "To employ extra capital in building decent villages for humanity is as wise as it is new and beautiful." Rather than put that capital into government bonds to merely earn interest, "Four per cent cottages are a nobler investment."[384]

---

[382] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[383] David Swing, "The Pullman Library Dedicatory Address," *The Library Journal* 8, no. 5 (1883).

[384] "Pullman. The Young City Presented with a Full-Grown Library by Its Enterprising Founder," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12 1883; Messer-Kruse, "The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876," 236-40; Holly Jacklyn Blake, ""Dependency Is Not Charming": Marie Howland on Women, Class, and Community, 1836-1921" (Ph.D., SUNY-Binghamton, 2002); "Marie Howland: 19th-Century Leader for Women's Economic Independence," *The American journal of economics and sociology* 74, no. 5 (2015).

4.D.2 Roots in the Housing Reform Movement

Pullman's ideas for his town also grew out of the housing reform movement. Like model town builders, housing reformers believed in environmental determinism and the power of architecture and orderly surroundings to inspire America's poor toward economic and social betterment. As Pullman explained to a *Cincinnati Enquirer* reporter in 1882, "everything depends upon surroundings."[385] These ideas began to coalesce among the urban well-to-do as industrial production necessitated concentrated populations and accelerated immigration.[386] Urban crowding and undeveloped sanitation systems posed very real health risks, but the concentration of immigrant families also felt threatening to the people already ensconced at the top of the established social hierarchy.[387] Thus, housing reform movements began to appear nationwide in the 1840s, when the first large waves of immigration from Ireland began.[388] Rapid urban growth after the Civil War, with newcomers from all over Europe and elsewhere, inspired widespread campaigns to both combat slum conditions and insulate established Americans from their physical and perceived moral threats.

---

[385] Stanley Buder, "The Model Town of Pullman: Town Planning and Social Control in the Gilded Age," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 33, no. 1 (1967).

[386] Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, 114-34; Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[387] Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 48.

[388] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930*.

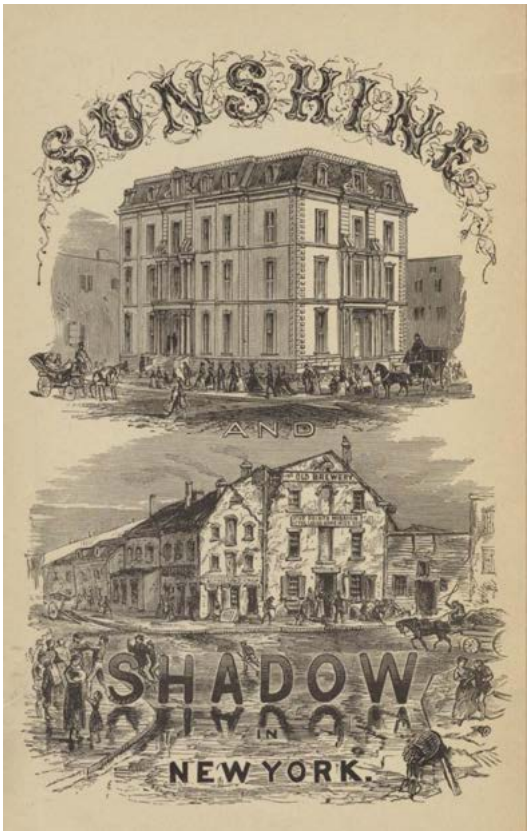


Figure 4.4. Sunshine and Shadow in New York City. From Matthew Hale Smith, Sunshine and Shadow in New York *(Hartford: J. B. Burr and Company, 1868), frontispiece.*

Pullman's model town pre-dated the most famous housing reform institutions in the nation and Chicago, such as Hull House and New York's Tenement House Committee, not founded until 1889 and 1898 respectively. Pullman's model town, however, followed in the footsteps of several private endeavors that tried to build profitable housing for the poor in America's other large cities. The Boston Cooperative Building Company, for instance, was formed in 1871 by prominent Boston investors to rehabilitate tenement dwellings and their residents. Alfred T. White tried to build large apartment buildings for the "laboring classes" in Brooklyn in the 1870s. He believed the problem with tenements lay with the landlords who extorted poor laboring residents for their own profit. He popularized this solution: wealthy businessmen could build decent housing, charge reasonable rent that workers could afford, and still make a 7% profit. Despite the fact that this model tenement movement failed to profit

anyone or to ameliorate the long-term living conditions of their residents, investment-led development continued to attract followers, including George Pullman.[389]

George Pullman was already involved in housing reform efforts in Chicago when he developed his model town.[390] He and Marshall Field, one of the city's other leading businessmen, had been leaders of the Relief and Aid Society set up immediately after the fire of 1871. That system had taken distribution of relief funds out of the hands of the aldermen and given it to the city's unelected millionaires.[391] That work fed into The Citizens Association, founded in 1874, to continue to improve building regulations as the city rebuilt. The Citizens Association was among the leading groups campaigning for a tenement inspection program, an idea that came to fruition in 1876 with the appointment of Oscar Coleman de Wolf as first chief of the city's Health Department. With Pullman's support, de Wolf began inspections in 1877, which sent city officials into working class homes unannounced (an action whose legality remained in question for several years but eventually was exonerated.)[392] His report of 1878 convinced industrialists and reformers across the city that urban tenements posed a health risk to the city of Chicago.[393] Without question, Pullman's close involvement with these findings influenced his model town experiment.

Part of Pullman's goal was to demonstrate that good housing for workers could be both morally uplifting and profitable. Leaders in this early phase of housing reform fervently believed in White's idea in the market's ability to solve the housing problem. The experiment at Pullman sought to demonstrate this by offering new high-quality architecture for workers while maintaining 6% income for company investors. Chicago's slum conditions differed from those in New York and Boston, where working immigrants were occupying haphazardly retrofitted buildings from the colonial and early national periods. In Chicago, the housing may have been much newer but its quality varied considerably. Despite pushes for post-fire Chicago to be built of brick and stone, thousands of housing units were built of wood to accommodate

---

[389] David P Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1979), 252-66; Buder, "The Model Town of Pullman: Town Planning and Social Control in the Gilded Age," 40-41.

[390] Buder, Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930, 34–37.

[391] Elaine Lewinnek, *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 40; Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1995), 82-83; Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman*, 68-69.

[392] Margaret Garb, "Health, Morality, and Housing: The 'Tenement Problem' in Chicago," *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 9 (2003).

[393] Gail Radford, "Housing Reform," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Chicago History Museum, 2005).

the incredible demand among workers who wanted to own but could not afford the more expensive fireproof materials.[394]

4.D.3 New Approach to Design and Town Planning

Pullman's approach to planning his new model town showed a growing faith in design professionals and grand industrial visions. Several period writers noted that architect Solon Spencer Beman had landed the enviable and seemingly singular job of designing an entire city in one fell swoop.[395] While Pierre L'Enfant, the French landscape designer famous for laying out the capital city in Washington provided a plan for Paterson, NJ and reformers had begun working with architects to build settlement houses, no architect and landscape engineer had been hired in the US to collaborate on one big project at the same time. Together with landscape architect Bene Williams, these professionals, trained in the new credentialing schools of the late nineteenth century, mobilized their patron's ambition and wealth to realize the dreams of industrialist dreamers around the world. In many ways, it combined the ideals of several engineering and design subspecialties and actualized them together all at one time.

Figure 4.5. S.S. Beman, Arch., Barrett Landscape arch., Hughson Hawley artist / Pullman 1883. From "S. S. Beman," Print / Photo file, Chicago Historical Society.

In order to abide by the PPCC's charter, which only allowed the company to own land that directly contributed to its production, company leaders created the Pullman Land Association to make owning

---

[394] Lweinnek, *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl*, 51-63.

[395] "The Arcadian City of Pullman." F.A. Ely, "Report of Sleeping Car," General Ticket Admissions (Pullman Palace Car Co., 1877).

this new town appear legal. The Land Association existed on paper for the next three decades but for all intents and purposes was operated as part of the PPCC. More research into the land transactions by which the company acquired hundreds of acres could illuminate how Pullman balanced where to site his town with the realities of the real estate market.

Pullman's hiring of both architect Solon Spencer Beman and landscape architect Nathan F. Barrett marked the first time that practitioners in both fields collaborated to plan an entire town. Barrett had worked for George Pullman before, on his New Jersey estate, and had introduced him to Beman. Beman then worked on remodeling Pullman's Prairie Avenue mansion and the two men got along well. The company's new model town offered a welcome opportunity for the three men to collaborate. It laid the foundation of professional working relationships that would last until Pullman's death, the inner workings of which deserve additional research.[396] Also significant was Beman's commission as an architect to design industrial factory buildings, which had generally been the realm of engineers before this time. Beman's careful consideration of aesthetic beauty to the factory as well as the town, and their visual connections, make Pullman unusual.[397] Pullman's recognition of professionals for designing both the buildings and their surroundings, and having a trained architect for the civic, residential buildings, and industrial structures, all elevated the role of aesthetics and professional expertise in the eyes of the public and Pullman's industrialist circle.[398]

4.D.4 Housing and Social Hierarchy

A primary feature of Pullman's town was the physical manifestation of social hierarchy built into domestic surroundings. Hierarchy was common in company towns, especially in remote places, and it enforced the workplace chain of command of managers over foremen over workers in the domestic sphere in order (companies assumed) to normalize the power structure that supported production. Pullman rarely described the hierarchy built into his town, focusing instead on his theory that clean and beautiful surroundings would keep workers out of poverty and away from alcoholism and promiscuity. Nineteenth-century America's obsession, however, linking one's domestic surroundings with one's moral standing and social identity dictated that Pullman provide status-conscious housing options to the full spectrum of his employees. The nature of his project, therefore, necessitated housing units at varying levels of status. Status in Pullman houses was determined by size and amenities, much like in any other American town, where rent depended on these factors. One difference in Pullman, however, is that style was taken out of the equation since all units had a shared aesthetic.

Beman developed several types of housing units whose price points would reach a broad spectrum of Pullman's employees. A systematic study and mapping project is needed to create a typology of house types based on floor plan, utilities, and rent prices. This would expand the existing façade study by the Beman Committee to focus on the factors that mattered to residents at the time, namely number and

---

[396] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 50.

[397] Betsy H. Bradley, *The Works: The Industrial Architecture of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[398] Buder, "The Model Town of Pullman: Town Planning and Social Control in the Gilded Age."

arrangement of rooms, amenities, and rents.[399] This kind of study would greatly aid interpretation of social hierarchy in Pullman.[400] It would also considerably augment future projects to map residents through time to specific houses in the town.

One social dividing line that the town of Pullman did not build into its architecture, per se, was the racial line. The boundary of the town itself, rather than hierarchical features of its architecture, divided white and black Chicagoans in Pullman. George Pullman never envisioned that his town would house black residents. Renters had to be employees of the PPCC and Pullman did not hire African Americans in his factories. Through this policy, employment discrimination begat housing discrimination. In the 1880s, before the Great Migration, African Americans tended to live near their places of employment just like other ethnic groups, and since they were not allowed to work in Pullman, they did not live there. The living arrangements for African American porters should be studied using the employment records at the South Suburban Genealogical Society and elsewhere. In later years, people questioned why Pullman chose to create good jobs for African Americans as porters but not supply them with housing. The fact that Pullman never addressed the disparity of this choice, and indeed that few in the period questioned it, highlights the overwhelming norm of racial segregation in housing.

4.E The Town of Pullman

4.E.1 Pullman Community Buildings

Pullman's vision to create beautiful and wholesome surroundings to uplift his employees rested in large part on building the best facilities. The design for his original town included many amenities that would have been present in most towns: a school, a church, a theater, and a library. Other amenities were innovative either architecturally or in function, including the arcade building, marketplace, athletic facilities, and in some ways the Hotel Florence.

Beman designed many non-residential buildings to fulfill George Pullman's visions. They housed services and amenities that in most towns would be considered "public" spaces, and in day-to-day functioning they felt public. In a closed company town like Pullman, however, the democratic notion of tax-payer-supported shared facilities did not apply. Pullman never guaranteed equal access, shared authority, or collective influence over the activities in these spaces. The library, for instance, was not a "public library"

---

[399] Thomas C Hubka, *Houses without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and the Classification of America's Common Houses*, Vernacular Architecture Studies (Knoxville, TN: University Tennessee Press, 2013); Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country*.

[400] The Beman Committee of the Pullman Civic Organization's "Façade Legacy Project" (2013) itemized and created excellent drawings of the 79 façade types, as well as window, door, and porch types to help current homeowners restore their houses. A companion study for northern Pullman will require additional funding. A similar study that addresses floor plans, original amenities, and original prices for all housing in Pullman 103rd Street to 115th Street would be a helpful next step in understanding hierarchy and daily experience for employees and their families. All of this work would benefit from access to the Historic Pullman Foundation's collections, which were not made available for the first Façade Legacy Project or the current Historic Resources Survey. The Façade Legacy Project Final Report is available for download: http://www.pullman-museum.org/facades/facadeReportFinal.pdf.

(though commentators called it that frequently), but rather a subscription-based option for employees, access to which they would lose if they lost their job. Until the various facilities came under the auspices of the city government, none of these could be called public. Instead, they need to be understood as important elements in Pullman's paternalistic management of his town.

Taken together, the town of Pullman, with its many amenities all offered under close control of George Pullman and his officers, can be seen as a final chapter in the nineteenth-century industrial model town idea that developed in Europe over the previous century. Saltaire and Guise had offered similarly extensive lists of amenities, but no single company or person in the United States attempted to mimic that on as large a scale as Pullman did. The brief accounts of the buildings below address the contexts of architecture and paternalism in the town's first few decades.

The Arcade

The Arcade Building was by far the largest non-factory building constructed at Pullman, being 250 by 166 feet and ninety feet tall. It is the closest thing to a public space that Pullman imagined, containing stores, offices, a theater, the library, the post office, and lodging rooms. The building featured central doors on each façade to facilitate a perpendicular bisected interior floor plan. The west façade, which faced the railroad, was the tallest with three stories of complex massing and cross-gabled hipped rooflines, and a fourth story with clerestory windows in a central square tower. The other three façades had similar profiles, with two main stories as well as a central two-story tower with a tall mansard roof and decorative ridge cresting. Each central doorway was flanked by projecting classical porticos whose engaged pilasters defined three tall arched windows. The building featured brick construction over a massive limestone foundation whose rough-cut surface constituted much of the first-floor façade. Dressed limestone also surrounded the doorways, articulated first floor windows, and created a belt course at the second floor visually connecting each façade. Overall, the structure's combination of classical forms and symmetry with the nineteenth-century taste for varied colors, surface textures, and historical ornament all in the pursuit of consumption and morally approved entertainment and education, perfectly encapsulates Pullman's vision in one very large building.

Figure 4.6. Pullman Arcade. Pullman State Historic Site.

Arcades had gained popularity in mid-nineteenth-century Europe but Pullman's was among the first built in the US Margarita Doty, the wife of the town manager who wrote a glowing guide to the town in 1893, explicitly compared it to ancient and modern arcades in Paris, Stuttgart, and Milan. She mentioned American examples in Cincinnati and Cleveland. The Cincinnati example, known as the Emery Arcade, was built in 1877 but was much more modest than Pullman's. Cleveland's was not erected until 1890.[401] Others followed Pullman's including one in Buffalo (1892) and, most notably, the Rookery in Chicago (1888). Modern arcades, defined by open walkways between units, usually stores in nineteenth-century iterations, were being reimagined because of advances in load-bearing iron construction members and plate glass technology, which could accommodate well-lit larger and taller spans. The Rookery, an early accomplishment of John Wellborn Root and Daniel H. Burnham, combined masonry and steel construction in what historians today regard as an important stepping-stone toward the steel skyscraper architecture that Burnham and Root would pioneer just a few years later. Beman's Arcade in Pullman employed masonry construction, but the ambitious use of steel and glass to span the atrium

[401] Mrs. Duane [Margarita Jane Richards] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries* (Pullman, IL: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893), 8.

was innovative in the United States at this scale. Within a decade of Beman's arcade being built this kind of architecture was developed into the department store, again pioneered in Paris, whose tall open interior spaces elegantly appointed with wrought-iron staircases and decorative colored glass became early cathedrals of commerce. Pullman's arcade, then, is significant not only architecturally but also as the only ambitiously scaled retail and services building incorporated into a company town project in the US at this time. The Arcade was torn down in 1927.

Figure 4.7. Interior of the Arcade showing masonry construction and steel and glass atrium span. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Industrial Heritage Archives - Pullman State Historic Site. Arcade Building Interior" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-23. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14193

The Library

George Pullman created a library for his town inside the Arcade building. Although we take for granted the concept of the public library today, even if it is under siege and having to change with the times, in 1880 it was far from a given that a town would have such an amenity. The development of the library movement, most typically associated in this time with the Mechanics' Institute movement found more strongly in the UK and its colonies (though those institutions were designed to have instructional classes as well)[402] was later closely associated with Andrew Carnegie. Andrew Carnegie's bequests of public libraries, for example did not begin until the late 1890s and although some cities may have had subscription libraries since colonial times, and the main four of five American cities did have public

[402] Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond Supporting Further Educations for the Adult Working Class*; James G Kelso, "The Lyceum and the Mechanics' Institutes: Pre-Civil War Ventures in Adult Education." (Harvard University, 1968); Arlene Ann Elliott, "The Development of the Mechanics' Institutes and Their Influence Upon the Field of Engineering: Pennsylvania, a Case Study, 1824-1860" (University of Southern California, 1972); Burton J Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1978).

libraries by the first third of the eighteenth century, most other cities and towns did not get a public library until the twentieth century. Pullman created one from the very beginning with an initial deposit by George Pullman himself of 5,100 volumes (with another 4,500 promised) for the leisure—but more important, of learning and moral uplift—for his workers. For, as he said in the grant of the books, "the moral and intellectual growth of any community promotes and advances not only all of its material interests, but all the forms of human welfare."[403]

This was an age where the idea(l) of public uplift played on opulent men's clubs in that luxurious surroundings themselves were seen to elevate the common man or woman. Located on the second floor of the Arcade building and entered from the balcony of the main atrium, the library featured a 42 by60 foot cherry-paneled den of relaxation on "large and easy" black wicker chairs "with plush backs and seats" or on "quaintly designed" lighter English oak chairs. The walls were paneled in cherry-stained ornamental wainscoting, "heavily carved cherry tables covered with crimson billiards cloth" stood ready on "very rich" Axminister carpets for readers, and south facing windows with stained glass transoms illuminated the room (and six gilded chandeliers served the purpose in the evening). Lavender walls with a broad frieze of gilt tracings of lilies and reeds in the Egyptian style lined the room—"frescoed in peacock colors," as one review said—and a stained-glass skylight on carved columns was surrounded by the glass-fronted book cases around the room. Alcoves were dedicated to the dozens of subscriptions to newspapers, periodicals, and "works of science of the day" that the library maintained. There were retiring rooms—three for ladies and one for men—for quiet reading spaces and an art study room that quickly generated a well-subscribed art class. Various courses began to be held there, even including one in German given by Professor Henry Cohn of Northwestern University in Evanston. The library "sought to furnish all private Chautauqua and other clubs with standard authorities upon all subjects under discussion." The librarian had her apartments adjacent (at least until she married, much in the model of the house staff in an English great house) and membership grew to the low hundreds by 1890 with 1,500 or more visiting monthly just to read or hear one of the regular lectures.[404]

One of the contemporaneous paternalist principles in the later nineteenth century was that greater exposure to mainstream culture would uplift workers. Pullman was no exception. The library there was developed at the beginning of the town by George Pullman's long-time private secretary Lucy D. Hall (she married Fred L. Fake in late 1887),[405] with the advice of William Frederick Poole, the first librarian of the Chicago Public Library (founded in 1871 as a result of the great Chicago fire) and later director of the Newberry Library (founded 1887). Fake was in charge of purchasing the library books directly from the publishers and "the large and comprehensive list of books" filled a new library, also designed by Fake, in the Arcade building that was praised as "one of the most complete and perfect libraries in the state, not a single detail has been overlooked and its arrangement in the most particular minutia has been carefully observed."[406] And indeed, the library became for a time a model that others investigated:

---

[403] "Pullman. The Young City Presented with a Full-Grown Library by Its Enterprising Founder."

[404] "The Arcadian City of Pullman," 79-80. Also, Pullman records, Newberry Library, 09/00/03 bx.2 fol.99.

[405] *The Arcade Advertiser* (Pullman, IL), 22 Oct. 1877 [Newberry Library, Pullman Scrapbooks, vol. 2, p. 4].

[406] "Women's Department," *The World's Columbian Exposition illustrated* 2, no. 10 (1892): 284.

before the First International Conference of American States (known as the "Pan-American Congress") met in Washington, D.C. in early 1890, they visited Pullman to see the great experiment and all autographed the library's register.

At the opening of the library, professor David Swing (1830–1894), a preacher who had left the Presbyterian Church (under a certain degree of pressure because of his more ecumenical approach to theology) to found his own Central Church in Chicago in 1874, and who was among the most popular preachers of his day, asked whether, "a business firm [can] afford to furnish libraries for artisans." He noted that they certainly can afford it financially, they can afford to be "kind to their men," and more importantly, they "cannot afford to build up self at the cost of the workmen."[407] Speaking to a "large and brilliant assemblage" of Chicago notables, Swing recognized that the whole Pullman experiment was about "how cities should be built and in general [about] how man should live." These normative questions were of crucial importance in the built environment of Chicago at the time, which Swing compared to a bunch of barnacles on a ship's hull, resulting from the lack of enough central planning—i.e., "law of chaos"—from its inception (but also after the Great Fire). Arguing in effect for what we would today refer to as setbacks and zoning requirements, Swing said that Chicago *could* have been Paris or Brussels, both of which were redesigned with a master plan in the early nineteenth century, but for having had a visionary like Pullman as it was building out. Now, on the smaller scale, Pullman had pulled it off with residences, industry, relaxation and commerce all balanced and in harmony: "the material symmetry of this new city is … the outward emblem of a moral unity among its inhabitants."[408]

The library, however, never had more than a few hundred members though circulation rose over time. Employees were required to pay a $3 annual fee to be library members, and $1 for their children. The fees, it was believed, would make users value and respect the books and experience of leaning more broadly. Large shelves, richly upholstered furniture, heavy oak furniture, and gas lighting all would have felt somewhat intimidating to average workers, but generally gave an atmosphere of elevated learning. The pared-down room with simple jute floor coverings and caned chairs to accommodate men coming directly from the factory in soiled clothes could be seen as both considerate and exclusionary.[409]

---

[407] David Swing, *David Swing: A Memorial Volume: Ten Sermons, Selected and Prepared for Publication by Himself* (Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely, 1894); "The Pullman Library Dedicatory Address." The evening's entertainment also included a benefit performance by the Pullman Amateur Dramatic Club of "The Two Roses" (presumably James Albery's strained by clever comedic play, which was popular at the time) and the Illinois Central ran a special train from downtown Chicago for the evening; *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Apr 1883, p. 21.

[408] "Pullman. The Young City Presented with a Full-Grown Library by Its Enterprising Founder."

[409] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 62.

Figure 4.8. Interior of the Pullman Library, c.1883. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Arcade Interior Library" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-30. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=15183

By the time that company sold off the town, the model of public libraries had fully taken hold around the country. George Pullman's widow purchased the Arcade and allowed the library to remain rent free. She insisted on keeping the fee structure at first, but by 1908 the library became the Pullman Public Free Library.[410] By that time, even paternalistic company towns had opened their libraries to some degree. The Calumet & Hecla Mining Company in Michigan had built a large library in 1898 that allowed free access for its employees in good standing. The C&H Library tried to appeal to its heavily foreign-born workers by carrying newspapers from around the world, an approach the Pullman Library did not take.

The Theater

The theater occupied a primary location inside the Arcade's second floor. As described by Mrs. Doty, it seated almost 1000 people and was a prime specimen of Aesthetic Movement fashion and period theater design. The interior boasted what was called Moorish decoration, with complex arches, intricate gallery railings and screens, turrets, and rich textiles and paint colors all imitating the Islamic traditions carried to the Iberian peninsula in the eighth and ninth centuries. The taste for co-opted Middle Eastern patterns and textures, fueled in the United States by the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia,

[410] Kate Corcoran, "The Pullman Library," The Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theTown/pullmanLibrary.html.

Figure 4.9. Interior of the Theater demonstrates what would have been called Moorish style theater, a fashion very popular in the 1880s as Americans domesticated what they saw as exotic global influences. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Arcade Building Theatre Interior" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-23. (http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14481)

appeared in public places of leisure like theaters as well as elite parlors and clubs.[411] Mrs. Doty showed an unusually high level of self-consciousness about this cultural appropriation when she noted that "a little liberty has been taken… in one of two instances; for example, in the introduction of the dragons in the corners of the ceiling, contrary to the laws of the Koran, which forbid the imitation or distortion of any living object."[412]

Fitting the theater into the context of paternalistic town planning again sets Pullman apart in the United States. Precedent for an entertainment venue built by a company existed in Saltaire, which had a concert hall. Pullman may have been the only company to include a theater in his vision for a company town. He did see it, as Sir Titus had in Saltaire, as part of the educational and cultural edification of his employees. Pullman also, of course, designed it to make money, though more study is needed to determine its profitability.

The Market Hall

The Market Hall along with the Arcade building stand out among company towns as an ambitiously scaled structuring of retail, commercial, and business functions. While the Arcade featured retail shops and centers for entertainment and personal edification, Market Hall offered more quotidian shopping needs including fresh produce and meats.

The original Market Hall featured two stories and an exterior whose limestone foundation matched the Arcade but whose upper floors featured the shingle style half-timbering of the Stables and Casino. It was ruined by fire in 1892 and rebuilt within the year. The second Market Hall, also designed by Beman, offered three stories with a more classical appearance, indicating the architect's attention to changing styles (Beman would have been getting involved at that time with the Beaux-Arts designs for the White City). The brick façade covered a timber and iron structural frame, perhaps chosen for fire protection. The new Market Hall had stalls for sellers on the first floor, offices on the second floor, and a large hall on the third floor featuring a stage and dressing rooms for performances. At the same time, Beman designed four large dwelling houses in the four corners of the Market Square, each with arched colonnades.[413] A full collection of blueprints for the second Market Hall and the Market Square Dwellings survive in the Burnham Library at the Art Institute.[414]

---

[411] Doreen Bolger, ed. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Rizzoli, 1986).

[412] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 16.

[413] Ibid., 177–78.

[414] Town of Pullman, Illinois, Microfilm Reel 39, Frame #117–149, Architectural Microfilming Project, Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago, 1976.

Figure 4.10. The first Market Hall c. 1883. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Industrial Heritage Archives - Pullman State Historic Site. Market Hall" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-27. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14586

Figure 4.11. Second Market Hall, built 1893, postcard published by J. C Ferrin, n.d. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Market Hall" The Pullman State Historic Site

Collections. Accessed 2019-08-27. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=17213

The centralized retail model in this building again sets Pullman apart from other company towns, and indeed from other American towns in general. In the 1880s, most towns featured a business street with a line of commercial buildings or "blocks" with businesses on the first floor and apartments on the upper floors (traditionally to house the shopkeeper, though that pattern was beginning to break down with expanding industrialization). Stanley Buder could not find "any prior precedent for the centralization of commercial activity," and indeed models are difficult to identify.[415] Saltaire featured a line of shops near the factory with a bank spread out on the other side of town, much like other Anglo-American towns at the time. Godin's industrial commune in France featured shops in a company-owned building that could have influenced Pullman, but of course the socialist vision at its heart contrasted with Pullman's capitalist outlook. The infamous closed company towns of Pennsylvania's coal fields were developing at this time, but in relative geographic isolation with few other options. In Michigan's Copper Country, by contrast, company officials chose not to control retail operations and instead to sell non-mining land to trusted entrepreneurs to set up towns and develop independent businesses.

In contrast to all of these, Pullman's Market Hall and Arcade buildings consolidated businesses into company-owned buildings designed in innovative ways to accommodate shopping and commercial purposes. On the one hand, this model promoted independent businesses rather than a "company store," and offered some accommodations to shoppers, namely relief from inclement weather and the convenience of what today would be called "one-stop-shopping." On the other hand, the ultimate beneficiary was the Pullman Company, who charged high rents to shop keepers to maintain the required profit margin. More research could reveal Pullman's immediate inspiration for Market Hall and the Arcade, but most likely he was inspired by the European arcades and their ability to consolidate retail space into one rental facility that would be easier to manage than renting the dozens of store fronts typically found in a town's commercial area. Dividing the food from the Arcade shops showed a hierarchy between the smells and mess of daily meal preparation from the more fashionable shopping experience created in the Arcade.

[415] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 68.

Figure 4.12. Broadhead Meat Market, inside the second Market Hall, 1895–1900. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. The Broadhead Meat Market" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-27. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11827

The second Market Hall was reduced to one story by another fire in 1931. A tavern and grocery store operated there until 1973 when another fire gutted the remaining structure. The Historic Pullman Foundation has owned the ruins since 1974 and uses it for contemporary art and seasonal decoration. Debates in the town about how to save Market Hall's remnants and how to use it constitute a major aspect of late twentieth-century heritage in Pullman.

The Greenstone Church

Pullman and Beman built just one church in their model town. What came to be called the Greenstone Church stands at 112th Street and St. Lawrence Avenue on the corner of Arcade Park. Pullman understood that his employees would want churches in their town, but he did not see the need for his company to build too many, since they offered little profit. He built one, eminently visible to portray an outward portrait of his town's morality, and he allowed any congregation to rent it. His own roots in the Unitarian Universality society led him to hope that his employees would combine their traditions and worship together. In 1881, however, before the church building had even been completed, it became clear that Pullman employees (like Americans across the country) preferred to worship in their own familiar languages and traditions. Mrs. Doty lamented the failed multi-denominational Union Church by

writing that “Only a few men are broad enough to listen with patience to any but their own preachers.”[416]

Figure 4.13. Greenstone Church (identified as Presbyterian), 1880s. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Greenstone Church 1883” The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-27. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11608

Despite the failure of the Union Church, Pullman went ahead with his plan to rent the building to whichever congregation would like it. Histories of the church cite a $57,000 price tag, which could be verified in company records.[417] The high rent, of $300 for the church and $65 for the adjoining parsonage, however, drove away all the budding congregations until 1887 when a Presbyterian group rented it.[418] Richard Ely contended that they had been offering Pullman lower rent amounts and had

---

[416] Mrs. Duane [Margarita Jane Richards] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries [1893]*, Rev. ed. (Pullman, IL?: Pullman Civic Organization, 1974), 47.

[417] “Greenstone Church,” *Historic Pullman Foundation*, online accessed 26 August 2019 at http://www.pullmanil.org/greenstonechurch.htm; “Greenstone UMC History,” *Greenstone UMC Church Chicago*, online accessed 26 August 2019 at https://greenstoneunitedmethodistchurchchicago.wordpress.com/history/. A period account lists a lower price: $45,000 for the church and $3500 for the organ. "The Arcadian City of Pullman," 83–84.

[418] Stanley Buder contradicts the church history websites stating the Presbyterians started renting in 1885. Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 66.

been refused.[419] Other denominations rented spaces from the company, including a Methodist Episcopal group who used the second floor of the casino building until 1907 when they bought the Greenstone Church from the company out from under the Presbyterians. They continue to occupy it today.

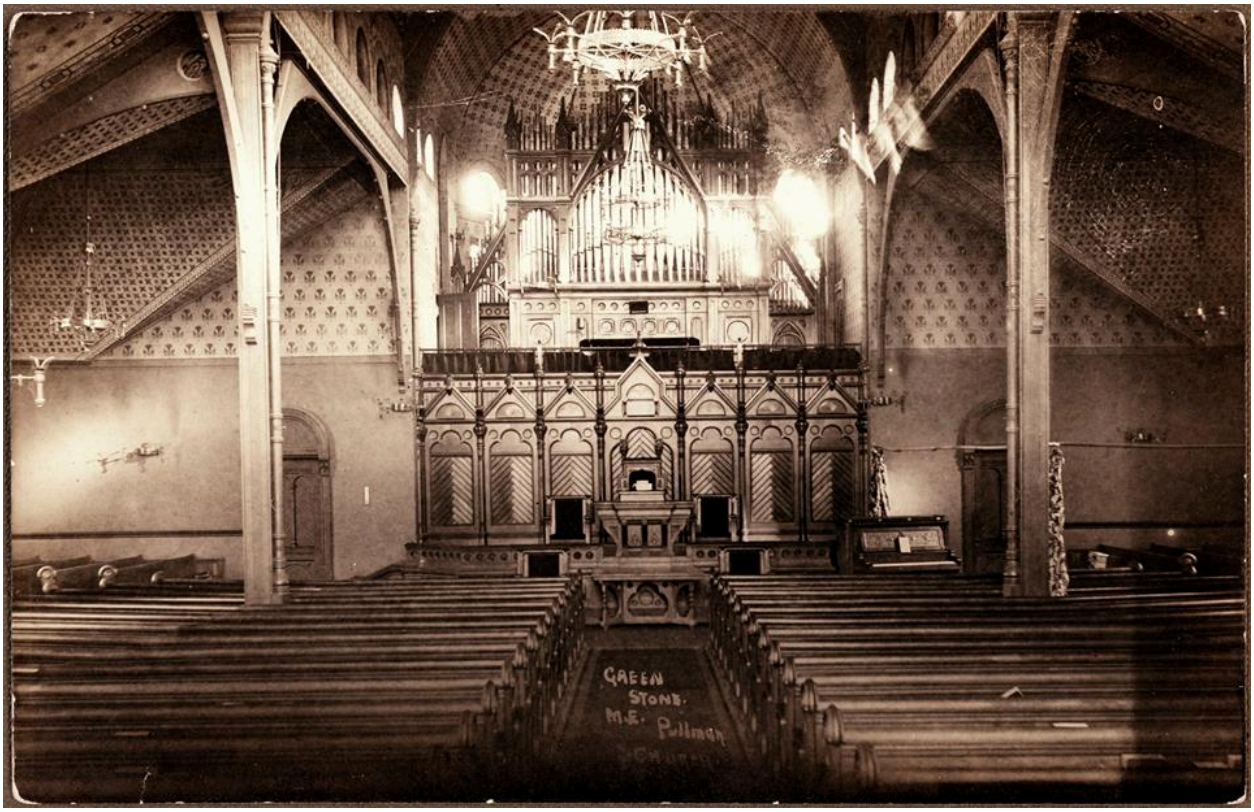


Figure 4.14. Interior of the Greenstone Church after 1907. The organ and altar remained largely unchanged. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Greenstone Church Interior" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-30. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14575

Pullman's approach to building just one church in his paternalistic town stands out as unusual. In Saltaire, for instance, Sir Titus gave land and financially supported at least two churches, Congregational and Methodist.[420] Likewise in Michigan's Copper Country, companies used the creation of church buildings as a way to both appease and control their employees. The companies recognized that familiar religious traditions in an employee's home language tended to create necessary support networks to maintain a consistent workforce. Supporting the establishment of successful churches seemed a worthy investment and starting as early as the 1860s companies repeatedly provided land for multiple denominations to build churches. At the height of population around 1920, the region had multiple churches for each major denomination to accommodate different languages and ethnic traditions.

---

[419] Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study," 464.

[420] Towle, "Saltaire and Its Founder," 834-35.

Company officials, however, used the distribution to church property to create and maintain hierarchy amongst its employees. The ethnic and religious groups held in lowest esteem by company officials, including Finnish Lutherans, and Catholics from Slovenia, Croatia, and Italy, were given smaller lots farther from places of work and commerce.[421] In these ways, the Copper Country approach gave the company far more control over the religious landscape of its employees than Pullman's approach, which required almost everyone to leave the neighborhood to pursue religious practice elsewhere.

The architecture and the organ in the Greenstone Church at Pullman are significant. The name comes from the green mottled stone imported from Philadelphia, sometimes called serpentine stone at the time for its resemblance to reptilian scales, which is veneered on the main facades over a brick masonry structure. This stone, quarried since the eighteenth century, had enjoyed a resurgence in popularity in the Victorian period for its color and texture.[422] The choice to ship it Chicago requires more research but probably indicates a desire to stand out and add visual variety to the buildings surrounding Arcade Park, the centerpiece of town. The decorative interior and the organ retain much of their original character and details. The woodwork was in keeping with Aesthetic Movement tastes when paired with richly colored and patterned wallpapers and paint, which the *Agricultural Review* praised as being "carefully treated in soft color and artistic blending as were those of the theatre and library, the design being irregular and the color gradually lightening as it approaches the ceiling."[423] The organ, manufactured by Steere and Turner, a well-known Massachusetts organ company, dominates the altar. More research about how this firm was chosen, whether Pullman paid for it (reportedly $3,500), who installed it, and who some of the early organists were would illuminate the role of such an instrument in social negotiations between the company and residents.[424]

The Hotel Florence

In many ways, the Hotel Florence was among the most emblematic and innovative aspects of Pullman's town. He combined the railroad hotel, the burgeoning luxury hotel-apartment building, and the elite gentleman's club all in the name of elevating his company brand and leveraging his town for profit. As A. K. Sandoval-Strausz argued in his book *Hotel: An American History*, the Hotel Florence "contributed to practically all the functions of its parent company: not only transportation and maintenance but the production of railway carriages and the promotion of tourism as well."[425]

The building's architecture marked it as the stylistic centerpiece of town. Beman and Barrett designed it to resemble the houses and other community buildings, but its decorative detail and prominent location announced to visitors the very best that Pullman had to offer. Faced with pressed brick (the highest

---

[421] Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines*; Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country*.

[422] Jane Elizabeth Dorchester, "The Evolution of Serpentine Stone as a Building Material in Southeastern Pennsylvania: 1727-1931" (University of Pennsylvania, 2001).

[423] "The Arcadian City of Pullman," 83.

[424] Ibid., 84.

[425] Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*, 94.

quality used in town), the hotel boasted four stories with a complex combination of hipped roof, dormers, and two wide towers. Bold white limestone belt courses at each story tied the building visually to similar details on the surrounding houses and horizontal lines of the administration building. A deep and wide verandah stretched across two full facades announcing the hotel's hospitality.

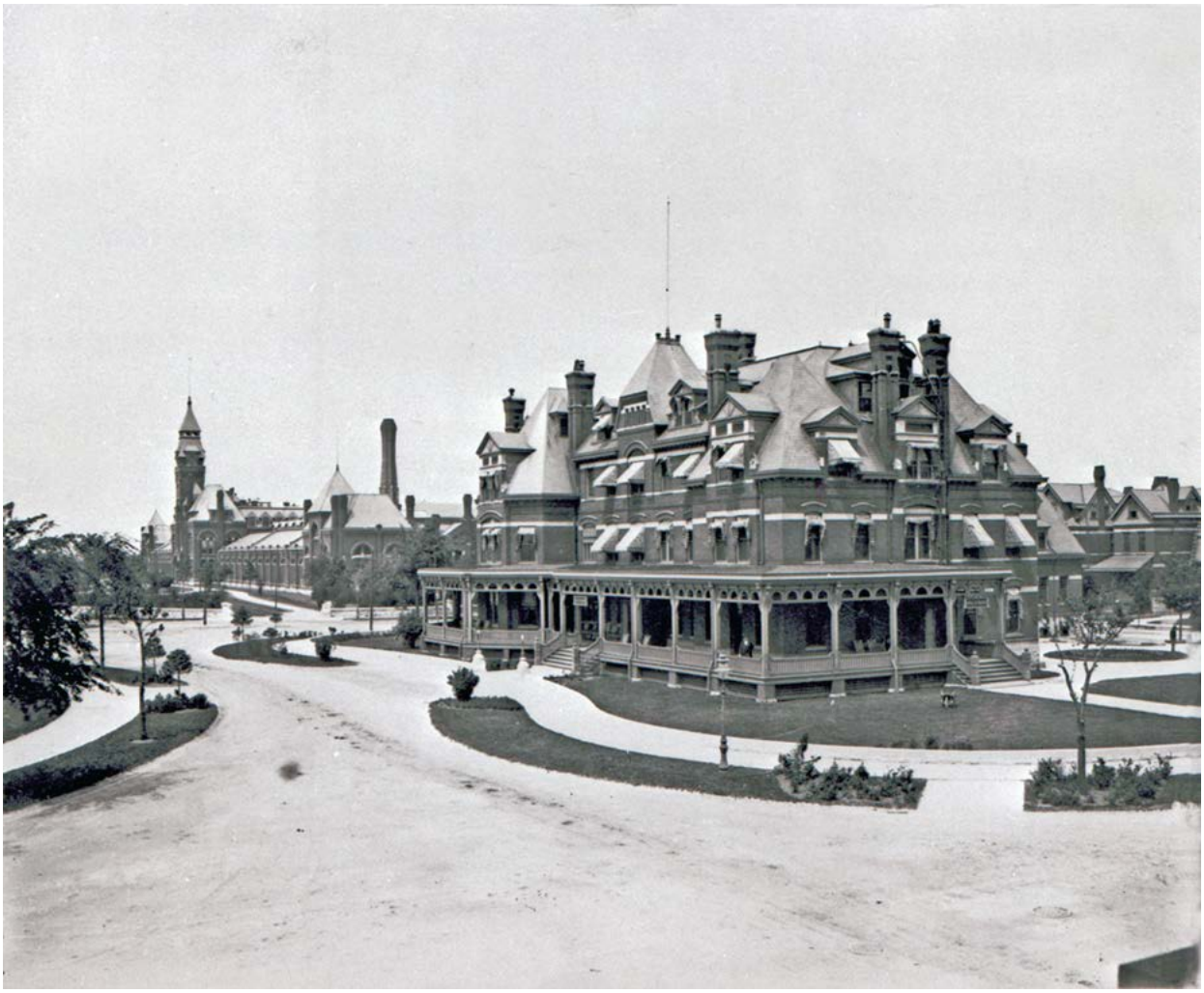


Figure 4.15. Hotel Florence looking northeast toward the administration building c. 1882. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Industrial Heritage Archives - Pullman State Historic Site. Hotel Florence" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-29. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14343

The Hotel Florence included suites for visiting company executives, one large suite reserved for George Pullman's use, and fifty rooms for the tourists that Pullman expected to come see his new town. Mrs. Doty's description in 1892 suggested that "thousands" of visitors came to the town every year and that the hotel's dining room and guest rooms accommodated many of them. The hotel's advantages seemed to be its modern conveniences (telegraph, telephone, steam heat, and fire escape ladders) and accessibility for travelers, who could board a train only 300 feet away at the depot and ride either north

or south at all hours until midnight. In addition, the landscape's surroundings and views of Pullman's "best residences" were visible from the large porch and pleasant walkways.[426]

The Hotel Florence was the most elite place in town. Workers felt decidedly unwelcome there. Guest rooms cost $3 or $4 a night, a sum that equaled half a month's rent for most families. The fashionable architecture, interior fittings, and also the spectre of George Pullman's residence kept most working people away. Notably, the hotel featured the only bar in town. Pullman, like many reformers, regarded alcoholism as a major problem among workers and sought to control access to liquor. Outlawing private saloons but offering liquor in the building where workers felt most unwelcome sent a clear message: Pullman trusted the elite with alcohol as an aspect of bourgeois decorum but saw liquor in the hands of workers as immoral and dangerous. The double-standard could not have been clearer.

This hotel also replicated in static architecture the luxurious experience of riding in a Pullman Palace Car. The first-floor featured cherry woodwork with decorative carving and details not unlike those in his cars, and the china and silver featured the same PPCC branding. For business travelers who distinguished themselves on the rails in Pullman cars, staying at the hotel extended that status onto land. Importantly, the level and type of service at the Hotel Florence mimicked the Pullman Porter model. African American men worked as waiters and servers in the dining room, and African American women were maids. The hotel was the only place in the town of Pullman where African Americans worked or were regularly seen. This racial hierarchy in the hotel, which extended the experience of Palace Car passengers onto land, further served to embed the practice of being served by black people into the parameters of industrial-age luxury.

After the company sold off the town, the Hotel Florence operated for less than a decade before being converted into a boardinghouse. An Annex was added around 1915 whose three stories brought the total number of rooms available to 120. Workers rented these rooms, which included three meals a day at the restaurant.[427]

The Schools

Schools in paternalistic model towns usually played important conceptual roles, and Pullman's town, in this case, is no exception. Education figured prominently in Pullman's plan to develop a productive workforce. The only governing body in town allowed by Pullman was a school board.[428] The board members were elected by the citizens, the only element of town life for which citizens could vote. However, since any board member had to be a resident it meant they had to be a company employee, making school board independence impossible. Richard Ely reported in 1885 that all but one school board member was also an officer in one of the Pullman Company's entities.[429]

---

[426] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 108–09.

[427] Historic Pullman Foundation., Fred Leavitt, and Nancy Miller, *Pullman, Portrait of a Landmark Community: A Photographic Essay* (Chicago: Historic Pullman Foundation, 1981), 13.

[428] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 144.

[429] Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study," 461.

In Pullman's era, providing education for working families was seen as a progressive and charitable aspect of paternalism. Saltaire contained schools for boys and girls as well as an infant day care and an art school. Sir Titus found that "intelligence far more than doubles the actual manual efficiency of an artisan."[430] Saltaire schools were free and followed the British government's curricula, which may have influenced Pullman's approach. In paternalistic towns in the United States, frontier extraction companies like those in Michigan's Copper Country usually provided schools with company-employed teachers for the first few years of a town's development until a municipal government was established and the population could support its own school. Often, however, the school board members remained prominent officials of the nearby companies blurring the lines between company and community.[431]

Pullman and Beman originally built one school in Pullman, but others followed. The first Pullman School stood at 113th Street and Pullman Avenue just south of the Casino facing the railroad tracks and was occupied in 1883. This brick masonry building was primarily a two-story block with hipped roof featuring three- and four-story projection and square tower breaking up the façade. The doors and many windows featured gothic arches decorated with stars and complex windows. Bold belt courses in contrasting light colored stone visually tied the building to the town's houses and related to the polychrome High Victorian Gothic styles of the period. Beman's design for the school closely resembles other gothic style buildings made popular for educational facilities over the previous decade, most notably Russell Sturgis' designs for Farnam Hall (1870) and Durfee Hall (1871) at Yale University, William Robert Ware's designs for Memorial Hall at Harvard (1870-77) and Thomas Webb Richards' College Hall at the University of Pennsylvania (1870–72), not incidentally constructed with green serpentine stone.[432] Sturgis served with Beman's mentor Richard Upjohn on the original board of the American Institute of Architects in the late 1860s and 1870s, during the years when Beman worked in Upjohn's office. The Upjohns themselves (Richard and his son Richard M. Upjohn) were pioneers of High Victorian Gothic and Beman would have been very familiar with the style since he worked with them on the Connecticut State Capitol (1875-78).[433]

---

[430] Towle, "Saltaire and Its Founder," 834.

[431] Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines*, 168-72.

[432] Marjorie Peterson, "The Writings of Russell Sturgis and Peter B. Wight: The Victorian Architect as Critic and Historian" (City University of New York, 1999).

[433] Thomas J. Schlereth, "Solon Spencer Beman, Pullman, and the European Influence on and Interest in His Chicago Architecture," in *Chicago Architecture, 1872–1922: Birth of a Metropolis*, ed. John Zukowsky (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 174.

Figure 4.16. Pullman School. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman Virtual Museum. Pullman School" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-28. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11881

Pullman's vision for his schools may have been influenced by town manager Duane Doty, whose real expertise was as a school administrator. Curiously, however, he never appears listed among the school board's leaders, though Buder suggests that Doty helped Beman design the building.[434] The schools were the only amenity provided by the company offered to employees for free. Mrs. Doty's glowing account noted 1,000 students in 1892 and 24 teachers, which she happily claimed were part of the Chicago city system. She also touted the thousands of volumes in the Pullman library as an asset to the schools, but failed to mention the associated membership fee. [435] When the town of Pullman was annexed to the city of Chicago in 1889, the school came under city control. In 1896, two new wings were added to the school to expand capacity with eight new rooms. The Pullman State Historic Site features a

[434] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 239 n.8.

[435] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 70.

useful history of the people involved in starting up and running the early Pullman schools.[436] Additional research could be done about how the Pullman schools operated in conjunction with Kensington and Roseland schools. Mrs. Doty noted schools having been built in those towns in 1892 and 1893 as an asset to Pullman in her account.[437]

Once under the Chicago school system, the schools were updated and expanded. In 1905, the Edgar Allen Poe School was built to serve the children living north of 108th Street and keep them from having to walk so far. This replaced the makeshift school operating in a townhouse visible in the 1892 Rascher Map. This building featured classical design of white stone façade with engaged pilasters, dentelated cornice, and dramatic keystone lintels. Interestingly, this may have been the first public building constructed in Pullman that faced away from the railroad tracks. Shortly after the company sold off the town in 1907, a new school building replaced the first Pullman School one block south and east at 113th Street and Forestville Avenue. Designed by Perkins and Will architects and named the George M. Pullman School, this second school building featured fireproof construction and more up to date classrooms, a gymnasium, and assembly hall. The new school was located one block in from the railroad tracks for safety. The original school building was torn down in 1913.[438] The histories of both of these schools, along with the Corliss School between 103rd and 104th Street (which started as an elementary school in the 1920s and is now a high school), figured prominently in the mid-twentieth-century debates about racial segregation and housing. Both schools continue to serve the community today.

---

[436] "A 1900 History of the Pullman Schools," *Pullman State Historic Site*, online accessed 28 August 2019, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theTown/schools.html.

[437] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 70.

[438] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 215.

Figure 4.17. Edgar Allen Poe School, c.1905, photo by H. R. Koopman. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Petraitis Collection. Edgar Allen Poe School" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-28. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14877

Figure 4.18. Second Pullman School, c. 1910, Perkins & Will, architects. Collection of the Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/main/pfp.11.01.08.21.jpg

It is worth noting that part of Pullman's long-term goals for education included a technical school that would train a new generation of American industrial workers. He left $1.2 million in his will for its creation, which led eventually to the Pullman Free School of Manual Training. Pullman's executors, however, struggled to start the school according to Pullman's vision with what turned out to be an adequate sum of money. They acquired a location to the west of the railroad tracks north of Palmer Park in 1908, and opened the school in 1914, a full fifteen years after Pullman's death.[439] Considerable material related to the family's struggle to establish the school could be studied in the papers of his son-in-law Frank O. Lowden, who was the executor of Pullman's will.[440] The family ran the school until 1950, when they decided to transform the school into a foundation that continues to award scholarships for Chicago students.

The Stables

The Stables accommodated horses both for the fire department and as a livery for officers and visitors. The building faced the Arcade and featured the red brick foundation with faux-medieval decorative shingles, cross-gables, and small-pane windows. The building featured three large carriage doors facing 112th Street. Inside, fire insurance maps suggest that there was a large space for carriages, stalls or

[439] Ibid., 210-11.

[440] Frank O. Lowden Papers, University of Chicago Archives.

horses, an office and washroom, with the second floor being hayloft. By 1892 a Wagon House extension had been built in the back toward the Casino, suggesting that the livery was getting a lot of use. In the 1911 Rauscher maps, the building is still listed as the Pullman Stables, but by 1938, fire insurance maps call it a Garage, indicating the transition in transportation technology. At that time, the garage featured a private section. The faceted tower on the building's west side still stood in 1938 but has since been lost.

Part of the Stables' significance is the centralization of animals away from individual houses. Workers in the US at this time often kept a cow in a small barn at the back of their lot, and also grew kitchen gardens to sustain their diets. Some paternalistic companies, including Calumet & Hecla Mining Company in Michigan's copper region, included small barns in their company-built housing.[441] In middle-class housing developments in the 1880s, restrictions on barns and stables were being written into land contracts and deeds as part of the massive separation, both physical and psychological, of the domestic and the industrial. Pullman's Stables, then, made it possible for the company's officers to keep horses and carriages for transportation and social purposes, and also for Pullman and Beman to argue that individual houses did not need yard spaces devoted to animals.

[441] Arnold Alanen, "'Gardens in the Backyard, Barns Along the Alley': Resident-Based Food Production in Mining Communities of the Lake Superior Region," in *Retrospection & Respect: The 1913-1914 Mining/Labor Strike Symposium of 2014* (Hancock, MI: Michigan Technological University, 2014).

Figure 4.19. Stables and Fire House. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman Virtual Museum. The Stables" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-24. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11575

The Casino

In the 1880s, the term "casino" was used by elite Americans for buildings constructed for athletic events and related socializing. Pullman's casino featured light and red brick, Victorian roof decoration, corbeled chimneys, and a Medieval styling communicated by large wooden doors with iron strap hinges, faux timber framing with decorative shingles, diamond-pane windows with lead came, and cantilevered window bays. Overall, Pullman's casino accommodated a number of organizations, town needs, and rental facilities over the years. Originally, it offered club rooms for the town's social organizations with repair shops on the first floor.[442] The 1886 Rascher Map lists its occupants as a laundry and stores on the first floor and a photo studio and the Methodist Episcopal church on the second floor. Records of the M.E. Church congregation petitioning the company for relief on their rent survive in the Pullman State Historic Site website from 1898 and 1900.[443] At this time, a wooden platform on the north side could have been for watching some sort of sporting event in the courtyard. If so, that use was short lived as by 1892 the new Rascher Map shows the casino connected to the stables by a wooden Wagon House that compromised any outdoor play space. By that time, the Casino also included an undertaker.[444] Around 1895, after the strike, much of the building was taken over by the Men's Society of Pullman, a membership club made up of Pullman's prominent men, including George Pullman, and business associates from St. Louis and New York who presumably used the casino while visiting the factory. The group completed renovations to make the first floor into a large gymnasium, managed by the Society, accommodating basketball, handball, fencing, boxing, and weightlifting. Non-alcoholic beverages were available. Membership was open to any Pullman male who paid a $3 membership fee but according to historian Wilma Pesavento, membership included the elite and none of the known athletes in town.[445]

By 1911, the casino building had been converted into a steam laundry, and was used for that purpose until at least 1938, as indicated on maps. The building may have survived with an additional façade along Cottage Grove Avenue at least until 1959 when its footprint appears in aerial photographs.

---

[442] Wilma J. Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900," *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 2 (1982): 47.

[443] Letters from Methodist Episcopal Church, Pullman State Historic Site. Online, accessed 23 August 2019, http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsCompoundObjectWebPage.php?collection=pshs&pointer=19885.

[444] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 33. Pullman State Historic Site website searches for "Casino" include these details. Online, accessed 23 August 2019, http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsBySubject.php?subject=Casino_Building.

[445] Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900," 47-48.

Figure 4.20. Casino, 1880s. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Industrial Heritage Archives - Pullman State Historic Site. The Casino" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-27. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=14555

The Hospital

A seemingly curious omission from the Town of Pullman's original conception was a hospital. Medical treatment offered by companies was and continued after Pullman to be among the primary offerings of paternalistic and corporate welfare systems. Mrs. Doty in 1892 acknowledged a potential need. "A hospital is among the institutions of a not remote future, and the question has already had much attention."[446] As she noted, residents could get to city hospitals in a half an hour. Saltaire and other European precedents did provide company-sponsored hospitals for employees. Others in the US did as well, though often these were in extractive industries lacking big city medical facilities. Indeed, Almont Lindsey in 1939 suggested that Pullman's lack of medical facilities (as well as a cemetery, orphanage,

[446] Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*, 108.

and jail) was due to their availability in the surrounding area.[447] Others suggest that Pullman recognized that a hospital would not be profitable.[448]

In the beginning, Pullman employed a doctor who performed emergency surgeries in the front two rooms of his house. Transportation to a Chicago hospital followed. In the government study after the strike of 1894, the US Strike Commission demonstrated that the company's medical offerings did more to protect the company from liability than keep workers safe. By 1910, Hull House publicized the "primitive simplicity" of medical treatment at Pullman and mounted a campaign for change.[449] By 1912, the company had established the Pullman Hospital Association with a board of directors, including Thomas Dunbar.

The new Pullman Hospital occupied 11217 Watt Avenue (now 11213 St. Lawrence Ave) in a converted townhouse immediately south of the Greenstone Church. A rear extension created more space and the original Pullman porch was replaced by a grand wrap around version.

Figure 4.21. Pullman Hospital, not dated. Pullman State Historic Site The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman Virtual Museum. 11217 Watt Avenue " The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-24. http://www.pullmanmuseum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11921

---

[447] Lindsey, "Paternalism and the Pullman Strike," 275.

[448] William Adelman, *Touring Pullman: A Study in Company Paternalism*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Cornelius Printing Co., 1977; repr., 2nd Edition 1977).

[449] Ibid., 12-14.

4.E.2 Pullman Houses

In general, the domestic units that were designed for employees in the new Town of Pullman were mostly connected row houses and duplexes, with some single-family houses on the high end and tenement units on the low end. Most units had three to five rooms, a kitchen, yard, shed, sink with running water, and a water closet (sometimes shared). A valuable resource for understanding the architecture and amenities of Pullman's housing units is the 1895 *Eighth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, which surveyed housing for workers in the United States and Europe.[450] The report, written largely by sociologist E. R. L. Gould, identified two types of housing at Pullman: tenements and single houses. The word tenement at this time referred to any kind of apartment in a shared building. Some tenements were built in three-story brick buildings later called block houses. The report described one block house on Fulton Street, designated Type A, which seems to match the current building at 11127 S. Langley Street (renamed from Fulton).[451]

This three-story brick structure offered 12 apartments with either three or four rooms. Each apartment had access to a water-closet (some were private, some shared) with the Durham ventilation and Jennings hopper-closet systems installed. Each unit also had a pantry with sink and running water, a cook stove (either "ordinary" or gas) and the option of using gas for lighting (if tenants chose to pay for it). Garbage went in barrels in the rear where a shed offered fuel wood and coal storage. The report concentrated on issues important to housing reformers such as the fact that each room opened out to the air either by a window or door, and the fact that no fire escape route existed other than the central interior staircase. Rents ranged from $8–$9 per month. The higher rents got you more rooms and a convenient first floor unit.[452]

This tenement description matches very closely several surviving drawings by S. S. Beman and his staff of tenements or flats in various parts of town. No drawings of the block houses were located for this study.[453] Drawings of flats and cottages in Blocks 6, 7, and 16, however, have floor plans and amenities similar to those tenements described by the Report.[454]

---

[450] E. R. L. Gould, "Eighth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor: The Housing of the Working People," ed. United States Department of Labor (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1895); Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 86-91.

[451] At least one of these buildings still stands but is unoccupied.

[452] Gould, "Eighth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor," 330–331.

[453] More of Beman's drawings probably survive either in the Art Institute's Architecture and Design collection or in the Historic Pullman Collection. See Note 42.

[454] 212 architectural drawings by S. S. Beman and his office can be viewed at the Burnham and Ryerson Art Library at the Art Institute of Chicago. The roll also contains 29 pages from Gustaf H. Carlson, *Atlas of the Town of Pullman* (1902). Originals of these drawings probably survive uncatalogued in the Art Institute's Architecture and Design Collection, which was not made available for this study. Microfilm Roll Number 39, The Town of Pullman, Illinois.

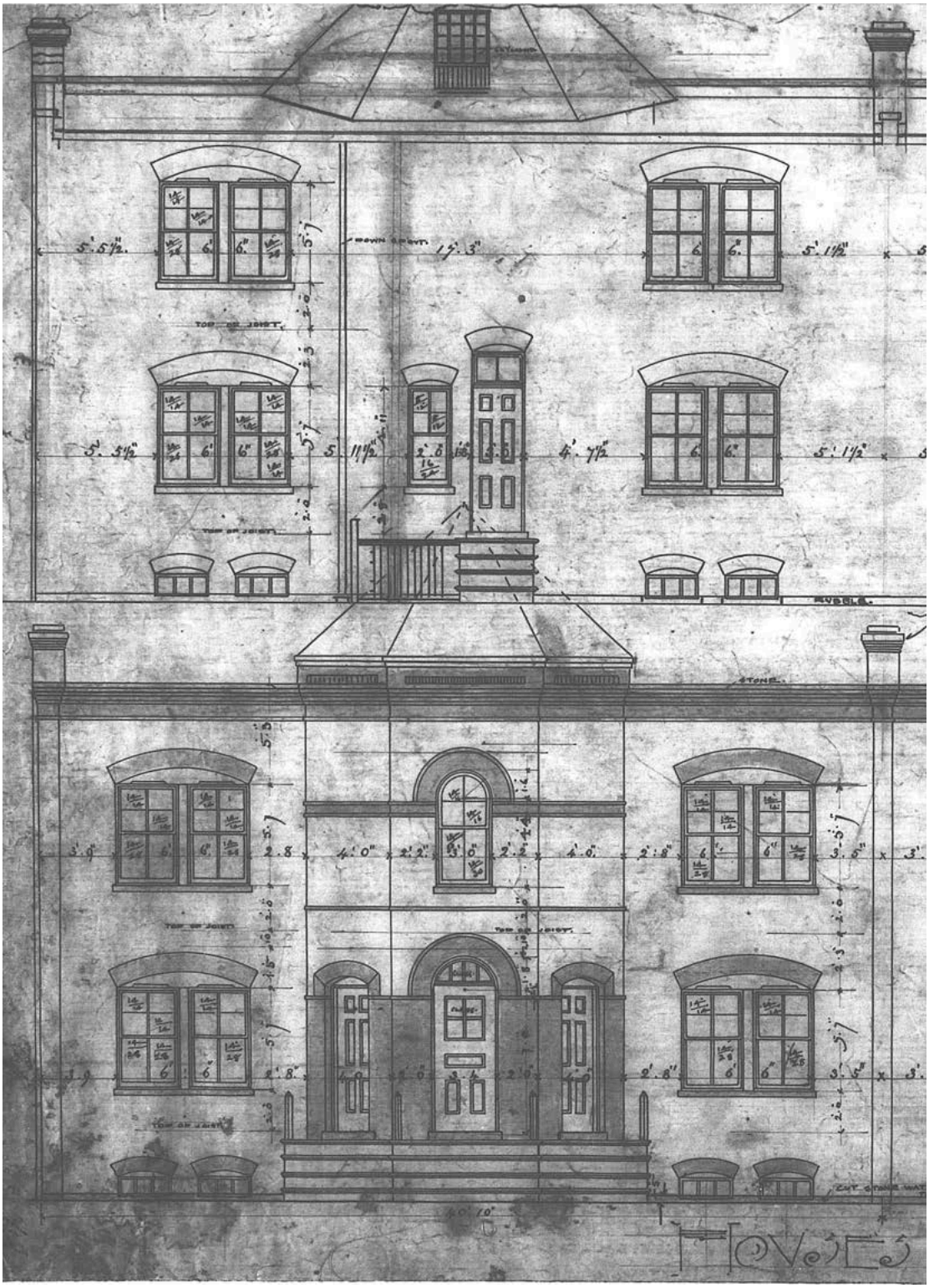


Figure 4.22. Detail of elevations of the front (bottom) and rear (top) of flats in block 16. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #104, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

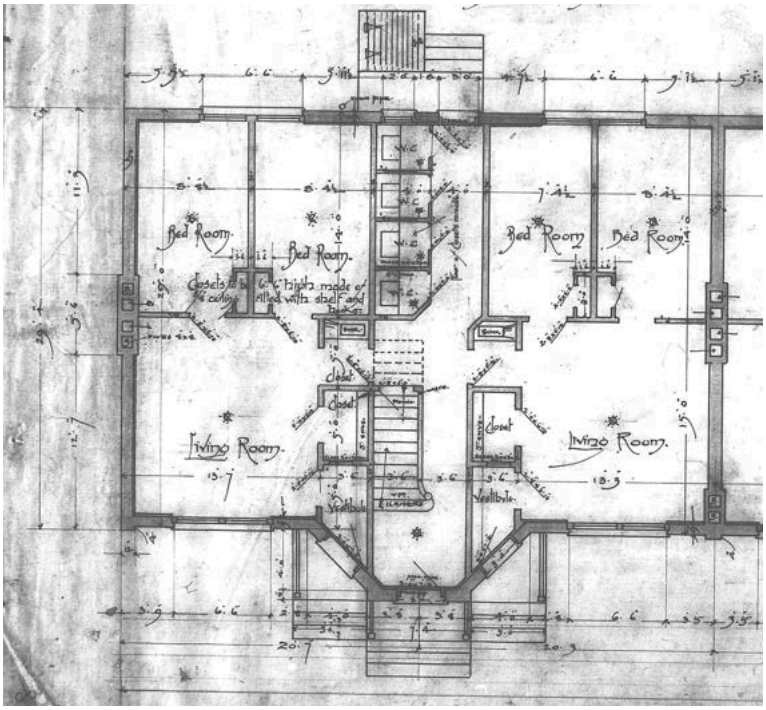


Figure 4.23. Detail of First Floor plans of 3-room flats in Block 16. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #102, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

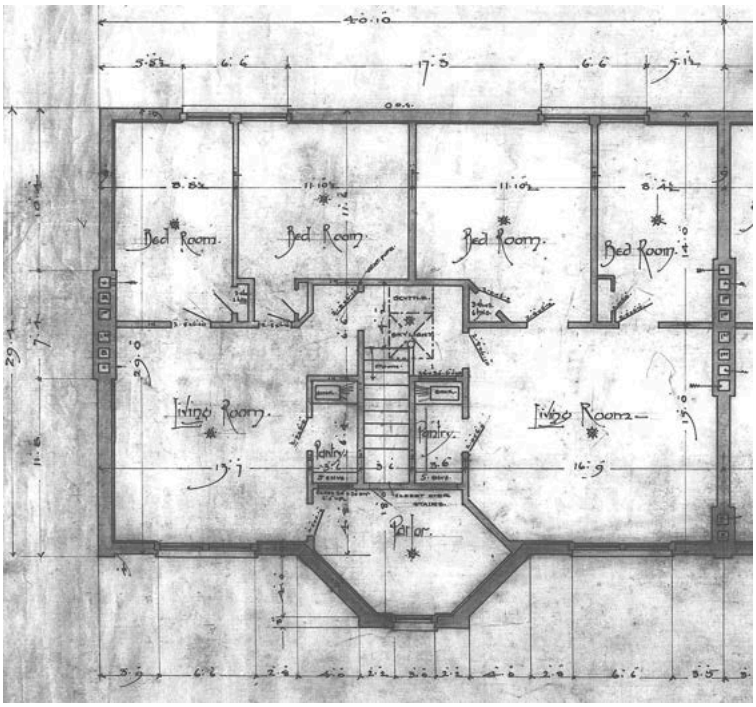


Figure 4.24. Detail of Second Floor plans showing a 3-room flat (right) and a 4-room flat (left) in Block 16. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #103, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

These buildings featured a front door that led to a central stair hall, which afforded access to the second-floor units as well as the four shared water closets in the back hall. Two first-floor units, which were mirror images of one another on either side of the stair hall, had their own individual doors flanking the main door. These entered into a tiny vestibule that in turn entered into the living room. This room had a closet, the flue for a stove, and doors to two small bedrooms. A small room with a sink connected the living room to the central hall.

The second-floor units were a little larger. The three room unit featured a living room with pantry and sink, and two bedrooms, one of which was larger than the small bedrooms in the downstairs units. The four room unit had a similar configuration but also featured a small hexagonal parlor over the front door. While the second floor afforded more space, it requires residents to traipse up a flight of stairs to get home, and also to go back down to the use the water closet. Drawings show several alternate room arrangements in the same space with similar tradeoffs.

None of the drawings for the three and four room flats designate a kitchen. The fact that the four room unit had a living room and a parlor but no kitchen emphasizes the middle-class mindset that Beman and Pullman brought to designing spaces for working people. A parlor and living room had become vital elements of the ideal American home by the 1880s, which designers and consumers associated with high moral standards, family togetherness, and polite social interaction. In all likelihood, tenants used the living room as an all-purpose room for cooking, eating, and piecework for side jobs like sewing and laundry. In fact, the *Special Report* described the living room in the four room unit as a kitchen, suggesting the way people actually ended up using it. The small parlor in the four room unit would have made a convenient extra bedroom for family or boarders. Cellars in these buildings, whose uses are not noted in the report or in the drawings, may have offered alternate places for cooking.

Indeed, worker families across the US at this time generally preferred housing that provided spaces to help them get ahead. In countless other towns, working families rented rooms or took in boarders or used available space for piecework, as mentioned above. Women took in laundry or sewing. They cooked extra meals for boarders. The spaces of the Pullman flats could have facilitated those activities, but other factors—especially company inspections—might have discouraged this common practice. If inspectors enforced rules about cleanliness, they likely would have reported extra beds in the living room, a washtub in the parlor, or a workshop in the backyard. An archaeological report by Dr. Jane Eva Baxter at DePaul University further supports the idea that renters in Pullman were not able to leverage these company houses as was common elsewhere. Baxter found very little sign of common working-class activities in the Pullman yards until after the company sold the houses.[455] For many families in the company period, then, this inability to leverage their living space for more income probably frustrated them as much if not more than the more abstract sense of surveillance often cited as a main cause of labor dissatisfaction.

Living in these flats may have seemed a step up from the block houses for some families. These buildings offered the same sized living spaces and amenities, but they appeared from the outside more like single-

[455] Jane Eva Baxter and Andrew H. Bullen, "'The World's Most Perfect Town' Reconsidered: Negotiating Class, Labour and Heritage in the Pullman Community of Chicago," in *Heritage, Labour, and Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul Shackel, and Gary Campbell (London: Routledge, 2011).

family houses. The block houses, by contrast, looked more like tenement buildings being built in Chicago and other cities for industrial workers. Even by 1881 these tenements were being blamed for disease and discomfort. Moreover, the ideal of a single-family house resonated with many working families looking for economic and social success in the US. For this reason, a unit in a rowhouse may have seemed better than a unit in a large block. Similar floor plans for three and four room flats survive in Beman's drawings for Block 7.[456]

The 1895 report, after describing the flats, also describes single houses. These two and three-story single-family houses offered more space, more polite entertaining rooms, and more private amenities. In short, these were middle-class houses. Gould is not specific about the location of the house he described for his report. His details, however, match quite closely Beman's drawings for Block R. Block R, however, does not appear in maps and may have been a designation used in the design phase that Pullman renamed later. More research is needed to match up drawings, descriptions, company records, and extant architecture. Until then, the drawings for Block R paired with the 1895 single house description provide a useful housing type to compare with the three and four room flats.

Single houses in the report had five rooms: a parlor, kitchen, and three bedrooms, all of which were larger than in the flats. Ceilings, which had not been described for the flats, were 10 or 10.5 feet high. Many amenities mirrored the flats, such as the water closet ventilation systems and the garbage system, but qualifications made the hierarchy obvious. The single houses all had the water closet "inside the house," running water on both floors, as well as a shed in the back for convenient fuel storage (Figure. 4.32). They also offered seven gas jets, three corresponding chandeliers, and both a pantry and a china closet. Several nods also appeared to fashionable decoration: the woodwork was painted, walls were papered, and the ceiling was calcimined. Rent, according to Gould in 1895, was $18 per month, or about $10 more than the flats. He reported that this level took 33% of a worker's wages, a higher percentage than for the flats.

[456] Frames #90–94, Reel 39, Art Institute. Frame #69 also has 3 and 4-room flats labeled "Class U," in single-story houses.

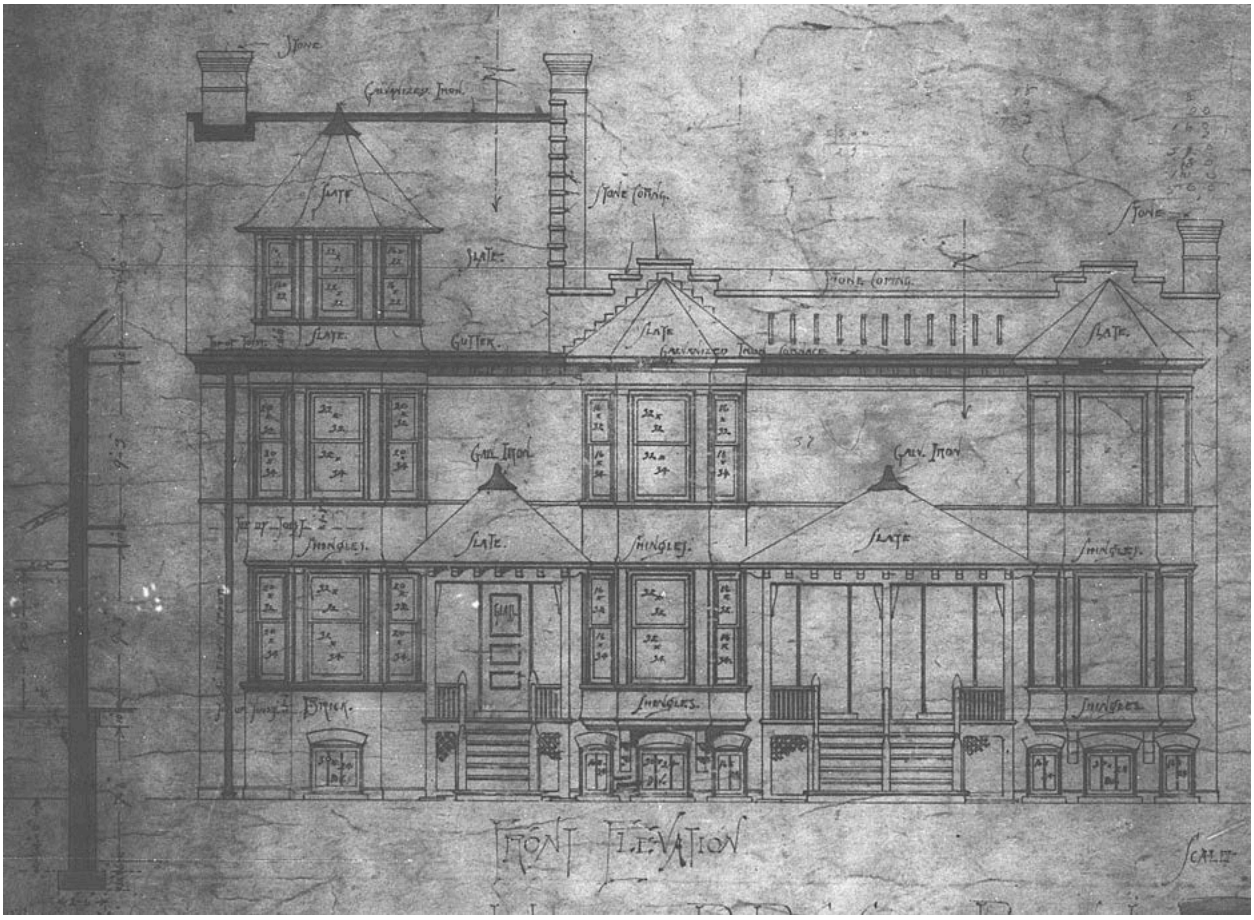


Figure 4.25. Detail of front elevation of three- and two-story single-family houses drawn for Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #74, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

Table 4.1. Comparison of amenities and costs for 3-room and 4-room flats, and 2-story single house as described in Gould's 1895 Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor. The flats described were in the 3-story "Block Houses" but the amenities were similar in flats in row houses.

Amenity	3-Room Flat	4-Room Flat	2-Story Single House
Kitchen		15 x 13	14 x 16
Living Room	15 x 13		
Bedroom	15 x 7.5	12.3 x 8	12 x 16
Bedroom	12 x 7.5	9 x 9.5	7 x 8
Bedroom			7 x 8
Parlor		15 x 7.5	
Pantry w/ sink	Yes	7.5 x 3 or a little larger	Yes
Water closet	Separate closet for each toilet. WCs often shared between units. Jennings hopper-closet system for ventilation		One per family. Jennings hopper-closet system for ventilation
Heating	"ordinary stoves" in each unit		*Not specified*
Gas	laid to every room, using it for lighting is optional. Tenants pay for gas		Seven gas jets and three chandeliers. Tenants pay for gas
Garbage	barrels in the rear		
Cooking	Cook stove, wood or gas		"ordinary cooking range"
Air	Every room has window or door to the outside. Durham system of ventilation.		*Not specified*
Water	Running water in every unit. Tenants pay for water		Running on both floors. Tenants pay for water
Ceiling height			10 or 10.5 feet
Cupboard			2 cupboards (called "china closet" in drawings)
Decoration			Window shutters outside. Inside, woodwork is painted, walls are papered, ceiling is calcimined
Rent	$8.00/mo $8.50 for first floor	$9.00/mo	$18.00/mo

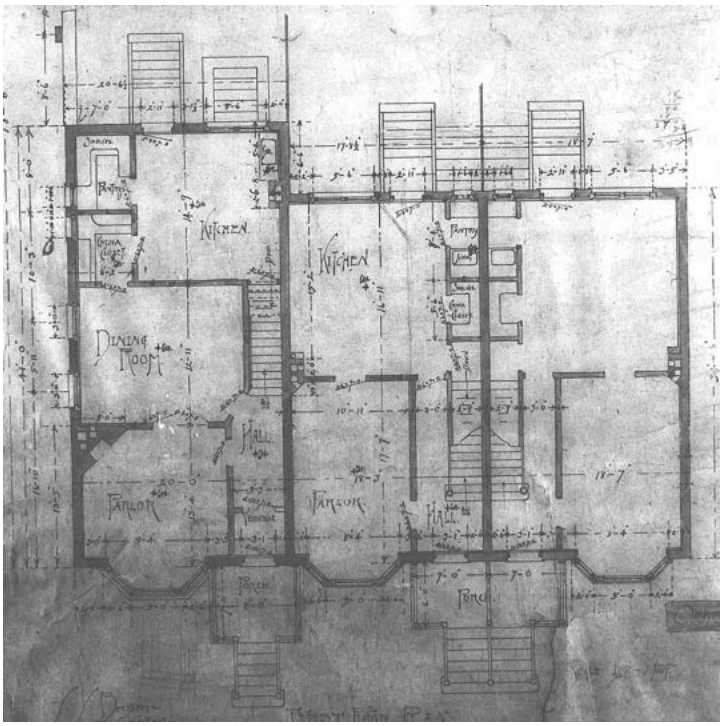


Figure 4.26. Detail of First Floor plans for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family houses in Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #71, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

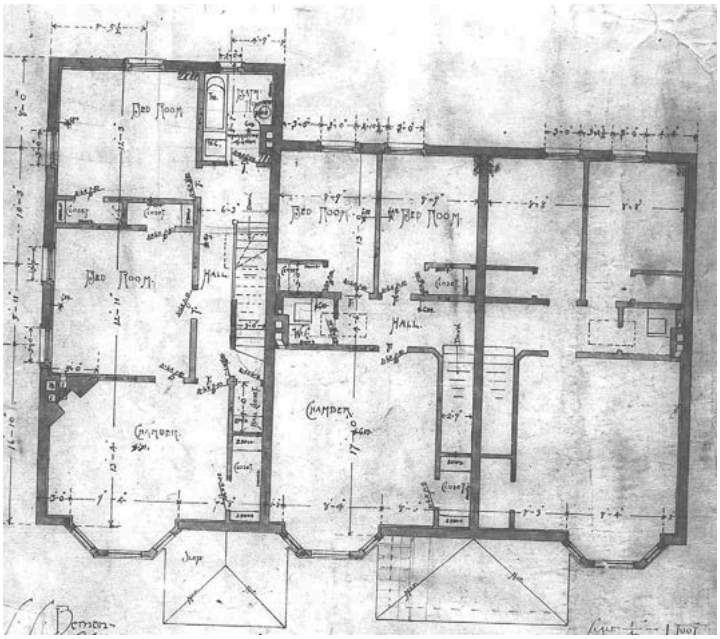


Figure 4.27. Detail of Second Floor plans for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family in Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #72, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

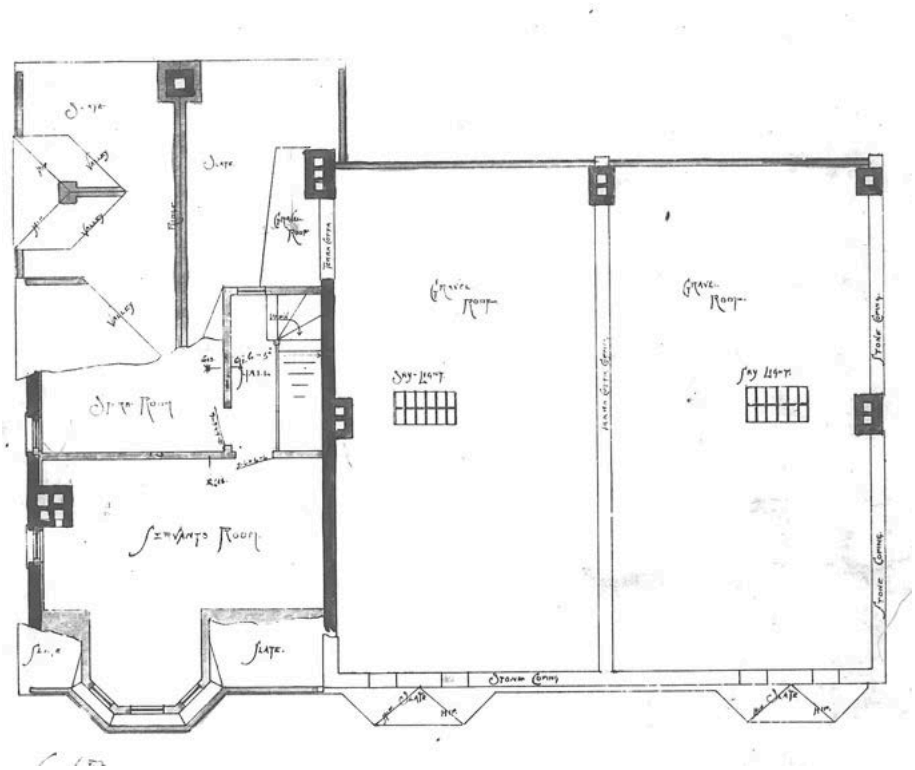


Figure 4.28. Detail of Third Floor plans (including Servants Room) and rooftop for three-story (left) and two-story (right) single-family in Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #73, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

Beman's drawings for Block R offer further evidence of the middle-class spaces and amenities that helped create hierarchy in housing. The most common plan in Block R featured a stair hall, parlor, and kitchen on the first floor. The family could control how much of the kitchen and workspace a visitor could see upon entering. The parlor featured a bay window in front, and a canted corner chimney to show off a decorative heating stove, which in this period often featured fashionable ornament and could be considered a centerpiece of the room. Upstairs a hall, well-lit by a skylight, gave access to three bedrooms, one very large in the front. A water closet here was shared by the family. Each bedroom had its own storage closet.

Beman's drawings also feature a larger single house in Block R called a Corner House in one drawing.[457] This one occupied the end of the row, extended about four feet extra in the rear, and had a third floor. It featured all the amenities of the smaller single house with several additions that offered more comfort, control of space, and most importantly, a space for a live-in servant. It had a dining room on the first floor, which not only offered a formal eating space, but also buffered the kitchen from the more public spaces. A walk-through china closet, which was larger than in the smaller single house, led from the dining room to the kitchen and offered the only access to the cooking area from the front of the house. The parlor in this house featured a corner fireplace, probably decorated, which could have accommodated a stove or coal grate for heating. In the kitchen, the sink stood on its own in the room

[457] See Frame 79, Reel 39.

instead of tucked in the pantry, offering a more convenient space for food preparation and cleaning. Upstairs, this larger single house offered larger bedrooms and also a three-piece bathroom with bathtub, sink, and water closet.

The third story featured a servant's room. In the 1880s, live-in servants were common for middle-class families. Many of the new proto-suburban houses filling up industrial cities and towns not only removed the family from the industrial workplace as part of the so-called "cult of domesticity," but they also divided up class-specific spaces of housework. The kitchen, backstairs, basement laundry area, and yard became workspaces where the wife managed domestic workers in the home much like her husband was supposed to manage industrial workers in the office or factory.[458]

Like these, this larger single house in Pullman offered spaces for separating work from leisure in the middle-class home. The kitchen had direct access to the rear yard, shed, and basement food storage, allowing the parlor and dining room to face the street with access mainly afforded through the decorative front door and porch. The walk-through china cabinet offered further buffer for guests and family in the dining room from the smells, sounds, and sites of cooking, which at this time would have included more animal and garden waste than in today's kitchens. The china cabinet also showed off the family's accoutrements of entertaining in middle-class taste. The design of the cabinets and shelves for these china cabinets were so important that Beman provided drawings (Figure 4.30).

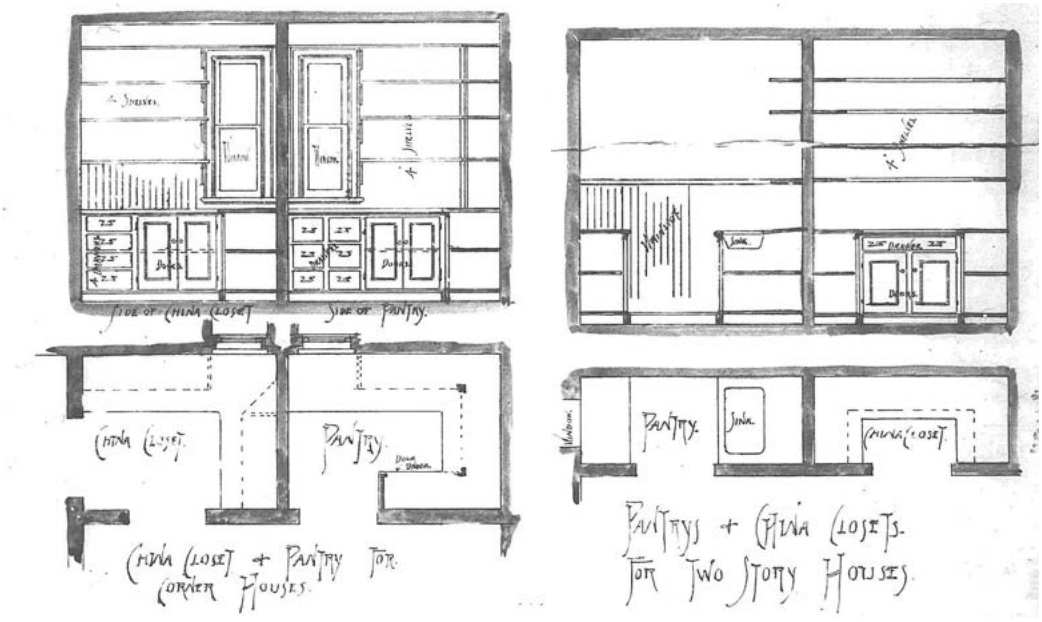


Figure 4.29. Elevations and plans for china closets and pantries in the 3-story or "Corner House" (left) and the two-story (right) in Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #79, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[458] Daniel E Sutherland, *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); David M Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Interestingly, the Pullman of the middle-class house lacked some features common in similar homes elsewhere. No back stair existed in this plan, meaning that the servant could not access her bedroom without sharing the front stairs with family and guests. Likewise, many houses featured a basement toilet, often reserved for the domestic worker. The drawings show no basement toilet, meaning the cook or servant had to share the three-piece bathroom with the family at all times. Examining extant examples of these house types could shed important light on how nineteenth-century Pullman residents handled what would have been an architectural and cultural dilemma.

Other types of housing in Pullman extended the hierarchy of housing at both ends of the spectrum. Houses even larger than the end-of-the-row single house existed on 111th Street facing the factory. Likewise, even smaller frame tenements with more rudimentary amenities housed workers on the perimeter of Pullman. An 1885 publication indicates that Pullman intended to stratify the population further by encouraging the town's wealthiest—described with true nineteenth-century bias as "the right class of people"—to move out and build their own independent properties on a hill. This "beautiful suburban village" does not seem to have been created but the plan for successful businessmen to separate themselves collectively on higher topography in fashionable single-family houses that they owned outright is fully in keeping with trends among industrial companies.[459] Further research to uncover the nuances of architectural and policy differences, as well as residents' responses to it, could add important factors to interpretations of life for workers in Pullman.

[459] "The Arcadian City of Pullman," 86. For more on this trend to suburbanize industrial company towns see Sarah Fayen Scarlett, "Everyone's an Outsider: Architecture, Landscape, and Class in Michigan's Copper Country" (University of Wisconsin, 2014).

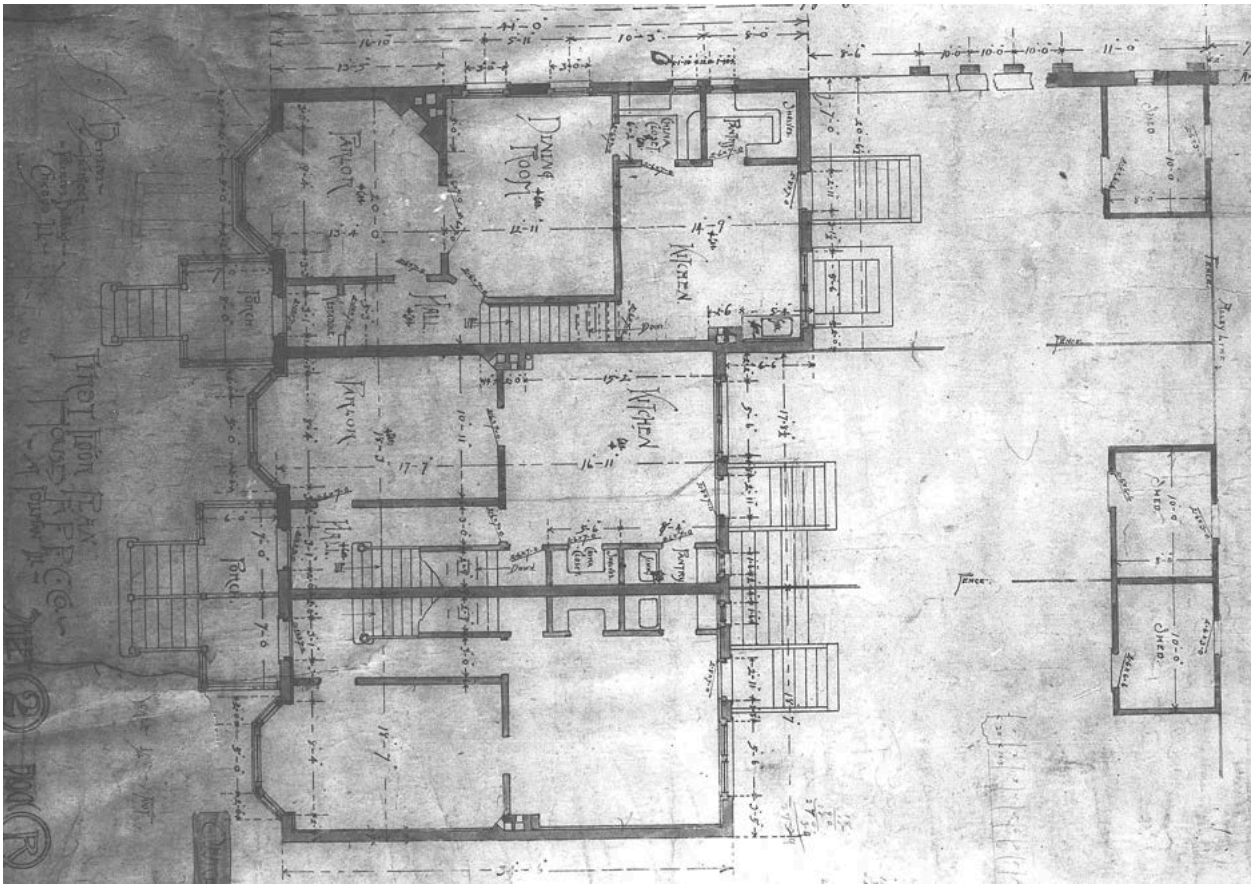


Figure 4.30. Note the sheds at the rear of each lot. Detail of First Floor plans and site plan Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #71, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

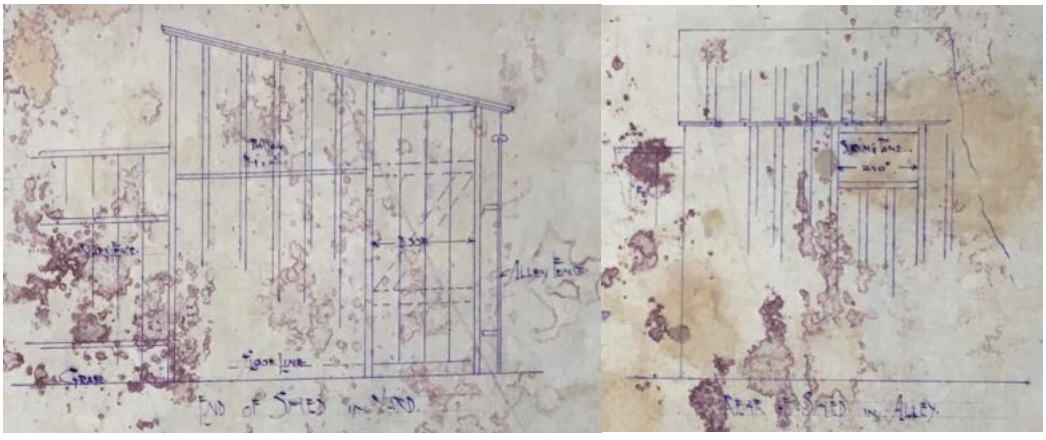


Figure 4.31. Details of construction drawings for sheds in Block R. S. S. Beman, "Houses at Pullman, PPCo," frame #48, Microfilm Roll 39, Burnham and Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

4.E.3 Construction and Moving In

Design and construction of Pullman proceeded very quickly and strategically. The efficiencies taken to build at such scale make the construction of Pullman a ground-breaking moment in the development of architectural mass-production. The speed with which a fully integrated town appeared on the seemingly-empty prairies attracted considerable attention from the media and Chicagoans themselves.

Pullman wanted the factory to begin operation by spring 1881, so surveying for the shops and town began in April 1880. Pullman wanted the construction to show off to critics the best parts of the town first.[460] Accordingly, the Allen Paper Wheel factory and industrial shops received first attention, being ready to receive engines and machinery by October 1880 and ready for production in March 1881. The first non-industrial building constructed was the Hotel Florence, begun in the fall and completed in September 1881. November 1880 saw the first work beginning on the houses. The first resident to move in arrived in January 1881, a foreman whose type of managers' house had been prioritized over workers' housing in part to demonstrate the designs to the media. By November 1881, the town housed over 1,700 people and the factories were up and running. The speed of the town's appearance led Henry Demarest Lloyd to write in *Harper's Weekly* "The town is advertising itself and everything connected with it. Its short but remarkable history is becoming a household word. It is famous though not yet finished."[461]

[460] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 51-52.

[461] As cited in Buder, Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930, 55.

Figure 4.32. "Fulton Street, Looking North," undated, photograph 1.49. Historic Pullman Collection, Chicago Public Library.

To achieve this incredibly fast construction, the company poured resources into the building effort and hired an enormous number of people. Every week in the summer and fall of 1880, over 100 freight cars unloaded building supplies at the site, and the number of cars grew in the following year. It built temporary quarters for the architect's staff and construction workers, as well as a mess hall to feed them. The company hired over 2,000 men and kept a special "Construction Accounts" ledger.[462] In that ledger, Pullman's accountants broke down the construction workers on payroll into categories: carpenters; tinners (who worked on roofing and gutters); masons; painters; engineers; and professional staff working under Beman. After 1882 they kept a separate category for draughtsmen working under Irving K. Pond, a draughtsman for Beman who wrote a remembrance of building the Town of Pullman in 1934, which remains among the best resources for understanding the construction process.

The ledgers recording these categorized payrolls do not name individual workers, but they do provide great insight into the company's building activities. The most expensive group of workmen was the carpenters, probably due to the sheer number of men needed to frame up the houses. The exact wages paid the workmen are unclear. Stanley Buder, in his classic history of Pullman, wrote that the workers were paid at graduated rates, with unskilled laborers receiving $1 per day and skilled workers, such as masons and carpenters, receiving between $2.50 and $3.50 per day. These wages seem somewhat low.[463] Other records suggest that wages for unskilled workers even during the 1879 depression were $9 per week (or $1.50 per day).[464] It is possible that the wages Buder cited included room and/or board on site. Irving Pond's generally glowing remembrance of the construction period claimed wages and salaries were "as high as on similar work in the Chicago area."[465] More research in the company records could offer better comparisons about how workers were paid. For example, the payroll expenses could

---

[462] Construction Accounts, Monthly, 1882–1886, Town of Pullman Records, Manufacturing Department, Pullman Company Records, Newberry Library, 07/00/04/box 1/vol 1. A note in the front of this volume notes that the construction records for 1880–1882 were kept in a "Supplement to Journal 'A'" under the title "Construction of Chicago Works," before the Town of Pullman had a name. This journal exists in an unknown subseries.

[463] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 53. Buder does not specify the source of those wage numbers. His University of Chicago dissertation, upon which the book was based, may contain more specifics. Further research in the company records at the Newberry Library would likely shed more light on the wage structure.

[464] Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago, Volume Iii: The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 240. As cited in Ann Durkin Keating, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of a Divided Metropolis* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 133.

[465] Irving K. Pond, "Pullman—American's First Planned Industrial Town. By a Collaborator and Eyewitness," *Illinois Society of Architects Monthly Bulletin* 18-19, no. 12-1 (1934).

be tallied up to generate month-by-month costs or comparative information for construction projects happening in Chicago at the same time.

The construction records also provide considerable insight into the contractors who contributed to building Pullman. In addition to the company's own masons and tinners, records indicate that the company often hired additional experts for tuckpointing, slate roofing, brick painting, setting chimneys, and cut stone. The frequently hired contractors could be researched and connected to other construction projects in the period (John O'Hara for tuckpointing, and Toby & Smith for plastering, to name a few). Extra painters were hired as well. One "Scenic Painter" who appears frequently is Hughson Hawley, who went on to become a well-known architectural renderer and illustrator in New York City.[466] He came to Pullman from New York's Madison Square Theatre to design the interior decoration and backdrop of the auditorium.[467] He may have also begun creating artistic renderings of the town as he appears in a photographic portrait in 1883 with Beman and Barrett. Researching other individuals and companies listed among these contractors would likely reveal unknown relationships between Beman, Barrett, Williams, and other project personnel with networks of workmen and artisans within Chicago and beyond that could shed light on the social, ethnic, class, and geographic ties that helped build the town. The construction ledgers do not seem to include the workers under Williams who laid sewer and water pipe. As the plumbing profession was just coming into its own around 1880, learning more about Williams's labor force and suppliers would be illuminating.[468] The ledgers do reveal that Beman earned $400 per month at the height of construction in 1882, while Barrett was paid on an hourly basis from his office in New York.[469]

The people who constructed the Town of Pullman probably reflected the general ethnic and class make-up of Chicago at large at the time. Buder claimed that many of the workers were Irish but no systematic study has been done. A systematic survey of the laborers listed in employee records could produce statistics about worker ethnicity, percentage of foreign-born workers, age, and also work history.[470] Buder claims that many construction workers found long-term employment with the company after the town was completed, a pattern of hiring that could be examined with further comparison with company employee records. Such analysis could also map the few hundred workers who came from neighboring towns, which all saw a considerable boost in business and residency as Pullman sprung up. Most

---

[466] Tom Fletcher, "Hughson Hawley," https://nyc-architecture.com/ARCH/ARCH-HughsonHawley.htm.

[467] An extensive description of the decorative interior of the theater appears in "The Arcadian City of Pullman.", 81–82 Additional description appears in Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries*.

[468] Keating, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of a Divided Metropolis*, 54-60.

[469] Ledgers p.25 and 60.

[470] Employee Records at the South Suburban Genealogical Society would be the best resource for this kind of study.

workers, however, took the train to the site from Chicago. The Illinois Central ran "Pullman Specials" for the construction crew offering commuter tickets at reduced rates.[471]

Period commentary celebrated Pullman's practical efficiencies in construction and materials. Much of the work was performed by company employees, already experts in carving, painting, and molding work. Brick was made with clay dredged from the Calumet River, which also helped to ensure navigability of that waterway.[472] Stanley Buder suggested that wood was purchased at wholesale prices and green to be dried on site. The company did build a dry kiln so all its lumber going into the Palace Cars could be dried on site, although the quickly-ballooning Chicago lumberyards tended to sell much of their product un-dried so this factor may not have added efficiency in building Pullman per se.[473] Company carpenters then built standardized window sash and other details in bulk to be installed in the buildings as needed.[474] Construction proceeded very fast and work occurred six days a week for eleven hours each day. Pond remembered that construction proceeded so fast that the designers could barely stay ahead of the builders, and in some cases brought full-scale drawings to the construction site. Further investigation into the construction accounts could reveal more details about how Pullman, his architects, and his foremen tried to maximize efficiency with materials and labor.

The process of design and construction seemed to evolve on the ground at the town site. Pond remembers that Beman commanded the design and construction team, except in the area of the car shops. The architects started off in offices in the city but quickly moved to a temporary structure on the site and then to the second floor of the Administration Building tower, which no doubt aided in communication with the construction crews. Pond's memory that everyone operated under "broad co-operation" with "petty jealousies" developing between departments only "now and then" allows us only to imagine potential conflicts. Given the time pressure under which they were working, conflicts seem inevitable. Pond, who gives the only real description of the construction site, painted a picture of manic cooperation in which the designers were barely ahead of the builders (and in some cases behind them, creating measured drawings from already completed buildings). Drawings were created on demand over sleepless nights, engineering decisions were made as needed, and communication happened on site.

While Beman submitted design drawings in advance, which were approved by Pullman, some of the design decisions had to be made at the last minute and during construction. Several of Beman's drawings show features crossed out and altered, suggesting updates made after the original design.[475] Pond provided evocative descriptions of designing some of the ornament in concert with the materials

---

[471] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 52-53.

[472] Pond, "Pullman—American's First Planned Industrial Town. By a Collaborator and Eyewitness," 7; "The Arcadian City of Pullman.", 86

[473] "The Arcadian City of Pullman.", 73; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 148-206.

[474] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 52.

[475] See for instance the crossed out front porch and altered window dimensions in "Rear Elevation, Flats in Block 6, South Section, East Side," frame 85, Reel 39, Art Institute.

and artisans on site. He remembered being on the scaffolding himself with the masons working out the brick bond and how to lay them out to create ornament.[476] He enjoyed designing ornament once the building was already underway because "one came to feel form as it grew under [one's] hands and feel it in relation to the wall or pier of which it was a constituent part."[477] This kind of organic design process certainly arose out of necessity but in his later years Pond perhaps romanticized building Pullman as an exercise in the "use of simple materials close at hand."[478] More research might reveal other dilemmas in engineering or design that were tackled at the last minute. Some examples of the collaboration between Beman and George Pullman might survive in their correspondence record, which could help complicate the narrative often included in the period commentary that Pullman himself was the "mastermind… that direct[ed] and determin[ed] every detail" of the town's design and construction.[479] Important evidence of the construction period may also be available archaeologically.

Figure 4.33. View from the Arcade Building, c. 1883. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Looking East from Arcade Building" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-30. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11758

[476] Pond, "Pullman—American's First Planned Industrial Town. By a Collaborator and Eyewitness," 6.

[477] *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu* (Oak Park, IL: Hyoogen Press, 2009), 87.

[478] "Pullman—American's First Planned Industrial Town. By a Collaborator and Eyewitness," 6.

[479] "The Arcadian City of Pullman," 87.

4.E.4 Additional Housing

By fall 1882, the company decided to build houses on the north side of the central factory because demand had outgrown capacity in the original town plan. The new housing was built in two parts: in Blocks 27, 30, and 37 near the Union Foundry (between E 106th and E 103rd Streets between today's Maryland and Corliss Avenues) and in Blocks 20, 21, and 22 near the Allen Paper Wheel company (between 106th and 108th Streets).[480] These two areas of new housing contained several hundred houses designed by Beman and operated in the same manner as the original houses south of the factory. As described in an 1885 article, the foundry spawned so much housing that it "has almost founded a second city."[481]

[480] Buder, "The Model Town of Pullman: Town Planning and Social Control in the Gilded Age," 70.

[481] "The Arcadian City of Pullman.", 76

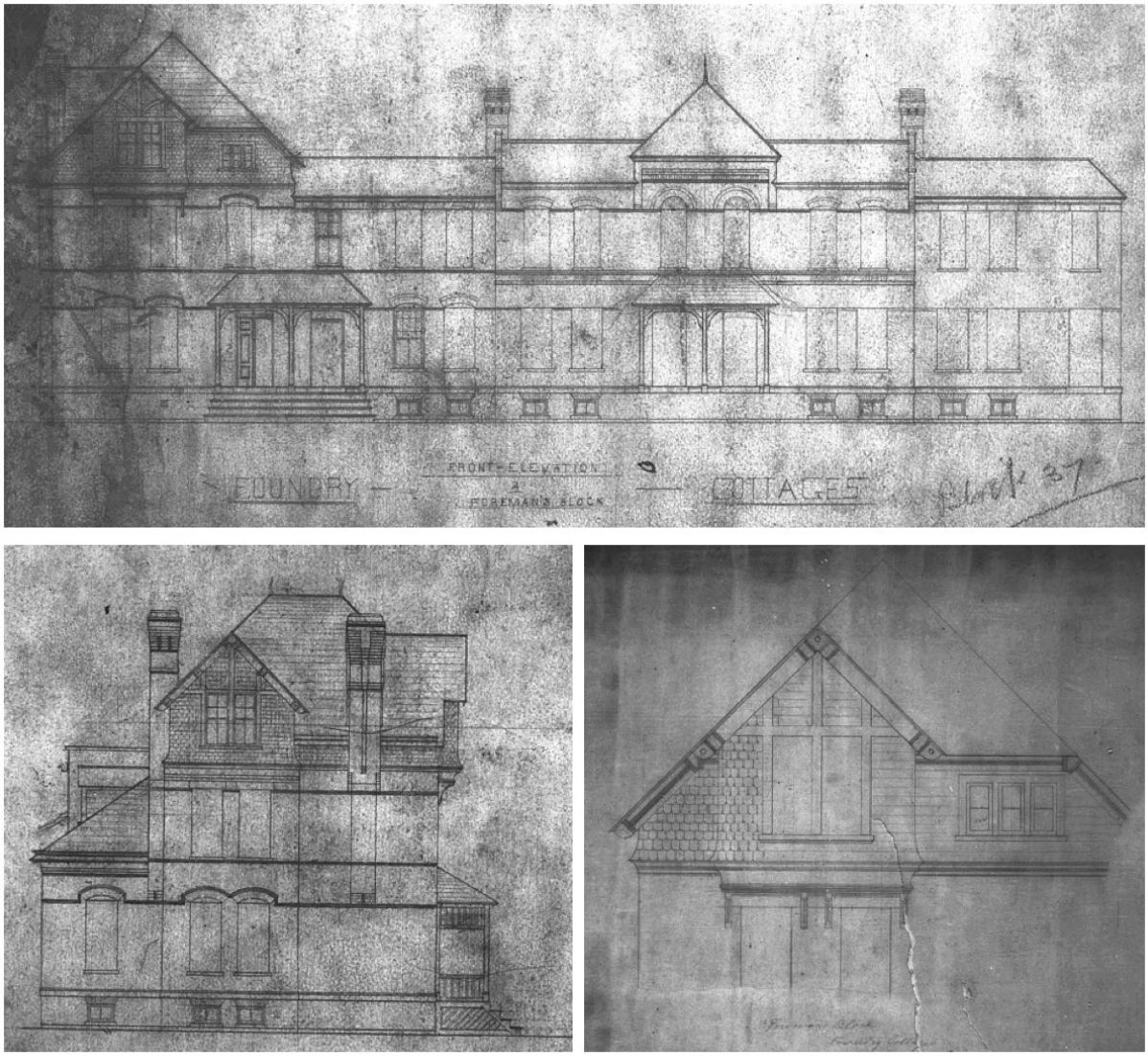


Figure 4.34. Foundry Cottages, Foreman's Block, Block 37. Front Elevation (top), Side Elevation (bottom left), and gable details (bottom right). Frames #114 and #115, Reel 39, Art Institute of Chicago.

As in Beman's original designs, the housing differentiated managers from workers. Only a handful of Beman's drawings of houses built in northern Pullman survive, and they only depict elevations for the "Foreman's Block" in Block 37, which now is filled by the Corliss High School on the north side of E 104th Street.[482] The foremen's houses, two-story houses with three-story versions on the ends of the row, feature more Queen Anne Style shingling and massing of multiple gables than in other areas.

The more modest units in northern Pullman, for which none of Beman's drawings survive, seem to follow most of the same patterns as the units designed south of the factory. The Rascher Map for 1892

[482] "Foundry Cottages, Foremen's Block," Frames 114, 115, 116, Reel 39.

shows that the units near the foundry closely resemble the rows constructed in southern Pullman complete with wooden sheds and variable façade setbacks. Beman also designed a new three-story tenement on the ends of Block 27 on 106th and 105th streets. The Rascher Map also indicates that residents in the northwest end of Block 27 had transformed the houses into several stores and a school, countering Buder's claim that residents in northern Pullman had to walk all the way to the Arcade to shop. This demonstrates some creative initiative on the part of the residents, and either some relinquishing of the original plan on the company's part or clandestine retail activity discovered by the cartographers.

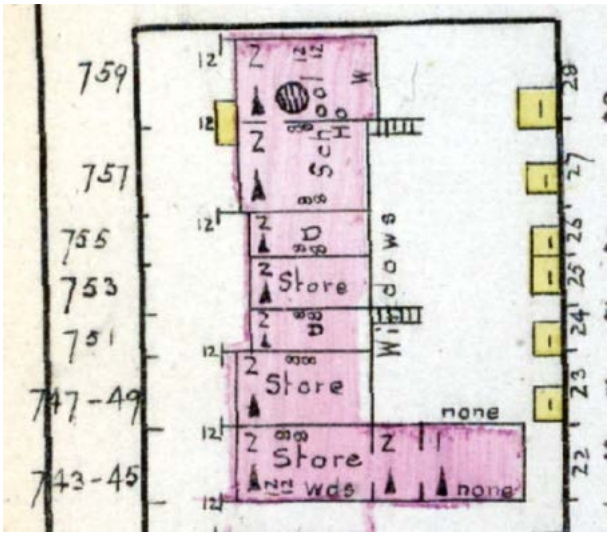


Figure 4.35. The northwest end of block 27 at 105th Street had stores and a school by 1892 to bring more convenience to these northern residents. 1892 Rascher Map.

The houses constructed near the Allen Paper Wheel company, however, were smaller than many others. The Rascher Map clearly shows that Fulton Street in Block 22 had 32 units whereas the same-sized block face on Ericksson Street in Block 30 near the foundry only had 26. None of Beman's drawings for these houses survive so architectural investigation of the extant structures is needed to compare the original floor plans. Another factor that indicates lower status of these housing units is their orientation to the street and each other. These houses are set back much less from the street than most others in Pullman. While this afforded them very large back yards, it removed the gracious front yard. Likewise, the façades did not feature the same variable setbacks as in other parts of Pullman. In other words, the façades mostly lined up with one another, reducing the visual variation that so many commentators argued reduced the urban or industrial feel of Pullman's residences. Many of the houses, however, appear to have repeated designs from Beman's Pullman repertoire. For instance, the southern half of North Champlain Ave (originally Stephenson) features the same two-story flats with mansard roof as were built on the southern ends of Block 15 and 16 in the original part of southern Pullman. All further research about housing types and lived experience in Pullman's domestic landscapes need to focus on these northern Pullman houses designed in 1882, in order to understand them as part of the Pullman Company's overall corporate endeavor.

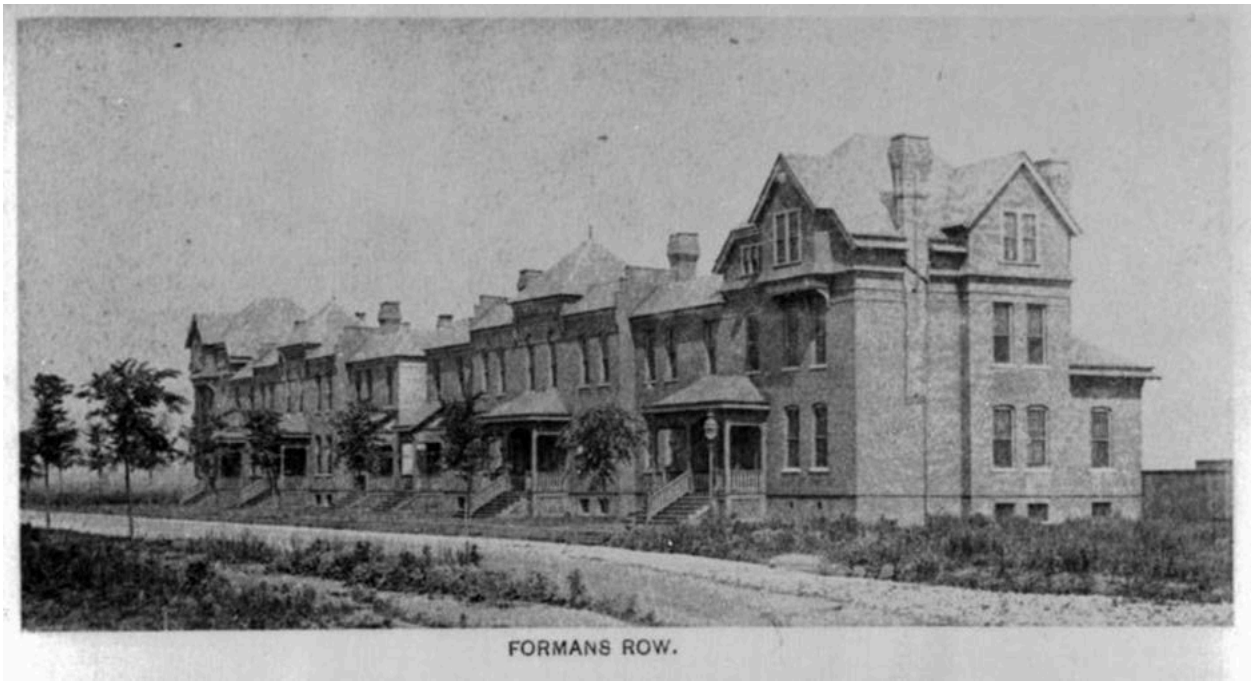


Figure 4.36. "Formans Row." [sic] early 1880s, PHSH, 12885: PFP.04.07.09.01, Paul Petraitis Collection. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Foreman's Row" The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-30. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=17166

4.E.5 Renting and Living in Pullman

The experience of moving into Pullman and renting from the company could be further investigated in the company records. Studies of power relationships in other company towns often find that companies wielded power in the ways they distributed housing, chose who got to live where, and responded to requests for maintenance or relocation.[483] Some instances of this are known, for instance Buder's chapter 7 investigated which Pullman employees moved the fastest to purchase their own houses. Also, he noted that the company favored employees in firing decisions who rented in the town. More investigation along these lines should be done especially with a spatial component to see whether different ethnicities, classes, professional skills, or religious identities tended to live together or not.

Further studies of this kind could be pursued at Pullman in company records by learning more about the decision-making process and the rental records. The company ledger for the Town of Pullman covering 1880–1885 features pages labeled "Rentals," which record cash going into various accounts by date but give no information connected to specific rented buildings or tenants. Likewise, the section on "Repairs to Buildings" could offer an opportunity to find seasonal patterns in repair work, or the parts of town

[483] Hoagland, *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country*.

that saw the most repairs needed or performed.[484] These might help illuminate ways that the company controlled the experience of its early residents.

Likewise, some records could help historians understand how residents negotiated their needs in this unusual town. The 1885 article *The Arcadian Town of Pullman* noted that only 10% of people chose to use gas as heat, despite it being available. A closer study of adoption of new utility types and amenities could help us understand the choices in daily life for Pullman residents.

Figure 4.37. Champlain Avenue. Undated photograph. Pullman State Historical Site. The Pullman State Historic Site. Collection: Pullman State Historic Site. Pullman Factory Workers Walking on Champlain Ave." The Pullman State Historic Site Collections. Accessed 2019-08-30. http://www.pullman-museum.org/pshs/pshsFullRecord.php?collection=pshs&pointer=11909

4.E.6 Transition to Private Property

In 1898, in the year after George Pullman died, the Illinois Attorney General sued the Pullman company arguing that its charter provided only for the manufacture of train cars and that running the town, which involved operations in real estate, gas, water, heating, brickmaking, and maintenance, put the company in violation. In other words, the judge ruled that the separate Pullman Land Association did not insulate

[484] "Town of Pullman 1880–1885," 03/02/03 Shelf 28 Ledger 308, Pullman Company collection, Newberry Library.

these operations enough. After appeals through the circuit courts, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled in October that the company was indeed defying its charter by operating the town. The court gave the company five years to divest itself. In 1903 the company was granted a five-year extension and the town finally sold off largely in 1907.

The process by which the company divested itself of the town deserves significant research. One of the only accounts comes off-hand from Graham Taylor in 1915 who suggested that many Pullman tenants bought the houses they occupied. The rates, he suggested were reasonable: prices set at one hundred times monthly rent payable in monthly installments "scarcely larger than rent." Understanding the relative profits for the company of these sales, which went through the Pullman Land Association, would be important to study, as would the distribution, both spatially and ethnically, of the employees who chose or were able to buy. [485]

Interestingly, Taylor also indicates Pullman associates who bought parts of the town themselves. Mrs. Pullman bought the Arcade "to retain some remnant of the cherished project of her husband." Their daughter Florence, now Mrs. Frank O. Lowden, purchased some of the tenements because they were "unsuitable" (presumably too expensive) for sale to their tenants. Interestingly, she allowed the same "house boss" to remain in charge of overseeing maintenance and rent collection, suggesting that the experience of company oversight changed very little for the inhabitants.

Likewise, the Pullman Land Association bought some of the smallest housing units, including many of the northern Pullman units built near the Allen Paper Wheel factory, to operate as rentals, as indicated in the map in Figure 4.38. This retention may reflect the tenants' financial inability to buy units at that time, but it also suggests that the company associates continued to profit from some of the town real estate. New research could better illuminate how the courts allowed this arrangement to stand, since it meant very little change from the period of company ownership. Further, when did the Land Association eventually offer those houses for sale? Such an investigation could start in the company records. The Land Association created several maps and atlases in the 1900s presumably to facilitate sales. The records of the sales have not been located in the company records at the Newberry Library or elsewhere, but they may survive. Short of locating these, deed searches for Pullman town properties could be performed by systematic sample to discover comparative trends in the dates, prices, and buyers of houses in different parts of town. The company performed a Property Evaluation in the 1890s to which sales prices in 1907 might be fruitfully compared.[486]

---

[485] Records of the Pullman Land Association exist in several places in the company records at the Newberry Library. Some that may include records of sales include "Pullman Land Association" records in the Robert Todd Lincoln presidential papers, 01/01/02 Box 1, folders 4–14; "Pullman Land Association Notes 1897" in the A. S. Weinsheimer files, 02/01/03, Box1, Folder 13a; "Property Contracts – Pullman Land Association and Jerry Cenosky, 1915," in 02/01/06, Box 91, Folder 594.

[486] "Pullman Land Association Property Evaluation 1891," Office of the President Robert T. Lincoln, 01/01/02 Box 1, Folder 7, Pullman Company Collection, Newberry Library. The first evaluation in this folder is dated 1891, but the second appears to have valuations from 1899, and this last document contains the town buildings.

Figure 4.38. "Map of the Lands of the Pullman Land Association and of The Pullman Company," 1905, revised 1907, Town Repair Department, Pullman Company. Pullman Company Records, Newberry Library. Red indicated land to be sold; Pink indicated land to be kept for company purposes; Blue indicated land already sold; Green and Yellow indicated land under lease to the Pullman Land Association, and Gray land to be leased. Note that the smallest northern Pullman housing units originally built near the Allen Paper Wheel factory were retained by the company.

4.F Interpreting Pullman's Model Town

4.F.1 Reception

The building and completion of the Town of Pullman received a lot of favorable press. Among the first publications to highlight the project was *Builder and Wood-Worker* magazine, for which Beman was a former contributor. Appropriately, it focused quite a bit on the design and construction. "It is comparatively an easy matter to make a handsome city on paper—but it is quite another matter to realize it in brick and mortar. Hence it is no exaggeration to pronounce the work now visible at Pullman something akin to an inspiration."[487] But even this professional trade journal included overly-ambitious claims that the town was solving the primary problem of the industrial age: "The City of Pullman

[487] "A Model Manufacturing City," *Scientific American* 45, no. 4 (1881).

represents an almost ideal solution of the conflict between capital and labor." An article called "A Model Manufacturing City," which appeared first in *Railway Age* and was reprinted in multiple magazines including *Scientific American*, described Pullman as "an exemplification of practical philanthropy based upon business sagacity."[488] The town, many hoped, would elevate the condition of wage-workers with beauty, cleanliness, and physical order. Curiously, Pullman may have outdone even the European utopianists, for when the Duke of Sutherland visited America in early 1881, he visited Pullman, expressed "himself highly pleased with the arrangement and construction of the workmen's dwellings, and was furnished with a plan of the buildings, with the view of erecting similar cottages for his workmen in the North."[489] A few dozen articles along these lines appeared in the early 1880s mixing a sense of wonder at the town's scale and optimism in its endeavor.[490]

The first critical commentary appeared in 1885 from Richard T. Ely in *Harper's Magazine*.[491] Ely embedded himself in the town to report on the degree to which this experiment was creating a "social fabric" that offered working people opportunities, protection, and also the democratic freedoms of American citizens.

On the one hand, Ely found much to praise. Beman had successfully designed both a pleasing unity and convincing variety. The amenities, such as school, shopping arcade, library, and theater, all created efficient walking routes and adequate access to needs, Ely argued. The rents were deemed fair and the profitability for the PPCC a whopping success. The combination of economic gain with philanthropy seemed among the factors most remarkable to Ely. One of his vignettes indicated ways that the company was spreading its idea of the "commercial value of beauty" by teaching modern consumer behavior to its poorest residents. The company apparently offered wallpaper at wholesale prices with free installation to residents. Ely was told that their excitement at being able to exercise their own choice in pattern and color "led the people to value what they had acquired."[492]

However, Ely also cautioned his readers against Pullman's overwhelming centralization of power and the lack of personal liberty and individual recourse. Calling Pullman's society both a "monopoly" and "feudalism," Ely argued that the company's overwhelming power far outshone that of Chancellor Bismarck in Germany. "Whether the power be exercised rightfully or wrongfully, it is there all the same, and every man, woman, and child in the town is completely at its mercy, and it can be avoided only by

---

[488] Ibid.

[489] "Local Notes," *Inverness Courier*, July 19 1881.

[490] See for instance "Founding a City."; "The Town of 'Pullman'."; "The Arcadian City of Pullman." The scrapbooks of newspaper clippings kept by the company would yield dozens of additional articles from local, national, and international venues. Scrapbooks are in the Newberry Library, which have made them available online: http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/nby_pullman

[491] Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study."

[492] Ibid., 463.

emigration."[493] Surveillance and restriction were felt keenly by residents, Ely argued. Whatever benefits Ely found in Pullman were far outweighed in his opinion by its concentration of power in the company which he ultimately deemed "un-American."[494] "[T]he history of the world has long ago demonstrated that no class of men are fit to be intrusted [*sic*] with unlimited power."[495]

In addition to the problems of centralized authority, Ely also strongly criticized the lack of democratic processes. Residents, Ely found, had few options of exercising their rights as citizens to speak freely and organize. No newspaper served the town. No public mechanism existed for residents to express their opinions, as any complaints would have to go through Pullman officials, potentially risking employment. Ely found that women seeking to found charity organizations and mutual assurance programs were actively discouraged. Too few church buildings left neglected the religious well-being of the town's 8,000 residents. He admitted that Pullman was still in its "infancy" and suggested that "some co-operative features might be added" to build in democratic governance and reduce the feeling of being in what he cleverly called a "gilded cage."[496] Despite his urging leaders not to copy Pullman's anti-democratic set-up, his article still seemed optimistic. It seemed a cautionary tale for this rapidly industrializing nation. Within ten years, however, the problems Ely foresaw indeed contributed to Pullman's downfall.

In the 1910s, Pullman became a major subject of Graham Romeyn Taylor's Satellite Cities studies. Approximately thirty years after its founding and twenty years after the strike, Taylor saw the town of Pullman as essentially functional but with an air of "faded glory." He summed up the Pullman story as an example of the "failure to reckon with the human element" of industrial production. "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." He argued, however, that what may have seemed like an impasse actually signaled the triumph of political action toward an American common good.[497]

4.F.2 Vernacular Architecture and the Interpretation of Space over Time

In addition to the company records and period documents, the physical fabric of the Town of Pullman constitutes a major body of primary evidence for interpreting social life. The surviving town buildings—of which there are over 1,000—provide valuable non-written material culture that could shed light on many of the questions about the design and construction process, and the effects of aesthetics and domestic landscape on everyday life.

The built environment, however, can also provide incredibly valuable evidence about the Town of Pullman in the years after initial construction and occupation. While so much was published and

---

[493] Ibid., 463-64.

[494] Ibid., 465.

[495] Ibid.

[496] Ibid., 465, 66.

[497] Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, 67.

recorded about the town's construction, less is known about the years after company divestment in 1907 and before historic preservation began in the 1960s. In those intervening years, thousands of families called Pullman home and leveraged the high-quality housing and layout to accommodate changing needs. The meanings of this place for these families is less researched and less recorded in historical narratives, but no less important for the successful interpretation of Pullman today.

To help access these meanings, the methodological approach of Vernacular Architecture studies provides a useful framework. This approach, often described as historical archaeology for standing buildings, can illuminate patterns of social habit and architectural change to reveal the lives and ideas of twentieth-century residents.[498] Pullman, in fact, offers a very rich opportunity for studying architectural change over time as the similarity of buildings will make changes easy to see and record. Relevant changes could be stylistic, like modernist and colonial revival door surrounds added to flats on Champlain Avenue to update the homes to early twentieth-century fashions. Other exterior changes were practical, like enclosing front porches and adding on to the back to add living and storage space to accommodate changing families and expectations of more square footage.

Figure 4.39. Colonial Revival-style door surround added to 11211–13 Champlain Avenue. Photo S. Scarlett.

[498] Thomas Carter and Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2005).

Figure 4.40. Moderne-style door surround added to 11233 Champlain Avenue. Photo S. Scarlett.

A good number of Pullman residents altered their houses to accommodate growing and needed retail and service operations. One extant building that could help illuminate these kinds of changes stands at 11260 South Champlain Ave, where a corner store was added to a two-and-a-half story house at the end of a row of flats. Studying this building and others like it could add valuable on-the-ground architectural record of the choices people made in the face of changing social and cultural needs. Combined with building permits, tax records, deed records, census and directory data, and any other available community data, houses like this could help tell the story of early twentieth-century Pullman residents.

Figure 4.41. 11260 S. Champlain Ave (formerly Watt Ave) had a retail store added to the front and photographed c. 1925. It still stands today as valuable architectural evidence of early twentieth-century life. Google Street View, accessed 9 August 2019.

Systematic research of interior changes could add significantly to our understanding of how these houses worked for Pullman residents in the twentieth century. Many of the small flats were combined to create larger two-story apartments. Some single houses were combined to create very large houses. The three-story apartment building now known as the Historic Pullman Center was altered after company divestment to serve as a Masonic Hall, a change that indicates how quickly residents were eager to transform their town to match their own needs and desires.

Additional surveys could address the use of the yard and changing outbuildings. Many of the original houses featured small sheds in the rear alleys designated for storage of coal and wood. No surviving 1880s sheds are known. Garages began to appear in the 1930s, many of which have since been replaced with larger more modern examples. Changing garages constitute perhaps the most prolific structural changes in the Pullman neighborhood overall. The story of updating residential space to accommodate automobile transportation now has several chapters, as it were. The first garages in the alleys replaced the fuel storage sheds, which themselves were made outdated by central heating. The story of accommodating technological change can be read in the back alleys as well as in the Pullman shops.

4.F.3 Aesthetics and Everyday Experience

The design of buildings in Pullman attracted attention at the time of its founding and certainly plays a part in the town's late twentieth-century gentrification. While many resources exist for contextualizing architect Beman's work in his career trajectory and American architecture broadly, fewer exist for analyzing the role of aesthetics in the experiences of Pullman workers, and in the neighborhood's cyclical popularity in real estate over the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. This line of interpretation, however, has the potential to animate the experiences of visitors to the site, and engage with current scholarship in embodiment and everyday experience.

The best consideration of aesthetics in Pullman so far has been done by Thomas Schlereth and Amanda Rees. Schlereth argues convincingly for the English influence (especially from Saltaire) in Pullman's decision to create an aesthetically cohesive town.[499] In her comparison of architectural and landscape styles in Pullman and Port Sunlight in England, Rees argues that several considerations made Pullman's use of aesthetics remarkable for the time period. Beman and Barrett both used Pullman as an experimental "sandbox" for working out their burgeoning engagement with the Beaux Arts, which they both fulfilled a few years later in Chicago's White City and in their later careers.[500] More importantly, Rees argues that the "total design" consistency in Pullman made a big difference in the way people experienced the town, both positively and negatively.

---

[499] Schlereth, "Solon Spencer Beman, Pullman, and the European Influence on and Interest in His Chicago Architecture."

[500] Amanda Rees, "Nineteenth-Century Planned Industrial Communities and the Role of Aesthetics in Spatial Practices: The Visual Ideologies of Pullman and Port Sunlight," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 29, no. 2 (2012): 195.

For the company, the aesthetic consistency strengthened the Pullman brand and played a vital role in its programs of social control. First, a visually consistent and fashionable town matched the Pullman Palace Cars themselves, which sold a consistent and reliable level of comfort and fashion for travelers across the country. The Pullman Palace Cars were recognized largely because they concealed the railroad machinery "leaving only the beauty at the fore."[501] Likewise, Pullman's town in some ways concealed the "machinery" of the industrial system in a middle-class definition of beauty. The town and the train cars also bore similarity because they both used materials and fashion to openly designate hierarchical spaces. The town separated public amenities, managers' houses, houses for skilled labor, houses for unskilled workers etc., which bolstered the hierarchy that Pullman cars created among passengers and workers in train travel, between luxury passengers, ordinary passengers, and the working porters.

Second, a consistent aesthetic ensured the kind of social control desired by the company in laying out the town. Environmental determinism, or the idea that a person's surroundings can shape their actions, underlies paternalist town planning. Pullman's aesthetics had strong moralistic meanings for its designers and period commentators. Charles Dudley Warner's comments in *Harper's Magazine* in 1888 capture the moralistic faith in environmental determinism:

> [B]oth the health and *morale* of the town are exceptional, and the moral tone of the workmen has constantly improved under the agreeable surroundings. Those who prefer the kind of independence that gives them filthy homes and demoralizing associations seem to like to live elsewhere.[502]

For Pullman himself, and those working with him, creating a "beautiful" and "agreeable" environment would create agreeable workers. Their reliance on "aesthetic moralism," the belief that one aesthetic is better than another, normalized middle-class fashions and excluded alternative tastes.

For workers, the aesthetics of town affected their feelings about the company and job performance, but not always in the ways Pullman had hoped. Rees argues that the cheapest housing in town, intended for the less skilled workers, had few aesthetic considerations. The tenement-style buildings differed little from the multi-units available in other cities and towns throughout the industrializing US. This failure to aesthetically reimagine the housing for the poorest workers, as Pullman had done for everyone else in town, contributed to heightened class tension. Workers felt excluded from the middle-class lifestyle built all around them. Just as they lacked leisure time to enjoy the pathways, parks, and stores heralded as perks of residency, their housing lacked the aesthetic attention of other structures and stood out from the otherwise cohesive whole.[503]

Indeed, commentators at the time of Pullman's construction recognized the discomfort caused among workers by the attention paid to Pullman's idea of "beauty." Historian Alan Trachtenberg highlights this mismatch in his analysis of socialist economist Richard T. Ely's 1885 commentary. Ely wrote that "It is

---

[501] As quoted in Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 11.

[502] As quoted in Rees, "Nineteenth-Century Planned Industrial Communities and the Role of Aesthetics in Spatial Practices: The Visual Ideologies of Pullman and Port Sunlight," 198.

[503] Ibid., 202–204.

avowedly part of the design of Pullman to surround laborers as far as possible with all the privileges of large wealth," and notes specifically the role of architectural features like French roofs and turrets in creating this effect.[504] Pullman's aesthetic, Trachtenberg wrote, "is alien to the daily lives" of Pullman's working people, and he cites Ely's final condemnation: "[Pullman] is benevolent, well-wishing feudalism, which desires the happiness of the people, but in such way as shall please the authorities."[505]

Pullman's appearance also pleased reformers rallying against what they saw as the evils of the city. Pullman intended specifically to spatially separate, at least nominally, people's houses from the noxious fumes and sounds of the factories to overcome general complaints about the unplanned nature of urban industrial arrangements. Almost all the period commentary remarked that Beman's use of color, variety, and small-scale housing contrasted favorably with what one commentator called the "painful, barrack-like uniformity" of urban streetscapes.[506] The moral judgement underlying this strain of commentary reveals the cultural value being placed on individuality and domesticity.

Future interpretive work could consider aesthetics in Pullman in the context of everyday experience for Chicagoans and for people arriving from other cities or countries. Models include the work of geographers James and Nancy Duncan, who meticulously isolate the way the "country" aesthetic of Bedford, New York has normalized upper-middle-class values over a century; Zachary Violette, who argues that urban tenement builders employed aesthetics differently whether they were residents of the community or outside reformers; William Littmann, who uses the experience of moving through industrial towns to interpret worker reactions to the aesthetics of planned communities; and Sarah Fayen Scarlett who compares the movement of workers and managers in industrial landscapes to map identity shifts.[507]

4.G Later American Comparative Examples

Historian of planned company towns Margaret Crawford argues that the Pullman Strike marked the end of one era in American company town planning and the beginning of another.[508] Never again did American companies seek to be both employer and landlord, as Pullman had famously described his endeavor. The Congressional Commission identified Pullman's refusal to lower rents even after lowering

---

[504] As quoted in Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, 224.

[505] Ibid.

[506] "The Arcadian City of Pullman.", 78

[507] James S Duncan and Nancy G Duncan, *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003); Zachary J. Violette, *The Decorated Tenement: How Immigrant Builders and Architects Transformed the Slum in the Gilded Age* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019); William Littmann, "Designing Obedience: The Architecture and Landscape of Welfare Capitalism, 1880–1930," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 53 (1998): 88-115; Sarah Fayen Scarlett, "Crossing the Milwaukee River: A Case Study in Mapping Mobility and Class Geographies.," in *Landscapes of Mobility: Culture, Politics, and Place-Making*, ed. Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Limited, 2013), 87-104.

[508] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 37-45.

wages as the immediate cause of the disastrous strike. Leaders of other companies for many years later openly stated their fears of repeating Pullman's mistakes. Even in 1915, in his influential book *Satellite Cities*, Graham Taylor pointed out companies controlling town development, "Time and again the paternalistic mistakes of Pullman were given as justification for a 'do-as-little-as-you-have-to" policy in shaping town conditions."[509]

The concept of a satellite city developed in the early twentieth century to explain towns that were spatially and governmentally independent of a major city, but which grew, specifically as a result of important manufacturing establishments, to become industrial suburbs *and* cities in their own right, inexorably linked to the central city. Recognizing that the pressures that forced industries out of the central cities had "civic consequences," a sociological and economic analysis of the phenomenon of these "made-to-order cities" just before WWI noted that for these cities, the "problem involved in the attempt to impose good government, which is the idea of so many, [had] so far has not worked out in our American communities."[510]

As early as 1893 it was recognized that as Chicago grew in size, the rail network and burgeoning manufacturing sector "stimulated the growth of an unusually large number of manufacturing towns as suburbs of Chicago," and Pullman stood out among them. As it was noted at the time, it had "become famous by reason of its having been built with a special view to providing workmen with comfortable homes, pleasant surroundings, and everything necessary for their convenience and social enjoyment."[511]

The new era of company towns, according to Crawford, did not abandon beliefs in environmental determinism, but rather transferred authority from a single company figurehead to professional urban planners at the start and to affiliated land holding companies to act as landlords in the long run.[512] Crawford points out that between 1905 and 1939 the number of company towns in the US multiplied more than fourfold. The primary difference between towns pre and post-Pullman was that the latter had been professionally designed with the lessons of Pullman in mind.[513]

4.G.1 Inspired by Pullman

Pullman inspired a few planned communities in the years immediately following its establishment. As early as 1883, the Proctor & Gamble Company outside of Cincinnati hired Beman to design a model

---

[509] As cited in Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy*, 113.

[510] Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, vii, ix, x.

[511] The Religious Herald, *Picturesque Chicago and Guide to the World's Fair*, 118.

[512] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 43-45.

[513] Ibid., 45.

town. The home of Ivory Soap, the town of Ivorydale was intended to include a large town like Pullman but only the factory and warehouse were built.[514]

Figure 4.42. Beman designed Ivorydale, Ohio for Proctor & Gamble starting in 1883.

Beman's work at Pullman also led him to design the first planned middle-class community in the Kensington-Hyde Park area. Eventually called Rosalie Villas, this neighborhood of small Queen Anne style houses was financed by a developer who intended to connect Jackson and Washington parks with the Midway Plaisance of Olmstead's Columbian Exposition design. Completed between 1884 and 1890, Rosalie Villas can be seen as Beman's attempt to bring some of the amenities he created at Pullman to middle-class Chicagoans.[515]

Hallidayboro in southern Illinois was conceived by William P. Halliday for a growing mining town (1890–1915). The wealthy industrialist was friends and business associates with Pullman, who had gifted Halliday his own Pullman Palace Car. He invested in a new town modeled on Pullman for employees at this mine, which had been sunk in 1884. Hallidayboro resembled Pullman in some important and flawed ways: it depended on a single industry and it established no form of democratic government. But in

[514] Pullman Company. Personnel Administration Dept. and Pullman's Palace Car Company, "Records, 1875-1976 (Bulk 1875-1970)," 178–79; Schlereth, "Solon Spencer Beman, Pullman, and the European Influence on and Interest in His Chicago Architecture."

[515] "Solon Spencer Beman, Pullman, and the European Influence on and Interest in His Chicago Architecture."

other ways it differed considerably. The mine was among the only ones that hired African Americans, so Hallidayboro included a considerable black community.[516]

4.G.2 Reacting to Pullman

Kohler, Wisconsin, a planned company town founded in 1900 four miles west of Sheboygan highlights twentieth-century lessons from nineteenth-century oversteps at Pullman. The Kohler family had developed a successful company making plumbing fixtures and enameled ware, new items in high demand with expanding domestic kitchens and bathrooms. Having moved to their site at the turn of the century, president Walter Kohler disliked the haphazard look of the houses his employees were building so he sought a more orderly solution. While a generation younger than Pullman, Kohler's approach and goals seemed quite similar. He took a trip to Europe to tour model industrial towns in Germany (his family's homeland) and England. He became quite taken with the English Garden City movement, which emphasized naturalistic surroundings both for agricultural production and psychological well-being. While he praised and adopted several tenets of Garden City design, Kohler specifically rejected any model that neared European feudalism with housing assigned from on high. He wanted his employees to purchase their own homes in the "American Way." This statement of course stands in conflict with Pullman's approach of fifty years earlier. In fact, Kohler's statement indicates the extent to which homeownership had captured the American imagination by the 1900s, and how rejected Pullman's approach had become. Kohler contracted Werner Hegemann who hired landscape architect Elbert Peets to create the town. It featured a greenbelt around the perimeter of the town, curving roads, and many designs for English country cottage designs.[517]

The Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company in Endicott, New York developed a community that eventually won considerable favor among its employees starting in 1900. The manufacturer built some new factories and at the same time laid out a street grid that is today much of Endicott. For the first decade, however, most employees still commuted on a convenient streetcar line from neighboring towns. Then, company partner George F. Johnson decided to make company land near the factories available for employees to build houses. They could get financing through the company and own the land and the house when the loan was paid off. By 1920, many employees had taken advantage of this housing plan, and they built a large archway entrance to the town with the company's motto: "Home of the Square Deal." Contributing to this approach to company-employee relations the company also provided medical clinics and recreational facilities.[518]

Typifying the post-Pullman trend in company towns according to Crawford is the work of Landscape architect Warren Manning. Manning's work for company-run model villages epitomizes "corporate welfare" in the early twentieth century. Warren designed the town of Gwinn, Michigan for Cleveland Cliffs Mining Company in the iron range of the central Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Completed in 1907,

---

[516] Wright, "A Community in a Garden: The Pullman Paradigm in Southern Illinois."

[517] Arnold R Alanen and Thomas J Peltin, *Kohler, Wisconsin, Planning and Paternalism in a Model Industrial Village* (Cambridge, MA: American Institute of Planners, 1978).

[518] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*; Peter C Little, *Toxic Town: Ibm, Pollution, and Industrial Risks* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 2014).

Gwinn was intended to attract and retain workers, managers, and related town functionaries at the Cleveland Cliffs' new iron mine. The company president William Mather, among the wealthiest industrialists in Cleveland, followed elite notions of noblesse-oblige and applied them to providing aid and opportunity to his employees. Like Pullman, Mather's Gwinn offered railroad access, a school, well-landscaped public spaces, and housing that offered some architectural variety but also clear hierarchical differentiation between company officials and laborers. Manning's layout and design for the town marked the height of his career, and also represents one of the most comprehensively designed company towns of this period. One of many features setting it apart from Pullman was the company's multiple options for real estate tenure. Workers could buy company-built houses at cost on reasonable terms, build their own on land purchased from the company, or rent. Pullman's insistence on real estate profit-making had all but disappeared from company towns by this time.[519]

Manning also designed the town of Warren, Arizona for the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company (the town was named for a company official, not the designer). The C&A company was founded by second-generation managers from the Calumet & Hecla in northern Michigan, for which Manning also worked. This already successful company set out at first, in 1905, to create a model town to bring temperance and more modern town surroundings to the haphazard and saloon-heavy town of Bisbee. But during construction, company officials decided that instead of selling the small but fashionable bungalows in Warren to foremen and white-collar workers, they would offer the houses for sale to miners as a way to both gain favor and tie them financially and geographically to homeownership in the region. This tactic indicates again the importance of homeownership in the evolving story of twentieth-century corporate paternalism.[520]

---

[519] Arnold R Alanen and Lynn Bjorkman, "Plats, Parks, Playgrounds, and Plants : Warren H. Manning's Landscape Designs for the Mining Districts of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1899-1932," *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (1998): 41-60; Robin S. Karson, William Gwinn Mather, and Library of American Landscape History, *The Muses of Gwinn: Art and Nature in a Garden Designed by Warren H. Manning, Charles A. Platt & Ellen Biddle Shipman* (Sagaponack, N.Y: Sagapress, 1995).

[520] Lynn Bjorkman, "Warren, Arizona: 'The City Beautiful' and 'an Ideal City' in the West," *The Mining History Journal* 6, no. 1999 (1999): 52-62; Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Alanen and Bjorkman, "Plats, Parks, Playgrounds, and Plants : Warren H. Manning's Landscape Designs for the Mining Districts of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1899-1932."

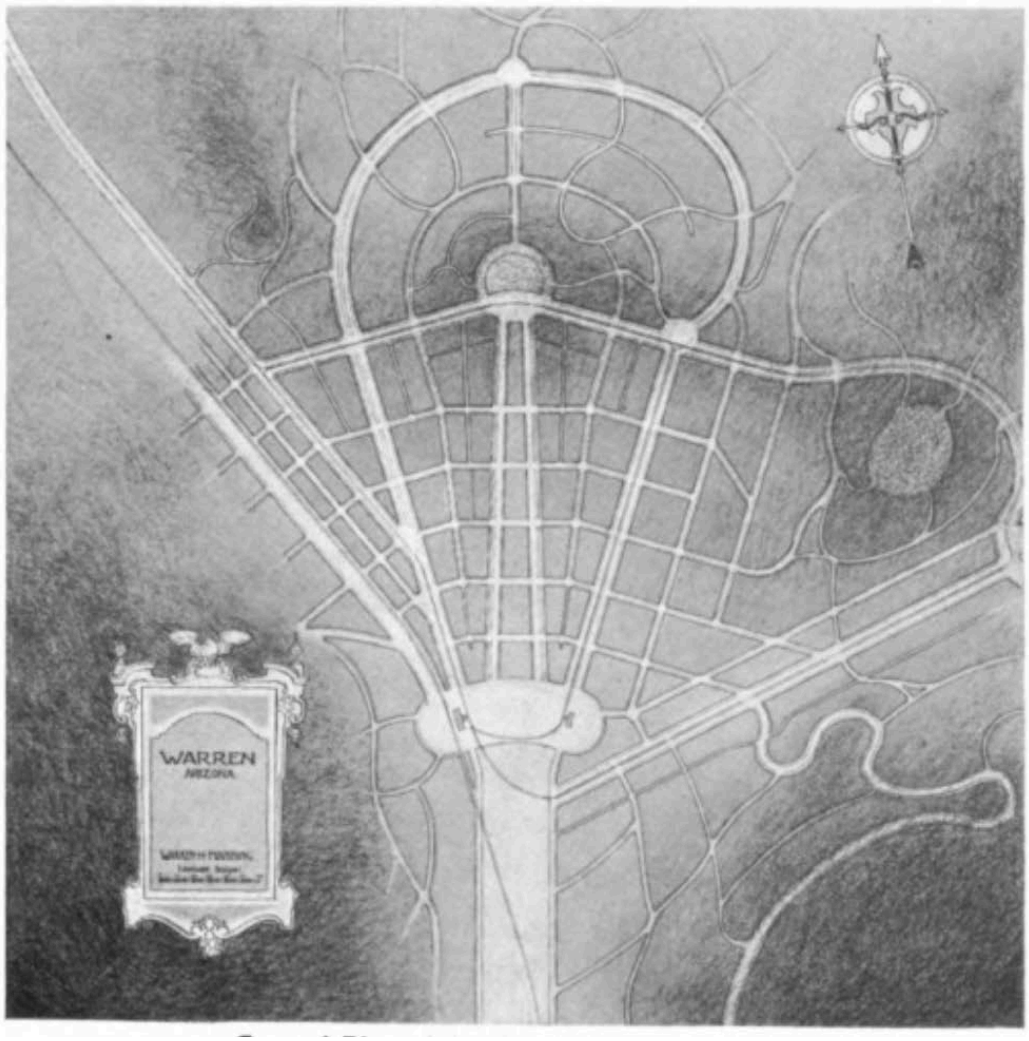


Figure 4.43. Conceptual drawing of Warren, Arizona, a planned community for the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company, 1908. From Huger Elliott, "An Ideal City in the West," Architectural Review 15, no. 9 (September 1908), 137.

Not all companies building model towns hired professional designers, however. Charles G. Roebling laid out the streets and town plan for Roebling, New Jersey for his family company. John A. Roebling's sons decided to develop their own steel mill to provide the material to make the industrial cables that their father had made famous in the Brooklyn Bridge and other innovative suspension bridges. Most steel mill companies had begun selling houses to their employees after the Homestead Strike of 1892. The town started in 1906 with the Roebling Inn, a hotel and tavern, and expanded to include a bakery, general store, doctor's office, and barber. Houses were constructed of brick under the direction of the company,

and eventually included by the 1910s, party-wall townhouse apartment buildings, duplexes, larger single-family houses for the foremen, and also brick boardinghouses.[521]

[521] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 52; Clifford W Zink, *The Roebling Legacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Landmark Publications, 2011).

CHAPTER 5
TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS AT PULLMAN

By the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Pullman factory was churning out a truly remarkable product, and a great quantity of it. At that time (1893), more than 15,000 employees used over 51 million board feet of lumber and 85,000 tons of iron to turn out 313 sleeping cars, 626 passenger cars, and 939 streetcars a year, not to mention the 12,520 freight cars that were in many ways the backbone of their business. It was noted at the time that "Coupled together, these cars would make a train over one hundred miles long."[522] On one 80-acre parcel of land, George Pullman created an integrated manufacturing system where raw materials arrived by train and finished cars rolled out on those same tracks at a rate of something like forty-five cars a day on average.

One Parisian traveler in 1893 noted, rather picturesquely that,

> seeing the colossal, vibrating machines with the rotating wheels and their steam whistles is a majestic and imposing site. The rooms where they keep the materials have a Dante-esque quality with workers covered with coal and sweat, tending the fiery red flames and ovens that demand a constant supply of fuel. … A sawmill is used to cut gigantic trees, and there is also a foundry, carpentry shop, and glass, painting, and tapestry workshops. Trains arrive continuously to supply all the materials needed by the workers. At the end of the process, other trains transport the finished luxury railroad car … that the workers have constructed from the materials."[523]

Less enunciated by this traveler, but equally as important, was that this car building empire required copious amounts of managerial oversight and coordination. And if one considers the running of Pullman cars on the railroads all across America, the organizational challenge is staggering.

Pullman's creation, then, fully qualifies as a prime example of what historians of technology refer to as a technological system (see Section 5.C). It was not at all the first, nor the first intentional one, and it was certainly not the last. But it can be studied from numerous angles to bring out both characteristic and potentially unique aspects of American industrialization in the later nineteenth century, its heyday in the early twentieth, and its decline, decay, and partial replacement at the end of the century.

This chapter will first look at the various innovations and developments made by the Pullman Company in Pullman, Illinois. To give away the conclusion before we start, the truth is that the town itself was much more innovative than the manufacturing facilities. The second section will look at the biographies of the major architects and engineers who built the town and factory. Again, more attention will be paid to the former than the latter, partially because we know less about the engineers who built the factory itself. The final section will then look at the larger social implications of the "Pullman Experience" in terms of technological systems.

---

[522] "The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago," 737.

[523] Grandin, *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 119.

5.A Summaries of Innovations and Developments

5.A.1 Town and Factory Infrastructure

Despite the longevity and importance of the Town of Pullman, surprisingly few original plans survive. Partially this seems to be because much of the town was built in a sense on the fly and it seems that in some cases only broad, general plans were drawn up. When George Pullman retained S.S. Beman and N.F. Barrett to design the town's buildings and landscape, respectively, their initial discussions were apparently so remarkably grand that the men took them as "magnificent ideas" but thought that they were "the chimera[s] of a fevered brain." When Pullman then returned to New York some time later, asking to see the plans, Beman,

> pleaded a previous engagement and asked if the next morning would answer just as well, how, when he found that he was expected to deliver the plans, he worked straight through the night making an outline of the ideas which he had thought were merely delirious dreams; and how, when the sketch was presented the next morning, it was found to be faithful delineations of the 'dreams', requiring but a few changes. After these were made, the plans were approved and Messrs. Beman and Barrett were commissioned to work them out in detail, not only on paper, but on the shore of Lake Calumet.[524]

Irving K. Pond, the assistant draftsman to the lead architect, Solon S. Beman, reminisced that they wanted him not only as a draftsman and designer so that the project could move more quickly, but also because they were using mostly railcar draftsmen to do the initial planning for the whole town, not only the factory. They needed someone who understood buildings, not boxcars.

Pond arrived at an office where Beman was making elevations, but then discovered that there were no structural engineers to do things like figure out what size roof trusses would be needed for the designs. Pond half volunteered and was promptly appointed "head designer of the structural engineering force," and together they went to work. Pond further explained what a circus the first year's construction was:

> Although our force was augmented from time to time[,] the work, seemingly, was ever one jump ahead of the Architect. Plans for all the buildings were finished sooner or later but in one or two instances, not until after the building had been completed and occupied. … I laid out and detailed full size trusses and other items of construction on the broad floor of the shop or church or theater or other structure—generally from sketches worked up the office. As head draughtsman I was in demand all over the "lot". The carpenters would be calling from here, the bricklayers and stonemasons, there! Many a time the proposition put to me was beyond my knowledge and experience and then I bluffed for time—I had a hurry up call from another quarter and I would see them in the afternoon or next morning! But when I did see them, as you maybe sure I always did, I had it at my tongues end [*i.e.*, the answer was "on the tip of his tongue" as we

[524] John McLean, *One Hundred Years in Illinois, 1818-1918; an Account of the Development of Illinois in the First Century of Her Statehood* (Chicago: Peterson linotyping company, 1919), 225.

would say] or on my fingertips the correct solution of the problem. This process cost me many a sleepless night…[525]

Nonetheless, the factory town of Pullman rose on the shores of Lake Calumet in a remarkably fast progression.

The Industrial Center

From a point of view of innovations in the industrial half of the endeavor, it is hard to discern anything strikingly new that was developed at the factory. Pullman seems to have adopted the best practices for 1880, but then built them out on a massive scale. The huge transfer table (nearly 700 feet long) behind the main range of erecting shops, as well as the second, slightly shorter transfer table to the east of the middle row of shops were not themselves innovative. Transfer tables had been used before as early as the 1860s,[526] and Pullman's Detroit shops, built by a previous car-building firm in the 1870s, used one between their two main buildings (Figure 3.14). But the transfer tables at Pullman may well have been the largest in the world at the time. In the same vein, when it came to install a power source for the factory, Pullman went all out again, buying the massive 1876 Corliss engine that had been displayed at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.[527] Not strictly novel, but strikingly grand.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the Pullman factory complex was the large fan-shaped track sidings that allowed considerable switching room for incoming trains full of materials as well as outgoing finished passenger and freight cars from his factory. In effect, by building his factory on an open, empty prairie, Pullman (or this case, Max Hjortsberg; see Section 5.B.3) had succeeded in merging a car manufacturing facility with the railway switching yard. Existing car builders in 1880 were almost all in dense, urban settings, severely limited in their expansion possibilities and maneuvering room on their own properties. It is notable for example that of the factory core between the Illinois Central railway tracks and Lake Calumet between 108th and 111th St., roughly half of that available land space on the eastern side was reserved for wood storage. Since there was no saw mill on the property, this allowed Pullman to bring train cars of lumber directly from sawmills to be stacked and air dried for the year or more it took for the wood to be ready for use. They also had a small kiln for final drying of, presumably, fine cabinetry woods where stability was paramount.

The Town

The town, on the other hand, was almost entirely revolutionary, at least in America. As previously discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, Pullman envisaged what would now be called an industrial welfare city. The basic philosophy was that a happy worker is a good worker, and that moral rectitude and solid middle-class values could themselves be inculcated in the workers merely by providing them with the proper environment in which to live and work.

The town layout itself was not particularly innovative. It used a strict grid system, segregated the higher-class lodgings south of the factory from the less-higher-class lodgings to the north (Pullman of course

---

[525] Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, 83-86.

[526] "Railroad Extension," *New York Times*, 2 Oct. 1864.

[527] Dian O. Belanger, "The Corliss at Pullman," *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1 (1984).

had no lower-class or tenement housing). It did however import some of the best practices in terms of mercantile shops, educational opportunities, and recreational facilities for the workers/residents, all in accordance with Pullman's industrial welfare philosophy. Europeans looking at the experiment would have seen it as a socialistic endeavor, though that term was in flux in America at the time Pullman was developed: earlier Fourierist social utopias having run their course and a more Marxist style socialism that was to inspire unionism struggling to be heard.[528] George Pullman himself seems to have subscribed more to the older style of paternalistic welfare, but without its communitarian aspects. Rather, he followed a form of Weberian capitalism that believed in "industrial paternalism," which to some observers (then and now) seemed more like neo-feudalism than enlightened philanthropy.

Pullman is, nonetheless, an extremely important and early case study in what has been termed welfare capitalism and what would become known in the early twentieth century as an experiment in "industrial welfare."[529] It is a truly model city from the point of view of having been planned from the ground up—or indeed, from below the ground up, in that drainage and sewage was planned before the streets were laid—and for being one which was run as a collective whole by the Pullman Land Corporation. The idea of the landlord was of course not new, but to have one corporation own the land, the church, the school, shopping arcade, recreational facilities, and of course the houses which the workers were not allowed to purchase, moved beyond the American experience.[530]

5.B Biographical Analyses of Lead Architects, Engineers, and Artisans

Pullman was the creation of George M. Pullman, to be sure, but it was to skilled technicians and planners to whom he turned to make his overall concept a reality. It is unfortunate that we have no enunciation of his vision in the late 1870s that would allow us to understand how the designers turned it into pavement, bricks, and rails. The other notable feature for the whole affair was that his lead architect, landscape architect, and sanitary engineer were all at the very early part of their career, and in some cases their careers were made on the fame of Pullman city.

---

[528] Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000); John Nichols, *The "S" Word: A Short History of an American Tradition ... Socialism* (2015).

[529] Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Andrea Tone, *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). Interestingly, Pullman does not appear in the latter important study, probably because, in the period of her attention, the Pullman company had had to divest of the town of Pullman. The British model is particularly well studied: Robert Fitzgerald, *British Labour and Industrial Welfare, 1846-1939* (London and New York: Croom Helm, 1988); Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution* (2017).

[530] It is worthwhile noting that Pullman did not plan to set out an area of land he purchased north of the town (in what is now the Cottage Heights neighborhood) where workers would be allowed to purchase their homes. He did not get far on this scheme before the 1894 strike forced him to divest of all the houses.

George Pullman hired more experienced railroad men for the factory portion of the development, and in that we have yet to identify much that is truly novel in the early years in terms of technological processes and systems. If anything, the factory at Pullman might best be seen as a distillation of best practices in railroad car building in 1880, built on a mammoth scale. Further work in railroad trade magazines of the day is encouraged to flesh out that story. Pullman partly set the standard, but has perhaps been understudied for having been so (rightly) overshadowed by the novelty of the whole town system of industrial welfare.

5.B.1 Solon Spencer Beman (1853–1914)

Callout: Archival holdings for S.S Beman

- **Solon S. and Spencer S. Bean Collection**: The Ryerson and Burnham Archives, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, The Art Institute of Chicago, 111 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago, IL 60603-6110. Acc. 'Beman': Clippings and Drawings: 0.5 linear foot (1 box), 3 portfolios, 5 oversize portfolios, flat file materials, and 1 rolled tube.
  See also the original drawings in the department of architecture at the Art Institute:
- **George M. Pullman files, 1867-1897**: The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60610. Includes correspondence with Beman on Pullman's residence.
- **Beman Design Scrapbook:** Chicago History Museum, 1601 N Clark St, Chicago, IL 60614: Scrapbook of architectural designs, plans and details mostly executed by Solon Spencer Beman, 1853-1914.
- **Pioneer Press building collection 1888-1890**: 0.5 cu.ft.; **Pioneer and Endicott buildings collection, 1888-1890**: 6 linear ft. of drawings and plans: University of Minnesota - Twin Cities.
- **St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press Records, 1862-2001 (bulk 1862-1948):** Minnesota Historical Society, 345 W. Kellogg Blvd., St. Paul, MN 55102. Acc. Accession number: 1780D15; 3539; 5471; 7426; 7838; 8417; 9405; 15,643, 1.7 cubic feet (2 boxes), Includes materials relating to the construction of the Pioneer Press Building in downtown St. Paul (1888-1890).
- Further research on Beman's early training may be rewarded by searching the AIA Archives at the New York Public Library, **Richard Upjohn and Richard Michell Upjohn papers, 1839-1914**: acc. MssCol 3115, 5.2 lin. ft.

Originally from Brooklyn, Solon Spencer Beman studied under Richard M. Upjohn (1828–1903)[531] of New York City from 1867–77. He had notably been tasked with work for the Connecticut State Capitol Building in Hartford for two of the last of these years before he opened his own practice in New York in 1877 in partnership with the landscape architect Nathan F. Barrett (see below). Barrett had recently been hired by Pullman to landscape his Fairlawn estate in Long Branch, New Jersey and when Pullman asked Barrett for a recommendation for an architect to remodel his Prairie Ave. mansion in Chicago,

[531] Born in England and emigrated to the U.S. in 1828, Upjohn became noted for Gothic Revival churches and designed the Connecticut State House in 1871–78. His architect father, Richard Upjohn (1802–1878) was also noted for his Gothic revival churches across the Northeast and was a founding member (along with his son) and first president of the American Institute of Architects. Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968); Lamia Doumato, *Richard Upjohn, Richard Michell Upjohn and the Gothic Revival in America* (Monticello, IL: Vance, 1984).

Barrett recommended Beman. Satisfied with Beman's work and despite his relative lack of experience or prominence, Pullman asked Beman to work up designs for his new factories, even though this was entirely outside his previous experience (to be fair, few formally trained architects of this time would have had that kind of experience). Buder reports that in November 1879, Beman visited Pullman's Detroit shops and "several [other] car shops" between Detroit and New York. We might surmise that these could have included notable shops in Wilmington, Delaware and Buffalo, New York, but it is unknown which one specifically he visited. From this brief exposure he worked up designs for the factories (and probably the entire town, at least in scope) by the end of the year.[532] Between 1880 and 1883 Beman and Barrett transformed an empty plain into a set of industrial and residential spaces, with a modest amount of civic and commercial space tightly nestled at the core of the planned community. On the latter point, one is struck today by how little commercial space there was for markets and shops, especially considering that the market square took a number of years to complete. From 1880 to 1891 (though he had also set up in private practice in 1884), Beman also oversaw the buildout of the southern town between 111th and 115th Sts., as well as of the northern section of Pullman between 103rd and 106th Sts.

In 1882, at age 29, Beman married Agnes Smith, three years his junior, in Chicago.[533] They had something of a personal setback in 1903 when his home on E. 49th St., which he had himself designed in 1892, suffered a fire to a loss of $25,000.[534]

Little detail is known about how Beman approached the project or the parameters that Pullman set for him. Pond claims that the overall plan of the town had been determined by 1879 and that Beman was assisted by the "car draughtsman," presumably T.A. Bissell, and he also must have spoken with him back in Detroit for the engineering requirements of the shops. We also know that Beman was briefly assisted at the outset by Will J. Dodd, later a prominent architect in Louisville and Los Angeles and a former apprentice under William LeBaron Jenney, one of the leading Chicago architects of the day. After Dodd left, Beman hired Pond, who had also taken classes from Jenney at the University of Michigan. Pond further claimed that from 1880–81 the whole design and build process was rather haphazard, with the design "ever one jump ahead of the Architect."[535] It is also known that Beman employed the young architects James H. Marling, Frederick R. Shock, Morris G. Holmes, and James Oliver Hogg at various

---

[532] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 50-51.

[533] "Suburban. Pullman," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 29 1882. The marriage was, incidentally, a double wedding with Beman's sister, Jennie (age 22), who married Dr. John C. Cook (age 26) of Pullman. Jeannie went on to become a noted artist and sculptor (as Jean Beman Cook-Smith) and Cook was a pediatrician and founder of the Chicago Pediatric Society (a small selection of his papers are at the American Academy of Pediatrics Pediatric History Center, now the Gartner Pediatric History Center, in Itasca, IL). See "Suburban. Pullman.," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 29 1882.

[534] "Girl Phone Fire Alarm While Smoke Fills House," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 3 1903.

[535] Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, 83.

times.[536] An amusing joke was later told that when Beman hoped for some name recognition for his work on the model town, he approached George Pullman on the matter. Pullman was quite happy to oblige and proposed that the new town bear the first syllable of his name, 'Pull', and the second syllable of Beman's name, 'man', … and thus "Pull-man"[537]

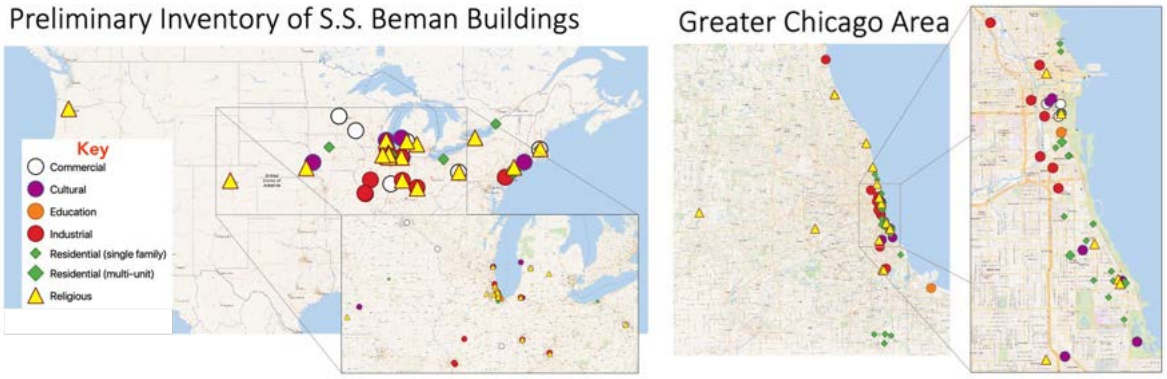


Figure 5.1. Preliminary Inventory of Buildings by Solon S. Beman.

Beman's work at Pullman catapulted him into the regional spotlight as a leading architect in Chicago. His notable commissions for individual commercial buildings include the Pullman office building (1884), Grand Central Station (1890), and the Studebaker building on Michigan Avenue in Chicago (1885 and 1889; later the Fine Arts Building) as well as the Studebaker's factory in South Bend, Indiana (1905–06) and the Pabst office building in Milwaukee (1891; demolished 1980). Beman's fame for designing the industrial complex of Pullman translated into numerous commissions for factory buildings, warehouses, and one power house in Garfield Park, IL. It also placed him in the ranks of high-demand architects for train stations and depots, and he designed at least four for different railroads in Chicago between 1887 and 1895, including Chicago's Grand Central Station at Wells and Harrison in 1888 (Figure 5.2).[538]

The industrial project that most related to Pullman was his commission for the company town of Ivorydale, Ohio for Procter and Gamble (1883–88), which grew to encompass sixty-seven acres, over

[536] Ibid., 82–88 and quote on 86. James H. Marling (1857-1895; Pond misremembered his name as "W.H. Marling") was a Toronto native and employee of Joseph Lyman Silsbee in Syracuse and later his partner in Buffalo from 1882–87; and half of the firm Marling & Burdett from 1887–91 with Herbert Channing Burdett who had trained under H.R. Richardson in Boston. Shock and Holmes were minor Chicago architects. Hogg was born in Madison, WI in 1859, studied with Prof. M.C. Rickes at the University of Illinois and later became part of the noted Hogg & Rose firm in Kansas City from 1886–94.

[537] "Pullman's Little Joke," *The Morning Call*, Nov. 8 1911.

[538] Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, 123-32.

two dozen factory buildings, and ultimately housing for 1,500 workers.[539] The Ivorydale project was guided by the experience at Pullman, and occurred immediately in its wake, but notably did *not* include the worker housing as part of Procter & Gamble's vision.[540] Nonetheless, it was within a few years expressly compared to it: "Perhaps no other village in this country, except Pullman, Illinois, can compare with it as an example of what a manufacturing village should be. A genuine attempt has been made to apply the principles of art to its construction and to beautify the daily surroundings of its people."[541] The experiment, guided by a more limited industrial vision of William Cooper Procter, was less paternalistic than that of George Pullman. [542]

At Ivorydale Beman once again indulged his eclectic (or perhaps undisciplined) architectural aesthetic,[543] though this same commentator seemed to appreciate it: the "work at Ivorydale [gained] all the benefit of [Beman's] experience gained in constructing the model manufacturing village [in] Illinois. The result of his labor ought to satisfy the aesthetic taste even of the fastidious. Ruskin himself could hardly be displeased with it." The main factory buildings were 300 foot long, four-story rectangular affairs with monitor roofs. They had white river stone walls and red sandstone arched window and door lintels with denticulated jambs (the Victorian eclecticism

[539] "Buildings and Builders. Out of Chicago. Cincinnati's Pullman," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 11 1885. The P&G archives in Cincinnati unfortunately do not have any correspondence with Beman. Pers. comm. Greg McCoy, Proctor & Gamble Corporate Archives, Dec. 12, 2018.

[540] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 132-33.

[541] I.W. Howerith, "Profit Sharing at Ivorydale," *American Journal of Sociology* 2, no. 1 (1896): 43–44.

[542] Proctor was in fact relatively progressive in that when faced with a strike by the Knights of Labor: he instituted a half day of work on Saturdays and instituted a very successful profit-sharing system for workers in 1887 and eventually gave them one seat on the board of directors in 1919. "The Procter and Gamble Company Ivorydale, Ohio," in *Executive Guidance of Industrial Relations: An Analysis of the Experience of Twenty-Five Companies*, ed. C. Canby Balderston (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935).

[543] Robert M Lillibridge, "Pullman: Town Development in the Era of Eclecticism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 12, no. 3 (1953).

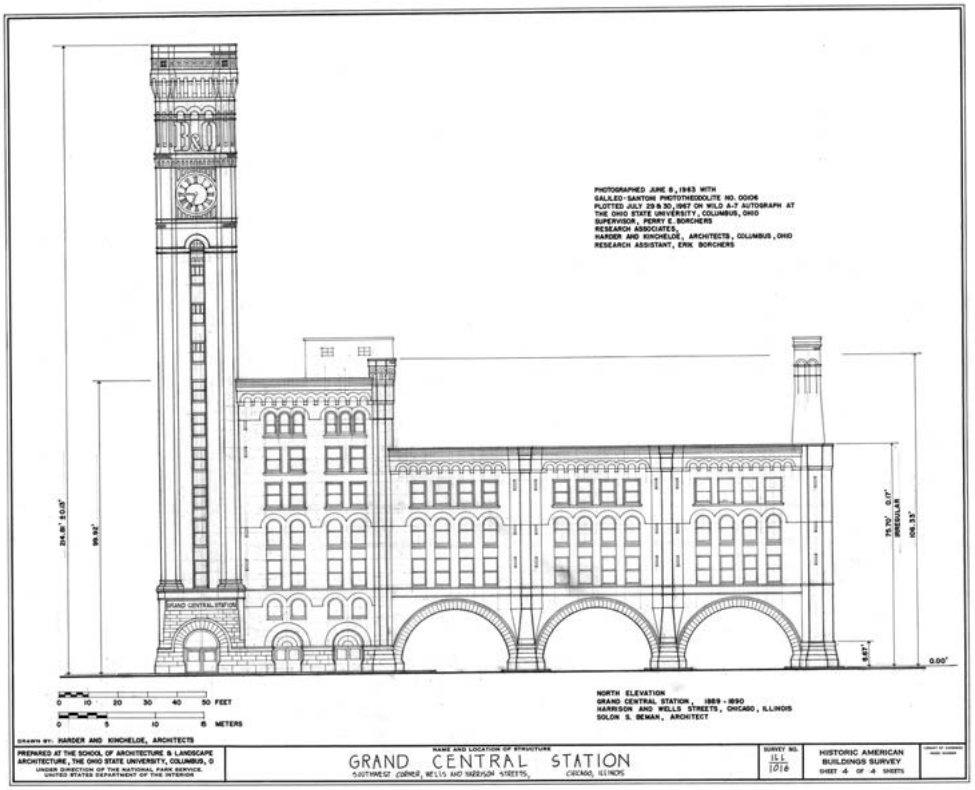


Figure 5.2. Grand Central Station, Harrison & Wells, Chicago. Opened 1890; Demolished 1971. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, ILL,16-CHIG,18- (sheet 4 of 4).

manifest in that fact that the sills were *not* of sandstone strikes the modern eye as strange). Another building in the complex was of the same massing, but made of red brick with notable white banding that jumps up and over the windows and doors. The gatehouse lodge was fully rusticated limestone.

In the great fervor surrounding the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, architects from Chicago and all around the country vied for a commission. Beman had been part of the original planning committee in January 1891 and was one of the five local firms that served on the grounds and buildings committee, along with Burling & Whitehouse, Jenney & Mundie, Henry Ives Cobb, and Adler & Sullivan, as well as three firms from New York, one from Boston, and one from Kansas City.[544] He was selected as the architect of two buildings at Exposition: The Mines and Mining Building and the Merchant Tailors Building. The former used grand Roman motifs including coffered vaults, triumphal pediments, and internal columnated exterior arcades (although the inside central gallery was supported on a more modern iron column and lattice truss system with flattened segmental arches) and ornamented with distinctly Renaissance revival frieze and spandrel infill and escutcheons flanking the main entrances. Merchant Tailor's was a much smaller, simpler building, costing only $30,000 modeled after the Villa

[544] Rossiter Johnson, *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition Held in Chicago in 1893* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1897), 44, 136, 429.

Rotunda of Palladio and with simple details much like the White House in Washington, with a notable Ionic porch and steps leading down to the north Lagoon.[545]

Beman also apparently drew up the plans for a grand entertainment pavilion with a "monster new auditorium," lake pier, and summer resort hotel that was to have been built between 23rd and 25th St. in Chicago (just south of the modern McCormick Place, where I-55 terminates at the lakefront), though the scheme seems to have foundered.[546] He did, however, provide the plans for both the first and second (after the first burned). Beman would also later win the commission for the Manufactures Building at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska in 1897.

Between 1887 and 1893 Beman designed churches for numerous denominations: Methodist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and a memorial all-denomination church in Pullman itself. But after about 1895, Christian Science, which had been founded in Boston in 1875 but which was just at that moment seeing a rapid expansion across the country, took on Beman as the chief theorist of their church architecture. This he took on "as more than a matter of technic… [but] a matter of social psychology."[547] He designed all his Christian Scientist churches in the classical style that came to the fore in American architecture after the Columbian Exposition. Beman saw this style to be in sympathy with the tenets of the religion because of "its sense of calm power and dignity, and with its true systems of proportion, its sincerity and refinement, and … its rationalism."[548]

In 1896 Beman received the commission for the First Church Scientist in Chicago on Drexel Blvd. between 40th and 41st St. There he built the then-largest Protestant church in America for the approximately 5,000 Christian Science members in the city who collectively spent $100,000 on the church. The edifice was decidedly Grecian in appearance, with three fluted Ionic columns in a square opening surmounted by a simple triangular pediment strongly reminiscent of the Parthenon with a central apex fan ornament and cornice *acroterions*, though with a blank tympanum, no frieze, and an instruction field in the architrave more in sympathy with monumental Roman architecture. The interior was an open-span square cross space, for as he noted, "services are very simple in their character,

---

[545] Karen Vendi and Mark Vendi, "The Mines and Mining Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: A Photographic Essay," *Mining History Journal* 8 (2001). Beman also built a scale model of St. Peter's Basilica for the Exposition; Johnson, *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition Held in Chicago in 1893*, 175.

[546] "To Extend Drive," *The Inter Ocean*, Oct. 23 1898.

[547] Solon S. Beman, "The Architecture of the Christian Science Church," *The World To-day* 12, no. 6 (1907). And see Paul Eli Ivey, "Christian Science Architecture in the American City: The Triumph of the Classical Style," in *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Urban Commercial Culture*, ed. John M. Giggie and Diane Winston (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 124–25; *Prayers in Stone: Christian Science Architecture in the United States, 1894-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Paul Ivey, "American Christian Science Architecture and Its Influence," Mary Baker Eddy Library, http://marybakereddylibrary.org/research/american-christian-science-architecture-and-its-influence.

[548] Beman, "The Architecture of the Christian Science Church."

without ritual, and consist of readings from the Bible and the Christian Science text book on Sundays and the testimony meetings during the week." Thus, "readers should be heard from all parts of the auditorium, and it is also desirable, but not particularly necessary, that a full view of the readers' platform be had from any point." Further, "at the testimony meetings during the week many people address the audiences from all parts of the room and being for the most part unaccustomed to public speaking, it is imperative that the acoustic properties of the audience room be as nearly perfect as possible."[549] This classical auditorium nave, coupled with the characteristic feature of these churches of having a larger-than-usual foyer which also served as a social meeting room that could accommodate up to 70% of the congregation, became the template for a great many Christian Science churches across the country.

After this initial commission, Beman and his second wife became converts to that new sect in 1903, perhaps stemming "from a desire to express appreciation for the church's purported cure of Solon's wife [Agnes], who was an invalid." Ultimately, he built another nineteen churches for the Church: five more in Chicago proper and others in Evanston, Highland Park, La Grange, and in South Bend, Indiana, and then across the country in Cincinnati, Denver, Grand Rapids, Indianapolis, Lansing, Lincoln, Nebraska, Milwaukee, New York City, Pittsburgh, and Portland, Oregon. His architect son, Spencer Solon Beman, continued the practice and between them, they were ultimately responsible for at least ninety Christian Scientist churches across the country.[550]

Architecturally, Beman worked across many styles in his career.[551] His Pullman plans are generally in the Victorian picturesque style with both Romanesque and gothic elements, accented with northern European touches, notably the many gables and turrets on more important buildings. He took these elements to a height in his private house designs. He was also hired by 1892 as the aesthetic interior designer for Pullman coaches with an annual retainer of $5,000.[552] After the World's Fair in Chicago he added classical motifs and forms to his repertoire, and modest Richardsonian Romanesque influences are in evidence as well, as for example in his 1885 Northwestern Insurance Co. Building in Milwaukee. This was perhaps also pushed further along by having lost out on the design of the J.J. Glessner House in Hyde Park to Richardson himself in 1887.Beman died in 1914 in Chicago and his son carried on the practice.

---

[549] Ibid., 588–89.

[550] Jan Olive Full, "City of Mcgregor, Clayton County, Iowa, Planning for Preservation Project," (Iowa City, IA: McGregor Historic Preservation Commission, 2011-12).

[551] No full biography of Beman's life and work has been written, but see Caryn Hannan, Jennifer L. Herman, and Bryan Dye, *Illinois Biographical Dictionary* (Hamburg, MI: State History Publications, 2008), 44–45; Historical Publishing Company, *Origin, Growth, and Usefulness of the Chicago Board of Trade* (New York: Historical Pub. Co., 1885-68), 127; Charles Gregersen, "List of Buildings and Projects by Solon Spenser Beman," *The Chicago Architectural Journal* 5 (1985). Gregersen was apparently working on a biography in the 80s, but it never appeared.

[552] White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, 441.

5.B.2 Irving Kane Pond (1857-1939)

Callout: Archival holdings for Irving K. Pond

- **Pond and Pond collection**, ca. 1895-1938, acc. no. 2001.1, Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson & Burnham Libraries, Chicago, IL 60603.
- **Pond Family Papers**, 1841-1939, call no. 852090 Aa 2, Bentley Historical Library, 1150 Beal Ave., Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2113. 9.6 lin. ft., 2 oversize drawers, 1 microfilm.
- **Irving Kane Pond Papers**, American Academy of Arts and Letters, 633 West 155th St., New York, NY 10032.

Figure 5.3. Irving K. Pond, from Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1910, p. 4.*

I.K. Pond (Figure 5.3) was a graduate of the University of Michigan (Class of 1879) and became a noted architect and architectural critic in Chicago (and apparently quite a wag, circus aficionado, and a lifelong acrobat).[553] Pond arrived in Chicago after graduating with his architectural degree with no job but a

[553] "Pond, Irving Kane," *American National Biography* 17 (1999); Guy Szuberla, "Irving K. Pond: The Making of a Chicago Architect," *Midwestern Miscellany* 39 (2011); Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, esp. 881–91 for his involvement with Pullman. The *Wikipedia* article on Pond is also unusually complete. Pond's principle architectural thoughts are in "The Life of Architecture," *Architectural Record* (1905); *The Meaning of Architecture; an Essay in Constructive Criticism* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918); "Towards an American Architecture," in *Living Architecture; a Discussion of Present Day Problems*, ed. Arthur Woltersdorf and Chicago Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (Chicago: A. Krock, 1930). See also, *e.g.*: "Art and Individuality: Part I," *Art and Progress* 2, no. 11 (1911); "Art and Individuality: Part Ii," *Art and Progress* 2, no. 12

letter of introduction to the noted Chicago architect William LeBaron Jenney. Jenney could not offer him much work, but let him use a desk while he shopped himself around. It took nine months, but he was eventually hired as assistant to Solon S. Beman for the design of Pullman. Beman had in fact sent for Pond's roommate, Clarence Arey, also like Pond a former student of Jenney at Michigan (Class of 1878, but Arey had just taken another position. Pond rose quickly and by 1883 while acting as general superintendent and draftsman under Beman at Pullman, Beman offered him a partnership.

Rather than take that partnership, Pond instead went on the grand tour of Europe for three months in the fall of 1883 in order to study the architecture of both southern and northern Europe. He parlayed the trip into, among other things, a series of articles in the *Inland Architect and News Record* on regional architectural styles.[554] Pond was one of the principal officers of the Architectural Sketch Club in Chicago, on the founding committee of the municipal art league of the city, and became a visible regional architect from 1886 through partnership with his brother, Allen B. Pond, trading as Pond & Pond until his brother's death in 1929 and then solo until his own retirement, at age 79, in 1936.

Pond designed over 300 buildings in his career, from the Ladies Library Assn. building in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to numerous student unions (notably at Purdue, the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and the University of Kansas) which "promoted democracy and an uplifting idealism." He also designed churches and social buildings in the well-to-do and progressive/modern vacation areas around Chicago, and he developed many residential properties in Chicago.[555] His most famous connections were to progressive causes of the age: the Hull-House settlement house complex (1889-1909) at Halstead and Polk for the pioneer social worker Jane Addams, the City Club (1910) and other club houses, and as a founder of the Eagle's Nest Art Colony (1898) near Oregon, Illinois.[556] Pond & Pond generally worked in the Arts and Crafts style and Irving is known for having coined the term "Prairie School" for the modern style that developed in Chicago and the Midwest. He circulated among the Chicago School of Architects (including Louis B. Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright), though later denied that he was part of it.

(1911); "Eliel Saarinen and His Work; a Word of Appreciation and Greeting," *The Western Architect* 32, no. 7 (1923); "High Buildings and Beauty," *Architectural Forum* 38 (1923). On his extra-architectural interests, see: *A Day under the Big Top, a Study in Life and Art* (Chicago: Chicago literary club, 1924); *A Strange Fellow, and Other Club Papers* (New York and Chicago: Priv. Print. by Willett, Clark and Co., 1938); *Big Top Rhythms: A Study in Life and Art* (Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark and Co., 1937). and *A Day under the Big Top, a Study in Life and Art*; "Stiff Joints a Key to Man's Age," *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 30 1927; *A Strange Fellow, and Other Club Papers*.

[554] "Real Estate and Rents. Other Personals," *The Inter Ocean*, Aug. 19 1883.

[555] "Buildings and Builders. Out of Chicago. Here and There," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 11 1885. For a selected list of his designs, see Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, 461–67. and the entry for "Pond and Pond" on Wikipedia.

[556] Guy Szuberla, "Three Chicago Settlements: Their Architectural Form and Social Meaning," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 70 (1977). Irving's brother and business partner also wrote a relevant article: Allen Pond, "The Settlement House," *The Brickbuilder* 11, no. 7 (1902).

By the 1890s, Pond was a visible public lecturer in the upper Midwest on architecture and art aesthetics. He also did the design for the new title page of the *Inland Architect* in 1892. In 1910 he was elected president of the American Institute of Architects, the first man from beyond the East Coast to hold that honor. From that position in New York, he looked back with less enthusiasm for what Chicago architecture had become and Chicago architects accused him of becoming "too radical" from having moved east.[557] Apparently there were no hard feelings, as within months he was hired by a consortium of musicians who were planning a twenty-story soundproof building in Chicago, and he felt quite at home continuing to criticize various projects in Chicago.[558] He spent the next two decades developing designs for the "modern" style of architecture that was taking shape in Chicago, though he seems to have been largely demoted from the canon since his death.

5. B.3 Maximillian Hjortsberg (1825-1880)

Callout: Archival holdings for Max Hjortsberg

- **Burlington, & Quincy Railroad Archives**: The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60610: Chicago. Acc. CB&Q, 2,341.6 linear feet.
- *See also* **Burlington Route Historical Society**, Lake States Facility, Baraboo, WI, http://www.burlingtonroute.com (includes flatfile materials acquired from the Newberry Library)

Described as "an agreeable young man," "a dashing man who chomped cigar after cigar on deck during a storm off South Carolina," and later as a famous Swedish-American, Max Hjortsberg was responsible for the initial layout of the trackage and perhaps parts of the shops at Pullman. He was born in about 1820 to Lars Hjortsberg, "a learned and highly cultivated man," who sent him to the University of Uppsala and then to the Polytechnic School in Stockholm for engineering training. Graduating in 1844, Hjortsberg moved to London where he worked at various times for the next six years for noted English engineers Charles Cheffins, C.H. Wild, and John Fowler, the men behind the explosive mid-century growth of the British rail system. In 1850 he made the grand tour of America and Canada, arriving in America with his cousin and the most famous songstress of his home country, the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind, on the steamship *Atlantic* out of Liverpool as she began her 1850-1852 American tour backed by P.T. Barnum.[559] After a brief return to Sweden, he emigrated to the U.S. in 1852.

---

[557] "Chicago Plan to Architects," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 13 1909; "Architects Plan to Honor Chief," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 4 1910; "I. K. Pond Criticizes Chicago Architecture," *Chicago Tribune*, May 19 1911; "Architects See Chicago O.K.," *Chicago Tribune*, May 20 1911.

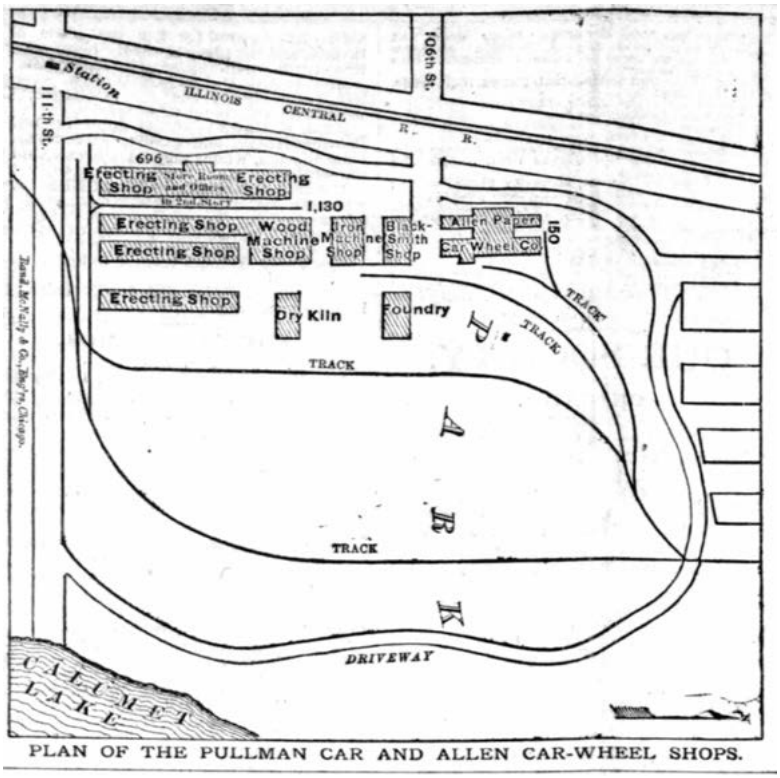
[558] "Plan Building without Noise," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14 1911; "Architects Criticize Union Station Plans," *The Inter Ocean*, June 7 1913.

[559] See Sir Julius Benedict, "Jenny Lind," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*1881, 128; Nils William Olsson and Erik Wikén, *Swedish Passenger Arrivals in the United States 1820–1850* (Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 1995), 122; Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America* (London: A. Hall, Virtue & Company, 1853), 3: 61; Philo Adams Otis, *The First*

Hjortsberg spent five years working at various railways in the upper Midwest. In 1857 he joined the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy (CB&Q) Railroad and quickly rose to become their chief engineer. His studies of the riverbed geology and the water current and potential for scour contributed to the successful construction of the Burlington Bridge in Iowa, the first all-iron bridge across the Mississippi, just after the Civil War.[560] He stayed with the CB&Q, though with some external consulting, until 1879 when he joined Pullman to design his new model town south of Chicago.

Presbyterian Church, 1833–1913: A History of the Oldest Organization in Chicago (Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1913), 63n1. Hjortsberg served as her secretary during her 1850 tour with P.T. Barnum; see "A Card," *The Evening Post*, June 3 1851. where Hjortsberg writes into the paper on her behalf (her NYT obituary calls him, as her secretary, “Max Jorkberg”; "Jenny Lind’s Triumphs," *New York Times*, Nov. 3 1887.; W. Porter Ware and Thaddeus Constantine Lockard, *P.T. Barnum Presents Jenny Lind: The American Tour of the Swedish Nightingale.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 5–7 and 57.; Jay Elihu Greene, *Four Complete Biographies* (New York: Globe Book Company, 1962), 605. Hjortsberg acted as Lind’s local representative when she donated an elaborate altar service of chalice and plate worth $1,000 to Rev. Gustaf Elias Unonius for the construction of the first Swedish Episcopal church, St. Ansgarious, in Chicago (she had previously directly donated $1,500 to the building fund); Ernst W. Olson, Martin J. Engberg, and Anders Schˆn, *History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago: Engberg Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908), 416.

[560] C.H. Hudson, "The Original Construction of the Burlington Bridge in 1867–68," *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 13, no. 5 (1894). Also see Hjortsberg to Capt. Charles J. Allen, US Corps of Engineers in “Navigation of the Mississippi River,” House of Representatives, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, Ex. Doc. 41 (1877), app. J, 40. The 9-span (some sources say 8-span), 2,185-foot-long Whipple through truss bridge was built by Detroit Bridge & Iron Works (Bridgehunter.com ID no. BH 70509). Hjortsberg also did the preliminary survey for the Kansas City Bridge in 1866; Octave Chanute and George Shattuck Morison, *The Kansas City Bridge: With an Account of the Regimen of the Missouri River, and a Description of Methods Used for Founding in That River* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1870), 14. In general, on the CB&Q, see William Wright Baldwin, *Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company: Documentary History*, 3 vols. (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, 1928–29).



PLAN OF THE PULLMAN CAR AND ALLEN CAR-WHEEL SHOPS.

Figure 5.4. Initial Plans for Factory Layout at Pullman. Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 25, 1880, p. 9.*

Hjortsberg was hired by Pullman to work out the practical details of the design of the railway layout in the overall plan by S.S. Beman (see Figure 5.4 for the initially reported plans of what we take to be his track layout; see also Figure 5.5), but in April 1880 he was struck by an Illinois Central passenger locomotive while walking the proposed site for the Pullman factory. Hjortsberg was thrown into the ditch with an arm and one leg both doubly-fractured. Although he seemed to be recovering well, a blood clot passed into his pulmonary artery and he died suddenly on May 16.[561]

Hjortsberg had married Alice Frances Hammond, the daughter of Col. Charles Goodrich Hammond, originally in charge of the freight department of the Michigan Central and then from 1855 to 1868 superintendent of the CB&Q.[562] Col. Hammond then superintended the Union Pacific from 1869 (just after the driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory Point, Utah that May) to early 1870, resigning for health reasons and to take up the vice-presidency of the Pullman Palace Car Co., a position he held until his death in 1884. It was likely he who brought Hjortsberg on board, or at least to the attention of

[561] "Max Hjortsberg," *The Inter Ocean*, May 20 1880; "Max Hjortsberg," *Chicago Tribune*, May 17 1880; "Personal Mention," *The Railway Age Monthly and Railway Service Magazine* 1, no. 6 (1880); "Notices," *The Railway Age Monthly and Railway Service Magazine* 1, no. 7 (1880); "Max Hjortsberg."

[562] Alfred Theodore Andreas, *History of Cook County Illinois: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Complete in One Volume* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884).

George Pullman, for the design of the new trackage to the new factory site in 1879, although Hjortsberg was already quite notable in Chicago and in railroad engineering circles by that time.

Instrumental in the Chicago section of the Western Society of Engineers and the beginnings of the Civil Engineer's Club of the Northwest, he was called in as an expert consultant on building projects, as when the new Chicago Music Hall was under construction and there was concern that the brick piers and party-walls were insufficient to carry the load. He was the superintendent for the construction of the New England Congregational Church, one of Chicago's "most beautiful churches," both before and after the great Chicago fire of 1871. From 1877 until his death he also served as commissioner of Lincoln Park in Chicago.[563] He held U.S. Patent no. 26,686 (January 3, 1860 with Moses W. Lester) for "Improvement in Apparatus for Heating and Ventilating Buildings," an interest he held much of his life. For the last half decade or so of his life, he was intermittently involved in developing the idea of steam or pressurized hot water heating for entire cities or districts thereof. Such plans may have been considered for Pullman, as he had laid a mile of a test system using 2½ -inch piping somewhere near Chicago, but Hjortsberg's sudden death cancelled that possibility.[564]

---

[563] *American Architect and Building News* 6, no. 202 (Nov. 8, 1879): 145. *Proceedings of the Western Society of Engineers* 5 (1880): 167–168. *"Report of the Commissioners of Lincoln Park, from December 1, 1886, to January 1, 1893," (Chicago1893).* George S. Phillips, *Chicago and Her Churches* (Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler, 1868), 425–33.

[564] M. Arthur Achard, "On the Various Modes of Transmitting Power to a Distance," *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers* (1881): 96–97n†; Harry Olrick, "Transmission of Heat and Power," *Engineering* 31 (1881).

5.B.4 Thomas Ashley Bissell (1835-1902)

Callout: Archival holdings for T.A. Bissell

- *None located*.

Described by John H. White as "one of the masters of wooden passenger car construction," Thomas Bissell got his start on the railroad building bridges in the West and then joined the repair shops in Aurora, Illinois as a draftsman. In 1872, Pullman hired Bissell at his Detroit shops and Bissell effected a complete reorganization of those shops to make production more efficient. The success of that reorganization led to Bissell's promotion to chief mechanical superintendent, a position he held until 1881.[565] It seems logical, then, that Bissell would have been in charge of laying out the Pullman, IL shops or at least that those shops would have followed the Detroit plan in gross detail. A comparison of the footprints, however, shows that the Detroit shops were so constrained while the plain west of Lake Calumet offered such a blank canvas for the layout of the new Pullman shops that no comparison is possible. Undoubtedly the production methods developed in Detroit would have informed the internal material flows in Pullman, but comparisons are not instructive as they had so much more space to work with and freedom to expand (though it is notable that they still used multi-story shops in Illinois) and we do not have comprehensive machine-level interior layouts for either site.

Bissell left Pullman in 1881 to take up the superintendence of Barney & Smith Manufacturing Co. of Dayton, OH. Then, in August 1886, he became the chief mechanic of the Buffalo shops of the Wagner Sleeping Car Co., the chief competitor of Pullman. While there, he was instrumental in developing and patenting certain details of the mechanism for the vestibule that enclosed the space between cars to protect passengers while moving between them. Pullman had enjoyed a monopoly on the idea of the vestibule through the patents of his employees, Henry H. Sessions until 1892, when a Chicago court ruled his patents invalid and opened up the vestibule to all other lines across the country (see Section 3.B.4).[566] Bissell retired from the railways in 1895.

Throughout his career, Bissell was a member of the Master Car Builders' Association of Chicago[567] and an active developer of manufacturing techniques and equipment for railway passenger cars. He received numerous patents during his career.

T.A. Bissell Patents

221,278	Improvements in Car-Axle Boxes	Nov. 4, 1879
237,937	Transom Ventilator [with H.C. Hart]	Feb. 22, 1881
378,948	Head-Rest for Sleeping Cars	Mar. 6, 1888

[565] White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1*, 648.

[566] Ibid., 450–51.

[567] Though beyond the scope of this report, work in the considerable number of publications issued by the MCBA would repay the diligent research of railroad passenger cars. See the WorldCat identity authority record at http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-no2002017102/.

387,812	Die for Forging Truck Equalizers [James Reilley, assignor of ½ to Bissell]	Aug. 14, 1888
389,358	Railway-Car	Sep. 11, 1888
389,359	Railway-Car [with Claes Bergman]	Sep. 11, 1888
389,408	Die for Forging Transoms for Car Trucks [James Reilley, assignor of ½ to Bissell]	Sep. 11, 1888
389,437	Railway-Car [with Claes Bergman]	Sep. 11, 1888
395,173	Die for Forging Truss Rod Anchors for Railway Cars [James Reilley, assignor of ½ to Bissell]	Dec. 25, 1888
435,676	Railway-Car	Sep. 2, 1890
449,896	Vestibule-Hood for Cars	Apr. 7, 1891
453,782	Vestibule-Hood for Cars	June 9, 1891
470,799	Railway-Car	Mar. 15, 1892
533,205	Railway-Car Platform [with Claes Bergman, assignor of ½ to Bissell]	Jan. 29, 1895

Continuing Art and Reissue Patents

CA7,834A	Improvement in car-axle boxes	Aug. 30, 1877
RE8,940	Car axle boxes; reissue [of CA7,834A?]	Oct. 21, 1879
CA28,698A	Head-rest for sleeping cars	Mar. 14, 1888
CA36,879A	Car coupler	June 23, 1891
CA38,481A	Vestibule Hood for Cars	Mar. 15, 1892
CA42,434A	Draw gear for railway cars	Mar. 28, 1893
CA43,179A	Car buffer	June 9, 1893

5.B.5 Nathan Franklin Barrett (1845–1919)

Callout: Archival holdings for Nathan F. Barrett

- **Chevy Chase Historical Society, Maryland**. A few signed (or surmised) drawings by Barrett of the town layout,[568] but no correspondence.
- *Otherwise, none located.*

A founding member of the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1899 and serving as their president in 1902–03, Barrett was one of the earliest landscape architects (or "landscape engineer," as they were sometimes styled at the time) in America. He was also one of the first proponents of geometric "formal" landscape design, though in many of his designs he inserted a sinuous 'serpentine' feature directly juxtaposed with that formal grid.[569] Just after his death, it was noted that he was more student of European landscape design then he was influenced by American styles such as that of Frederick Law Olmsted. His earlier more formal, gridded designs like Pullman gave way to more eclectic, meandering ones later in his career. Born in Staten Island, Barrett served in the Civil War (under Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan and was wounded in Virginia at the Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864) and after the war was one of the very first American landscape designers. Running a nursery with his brother on Staten Island (a similar trajectory as the earlier Alexander Jackson Downing and his brother in Newburgh, NY), Barrett devoted himself to studying landscape design on his own. At the time, there was no formal school for the subject in America, so Barrett learned by observing—but diverging from—the works of Downing, Donald G. Mitchell, and Frederick Law Olmstead and Downing Vaux (Central Park was just beginning to be laid out at this time).[570] His first commission was in 1869 for the Central Railroad of New Jersey, landscaping around a number of their railway stations, which then led to his work on parks in general and town planning.[571]

---

[568] Roderick S. French, "Chevy Chase Village in the Context of the National Suburban Movement, 1870-1900," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 49 (1973): 324.

[569] Nathan F. Barrett, "Fifty Years of Landscape Modeling," *The Art World* 1, no. 3 (1916); Judith Helm Robinson and Stephanie S. Foell, "Barrett, Nathan Franklin (1845–1919)," in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin S. Karson (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000); Bremer W. Pond, "Fifty Years in Retrospect: Brief Account of the Origin and Development of the Asla," *Landscape Architecture* 40, no. 2 (1950). The best modern summary of his life and work is Arthur Melville Pearson, "Historic Pullman's *Other* Architect: Nathan Franklin Barrett," *Illinois Heritage* 8, no. 3 (2005).

[570] For the broader story, see Robinson and Foell, "Barrett, Nathan Franklin (1845–1919)." (Barrett has an entry on 13-14), Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York: Abrams, 2001); Robert M. Toole, *Landscape Gardens on the Hudson, a History: The Romantic Age, the Great Estates, & the Birth of American Landscape Architecture* (Hensonville, NY: Black Dome, 2010); George B. Tobey, *A History of Landscape Architecture: The Relationship of People to Environment* (New York: American Elsevier Pub., 1990).

[571] "Nathan F. Barrett Dead," *The New York Times*, Oct. 18 1919; "Nathan Franklin Barrett: A Minute on His Life and Service," in *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects 1909–1921*, ed.

Barrett had previous experience in industrial town landscape design, such as it then existed, in that his uncle Col. Nathan Barrett, owner of the dyeing and printing company, had built one of the earliest industrial parks in the country at Factoryville, now part of West Brighton, Staten Island, NY. Nathan's father was also the founder of Barrett Nephews dye-works on the island as well. Arriving on the island from New England in 1819, Col. Barrett opened a textile dyeing and printing works with a fabric refinishing branch, as Barrett, Tileston & Co., reincorporated as the New-York Dyeing and Printing Establishment five years later. In an area first developed in the 1830s by textile manufacturers, wallpaper printers, and dyeing and textile printing factories, Col. Barrett bought a section of land in 1836, platted out with small lots and houses for the workers, and christened it Factoryville.[572] Although Col. Barrett does not seem to have engaged in any formal landscape design (though he did win a prize for "best and largest squash" at the 1851 Cattle Show of the American Institute of the City of New York), his nephew grew up on Staten Island and would have understood the context of a company town.

Barrett was hired in October 1879 by George M. Pullman to do a study of his oceanfront estate, Fairlawn (built 1873), in Elberon (Long Branch), NJ. Their connection may have come through Barrett's work for the New Jersey Central Railroad landscaping stations on the line which ran to Long Branch from 1871–76. When Pullman decided to build his eponymous town, he also called on Barrett, who was put in charge of the overall town layout, as well as the layout of the parks, including the front of the administration building and the extensive recreation areas to the east of town along Lake Calumet.[573] His and S.S. Beman's somewhat idealized plan printed in Harpers in 1885 (Figure 5.5) show only the southern half of the town, built on a regular grid system.[574] The only creativity Barrett seems to have engaged in was the lawn in front of the main office building and the small parks by the Hotel Florence and Arcade Building. Even the "play ground" and athletic course on an artificial island at the Lakeside

---

Carl Rust Parker, Bremer W. Pond, and Theodora Kimball (Amsterdam, NY: The Recorder Press, 1922); Richard Schermerhorn, Jr., "Early American Landscape Architecture," *The Architectural Review* 12, no. 4 (1921). Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land; the Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 387. mistakenly has him laying out the grounds of Pullman in 1872. Barrett would later have a hand in developing Fort Worth, TX, Birmingham, AL, and Chevy Chase, MD (on the last, see French, "Chevy Chase Village in the Context of the National Suburban Movement, 1870-1900.").

[572] Ira K. Morris, *Morris's Memorial History of Staten Island, New York* (New York: Memorial Pub. Co., 1898), 1: 411 and 2: 68-69; Gale Harris, "John De Groot House, 1674 Richmond Terrace, Staten Island," (Staten Island, NY: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2005); Sergey Kadinsky to Hidden Waters Blog, Apr. 21, 2017, https://hiddenwatersblog.wordpress.com/2017/04/21/factorypond1/.

[573] Curiously, a retrospective of his career written shortly after his death states that Barrett designed Pullman in 1872, which presumably means that he first was hired by George Pullman then, the same year Pullman commissioned Henry S. Jaffray, his architect for his Chicago Prairie Ave. home, to design Fairlawn. Barrett later got the commission to lay out the town of Elberon, NJ itself.

[574] It is also interesting to note that this "original plan" was more tied to boat slips on Lake Calumet connecting to the "Pullman main track line around the east and south of the town. As built, the town had relatively less connection to the lake than this.

still seem to be jammed into one cell of the regular grid. Somewhat amusingly, most of the sinuousness of the entire town was created by the railroad track curves that show a regular minimum radius necessitated by the rail cars.

Although the 1921 retrospective of Barrett's career stated that his work "was always of striking originality and his imaginative powers were without bounds" and said that Barrett "despised the conventional and was never content to be bound by precedent," it has to be said that the design of Pullman was not that adventurous. Only the offset market square disturbs the regular grid, and all the park areas are confined to the periphery. We do not know what he did with color and texture of the plantings or what types of nurseries were even available to him, nor is it evident what input George Pullman or S.S. Beman may have had on the landscaping, but Barrett was young and presumably found his own design voice after attaining fame with Pullman. He would later tend toward the "Reptonian" style of informal planting groups and "delightful" surprising vistas as one moved through a garden.[575]

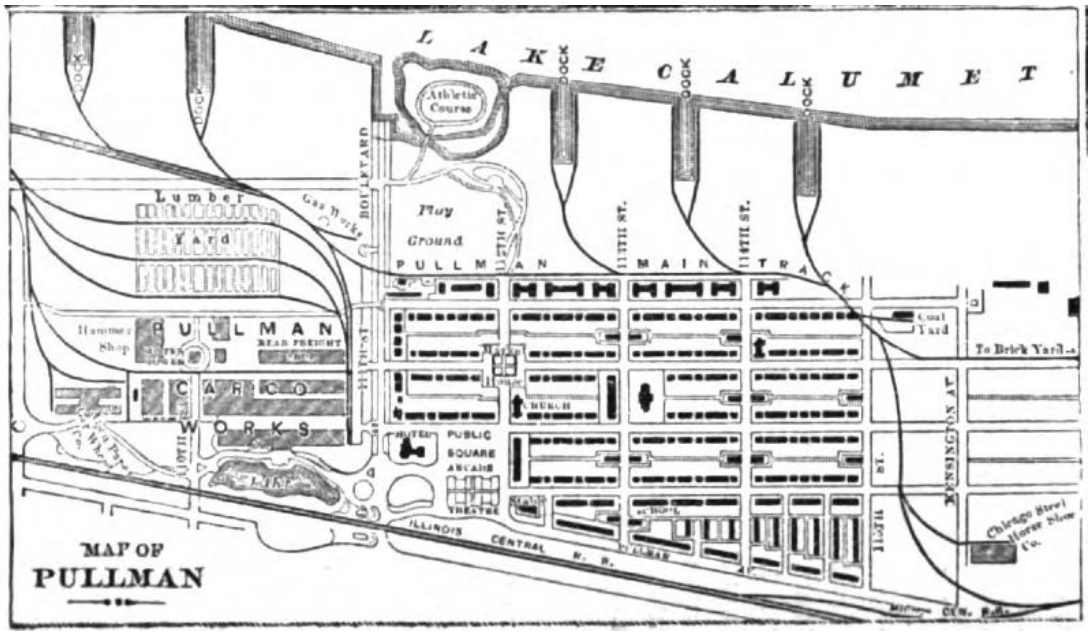


Figure 5.5. Idealized Map of Pullman. Source: Harper's Monthly 70 (1885): 454.

Later in his career, and buoyed by his fame having laid out Pullman, Barrett was one of the members of the landscape committee laying out the World's Columbian Exposition in 1892–93. In addition, he is noted for his work for Henry M. Flagler (co-founder of Standard Oil) at the Hotel Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine, Florida. The hotel was itself the product of the Pullman phenomenon, as it was built in conjunction with the development of the Jersey City to St. Augustine (the "American Riviera" or "Newport [Rhode Island] of the South") Pullman service for the Florida East Coast Railroad's *The Florida Special*, which made its inaugural run in 1887 with Pullman himself on board. Flagler had in fact

[575] On the work of Humphrey Repton (1752-1818), see John Dixon Hunt, "Humphry Repton and Garden History," *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 3 (1996); Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in the British Art [by] Yale University Press, 1999).

developed a string of resort hotels along Florida's east coast from St. Augustine to, by 1912, Key West, and eventually, with a steamship connector, to Cuba, all in conjunction with Pullman service to get his well-heeled tourists there.[576]

Barrett created master plans for cities as far flung as Fort Worth, Texas, Birmingham, Alabama, New Decatur (later Albany and now just Decatur), Alabama, and Chevy Chase, Maryland, though only the latter seems to have been put into partial execution. In the 1890s he did a number of private house landscapes in towns like Newport, Rhode Island, Scarborough, New York, and Tuxedo [Park], New York. Those for R.G. Dunn at Narragansett Pier and for New York City lawyer Joseph Hodges Choate and his wife, Mabel, at his summer estate, "Naumkeag," in Stockbridge, Massachusetts are still highlighted in modern design studies and the last is open to the public.

In 1895 Barrett was appointed landscape architect of the Essex County Park Commission in New Jersey. There, with John Bogart, he was responsible for a great number of public parks around Newark and the Oranges. He was later an important member (1900-1915) of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission along the Hudson River. By 1888, he had moved to Rochelle Park (a "resident park", or garden suburb, which he had laid out in 1885) in New Rochelle, New York, where he taught landscape architecture seminars out of his house.[577]

---

[576] Beebe and Clegg, *The Trains We Rode*, 186. David C. Lester, "Flagler, Henry M. (1830-1913)," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, ed. William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk, and Roberta L. Diehl (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007).

[577]. The house (with period rooms including a German peasant's kitchen, Pompeiian court, etc.) was situated on a half-acre lot and featured a diagonal "midway" (shades of the World's Columbian Exposition) that ran through the basement of the house and numerous eclectically named paths creating subdivisions of various garden types (colonial, Japanese, Moorish, etc.) See "A Half-Acre Garden," *Scientific American Building Monthly* 32, no. 3 (1901); "A Column in a Garden," *Scientific American Building Monthly* 38, no. 3 (1904); "A School of Landscape Architecture," *The Art World* 2, no. 4 (1917). and plan of his estate in Barrett, "Fifty Years of Landscape Modeling," 182.

5.B.6 Benezette Williams (1844-1914)

Callout: Archival holdings for Benezette Williams

- *None located*

Benzette Williams was a civil engineer at the forefront of the sanitary engineering movement when George Pullman employed him to design the sewer system for the new town of Pullman.[578] Williams was born in 1844 in West Liberty, Ohio and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1869 with degrees in civil and mechanical engineering. He moved to Chicago and was hired by Ellis Sylvester Chesbrough. After Chesbrough was appointed City Engineer of Chicago, he brought Williams with him as an assistant engineer from 1872 to 1878 and Williams then succeeded Chesbrough as city engineer in 1879. Williams also worked on designing a "pontoon drawbridge" to cross the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.[579] He then became chief engineer of the "Water and Sewerage Works for Pullman" in 1880.[580]

[578] "Williams, Benezette [Obituary]," *Engineering News* 72, no. 1 (1914): 54.; *The Michigan Technic*, Issue 12 (University of Michigan Engineering Society, 1899); "Alumni Endowment Fund Members," *The Michigan Alumnus*1900, 34.;"Register of the Engineering Alumni," *The Michigan Technic* 12 (1899).; and Mary McWilliams, *Seattle Water Department History 1854–1954* (Seattle: Dogwood Press, 1955), 54-63.

[579] Benezette Williams, *Bridging Navigable Rivers: Some Self-Adjusting Pontoon Systems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1880).

[580] *The Michigan Technic*, 1899;"The Pullman Sewerage," *Scientific American: Supplement* 14, no. 350 (1882); Pearson, "Historic Pullman's *Other* Architect: Nathan Franklin Barrett," 21.

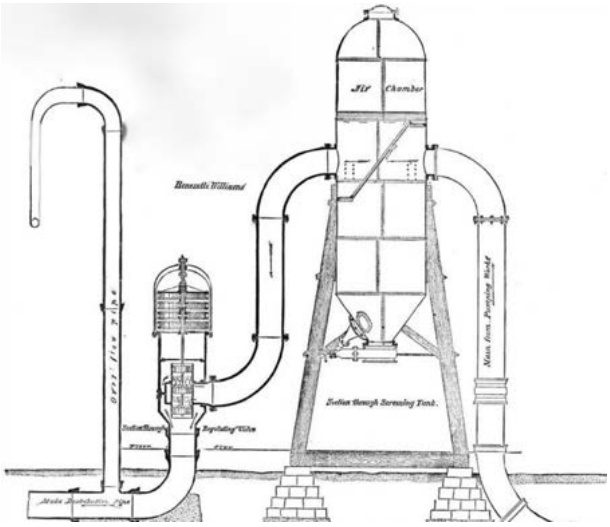


Figure 5.6. "Pullman Sewerage Screening Tank and Pressure Regulating Valve," from Benezette Williams, "The Pullman Sewerage," Scientific American *14, no. 351 (Sept. 23, 1882): 5595-5597*

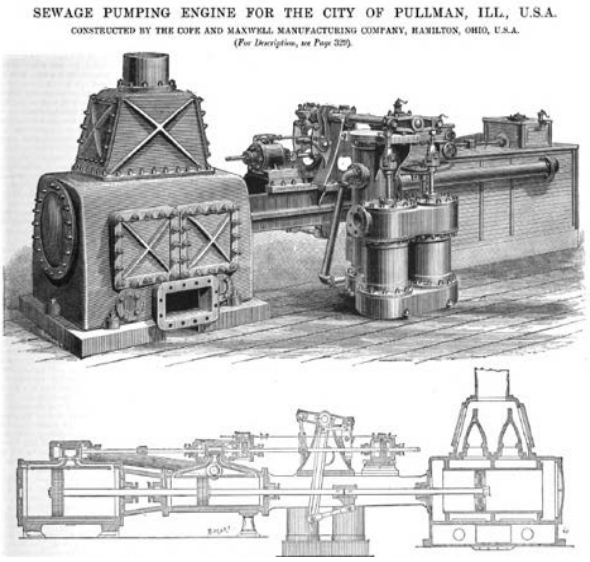


Figure 5.7. "Sewage Pumping Engine for the City of Pullman, Ill., USA," Engineering *35 (April 6, 1883): 327*

Williams cited the low elevation of the town site and the distance from Lake Michigan as his reasons for designing a separate sewage system of "town sewering" (Figure 5.6–5.8) that emptied into a sewage farm on a site three miles from Pullman.[581] Storm-water drainage from the area was directed to Lake Calumet.[582] Although sewage farms had been used previously throughout Europe, Pullman was the first municipality to use this sewage method in the United States.[583] After construction of Pullman was completed, the city was extolled as having been "built scientifically in every part, and its exceptional in respect to drainage and sewerage."[584] George Pullman himself noted "every care was taken in making perfect sanitary conditions by a water supply and an extensive and scientific system of sewerage."[585]

Williams was named Chief Engineer of the Sanitary District of Chicago in 1892.[586] He served as chairman of the board of managers of the Association of Engineering Societies and the chairman of the Western

---

[581] Williams, "The Pullman Sewerage."

[582] "The Separate Versus the Combined System of Sewerage," *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 4, no. 5 (1885).

[583] Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Environmental Services in Urban America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 108.

[584] Wright, "The City of Pullman, Illinois," 107.

[585] Wickes, "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission," 3.

[586] *The Michigan Technic*, 1899.

Society of Engineers in 1885 and went on to design Seattle's sewer system in 1891.[587] In 1897, he designed a portion of the Chicago Drainage Canal.[588] In 1900, the State of Missouri sued the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago for pollution of the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, and Williams testified on the matter.[589]

Fig. 56. Sewage and Water Pumping Station and Water Tower; Pullman, Ill.

Figure 5.8. "Sewage and Water Pumping Station and Water Tower; Pullman, Ill." From Moses Nelson Baker, Sewage Purification in America *(New York: Engineering News Publishing Co. 1893), 76*

[587] Benezette Williams, "Annual Report of the Chairman of the Board of Managers.," (Chicago1885), 121-30; Kit Oldham, "Seattle Ordinance Requiring Residences to Connect to Sewer Lines Is Adopted on December 4, 1885," *HistoryLink.org* (2015).

[588] "Methods of Work and Special Plant on the Chicago Drainage Canal," *The Engineering Record* 35, no. 11 (1897).

[589] Testimony of Benezette Williams, consulting engineer of Chicago, *Pollution of Illinois and Mississippi Rivers by Chicago Sewerage in The State Missouri v. The State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago,* 59th Cong. (1900), 11-16.

5.B.7 Duane Doty (1834/35–1902)

Duane Doty was the city manager for the Town of Pullman and with his wife (she probably wrote most of it) author of the most detailed, if biased, contemporary description of the town.[590] Born in Ohio and a graduate of the "Academy and University" in Ann Arbor, he became a teacher and eventually principal of Dexter high school (1857–60) there. He spent a year editing the *Michigan Journal of Education* before entering the Army during the Civil War. There he was an adjutant of the 7th Michigan Cavalry. Leaving the military by 1863, he was a political editor for the *Detroit Free Press* and then in 1865–75 the superintendent of the Detroit school system.[591] He was hired by the city of Chicago to become Superintendent of Public Schools in 1875[592] and then was lured away by George Pullman to run his eponymous town from its inception in late 1880.

We do know why he left a career as a public school administrator, though why he would then be tapped to run the town of Pullman is not at this time known. He served for five years as Chicago superintendent and then was voted out in June 1880 for his "corrupting" policies (though it was noted he was merely a tool of the real "corruptionists"). Doty had been accused of 'mutilating' the curriculum when he took control in 1875 and "his ring" thus "enslaving and disenthrallment [*sic*]" of the school system. The insurrection had actually begun in the municipal election of 1873, when a number of Chicago politicians sought to oust the old superintendent, and when they finally succeeded, they brought in Doty in 1875 as a reformer (or patsy, depending on one's viewpoint). The local papers abetted this shift and when Doty arrived, he was "always an indigestible morsel in the educational system of Chicago, and after hiccoughing for five years, that system … at last cast him forth." Clear sticking points included Doty's removing the Bible from the school curriculum (and possibly physically from school libraries entirely) as well as instituting an (over)ambitious new curriculum that upset many teachers. He also made an ambitious appeal in the spring of 1880 for $1 million in new funding to build more schools.[593]

---

[590] Duane Doty, "On Pullman, Illinois," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 14 (1888); Doty, *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries [1893]*.

[591] There he published Duane Doty, *A General Classification of the Science of Geography* (Detroit, MI1871); Duane Doty and William Torrey Harris, "A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States as Approved by Many Leading Educators," (1874).

[592] Duane Doty, *A Manual for the Use of Teachers in the Public Schools of the City of Chicago an Outline of the Course of Study; and a Manual of Methods of Instruction in Arithmetic* (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1878); *Rules and Hints on the Theory and Practice of Teaching, Prepared for the Teachers of Public Schools* (New York: E. Steiger, 1879). The education dept. under Doty won a silver medal at the Paris Exposition in 1879, and Doty used his and Harris' 1874 tract as the U.S. delegation's general statement on American schooling (*New England Journal of Education* 9, no. 6 [Feb. 6, 1879], 89; *National Journal of Education* 8, no. 15 [Oct. 17, 1878], 244).

[593] "The School Appropriations," *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 12 1880; "Board of Education," *Chicago Tribune*, June 26 1880; "Superintendent Doty's Retirement," *The Inter Ocean*, July 2 1880; "Northwestern Notes: Chicago Redeemed?," *National Journal of Education* 12, no. 4 (1880). There is even mention of the former assistant superintendent, Francis Hanford, being shot after sending an anonymous letter

There is a great deal of sympathy, however, between the rules ("duties") he proscribed for teachers and students and the sort of mutual-obligation social compact that Pullman workers and residents were supposed to develop. As one article put it after his ouster, "although Mr. Doty was an excellent business man, he emphasized and multiplied mere details so much as to burden and alienate the teachers, at the expense of the usefulness of the schools."[594]

Doty was also known as quite an impressive extemporaneous speaker and a family genealogy notes that both he and his wife, Margarita Jane (*née* Richards), were "writers for the higher class of magazines and newspapers and have contributed many of articles of note to them on literary and philosophical subjects." If so, they must have written them without bylines as they are not apparent in modern indexes.[595] When he was ousted from the public schools, he donated his collection of 1,350 volumes of works on education to the Chicago Public Library, the largest donation given to the library since the Great Fire.[596] His alumni obituary also claims he was a "civil engineer" for Pullman from 1883 onwards, a term used when he reported nativity statistics for the town in 1898 and 1899,[597] though probably not in the formal, degreed sense. Rather it reflected the rise of the "city engineer" who oversaw the planning and maintenance of the urban infrastructure, though most of those men would have increasingly had degrees in civil or mechanical engineering.

Doty died in Pullman in 1902 at the age of 68.

---

to the Common Council. Whether or not it was entirely true, the quite partisan *NJE* editorial ended saying, "No more intrigue; no more petty chicanery, puerile or monkeyish mischief in the administration of school in Chicago! No more intimidation, espionage, terrorism, or plotting, to mystify a corps of schoolma'ams and schoolmasters! No more pothouse politicians to set traps for hard-working pedagogues, to excite their fears of decapitation by ludicrous mystery and slanderous innuendo, or hound them to despair by 'putting up jobs'! No more dismissals from motives of personal pique and petty, puerile spleen! No more gratuitous publication of the names of 'dropped' teachers, under this cowards' plea that 'discipline must be preserved'! No more political or religious tests in the employment of teachers!"

[594] *Detroit Free Press*, June 27, 1880, p. 4.

[595] Ethan Allen Doty, *Doty-Doten Family in America: Descendants of Edward Doty, an Emigrant by the Mayflower, 1620* (Brooklyn, NY: [E.A. Doty], 1897), no. 665; "Duane Doty [Obituary]," *Michigan Alumnus* 9 (1903); "Western Educational Meetings–Illinois," *National Journal of Education* 11, no. 4 (1880): 60. He was also a good PR man for Pullman in general: *e.g.*, Duane Doty, "Art in Car Building," *Railroad Car Journal* 6, no. 6 (1896); "President Diaz's Private Cars," *Railroad Car Journal* (1897); "The Pullman Exhibit at the Omaha Exposition," *Railroad Car Journal* (1898).

[596] "Public Library," *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 30 1880.

[597] "Nativity of Pullman Wage Earners," *Scientific American* 78, no. 6 (1898); Duane Doty, "Notes and Abstracts: Annual Statement Relating to the Operatives and Wage-Earners at Pullman," *American Journal of Sociology* 4, no. 4 (1899).

———————

5.C Sociotechnical Systems of the Pullman Experience

The Pullman Experience is obviously more than just the train cars, yet it is at its core a story of the history of a technology that changed American travel. Over the last four decades, historians of technology have reoriented how history of technology is done from great inventor stories and a focus on 'firsts'—where George Pullman would surely qualify—to a broader contextual understanding of the sociotechnical system in which a particular object or technology is embedded. In the case of Pullman, there is of course the story of the great inventor (mostly an innovator, in this case), and there are good stories to tell about George M. Pullman as the first to fully market the opulent sleeper and parlor cars. Similarly, the town of Pullman is perhaps more notable as the first unified industrial paternalism undertaking (of the welfare capital model, though as Chapter 4 shows, there were numerous antecedents). But the 'systems' approach allows a better understanding of how people, objects, and institutions (be they economic, industrial, governmental, societal, and so forth) interact and create what we simplistically refer to as technology. With the Pullman railroad system, each part of the organization can be analyzed independently—cars, manufacturing, operation, staff, the town itself, and so on—but in many ways they only fully make sense when viewed as part of the larger system that gives them form and meaning. And in particular, the coordination and management of the whole technological system is what makes it stand apart from a simple invention story.[598]

Sociotechnical elements within technological systems have a number of salient features: they are said to shape the design of the artifacts within the system (and to some extent, the users, too, are shaped by the new technologies); they gain momentum as they grow and thus exert more influence (*i.e.*, market or

---

[598] The idea of technology as a system is typically tied to the work of Thomas Hughes in the 1970s, who in studying the consolidation of electrical systems of major metropolitan areas (coincidentally, strongly based on the experience of the businessman/innovator/investor Samuel Insull and his work creating the Chicago electrical system) recognized that it was not enough to talk of the generators or the light bulbs or the wires … or the investors or the consumers or the advertising. Rather, one had to recognize that all of these and more are tied up in an interdependent system for the "technology" to be successful. It is in fact the success of the *system* that leads to what we would call a successful technology. Thomas Parke Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); John Law, "Technological Systems," in *Science, Technology, and Society: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Sal P. Restivo (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); "Networks and Large-Scale Technological Systems." It is unclear to what degree Hughes was pulling from the idea of the business system in Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1977). The concept is examined in various ways in Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas Parke Hughes, and Trevor Pinch, *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*, 1st MIT Press paperback ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). There have been other theoretical frames that have been added to the history of technology repertoire, including *actor-network theory*, *sociotechnical imaginaries*, and others, but in a general way, *technological systems* remains the most widely used.

social 'force') on the other parts of the system; and they can often be perceived to be acting autonomously, as if the technology had a life of its own without the people that actually keep it running.[599] As a technological system grows and especially as it gets successfully disseminated throughout society, the system builds momentum and major changes become more and more difficult.

Railroads were some of the first of these large, systemic technologies, since it was their very network which allowed them to become economically (or, one could say, socio-culturally) successful in the nineteenth century. Studying the overall operations aspect of railroads, one modern European historian has commented that railways represented a "sense of unity and autonomy" in that "the smoothness of the trains motion coupled with the synchronization of technologies and organizational structures rendered the railway a *machine ensemble*, a coherent spatially extended techno-bureaucratic entity, rather than simply the coming together of trains and track."[600] Railways also benefited from increased urbanization and industrialization across the country, both of which affected supplies and suppliers, consumables and consumers.

Technological systems like Pullman by their nature also require a type of organization and control in order for them to function smoothly and to thrive in a competitive economic sphere. While that control can be relatively decentralized, in the case of Pullman and most large-scale technological systems developed in the later nineteenth-century, the control tends towards high centralization. Pullman was very effective in developing that centralized control, and did so by creating an interesting hybrid of individual customization of the cars for each order while at the same time providing a uniform rail experience for passengers both materially and managerially.

A word of caution should be added when thinking of Pullman as a technological system. The usual formulation assumes that all parts of the system are connected in a mutually influential, if not perfectly symmetrical relationship. That is, each element affects the others in the system in some way. Further, it is assumed that the elements are all symbiotic and in fact can produce emergent properties through their interaction. Although a perfect symmetry never exists, in the case of Pullman we have three quite distinct elements: the manufacturing business, the operational business, and the town itself. While these are obviously connected they were also considerably independent of one another and abstractly have no necessary connection to one another.[601] These divisions were punctuated over time: with the forced separation of the city from the company after 1894, with the federally mandated divestment by

---

[599] Langdon Winner, *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977).

[600] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, quoted in George Revill, *Railway* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 71-72.

[601] That is, a model town on the lines of Pullman, IL could have been drawn up for any industry, not just railway car manufacturing, or even independent of any industry (modern corporatized gated communities are an example); car manufacturing and operation need not at all be interconnected as the case of other major car manufacturers like Budd or ACF demonstrate; and the fact that the operations of the Pullman system were run from downtown Chicago and not the town and then distributed in depots all across the country reminds us that operations and the town were in fact quite disconnected.

Pullman of its operational arm in 1947, or even the company's choice to get into, and then get out of, all-metal automobile body manufacture in the 1930s. Add to this the mandate for Pullman National Monument to tell the story of the Pullman Porters, who were strictly part of the operational arm only, entirely disconnected from the town and factory of Pullman, and one finds that the unifying concept of a technological system is not as unifying in this case as in some others. That said, Pullman certainly did succeed by the careful orchestration of all its elements in order to achieve the success it did. We might therefore think of this as a larger system comprised of three smaller subsystems which had to hand off to one another at various points. In doing interpretive history of technologies, then, it is always valuable to think in terms of the system, and one of the challenges for Pullman National Monument will be how to tell the stories—each quite straightforward, when separated—in an integrated fashion.

Pullman, then, was made up of a combination of engineering, social, and human components, each of which contributed to the success of the system, and any of which could contribute to its failure. And we should remember that distinguishing the technical from the social is an artificial distinction in most cases. Technologies do not act without people, and people often only act through technologies. As systems go, Pullman was very much an example of a strongly centralized one, and, in the formulation of Louis Mumford, much more *authoritarian* than *democratic* in its autocratic organization of factory, town, and rail service.[602] Even though the network spanned the continent, manufacturing, operations, and the porters were strongly and centrally controlled from Michigan Avenue with regulations, standards, and edicts. It also appears that all car manufacturing and repair across the country was mostly planned at the Pullman headquarters. Similarly, although again independently, the town was strongly and centrally controlled from the town offices in Pullman. To what extent Duane Doty might have been something of a feudal lord would be an interesting investigation; initial impressions though suggest he was more of an early bureaucratic city manager.[603]

---

[602] Lewis Mumford, "Authoritarian and Democratic Technics," *Technology and Culture* 5, no. 1 (1964).

[603] One interesting avenue of investigation might be to connect the initial philosophy of Pullman town and then its operations of after 1897 (*i.e.*, post-divestment) in terms of the quasi-industrial-turned-civic paternalism that came to be known in early twentieth-century Progressivism as "technocracy" (as well as "sewer socialism"). See Guy Alchon, "Technocratic Social Science and the Rise of Managed Capitalism" (Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1985); Ariane Mary Aphrodite Liazos, "The Movement for "Good City Government": Municipal Leagues, Political Science, and the Contested Meaning of Progressive Democracy, 1880-1930" (Harvard University, 2007). On the later manifestation: Douglas E. Booth, "Municipal Socialism and City Government Reform: The Milwaukee Experience, 1910-1940," *Journal of Urban History* 12, no. 1 (1985); Neil K. Basen, "Municipal Socialism in the United States," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 11 (1977).

Table 5.1. Cost of Operation for Nine Sleeping Cars, Oct. 1885–Sept. 1886.

ITEM		COST	%
Porters		$1,783.07	15.7%
Washing		1,372.73	12.1%
Supplies		848.72	7.5%
Running	– Labor	2,638.25	23.2%
	– Materials	837.68	7.4%
Overhaul and Repair	– Labor	1,458.64	12.8%
	– Materials	2,014.67	17.7%
Oil and Waste		212.49	1.9%
Fuel		188.97	1.7%

GROSS	
Expense:	$11,355.22
Revenue:	18,326.30
Net:	6,978.01
AGGREGATE	
Labor:	$7,252.69 (63.9%)
Materials:	4,102.53 (36.1%)

Consider the following when thinking about Pullman as a system: in 1886 it cost over $1,000 to run a sleeper for the year, though on average each brought in about $2,000 in revenue. Looking at just nine cars Pullman that ran during that year, they made nearly 365,000 miles and took an army of workers to maintain (Table 5.1). Before the car made it to the road, it was ordered by a railroad or a private individual, designed by an army of draftsmen, outfitted by another army of interior decorators, built by a cast of hundreds, from lumbermen to sawyers to joiners and carvers, forge men (and later welders), joiners, cabinetmakers, plumbers, upholsterers, and painters, and then handed off to an entire service department to be outfitted with pillows, linens, signage and more. Once on the road, the car was operated by a conductor and typically eight porters per train. Those trains also required crews, dining cars and the food systems (and laundries) that replenished them at every depot, repair shops, ticketing agents, and baggage handlers. Of course, the passengers were part of the system as well. Technologically we are talking about the train and all its components, but also about the railroad, it's signaling and water towers, bridges and switching yards, and advertising and contractual arrangements with Pullman. Depending on how far you want to go into the fractal of the system, one might even consider the luggage and the briefcases of travelers—and remember the different types of travelers have different types of luggage—for they, too, needed a place to exist in the system as the train sped across the country. Their sizes and shapes formed the design of the interior spaces of the cars and the number of baggage cars on each train.

The company itself had more than recognized that they were a large system by the end of the 1920s, though it should be noted that their concept of the system is a sort of limited subset of a technological system. In 1929, James Keely, the assistant to the president of the Pullman Company, gave an address to the Chicago Association of Commerce in which he specifically described "the Pullman System" (emphasis ~~added):~~

[604] The following is from "Statement of Cost of Sleeping Cars from September 20, 1885 to September 30 1886, Newberry Library, Pullman Co. papers, 01/01/01, box 7, fol. 94: Sleeping Cars – Financial Statements, 1882-1886.

> The Pullman system is based on three fundamental proposals:
>
> 1. To provide for all the railroads passenger train *equipment* representing the last word in comfort, convenience, luxury and safety.
>
> 2. To *operate* this equipment everywhere, the same car passing without interruption over the lines of his many railroads as maybe required to complete its trip.
>
> 3. To provide for this continent-wide passenger *service and equipment pool*, so that the peaks and depressions, seasonal and regional, in travel, may all be met without maintaining in an uneconomically large number of cars. …
>
> The Pullman system, as an equipment pool, is both a vast economy and a huge national convenience. Travelers are often surprised to learn that only about 9,000 Pullman cars are required under this plan of intensive service to supply the country. Under the *centralized management*, the utmost of mileage and service is obtained from every car through the entire year. …
>
> The Pullman system is the warp and woof of unification, running throughout the whole fabric of the countries railroad establishment. It would be hard to conceive a public service so effectively preserving the benefits of unification while avoiding the evils of monopoly. The railroads are left free to compete, and most vigorously they do. The Pullman organization is indeed an effective aid to competition. For example, a railroad company wishes to put out a new and particularly de luxe train. It wants something of special character, quality and design brought into cars in service. So the Pullman company is called upon, designs and builds the cars, owns them, and manages them.[605]

What Keely leaves understated in that very last sentence is all the details that allow such a system to function. In the design-build-manage sequence, there are hundreds if not thousands of people involved, dozens and dozens of discrete entities internal to the system (as shops, departments, suppliers, and so on) as well as all the external (exogenous) factors which every decision-making person in the system is responding to, all of which shape the final product.

Future studies of Pullman might attend to the economic, tactical, and political techniques that George Pullman and the Pullman Company used in order to foster their empire. At the same time however, one should look to broader American ideas of mobility, class and status, and leisure. Although most major routes could easily sustain one or two opulent Pullman Palace trains for well-to-do clients, by the 1920s or 30s, Pullman travel had become a taken-for-granted (yet still often aspirational) middle-class feature of national life. In those interwar years and into the 1950s Pullman actively marketed to the business traveler, a separate demographic that shaped the technology in its own way. And although the broader study of rail travel is probably beyond the scope of the Pullman National Monument, some attention should be paid to how, at least before 1947, Pullman developed and maintained the quite astonishing coordination between its cars and the railroads that pulled them and the ticketing and servicing systems that sustained them.

---

[605] "The Pullman System", in Robert J. Wayner, *The Pullman Scrapbook* (New York: Wayner Publications, 1971), 3-7.

Technological systems, especially large-scale ones, require a strong organizational and control system in order for them to thrive. This has long been recognized in the rise of management as a field, and within studies of the history of business (which has also become partially congruent with the history of technology when looking at late nineteenth- and twentieth-century technologies). Not nearly enough is understood about the first twenty or thirty years of Pullman's management structure. For one thing, Pullman did not take his company public and start issuing annual reports until 1875, and even for many years after that, reports were merely annual balance sheets, with no explanation of the managerial structure of the corporation. Nonetheless, like any successful business, Pullman managed to recruit or develop employees with deep and specialized expertise (whether that be on the shop floor or in the dining car) and then managed to effectively organize them into an efficient (or at least very profitable) system. We get only one remarkably complete glimpse into the managerial structure of Pullman from an article by the president of the company in 1916, extolling the integration of Taylor's scientific management with the companies "common sense management."[606]

In the early years of wooden rail car manufacturer, it seems that each independent shop (metal, wood, upholstery, paint, etc.) was relatively autonomous and although there probably was some hierarchy within each, it was relatively flat. Particularly in the finishing trades such as carving, marquetry, detail painting, and decorating, Pullman prided itself on having highly skilled craftsmen working for him. As production volumes grew, and especially with the shift to steel and then lightweight carriages—and in parallel with most other American industries of the time—workers became increasingly specialized and less highly skilled (or at least, less broadly skilled at high-skill tasks). This was both a cause and consequence of increased hierarchical managerial control.

Managerial decisions can affect all levels from production to consumption. They need to be attuned to how a car works, and how it is perceived by the traveler. Alfred Chandler realized long ago that large businesses did not succeed specifically because of internal differentiation and specialization, but rather because of what he called "successive inclusion." That is, they brought all the various steps under their control, either by doing it themselves in-house (this was the Pullman way), absorbing those steps through vertical integration (or in the Pullman case through about 1920, horizontally absorbing all the competition), or by promulgating very strict specifications for outside suppliers (the Apple Computer way today). At the same time a managerial hierarchy developed which replicated the military distinction of line and staff officers—those who are responsible for one particular skill (whether artillery or cavalry in the army, or drop-forging or marquetry in the car building shop), and those who carried out support activities for those lines, respectively.[607] This is the so-called "visible hand" of management (as compared to the "invisible hand" of economics of Adam Smith).[608]

---

[606] Joseph Husband and John S. Runnells, "What a New System of Management Did for Us," *System: The Magazine of Business* 29 and 30, no. 2-6; 2 (1916); ibid.

[607] Revill, *Railway*, 73-75.

[608] Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Chandler found most of the early development of this in the operations of railroads after the Civil War, though it is notable in his later work on the development of hierarchical management in the American corporation, railways

Far too little is understood about the labor history of Pullman beyond the 1894 strike (see Section 3.A.3). Even the Great Railroad Strike of 1922 is poorly understood in the Pullman context, even though one would expect that it should be, given that it was known as the "Railway Shopmen's Strike," and Pullman was at the peak of its production at that time.[609] And although there are detailed examinations of the Railway Labor Board that adjudicated the strike, such analyses do not percolate down to shed enough light on the shops themselves.[610]

Railway unions such as the American Railway Union (ARU) and union organizers have been reasonably well studied, although their fractured nature (there were over a dozen unions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century) has inhibited a unified understanding of how labor movements affected a single shop. The so-called "Big Four" unions (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers [BLE], Order of Railway Conductors of America [ORCA], Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen [B of LF&E], and then Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen [BRT]) were not those of the shops, and most of the rest were specialized unions for the running of the railroads. The shops, then, were left to be organized under general labor unions, which tended to bypass to skilled workers that made up the bulk of Pullman's early craftsman.

Like the trades that they practiced, the organization of skilled workers in railway manufacturing shops, especially in the nineteenth-century, have also been neglected in favor of attention to their products (that is, the locomotives and rail lines). George Pullman, and Robert Todd Lincoln after him were no friends of labor and believed that a good working environment and amenities would disincline his workers from wanting or needing a union.

All this said, the labor history at Pullman construction and repair shops is a topic well worth study, but we have found it to be one that is largely still locked within the primary source archives.[611] The position of the company would be all too readily apparent in the pages of *The Pullman News*, a propagandistic

---

play little role: *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise*, Mit Press Research Monographs (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962).

[609] Davis studies the strike in general, and there is occasional mention of Pullman therein Colin J. Davis, *Power at Odds: The 1922 National Railroad Shopmen's Strike* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1997). A good contemporary description of the matters at issue are in Margaret Gadsby, "Strike of the Railroad Shopmen," *Monthly Labor Review* 15, no. 6 (1922). and the strike is of some importance for the Pullman Porters: Mark Noon, "'It Ain't Your Color, It's Your Scabbing': Literary Depictions of African American Strikebreakers," *African American Review* 38, no. 3 (2004). There are records about it in the Pullman Company Archive in the Newberry Library, 06/01/01, fol. 122a-j, Strike of Railroad and Pullman Employees, History and Information Files, 1922.

[610] H.D. Wolf, "Criticisms of the Railroad Labor Board and an Evaluation of Its Work," *The University Journal of Business* 5, no. 1 (1927).

[611] There are records relating to the strike, including executives correspondences that describe their use of African American workers as strike breakers, in collections of the Newberry Library, Pullman Company Archives, 01/12/03 Pullman's Palace Car Company. Secretary. Strike Scrapbooks, 1894-1897.

company publication published from 1922 to 1958 (it is perhaps coincidental that the newspaper began just at the time of the Railway Shopmen's Strike). It is unclear where the voices of the workers within the shops may lie. The voices of the townspeople were quite loud in 1894, but are difficult to recover for the period before or after that. The voices of the conductors and porters are increasingly being recovered. The voices of the railroad consumer—the traveler—may be found in the interplay between reminiscence and the advertising about the travels.

PULLMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT

Figure 6.1. Map of Pullman National Monument showing the phases of town construction

Legend

- After 1959
- 1938-1959
- 1892-1938
- 1880-1892
- Missing Footprint from 1892
- Pullman Boundary

Street Map Source: Esri 2019

Map by Kyle Parker-McGlynn

Chapter 6
EXISTING CONDITIONS

The existing conditions and recent alterations in the Town of Pullman and the factory sites have been addressed well in other documents. The *Pullman Historic District Reconnaissance Survey* completed in 2013 offers clear and succinct assessments of extant buildings in Pullman. Likewise, the Archaeological Overview & Assessment completed in 2017 covers the current conditions of factory remnants. A draft revised National Historic Landmark nomination for Pullman Historic District, completed in August 1997 and on deposit at Pullman National Monument, includes a list of contributing and non-contributing structures.[612]

For the purposes of this Historic Resources Report, the existing conditions of built environment cultural resources that are not addressed in the aforementioned documents will be considered briefly for their potential significance for research and interpretation. In addition, this section will consider historical documents valuable for studying change over time in the extant built environment and also strategies for using Pullman's incredibly rich built environment as primary historical evidence.

Figure 6.1 offers a visual map showing the approximate age of extant buildings as well as major buildings missing today that were present on the 1892 Rascher Map. Most obvious from this map are the significant changes in the industrial core. Importantly, many of the 1880s buildings that no longer stand were replaced gradually over the twentieth century at first as part of the Pullman Company's changing technological needs, then after 1959 as part of deindustrialization and the reinvention of the Calumet region.

The vast majority of domestic structures from the Town of Pullman's original construction survive. These can be seen in the concentration of housing south of 111th Street, and the two areas of early construction north of the factory, namely Blocks 20, 21, and 22 just north of the Allen Paper Car Wheel factory and Blocks 27 and 30 just west of the foundry. Significant losses from these areas of early construction include the tenement buildings along Langley Street and several lost houses on Maryland Street. Other significant losses for understanding the full spectrum of original company housing, though not appearing on this map, are the Foundrymen's Cottages that stood on 104th Street, which were removed for the Corliss School in the 1930s, and the frame houses for brick workers, which were the lowest ranking domestic buildings from the 1881 construction and were demolished at an unknown time.

The range of condition among surviving houses is vast. Some survive in states of preservation in keeping with the Secretary of the Interior's standards while others are vacant shells missing windows or roofs. Most, however, have the kind of alterations that tell the story of twentieth-century architectural adaptation to changing household technologies and aging materials. Many exteriors feature enclosed porches or additions to the rear that offer additional living space. Some have vinyl or asphalt siding on part or all of the house to cover aging brick. Many have replaced windows and doors. Interior

[612] Adam Stewart, "Pullman Historic District," unpublished draft revised National Historic Landmark nomination, 26 August 1997. Adam Stewart, "Pullman Historic District (Unpublished Draft Revised National Historic Landmark Nomination)," (On file at Pullman National Monument, 1997).

inspections were not completed for this study but a comparative examination of changing strategies to alter Beman's original plans to accommodate changing needs could be an illuminating exercise. See Section 4.F for more about future interpretation of interior changes.

Two types of structures extant in Pullman today whose significant histories have not been studied thoroughly are (1) the sheds, garages, and back alleys throughout Pullman, and (2) the twentieth-century housing that filled in Blocks 24–26 and 31–35 north of 108th Street.

6.A Alley Architecture

Pullman offers an incredibly valuable opportunity to study the way that Americans adapted their domestic landscapes to accommodate quickly changing transportation technology in the twentieth century. Most of the 800 houses constructed in Pullman in 1881 had wooden sheds in the rear backing up to an alley where residents were expected to store wood and coal. The notable locations that lacked sheds were the east half of Block 27 near the foundry and the east side of Fulton Ave (houses and tenements). Details from the 1887 Rascher Map demonstrate that even the lowest status company houses in northern Pullman featured wooden sheds. Beman's drawings for a shed to accompany the management houses in Block R survive and suggest the appearance for the sheds throughout the town (see Figure. 4.32).

Figure 6.2. Details of Block 6 from 1887 Rascher Map (left) and 1938 Sanborn Map (right). Frame sheds at the rear of the lots were originally provided for a wide range of housing types, as seen in the 1911 map. By 1938, virtually all of them had been replaced by garages for automobiles.

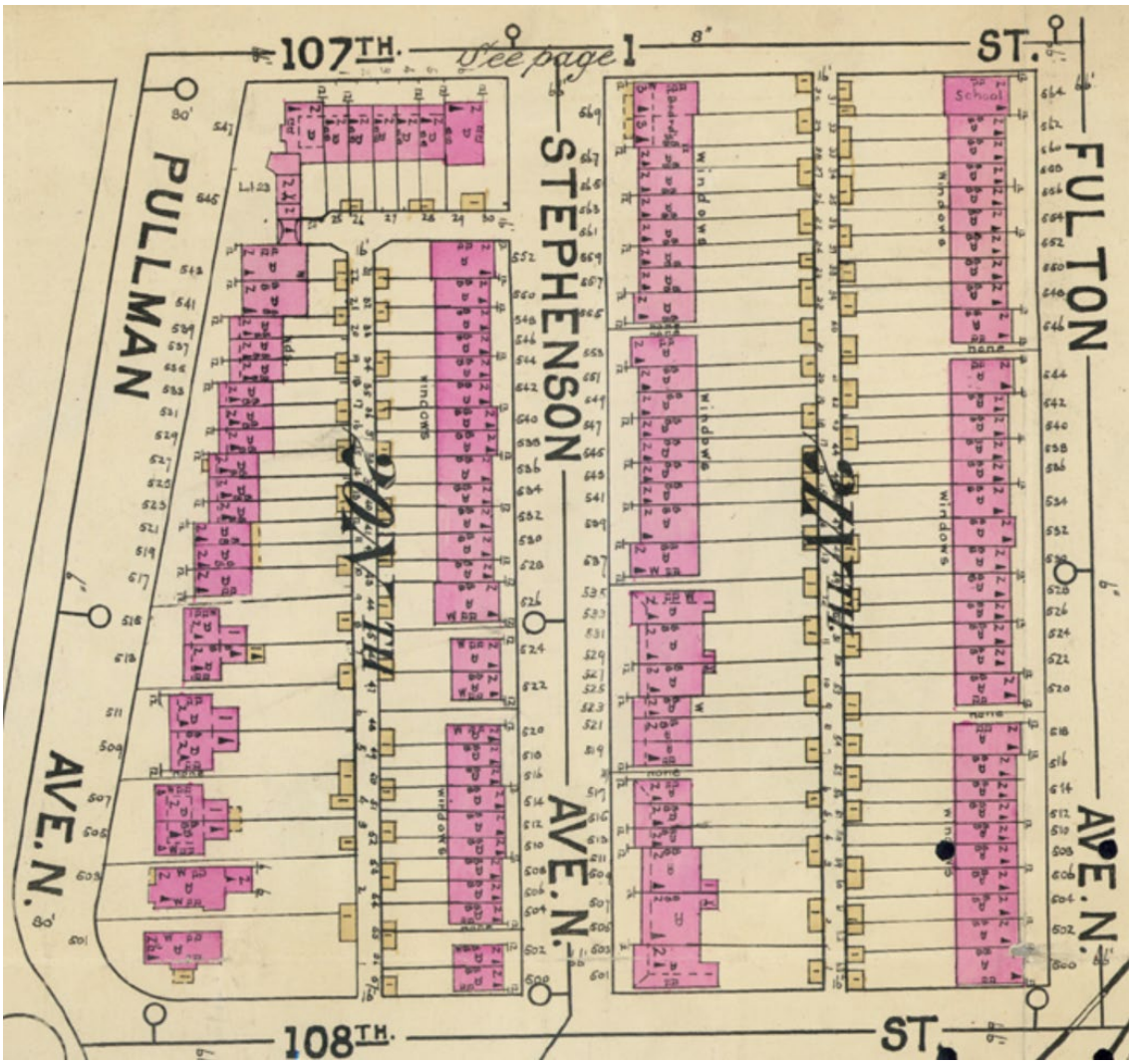


Figure 6.3. Detail of 1887 Rascher Map shows that even the lowest status housing included frame sheds at the rear of the lots. (Blocks 20 and 21).

As seen in Figure 6.2, virtually all the sheds in Block 6 had been replaced by automobile garages by 1938. This block would have contained the town's more wealthy residents, but the pattern differed little in northern Pullman or in other blocks generally. Today, almost no remnants of the original wooden sheds survive, though archaeological evidence might be found. But many of the 1930s era garages probably exist nestled among the much more recent examples. The 1997 draft historic district nomination counted 350 surviving garages at that time.[613] The little research that has been done about changing

[613] Stewart, 14.

garage architecture and usage in the United States could be augmented with a study in Pullman.[614] Likewise, understanding how Pullman residents altered their domestic landscapes in the post-company period could be fruitfully filled in by studying the alleys.

6.B Post-Company Domestic Architecture North of 106th Street

The process by which community members filled in housing in Blocks 24–37 in northern Pullman in the post-company period is ripe for research. Maps and aerial photographs suggest four building campaigns that serve as a textbook example of Chicago's worker housing in the first half of the twentieth century. By 1911, several buildings, both frame and brick, had been built rather haphazardly along the west side of Corliss Avenue. Each one is either a store or a saloon, indicating the demand for access to commercial and social venues. Along 103rd Place and the north side of 104th Street stood three lines of one-and-a-half story frame "workers' cottages" (Figure 6.8). These were a typical form built by families throughout Chicago and Milwaukee.[615] More research is needed to determine when they were built. Understanding whether a developer constructed these on speculation or whether workers joined together to hire a builder could illuminate valuable stories about how workers reshaped their landscape in the years surrounding company divestment.

[614] Leslie G Goat, "Housing the Horseless Carriage: America's Early Private Garages," *Persvernarch Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3, no. 1989 (1989): 62–72; Bonnie J Halda, "Historic Garage and Carriage Doors: Rehabilitation Solutions.," in *Preservation Tech Notes* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1989).

[615] Thomas C Hubka and Judith T Kenny, "The Workers' Cottage in Milwaukee's Polish Community: Housing and the Process of Americanization, 1870-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8, no. 2000 (2000).

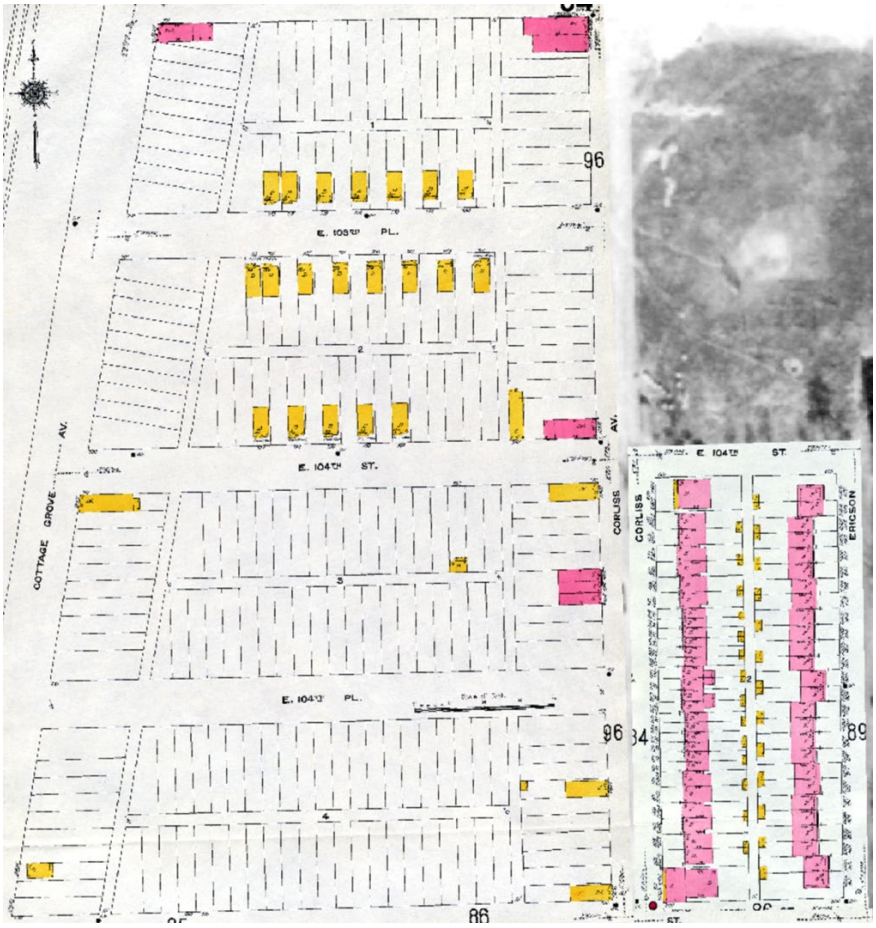


Figure 6.4. 1911 Rascher Map showing Blocks 24–37, between 103rd Street and 105th Street. Note the several frame and brick structures built on the west side of Corliss Ave and the neat frame houses added to 104th Street and 103rd Place.

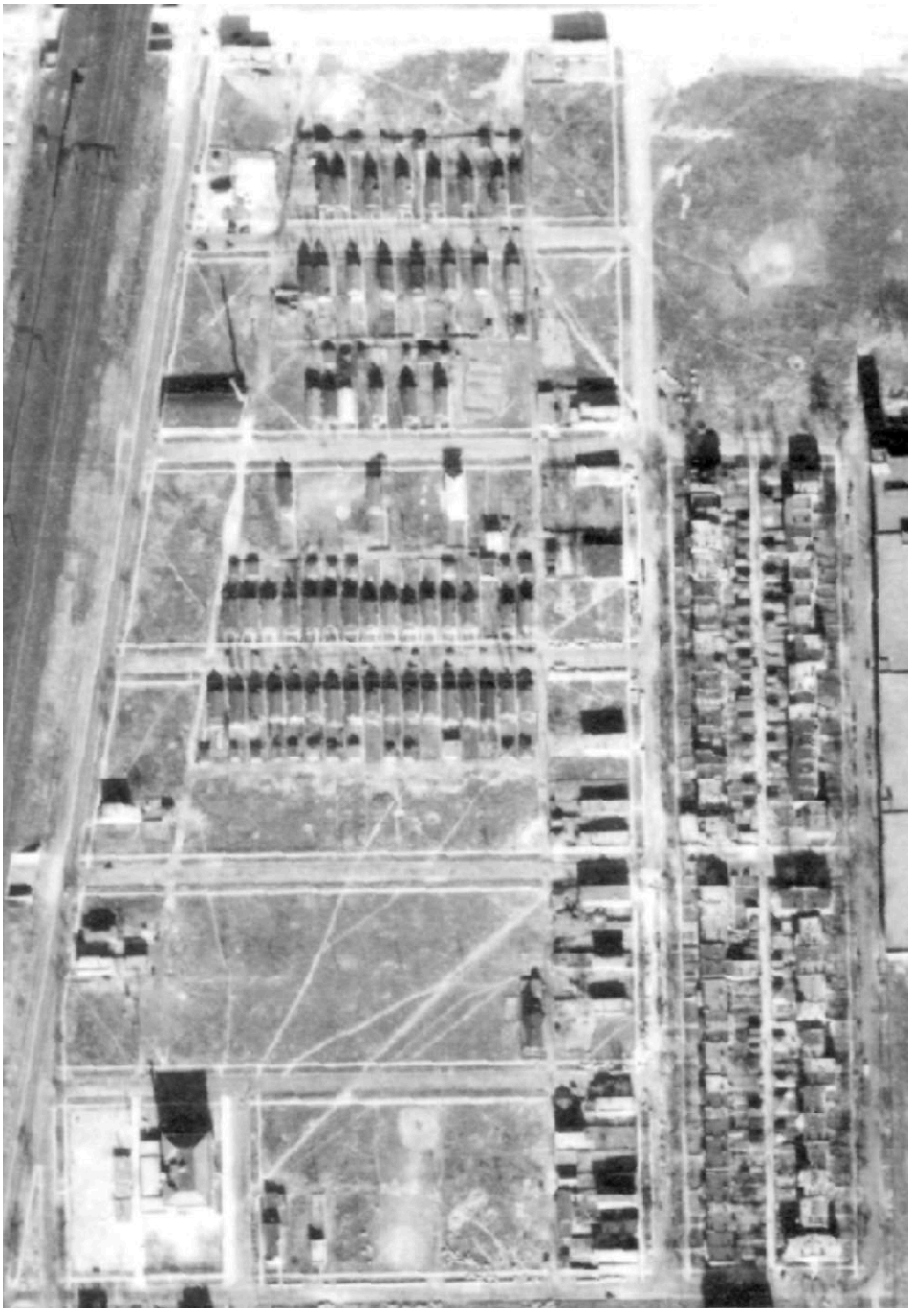


Figure 6.5. Detail of 1938 aerial photograph of Blocks 24–37, between 103rd Street and 105th Street. Note the many new brick bungalows built on 104th Place.

Figure 6.6. Detail of 1952 aerial photography of Blocks 24–37, between 103rd Place (photography is unavailable up to 103rd Street) and 105th Street. Note the many new housing units surrounding the Poe School on 105th Street and 105th Place.

Figure 6.7. Detail of 1959 aerial photography of Blocks 24–37 between 103rd Street and 105th Street. Note that the south side of 104th Street has finally been filled in with one-story brick housing units.

Figure 6.8. Workers' cottages built on 104th Place before 1911. Photo S. Scarlett.

After the workers' cottages, neighborhood residents acquired a series of changing types of small urban housing that connect this part of Pullman to Chicago's history of urban development.[616] The 1938 aerial photograph shows two neat lines of houses on 104th Place. These small brick "Chicago bungalows" are widely recognized as a housing type of particular importance in Chicago, where a "bungalow belt" on the edges of the city developed in the 1920s to accommodate the quickly growing population. This line of bungalows can help connect Pullman to housing developments in Roseland and Kensington as well as to the city as a whole. In addition, the detail of the 1938 aerial photographs features improvised walking paths that offer valuable evidence about ways residents used their neighborhood space. Most of the bungalows included garages, in contrast to the other housing types in these blocks.

[616] Joseph C Bigott, *From Cottage to Bungalow: Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago, 1869-1929* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Terry Tatum, "A Brief Guide to Chicago's Common Building Types," in *Out of the Loop: Chicago Vernacular Architecture Forum*, ed. Virginia B Price, David A Spatz, and D. Bradford Hunt (Chicago, IL: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2015).

Figure 6.9. Chicago bungalows built on 104th Place during the 1920s. Photo Google Street View.

Joining the workers' cottages and bungalows were several blocks of attached duplex buildings, which first appear in aerial photographs in 1952, but probably were built in the early 1940s. These two-story brick buildings feature side-by-side two-story apartments. These side-gabled buildings are lined up to create continuous façades with only minor differentiation between them. A few types fill 105th Street and 105th Place, some with shallow central gables and decorative *moderne* style brick work.

Figure 6.10. Duplex housing units built during or right after World War II on the south side of 105th Street. Photo S. Scarlett

The last housing type that filled in these blocks of northern Pullman is single-story ranches with hipped roofs and plate-glass windows in the front. These filled in the empty lots in the northern areas between and next to the workers' cottages, and in the lots lining Cottage Grove Avenue. Ranch houses fulfilled the exploding need for housing nationwide in the post-war decades in part because they were inexpensive to build and maintain, and also because they brought modern styling and open floor plans to a new generation of American homebuyers. In Chicago, ranches like these filled empty lots and new developments around the city. While many of the ranches sit side by side, many others filled lots next to cottages and bungalows. The north side of 104th Street features a ranch, cottage, and bungalow in a row, demonstrating that while some of these housing developments may have been built at one time on spec, others appeared over time as residents had money to invest.

Figure 6.11. Post-war housing built after 1952 on the South side of 104th Street.

This veritable textbook progression of Chicago working-class housing types would be of great interest to historians of domestic architecture and suburbanization. Moreover, these structures are now over fifty years old and while they fall outside the designated period of significance for Pullman National Monument, they connect with evolving preservation narratives throughout the United States. Most importantly, the value of interpreting the post-company period of community development by studying the people, developers, funders, and sellers of these lots could help fill in the story of northern Pullman.

A few other pockets of post-company development offer ripe possibilities for interpretation. The southwest side of Corliss Avenue at 106th Street, for instance, features several commercial buildings of varying size and form. The alley behind this block also contains several small-scale industrial-use buildings. These structures are within the National Monument boundaries but were not included in the list of contributing/non-contributing structures in the 1997 draft revised NHL survey.[617] Studying this kind of community-driven individual construction and the opportunities for small business that they provided in Pullman's northern neighborhood could provide considerable insight into post-company community social life.

Figure 6.12. Varied commercial buildings filled in the west side of Corliss Ave at 106th Street in the early twentieth century. Photo S. Scarlett.

These cottages, bungalows, duplexes, ranches, and commercial buildings are within the National Monument boundaries and the majority are more than fifty years old now. While most have had some alterations, they generally retain their historic character. Most importantly, their relationships to one another have changed little, making them a useful contributing factor to the district.

Historical resources that could kick-start studies of this domestic architecture include:

- Property deeds, to determine construction dates and original owners/developers

[617] Stewart, "Pullman Historic District (Unpublished Draft Revised National Historic Landmark Nomination)." This list, which may only be listing residential buildings, only includes the East side of S. Corliss Ave.

- Tax assessment records, to learn about changing relative values
- Permit records, to learn about major building alterations
- Local oral histories, community scrapbooks, and residents
- Survey and documentation of the structures themselves

Chapter 7
MOBILITY IN PULLMAN

Interpretations of industrial communities can draw from multiple academic traditions and public history approaches. Important for all of these approaches is understanding individual and group identity as fluid and overlapping. In other words, considering ethnicity or gender alone tends to warp the experiences of people in the past, all of whom belonged to multiple identity groups. One's religious affiliation may have affected gender identity. Likewise, ethnic family ties affected one's sense of one's neighbors. Definitions of ethnicity and race were changing as the Great Migration of African Americans to Chicago created alliances between perceived "white" groups in opposition to the newcomers and in late nineteenth-century America, class distinctions were becoming all the more pronounced.

7.A Interpreting Social Patterns of Race, Gender, and Class in Pullman, IL

Considerable resources exist to study and interpret the intersecting issues of identity and physical space in the Town of Pullman. Spatial historians and researchers in related fields consider physical space in three important ways: as physical, perceived, and lived space. In other words, interpreting a place requires understanding the physical nature of its built environments, the ideas and feelings that people have about those spaces, and the realities of how people use those spaces.[618] Such studies could benefit immensely from a historical GIS-based database that could map and create spatial linkages over time between demographic data like census, employee records, and family make-up, to individual houses, workplaces, and schools. Janice Reiff and Susan Hirsch started this work back in 1982, and the Pullman State Historic Site House History Project (http://www.pullman-museum.org/phhp/) has already linked individuals in multiple historical data sets to house addresses.[619] A collaborative multi-agency spatial digital history project could build on this good work and help researchers and the community alike. Examples of similar approaches include the Keweenaw Time Traveler project being created for Michigan's Copper Country by researchers at Michigan Technological University (www.keweenawhistory.com).[620]

---

[618] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991); Setha M Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003); Doreen B Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[619] Janice L. Reiff and Susan Hirsch, "Reconstructing Work Histories by Computer: The Pullman Shop Workers, 1890–1967," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 15, no. 3 (1982): 139-42.

[620] Sarah Fayen Scarlett et al., "Engaging Community and Spatial Humanities for Post-Industrial Heritage: The Keweenaw Time Traveler," *American Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (2018): 619-23; Don Lafreniere et al., "Public Participatory Historical Gis," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 52, no. 3 (2019): 132-49; John David McEwen Arnold and Don Lafreniere, "Creating a Longitudinal, Data-Driven 3d Model of Change over Time in a Postindustrial Landscape Using Gis and Cityengine," *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* forthcoming (2018); Don; and Gilliland Lafreniere, Jason, "'All the World's a Stage': A Gis Framework

A digital spatial history tool could help researchers use the physical experiences of living, working, and visiting Pullman at different periods to better understand the ways that the physical fabric of the town shaped the perceptions of identity for all who encountered Pullman. As an example, several accounts of the town at various times in its history survive, to give us a vibrant glimpse of the writer's perspective. A regional resident of Dutch ancestry, Simon Dekker, for instance, wrote about Pullman and Roseland in 1938 giving us an incredibly valuable description of the town, who lived there, and how things had changed. But as Janice Reiff has pointed out, many of his neighbors would not have agreed with his viewpoints, which lamented the arrival of new immigrants as well as women's seeming disregard for traditional gender roles. When his account was deposited at the Pullman Public Library, the librarian noted Dekker's personal "opinion and prejudices."[621]

Unfortunately, we do not have good descriptions from the other residents who might have disagreed with Dekker at the time. Indeed, the people whose stories are already most sorely missing from the historical record, are the ones whose daily experiences historians are most eager to learn more about. The section that follows is intended to bring up the kinds of questions about overlapping social identity that could be further explored with a digital history spatial tool combined with the resources discussed below. What historians know about changing demographics, the experiences of daily life, and their interplay with the built environment—especially for the post-PPCC period—is episodic despite incredible surviving buildings and rich historical resources. Together, thinking about how people encountered each other in the physical space of Pullman and how the changing landscape may have affected those encounters can help us understand how this town shaped the inhabitants' and visitors' perceptions of themselves and each other.[622]

7.A.1 1880s–1890s

When the new houses began to be rented in Pullman in 1881, the population that moved in followed overall Chicago patterns in some ways, but in others disrupted patterns of housing distribution. The town of Pullman was not built on a *tabula rasa*, as Pullman and many commentators suggested. Rather

---

for Recreating Personal Time-Space from Qualitative and Quantitative Sources.," *Transactions in GIS* 19, no. 2 (2015).

[621] Janice L Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (1992).

[622] David J Bodenhamer, Trevor M Harris, and John Corrigan, "Deep Mapping and the Spatial Humanities," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 7, no. 1-2 (2013); Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London, UK: Routledge, 2012); David J. Bodenhamer, "Creating a Landscape of Memory: The Potential of Humanities Gis," *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 1, no. 2 (2007); David J Bodenhamer, *The Spatial Humanities: Space, Time, and Place in the New Digital Age*, History in the Digital Age (London, UK: Routlege, 2013); Tiffany Earley-Spadoni, "Spatial History, Deep Mapping and Digital Storytelling: Archaeology's Future Imagined through an Engagement with the Digital Humanities," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 84, no. C (2017).

it moved in next to two thirty-year-old communities that already had a contentious dynamic. Roseland had been dominated by Dutch immigrant farmers who sold their produce in Chicago but generally maintained their own family and Calvinist religious ties. Immediately south, Kensington had grown up quickly as a railroad stop on the Illinois Central, attracting a transient population of mostly men and the taverns and boardinghouses that increasingly accommodated the industrial workforce. The appearance of Pullman's factories, the associated companies that located nearby, and the town of Pullman created significant population and housing growth that made the PPCC a defining feature of the whole area, whether neighbors liked it or not.[623]

Historian Janice Reiff has studied the complex ways that the Calumet region's population handled the arrival of Pullman and its various changes over the town's first fifty years. The populations of the neighboring towns swelled along with Pullman's numbers but probably always kept Pullman's dreams of self-sufficiency from being realized. She argues that the commercial successes of Roseland's businesses and the draw of Kensington's taverns and other amenities prohibited in Pullman always challenged the PPCC's control over its town. In other words, it was not isolated enough to fulfill Pullman's dreams.[624]

In this early period Pullman's ethnic make-up mimicked Chicago overall, except that there were no black people. The PPCC required all new renters in Pullman to be factory employees. This stipulation shaped the town's population. Pullman did not hire African Americans to work in company factories, so as a result, the town housed no or very few black people.[625] This kind of employment discrimination was common practice in industrializing factories, but many neighborhoods in Chicago before the 1890s had African American families living alongside other workers. The racial segregation in the Town of Pullman, which stemmed from intentional planning rather than organic discrimination, began around the time that the black population began to grow and prejudice increased.[626] At the time, Pullman was celebrated for providing good jobs to African Americans albeit it in segregated positions as porters, but few asked why he did not provide housing. The fact that Pullman never addressed the disparity of this choice, and indeed that few in the period questioned it, highlights the overwhelming norm of racial bigotry. Historian Thomas Lee Philpott, in his 1978 book *The Slum and the Ghetto* offered a conjectural explanation for why Pullman provided no housing for the porters.

> The porters, uniformed, well-mannered, dripping with decorum, gave a flavor of the old plantation South, to the Palace cars. Pullman could not picture blacks in any role but that of menials. The elevated working force of his town had no place for "darkies."[627]

---

[623] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 231-53.

[624] Ibid., 231–52.

[625] Residents sometimes reference several early black residents but more research is required to identify them.

[626] Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto: 1890-1920*, 11-27.

[627] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930*, 53.

Pullman envisioned his town as a place where aesthetics and order would morally uplift and Americanize workers. In these early years of Jim Crow discrimination, Pullman and other cultural leaders regarded black Americans as incapable of being uplifted. The reform ideals of the town of Pullman, in their estimation, would have been wasted on the porters. Philpott's reference to Pullman cars' nostalgia for southern plantation culture is the first known acknowledgment of Pullman—the cars and the town—promulgating the myths of racial hierarchy that went on to define the twentieth century.[628] The African American maids and waiters working in the Hotel Florence extended the racial hierarchy constructed in the Palace Cars to the most exclusive white space in the Town of Pullman.

Figure 7.1. African American waiters in the Hotel Florence created the same feeling of racially segregated service as on the train cars. From H. R. Koopman, Pullman: City of Brick (Roseland: H. R. Koopman, 1893).

For those employees who did move into Pullman, new research could help reveal the process by which they acquired and kept housing. The property contracts for the Town of Pullman survive along with records of apartment leases from the 1880s and 1890s.[629] The *Chicago Herald* reported that potential

[628] Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2019); Jerrold M Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2003).

[629] In the Pullman Company Records at the Newberry Library: Record Group 02, Subgroup 01, Series 06, Box 91, Folder 601 "Property Contracts — Town of Pullman;" Record Group 03, Subgroup 02, Series

employees at Pullman took a lengthy written exam about their personal history.[630] Investigating those interviews and linking them to rental records could reveal patterns about who sought housing, who in the company's chain of command allocated housing, and how decisions were made. These factors contributed significantly to how the company used the town to further its philosophical and financial goals.

In its first few years, the population of Pullman was seen as transient.[631] Early on, workers who left Pullman did so in order to live with neighbors of their choice. The first to leave were the highest in the social hierarchy. The merchants and managers, who originally occupied the larger houses along Florence Avenue and around the Arcade, moved north to the picturesque neighborhoods developing in Hyde Park and Grand Crossing. As was becoming common in America's industrial cities, the middle class was embracing the "cult of domesticity" and choosing not only to separate their homes from the workplace, but also to live in polite proto-suburban enclaves away from industrial workers.[632] Roseland appealed to managerial level workers in part because of its distance from the smoke-belching factories, but also because homeownership signified their individual achievement and economic success. Mechanics and other shop workers were leaving by the 1890s too. Janice Reiff argues that many left to form ethnic enclaves, again mimicking patterns in other cities. In Pullman, residents lived next door to whichever working family had been assigned that house. In other towns, a renter could choose to live near family or friends who spoke the same language, cooked the same food, and attended the same religious services. Pockets of Germans and Swedes appeared.[633]

Understanding the role of gender identities in early Pullman not only illuminates the lives of women but also, as historian Janice Reiff has argued, leads to a fuller understanding of how competing narratives of paternalism contributed to embittered feelings surrounding the 1894 Pullman Strike. The amenities in the new Pullman houses received considerable praise for improving the lives of women. State labor commissioners claimed, and many other commentators agreed, that "In fact the women were in love

---

08, "Journals (incomplete) recording monthly Pullman Building accounts." https://mms.newberry.org/xml/xml_files/Case_Pullman_Main.xml#series2

[630] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 78.

[631] "Richard Ely on Pullman, Ill., in 1885," accessed April 2, 2018, http://urbanplanning.library.cornell.edu/DOCS/pullman.htm; also ibid., 82.

[632] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917."; Keating, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of a Divided Metropolis*; Kenneth T Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985); Scarlett, "Everyone's an Outsider: Architecture, Landscape, and Class in Michigan's Copper Country."

[633] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 240-41.

with the place."[634] Running water, new stoves, piped gas, modern storage, and in-house water-closets (even if shared) made housekeeping easier than in the more haphazard urban architecture they may have been used to. More research reading the architecture and landscape along with demographic records and newspaper accounts could further uncover micro-histories of women in Pullman in these early years.

Paternalism, however, had broader implications than company-provided amenities in the home. Reiff points out that while George Pullman's company built the workplace and town around the idea that the employer played a fatherly role in caring for its employees, his model also relied on the widely accepted ideal social structure that a male employee was father and protector for his family. In other words, Americans at all class levels shared the ideal notion that men had the responsibility to care for women and children, and increasingly, that meant owning a home. Indeed, a man's inability to fulfill that expectation threatened his identity as a full-fledged male citizen. When an employee could not provide food, clothing, or did not even have the hope of buying a home, it threatened his male identity. For this reason, Reiff argues that ideal notions of gender roles contributed to the frustration felt by workers during the 1890s economic downturn and the Strike, who felt the company and the town were not giving male employees the tools to fulfill their socially expected roles. In other words, corporate paternalism was undermining expected gender roles to an alarming degree.[635] Further studies about the complications of gender identity and paternalism in the Town of Pullman related to the strike and its aftermath would be fruitful.

7.A.2 1907–1919

When the company finally sold its residential holdings in 1907 "the trickle of people leaving Pullman to go to Roseland and West Pullman became a torrent."[636] As the company divested itself of the town's architecture and infrastructure, the town of Pullman became part of the rapidly changing neighborhood development of Chicago.[637] In many ways Pullman saw the same population changes as its neighboring areas. Like Roseland and West Pullman, Pullman became home to the large numbers of new immigrants flooding to Chicago for its expanding job opportunities during the peak industrial decades (1895–1927). People continued to come from Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ireland, and Great Britain, but more began to arrive from Eastern Europe and Italy. Ethnic enclaves of Poles, Italians, Russians, and other groups and subgroups arose around Chicago. Residents from predominantly Italian and Polish

---

[634] As quoted in Janice L. Reiff, "A Modern Lear and His Daughters: Gender in the Model Town of Pullman," *Journal of Urban History* 23, no. 3 (1997): 320.

[635] ibid., 3166-341.

[636] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 238.

[637] Some of the most relevant of Chicago urban histories are Ann Durkin Keating, *Chicagoland: City and Suburbs in the Railroad Age* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005); *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

communities occupied the Pullman, often using the small houses as stepping stones in their economic rise but many others staying for decades.[638]

Along with the so-called "new immigrants" arriving in Chicago from Europe, African Americans also arrived in this period. Like many industrial cities, Chicago became home to African American families moving north as part of the Great Migration, which began in the 1910s and gained speed during WWI, as described in Section 3. This migration and the widespread discrimination in Chicago created one of America's most racially segregated cities, whose transformation from slum to ghetto has been well studied.[639] In the infamous Black Belt, a narrow north-south strip along State Street, many of the city's African Americans were confined by a combination of active discrimination and price gouging, and the jockeying among already-present ethnic groups. Pullman factories began hiring African Americans at this time, but little is known about whether they lived in the town.

These changing urban demographics make understanding the process of company divestment from the town especially important. Closer examination of the records relating to the 1907 sales of Pullman houses could reveal important patterns about this shift in the town's history. Which employees tended to buy their houses and who chose to leave? Who had the financial ability to make that choice? What religious, ethnic, racial, and class patterns helped determine that choice? Atlases survive that helped the company prepare to sell the lots, and the records of the sales likely survive in the company collections at the Newberry.[640] Likewise, correspondence from the company president's office could reveal how this second generation leadership imagined the company's evolving relationship with the demographics of the town.

The retention by the company of northern Pullman housing units after 1907 discussed in Section 4.E likely contributed to the persistently lower status of this architecture and its inhabitants. Taylor reported in 1915 that these units saw the most over-crowding in the town. Here, many units designed for single families housed two at a rent of $6.50 per unit instead of $8 for the whole thing.[641] Research into the different demographic trajectory of Pullman north of 106th Street starting in this period will contribute to understanding the lingering hierarchy between the two halves of town, which effected their inclusion in district nominations and continues to influence perceptions today.

Women were starting to work for the company in clerical positions and as seamstresses in this period. The ways that this may have changed life for families could help contextualize architectural changes happening in the town. The role of women in civic organizations could also compare and contrast with national trends. Stanley Buder provides brief mention of a 1908 group called the Pullman Homeowners'

---

[638] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 231-52.

[639] Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto: 1890-1920*; Davarian L Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[640] "The Atlas of the Real Estate of the Pullman Land Association," 1 December 1904;

[641] Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, 120.

Association that fought to restore the town's "original quality." They fought for improved rail quality to reduce train crashes and lobbied that a new school be named for George M. Pullman. Buder claims that the organization folded after a few years.[642] These kinds of neighborhood groups often featured female leadership, as the "New Woman" in middle-class culture pursued interests outside the home. Studying the racial, ethnic, and class goals and makeup of this group could prove a fruitful way to investigate overlapping social identities in this period.

7.A.3 1920–50s

The period after World War I saw rising prosperity in Pullman but also more discrimination. The racial history in the Town of Pullman can fruitfully be considered in the context of what historians have recently called the social construction of whiteness. The 1920s is widely considered the decade when white Americans began to overlook differences of ethnicity and national origin that had caused social friction in the past. White "ethnics" united in their suspicion of non-whites, working together to draw color lines throughout US cities. Many have argued that this unity constitutes the "invention of whiteness."[643] Certain ethnic groups previously regarded as non-white, like the Irish, eastern Europeans, Greeks and others, were now generally regarded as white in opposition to African Americans. Real estate and neighborhood boundaries were among the venues in which these battles were waged. The south side of Chicago saw some of the nation's fiercest conflicts in this transformation.[644]

The Greater Pullman Property Restrictive Association was among many neighborhood organizations nationwide by which white residents banded together to keep African Americans from moving onto their streets. Founded in 1928 by Pullman residents, this group used the euphemisms of the day, identifying "encroachment of undesirables" as their purported concern. Accounts of neighborhood meetings however made it abundantly clear that African Americans were the concern. Members of the group paid $5 and pledged not to sell or rent to African Americans through January 1, 1950.[645] Remarkable to reporters of the day was the pan-ethnic makeup of Pullman's property association, which "had names like Perlman, Zimmerman, Korzeniecki, Birkhoff, Larocco, Hocksta, Teninga, Noval, and

---

[642] Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*, 221.

[643] David R Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006); Mathew Frye Jacobson, "Becoming Caucasian: Vicissitudes of Whiteness in American Politics and Culture," *Identities* 8, no. 1 (2001); *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Robert M Zecker, "'Let Each Reader Judge': Lynching, Race, and Immigrant Newspapers," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29, no. 1 (2009).

[644] Thomas A Buglielmo, *Thomas A. Guglielmo, White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004); Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life*.

[645] Ira J. Bach, "Pullman: A Town Reborn," *Chicago History* 4, no. 1 (1975): 52.

Bezdek."[646] These members included Protestants, Catholics, and Jews working together toward the shared goal of housing segregation in Pullman.[647] Former Chicago city planner Ira Bach also asserted in 1975 that this group largely consisted of working-class people with ethnic backgrounds rather than middle-class whites who had been using restrictive property covenants of this sort for about a decade. Further work related to the Greater Pullman Property Restrictive Association would illuminate the ethnic, racial, and economic make-up of the town and also contextualize Pullman in the invention of whiteness occurring in Chicago and nationwide.

While racial segregation was characterizing Chicago's South Side at this time, it should be noted that African American Pullman Porters in this period were often the only ones integrating neighborhoods around the country. Historian Richard Rothstein, in studying racial segregation in the US, found areas around the country that housed porters and baggage handlers who had to live near the railroad terminals.[648] The geography of the railroad, in other words, overcame the forces of residential segregation in these highly specialized instances, but not at home in Pullman, Illinois.

The 1920s and 1930s saw the rise of sociological studies of America's cities and the University of Chicago was on the forefront of this rise. Several professors, armies of students, and the resulting government agencies studies Chicago's South Side in these years leaving a considerable paper trail that can illuminate life for Pullman residents. Dr. Homer Hoyt, for instance, produced data and maps on land values in Chicago over 100 years to show speculative activity and its legacies in the city. Dr. Ernest Burgess had an army of students researching neighborhood change throughout the South Side. Hundreds of documents survive in the Pullman Company records providing data about African American and female employees that was provided to University of Chicago researchers contracted with the federal and state governments. Likewise, the University of Chicago archives contain hundreds of boxes of data collected by "The Chicago School," as it became known. Revisiting these records could provide raw material to start understanding the interplay between Pullman's founding, design, and history and its afterlife throughout the twentieth century.

---

[646] Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*, 117.

[647] Robert M Zecker, *Race and America's Immigrant Press: How the Slovaks Were Taught to Think Like White People* (London, UK: The Continum International Publishing Group, 2011), 239.

[648] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York, NY: Liverlight Publishing Corporation, 2017), 21.

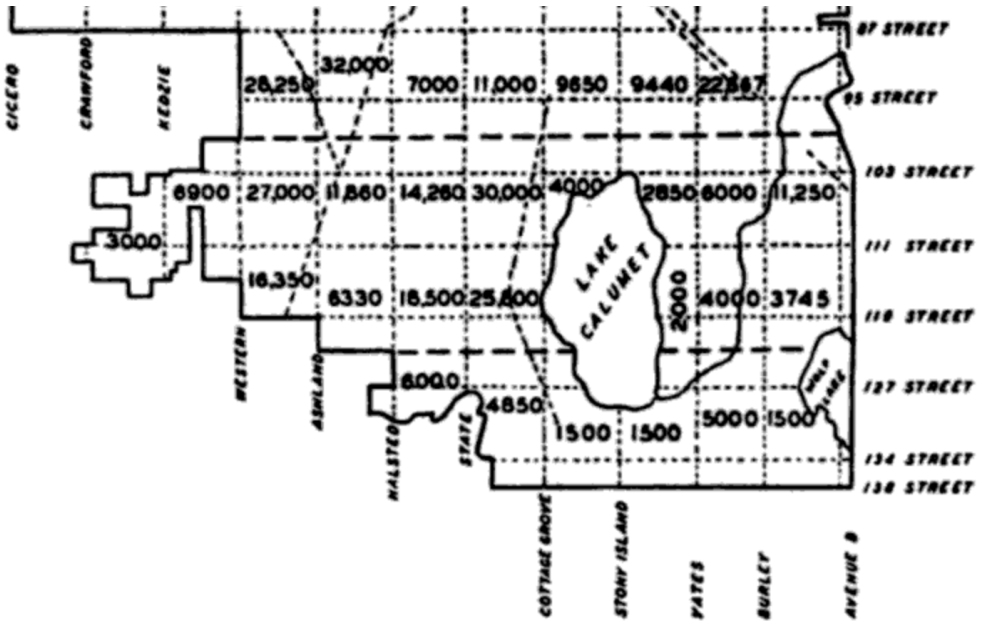


Figure 7.2. This map of land values in 1928 shows higher values in Pullman, Kensington, and Roseland than many surrounding areas. Produced by University of Chicago sociology studies, this map and much other data like it can be mined for studying social identity in Pullman. Detail of Figure 43 "Land Values 1928,"in Homer Hoyt, One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago, 1830–1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

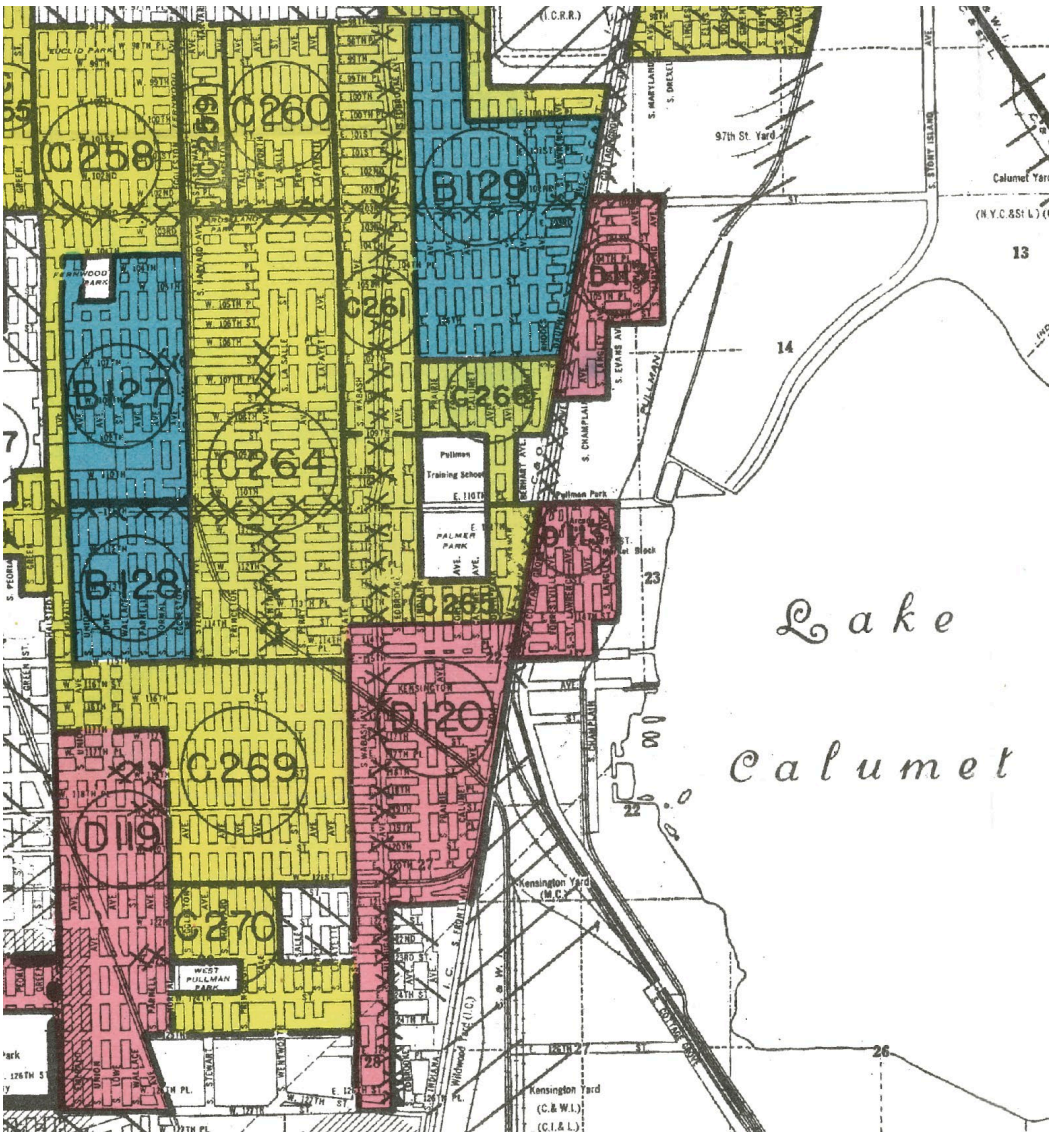
Another rich set of documents to help understand the changing neighborhood in these years are the national Home Owners' Loan Corporation maps. These HOLC maps were produced at the request of the Federal Government's Federal Housing Association to provide mortgage insurers data about the racial, ethnic, class, and architectural characteristics of neighborhoods with which companies could make decisions about insuring mortgages. Very well-studied in recent years, HOLC maps are widely seen as both reflections of and active participants in the widening racial and ethnic divides in America's urban fabric.[649]

The HOLC maps for Pullman show that both North and South Pullman, as they were designated, together were considered risky places for mortgage lenders, being shaded red for "hazardous" in 1939. The field sheets filled out by the army of assessors completing these across the country provide more information about the factors that went into that designation. The percentage of foreign-born residents was 75% and the percentage of African Americans was 0%. Occupancy was 100% with half being owner-occupied. Demand for sales was poor but rental demand was steady. "People residing here have become reconciled to the fact that it is improbable that the old days of prosperity will return." These

[649] The classic study of HOLC maps and FHA redlining is Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. More recent appraisals include Amy E HIllier, "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation," *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4 (2003); Jennifer S Light, "Nationality and Neighborhood Risk at the Origins of Fha Underwriting," ibid.36, no. 5 (2010).

maps could be fruitfully combined with Simon Dekker's negative account of new immigrants in this period to fully understand the geography of this region's social divisions.

Kensington was also designated as a "hazardous" area for lending with a 90% foreign-born population that included Italian and Mexican families, and 5% African American. To the north, Roseland fared slightly better with yellow and blue areas, deemed safer for mortgage insurers because of their low or 0% foreign-born and African American residents and open lots available for new development. Apparently, by 1939, Pullman's older but higher quality buildings could not raise its standings in the eyes of the real estate industry.[650]



[650] Explore more HOLC maps here Robert K Nelson et al., "Mapping Inequality," https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.005/-97.9.

Figure 7.3. Detail showing "North and South Pullman" and surrounding area in HOLC maps of 1939. Home Owners' Loan Association, "Residential Security Map," No. 2 Map Section, Chicago. Courtesy of Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed August 15, 2019, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=12/41.822/-87.608&city=chicago-il.

7.A.4 1960s–2000

Changing attitudes about race in America profoundly shaped the built and social environment of Pullman throughout its entire history, including through the later twentieth century. This period of change deserves much more research to understand how the legacies of past identity politics shaped the heritage landscape today, and the neighborhood itself—both physically and socially.

In the post-WWII period in Chicago, as in cities around the country, dividing lines between black and white neighborhoods began to change. The complex interplay between the Civil Rights Movement, faltering industrial production, more African American migration from the South, and suburban housing developments to house white GIs and their families contributed to these urban changes. In Chicago, as Allan Spear argued in his famous *Black Chicago* history, boundaries that had been "successfully defended for a generation" by groups like the Greater Pullman Property Restrictive Organization, began to crumble. In the Calumet region, more African Americans found homes during this period of racial reorganization and by the 1970s the region was predominantly black, as it remains today.

Southern Pullman, however, is noticeably more racially integrated than its neighboring areas. How Pullman's legacy of design, paternalism, and heritage designations have contributed to that difference should attract more research in the future.

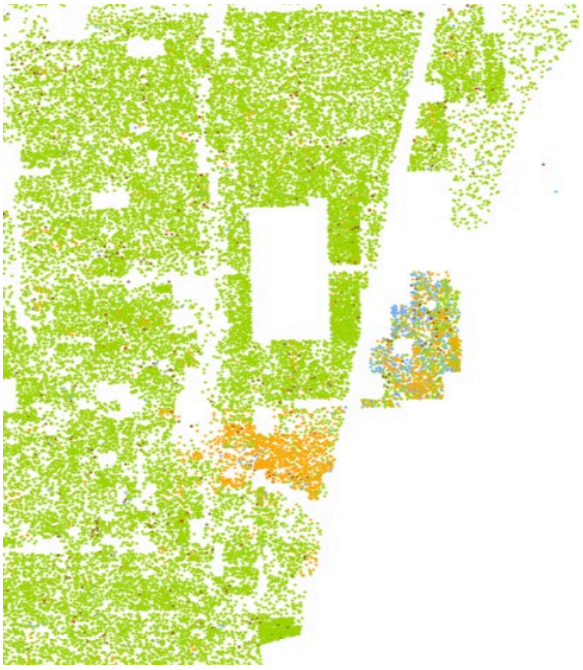


Figure 7.4. In 2010, southern Pullman stands out dramatically in the Calumet region for being racially integrated in the otherwise African American South Side. The northern parts of Pullman are predominantly African American. Detail of "The Racial Dot Map," Image Copyright, 2013, Weldon

Cooper Center for Public Service, Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia (Dustin A. Cable, creator). https://demographics.virginia.edu/DotMap/index.html

In 1960, the Pullman neighborhood was designated as blighted by the Chicago Planning Commission, which proposed the entire town be razed for an industrial park. This galvanized residents to promote the town's identity in order to save it. As Janice Reiff and Susan Hirsch have ably argued, residents leveraged the company's own marketing prowess from the 1880s and 1890s to reintroduce its narrative to a new generation.[651] That year, a group of residents started the Pullman Civic Organization, being reorganized from the World War II-era civil defense committee in the neighborhood. This group enlisted the help of Pullman descendants, especially Mrs. C. Philip Miller, Pullman's granddaughter, who became a major advocate for district preservation. The Historic Pullman Foundation was created around the same time to promote the town as America's most famous planned industrial community. They organized an annual architectural tour and helped homeowners restore their houses closer to original appearances.[652]

The fight of these dedicated residents was successful. In 1971, a National Historic Landmark district was created at Pullman. The following year, the city of Chicago also created a Landmark District, but its boundaries only included the southern residential district, the Administration Building, and the Florence Hotel. Documentary evidence and oral histories related to this early preservation activity would likely yield important histories that have not yet been recorded. Some records exist at the Chicago History Museum related to twentieth-century real estate and early preservation efforts.[653] The most important records related to historic preservation activity in the region, however, survive in the collection of the Historic Pullman Foundation and were not made available for this study.[654]

In many ways, the town's distinctive architecture and its place in the history of town planning were a perfect match for the nation's burgeoning preservation system, which valued professional design and surviving architectural fabric. The National Historic Preservation Act had only been passed in 1966 and a rush proceeded in every state to identify historic sites. The work of trained architects, places of perceived artistic merit, and notable "firsts" garnered the most attention.[655] The mainstream story of Pullman fit all of those categories. So it was designated much in the way it had always been celebrated in the past: for its role as America's first planned town of its kind, whose beauty and benevolence

---

[651] Janice L. Reiff and Susan E. Hirsch, "Pullman and Its Public: Image and Aim in Making and Interpreting History," *The Public Historian* 11, no. 4 (1989): 99-112.

[652] Ibid., 106-08.

[653] "Articles on Town of Pullman, 1880s–1973," Box 16, Folder 5, Pullman Collection, Chicago History Museum.

[654] Catalog of the Archives of the Historic Pullman Foundation, 2 boxes labeled "Box xx, PCO" "Box xx, Metal file, Beman Committee," "Box xx, Historic Pullman Foundation," and "Clippings" for each decade 1940–1980s.

[655] Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2000).

inspired awe of one sort or another. The fact that factories and northern Pullman were excluded from the City Landmark District fit both with the mainstream narrative and the National Register's priorities at the time. The factories were partly still in use, and the aesthetics of industry had yet to find its advocates.

The exclusion of northern Pullman is more ominous. The houses just north of the Allen Paper Car-Wheel company and adjacent to the Foundry were built in 1882–83 shortly after the factories started up and the town filled in, when it became clear that more housing was needed. While these units missed the fanfare of the original town opening, they were designed by Beman and built by the same construction crews as the rest of town. Nevertheless, they had always suffered as lower status houses. They seldom garnered more than a sentence in the glowing accounts of the 1880s town. They also functioned as rentals for much longer than most other houses that were successfully sold off in 1907. As a result, by the 1950s, these houses had long been neglected, were in a bad state repair, and had always housed lower status citizens, who by that time were increasingly African American. In other words, the date of their construction was not the basis for their exclusion but rather the class and racial status of their residents manifested as a lack of architectural integrity. A 1970 *Chicago Tribune* article suggests that parallel preservation efforts were occurring in northern Pullman as the National Historic Landmark district was being prepared. The author mentions the North Pullman Civic Association (NPCA) working alongside the PCO to preserve buildings in the neighborhood. Tellingly, the author reports, "Altho [sic] the two groups have the same goal—preservation of historic Pullman—they do not work together. In fact, there is very little communication between the two groups."[656] Little is known about the NPCA, the group's racial identity, and the circumstances surrounding the division between it and the PCO. More research should be undertaken.[657]

For historical interpreters today, the omission of Pullman's northern residential blocks from the City's original landmark district boundaries might be seen as a mid-twentieth-century manifestation of the class and racial identity that characterized Pullman's history. In many ways, the Chicago landmark status solidified—for twenty years at least—Pullman's identity as a middle-class white place at the very moment when the South Side was becoming a black place (Figure 7.5). On the surface, the decisions to only designate the town south of 111th Street probably hinged considerably on the architectural integrity of the buildings, which had been preserved better in southern Pullman because of the long-term class difference between the areas. The class and racial politics of the United States preservation system have been well interpreted in recent years, and historic sites and museums are moving forward to alter the dominant white narrative of history with the voices of people of color.[658] Much of that work began in Pullman not long after the original designations.

---

[656] Patricia Stemper, "The 'City of Brick' Recalled to Life," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 16 1970.

[657] Two other newspaper accounts of the NPCA mention the NCPA's president Mrs. William Johnson: Janet Minx, "City Planners Ask Advice," ibid., March 7, 1965 1965; Stuart Green, "Groups Delay Action to Build New School as Poe Remains Full," ibid., March 28, 1968 1968.

[658] Richard H Schein, "Normative Dimensions of Landscape," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, ed. Chris Wilson and Paul Erling Groth (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003); *Landscape and Race in the United States* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006);

As stated above, northern Pullman units did not have African American residents in the 1930s, but by 1970 they did. One study indicates that in the 1960s 3,000 white residents left Pullman and 5,000 African Americans moved in.[659] This pattern mimics the process of "white flight" seen throughout American cities as industrial jobs became more scarce and white residents moved to the suburbs.

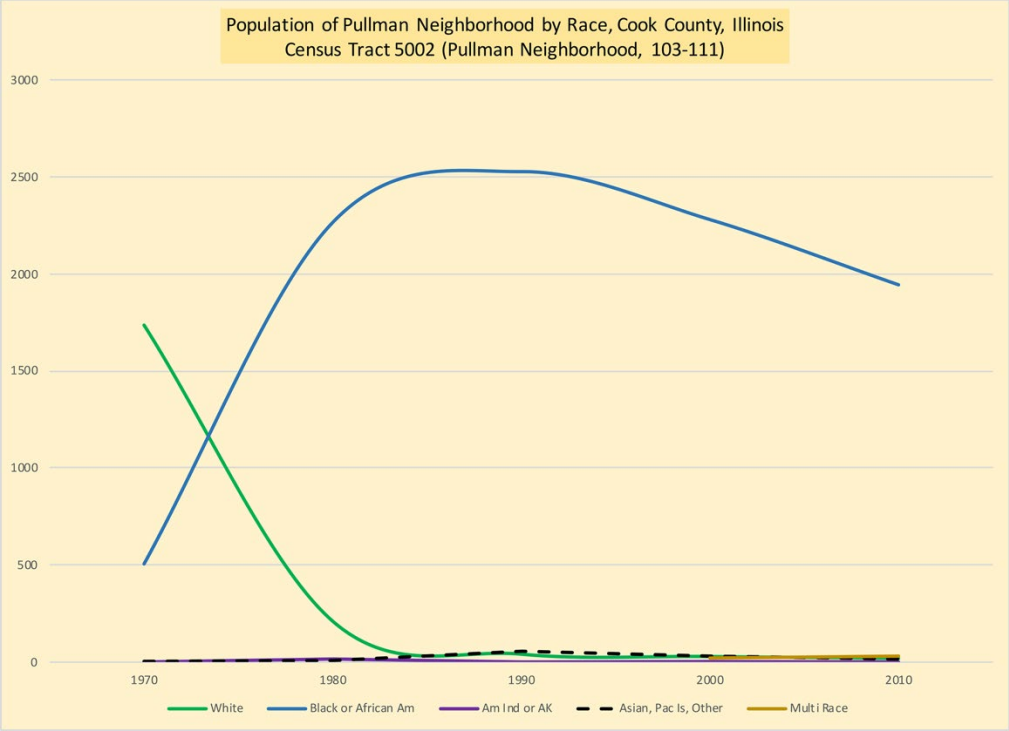


Figure 7.5. Chart showing changing racial demographics in the Pullman neighborhood. Decennial Census data from

By 1970, northern Pullman had built up a vibrant African American identity. Part of this rising identity came from focused attention in public consciousness and among historians on the history of Pullman Porters. Books and films appeared in the 1970s telling the stories of (and in many cases by) former porters. The Pullman Car system was shutting down in the 1970s, and, with the Civil Rights Act passed, porters gained the national spotlight with several lawsuits brought against Pullman for racially unfair hiring practices. In the town of Pullman, attention began to include not only the national significance of the planned town but also the national significance of porters.[660]

Max Page and Marla R Miller, *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016).

[659] Ted Newcomen, "Pullman, Illinois: Changes in Community Planning from the 1880s to the 1990s," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4, no. 1 (1998): 17.

[660] Reiff and Hirsch, "Pullman and Its Public: Image and Aim in Making and Interpreting History."; Hughes, *An Anthology of Respect: The Pullman Porters National Historic Registry of African American*

With the town now located in a firmly African American part of the city, Pullman and the porter story aligned. African American community leaders petitioned the city to include northern areas of Pullman in the Chicago Landmark District boundaries, which occurred in 1993. The Chicago Landmark boundaries now include the 1882 Beman houses in northern Pullman but not the entire neighborhood. The A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter museum was founded in 1995 in one of the 1882 Foundry houses, firmly rooting the porter story in the geography and architecture of the original town. A group called the Historic North Pullman Organization also existed in the 1990s but requires more research.[661]

The class, gender, and racial dynamic between people fighting to save the architecture of Pullman, those fighting for better housing for African Americans, and those fighting to keep industrial manufacturing jobs alive exposes important rifts and overlaps in American culture in the mid-twentieth century that deserve further investigation. Pullman National Monument is very well situated to leverage those rifts and overlaps to create an inclusive narrative for Pullman that acknowledges the politics of labor, segregation, and historical narrative.

7.A.5 Pullman and the American Dream

One aspect of Pullman's town that later companies building company housing altered significantly was the question of homeownership. Pullman did not sell houses in his town to employees. Not only did he relish keeping control, he also favored the efficiencies of maintaining the paint, plumbing, and electrical systems for each and every residence. Workers and commentators alike cited the inability to ever own property as a primary reason that residents left Pullman (in addition to fact that rents were 25% higher than surrounding areas).[662] Pullman did not understand what recent historians have demonstrated: that the American ideal of homeownership held as much if not more sway for working-class families as for the middle-class.[663]

In the United States, the idea of owning a single-family house has particularly strong emotional sway. The "American Dream" is usually seen as a post-war mid-twentieth-century phenomenon, and certainly that period in history saw the largest numbers of Americans buying their own homes. Indeed, the phrase was not used until the 1930s.[664] But the powerful idea that individual homeownership led not only to economic success but also independence and personal legitimacy for your family has a long history not

---

Railroad Employees; Beth Tompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[661] Newcomen, "Pullman, Illinois: Changes in Community Planning from the 1880s to the 1990s," 21.

[662] Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*, 42.

[663] Lewinnek, *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl*; Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950*; Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[664] Jim Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004); John. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

only for the middle class but also for immigrants and workers. Homeownership also gave men a domestic domain over which to assert their manliness.[665] Part of Pullman's miscalculation when he planned to only make his town's houses available for rent, was devaluing his workers' driving desire to own their own houses.

For workers, housing offered the best opportunities for generating income. As renters, working families frequently took in boarders, used their kitchens to do laundry for more affluent neighbors, took in tailoring jobs, etc. A useful study of this sort is Alison K. Hoagland's "The Boardinghouse Murders," in which she uses rare evidence of a working-class company house collected after a tragic shoot-out during the 1913–14 Miners' Strike in Michigan's Copper Country. She demonstrates the Putrich family's use of their company house to make enough money to move out of company control and into their own home.[666] Research has also demonstrated that working families and immigrants to the United States considered homeownership a powerful symbolic and psychological achievement. In other words, the "American Dream" drove as many if not more working families toward homeownership than middle-class families.[667] Future research could delve into the financial and social dynamics of homeownership by mapping and measuring the relative value of Pullman homes in the first few decades with that of its neighbors or city-wide. Considerable records survive from the first 15 years of the town's existence to facilitate this, including the Property Valuation performed in 1891 by the Pullman Land Association.[668]

Post-Pullman, company towns usually provided some possibility or pathway towards homeownership. This simultaneously benefitted workers and the companies. The promise of homeownership gave employees a goal to work towards, and companies found that mortgages tended to keep employees tied to their jobs, reducing turnover. The Calumet & Arizona copper company in the Bisbee copper mining region originally built the town of Warren to offer bungalows to its management class but changed its mind at the last minute to sell instead to workers. Internal correspondence indicates that C&A officers decided it would be more valuable to use homeownership to stabilize their workers than appease white-collar managers.[669]

The lack of opportunity for homeownership raised a few red flags from the beginning. The 1884 Report of Commissioners of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics on Pullman, Illinois reported on the status of Pullman's residents. This generally glowing report did suggest in its General Considerations section that one "weak point" in Pullman's plan was "that the workman had no status as an owner of his home." The

---

[665] Reiff, "A Modern Lear and His Daughters: Gender in the Model Town of Pullman," 316-41.

[666] Alison K. Hoagland, "The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan's Copper Country in 1913," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 11 (2004): 1-18.

[667] Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000.*

[668] James H. Van Vlissengen, "Valuation of the Lands of the Pullman Land Association," August 1, 1891, Record Group 01, Series 01, Subseries 02, Box 1, Folder 7, Pullman Company Records, Newberry Library.

[669] Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*, 120-47.

report went on to praise the Pullman plan for protecting the workman from homeownership, which could in fact be the "means of [the workman's] ruin financially." It concluded that while only offering rentals would be "for some time longer the chief strength of [Pullman]," it would ultimately be its weakness.[670] This report proved insightful. Indeed, in later years, several neighboring housing developments specifically cited home ownership as an advantage in opposition to Pullman's company town. The West Pullman Land Association advertised in 1900 that homeownership in its neighborhood was warding off the kinds of "serious labor difficulty" seen in Pullman proper. Likewise, after the 1919 race riot when racial segregation in housing was being actively created in many parts of the city (Pullman included), a survey of African American residents emphasized the importance of homeownership to black workers in nearby Morgan Park and Robbins.[671]

Even after Pullman houses were sold privately in 1907, homeownership remained low. By 1920, about a third of houses in southern Pullman were owner-occupied and only 13% in northern Pullman. These rates were much lower than in nearby Roseland, where homeownership rates were between half and two-thirds.[672] Pullman's houses attracted fewer buyers mostly because the spaces and amenities were out-of-date and mismatched to the needs and realities of 1910–20s buyers. The lack of bathtubs turned off many buyers. Even just fifteen years after Pullman was built, plumbing had advanced enough that middle-class buyers expected the "three-piece bathroom."[673] While Pullman residents found creative ways to install more modern facilities, many preferred to purchase newer more up-to-date homes in Roseland and West Pullman. For potential buyers with the lowest financial means, Pullman houses remained too expensive. The larger lots and brick construction priced even the rowhouses out of reach of many working-class south siders.[674] As a result, for the first half of the twentieth century, Pullman's legacy as a community of renters continued to shape its population.

---

[670] International Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Factory Inspection and Industrial Commissions., "Report of Commissioners of the State Bureaus of Labor Statistics on the Industrial, Social and Economic Conditions of Pullman, Illinois. September, 1884," (1884), 19.

[671] Richard Harris, "Chicago's Other Suburbs," *Geographical Review* 84, no. 4 (1994): 406.

[672] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 239.

[673] Hoagland, "The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan's Copper Country in 1913."; Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, *The Bathroom, the Kitchen, and the Aesthetics of Waste* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Archtectural Press, 1996).

[674] Reiff, "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917," 239.

Chapter 8
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

This chapter includes recommendations for future work at Pullman National Monument. As discussed in this report, the monument links to major historical themes in the United States, from labor and race to mobility and luxury. The monument is a small place which serves as the center of a network that spanned the country, connecting people, places, and things for more than a century. Our study set out to define key historical issues and their contexts and then identify as many resources as possible which could be used to address those questions in greater detail, if such actions are deemed worthwhile for the development of management or interpretive resources.

In previous baseline research, studies conducted have been limited in scope to the resources contained with monument's boundaries or to those on lands owned or managed directly by the National Park Service. In preparing this Historic Resources Study, we looked more broadly at resources from around the city, region, and country that could be used to address questions related to the monument's missions identified in Chapter 1. Pullman NM has a wealth of historical resources available to researchers, including very extensive archival collections, oral history collections, standing architecture and preserved landscape elements, material culture collections, potential archaeological sites, and more. Some of these resources have been identified and included in Appendixes A through E.

This chapter identifies some areas of additional work that would improve the ability of Pullman National Monument to fulfil its charges to preserve the historic resources of Pullman, to interpret the industrial history and labor struggles and achievements associated with the Pullman Company, including the rise of and the role of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and to interpret the history of urban planning and design. As most of these issues were discussed in the preceding chapters, they need not be discussed at length here. Some extended discussion follows when appropriate.

Issues recommended for additional research in special theme studies:

1. Place Pullman into the Gilded Age in Chicago and elsewhere. How did the Pullman family fit into the elite social and physical landscape?
2. What systems did the Pullman company use to recruit workers, including both skilled craftspeople from Europe and African American men as porters? How were those systems similar and different and how did they vary over time?
3. Re-evaluate the list of contributing/non-contributing elements of the buildings and landscape in northern Pullman to consider post-company social life in the community, including the post-WWII landscape
4. Complete a specialized study that combines labor history and company management history. Much of the published literature that cites Pullman as a primary case study in welfare capitalism is based upon very thin historical analysis (essentially citing one study that is fifty years old).[675]

[675] Management Studies and Business History publications draw almost exclusively on Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930*. They often fail to cite later,

5. As the Tenneco Papers and related archival materials are properly archived and can be made available to researchers, and as more documents are hopefully released by Bombardier, revisit the question of Pullman's manufacturing. How does the work at Pullman fit into national and global trends during the twentieth century?
6. How did George Pullman market his company's services? How did that change over time under subsequent leadership? Marketing historians should consider how the Pullman company's activities fit within the professionalization of marketing and evolving practices? What role did Pullman play in discussions about luxury? How were ideas about race and gender imbedded in marketing strategies over time?
7. How did PPCC operate on a global stage? Map its international activities and identify historical resources for the study of Pullman in other countries where the company sold cars or operated directly and provided service.

There are several major areas of needed work that require more discussion. These areas follow, broken by subheadings:

8.A Industrial Heritage Networks and Routes

Pullman NM could create a group of networked heritage sites to extend its ability to tell stories along certain themes. Some of these networks already exist, such as the Chicago Labor Trail, but much more could be developed. [676] Figure 8.1 maps sites included on the National Register of Historic Places which connect to Pullman NM in various ways, including industrial heritage, African American heritage, and Pullman company related sites, some drawn from items listed in Appendix E.

These could be organized as trails to follow or as networked sites that collaborate on interpretive materials, operating at different scales. A tour north along the western shore of Lake Michigan would allow visitors to explore planned and company towns, for example, leaving Pullman NM in Chicago to see communities including Kohler, Wisconsin, and Gwinn, Michigan, before ultimately arriving at Keweenaw National Historical Park in Calumet, Michigan. Along this route are rich resources to explore labor history, landscape and planning, and the history of capitalism in the United States.

There are numerous tools for setting these up, including several draft and published theme studies and other National Park Service Documents.[677]

---

more critical work by the same author: *Capitalizing on Change: A Social History of American Business* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[676] http://www.chicagolabortrail.org/ and http://www.illinoislaborhistory.org/shop/labor-trail-map

[677] Eric Arnesen et al., "American Labor History Theme Study (Draft)." in *National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2003); Adam Fracchia and Michael Roller, "Labor Archaeology of the Industrial Era: Identifying and Evaluating Nationally Significant

Archeological Sites of Labor in the Industrial Era in the United States a National Historic Landmarks Theme Study "ibid. (2014). are useful discussions of labor history and archaeology. Of

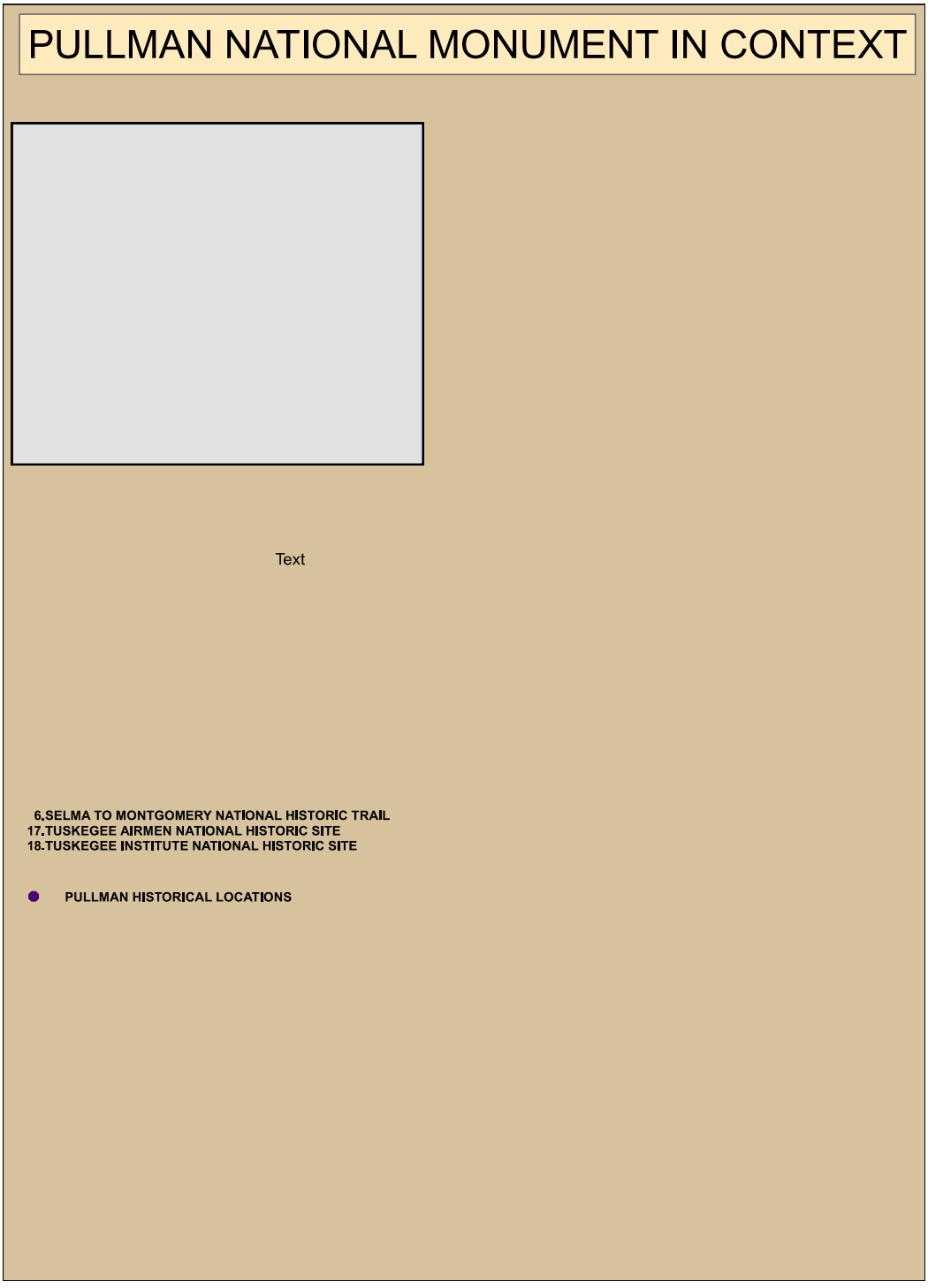


Figure 8.1: National Park Service sites related to Pullman National Monument.

8.B Special Theme Study(ies) on Labor, Race, Civil Rights, and Pullman

In October of 1936, W.E.B. Dubois rode a Pullman car between Russia and China. In writing about the portion of the trip nearing Mongolia, Dubois observed that the entire population of had colored complexions of "sallow, yellow, or brown, except the blonde white Russian girls who waited on tables in the restaurants and on the dining car…." He mused, "I was in a Pullman car made in America. The porter was not of my own expert race, and I felt like giving him a few pointers."[678] Even though Dubois intended this as an amusing aside about his trip, he did not make the observations lightly. Dubois had written letters to the PPCC in 1903 to reinforce the importance of the company's policy of refusing to segregate sleeping and other cars as the company's trains traveled through states with Jim Crow laws.[679] Meanwhile, a few years before Dubois wrote this observation, he'd received letters from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters asking him to recognize their efforts at organization in one of his public lectures.[680]

This small mention of W.E.B. Dubois belies the significance of the interconnections between the Pullman Porters and their union, the evolution of African American communities, cultures, and labor and activist organizations. As discussed throughout this report, George Pullman and the subsequent executives of the PPCC had complicated legacies regarding race and labor. The company employed blacks at a time when many would not, yet they created jobs with terrible pay and conditions. George Pullman made substantial charitable gifts in support of the African American community in Chicago, but yet he (and the leaders who followed him) largely excluded African Americans from his town and reinforced White Americans' stereotypical archtypes of simple and servile Negros. The company leaders began using African American skilled laborers as a wedge to break strikes by the white-only labor unions in their shops, including the major actions of 1897 and 1922, then began to employ Filipino men against African Americans after they had unionized.

Communities of workers and their organizations were complicit in these social conflicts, at times including violence, which enforced racial exclusion from types of jobs or labor organization membership. As also summarized in this report, each community of workers, including in production, maintenance, and service/operations, race and gender played key roles in recruitment, organization, and identity, which in turn had clear impacts on the demography of the Pullman community and the predominantly white and black neighborhoods which surrounded it in Chicago.

---

[678] Cited in Bill V Mullen and Cathryn Watson, *W.E.B. Dubois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Liine* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 92.

[679] W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt) Du Bois, "Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to the Pullman Company, October 29, 1903," in *W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312)*, ed. University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries Special Collections and University Archives (Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1903).

[680] Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, "Letter from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 11, 1928,"ibid. (1928).

There is sufficient published research, summarized or cited in this report, which staff at Pullman NM can use in initial planning and programming.[681] Some primary information about Pullman's workers can also be found online, thanks to the efforts of the Pullman State Historical Site, the Pullman Foundation, and the National A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum. In order to push research beyond the existing oral histories that have been collected and published and the catalogs of names that have been gathered by Pullman heritage organizations, the NPS should consider undertaking or facilitating a collaborative digitization of the PPCO's employment records, with emphasis on employment cards or ledgers, welfare program records, and other documents that hold biographical details. The rationale and mechanics of such a project will be discussed in another section below, but this database will be needed to facilitate study of the scope, scale, and methods of Pullman Porters that supported labor and civil rights activities over time. There is no question that the porters and maids were helped transform American society through their labor—they helped to establish the black middle class in the United States. The roles of the leaders like A. Philip Randolph, Cotrell L. Dellums, Stanley Grizzle, Halena Wilson, E.D. Nixon, and Ada Dillon are well documented, as their roles and connections with national labor organizations, civil rights groups, and economic development associations. But without systematic attention to those records, the true scope of work "in the trenches" connecting porters, civil rights, and labor activists cannot be known.

The same is true for the major players in the Pullman Strike of 1894. In that case, sympathy for the Pullman workers led to a major national strike that dramatically impeded rail traffic in the United States and ultimately drew federal intervention which culminated in violence. As discussed in previous chapters, the strike was a dramatic point in the history of Pullman and in United States labor history. In this report, we have discussed this strike in the context of labor activity and efforts at collection action that were fractured by race, gender, religion, and nationality. We have tried to avoid the separation of the stories of labor action by race, treating the Pullman Strike and the organization of the BSCP. While the majority of striking workers in 1894 were white, that is only true because African American workers had been excluded from union membership and the PPCC used them as strikebreakers. Meanwhile, the BSCP's experience a few decades later is also wrapped in racial politics, as Filipino were used against them in the same manner. Race and gender slice through all the labor actions surrounding Pullman, which include relatively continual efforts to organize, from the 1880s through to the company's final operations.

As an example of this, thirty-five members of a metalworkers union from Pullman were among those who marched in a Chicago parade on April 25th, 1886. Eight thousand strong, workers marched in that parade in support of the eight-hour work day, organized by the Central Labor Union. Twenty-five hundred Pullman workers participated in a follow up march in early May, when Chicago was a hotbed of agitation for shorter working days.[682] During the May Day strike of 1886, which had been organized by the American Federation of Labor and anarchist groups, initial peaceful protest at Haymarket gave way to violence and loss of life. Labor day had been founded a only few years earlier, in New York City in

---

[681] See footnotes 8, 13, 15, and 276, along with discussions throughout.

[682] Eric L Hirsch, *Urban Revolt: Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Chicago Labor Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).

1882, when local union members started the tradition to honor workers. That effort had been supported by the Knights of Labor and the Central Labor Union. After the Haymarket, socialists, communists, and anarchists began to refer to May 1st as International Workers' Day and unions divided over whether they should adopt May 1st or a September date as the important holiday for labor. Conservatives were troubled that the May Day celebration will reinforce public sympathies about the Haymarket massacre and they began advocating for the older September date. Following the Pullman Strike of 1894, President Grover Cleveland made Labor Day the official 'national' holiday dedicated to working people to distance the event from global communist sympathies.[683] Over the following three decades, the anti-communist movement in the United States exerted constant pressure on May Day celebrations, and although they were often allies of African American Civil Rights organizations, communists were persecuted following the Russian Revolution. As a result, May Day faded in American cultural celebrations and African Americans came to celebrate Labor Day, despite the historical struggles the community had trying to force integration of unions. This is a topic that requires more study to establish the interplay of these forces and the roles of the Pullman manufacturing and service employees in the stories of these holidays.

At the same time, the foreign setting of W.E.B. Dubois's story reminds us that the international growth of the PPCC projected George Pullmans' vision into other national contexts where race and gender relations were different and plantation nostalgia did not resonate with passengers. Scholars have begun to explore how Pullman porters in Canada struggled with the interplay of civil rights and labor struggles. While the Canadian story is similar in a very basic sense to the experience of porters in the United States, involving struggles about hours, wages, and conditions and racist prejudice, the porters also became advocates for immigrant persons of color and their rights to claim citizenship in a multiethnic country.[684] What of the situation in England the United Kingdom? Or Mexico? Or Russia? How was railroad service work formulated in other countries were PPCC did business, through direct operation, or where the company sold cars for others to run?

---

[683] May Day and Labor Day, see Donna T Haverty-Stacke, *America's Forgotten Holiday: May Day and Nationalism, 1867-1960* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 2009). Personal reflection, see John G Rodwan Jr, "Ironies on Parade," *Cream City Review* 1, no. 2 (2012); Theodore Watts, *The First Labor Day Parade* (Silver Spring, MD: Phoenix Rising, 1983); Michael Kazin and Steven J Ross, "America's Labor Day: The Dilemma of a Worker's Celebration," *Journal of American History* 1992, no. March (1992); Jonathan Grossman, "Who Is the Father of Labor Day?," *Monthly Labor Review* 95, no. 9 (1971); Edward T O'Donnell, "Henry George and the 'New Political Forces:' Ethnic Nationalism, Labor Radicalism, and Politics in Gilded Age New York" (Columbia University, 1955).

[684] Cecil Foster, *They Call Me George: The Untold Story of Black Train Porters and the Birth of Modern Canada* (Widsor, Ontario: Biblioasis, 2019); Jenny Carson, "Riding the Rails: Black Railroad Workers in Canada and the United States," *Labour/Le Travail* 50, no. Fall (2002); Sarah-Jane Mathieu, "North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920," ibid.2001, no. April (2001).

8.C Citizen History, Deep Mapping, and Big Data for Industrial Heritage Interpretation.

Pullman has tens of thousands of stories to tell. These are stories of people associated with Pullman through manufacture, maintenance, or service labor, or the passengers and consumers who experienced luxury rail travel. The stories span more than a century and while centered in Chicago, Illinois, could include all of the United States, North America, and even other parts of the world. Heritage scholars, meanwhile, are increasingly concerned with how their studies and activities engage different publics in culture building and place making. They are equally concerned with how their research disengages communities, or their interpretation leaves them unengaged, as visitation has declined at historic sites around the country. Researchers are struggling to understand the tensions among—and interplay between—traditional place-based preservation/heritage work and virtual community and memory in native, digital-born populations.

Pullman NM can revolutionize heritage research and interpretation at post-industrial urban sites by collaboratively building an historical spatial data infrastructure, powered by citizen historians, which both professional and avocational researchers can use for "deep mapping" their own networks in the Pullman story. Historical research, like all of society, is undergoing a "spatial turn" at the same time that it starts to grapple with big datasets. An ever-increasing diversity of historic records are digitized every year, becoming searchable and sortable by keyword, name, and location.

As more and more historical datasets are being digitized, the searchability of these large sources of materials are revolutionizing research. Searchable aggregators like Ancestry.com and Newspapers.com have become popular tools for research, while visualization tools like Gapminder.org are democratizing the examination of public data. These sites are used by family and genealogical researchers and other avocational scholars, but they also enable rapid professional research. Alongside professional data services, such as the Minnesota Population Center's decennial datasets, researchers have powerful digital tools at their disposal.

The Pullman archival materials represent a vast trove of information about employees and operations, stored in thousands of linear feet in various archives. A paternalistic company, Pullman kept detailed records on thousands of its employees over time, including demographic details, health information, apprentice contracts, lists of assignments and pay, disciplinary records, residential and family details, and so on. While different types of records were kept at different times and for different types of workers, detailed records exist for accountants, upholsterers, porters, lawyers, and laundrymen. Because much of this information includes geographic indicators, such as street addresses, the information allows people to be organized in space and time and connect it with other databases, such as the US Census, tax records, phone books, and published business directories. Personnel and demographic records like these are further supplemented by a rich legacy of photographs, drawings, newspapers and magazines, maps, letters, and many other primary documents that include spatial and chronological references. This is an extraordinarily rich historical record that captures networks of people and places in space and time during key period of industrialization in the United States.

The spatial humanities and social sciences are emerging fields that have evolved Historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS), building historical data infrastructures to organize, access, manage, interrogate, and interpret multimedia data like these for both quantitative and qualitative studies. Researchers use the HGIS data structures to create finely detailed depictions of spaces through time, building "deep maps" that anchor information from the complex and interconnected world in which

people, places, and environments interact. The HGIS becomes a platform for organizing, managing, and archiving information; a process for analyzing and interacting with information; and a product that makes the information available to users through different interfaces or apps.

Building a quality HGIS is expensive and difficult. Costs quickly become prohibitive if professionals must do all the scanning and transcribing. Perhaps more importantly, when an HGIS is designed and built by an institution or organization, the resulting product often fails to meet the needs of broader communities of users. Because of this, major HGIS projects have shifted to "citizen historian" and public-participatory methodologies in designing the data structure and filling it with information. Gamification allows volunteers to transcribe scans of employee cars, for example, while algorithms check for agreement between different transcriptions to ensure quality control. Meanwhile the professionals write code to allow for automated conversion of scanned typed material from directories and phone books. Many of these methods were pioneered in Chicago at the Alder Planetarium, who's Zoonverse citizen science collaboration with Oxford University is one of the world's leading examples of public-powered research networks.[685] Among the citizen historian projects ongoing through Zoonverse in 2019 are efforts to transcribe both the National Archive's military records of African American soldiers from the Civil War and handwritten letters exchanged between anti-slavery activists in the collection of the Boston Public Library.

Building an HGIS for Pullman—one inclusive of workers involved in manufacturing and operations/service jobs—would provide a massive database that would support new studies while also sparking public interest. One could make quantitative comparisons of workers' terms of service with the company, rates of promotion, salaries and social mobility, geographic residence patterns, family connections and social networks among employees, and so on, sorted for example, by race or ethnicity, nationality, occupation, age, or gender. Susan Hirsch and Janice Rieff did exemplary work of this type, but they had based their 1982 study upon a sample of the records from only the Calumet Repair Shops, which limited their ability to ask questions at the scale of the entire company.[686] Examples of research questions that could be addressed in a full HGIS might include: What percentage of Pullman's skilled wood workers shifted from the manufacture shops to repair shops after the factory started building steel cars? What percentage left Pullman vs. how many took other types of jobs in manufacturing? Did young workers have more upward mobility in the company if they had older relatives working elsewhere in the plant? What percentage of strike participants that returned to the company were still working for

---

[685] As of 2019, Zoonverse had more than 1.5 million registered participants around the world. Originally meant to help astronomers, the staff have added projects that expanded their work to biology, earth and ecological sciences, history, and the humanities. See the website for details: https://www.adlerplanetarium.org/citizen-science/

[686] Reiff and Hirsch, "Reconstructing Work Histories by Computer: The Pullman Shop Workers, 1890–1967."; Susan E. Hirsch, "Rethinking the Sexual Division of Labor: Pullman Repair Shops, 1900–1969," *Radical History Review* 1986, no. 35 (1986); Susan E. Hirsch and Janice L. Reiff, "Career Making at Pullman: Employment Stability and Job Mobility for Railroad Repair Shop Workers, 1915 to 1970," in *Origins of the Modern Career*, ed. David Mitch, John Brown, and Marco H.D. Van Leeuwen (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004).

Pullman ten years later? Did employees living in multifamily housing tend to cluster by occupation type? Who was likely to walk to work along a shared route and how did occupation or skill level effect that pattern? How did the average length of service of a Filipino porter compare with an African American porter hired in the same year? What mobility did porters or maids have to shift their work assignments among different routes? Scholars could use this database to ask many important questions of the Pullman story.

Using the same data structure, one could also build detailed biographical life histories of persons or buildings, filled with details drawn from spatially-connected data that might include newspaper accounts, photographs, audio recordings, manuscripts like letters or diaries, architectural or landscape analysis, and so on. This is a traditional process for historians, but with the HGIS the study can be done faster, with more records available, and available from anywhere. Perhaps more importantly, as citizen historians add details from family history research, photographs, privately-curated primary documents or oral histories, service records, and material from scattered family members, the resources will diversify to enrich the stories further.

As citizen historians enrich the digital resources for Pullman by helping to transcribe documents and making them searchable by name or address, they will also add stories to the database from their own research or private collections. At the same time, they will form social networks of interested people, building communities around Pullman's stories. Those communities and networks will facilitate visits to Pullman NM and the Pullman State Historic Site, driving traffic to the physical place. That traffic is likely to be highly motivated for their visit instead of casual tourists who dropped by on a whim.

The best analog for the potential for an HGIS at Pullman is the Copper Country Historical Spatial Data Infrastructure (CC-HSDI) and its public face, the Keweenaw Time Traveler (KeTT). The CC-HSDI is an eight-year project that launched in 2014 as a cooperative effort of Michigan Technological University, Keweenaw National Historical Park, the county historical societies, and other heritage organizations. The KeTT was designed to empower residents, communities, and visitors, along with academic researchers, enabling everyone to share information about Michigan's copper mining region centered on the four-county area of the Keweenaw Peninsula and Lake Superior's southern shore in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The leaders of the heritage organizations in these post-mining communities believe that they can promote social and economic development in the present by leveraging history and heritage-making, elements that give the Copper Country its unique sense of place. The KeTT was therefore designed to be fully collaborative and interactive, where the public has access to both historical and modern base maps/images, interactive transcription and classification tools, and the ability to both upload their own and see/use information added by other citizen historians.

After two years digitizing and referencing 1,100 historical maps to build the GIS, the team spent another three years building historical and environmental "stages" within the GIS while they engaged heritage partners in a co-design process to build the KeTT website and app. The app went live to the public in 2017 with two citizen historian activities: identifying details from fire insurance maps, such as construction material and transcribing labels, and encouraging visitors to add their own spatially- and chronologically-tagged stories.

After only two years, this is already a big-data HSDI for humanities scholarship with over 6.9 million variables, including 1.9 million variables on about 116,000 buildings and over 5 million variables on nearly 292,000 records on individuals and families, autonomously extracted from directories and

inventories published over 50 years from 1900-1950. 25,000 students were mapped to both their home and their school and 500 highly detailed mining company employee record cards were included in one pilot. The KeTT website has received over 41,000 visits, with visitors making nearly 210,000 queries using the data exploration tools. Citizen Historians have classified and transcribed over 288,000 building features, checked for quality by algorithmic functions, and added over 600 of their own place-based stories about family members, historic newspaper articles, photographs, audio and video files, and stories about favorite places. The project team of faculty and students have introduced KeTT to over 700 people at festivals or events hosted by local heritage partners using touchscreen kiosks and tablets. Faculty have worked with local governments on spatial history service-learning projects demonstrating the CC-HSDI's potential to create immersive experiences.[687] To accomplish these goals, the research team raised more than $775,000 in grant funds. The next two-year phase of the project will involve expanding the HDSI to include census records, school records, and 40,000 mining company employee cards and improve space-time links among data stages; redesigning the app interface and facilitating traffic flow from social media and other websites; and integrating GPS-based mobile applications for public use.

While the app is still not entirely operational, the public interest has been significant. Local audiences and visiting tourists encountered the app at 21 festivals and public events where the team set up flat screen kiosk stations and worked with iPads to introduce residents to the KeTT. They also operate popular Facebook and Twitter accounts where they reach out to target audiences, such as the children of former residents who grew up in the region, but left seeking work after the mines closed and the economy contracted. This project has also been featured in 13 different television, radio, and newspaper stories in the state or region, driving more traffic to the website and app as well improving heritage tourism in this region.

Another outcome is increased collaboration between the heritage partners in the region. The Keweenaw National Historical Park is unusual, as it was chartered as a partnership park instead of holding fee-simple ownership of resources. The CC-HSDI and KeTT have increased the centralized planning and collaboration among some of the partnering units within the park. While the project is still a long way from being deployed at a particular site with customizable interpretive programming, the partners can see the value of the KeTT in their culture building activities and are excited to see it grow. Partners are eager to share more of their archival holdings, getting them into the HSDI and using the platform to connect those resources with their stakeholder communities. Businesses have even stated to share information about their histories and current services. Local schools have worked with the KeTT team in

[687] See footnotes 620 and 622 for references to HSDI and public-participatory research. Background and outcomes for the CC-HSDI and KeTT are explained in Lafreniere et al., "Public Participatory Historical Gis."; Sarah Fayen Scarlett et al., "Out of the Classroom and into History: Mobile Historical Gis and Community-Engaged Teaching," *The History Teacher* in press (2019); Dan Trepal, Sarah Fayen Scarlett, and Don Lafreniere, "Heritage Making through Community Archaeology and the Spatial Humanities," *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 6, no. 4 (2019).

STEAM educational programming, inter-generational civic engagement programs, and teachers are working on ways to build KeTT activities into their regular classroom modules.

These details about the CC-HSDI and the KeTT are interesting because they illustrate the potential for a similar historic spatial data infrastructure in the Pullman community. Such a tool would be a powerful one for public interpretation, where the community members could use it during house tour events to show the change in their property over time captured in maps and photos while rangers might walk about town with people telling the life stories of different residents. The A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum could use this HSDI to build interpretive programs about porters and maids, expanding their database by adding the Pullman corporate records and inviting public participation in researching the porters' lives, particularly those who worked and lived in the nineteenth century who are not well represented in their current database. The National Park Service or the Pullman State Historic Site staff could invite visitors to use the HSDI to understand the distribution of Pullman employees and operations around the country at different periods of time, or to interpret the different work areas in the factory ruins. All the archives that hold Pullman-related material could collaborate on hosting students and researchers for projects, while also using the HSDI to spread the word about their events and public programming, and building connections to interest groups and communities online.

8.E Porters and African American History.

Pullman NM could use a HSDI to encourage or complete research or build interpretive materials that can extend what is known about all of the PPCC workers. For this study, as we reviewed the significant stories where Pullman porters played key roles in the development of African American communities in the United States, it became apparent how powerful a tool a detailed HSDI would be as a tool to facilitate research and data visualization of this history. In this section, we provide some examples of themes or types of data that could be included in such an analysis with more research:

8.E.1 Pullman porters, "race music," and music heritage sites

Many Pullman porters were musicians. Some played music on trains to entertain passengers as part of their duties, while others only played during their private lives, and still others were professional performers who also worked for the Pullman Company to keep steady employment. Railroad companies provided employment to tens of thousands of blacks in the United States, who worked decent jobs as firemen, track layers, dining car waiters, barbers, entertainers, maids, and porters. Pullman was certainly the largest of these employers. Some used their wage from these jobs to establish recording studios, to sell blues, jazz, and ragtime "race records" filled with the music made by African American immigrants to industrial cities. The porters and other railroad employees also became paid distributors, moving bundles of records, newspapers, and other media about the country, where they might be resold by business that catered to black customers, such as furniture stores or mail order companies.[688]

As an example, consider Big Bill Broonzy, an American blues singer, songwriter, and guitarist. His career spanned the 1920s to the 1950s. Mr. Broonzy recorded in Chicago for Paramount, New York City's

[688] Roger House, *Blue Smoke, the Recorded Journal of Big Bill Broonzy* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2010).

American Record Corporation (Melotone Records, Prefect Records, and others), RCA's Victor subsidiary Bluebird Records, and also Vocalion and Mercury Record labels.

Broonzy worked as a yardman for the Pullman Railroad Company in the first half of the 1920s. While working there he met many other musicians and established his own reputation as an Arkansas fiddle player. His coworkers drew him into the "rent party" circuit, where apartment residents would invite friends to an evening social with food and music. For a quarter, guests were served southern staples of African-American foods and with an extra $1, a jar of moonshine. The musicians ate for free and made names for themselves. But these were very popular events in the African American communities of Chicago—south side residences hosted 10,000 parties that earned people money to pay rent.

As musicians like Broonzy developed a reputation, they were then recruited to play speakeasys, and white-owned clubs, and eventually invitations to have recording sessions for music labels. This process allowed the African-American immigrants to Chicago to re-establish community links with other migrants that shared their rural, southern homelands, while also using blues and jazz to build a new urban cultural and social "modernity."

Another example of the connections between porters and music heritage turned up in a search of FindAGrave.com (See Appendix D). Ira Edward Moten (1877-1956) was born in Wyandotte County, Kansas, and Died in Kansas City, MO. Mr. Moten was a Pullman Porter and his younger brother Bennie Moten led a band in which Count Bassie played. There remains some confusion because another Ira Moten also played in that band, but he was the nephew of Bennie Moten and had the nickname Buster or Bus. This is probably a situation where an older sibling held down a job as a porter while his younger brother could then take the risk to start a band, but more research will be required to determine the full story.

As porters and other Pullman workers supported the music scene, the performances began to take place in noteworthy locations around Chicago. Mr. Broonzy played in the Maxwell Street Market, for example, along with other musicians such as Muddy Waters and Kid Dynamite. The Maxwell Street Market had the appearance of an outdoor flea market, but was a major social hub and economic incubator for the African American, Latinx, and Jewish communities of Chicago's South Side from the 1910s. City government's urban renewal plans began to displace the market, starting in the 1950s. The Maxwell Street Market was finally destroyed with the construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway and the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus.[689]

Advocates nominated the Maxwell Street Market to be an historic landmark in an attempt to save the vibrant ethnically-diverse community resource, including its music heritage. The nomination's rejection by the NPS Landmarks Division is a case study in evolving ideas about intangible heritage, as the NPS decided in this situation that "activities" were too fluid to be preserved, despite the fact that among the seven aspects of integrity identified by NPS, association can occur whereby a place "retains association if

[689] See these website descriptions: http://maxwellstreetfoundation.org/about-us and http://maxwellstreetfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/KIlling-Maxwell-Street-Anthology-1994_done.pdf

it is a place where the event or activity occurred at is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer."[690] Despite the unanimous verdict of the IHPA to approve the nomination for the National Register, the SHPO cited lack of integrity of setting, design, and materials to suggest to NPS that the unit did not deserve approval. NPS concurred with SHPO because the authors had defined the period of significance as 1880-1944. Since that time the market had moved due to the construction of the Dan Ryan, and thus the "material landscape" of the area had changed, changing the balance between contributing and non-contributing elements.

The examples of Mr. Broonzy, Mr. Moten, and the Maxwell Street Market illustrate how one could use an HSDI to compile this type of work. A group of motivated citizen historians could comb through the jazz and blues oral history archives, newspapers, and other records, identifying Pullman porters and other employees that performed, promoted, recorded, or distributed music, buildings and halls where they performed, and adding information from archival ephemera to build a robust database for study of this significant African American contribution to American culture building and place making from Chicago and elsewhere. This could also be extended into other arts and media, from film to paintings.

8.E.2 Pullman porters and railroad accidents

Searching through FindAGrave.com yields 162-173 hits for "Pullman Porter." Some of these hits are not actual train porters, such as the Negro League baseball player Andrew "Pullman" Porter (1910-2010). But if one reviews the graves listed in Appendix D, the pattern of the Great Migration is immediately visible, since most were born in the southern United States, and as their grave sites cluster around the anchor points of the Pullman rail network in places like Dallas and Chicago. Some of the porters were famous people, like Nathanel Love (a.k.a. Nat Love or Deadwood Dick). Mr. Love was born enslaved in 1845 and died in 1921. He had been a cowboy and nationally-known author before becoming a Pullman porter. Most of the people identified in this search were not so well known.

Among the interesting patterns was that this search returned a number of results of Pullman porters who had died in train accidents. These included people like Ben Benett, "negro porter" listed among the dead of the Dardeene Creek Train Wreck of Jan 1904, near St. Louis, MO. He was killed in rear-end collision between the Denver Express and another train, due to running during a blinding snow storm. Porter Jarvis Pearson of Chicago was killed and his co-workers were badly burned by hot coffee as the Empire Builder ran into a leading train on the Great Northern Railway. The second engine drove into the combined sleeper/observation car, demolishing it in a "telescoping" manner and caused the rest of both trains to derail.

Many of these accident stories describe the porters as heroic during times of crisis. During the wreck of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Express #11 during its trip to the St. Louis World's Fair. A flood washed out a bridge as the train was crossing, pulling the engine and the baggage car, a coach, and the chair and smoking car into the water. Two of the survivors were porters: Mr. M. W. Salles and Mr. W. W. Vance, along with the Pullman conductor. The press hailed Mr. Sales as a hero. He was on the Wyuta

---

[690] Tim Cresswell, "Hospitality and Migrant Memory in Maxwell Street, Chicago," in *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, ed. Jennie Molza Germann and Sarah Gibson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 56.

sleeper and felt the sudden jarring of the car. He grabbed the break and locked the car's wheels so that it slid to halt, literally hanging off the edge of the last standing trestle of the bridge. His quick action saved sixteen people's lives. Mr. Lewis Williams had almost identical experience on a train. The train stopped, teetering on the edge of Custer Creek. As the rain came down, he evacuated all the passengers to safety just before the car plunged into the creek moments after Williams finally jumped clear. Newspaper accounts and accident investigations record porters caring for dying passengers, sometimes at great risk to their own safety. Perhaps the most famous example of a heroic porter, Oscar J. Daniels, died in the Extra 1104 wreck of 1925. The five Pullman cars all derailed outside Rockport, N.J. In the wreckage, "O.J." Daniels jumped into the spraying steam to slam closed the car door and isolate the broken locomotive boiler. He then hiked around to try and find a working phone to call for help until he finally collapsed and died due to his severe burns. The Pullman company later renamed the Sirocco car, calling it the Daniels. He was the only porter ever honored in this way.

This type of research could illuminate the interrelationships between the porters who worked, particular in the earlier eras 1880-1920, those who left no oral history in the late twentieth century. Along with their stories, Pullman NM could explain the development of safety systems, technology, and regulations that made rail travel safer and reduced the severity and frequency of accidents.

8.F Gastronomy, African American Foodways, and Dining Car Cuisine

Dining cars and food have long fascinated scholars and popular audiences and much recent research has been published that relates to the Pullman story. Building upon the intellectual trends mentioned in this report, particularly mobility studies and critical attention to race, gender, and class, researchers studying gastronomy and foodways have begun to reexamine the importance of eating on the rails. Eating is a powerfully embodied act that is both social and intimate, as political as it is stylistic and cultural. George Pullman introduced the first dining cars, which operated at a loss, but because passengers found them so superior to the dash-and-dine pattern of grabbing meals at station restaurants, drew substantial business from competing railroad operators.[691]

Cooking and eating are powerful cultural acts, however, and the idea of eating while moving drew social debate. Writers were concerned the health of eating while moving onboard a train and eating according to the travel schedules of stations and switching, rather than the body's clock. Train schedule set meal times since service began only after the train left the station, but as people boarded and left with each stop, the service eventually became available at any time of day or night. People also learned to eat quickly during short trips.[692] Female travelers constructed the dining car a domestic space, normalizing the idea of dining while moving (Richter). Scholars have explored the ideas of "dwelling-in-traveling" and "traveling-in-dwelling" to explore how different mobilities shape the lived experience of eating.[693]

---

[691] Michael S Carolan, *Embodied Food Politics* (Routledge, 2016); Andrew F Smith, *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

[692] Jacqueline Botterill, "Mobile Eating: A Cultural Perspective," *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 2 (2017): 70-72.

[693] Sarah Gibson, "Food Mobilities: Traveling, Dwelling, and Eating Cultures," *Space and Culture* 10, no. 1 (2007): 5.

Dining cars confined movement and provided for uniquely theatrical mode for consuming fine food with racialized personal service. Eating on the train therefore helped people to disavow "the limitations of time and space" as they traveled.[694]

Dining car practices led to technological innovations in cooking and eating, as noted by the "Pullman Pan" baking dish (see Appendix C). Innovations occurred in tools and techniques of cooking, eating, and washing; the kitchen work process; the recipes and cuisines, as well as in the social acts of dining and eating. As an example of material innovation, Bisquick mix (flour, shortening, baking powder, and salt) was developed by the Dining Car Department employees of the Southern Pacific Railroad to ease preparations for different breads.[695] But equally important were innovations in china patterns and table settings, touristic cuisines, and social rituals of shared dining. As Shannon Hudgins noted, this process occurred all over the world as dining car employees on long- and medium-distance rail routes created memorable specialty dishes using regional ingredients and techniques that met individual passengers' expectations for meals, including both tourists and regular commuters.[696]

Much is unknown about the details of lived interactions of travelers and dining car service employees. The kitchen's tiny work and storage spaces had multiple workers preparing hundreds of meals, all while wiggling and jostling, without access to resupply if ingredients ran short. To what extent did innovation in practice rise from the kitchen staff of the dining cars vs. from centralized planning offices? The importance of race in the dining experience cannot be overstated, and following the lead of current scholarship, research must vigorously query how race and gender insect with class in dining experience on Pullman's trains. This is a performance ripe with plantation nostalgia, mixing luxury and quality with social privilege and identity. The existing literature on dining cars and gastronomy neglects any meaningful examination of what, how, and where the service staff ate while on duty, creating a consumer-centric model of dining car gastronomy. At the same time, Pullman also established one of the first and most important industrial food systems about which we know nothing of the operations of entire commodity chains, from field to table.

Rufus Estes provides an example of a ripe research area of compelling interest to Pullman NM. Mr. Estes was a black pullman chef who self published a cook book in 1911. According to his book, Mr. Estes had been born enslaved. He started working for Pullman around 1885 and he eventually became a lead chef on private Pullmans running for industrial executives. Like the small group of other black cookbook

---

[694] Ibid., 207. Also see several entries in Smith, *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink*.

[695] Sharon Hudgins, *Food on the Move: Dining on the Legendary Railway Journeys of the World* (Reaktion Books, 2018).

[696] The Pullman Palace Car Company and the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits (along with smaller companies) operated trains from South Africa to Peru that created culinary identities, including the *Orient Express* and *Flying Scottsman* in Europe, the Santa Fe *Super Chief* in the United States, Russia's Trans-Siberian Railway, India's Darjeeling Himalayan Rail, and Japan's modern bullet train (Hudgins)

authors of that time, his intro narrative connected slavery and cooking, playing against period stereotypes of black cooks and racialized nostalgia in order to establish his own distinctive authority. [697]

The extensive archives, material culture, and architectural spaces available in and about Pullman NM, including those at the Hotel Florence, provide rich material from which this research can be extended and innovative interpretive programs may be developed. An HGIS that includes chefs, cooks, waiters, and other dining car staff, as well as the central stores locations and supply network staff, would provide a critical resource for these studies. Such a database would support systematic study of the men and women who developed and constituted these culturally-significant services in conjunction with passengers, highlighting the roles of those who would otherwise be treated anonymously as faceless service providers. Then the analyses can extend, using different routes and regions in turn, to examine the links between the different cuisines developed by different lines as the dining cars contributed to the construction of tourism foodways and the mobility of business and recreational dining.

8.G Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Pullman and Lake Calumet Region.

Chicago's location has long made it location of primary importance in human movement in North America, centuries before the founding of Pullman or the rise of the railroad network. This has meant that Native American residents have a long and continuous history of life in what now Chicago, managing landscapes and resources, growing food, and supplying far-reaching trade networks. Even though local communities were removed from their homelands during the nineteenth century when the United States dissolved treaty-assured tribal land tenure rights, Native American residents still live in Pullman and neighboring communities today. Researching the long history of Native American life around Lake Calumet should be a priority topic for Pullman NM.

In 2017, Timothy Scarlett and Steven Walton outlined the evolution of the region's geomorphology, illustrating the post-glacial development of the landscape.[698] The land around what is today called

---

[697] Until recently, few scholars had examined the few early cookbooks published by African Americans. See Rafia Zafar, *Recipes for Respect. African American Meals and Meaning* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019). African American gastronomy and foodways are a vibrant area of research, particulary in the racialized realm of service cooking, although fewer studies exist examining railroads. See {Vivian Nun Halloran, "Recipes as Memory Work: Slave Food," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 53, no. 2 (2012); Anne Yentsch, "Excavating the South's African American Food History," in *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture*, ed. Anne Bower (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Jr. Bendele, Marvin Charles, "Food, Space, and Mobility: The Railroad, Chili Stands, and Chophouses in San Antonio and El Paso, 1870-1905" (University of Texas at Austin, 2015); Jeri Quinzio, *Food on the Rails: The Golden Era of Railroad Dining*, vol. 1 (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014); Carolan, *Embodied Food Politics*; Gibson, "Food Mobilities: Traveling, Dwelling, and Eating Cultures."; Hudgins, *Food on the Move: Dining on the Legendary Railway Journeys of the World*; Smith, *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink*.

[698] Scarlett and Walton, "Archaeological Overview & Assessment: Pullman National Historical Monument, Town of Pullman, Chicago, Illinois," 23-32, including figures 2.1-2.4.

Chicago was a great meeting place for travelers and traders. It sits just east of a low ridge that separates the Chicago River and the Great Lakes from the Illinois River and the Mississippi drainage, two of the largest watersheds east of the Rocky Mountains. The sandbar at the mouth of the Chicago River formed a protective harbor where the flowing waters joined the wavy and current-driven flows of Lake Michigan. While much of the terrain was low marshland, wherever the glaciers paused, ridges of gravel formed dry trackways that suited overland travel.

Pullman is south of the Chicago river, on a section of land that borders on Lake Calumet. It is in a low area between the ancient landforms of the Tolleston and some minor glacial ridges and the ancient outcrops of Blue Island, Stony Island, and Thorton Reef. Some relict beaches were still visible in Pullman in the 1930s, mapped in Figure 1.1, roughly parallel to the historical shore of Lake Calumet. In 1900-1901, Albert Scharf plotted the locations of Native American villages as he thought they existed in 1804, working with archival documents, oral histories, avocational excavations, and personal observations around 1900 (see Figure 1.2 and 1.3). It is not surprising that he plotted large and small villages at Blue Island, Stony Island, and Thorton Reef, and identified paths that follow the ridges formed by moraines and relict glacial beaches.

Native American residents of this region maintained extensive trade networks, exchanging corn, skins, jewelry, pipestone, lead, tools, and food and alcohol from antiquity through the fur trade era.[699] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many peoples met in the area of modern Chicago. Potawatomis communities governed most the region, but people also identified as Sacs, Foxes, French, Ottawas, English, Chippewas, Americans, and others. This continued until 1833, when the United States used two treaties following the Black Hawk War to dispossess all native and metis residents of their land rights, removing tribal communities from the area. The subsequent speculative land rush touched off Chicago's first real estate bubble as people anticipated the development of a major transportation and trade hub that would include a canal connecting the great lakes with the Illinois maritime trade, articulated with overland routes and rail roads between the populous east and the resource-rich west.[700]

---

[699] Very little recent archaeological work has been done in Chicago's urban region, but important studies of human land use in eras before the fur trade can be found in these: Charles W. Markman, *Chicago before History: The Prehistoric Archaeology of a Modern Metropolitan Area* (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 1991); Joseph Craig, "Prehistoric Occupation of the Chicago Lake Plain: Predictive Modeling of Settlement Location" (Northern Illinois University, 1988). Markman provides an excellent overview of the archaeological interpretations of sites in the Sag and Calumet River region, as well as north of Lake Calumet. Antiquarian sources could also be useful, although we have not consulted these manuscript collections but they might contain information about the prehistory of Pullman or the Lake Calumet area. Consult the Charles Augustus Dilg and Albert Frederick Scharf manuscript collections in the Chicago History Museum. A study that attempted to map historic and ancient trails over the modern Chicago road system is Ena Shapiro, "Indian Tribes and Trails of the Chicago Region: A Preliminary Study of Influence of the Indian on Early White Settlement." (University of Chicago, 1929).

[700] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 1-93.

Given the paleo-landscape features and the formation processes around Lake Calumet, it is unlikely that a major archaeological site from antiquity falls within the modern boundaries of Pullman National Monument. It is very likely, however, that ephemeral sites exist that document thousands of years of human resource extraction in Lake Calumet and the surrounding marsh and grass lands. Given the documented and reconstructed landscape elements, it is very likely that people traveled the relict beach that connected permanent villages at Stony Island with the north end of Lake Calumet. Archaeological resources have likely been buried by subsequent landfilling episodes.

Pullman National Monument should seek dedicated research into the "pre-Pullman" history of the region. While this seems outside of the three main tasks defined in the foundation document, the National Park Service's Thematic Framework focuses interpretive efforts on the theme of *Peopling Places*, identifying questions about migration, communities, neighborhoods, ethnic homelands, as well as encounters, conflicts, and colonization.[701] Information about conflicting social systems for land tenure and resource management are essential to understanding the evolution of Chicago's south side, as well as how the environment in Pullman and Lake Calumet have been transformed, the adverse effects of industrialization had on community and ecosystems health, and potential strategies for restoring, protecting, and managing environmental systems.[702]

Despite public perception, George Pullman did not buy empty, virgin land upon which to build his factory town. The indigenous residents lived near Pullman and managed the resources of the lake. Native Americans did not vanish from Chicago after the treaties that ended the Black Hawk War in 1833. In addition, during the mid-twentieth century many individuals from Native American communities worked for railroads in various capacities.[703] Many subsequently migrated to Chicago encouraged by federal programs promoting urban life to tribal members, despite the fact that tribal governments had no legal claim to lands. Pullman's current community includes people that identify as Native American.[704] Current residents cultural affinities may or may not align with historic or ancient peoples, but Pullman NM should seek advice from relevant TIPOs, have scholars conduct archaeological and ethnographic literature reviews, undertake ethnographic engagements and collect oral histories in

---

[701] Peopling Places in U.S. Department of the Interior, "Revision of the National Park Service's Thematic Framework," (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1996), 7-10.

[702] Transforming the Environment in ibid., 13.

[703] James B LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945-75.* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002). See also Rosalyn R LaPier and David RM Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893-1934* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

[704] As of the last American Community Survey from the US Census, 0.071% of the Pullman community identified as Native American/Alaska Native. SeeWilliam Scarborough et al., "Adversity and Resiliency for Chicago's First: The State of Racial Justice for American Indian Chicagoans," (Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy, University of Illinois, Chicago, 2019). Compare with Figure 7.5 and data from the American Community Study and the Decennial Census data from Steven Manson et al., "Ipums National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 14.0," ed. University of Minnesota IPUMS USA (Minneapolis, Minnesota2019).

Pullman and surrounding communities, build relationships with Native American studies programs in the area, and consult with the tribal governments TIPOs.

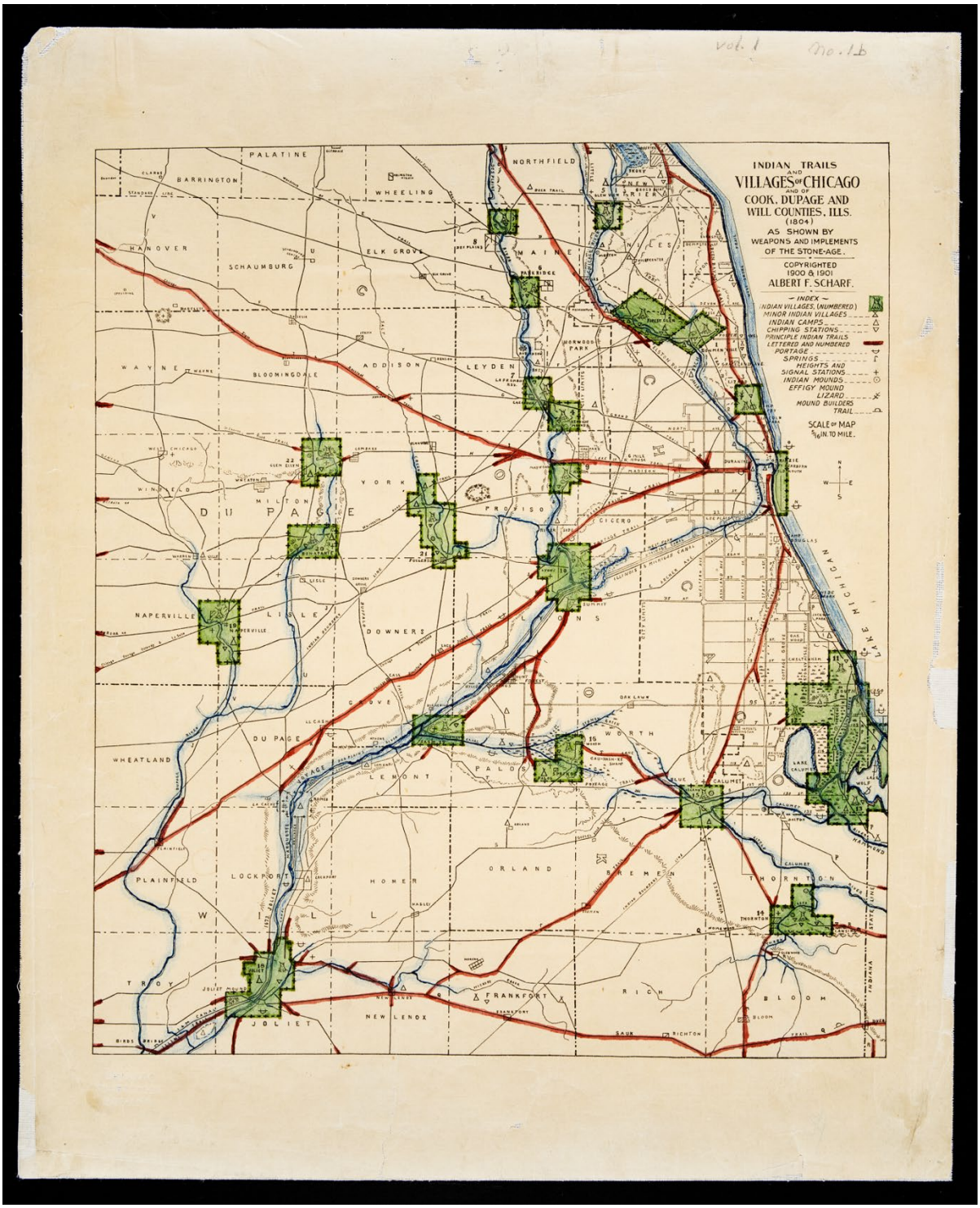


Figure 8.2: Albert Scharf's 1901 map showing his reconstruction of paths and villages around Chicago as they were in 1804. Indian Trails and Villages of Chicago and of Cook, DuPage, and Will Counties, Illinois. Chicago History Museum, ICHI-029629

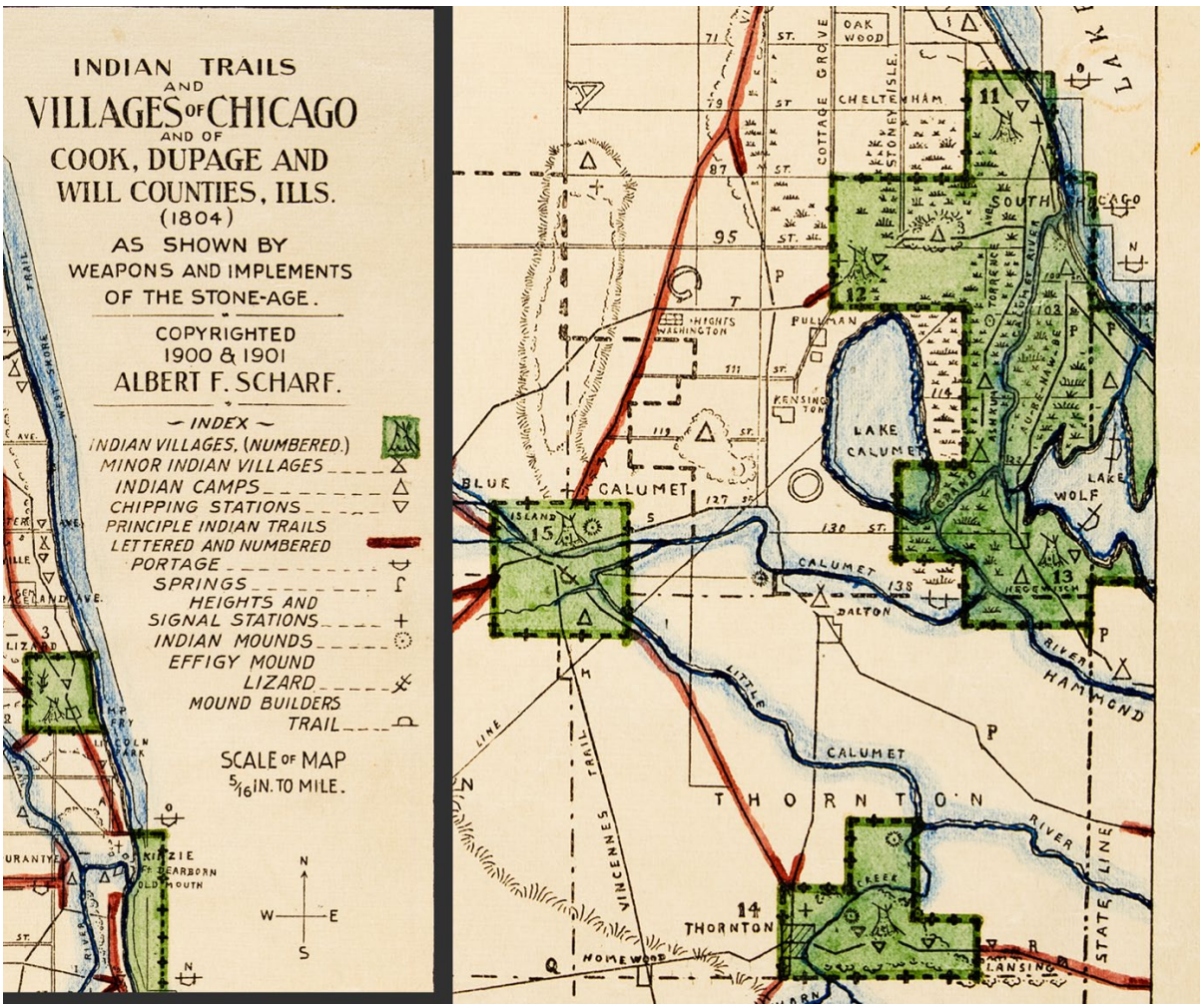


Figure 8.3: Detail of Lake Calumet and Pullman area of Albert Scharf's map, showing a major and minor villages with sites of other land use. Chicago History Museum, ICHi-029629

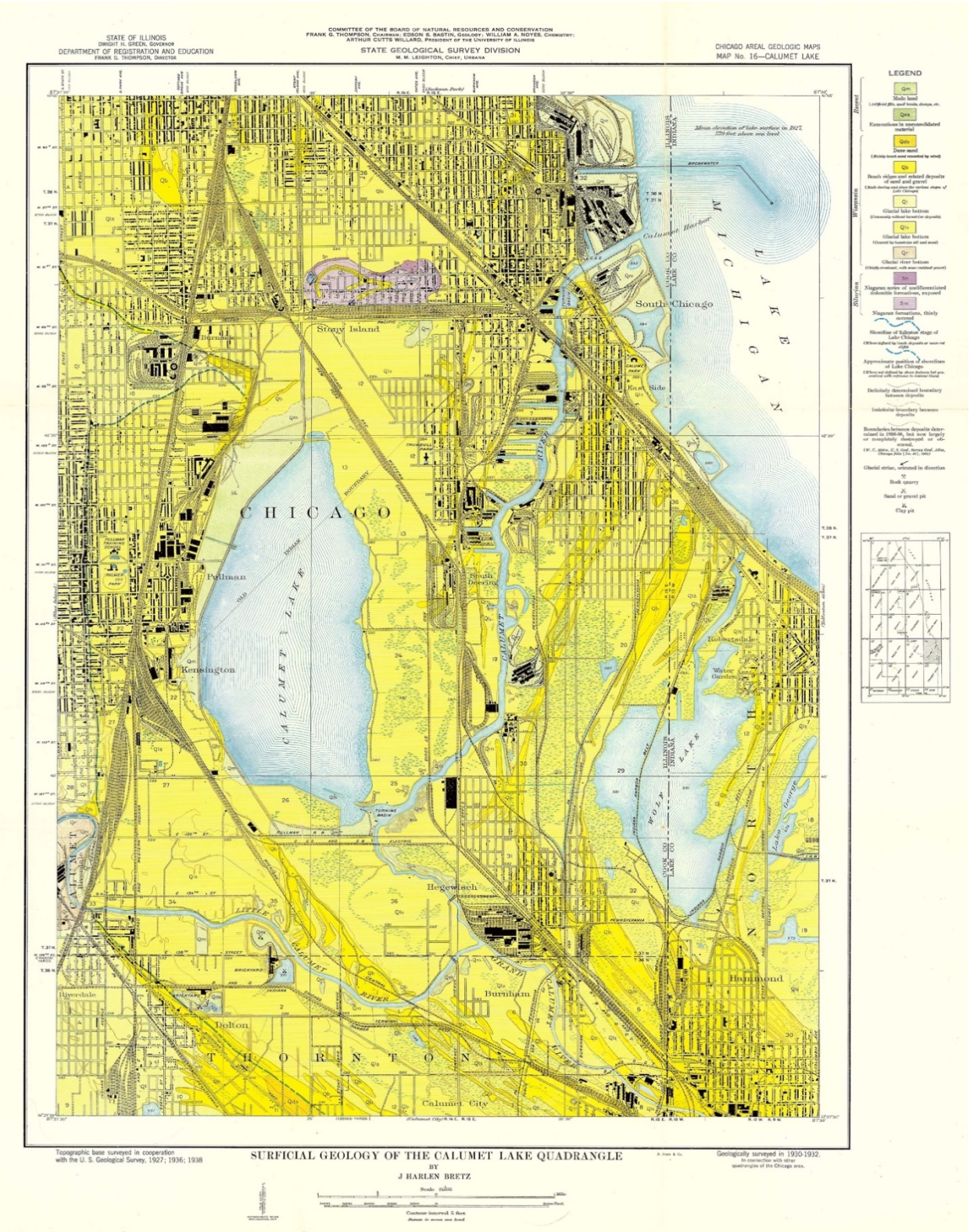


Figure 8.4: J. Harlen Bretz's map showing results of the 1930-1932 survey of the surficial geology around Lake Calumet and Pullman. University of Illinois.

Building upon the *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* to complete an *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* of the communities that used the Calumet Lake region will provide the baseline research for NPS staff to develop interpretive programs and exhibit materials about Native American homelands, landscape management, and cultural practices. There are active native studies and archaeological research programs in Chicago which engage with historical-era persons and processes.[705] Pullman NM could seek to facilitate or support similar research dedicated uncovering and restoring native stories to the Pullman landscape. This will enable NPS staff to connect with major efforts to revise the North American exhibit galleries at the Field Museum to be more inclusive of local Native American stories.[706] At the same time, this will help Pullman NM connect its programming with the regional heritage efforts surrounding the proposed Calumet Heritage Area.[707]

8.H Pullman and luxury around the world: the global context

In many places around the world, Pullman as a brand became nearly synonymous with sleeper coaches, transit cars, and usually also for modern luxury, quality, and comfort. The development and lasting durability of brand and identity is not well understood in a global context. This requires more study. While the company's name is synonymous with quality and luxury in the United States, Pullman has been widely adopted as an "Americanism" in many non-English speaking world regions. The Pullman brand name was sometimes conflated with sleeping coaches and with first-class luxury, so much so that the brand may have undergone "genericization" in language, like the famous examples such as Xerox, Keleenex, Escalator, Thermos, Kerosene, Google, Bubble Wrap, and Frisbee. In some European cities, for example, the nickname Pullman is used for all large street cars because the company manufactured the first four-axle electric trams used in many cities. In Leipzig, Cologne, Frankfurt, and Zürich, these cars are called *Pullmanwagens*. Russian speakers use *Пульмановский* ("*pul'manovskiy*") as a general term for high-class luxury, adopting the word from *пульмановский спальный вагон* ("*pulmanovskiy spal'nyy vagon*" or Pullman sleeping car).[708]

---

[705] There are active and recent archaeological research projects examining Pullman's industrial and historical eras. This work was summarized in Scarlett and Walton, "Archaeological Overview & Assessment: Pullman National Historical Monument, Town of Pullman, Chicago, Illinois." We also direct readers to Rebecca Graff's forthcoming book on the archaeology of the Colombian Exposition and Jackson Park: Rebecca S. Graff, *Disposing of Modernity: The Archaeology of Garbage and Consumerism During Chicago's 1893 World's Fair.* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2020).

[706] Lauren Frost, "Changing the Narrative in the Field Museum's Native North America Hall," in *WBEZ News* (Chicago: WBEZ, 2018).

[707] National Park Service Midwest Region, "Calumet Ecological Park Feasibility Study," (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998); CalumetHeritage.org, "Calumet National Heritage Area Initiative: Feasibility Study," (Chicago: Calumet Heritage Partnership, 2018).

[708] For general discussions of genericization, see Ronald R Butters and Jennifer Westerhaus, "Linguistic Change in Words One Owns: How Trademarks Become Generic," *Topics in English Linguistics* 45, no. 2004 (2004); Shawn Clankie, "An Overview of Genericization in Linguistics." In , , Pp. 28-34. 2013.," in

Lexicographer Jun-nosuke Miyoshi surveyed five Spanish-language dictionaries recently published in Spain in which she identified nearly 1,000 words or meanings as "Americanisms." Of those words, Spanish speakers actively use 961 words that form a Panamerican "Basic Americanisms Lexicon" the unites Latin American populations. Among these, many Spanish speakers in both Spain and the Americas use the word *pullman* to refer to sleeping cars. The publication also included Brian Steel's (1999) list of *Panhispanic Americanisms*, which Miyoshi retitled "Words of Latin American Origin that are now commonly used in Spanish."[709]

The lexicography of this is interesting, and Pullman serves as a valuable example of branding and trademark, but understanding the larger context requires that researchers define the sequence and geographic extent of the PPCC operations in different world regions, along with summaries of corporate organization and local operations. The company manufactured and sold cars internationally, but sometimes also operated lines on foreign rail networks. Some of the records of these operations are in the Newberry Library collections, but a much wider search will be required to identify heritage resources from other countries. Pullman's different international business models included distinct labor, gender, and race relations in different locations. This work will essential to build a contextual framework within which scholars can assess the significance of Pullman's brand and the cultural meanings attached to it in different places and times.

8.I Conclusions

Many of these examples illustrate future research work that Pullman NM can pursue to enrich the ability of NPS staff to tell the stories of Pullman. These projects could all be undertaken collaboratively, in partnership with local heritage organizations like the National A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum and the Historic Pullman Foundation and Pullman State Historic Site; local and regional archives like the Newberry Library and the South Suburban Genealogical Society library, and community and interest groups like the Pullman Community Organization and the Historic Pullman Facebook group. The projects are all generally united by the need for a digitization of records from the archives so that the new database can inspire citizen historians to collect new information from other evolving digital resources and widely distributed family archives and collections.

Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Onomastics 'Name and Naming': Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space, Baia Mare, May 9-11, 2013, ed. Oliviu Felecan (Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Editura Mega Editura Argonaut, 1013). For business and marking, see Jean-noël Kapferer, "Brand Confusion: Empirical Study of a Legal Concept," *Psychology & Marketing* 12, no. 6 (1995); Mathias Strasser, "The Rational Basis of Trademark Protection Revisited: Putting the Dilution Doctrine into Context," *Fordham Intell. Prop. Media & Ent* 10, no. 1999 (1999). These linguistic examples are derived from personal communication among the authors with examples drawn from online dictionaries and translation tools.

[709] Jun-nosuke Miyoshi, "Sobre Los Americanismos Léxicos Panamericano," in *Actas Del V Congreso Internacional: El Hispanismo Y La Globalización. Monográficos Sinoele, Número 17.*, ed. Marta Muñoz Torres, Mariona Anglada Escudé, and José Miguel Blanco Pena (Tamsui, Taiwan: Asociación Asiática de Hispanistas, 2018).

While these suggestions concentrate on the stories of Pullman porters, maids, and other service workers, the same project design will also support work with the production and maintenance employees. Developing a joint database for all these employees will finally allow for large scale study of all three groups of employees. This is essential to stop the research from replicating the patterns of historic scholarship, which construct the 1894 strike as one primarily concerned with European-American workers in town, while the BSCP is exclusively a story about African American workers outside of town. One data structure will encourage studies and interpretive programs that consider all of the workers in their concurrent relationships with the company and one another.

Pullman NM can tell heritage stories of the United States which connect to the most important themes of the nation's history. Telling these stories well are going to be critical to the culture building and place making process as the region undergoes economic revitalization and cultural renewal. Building an inclusive narrative at the monument through a large scale, collaborative, community-based research project will help build a strong, inclusive, and resilient community on Chicago's south side, while stewarding the nation's industrial heritage.

Works Cited

Achard, M. Arthur. "On the Various Modes of Transmitting Power to a Distance." *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers* (1881): 57-104.

Ackermann, Marsha. *Cool Comfort: America's Romance with Air-Conditioning.* Smithsonian Books, 2010.

Adelman, William *Touring Pullman: A Study in Company Paternalism.* 2nd ed. Chicago: Cornelius Printing Co., 1977. 2nd Edition 1977. 1972.

"Air Conditioning . . . A Vital Part of Our Service." *The Pullman News*, Apr. 1953, 8-9.

Alanen, Arnold. "'Gardens in the Backyard, Barns Along the Alley': Resident-Based Food Production in Mining Communities of the Lake Superior Region." In *Retrospection & Respect: The 1913-1914 Mining/Labor Strike Symposium of 2014*. Hancock, MI: Michigan Technological University, 2014.

Alanen, Arnold R, and Lynn Bjorkman. "Plats, Parks, Playgrounds, and Plants : Warren H. Manning's Landscape Designs for the Mining Districts of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, 1899-1932." *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (1998): 41-60.

Alanen, Arnold R, and Thomas J Peltin. *Kohler, Wisconsin, Planning and Paternalism in a Model Industrial Village.* Cambridge, MA: American Institute of Planners, 1978.

Alchon, Guy. "Technocratic Social Science and the Rise of Managed Capitalism." Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1985.

"Alumni Endowment Fund Members." *The Michigan Alumnus*, 1900, 34.

American Biographical Publishing Co. *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Iowa and the World's Columbian Exposition.* Chicago: American Biographical Pub. Co., 1893.

Anderson, Jervis. *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait.* New York: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1973.

Andreas, Alfred Theodore. *History of Cook County Illinois: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Complete in One Volume.* Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884.

"The Arcadian City of Pullman." *Agricultural Review and Journal* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1883): 69-87.

Archer, John. *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

"Architects Criticize Union Station Plans." *The Inter Ocean*, June 7 1913, 5.

"Architects Plan to Honor Chief." *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 4 1910, 4.

"Architects See Chicago O.K.". *Chicago Tribune*, May 20 1911, 5.

"The Arctic Explorer." Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theCompany/arcticExplorer.html.

Arnesen, Eric. *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Arnesen, Eric, Alan Derickson, James Green, Walter Licht, Marjorie Murphy, and Susan Cianci Salvatore. "American Labor History Theme Study (Draft)." In *National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form*. Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2003.

Arnold, John David McEwen, and Don Lafreniere. "Creating a Longitudinal, Data-Driven 3d Model of Change over Time in a Postindustrial Landscape Using Gis and Cityengine." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* forthcoming (2018).

Ashley, W.J. *The Railroad Strike of 1894. The Statements of the Pullman Company and the Report of the Commission, Together with an Analysis of the Issues.* Publications of the Church Social Union. Cambridge: The Church social union, 1895.

Bach, Ira J. "Pullman: A Town Reborn." *Chicago History* 4, no. 1 (1975): 44-53.

Baldwin, Davarian L. *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Baldwin, William Wright. *Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company: Documentary History.* 3 vols. Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, 1928–29.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.* 5 vols. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.

Barrett, Nathan F. "Fifty Years of Landscape Modeling." *The Art World* 1, no. 3 (1916): 180-85.

Barry, Kathleen M. *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Basen, Neil K. "Municipal Socialism in the United States." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 11 (1977): 31-34.

Bassett, Jonathan. "The Pullman Strike of 1894." *OAH Magazine of History* 11, no. 2 (1997): 34-41.

Bates, Beth Tompkins. *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-1945.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Baxter, Jane Eva, and Andrew H. Bullen. "'The World's Most Perfect Town' Reconsidered: Negotiating Class, Labour and Heritage in the Pullman Community of Chicago." In *Heritage, Labour, and Working Classes*, edited by Laurajane Smith, Paul Shackel, and Gary Campbell. London: Routledge, 2011.

Beaudry, Mary Carolyn, and Stephen A. Mrozowski. *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts.* Cultural Resources Management Study. 3 vols. Boston, MA: Division of Cultural Resources, North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1987-89.

Becker, J.W., and William S. Porter. "The Lincoln Funeral Train." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 9, no. 3 (1916): 315-19.

Beebe, Lucius Morris *Mr. Pullman's Elegant Palace Car: The Railway Carriage That Established a New Dimension of Luxury and Entered the National Lexicon as a Symbol of Splendor.* New York: Doubleday, 1961.

Beebe, Lucius Morris, and Charles Clegg. *The Trains We Rode.* 2 vols. New York: Promontory Press, 1990.

Beebe, Ralph K. *The Worker and Social Change: The Pullman Strike of 1894.* Lexington, MA: Heath, 1970.

Belanger, Dian O. "The Corliss at Pullman." *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1 (1984 1984): 83-90.

Beman, Solon S. "The Architecture of the Christian Science Church." *The World To-day* 12, no. 6 (1907): 582-88.

Bendele, Jr., Marvin Charles. "Food, Space, and Mobility: The Railroad, Chili Stands, and Chophouses in San Antonio and El Paso, 1870-1905." University of Texas at Austin, 2015.

Benedict, Sir Julius. "Jenny Lind." *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 1881, 120-32.

Benton-Cohen, Katherine. *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Berge, Stanley. "Why Kill the Passenger Train?". *Journal of Marketing* 28, no. 1 (1964): 1-6.

Biggs, Lindy. *The Rational Factory: Architecture, Technology, and Work in America's Age of Mass Production.* Studies in Industry and Society. Edited by Philip B. Scranton. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Bigott, Joseph C. *From Cottage to Bungalow: Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago, 1869-1929.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Bijker, Wiebe E., Thomas Parke Hughes, and Trevor Pinch. *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology.* 1st MIT Press paperback ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.

Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago. Chicago, Illinois: Wilson & St. Clair, 1868.

Bittlingmayer, George. "Antitrust and Business Activity: The First Quarter Century." *The Business History Review* 70, no. 3 (1996): 363-401.

Bjorkman, Lynn. "Warren, Arizona: 'The City Beautiful' and 'an Ideal City' in the West." *The Mining History Journal* 6, no. 1999 (1999): 52-62.

Blake, Holly Jacklyn. ""Dependency Is Not Charming": Marie Howland on Women, Class, and Community, 1836-1921." Ph.D., SUNY-Binghamton, 2002.

———. "Marie Howland: 19th-Century Leader for Women's Economic Independence." *The American journal of economics and sociology* 74, no. 5 (2015): 878-1190.

Blaszak, Michael W., Brian Solomon, John E. Gruber, Chris Guss, and Michael W. Blaszak. *Chicago, America's Railroad Capital: The Illustrated History, 1836 to Today.* Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2014.

Bledstein, Burton J. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1978.

"Board of Education." *Chicago Tribune*, June 26 1880, 5.

Bodenhamer, David J. *The Spatial Humanities: Space, Time, and Place in the New Digital Age.* History in the Digital Age. London, UK: Routlege, 2013.

Bodenhamer, David J, Trevor M Harris, and John Corrigan. "Deep Mapping and the Spatial Humanities." *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 7, no. 1-2 (2013): 170-75.

Bodenhamer, David J. "Creating a Landscape of Memory: The Potential of Humanities Gis." *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 1, no. 2 (2007): 97-110.

Bolger, Doreen, ed. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Rizzoli, 1986.

Booth, Douglas E. "Municipal Socialism and City Government Reform: The Milwaukee Experience, 1910-1940." *Journal of Urban History* 12, no. 1 (1985): 51-74.

Botterill, Jacqueline. "Mobile Eating: A Cultural Perspective." *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 2 (2017): 71-79.

Boyer, Paul. *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Bradley, Betsy H. *The Works: The Industrial Architecture of the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Bramhall, Frank J. "Luxury in American Railway Travel." *Cassier's Magazine* 15, no. 2 (1898): 91-.

Brandes, Stuart D. *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Bremer, Fredrika. *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America.* London: A. Hall, Virtue & Company, 1853.

Bretz, J. Harlan. "Surficial Geology of the Calumet Lake Quadrangle." In *Chicago Area Geological Maps*. Chicago: Illinois State Geological Survey, 1939.

Briggs, Martha T., and Cynthia H. Peters. "“Pullman Inc.” from Dictionary of Leading Chicago Businesses (1820–2000)." In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Historical Society, 2005.

Budd Co. *Edward G. Budd (1870-1946): "Father of the Streamliners" and the Budd Company.* New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1950.

Buder, Stanley. *Capitalizing on Change: A Social History of American Business.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

———. "The Model Town of Pullman: Town Planning and Social Control in the Gilded Age." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 33, no. 1 (1967): 2-10.

———. *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930.* The Urban Life in America Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Buglielmo, Thomas A. *Thomas A. Guglielmo, White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004.

"Buildings and Builders. Out of Chicago. Cincinnati's Pullman." *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 11 1885, 7.

"Buildings and Builders. Out of Chicago. Here and There." *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 11 1885, 7.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928.* Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O., 1934.

Burgan, Michael. *The Pullman Strike of 1894.* Minneapolis, MN: Compass Point Books, 2008.

Butters, Ronald R, and Jennifer Westerhaus. "Linguistic Change in Words One Owns: How Trademarks Become Generic." *Topics in English Linguistics* 45, no. 2004 (2004): 111-26.

CalumetHeritage.org. "Calumet National Heritage Area Initiative: Feasibility Study." Chicago: Calumet Heritage Partnership, 2018.

"A Card." *The Evening Post*, June 3 1851, 2.

Carolan, Michael S. *Embodied Food Politics.* Routledge, 2016.

Carson, Jenny. "Riding the Rails: Black Railroad Workers in Canada and the United States." *Labour/Le Travail* 50, no. Fall (2002): 275-95.

Carter, Thomas, and Elizabeth C. Cromley. *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes.* Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

Carter, Tomas. *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

Carwardine, William H. *The Pullman Strike.* Unity Library 36. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1894.

Chandler, Alfred D. *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise.* Mit Press Research Monographs. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962.

———. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1977.

Chanute, Octave, and George Shattuck Morison. *The Kansas City Bridge: With an Account of the Regimen of the Missouri River, and a Description of Methods Used for Founding in That River.* New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1870.

Chapin, John R. "The Infamous Pullman Strike as Revealed by the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 74, no. 3 (1981): 179-98.

Chateauvert, Melinda. *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.* Women in American History Series and the Working Class in American History. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

"Chicago Plan to Architects." *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 13 1909, 5.

Clankie, Shawn. "An Overview of Genericization in Linguistics." In , , Pp. 28-34. 2013.". In *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Onomastics 'Name and Naming': Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space, Baia Mare, May 9-11, 2013*, edited by Oliviu Felecan. Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Editura Mega Editura Argonaut, 1013.

Clarke, Don H. *The Cliff Mine.* Copper Mines of Keweenaw. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1976.

"A Column in a Garden." *Scientific American Building Monthly* 38, no. 3 (1904): 64.

Commons, John R., and et al. *History of Labour in the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1918.

Contemporary American Biography: Biographical Sketches of Representative Men of the Day. New York, NY: Atlantic Publishing Co., 1895.

Cootner, Paul H. "The Role of the Railroads in United States Economic Growth." *The Journal of Economic History* 23, no. 4 (1963): 477-521.

Corcoran, Kate. "The Pullman Library." The Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theTown/pullmanLibrary.html.

Craig, Joseph. "Prehistoric Occupation of the Chicago Lake Plain: Predictive Modeling of Settlement Location." Northern Illinois University, 1988.

Crawford, Margaret. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns.* London and New York: Verso, 1995.

Cresswell, Tim. "Hospitality and Migrant Memory in Maxwell Street, Chicago." In *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, edited by Jennie Molza Germann and Sarah Gibson, 47-64. New York: Routledge, 2016.

———. *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World.* London, UK: Routledge, 2012.

Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991.

Cullen, Jim. *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Daniels, Stephen. *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England.* New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in the British Art [by] Yale University Press, 1999.

Darbee, Jeffrey T. "Socialist from the Heartland: Eugene V. Debs and the Pullman Strike." *Traces of Indiana and midwestern history of Education Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2001): 34-43.

Davis, Colin J. *Power at Odds: The 1922 National Railroad Shopmen's Strike.* Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1997.

Disraeli, Benjamin. *Sybil: Or, the Two Nations.* Nelson Classics. London: T. Nelson, 1957.

Domschke, Jan-Peter, and Hansgeorg Hofmann. "Der Beitrag Von Wilhelm Heinrich Uhland (1840-1907) Zur Anerkennung Des Ingenieurberufes in Der Industriegesellschaft." *Sächsische Heimatblätter: Zeitschrift für sächsische Geschichte, Denkmalpflege, Natur und Umwelt* 62, no. 4 (2016): 258-65.

Donnachie, Ian, and George Hewitt. *Historic New Lanark: The Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785.* Edinburgh University Press, 1993.

Dorchester, Jane Elizabeth. "The Evolution of Serpentine Stone as a Building Material in Southeastern Pennsylvania: 1727-1931." University of Pennsylvania, 2001.

Doty, Duane. "Art in Car Building." *Railroad Car Journal* 6, no. 6 (1896): 112-15.

———. *A General Classification of the Science of Geography.* Detroit, MI1871.

———. *A Manual for the Use of Teachers in the Public Schools of the City of Chicago an Outline of the Course of Study; and a Manual of Methods of Instruction in Arithmetic.* Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1878.

———. "Notes and Abstracts: Annual Statement Relating to the Operatives and Wage-Earners at Pullman." *American Journal of Sociology* 4, no. 4 (1899): 561.

———. "On Pullman, Illinois." *Public Health Papers and Reports* 14 (1888): 191-97.

———. "President Diaz's Private Cars." *Railroad Car Journal* (1897).

———. "The Pullman Exhibit at the Omaha Exposition." *Railroad Car Journal* (1898).

———. *Rules and Hints on the Theory and Practice of Teaching, Prepared for the Teachers of Public Schools.* New York: E. Steiger, 1879.

Doty, Duane, and William Torrey Harris. "A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States as Approved by Many Leading Educators." (1874).

Doty, Ethan Allen. *Doty-Doten Family in America: Descendants of Edward Doty, an Emigrant by the Mayflower, 1620.* Brooklyn, NY: [E.A. Doty], 1897.

Doty, Mrs. Duane [Margarita Jane Richards]. *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries.* Pullman, IL: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893.

———. *The Town of Pullman: Its Growth with Brief Accounts of Its Industries [1893].* Rev. ed. Pullman, IL?: Pullman Civic Organization, 1974.

Doumato, Lamia. *Richard Upjohn, Richard Michell Upjohn and the Gothic Revival in America.* Monticello, IL: Vance, 1984.

Dredge, James. *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1894.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt). "Letter from W. E. B. Du Bois to the Pullman Company, October 29, 1903." In *W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312)*, edited by University of Massachusetts

Amherst Libraries Special Collections and University Archives: Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1903.

"Duane Doty [Obituary]." *Michigan Alumnus* 9 (1903): 141.

Duncan, James S, and Nancy G Duncan. *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb.* New York, NY: Routledge, 2003.

Eaglestone, Howard, Patrick Eyres, Andrew Griffiths, and Stuart Rawnsley. *Two Airedale Landscapes: St. Ives & Saltaire (Landscapes Designed During the Industrial Revolution).* New Arcadian Journal 25. Leeds: New Arcadian Press, 1987-88.

Earley-Spadoni, Tiffany. "Spatial History, Deep Mapping and Digital Storytelling: Archaeology's Future Imagined through an Engagement with the Digital Humanities." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 84, no. C (2017): 95-102.

Eggert, Gerald G. "The Great Pullman Strike." *American History Illustrated* 6, no. 1 (1971): 32-39.

Eisler, Benita. *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women (1840-1845).* New York: Norton, 1998.

Elliott, Arlene Ann. "The Development of the Mechanics' Institutes and Their Influence Upon the Field of Engineering: Pennsylvania, a Case Study, 1824-1860." University of Southern California, 1972.

Ely, F.A. "Report of Sleeping Car." 1-6: Pullman Palace Car Co., 1877.

Ely, Richard T. "Pullman: A Social Study." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 70 (1885): 452-66.

Evans, Louwanda. *Cabin Pressure: African American Pilots, Fight Attendants, and Emotional Labor.* Perspectives on Multiracial America Series. Edited by Joe R. Feagin. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013.

Farnsworth, Robert S. *The Grand Western Railroad Game: The History of the Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific Railroads.* Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: Dorrance Publishing Co., 2017.

Farrington, S. Kip. *Railroading from the Rear End.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1946.

———. *Railroads of Today.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1949.

"Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations." edited by Senate, 9553, 622–623. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916.

"The First Vestibule Train in the World." *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 1 (1891): 18-19.

Fitzgerald, Robert. *British Labour and Industrial Welfare, 1846-1939.* London and New York: Croom Helm, 1988.

Fletcher, Tom. "Hughson Hawley." https://nyc-architecture.com/ARCH/ARCH-HughsonHawley.htm.

Fogel, Robert William. *Railroads and American Economic Growth.* Johns Hopkins Press Baltimore, 1964.

Foster, Cecil. *They Call Me George: The Untold Story of Black Train Porters and the Birth of Modern Canada.* Widsor, Ontario: Biblioasis, 2019.

Foster, Lawrence. *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992.

"Foundation Document: Pullman National Monument (Draft)." edited by U.S. Department of the Interior, 36. Chicago: Department of the Interior, 2016.

"Founding a City." *Annandale Observer and Advertiser*, July 29 1881, 3.

Fracchia, Adam, and Michael Roller. "Labor Archaeology of the Industrial Era: Identifying and Evaluating Nationally Significant Archeological Sites of Labor in the Industrial Era in the United States a National Historic Landmarks Theme Study " In *National Register of Historic Places, Multiple Property Documentation Form*. Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2014.

Fraser, Derek. *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution.* 2017.

French, Roderick S. "Chevy Chase Village in the Context of the National Suburban Movement, 1870-1900." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 49 (1973): 300-29.

Frost, Lauren. "Changing the Narrative in the Field Museum's Native North America Hall." In *WBEZ News*. Chicago: WBEZ, 2018.

Full, Jan Olive. "City of Mcgregor, Clayton County, Iowa, Planning for Preservation Project." Iowa City, IA: McGregor Historic Preservation Commission, 2011-12.

Gadsby, Margaret. "Strike of the Railroad Shopmen." *Monthly Labor Review* 15, no. 6 (1922): 1-21.

Garb, Margaret. "Health, Morality, and Housing: The 'Tenement Problem' in Chicago." *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 9 (2003): 1420-30.

Garner, John S. *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Gaskell, P. *The Manufacturing Population of England, Its Moral, Social, and Physical Conditions, and the Changes Which Have Arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery; with an Examination of Infant Labour.* London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1833.

Gaston, Paul M. *Women of Fair Hope.* Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 1012.

Gates Jr., Henry Louis. *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow.* New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2019.

"George Mortimer Pullman." Pullman State Historic Site, http://www.pullman-museum.org/theMan/.

"George Mortimer Pullman." In *Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois*. Chicago: Calumet Book and Engraving Co., 1896.

Gibbs, George. "Origins of the Steel Passenger Car." *Railroad History*, no. 138 (1978): 71-73.

Gibson, Sarah. "Food Mobilities: Traveling, Dwelling, and Eating Cultures." *Space and Culture* 10, no. 1 (2007): 4-21.

Gier, Erik de. *Capitalist Workingman's Paradises Revisited. Corporate Welfare Work in Great Britain, the USA, Germany and France in the Golden Age of Capitalism, 1880-1930.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.

"Girl Phone Fire Alarm While Smoke Fills House." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 3 1903, 1.

Goat, Leslie G. "Housing the Horseless Carriage: America's Early Private Garages." *Persvernarch Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3, no. 1989 (1989): 62-72.

Godin, Jean Baptiste André, and Edward Vansittart Neale, trans. *The Association of the Familistére, at Guise (L'aisne), France. A Lecture ... Delivered September 8th, 1881.* Manchester: Central Co-operative Board, 1881.

Godin, Jean-Baptiste André, Marie Howland, and Edward Howland. *Social Solutions.* New York: J.W. Lovell Company, 1886.

Gould, E. R. L. "Eighth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor: The Housing of the Working People." edited by United States Department of Labor. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1895.

Graff, Rebecca S. *Disposing of Modernity: The Archaeology of Garbage and Consumerism During Chicago's 1893 World's Fair.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2020.

Grandin, Madame Léon. *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Grant, H. Roger. *The Northwestern: A History of the Chicago & North Western Railway System.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996.

Grant, Thomas Burke "Pullman and Its Lessons." *The American Journal of Politics* 5, no. 2 (1894): 191-204; 392-98; 440-48; 96-503; 62-70; 71-79; 80-97; 98-607; 08-68.

Green, Hardy. *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy.* New York, NY: Basic Books, 2012.

Green, Stuart. "Groups Delay Action to Build New School as Poe Remains Full." *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1968 1968.

Greene, Jay Elihu. *Four Complete Biographies.* New York: Globe Book Company, 1962.

Gregersen, Charles. "List of Buildings and Projects by Solon Spenser Beman." *The Chicago Architectural Journal* 5 (1985): 29-31.

Gregory, James N. *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Grizzle, Stanley G. *My Name's Not George: The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada.* Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998.

Gross, Laurence F. *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boott Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1835-1955.* Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Grossman, James. "Great Migration." In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Historical Society, 2005.

Grossman, James R. "Blowing the Trumpet: The 'Chicago Defender' and Black Migration During World War I." *Illinois Historical Journal* 78, no. 2 (1985): 82-96.

Grossman, Jonathan. "Who Is the Father of Labor Day?". *Monthly Labor Review* 95, no. 9 (1971): 3-6.

Guarneri, Carl. *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Guigueno, Vincent. "Building a High-Speed Society: France and the Aérotrain, 1962-1974." *Technology and Culture* 49, no. 1 (2008): 21-40.

Gutek, Gerald Lee. *Pestalozzi & Education.* New York: Random House, 1968.

Halda, Bonnie J. "Historic Garage and Carriage Doors: Rehabilitation Solutions." In *Preservation Tech Notes*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1989.

"A Half-Acre Garden." *Scientific American Building Monthly* 32, no. 3 (1901): 47, 56.

Halloran, Vivian Nun. "Recipes as Memory Work: Slave Food." *Culture, Theory and Critique* 53, no. 2 (2012): 147-61.

Handlin, David P. *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1979.

Handy, Moses P., ed. *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to Oct. 30th, 1893. A Reference Book.* Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893.

Hannan, Caryn, Jennifer L. Herman, and Bryan Dye. *Illinois Biographical Dictionary.* Hamburg, MI: State History Publications, 2008.

Harding, Carroll Rede. *George M. Pullman, 1831-1897, and the Pullman Company.* Newcomen Address. New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1951.

Harris, Gale. "John De Groot House, 1674 Richmond Terrace, Staten Island." Staten Island, NY: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2005.

Harris, Richard. "Chicago's Other Suburbs." *Geographical Review* 84, no. 4 (1994): 406.

———. *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Harris, William H. *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-37.* Blacks in the New World. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Hartshorne, Charles Henry. *The System of Building Labourers' Cottages: Pursued on the Estates of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, Practically Examined.* Northampton: J. Butterfield, 1849.

Haverty-Stacke, Donna T. *America's Forgotten Holiday: May Day and Nationalism, 1867-1960.* New York, NY: NYU Press, 2009.

Hayden, Dolores. "Two Utopian Feminists and Their Campaigns for Kitchenless Houses." *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978): 274-90.

HIllier, Amy E. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4 (2003): 394-420.

Hirsch, Eric L. *Urban Revolt: Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Chicago Labor Movement.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

Hirsch, Susan E. *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman.* The Working Class in American History. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

———. "Rethinking the Sexual Division of Labor: Pullman Repair Shops, 1900–1969." *Radical History Review* 1986, no. 35 (1986): 26-48.

Hirsch, Susan E., and Janice L. Reiff. "Career Making at Pullman: Employment Stability and Job Mobility for Railroad Repair Shop Workers, 1915 to 1970." Chap. 7 In *Origins of the Modern Career*, edited by David Mitch, John Brown and Marco H.D. Van Leeuwen, 145-63. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004.

Historic Pullman Foundation., Fred Leavitt, and Nancy Miller. *Pullman, Portrait of a Landmark Community: A Photographic Essay.* Chicago: Historic Pullman Foundation, 1981.

Historical Publishing Company. *Origin, Growth, and Usefulness of the Chicago Board of Trade.* New York: Historical Pub. Co., 1885-68.

Hoagland, Alison K. "The Boardinghouse Murders: Housing and American Ideals in Michigan's Copper Country in 1913." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 11 (2004): 1-18.

———. *Mine Towns: Buildings for Workers in Michigan's Copper Country.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Hole, James. *The Homes of the Working Classes with Suggestions for Their Improvement.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1866.

Holroyd, Abraham. *Saltaire, and Its Founder, Sir Titus Salt, Bart.* Bradford: T. Brear, F. Hammond, Abraham Holroyd, and Thomas Harrison, 1873.

House, Roger. *Blue Smoke, the Recorded Journal of Big Bill Broonzy.* Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2010.

Howerith, I.W. "Profit Sharing at Ivorydale." *American Journal of Sociology* 2, no. 1 (1896): 43-57.

Howland, Edward. *The Palace of Industry, or the Workingmen's Home: Capital and Labor in Harmony. An Account of the Experiment at Guise, France.* New York: Samuel Leavitt, 1874.

———. "The Social Palace at Guise." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 44, no. 263 (1872): 701-16.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Houses without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and the Classification of America's Common Houses.* Vernacular Architecture Studies. Knoxville, TN: University Tennessee Press, 2013.

Hubka, Thomas C, and Judith T Kenny. "The Workers' Cottage in Milwaukee's Polish Community: Housing and the Process of Americanization, 1870-1920." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8, no. 2000 (2000): 33-52.

Hudgins, Sharon. *Food on the Move: Dining on the Legendary Railway Journeys of the World.* Reaktion Books, 2018.

Hudson, C.H. "The Original Construction of the Burlington Bridge in 1867–68." *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 13, no. 5 (1894): 257-70.

Hughes, Lyn. *An Anthology of Respect: The Pullman Porters National Historic Registry of African American Railroad Employees.* Chicago: Hughes-Peterson Publishing, 2009.

Hughes, Thomas Parke. *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Hunt, John Dixon. "Humphry Repton and Garden History." *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 3 (1996): 215-29.

Hunt, William Floyd. *Handling Material in Factories.* Factory Management Course and Service. New York: Industrial extension institute, 1922.

Husband, Joseph. *The Story of the Pullman Car.* Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1917.

Husband, Joseph, and John S. Runnells. "What a New System of Management Did for Us." *System: The Magazine of Business* 29 and 30, no. 2-6; 2 (1916): 3-50.

"I. K. Pond Criticizes Chicago Architecture." *Chicago Tribune*, May 19 1911, 8.

"An Industrial City.—Pullman, Ill." *Scientific American* 50, no. 18 (1884): 279-80.

International Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Factory Inspection and Industrial Commissions. "Report of Commissioners of the State Bureaus of Labor Statistics on the Industrial, Social and Economic Conditions of Pullman, Illinois. September, 1884." 23 p., 1884.

Ivey, Paul. "American Christian Science Architecture and Its Influence." Mary Baker Eddy Library, http://marybakereddylibrary.org/research/american-christian-science-architecture-and-its-influence.

Ivey, Paul Eli. "Christian Science Architecture in the American City: The Triumph of the Classical Style." In *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Urban Commercial Culture*, edited by John M. Giggie and Diane Winston, 108-32. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

———. *Prayers in Stone: Christian Science Architecture in the United States, 1894-1930.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Jacobson, Mathew Frye. "Becoming Caucasian: Vicissitudes of Whiteness in American Politics and Culture." *Identities* 8, no. 1 (2001): 83-104.

———. *Whiteness of a Different Color.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

James, David. "Salt, Sir Titus, First Baronet (1803–1876)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Jebsen, Harry, Jr. "The Role of Blue Island in the Pullman Strike of 1894." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67, no. 3 (1974): 275-93.

"Jenny Lind's Triumphs." *New York Times*, Nov. 3 1887, 5.

Johnson, Rossiter. *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition Held in Chicago in 1893.* New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1897.

Johnston, Bob, Joe Welsh, and Mike Schafer. *The Art of the Streamliner.* New York: Metro Books, 2001.

Kadinsky, Sergey. "Factory Pond, Staten Island." In *Hidden Waters Blog*, 2017.

Kaminski, Edward S. *American Car & Foundry Company 1899-1999.* Berkeley, CA: Signature Press, 1999.

Kapferer, Jean-noël. "Brand Confusion: Empirical Study of a Legal Concept." *Psychology & Marketing* 12, no. 6 (1995): 551-68.

Karson, Robin S., William Gwinn Mather, and Library of American Landscape History. *The Muses of Gwinn: Art and Nature in a Garden Designed by Warren H. Manning, Charles A. Platt & Ellen Biddle Shipman.* Sagaponack, N.Y: Sagapress, 1995.

Katzman, David M. *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Kazin, Michael, and Steven J Ross. "America's Labor Day: The Dilemma of a Worker's Celebration." *Journal of American History* 1992, no. March (1992): 1294-323.

Keating, Ann Durkin. *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of a Divided Metropolis.* Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1988.

———. *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

———. *Chicagoland: City and Suburbs in the Railroad Age.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Kelso, James G. "The Lyceum and the Mechanics' Institutes: Pre-Civil War Ventures in Adult Education.", Harvard University, 1968.

King, Charles. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2014.

———. *A Tame Surrender, a Story of the Chicago Strike.* The Lotus Library. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott company, 1896.

Kirkland, Caroline. "Illinois in Spring-Time: With a Look at Chicago." *Atlantic Monthly*, 1858, 484.

Kirvin, Johnnie F. *Hey Boy! Hey George! The Pullman Porter: A Pullman Porter's Story.* Los Angeles, CA: BookSurge Publishing, 2010. Biography.

Lafreniere, Don, Luke Weidner, Dan Trepal, Sarah Fayen Scarlett, John D.M. Arnold, Robert Pastel, and Ryan Williams. "Public Participatory Historical Gis." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 52, no. 3 (2019): 132-49.

Lafreniere, Don; and Gilliland, Jason. "'All the World's a Stage': A Gis Framework for Recreating Personal Time-Space from Qualitative and Quantitative Sources.". *Transactions in GIS* 19, no. 2 (2015): 225-46.

LaGrand, James B. *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945-75.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Lankton, Larry D. *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———. *Hollowed Ground: Copper Mining and Community Building on Lake Superior, 1840s-1990s.* Great Lakes Books. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010.

LaPier, Rosalyn R, and David RM Beck. *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893-1934.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Laughlin, Rosemary. *The Pullman Strike of 1894: American Labor Comes of Age.* Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds, 1999.

Law, John. "Networks and Large-Scale Technological Systems." In *Science, Technology, and Society: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Sal P. Restivo, 357-62. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

———. "Technological Systems." In *Science, Technology, and Society: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Sal P. Restivo, 591-93. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Lee, Matthew C. "Onward Christian Soldiers: The Social Gospel and the Pullman Strike." *Chicago History* 20, no. 1/2 (1991): 4-21.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991.

"The Legal Controversy over the Vestibule Patents." *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 3 (1891): 35-37.

"The Legal Controversy over the Vestibule Patents. Ii.". *The Railroad Car Journal* 2, no. 4 (1892): 50-52.

LeRoy, Greg. "The Founding Heart of A. Philip Randolph's Union: Milton P. Webster and Chicago's Pullman Porters Organize, 1925-1937." *Labor's Heritage* 3, no. July (1991): 22-43.

———. "Scandalized, Analyzed, Paternalized, Fraternalized, Nationalized and Company Unionized, but Nowhere near Recognized: Pullman Porters, 1913-1924." edited by Illinois Labor History Society. Chicago: Illinois Labor History Society, 1981.

Lester, David C. "Flagler, Henry M. (1830-1913)." In *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, edited by William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk and Roberta L. Diehl, 450-51. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Lewinnek, Elaine. *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Lewis, Robert D. *Chicago Made: Factory Networks in the Industrial Metropolis.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

———. *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004.

Leyendecker, Liston E. *Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman.* Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

Liazos, Ariane Mary Aphrodite. "The Movement for "Good City Government": Municipal Leagues, Political Science, and the Contested Meaning of Progressive Democracy, 1880-1930." Harvard University, 2007.

Light, Jennifer S. "Nationality and Neighborhood Risk at the Origins of Fha Underwriting." *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 5 (2010): 634-71.

Lillibridge, Robert M. "Pullman: Town Development in the Era of Eclecticism." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 12, no. 3 (1953): 17-22.

Lindsey, Almont. "Paternalism and the Pullman Strike." *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 2 (1939): 272-89.

———. *The Pullman Strike.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

———. *The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Gary Marks. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000.

Little, Peter C. *Toxic Town: Ibm, Pollution, and Industrial Risks.* New York, NY: NYU Press, 2014.

Littmann, William. "Designing Obedience: The Architecture and Landscape of Welfare Capitalism, 1880–1930." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 53 (1998): 88–114.

"Local Notes." *Inverness Courier*, July 19 1881, 2.

Logan, Andy. *The Man Who Robbed the Robber Barons.* 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 1965.

Long, Charles. "Pioneer and the Lincoln Funeral Train: How "Honest Abe" Was Used to Create a Corporate Tall Tale." *Railroad History*, no. 186 (2002): 88-100.

Love, Nat. *Life and Adventures of Nat Love, Better Known in the Cattle Country as Deadwood Dick.* 2017 ed. Wilmington, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1907. Illustrated Reprint.

Low, Setha M, and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga, eds. *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Lupton, Ellen, and J. Abbott Miller. *The Bathroom, the Kitchen, and the Aesthetics of Waste.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton Archtectural Press, 1996.

"The Luxury of Travel." *Detroit Free Press*, May 22 1866, 2.

Lweinnek, Elaine. *The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Madden, Thomas C. "The Pullman Project: Air Conditioning Topics." http://www.pullmanproject.com/AC.htm.

Malone, Patrick M. *Waterpower in Lowell: Engineering and Industry in Nineteenth-Century America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Mann, Ted. "Amtrak Has Lost Money for Decades. A Former Airline Ceo Thinks He Can Fix It." *Wall Street Journal*, July 6 2019.

Manson, Steven, Jonathan Schroeder, David Van Riper, and Steven Ruggles. "Ipums National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 14.0." edited by University of Minnesota IPUMS USA. Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2019.

"Many Changes in Pullman Cars since 1858." *Railway Age* 88, no. 20 (May 17 1930): 1195-97.

Markman, Charles W. *Chicago before History: The Prehistoric Archaeology of a Modern Metropolitan Area.* Springfield, Illinois: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 1991.

Marks, Carole. *Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place, and Gender.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Mathieu, Sarah-Jane. "North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920." *Labour/Le Travail* 2001, no. April (2001): 9-41.

"Max Hjortsberg." *The Inter Ocean*, May 20 1880.

"Max Hjortsberg." *Chicago Tribune*, May 17 1880.

McBride, Theresa M. "Socialism and Domesticity: The "Familistère" at Guise." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 19 (1981): 45-46.

McCommons, James. *Waiting on a Train: The Embattled Future of Passenger Rail Service.* White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Pub. Co., 2009.

McKissack, Frederick, and Patricia McKissack. *A Long, Hard Journey: The Story of the Pullman Porter.* New York: Walker and Company, 1995.

McLean, John. *One Hundred Years in Illinois, 1818-1918; an Account of the Development of Illinois in the First Century of Her Statehood.* Chicago: Peterson linotyping company, 1919.

McMurry, Donald L. "The Legal Ancestry of the Pullman Strike Injunctions." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 14, no. 2 (1961): 235-56.

McWilliams, Mary. *Seattle Water Department History 1854–1954.* Seattle: Dogwood Press, 1955.

Melosi, Martin V. *The Sanitary City: Environmental Services in Urban America from Colonial Times to the Present.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.

Mencken, August. *The Railroad Passenger Car; an Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years, with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000.

Messer-Kruse, Timothy. "The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876." (1998).

"Methods of Work and Special Plant on the Chicago Drainage Canal." *The Engineering Record* 35, no. 11 (Feb. 13 1897): 227.

Mid-Continent Railway Museum. "American Car & Foundry Company." Mid-Continent Railway Museum, https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/amercar&foundry1.htm.

———. "Wagner Palace Car Company." Mid-Continent Railway Museum, https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/wagner.htm.

Middleton, P. Harvey. *Railways and Public Opinion; Eleven Decades.* Chicago: Railway business association, 1941.

Minx, Janet. "City Planners Ask Advice." *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1965 1965.

Miyoshi, Jun-nosuke. "Sobre Los Americanismos Léxicos Panamericano." In *Actas Del V Congreso Internacional: El Hispanismo Y La Globalización. Monográficos Sinoele, Número 17.*, edited by Marta Muñoz Torres, Mariona Anglada Escudé and José Miguel Blanco Pena, 230-42. Tamsui, Taiwan: Asociación Asiática de Hispanistas, 2018.

"A Model Manufacturing City." *Scientific American* 45, no. 4 (1881): 52.

Monkkonen, Eric H. *America Becomes Urban: The Development of the U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Moore, Charles W. "Paradise at Topolobampo." *The Journal of Arizona History* 16, no. 1 (1975): 1-28.

Morris, Ira K. *Morris's Memorial History of Staten Island, New York.* New York: Memorial Pub. Co., 1898.

Mrozowski, Stephen A., Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary Carolyn Beaudry. "Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts." (1996).

Mullen, Bill V, and Cathryn Watson. *W.E.B. Dubois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Liine.* Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2005.

Mumford, Lewis. "Authoritarian and Democratic Technics." *Technology and Culture* 5, no. 1 (1964): 1-8.

Myers, Elisabeth P. *George Pullman: Young Sleeping Car Builder.* 1963.

Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1944.

"Nathan F. Barrett Dead." *The New York Times*, Oct. 18 1919.

"Nathan Franklin Barrett: A Minute on His Life and Service." Chap. 90 In *Transactions of the American Society of Landscape Architects 1909–1921*, edited by Carl Rust Parker, Bremer W. Pond and Theodora Kimball, 90-92. Amsterdam, NY: The Recorder Press, 1922.

National Park Service. "Positioning Pullman: Collaborative Ideas Workshop for America's Newest National Monument." 1-117. Chicago: National Park Service, 2016.

National Park Service Midwest Region. "Calumet Ecological Park Feasibility Study." U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.

"Nativity of Pullman Wage Earners." *Scientific American* 78, no. 6 (1898): 84-84.

Nelson, Robert K, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, and et al. "Mapping Inequality." https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.005/-97.9.

Nelson, Robert S., and Johnson. Edward M., eds. *Technological Change and the Future of the Railways*. Evanston, IL: Transportation Center at Northwestern University, 1961.

"A New Sleeping Car." *Engineering* 45 (1888): 625.

Newcomen, Ted. "Pullman, Illinois: Changes in Community Planning from the 1880s to the 1990s." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4, no. 1 (1998): 10-29.

Newton, Norman T. *Design on the Land; the Development of Landscape Architecture.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

Nichols, John. *The "S" Word: A Short History of an American Tradition ... Socialism.* 2015.

Nicolaides, Becky M. *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Nimmo, Joseph. *The Insurrection of June and July 1894, Growing out of the Pullman Strike at Chicago, Ill. An Address Delivered before the National Statistical Association at the Columbian University, Washington, D.C., October 9th, 1894. By Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Ll. D.* Washington, DC: Age printing Company, 1894.

Nimmo Jr., Joseph. "First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States.", 24. Washington, 1877.

Nolan, J.J., and The Pullman Company. "List of Standard and Tourist Cars." In *Passenger Traffic Dept.* Chicago, 1950.

Noon, Mark. "'It Ain't Your Color, It's Your Scabbing': Literary Depictions of African American Strikebreakers." *African American Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 429-39.

Nordhoff, Charles. *America for Free Working Men! Mechanics, Farmers and Laborers Read! How Slavery Injures the Free Working Man. The Slave-Labor System the Free Working-Man's Worst Enemy.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1865.

———. "*The Communistic Societies of the United States; from Personal Visit and Observation; Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Etc.* By Charles Nordhoff. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. Pp. 439." *The North American Review* 120 (1875): 226-29.

———. *The Communistic Societies of the United States: From Personal Visit and Observation Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel, Aurora, Icarian, and Other Existing Societies, Their Religious Creeds, Social Practices, Numbers, Industries, and Present Condition.* New York: Harper, 1875.

Nordhoff, Charles, and Robert S. Fogarty. *American Utopias.* American Classics. Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993.

"Nordhoff's Communistic Societies of the United States." *The Boston Globe*, Jan. 27 1875, 3.

"Northwestern Notes: Chicago Redeemed?". *National Journal of Education* 12, no. 4 (July 15 1880): 87.

"Notices." *The Railway Age Monthly and Railway Service Magazine* 1, no. 7 (July 1880): 394.

Noyes, Marion. "Handbook—You Make Travel Reservations." *Today's Secretary*, 1955, 32-35.

O'Donnell, Edward T. "Henry George and the 'New Political Forces:' Ethnic Nationalism, Labor Radicalism, and Politics in Gilded Age New York." Columbia University, 1955.

"Obituary: George Mortimar Pullman." *Railway World*, October 23, 1897 1897.

"Old Daguerreotype Shows Pullman Family Group of 1850." *The Pullman News* 11, (1932).

Oldham, Kit. "Seattle Ordinance Requiring Residences to Connect to Sewer Lines Is Adopted on December 4, 1885." *HistoryLink.org* (2015). Published electronically Nov. 12.

Olrick, Harry. "Transmission of Heat and Power." *Engineering* 31 (Mar. 18 1881).

Olson, Ernst W., Martin J. Engberg, and Anders Schˆn. *History of the Swedes of Illinois.* Chicago: Engberg Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908.

Olsson, Nils William, and Erik Wikén. *Swedish Passenger Arrivals in the United States 1820–1850.* Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 1995.

Otis, Philo Adams. *The First Presbyterian Church, 1833–1913: A History of the Oldest Organization in Chicago.* Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1913.

Packard, Jerrold M. *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2003.

Page, Max, and Marla R Miller. *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.

Papke, David Ray. *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America.* Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1999.

———. *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America.* Landmark Law Cases & American Society. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999.

Pearson, Arthur Melville. "Historic Pullman's *Other* Architect: Nathan Franklin Barrett." *Illinois Heritage* 8, no. 3 (2005): 20-25.

Pemberton, Robert, ed. *The Happy Colony*. New York, NY: Garland Press, 1985.

Perata, David D. *Those Pullman Blues: An Oral History of the African American Railroad Attendant.* Wayne's Oral History. Vol. 22, New York, New York: Twavne Publishers, 1996.

"Personal Mention." *The Railway Age Monthly and Railway Service Magazine* 1, no. 6 (June 1880): 376-78.

Pesavento, Wilma J. "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900." *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 2 (1982): 38-62.

Peterson, Larry "Pullman Strike Pictures: Molding Public Perceptions in the 1890s by New Visual Communications." *Labor Heritage* 8, no. 4 (1997): 15-42.

Peterson, Marjorie. "The Writings of Russell Sturgis and Peter B. Wight: The Victorian Architect as Critic and Historian." City University of New York, 1999.

Pfeffer, Paula F. "The Women Behind the Union: Halena Wilson, Rosina Tucker, and the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters." *Labor History* 36, no. Fall (1995): 557-78.

Phillips, George S. *Chicago and Her Churches.* Chicago: E. B. Myers & Chandler, 1868.

Philpott, Thomas Lee. *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Pierce, Bessie Louise. *A History of Chicago, Volume 1: The Beginning of a City 1673–1848.* 3 vols. New York: Knopf, 1937.

———. *A History of Chicago, Volume Iii: The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Pierce, Bessie Louise, and Joe Lester Norris. *As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Pisano, Dominick. *The Airplane in American Culture.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

"Plan Building without Noise." *Chicago Tribune*, June 14 1911, 7.

Pond, Allen. "The Settlement House." *The Brickbuilder* 11, no. 7 (1902): 184-85.

Pond, Bremer W. "Fifty Years in Retrospect: Brief Account of the Origin and Development of the Asla." *Landscape Architecture* 40, no. 2 (1950): 59-66.

Pond, Irving K. "Art and Individuality: Part I." *Art and Progress* 2, no. 11 (1911): 326-29.

———. "Art and Individuality: Part Ii." *Art and Progress* 2, no. 12 (1911): 358-62.

———. *The Autobiography of Irving K. Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu.* Oak Park, IL: Hyoogen Press, 2009.

———. *Big Top Rhythms: A Study in Life and Art.* Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark and Co., 1937.

———. *A Day under the Big Top, a Study in Life and Art.* Chicago: Chicago literary club, 1924.

———. "Eliel Saarinen and His Work; a Word of Appreciation and Greeting." *The Western Architect* 32, no. 7 (1923): 75-77 + 16 plates.

———. "High Buildings and Beauty." *Architectural Forum* 38 (1923): 41-44, 179-82.

———. "The Life of Architecture." *Architectural Record* (1905): 146–60.

———. *The Meaning of Architecture; an Essay in Constructive Criticism.* Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918.

———. "Pullman—American's First Planned Industrial Town. By a Collaborator and Eyewitness." *Illinois Society of Architects Monthly Bulletin* 18-19, no. 12-1 (1934): 6-8.

———. *A Strange Fellow, and Other Club Papers.* New York and Chicago: Priv. Print. by Willett, Clark and Co., 1938.

———. "Towards an American Architecture." In *Living Architecture; a Discussion of Present Day Problems*, edited by Arthur Woltersdorf and Chicago Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, 161-176. Chicago: A. Krock, 1930.

"Pond, Irving Kane." *American National Biography* 17 (1999).

Porterfield, James D. *Dining by Rail: The History and the Recipes of America's Golden Age of Railroad Cuisine.* New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car. "Letter from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 11, 1928." In *W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312)*, edited by University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries Special Collections and University Archives: Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, 1928.

Posadas, Barbara M. "The Hierarchy of Color and Psychological Adjustment in an Industrial Environment: Filipinos, the Pullman Company, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters." *Labor History* 23, no. 3 (1982): 349-73.

"The Procter and Gamble Company Ivorydale, Ohio." In *Executive Guidance of Industrial Relations: An Analysis of the Experience of Twenty-Five Companies*, edited by C. Canby Balderston, 164-70. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

Promey, Sally M. *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.

"Public Library." *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 30 1880, 8.

"Pullman / Pullman-Standard Research Information." Pullman Library at Illinois Railway Museum, http://www.pullmanlibrary.org/Research.htm.

"Pullman City." *The Builder & Wood-Worker*, Dec. 1881, 219, 22.

"The Pullman Company." *Long Lines* 34, no. 7 (1955): 24-27.

Pullman Company. "The Story of Pullman." 30 pages, 13 leaves of plates. Chicago: Publisher not identified, 1893.

Pullman Company. Personnel Administration Dept., and Pullman's Palace Car Company. "Records, 1875-1976 (Bulk 1875-1970)." 330.

"The Pullman Exhibit at Chicago." *Engineering* 55 (May 26 1893): 736-37.

Pullman, George Mortimer, T. H. Wickes, and Pullman Company. *The Strike at Pullman. Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman and Second Vice-President T.H. Wickes, before the U.S. Strike Commission. Also Published Statements of the Company During the Continuance of the Strike.* 1894.

"Pullman Palace Car Co. Builds Edison Cabinets." *The Music Trades*, Sept. 20 1919, 43.

"Pullman Palace Car Suit for Injunction." *The Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 27 1880, 4.

"Pullman Palace Cars." *Engineering* 38 (Nov. 7 1884): 432.

"Pullman Palace Cars." *Engineering* 42 (1886): 676.

"Pullman Palace Cars." *Engineering* 40 (1885): 550.

"Pullman Sleepers." *The Inter Ocean*, Feb. 18 1879, 8.

"The Pullman Vestibule Sleeping Car." *Railroad Gazette*, Nov. 23 1888, 766-68.

"Pullman. The Young City Presented with a Full-Grown Library by Its Enterprising Founder." *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12 1883, 7.

"Pullman's Little Joke." *The Morning Call*, Nov. 8 1911, 11.

"Pullman's Palace Car Company Annual Meeting." *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 16, 1885 1885.

"Pullman's Palace Car Company V. Boston and Albany Railroad Company Et Al.". *Decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts in Patent and Trade-mark and Copyright Cases* (1890): 533-43.

"Pullman's Palace Cars." *Detroit Free Press*, May 16 1880.

Quinzio, Jeri. *Food on the Rails: The Golden Era of Railroad Dining.* Vol. 1: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

Radford, Gail. "Housing Reform." In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago, IL: Chicago History Museum, 2005.

"Railroad Extension." *New York Times*, 2 Oct. 1864.

"Railroad Trains Make Own Climate." *St. Joseph Gazette*, June 15 1930, 15.

Ranks, Harold E., and W.W. Kratville. *The Union Pacific Streamliners.* USA: Kratville Publications, 1974.

Rawnsley, Stuart. "Saltaire: From Old Paternalism to Romantic Capitalism." *New Arcadian Journal* 25 (1987-88): 25-37.

Ray, William W. "Crusade or Civil War? The Pullman Strike in California." *California History* 58, no. 1 (1979): 20-37.

"Real Estate and Rents. Other Personals." *The Inter Ocean*, Aug. 19 1883, 6.

Rees, Amanda "Nineteenth-Century Planned Industrial Communities and the Role of Aesthetics in Spatial Practices: The Visual Ideologies of Pullman and Port Sunlight." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 29, no. 2 (2012): 185-214.

"Register of the Engineering Alumni." *The Michigan Technic* 12 (1899).

Reiff, Janice L. "'His Statements... Will Be Challenged:' Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in the Evolution of the Pullman/Roseland Area of Chicago 1894–1917." *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (1992): 231–52.

Reiff, Janice L. "A Modern Lear and His Daughters: Gender in the Model Town of Pullman." *Journal of Urban History* 23, no. 3 (1997): 316-41.

Reiff, Janice L., and Susan Hirsch. "Reconstructing Work Histories by Computer: The Pullman Shop Workers, 1890–1967." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 15, no. 3 (1982): 139-42.

Reiff, Janice L., and Susan E. Hirsch. "Pullman and Its Public: Image and Aim in Making and Interpreting History." *The Public Historian* 11, no. 4 (1989): 99-112.

"Report of the Commissioners of Lincoln Park, from December 1, 1886, to January 1, 1893." Chicago, 1893.

Revill, George. *Railway.* London: Reaktion Books, 2012.

Reynolds, Jack. *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of 19th-Century Bradford.* London: Temple Smith, 1983.

Richardson, Benjamin Ward. *Hygeia, a City of Health.* London, UK: Macmillan & Co, 1876.

Roberts, Alasdair. *America's First Great Depression: Economic Crisis and Political Disorder.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Roberts, Henry. *The Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Their Arrangement and Construction.* London: SICL, 1855.

Robinson, Judith Helm, and Stephanie S. Foell. "Barrett, Nathan Franklin (1845–1919)." In *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, edited by Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin S. Karson, 10-14. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

Rodwan Jr, John G. "Ironies on Parade." *Cream City Review* 1, no. 2 (2012): 106-15.

Roediger, David R. *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs.* New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006.

Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow. *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History.* New York: Abrams, 2001.

Rogers, Joshua. "The Great Train Robbery: How Statutory Construction May Have Derailed an American High Speed Rail System." *University of Illinois Journal of Law, Technology & Policy* 2011, no. 1 (2011): 215-36.

Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America.* New York, NY: Liverlight Publishing Corporation, 2017.

Rowlands, Marie K. *Down an Indian Trail in 1849: The Story of Roseland.* Palos Heights, IL: Dutch Heritage Center, Trinity Christian College, 1987.

Salvatore, Nick, Richard Schneirov, and Shelton Stromquist. *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics.* The Working Class in American History. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Sandoval-Strausz, A.K. *Hotel: An American History.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Santino, Jack. *Miles of Smiles, Years of Struggle: Stories of Black Pullman Porters.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Sarah, S. Marcus. "Turn-of-the-Century Industrialization and International Markets." *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (2005). http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/410146.html.

Sawislak, Karen. *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874.* Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1995.

Scarborough, William, Faith R. Kares, Iván Arenas, and Amanda E. Lewis. "Adversity and Resiliency for Chicago's First: The State of Racial Justice for American Indian Chicagoans." Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy, University of Illinois, Chicago, 2019.

Scarlett, Sarah Fayen. "Crossing the Milwaukee River: A Case Study in Mapping Mobility and Class Geographies.". In *Landscapes of Mobility: Culture, Politics, and Place-Making*, edited by Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung, 87–104. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Limited, 2013.

———. "Everyone's an Outsider: Architecture, Landscape, and Class in Michigan's Copper Country." University of Wisconsin, 2014.

Scarlett, Sarah Fayen, Don Lafreniere, Dan Trepal, and John D.M. Arnold. "Engaging Community and Spatial Humanities for Post-Industrial Heritage: The Keweenaw Time Traveler." *American Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (2018): 619-23.

Scarlett, Sarah Fayen, Don Lafreniere, Dan Trepal, John Arnold, and Yichun Xie. "Out of the Classroom and into History: Mobile Historical Gis and Community-Engaged Teaching." *The History Teacher* in press (2019).

Scarlett, Timothy J., and Steven A. Walton. "Archaeological Overview & Assessment: Pullman National Historical Monument, Town of Pullman, Chicago, Illinois." Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2017.

Scarlett, Timothy James. "White Paper: Designing Best Practice for Industrial Archaeology and Industrial Heritage at Pullman National Monument." Houghton, MI: Industrial Heritage and Archaeology, Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University, 2017.

Schein, Richard H. *Landscape and Race in the United States.* New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.

———. "Normative Dimensions of Landscape." In *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Erling Groth, 199–218. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.

Schermerhorn, Richard, Jr. "Early American Landscape Architecture." *The Architectural Review* 12, no. 4 (1921): 105-12.

Schiller, Ronald. "Hotel on Wheels." *Dun's Review*, Apr. 1952, 21.

Schipper, J.E. "Chicago Salon Shows Present Trends in Body Design." *Automotive Industries* 50, no. 6 (1924): 272-75.

Schlereth, Thomas J. "Solon Spencer Beman, Pullman, and the European Influence on and Interest in His Chicago Architecture." In *Chicago Architecture, 1872–1922: Birth of a Metropolis*, edited by John Zukowsky, 173–88. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987.

———. "Solon Spencer Beman: The Social History of a Midwest Architect." *Chicago Architectural Journal* 5, no. 1985 (1985): 8-31.

Schneirov, Richard, Shelton Stromquist, and Nick Salvatore, eds. *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

"The School Appropriations." *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 12 1880, 4.

"A School of Landscape Architecture." *The Art World* 2, no. 4 (1917): 377-77.

"Service and Grace Amid a Class Struggle: The Story of the Pullman Porter." Museum of the American Railroad, http://www.museumoftheamericanrailroad.org/Learn/TheLegacyofPullmanPorters.aspx.

Shapiro, Ena. "Indian Tribes and Trails of the Chicago Region: A Preliminary Study of Influence of the Indian on Early White Settlement.", University of Chicago, 1929.

Shewchuk, Diane Mary. "Thomas E. Warren, the American Chair Company and the Centripetal Spring Chair." Fashion Institute of Technology, 1993.

Shops, Pullman Richmond. "Richmond Pullman: Air Conditioning Program." http://www.pullmanshops.com/1934_AC.htm.

Simèon, Ophèlie. *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism.* Palgrave Studies in Utopianism. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Smith, Andrew F. *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink.* Oxford University Press, 2007.

Smith, Barney N. "The Patton Motor Car." *Railroad History* 129 (1973): 86-93.

Smith, Carl S. *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Smith, J.O. "Pestalozzian Principles." *The Journal of Education* 38, no. 9 (no. 934) (Sept. 7 1893): 156-56.

Solomon, Brian. *Streamliners: Locomotives and Trains in the Age of Speed and Style.* Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2015.

Spear, Allen H. *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto: 1890-1920.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Staples, Brent. "Opinion: How Italians Became 'White'." *New York Times*, Oct. 12 2019.

Stein, R. Conrad. *The Pullman Strike and the Labor Movement in American History.* In American History. Berkeley Heights, NJ, USA: Enslow Publishers, 2001.

Stein, Stephen. *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Stemper, Patricia. "The 'City of Brick' Recalled to Life." *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 16 1970, 1.

Stewart, Adam. "Pullman Historic District (Unpublished Draft Revised National Historic Landmark Nomination)." On file at Pullman National Monument, 1997.

"Stiff Joints a Key to Man's Age." *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 30 1927, 6.

Strasser, Mathias. "The Rational Basis of Trademark Protection Revisited: Putting the Dilution Doctrine into Context." *Fordham Intell. Prop. Media & Ent* 10, no. 1999 (1999): 375-432.

"Street Railway Exhibits at the World's Fair." *The Street Railway Journal* 9, no. 7 (1893): 421-36.

"The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission." 1-2, 3, 36. Washington: U.S Government Printing Office, 1894.

Styles, John. *Titus Salt and Saltaire: Industry and Virtue.* Shipley: Salts Estates Ltd., 1994.

"Suburban. Pullman." *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 29 1882, 8.

Sullivan, Louis H. *The Autobiography of an Idea.* New York: American Institute of Architects, 1926.

"Superintendent Doty's Retirement." *The Inter Ocean*, July 2 1880, 4.

Sutherland, Daniel E. *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920.* Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

Swing, David. *David Swing: A Memorial Volume: Ten Sermons, Selected and Prepared for Publication by Himself.* Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely, 1894.

———. "The Pullman Library Dedicatory Address." *The Library Journal* 8, no. 5 (May 1883): 76-77.

Szuberla, Guy. "Irving K. Pond: The Making of a Chicago Architect." *Midwestern Miscellany* 39 (2011): 27-45.

———. "Three Chicago Settlements: Their Architectural Form and Social Meaning." *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 70 (1977): 114-29.

Tarbell, Ida M. *New Ideals in Business.* New York: MacMillan, 1917.

Tatum, Terry. "A Brief Guide to Chicago's Common Building Types." In *Out of the Loop: Chicago Vernacular Architecture Forum*, edited by Virginia B Price, David A Spatz and D. Bradford Hunt. Chicago, IL: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2015.

Tayler, Arthur. *Illustrated History of North American Railroads: From 1830 to the Present Day.* Edison, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1996.

Taylor, George Rogers, and Irene D. Neu. *The American Railroad Network, 1861–1890.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Taylor, Graham Romeyn. *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs.* New York: D. Appleton, 1915.

The Religious Herald. *Picturesque Chicago and Guide to the World's Fair.* Hartford: D.S. Moseley, 1893.

Theobald, Mark. "Field & Pullman, [Etc.]." In *Coachbuilt*, 2015.

"This Employee Advertises Pullman Service on His Auto." *The Pullman News*, Jan. 1933, 133.

Tiemeyer, Philip J. "Manhood up in the Air: Gender, Sexuality, Corporate Culture, and the Law in Twentieth Century America." University of Texas at Austin, 2007.

"To Extend Drive." *The Inter Ocean*, Oct. 23 1898, 1.

Tobey, George B. *A History of Landscape Architecture: The Relationship of People to Environment.* New York: American Elsevier Pub., 1990.

Tone, Andrea. *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Toole, Robert M. *Landscape Gardens on the Hudson, a History: The Romantic Age, the Great Estates, & the Birth of American Landscape Architecture.* Hensonville, NY: Black Dome, 2010.

Towle, George M. "Saltaire and Its Founder." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 44, no. 264 (1872): 827-35.

"The Town of 'Pullman'." *Engineering* 38 (1882): 519-20.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Trepal, Dan, Sarah Fayen Scarlett, and Don Lafreniere. "Heritage Making through Community Archaeology and the Spatial Humanities." *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 6, no. 4 (2019): 238-56.

Turner, Robert E. *Memories of a Retired Pullman Porter.* 1st ed. New York: Exposition Press Inc., 1954.

Tye, Larry. *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class.* 1 ed. New York: Henry and Holt Company, LLC, 2004.

Tyler, Norman. *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2000.

U.S. Census. "Population of the United States in 1860, Eighth Census." 90. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864.

U.S. Department of the Interior. "Nps-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline." Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1998.

———. "Revision of the National Park Service's Thematic Framework." Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1996.

Uhland, Wilhem. "Pullmans Arbeiterstadt." *Vom Fels zum Meer* 2 (1885): 652-59.

Unger, David Stephen. "A Place of Work: The Geography of an Early Nineteenth Century Machine Shop." Harvard University, 2013.

United States Strike Commission. *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894.* Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1895.

Upjohn, Everard M. *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman.* New York: Da Capo Press, 1968. 1939.

Vendi, Karen, and Mark Vendi. "The Mines and Mining Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: A Photographic Essay." *Mining History Journal* 8 (2001): 30-41.

"The Vestibule Cars. The Pullman Company Suing the New-York Central." *New York Times*, Dec. 19 1887, 1.

"The Vestibule Patents." *The Railway and Corporation Law Journal* 8 (1890): 338.

"Vestibules, Platform Canopies and Hoods." *Railway Gazette*, Mar. 2 1894, 152-54.

Violette, Zachary J. *The Decorated Tenement: How Immigrant Builders and Architects Transformed the Slum in the Gilded Age.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.

Vroom, Peter D. "George M. Pullman and the Colorado Tradition." *Colorado Magazine*, 1940.

Wait, John C., and R.H. Soule. *The Car-Builder's Dictionary: An Illustrated Vocabulary of Terms Which Designate American Railroad Cars, Their Parts, Attachments, and Details of Construction.* New York: The Railroad Gazette, 1895.

Walker, Martyn. *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond Supporting Further Educations for the Adult Working Class.* Research in Education. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

Ware, W. Porter, and Thaddeus Constantine Lockard. *P.T. Barnum Presents Jenny Lind: The American Tour of the Swedish Nightingale.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

Watters, James E. "The Regulation of Railroad Technology between 1860 and 1920 and Its Effect on the New England Carbuilding Industry." Clark University, 1989.

Watts, Theodore. *The First Labor Day Parade.* Silver Spring, MD: Phoenix Rising, 1983.

Wayland-Smith, Ellen. *Oneida: From Free Love Utopia to the Well-Set Table (Picador, 2016).* New York, NY: Picador, 2016.

Wayner, Robert J. *The Pullman Scrapbook.* New York: Wayner Publications, 1971.

Welsh, Joe, and Bill Howes. *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service.* St. Paul, MN: MBI Publishing, 2004.

"Western Educational Meetings–Illinois." *National Journal of Education* 11, no. 4 (Jan. 22 1880): 60.

White, Alfred Tredway. *Improved Dwellings for the Laboring Classes.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879.

White, John H. "The Alexandria, Va., Shops of the U.S. Military Railroads." *Railroad History* 212 (2015): 6-17.

———. *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

———. *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 1.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988. 3rd edition. 1978.

———. *The American Railroad Passenger Car Part 2.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988. 3rd edition. 1978.

———. "A Pullman Postscript." *Railroad History*, no. 186 (2002): 101-01.

———. "Railroad Car Builders of the United States." *Railroad History*, no. 138 (1978): 5-29.

White, John H., Jr. "Mann, William D. (1839-1920)." In *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, edited by William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk and Roberta L. Diehl. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

White, Trumbull, and William Igleheart. *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.* Boston: J.K. Hastings, 1893.

Wickes, T.H. "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman before the U.S. Strike Commission." 5-6. Washington: U.S Government Printing Office, 1894.

Williams, Benezette. "Annual Report of the Chairman of the Board of Managers.", 121-30. Chicago, 1885.

———. *Bridging Navigable Rivers: Some Self-Adjusting Pontoon Systems.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1880.

———. "The Pullman Sewerage." *Scientific American: Supplement* 14, no. 350 (23 Sept. 1882): 5595–97.

———. "The Separate Versus the Combined System of Sewerage." *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 4, no. 5 (1885): 175-93.

"Williams, Benezette [Obituary]." *Engineering News* 72, no. 1 (July 2 1914): 54.

Wilson, William Julius. *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Winner, Langdon. *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977.

Winston, A.P. "The Significance of the Pullman Strike." *Journal of Political Economy* 9, no. 4 (1901): 540-61.

"Wm. Maxwell Enthusiastic over Pullman Production." *The Music Trades*, Nov. 8 1919, 16.

Wolf, H.D. "Criticisms of the Railroad Labor Board and an Evaluation of Its Work." *The University Journal of Business* 5, no. 1 (1927): 1-34.

Woman's Social Science Society of New York. *The Association of Capital with Labor: Being the Laws and Regulations of Mutual Assurance Regulating the Social Palace, at Guise, France.* New York: Evening Post, 1881.

"Women's Department." *The World's Columbian Exposition illustrated* 2, no. 10 (1892): 282-85.

Wright, Carroll D. "The City of Pullman, Illinois." *Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics* (1885): 10, 117.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983.

Wright, Helena E. "George Pullman and the Allen Paper Car Wheel." *Technology and Culture* 33, no. 4 (1992): 757-68.

Wright, Terri Martin "A Community in a Garden: The Pullman Paradigm in Southern Illinois." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1998): 113-32.

Yentsch, Anne. "Excavating the South's African American Food History." In *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture*, edited by Anne Bower, 59-99. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

Young, David. *The Iron Horse and the Windy City: How Railroads Shaped Chicago.* Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005.

Zafar, Rafia. *Recipes for Respect. African American Meals and Meaning.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019.

Zecker, Robert M. "'Let Each Reader Judge': Lynching, Race, and Immigrant Newspapers." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29, no. 1 (2009): 31-66.

———. *Race and America's Immigrant Press: How the Slovaks Were Taught to Think Like White People.* London, UK: The Continum International Publishing Group, 2011.

Zega, Michael E. "Budd Co. (Edward G. Budd Manufacturing Co.)." In *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, edited by William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk and Roberta L. Diehl, 181-84. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Zink, Clifford W. *The Roebling Legacy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton Landmark Publications, 2011.

APPENDIX A
ARCHIVAL SOURCES RELATING TO PULLMAN

The following is a consolidated list of the known repositories of Pullman records. As best as we can construct, the records of the Pullman manufacturing company were split between the manufacturing division and the operations division in 1927 and further division took place after the 1945 antitrust divestment of the operating division itself. That said, it is quite remarkable what quantity of the Pullman Co. records have survived, and a great proportion of those in something like their original categorization and order. The bulk of the head office records are now at the Newberry Library[1] and most all the manufacturing plans are at the Pullman Library at the Illinois Railway Museum. There are also specialized subsections at several other repositories around the country.

Pullman, as a vast company both kept meticulous records but also suffered from the exponential growth inherent in such firms. As early as 1911, the board of directors had made a formal process for the destruction of records, and then in 1920, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) set out regulations mandating records retention of between 6 months and 5 years (with a few categories to be retained permanently, like physical ledgers) depending on content for all manner of interstate businesses, including sleeping-car companies (ICC reg. 110.41–50, originally in place from 1920revised in 1922, 1932, and 1937). The 1947 breakup of the company necessitated sorting their records out, and it appears that most Pullman records remained centralized at the main plant until 1950, though surely many had already been disposed of by then. Another ICC revision to the rules also appeared in 1950 and the company realized that "expensive and time consuming" record retention had become a problem so they set up a microfilming unit in room 32 of the main office. Documents were culled for destruction by fire or sale—with some attention paid to those of historical interest, list of documents slated for destruction were also made. A decimalized indexing system was devised and a small group of employees set upon the task of filming an estimate 18 million documents (an initial firm estimated the task at as many as 100 million documents) at an estimated cost of just under $36,000. They were remarkably efficient using only 2 microfilming units with automatic feeders: In June, 1954, J.R. Crowley, general office manager, reported that the "microfilming program at Pullman Car Works is practically complete," although a few more records then stored at the Merchandise Mart in downtown Chicago were inventoried to see if any needed to be microfilmed. After this, the microfilming was discontinued (it is not clear where those microfilms subsequently went). Remaining documents then stored at the works (in bldg. 9) were transferred to the Calumet shops (though they, too, were straining to find space for them), where then any department heads needing them could search (they were also all given indexes to what

[1] In 1969 Pullman president G.W. Bohannon discussed the donation of Pullman papers also with Illinois Institute of Technology, the John Crerar Library in Chicago, Northwestern University (which declined), and Syracuse University (which was interested); see Miscellaneous Administrative Files, 7/22/0-A Pullman Company Memorabilia. Preservation of Pullman Records. History of the Pullman Co., Newberry Library, Pullman Company Records 01/01/03, box 18, fol. 278.

had been microfilmed), so it is clear that the internal archiving system was wound down at that time.[2]

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

www.newberry.org

The most complete finding aids to this entire collection are the Inventory of the Pullman Company Records, 1859-1982, online at https://mms.newberry.org/xml/xml_files/Case_Pullman_Main.xml, but for an initial and more holistic overview, see Martha Briggs and Cynthia Peters. *The Guide to the Pullman Company Archives* (1995; 794pp.) also online at https://www.newberry.org/sites/default/files/researchguide-attachments/PullmanGuide.pdf.

What follows below, derived from ArchiveGrid.org, give a sense of the kind of groupings that can be had in this archive:

Pullman, George Mortimer, 1831-1897.

Estate papers, 1877-1932. *11 cubic ft.*

Pullman estate executor's correspondence, and financial probate records, dating primarily from 1897 to 1902, together with attendance books of the Pullman Free School of Manual Training, 1924-1932.

Executors' correspondence, 1897-1911 (bulk 1897-1902). *2 cubic ft. (4 boxes)*

Incoming and outgoing correspondence regarding the administration of George M. Pullman's estate, dating primarily from 1897-1902. Letters concern stocks, stock dividends, taxes, loans, and other estate matters. Correspondents include executors Robert T. Lincoln and Norman B. Ream, Pullman's Palace Car Company Eastern Secretary S.W. Bretzfield and General Counsel John S. Runnells, Pullman son-in-law Frank Orren Lowden, Mrs. George M. Pullman, and other bankers, lawyers, and stockholders.

Pullman Company: President and VP

Circulars, 1872-1969. *13 cubic ft. (4 boxes and 26 v.).*

Circulars issued by the officials of various Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman company departments from 1872 until the company ceased operations in 1969. Included are original signed letters and printed memoranda and notices regarding company policies and procedures, executive appointments, benefits, rate increases, etc. In addition to the Circulars of General Instructions, there are circulars issued by the Vice President and General Manager; Vice President, Operating; Assistant General Manager; General Storekeeper; General Superintendent; and Passenger Traffic Manager.

Records, 1867-1982. *64.5 cubic ft.*

Records created in the offices of Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company presidents and vice presidents, together with personal papers.

[2] All information on this process comes from the single folder on "Miscellaneous Administrative Files - 7-6-0 Storage and Destruction of Records -Microfilming" (Newberry Library, Pullman Co. papers, 01/01/03, box 16, fol. 243.

Office of the President records, 1867-1982. 55 cubic ft.

Fragmentary records of the administrations of George M. Pullman and Robert T. Lincoln, extensive administrative files of Carroll R. Harding and George W. Bohannon, 1947-1980, company circulars, railroad company contract files, 1921-1945, and central office files dating primarily from the cessation of operations in 1969 to the formal dissolution of the company in 1982.

Personal papers, 1881-1905. 3.5 cubic ft.

Includes personal and Pullman Co.-related papers of Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company presidents and vice presidents.

Robert Todd Lincoln files, 1884-1904. 0.5 cubic ft. (1 box)

Small collection of records pertaining mainly to Lincoln's tenure as Special Counsel for the Pullman's Palace Car Company, 1892-1897. Most of the files relate to the town of Pullman and the Pullman Land Association, including the Pullman Street Railroad, the sewage farm, property valuations, and title deeds. There is also an exchange of correspondence and lists between Lincoln and William Seward Webb, President of the Wagner Palace Car Company, concerning the issuance of annual railroad passes following the 1899 acquisition of Wagner by Pullman.

Vice President. Records, 1915-1944. 6 cubic ft.

Administrative and correspondence files of Louis S. Taylor, 1919-1944, and correspondence of LeRoy Kramer, 1915-1918.

Second Vice President. Series B, miscellaneous scrapbooks, 1883-1924. 3.5 cubic ft. (9 v. in 9 boxes and 1 oversize box)

Newspaper and magazine clippings, together with some printed notices of the Pullman Company and other firms, 1883-1924. Clippings are primarily from Eastern, Southern, and Midwestern newspapers, and deal mainly with the various aspects of Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company operations. Included are articles concerning accidents, excursions, fares, exhibitions, technological innovations, car interiors and exteriors, car design, officers and employees, the Pullman strike, the town of Pullman, the Pullman Building in Chicago, corporate finances, annual meetings, etc. There is also information about competitor sleeping car firms and their acquisition by Pullman, George Pullman and his family, prominent Chicagoans and railroad men, and the railroad industry in general -- strikes, mergers, new lines, personnel, facilities, etc.

Pullman Company: Secretary and Treasurer

Records, 1862-1980 (bulk 1867-1980). 136.5 cubic ft.

Official corporate records of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and personal papers of members of the secretary's and treasurer's offices.

Office of the Secretary and Treasurer records, 1862-1980 (bulk 1867-1980). 136 cubic ft.

Official records of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company, including the charter, by-laws, director's minutes, annual reports, contracts and agreements, patents, and securities records, dating from the formation of the company until its dissolution. Also administrative files of two corporate officers, the Secretary and the Treasurer.

Charter and by-laws, 1867-1958. 1 cubic ft. (2 boxes)

Includes the 1867 Illinois legislative act incorporating the Pullman's Palace Car Company, the 1867 corporate charter and by-laws, and revisions thereof, 1882-1947. Among related papers are

correspondence, memoranda, state certificates of amendment, and by-laws drafts and working papers.

Secretary's administrative file, 1867-1971. 13 cubic ft. (1 box, 11 cartons, and 3 oversize boxes)

Official central file of Pullman Co. documentation maintained by the Secretary of the Pullman Company in two numerical filing systems, together with A.S. Weinsheimer file, composed of miscellaneous records never placed in the two central files, including those regarding the sale of the Hotel Florence, 1906-1907. Numbered pre-1930 files include company circulars, operating contract correspondence, advertising contracts, employee statistics, Town of Pullman permits and agreements, and files regarding the 1922 purchase of the Haskell and Barker Car Co. and the 1927 company reorganization (Pullman, Inc.). Post-1930 files include information on the sale of cars, 1960-1967, and property (Pullman Building, Calumet Shops, and Chicago Laundry) as well as circulars, employee information, and uniform service contract studies and samples.

Treasurer's administrative file, 1883-1978. 4 cubic ft. (3 cartons, 1 volumes, and 1 oversize box)

Miscellaneous records maintained by the Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company treasurer. Included are loan journals and ledgers, 1893-1898, property inventories and files, 1934-1966, banking records, 1922-1970, and bonds files regarding the purchase of U.S. treasury bonds and state workmen's compensation collateral, 1917-1978. Also Manufacturing Department correspondence, 1908-1919, and pension allowance voucher abstracts, 1910-1914.

Annual reports, 1947-1978. 1 cubic ft. (1 carton)

Annual reports to the stockholders issued by the Pullman Co., dating from the period of railroad ownership of the corporation, 1947-1978.

Contracts and agreements, 1882-1970. 46 cubic ft. (77 boxes, 15 cartons and 18 volumes)

Official file of Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Co. contracts and agreements, including car, employee and labor, Manufacturing Department, operating, property, and miscellaneous contracts. Car construction contract records (ledgers, synopses, contracts, and sometimes blueprints and specifications), 1884-1924, contain agreements with railroads, other firms, and individuals for the manufacture of all types of railroad cars (freight, passenger, private, street, etc.) except sleeping cars. Files also contain original signed copies of labor and company union contracts, 1921-1961, 1920's manufacturing contracts (notably for all-steel auto bodies with the Moon Motor Car Co. and the Peerless Motor Car Co.), operating contracts and related correspondence, 1874-1946, and uniform service and operating contracts, 1946-1969 (which also contain car leasing contracts). Among the property contracts are those for the Pullman Building, 1882-1914, and Town of Pullman, 1883, and various shops facilities.

Patent files, 1862-1960 (bulk 1910-1950). 3 cubic ft. (3 cartons)

Patent register, policies, and individual patent files dating primarily from 1910-1950. Files contain licensing agreements and correspondence, patent assignments by inventors, and United States and Canadian patents. In addition to railroad sleeping cars, parts, and equipment, there are also patents for sheet cars, all-steel automobile bodies (manufactured during the 1920's) airplane propeller blades, and shop equipment.

Series A, miscellaneous scrapbooks, 1865-1925. 13.5 cubic ft. (34 v. in 36 boxes and 3 oversize boxes)

Newspaper and magazine clippings from around the United States and Europe about the company from prior to its incorporation in 1867 to shortly after its reorganization in 1924. Included are articles concerning all facets of Pullman operations. Among the many topics covered are car improvements and innovations, train excursions, operations in Europe, new routes, employee and labor matters, the Pullman Building in Chicago, monopoly investigations, the acquisition of competitor sleeping car companies, segregated travel, etc. There are also articles regarding Chicago individuals and events, and personnel changes and other general railroad news.

Securities records, 1867-1980 (bulk 1867-1927). 57 cubic ft. (18 boxes, 1 carton, and 150 v.)

Bond and stock certificates, stockholder documentation, and Pullman Company-owned securities records, dating primarily from 1867 to 1927, when the company, as a subsidiary, no longer issued stock. Included are samples of three 1870's bearer bond issues of the Pullman's Palace Car Company, including one large holding of Andrew Carnegie, samples of stock certificates issued, 1867-1927 and 1945-1971, stock ledgers, 1868-1927, stockholder lists, 1899-1926, and various issuance, dividend, and discharge records. Pullman Company-owned securities ledgers and statements, 1883-ca. 1940's, document company investments and there are also miscellaneous bonds, notes, and stock certificates of local railroads, expositions (World's Columbian, Louisiana Purchase), and of the Pullman Porter's Publishing Co.

Board of Director's records, 1867-1980. 11 cubic ft. (8 cartons and 17 v.)

Minutes, agendas, correspondence, notices, and information files of the Board of Directors and related governing bodies of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and the Pullman Company. Included are minutes and agendas of the Board of Directors, 1867-1980; of the Executive Committee, 1897-1972 (formed upon the death of company founder George M. Pullman); of the Pullman Advisory Committee (executives of owner railroads after the 1947 buy-out); and of annual stockholder meetings, 1867-1980. There are also files on individual directors, 1947-1971, and information about the board in general.

Personal papers, 1878-1926. 0.5 cubic ft.

Includes personal and some company-related papers of members of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company secretary's and treasurer's departments.

Pullman Company: Office of Finance and Accounts

Records, 1867-ca. 1980 (bulk 1867-ca. 1970). 606.5 cubic ft.

Includes books of account, balance sheets, financial statements, tax returns, ICC accounting documents and reports, payrolls, revenue records, etc., of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and the Pullman Company.

General Auditor Administrative files, 1900-ca. 1959. 4 cubic ft.

General Auditor's circulars regarding accounting procedures, 1903-1911, statements of operating surplus, 1905-1913, correspondence of Auditor F.C.N. Robertson from New York regarding the settlement of Wagner Palace Car Company accounts, and 1950's personnel files of company officers.

General Auditor Ledgers, journals, and registers, 1867-1980 (bulk 1867-1954). 400 cubic ft. (758 vol.)

Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Co. accounting records, including ledgers and subsidiary ledgers, 1867-1953 and 1973-1930, journals, 1867-1954, cash journals, 1870-1925 and 1942-1945, and government orders accounts receivable registers, 1942-1947. There are also ledgers for the Cashier's Department, 1885-1889, Earnings Department, 1881-1938, and town of Pullman, 1880-1885; and journals for the Earnings Department, 1875-1922 and 1938-1940.

*Auditor of Disbursements **Records, 1887-1969.** 17 cubic ft.*

Includes Pullman's Palace Car Company, Pullman Co., and subsidiary and acquired company payroll records.

Auditor of Disbursements Payroll records, 1887-1969. 17 cubic ft.

16 mm. microfilm reels containing copies of payrolls for the Pullman's Palace Car Company, the Pullman Company, and its subsidiaries and affiliates. Parent company payrolls include the general office, 1888-1950, repair shops, 1887-1950, Pullman Car Works, 1887-1924, town of Pullman and laundry, 1887-1908, operating districts, 1893-1950, and all employees, 1951-1969. Subsidiary and acquired company payrolls include Pullman Iron and Steel Company, 1887-1889, Union Foundry and Pullman Car Wheel Works, 1887-1894, Pullman Railroad Company, 1909-1915, and Wagner Palace Car Company, 1886-1889 (back pay). There are also paper payroll records, including monthly gross payrolls by type of employee, 1950-1959, payroll registers, 1940s, and Calumet Shops individual payroll sheets.

Pullman Company: Manufacturing Department

Records, 1873-1943. 70 cubic ft.

Pullman's Palace Car Company, Pullman Co., and Pullman Company Manufacturing Department construction, cost, delivery, and accounting records relating to railroad car manufacture. Also records regarding the company-owned Town of Pullman and the manufacture of all-steel automobile bodies at the Pullman Car Works.

Car construction, delivery and cost records, 1881-1943. 9 cubic ft. (2 boxes and 21 volumes)

Various records of the construction, cost, delivery and depreciated value of Pullman wood and heavyweight cars, and of cars manufactured for other firms. Car delivery records, 1885-1919, list the lot number, type and number of cars, car contract book reference number (see RG 02/01/06), amount, and date paid. Cost of cars registers, 1884-1925, list current and former car names, car cost, lot and plan numbers, depreciated value, and remarks. Car lot records, 1907-1943, car lot and name assignment records, 1920-1931, and costs of construction by lots and car names, 1925-1939, all list car data by lots and/or car names. There are also two records of cars built, 1881-1894, one listing car construction information by location, e.g., Detroit Pullman Car Works, and then by lot number, and the other listing data by railroad company.

Car construction and repair records (cars withdrawn), 1888-1964. 11 cubic ft. (22 boxes)

"Record of Construction" sheets containing data regarding the construction, repair, and final disposition of individual Pullman cars. Sheets typically record car name, where constructed, date, lot number, plan number, date completed, photo numbers, and specifications (often including furnishings and equipment catalog numbers), shop repair details (location, date, report number, brief description), dimensions and weight, and disposition (e.g., sold, wrecked, retired, scrapped).

Financial records, 1873-1924. 46 cubic ft. (104 volumes).

Ledgers, journals, cash books and other miscellaneous accounting records documenting the manufacture of Pullman cars and cars for railroad companies and other firms, 1873-1924. Separate car construction accounting volumes were kept first by the Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company and after 1906 for the Pullman Company Manufacturing Dept. Records cease in 1924 with the creation of a separate manufacturing subsidiary, the Pullman Car and Manufacturing Corporation.

Chief Engineer. Car drawings, specifications, etc., 1870-1969 (bulk 1919-1969). 130 cubic ft. (14 boxes, 43 cartons, 65 oversize folders, and 103 oversize rolls)

Pullman Co. car and car component drawings registers, drawings, and specifications, together with railroad company drawings of Pullman cars, dating primarily from the heavyweight and lightweight era. Drawings registers, 1924-1968, containing sequential listings of CE, MD, and CS drawings, note the number, title, draftsman, and date of each drawing. Linen drawings and blueprints (paper drawings) include ceiling plans, duct layouts, floor plans, heating pipe diagrams, side elevators, underneath equipment layouts, etc., followed by CE and MD drawings. There are also a few blueprints generated by shops. Among the drawings are floor plans for all Wagner Palace Car Company cars acquired by Pullman in 1899, a volume of early Pullman car floor plans, 1870-1905, and "Pullman" lettering templates. There are also specifications files (specifications, drawing lists, plans, photographs) for some, but by no means all, Pullman car lots and several miscellaneous specifications, included drawings.

Chief Mechanical Officer Records, 1893-1970. 49 cubic ft.

Chief Mechanical Officer's administrative files, Calumet and Denver Shops administrative files, building and property blueprints, car repair records, parts catalogs, maintenance manuals, car accident records, and World War I -era hospital train refitting files.

General Superintendent. Scrapbooks, 1882-1908. 4.5 cubic ft. (12 v. in 12 boxes and 1 oversize box)

Scrapbooks containing clippings from United States and foreign publications relating to all aspects of company operations. Included are articles about George Pullman and his family, the town of Pullman, employees, labor relations and strikes (including 1894), competitors and corporate acquisitions, lawsuits, new routes, fares, car improvements and innovations, railway accidents and crimes, passengers and excursions, and other railroad companies. There is also scattered correspondence and a few printed handbills.

Town of Pullman Records, 1876-1919. 2 cubic ft. (4 boxes)

Journals, ledgers, plats, an atlas, land surveys, and other miscellaneous records regarding the town of Pullman, 1876-1919. Financial records include a journal of town construction accounts (including payrolls), 1882-1886, and ledgers recording personal loans to town residents, 1897-1900, and mortgage loans, 1909-1919, for town real estate (listing purchaser's names, date, lot and block numbers, and principal and interest payments). Property records include Lake Calumet surveys, field notes, maps, and diagrams, 1879-1899, plats of town property showing structures, 1907, and an atlas of town and other corporate properties, 1904. There is also an 1886 statement of tenement capacities in Pullman, an essay describing the town in 1890, and an Arcade Theatre program, 1883.

Pullman Company: Personnel Administration Department.

Records, 1875-1976 (bulk 1875-1970). *330 cubic ft.*

Employment records primarily for the operating arm of the Pullman Company dating from 1875, but focusing on the period after 1900. Included are comprehensive employee service records, application files for conductors and some porters, registers listing employment and discharge data, time and absentee records for a few departments, appraisal and discipline files, and records relating to the final separation of employees from the company in the late 1960's.

Discharge and release records, 1880-1957 (bulk 1880-1931). *10 cubic ft. (2 cartons and 21 volumes)*

Includes discharge and release registers, 1880-1931, and individual porter and conductor discharge files, 1940, 1954-1957. There are registers for all jobs, 1880-1918, and registers for porters and conductors, 1900-1931, typically listing employee name and number, occupation, division, district, date of release, and reason for discharge. Individual discharge files contain correspondence and hearing transcripts.

Time and absentee records, 1887-1969 (bulk 1887-1949). *3 cubic ft. (25 volumes)*

Timebooks and absentee records, listing daily work records for employees of the Secretary's Department, 1887-1930, the Financial Department and Treasurer's Office, 1908-1947, and the Mechanical Superintendent's Office, 1903-1949. Volumes contain employee indexes summarizing Pullman Company work histories. There are also absentee records for Office Services employees, 1958-1969.

Employee indexes and registers, 1875-1946. *3 cubic ft. (1 box and 7 volumes)*

Indexes and registers for Pullman Co. management and workers, including a permanent alphabetical register of employees, 1900's-1940's, (employee name, date of birth, nationality, race, and service dates); a management appointments index, 1875-1940, (name, former and new positions, and service dates); a Calumet Shops employee register, 1912-1925, (name, birthdate, nationality, service dates, comments); and porters and conductors registers, 1917-1946, (name, place of employment, and employment, retirement, and death dates).

Pullman Company: Operating Department.

Office of the Vice President and General Manager records, 1872-1971. *60.5 cubic ft.*

Departmental administrative files, operations reports, descriptive lists of cars, employee instruction books, Mexican operations records, and regional administrative files.

Employee instruction books, 1872-1956. *2 cubic ft. (2 cartons)*

Printed instructions issued to employees of the Pullman's Palace Car Company and Pullman Company mainly by the Operating Department and its constituent departments, 1872-1956. Included are general instructions to employees, 1872-1921, and to car service employees, 1888-1899, commissary circulars and instructions, 1922-1957, specific instructions for conductors, porters, maids, attendants, and barbers, 1884-1952, instructions in Spanish for Mexican porters and conductors, 1925-1933, and instructions for Superintendents and Agents, 1874. In addition to pamphlets containing specialized regulations and instructions for private cars, 1927, sanitation, 1918, heating and ventilation, 1931, linen and blankets, 1923, and laws, notices and warnings to be posted in cars, 1897-1915, there are also a few instructions issued by the Manufacturing (1921), Financial (1883-1927), and Passenger Traffic (1964) departments.

Pullman Company: Passenger Traffic Department.

Administrative files, 1893-1969, (bulk 1907-1969). 10 cubic ft. (10 cartons)

Correspondence, memoranda, hearing records, filings, statistics, etc., of Passenger Traffic Manager and General Passenger Agents H.P. Clements, E.P. Burke, J.J. Nolan, and R.C. Buckingham regarding the selling of rates for Pullman car accommodations. Includes Canadian and Mexican rates files; ICC rate hearings, rate filings, and special rate permission records, 1909-1968; and files concerning rates for particular lines, trains (Slumbercoach, etc.), types of accommodations (e.g., roomette suites), special service (e.g. Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962, Atomic Energy Commission shipments, 1963-1968), general occupancy (Pullman cars used as hotel accommodations for special events), etc.

Rate books, 1871-1970. 20 cubic ft. (11 boxes, 5 cartons, and 54 volumes)

Rate books issued by the Pullman's Palace Car Company, 1871-1899, and the Pullman Company, 1901-1968. Also rate and instruction books containing Pullman rates issued by other railroad companies dating primarily from 1880-1920. Pullman's Palace Car Company volumes include general fares and fares for berths, drawing rooms, second class accommodation, and divisions. From 1901 to 1908 there are similar Pullman Company rate books, but the majority of Pullman Company rates are listed in numbered Interstate Commerce Commission section and excursion tariffs volumes, 1904-1968. There are also Mexican Fare Books, 1911-1952, and other rates records, including rate tables, 1938-1955, state tariffs and rules records, 1920-1950, and state to state rate cards, 1955-1966.

Pullman Company: other departments

Public Relations Department. History files, 1860-1968. 3 cubic ft. (2 boxes and 2 cartons)

Historical and subject reference files containing a variety of Pullman Company records gathered from various sources within the firm, together with newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and other writings about the company. Includes documents and information about George M. Pullman and his businesses, properties, and endowments (Town of Pullman, Pullman Building, Pullman Car Works, Pullman Company Limited, Pullman Free School of Manual Training, Union Foundry and Pullman Car Wheel Works, and acquired sleeping car companies). There are also files on employees (conductors, porters, early corporate officers); on the design, construction, features, and special uses of cars (Pioneer, Lincoln funeral train, lighting); and on various aspects of corporate business (patents, valuation, seal, passes, rates, etc.). Notable Town of Pullman documents include an 1880 classification of workmen at Pullman by Duane Doty, an 1889-90 Pullman Public Library report, and an 1893 article, "The Story of Pullman," and others.

Legal Department. General counsel records, 1878-1980 (bulk 1907-1980). 36.5 cubic ft.

Departmental administrative files and court case records dating primarily from 1940-1980.

Car furnishings photographs, 1882-1939. 1.5 cubic ft. (4 boxes).

Photographic prints of chairs, 1882-1935, and tables, 1932-1939, used to furnish Pullman cars. Includes images of all types of chairs, settees, tables, and desks, many manufactured by the Pullman's Palace Car Company and later Pullman Company for its own cars, and others supplied by Marshall Field & Co., Wakefield, Milwaukee Chair Co., S. Karpen and Bros., H.W. Bros. & Co., Linden Co., Dunn Co., and Geo. C. Flint Co.

Car interior and exterior photographs, 1880-1966. 5.5 cubic ft. (16 boxes)

Photographs of interiors and exteriors of Pullman cars, including images of cars involved in accidents, heavyweight and lightweight steel cars, troop cars, trucks, wood cars, and miscellaneous types of cars and car equipment, some showing the Pullman Car Works in the background. Wood and steel car accident photos, 1905-1934, show mainly exterior views, but also some interior shots of damage to cars. Photographs of heavyweights, lightweights, wood cars, and troop cars, usually including both interior and exterior images, were most frequently taken to document completed orders. Troop cars include hospital cars outfitted during World War I and hospital cars, troop cars, and troop sleepers manufactured during World War II. Among the lightweight photos are views of the new Slumbercoach, 1957, and of Budd cars ordered by Pullman, and among the wood cars are images of Pullman cars displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, and various private cars.

Subsidiary and acquired company records, 1865-1940 (bulk 1865-1921). 30 cubic ft.

Records of competitor sleeping car companies acquired by Pullman, of subsidiary car firms established by Pullman to operate regionally, and of subsidiary and acquired car and equipment manufacturing companies.

Pullman Co. Limited. Records, 1875-1905. 1 cubic ft. (2 boxes)

Records of the Pullman Co. Limited, and its predecessor, the Car Syndicate Limited, 1875-1906. Includes agreements between the Pullman's Palace Car Co. and the Car Syndicate Ltd., and British and Dutch railroads; directors' minutes, 1882-1905; and correspondence, 1877-1889, between George M. Pullman, Pullman officials, and directors and managers of British concern (George M. Clements, H.S. Roberts), some regarding Italian and Dutch operating contracts and lines. Also a correspondence index, various earnings, income, and operations statements and reports, and a prospectus and statistics of a competitor company, Wagon-Lits.

Pullman Iron and Steel Company. Records, 1883-1919 (bulk 1883-1889). 1.5 cubic ft. (1 box and 6 v.)

Financial, securities, and corporate records spanning the company's independent and Pullman's Palace Car Co. controlled operation. Financial records include a cash journal, 1897-1899, payroll registers (listing employee names, hours, pay rates, and deductions for rent, etc.), 1886-1888, and promissory notes to the Pullman's Palace Car Co. Securities records include stock certificates, 1884-1899 (with attachments and endorsements to 1919) and a 1903 certificate of destruction of company bonds. Corporate records include stockholders and directors meeting minutes, 1883-1899.

Associated Company Records

Pullman Southern Car Company Records, 1870-1905 (bulk 1870-1894). 4 cubic ft. (2 boxes and 27 v.).

Records dating from the formation of the company until its dissolution by the directors of the Pullman's Palace Car Co. in 1894. Included are the charter, bylaws, and directors' and stockholders' meeting minutes, 1871-1894; financial and accounting records-annual financial statements, earnings and income statements, ledgers and journals; and securities records-bonds, stock ledgers, correspondence, reports, and certificates. Also some general correspondence, an act of incorporation of Enoch Paine's Crescent Sleeping Car Co., 1870-1871, an 1877 contract with the Atlanta and West Point Railroad Co., and an 1894 car values appraisal and resolution regarding the transfer of company assets to the Pullman's Palace Car Company.

Union Foundry and Pullman Car Wheel Works Records, 1881-1894. 1.0 cubic ft. (1 box and 2 v.)

Corporate, financial, and securities records of the Union Foundry and Pullman Car Wheel Works, 1881-1894. Includes the 1881 act of incorporation, bylaws, and minutes of the commissioners, who included George Pullman, Nathaniel and Christopher Bouton, Charles G. Hammond, and John Crerar; annual financial statements, 1888-1893; and stock correspondence, several stock certificates, and stock receipts.

Wagner Palace Car Company. Records, 1866-1940 (bulk 1886-1899). 14 cubic ft. (1 carton, 3 boxes and 28 v.)

Corporate, financial, operating, and securities records of the Wagner Palace Car Co., dating primarily from 1886 to 1899. Included are a Board of Directors minute book, 1886-1899; financial ledgers and journals, 1887-1899; Financial statements and balance sheets, 1889-1900; operating contracts with several railroads; fare books; stockholder ledgers, lists, certificates, and proxies; and records pertaining to the company's dissolution in 1899. There is also a 1940 digest of New York Central Sleeping Car Co. and Wagner minute books, 1866-1900.

Mann's Boudoir Car Company Records, 1883-1909. 1.5 cubic ft. (1 box, 3 v., and 1 oversize folder)

Primarily financial and securities records, 1883-1909. Included are a financial ledger, 1885-1909, which also contains entries for the Union Palace Car Company, a stock ledger and index, 1883-1909, stock summary statements, 1905 and 1909, and several stock certificates, bearer bonds, and bond coupons. There are also two operating contracts with the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway Company, 1884, and the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City Railway Company, 1888.

New York Central Sleeping Car Company Records, 1875-1888. 1 cubic ft. (1 box and 5 v.)

Financial, securities, and operating records. Financial records include a ledger, 1885-1888, and a journal, 1885-1886. Securities records include stock ledgers, 1875-1888, and an 1885 stock certificate. Operating documents include agreements with the Indianapolis and St. Louis Railway, 1885-1905, and the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, 1880-1915, and rates of fare, 1884.

Woodruff Sleeping and Parlor Coach Company Records, 1872-1909. 0.5 cubic ft. (2 boxes and 6 v.

Corporate, financial, and securities records dating primarily from the Pullman's Palace Car Co. acquisition of the firm in 1889. Included are directors' meeting minutes, 1889-1892, 1909-1910, charter and by-laws, 1884 (revised 1889), financial ledgers and journals, 1888-1909, bonds, stock ledgers, stock certificates, and stock correspondence.

A.S. (Alfred Saeger) Weinsheimer Papers, 1878-1926. 0.5 cubic ft. (1 box)

Incoming and subject correspondence, and personal affairs files of A.S. Weinsheimer. There is incoming correspondence from Weinsheimer's wife, Alice, and brother as well as correspondence about an 1895 European trip, the Chicago Home for the Friendless, Alice Weinsheimer's financial affairs following her husband's death, and the marriage of his son, Warren. Other papers include Weinsheimer's letters of recommendation to the Pullman's Palace Car Company, a draft plea to a Mr. R. (Robert T. Lincoln? John S. Runnells?) for a salary increase, family obituaries and genealogical notes, a photograph of Weinsheimer in 1890, receipts, policies, etc.

John S. Runnells Papers, 1881-1905. 3.5 cubic ft. (7 boxes)

Primarily business papers concerning Runnell's legal career with the firm of Runnells & Walker, Attorneys, in Des Moines, Iowa, 1881-1887, but also a few Pullman Company-related files. Includes account books, calendars, incoming correspondence, a court logbook, journals, legal case files, and letterpress copybooks documenting his work as an attorney representing the railroads. Pullman Company records include 1901 court briefs, salary information, and miscellaneous notes.

www.lib.uchicago.edu/scrc/

Lincoln, Robert Todd. Collection 1881-1897

Robert Todd Lincoln (1843 –1926) first son of President Abraham Lincoln and a politician, lawyer, and businessman. The collection contains two letters written by Lincoln and five documents signed by Lincoln as President James Garfield's Secretary of War.

Goldman, Samuel. Papers ca. 1910-1965

Samuel Goldman, vaudeville comedy writer, producer, actor. The Goldman Papers consist of nearly five hundred manuscripts, mainly original dramatic compositions. These have been divided into three groups, following Goldmanx2019;s own categorical divisions: x201c;Complete Dramas,x201d; x201c;Scenes,x201d; and x201c;Bits.x201d; Most of this material is unpublished. It includes an early version of x201c;Whox2019;s on First?x201d; the baseball bit made famous by Abbott and Costello. The collection contains diverse notes and script fragments, as well as stage directions and other production materials. There is also a limited amount of miscellaneous material and memorabilia from Goldmanx2019;s wife and vaudeville partner Allie Ellsmore.

Motion Picture Stills. Collection 1920-1934

Contains approximately 30,000 black and white photographs of movie stills, production shots, and portrait photographs of actors. Includes 8" x 10" photographs, 187 scrapbooks devoted to individual film stars, marquee cards, and glass lantern slides announcing coming attractions from Pathe and other movie studios.

John Crerar Library. Records 1856-1984

Records of the John Crerar Library from its establishment in 1894 through its move to the University of Chicago in 1984.

Frank O. Lowden Papers 1870-1943

Frank Orren Lowden (1861-1943) was a lawyer, Republican politician, scientific farmer and Governor of Illinois. The collection contains personal correspondence, as well as correspondence related to Lowden's business, political and agricultural activities. It also includes many early twentieth-century Republican brochures, pamphlets, and other political materials, drafts and texts of Lowden's speeches and public statements, newspaper clippings, and scrapbooks. There are also several family photographs and several portraits of Lowden in the collection, as well as other memorabilia. Frank Lowden's wife was Florence Pullman, daughter of George M. Pullman.

Collection contains significant correspondence to and from Lowden related to the disposition of the Pullman Estate, which went the Florence and which her husband helped to execute. Correspondence also exists from Lowden's time connected directly to the Pullman company (1899–1913). He financially supported the Pullman Porters' Publication company and was on the board of the Pullman Manual Training School, and the collection contains considerable correspondence bout its initial establishment.

Chicago History Museum, Chicago, IL

https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections/explore-our-research-collections/

George M. Pullman papers, 1845-1957. *3 linear ft. (3 boxes) 1 oversize folder.*

Correspondence (primarily 1859-1863), diary (1859-1861), collection of railroad passes (ca. 205, 1862-1900), and obituaries and resolutions in memorial of George M. Pullman. Correspondence is chiefly letters by Pullman to his mother and other family members on personal matters and on his work. The letters originate from Colorado, Chicago (Ill.), and elsewhere. Collection also includes letters (20 items, 1893 June 21-Oct. 11) from Mr. Fritsch, manager of the Pullman Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893; account sheet for showing a party of five around the fair; and a printed flyer for "Railway Day," Sept. 16th. Oversize items about Pullman Island (N.Y.) also are present in collection.

Pullman-Miller family papers, ca. 1823-1988. *ca. 40 linear ft. (75 boxes & 4 oversize boxes) 1 folder.*

[filed under Miller, Florence Lowden, 1898-1988.] Correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, obituaries and genealogical records, and memorabilia that were kept in Dr. and Mrs. C. Phillip Miller's home in Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood, much of it relating to Mrs. Miller (Florence Lowden Miller), her husband, and their families, including her parents: Governor Frank O. Lowden and Mrs. Florence Pullman Lowden, and her grandfather George M. Pullman and other of his descendants. Topics include family relationships, child rearing, travel, and the Miller home at 5657 South Kimbark in Chicago. A portion of the collection consists of personal and/or travel diaries of Mary Catherine Sanger, Hattie Sanger Pullman, Florence Pullman Lowden, and Florence Lowden Miller. Extensive correspondence reflects strong family bonds and friendships experienced by the Sangers, Pullmans, Lowdens, and Millers. Business correspondence and records highlight Sanger activities in Chicago.

Liston E. Leyendecker research files on George Pullman, 1975-1979. *1 linear ft. (1 box)*

Research files, transcripts of original Pullman documents, and manuscript drafts by Liston E. Leyendecker, who a professor of American history at Colorado State University and author of Palace Car Prince: A Biography of George Mortimer Pullman (1992). Materials include four manuscript drafts, as well as transcripts of letters from George Pullman to his mother (1857-1861).

Chicago Public Library Special Collections, Chicago, IL

www.chipublib.org/special-collections/

Historic Pullman Collection, 1882-1979. *4 linear feet.*

The collection is arranged into series: Pullman Co., Pullman Family, Pullman Free School of Manual Training, Pullman Educational Foundation, Pullman Strike, Pullman Town and Photographs.

Art Institute of Chicago - Ryerson and Burnham Libraries

www.artic.edu/library

Pullman Town construction photographs, ca. 1881-1882. *1 portfolio.*

Ten mounted photographs showing construction phase (probably 1881-82) of both residential and manufacturing buildings. For George Pullman's company town, Solon Spencer Beman planned and supervised the construction of 1300 houses, factory, commercial and institutional buildings.

Beman Drawings.

The Ryerson and Burnham Library has a microfilm roll created in 1976 of 241 items, most of which are original Solon Spencer Beman drawings. The original drawings are among the items transferred to the Art Institute's Department of Architecture and Design when it was founded in the 1980s. The original drawings were not made available for the present study.

Historic Pullman Foundation, Pullman, IL

www.pullmanil.org

The material in HPF holdings was inventoried in 1999 by Frank Beberdick. A copy of this 45-page inventory, called "Catalog of the Archives of the Historic Pullman Foundation," can be found in the Newberry Library. The catalog lists this archival material according to its c.1999 arrangement in the Hotel Florence. The archives, however, were removed from the Hotel Florence when the State of Illinois acquired the hotel. According to Mike Shymanski, the archives were then moved to the Pullman Bank where the HPF had office and storage space. When U.S. Bank took over the old branch, HPF lost office space but kept the storage for its archives. In winter 2019, due to weather related condition concerns, the HPF archives were moved into the Historic Pullman visitor center and the HPF office at 614 E. 113th street.

The finding aid indicates that this collection includes 2500 photographs and slides, 50 tubes of blueprints for the utility systems in the factory and town, 5 linear feet of Pullman Masonic Lodge records, records of the Beman Committee and Historic Pullman Foundation, among many other items. These collections were not made available for the present study.

South Suburban Genealogical and Historical Society, Hazel Crest, IL

ssghs.org (and see drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JMeSBOfE5tVndJDbV_DjfOM0LtO3MvMd)

SSGHS co-president, Kathy Wellington-Nassios (ssghskathy@aol.com) has a finding aid/list of their Pullman holdings and then what holdings were transferred to other institutions (including the Newberry) in 2003. The SSGHS has an estimated 200,000 employee files (an unverified estimate) in over 700 sheet-metal boxes. The ID cards are organized in alphabetical order by the first 3 letters of the employees last name. They cover roughly the era of 1890s to 1950.

I took a look at the finding aid and asked them to pull some items that looked interesting from outside of the employee id collection. It appears that most of the non-employee file items have been moved to other institutions. The SSGHS seem very interested in making contact with and

working with NPS. They have tried to apply for grants to digitize the collection, but are having trouble coming up with funds to be able to cover that amount of work.

This collection is a great resource for data specific employees. See the photo below which is an image of a poster the SSGHS created as a guide to their Pullman collection.

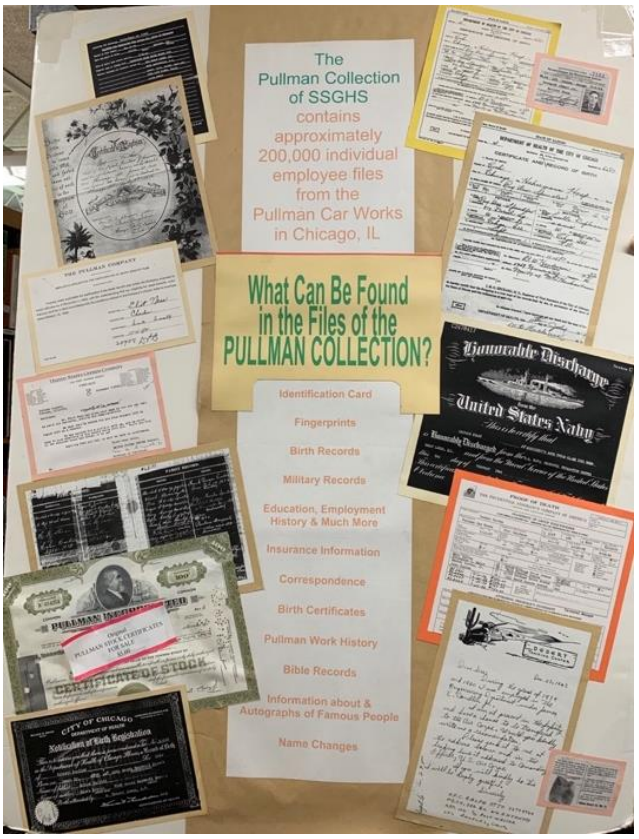


Figure App.A.1. Poster by SSGHS describing contents of employee records in their Pullman Collection.

Illinois Railway Museum, Union, IL

www.irm.org

The IRM holds an astoundingly complete collection of Pullman car drawings, so anyone who wishes to research a particular car or class of cars is likely to be able to find blueprints and shop of modification drawings to aid in their quest. The IRM also holds a small and currently unidentified collection of the manufacturing divisions Office Records, which it received from Pullman Technology, a division of Bombardier of Canada, along with the shop drawings in 1992.

The Pullman Library functions as a department of the IRM, though its holdings are not immediately publicly available or publicly cataloged. They hold "over 1.5 million engineering drawings; tens of thousands of photos, film negatives, glass plate negatives, slides & film; Specifications & Drawing Lists; Facility drawings and photos; Manuals; and over 1,000 Reference Books." A very preliminary and general description of their holdings besides the car drawings may be found at http://www.pullmanlibrary.org/IndexCollection.htm. Contact the archivist, Bob Webber at pullmanlibrary@irm.org, who can respond to very specific research requests, but the archive for all intents and purposes not open to researchers.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

The Archives Center at the National Museum of American history holds two significant Collections of Pullman related material, one extensive and one modest:

Pullman Palace Car Company Collection, 1867-1982 (bulk 1900-1930s), NMAH.AC.0181

https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAH.AC.0181 and /details/NMAH.AC.0181

also https://amhistory.si.edu/archives/AC0181.html

This collection consists of 11 boxes (8 ft.) of records assembled over a number of years by Arthur D. Dubin of Chicago (See under Lake Forest College, below) and donated in 1980, with additions. They are arranged in 7 series: 1) Historical Background, 1867-1982; 2)

Correspondence, 1912-1960; 3) Financial Records, 1875-1930; 4) Operating Records, 1875-1972; 7) Personnel Records, 1873-1979; 6) Drawings, 1907-1939 and undated; and 7) Photographs, 1932-1950s and undated.

Pullman Palace Car Company Photographs, circa 1882-1955, NMAH.AC.1175

https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAH.AC.1175 and /details/NMAH.AC.1175

also https://amhistory.si.edu/archives/AC1175.html

This collection consists of approx. 13,500 images for freight, passenger, private, and street and rapid transit cars manufactured by the Pullman Palace Car Company from the late 19th century through the mid-20th. They are arranged in 5 series: 1) Original prints, 1904-1949; 2) Copy prints, 1885-1955; 3) Film negatives, undated; 4) Glass plate negatives, circa 1882-1948; and 5) Indices, 1990 and undated.

Pullman was quite meticulous in taking a side, oblique, and end refence photo, as well as several relevant interior shots, of each completed car. The Smithsonian has digitized all the images, many of which are original glass plate negatives, and they are locatable by car name and date. For further information see the link above and Don Horn, "The Pullman Photographers," *Railroad Heritage*, No. 7 (2003) 5-13.

California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento, CA

www.californiarailroad.museum/visit/library

The CSRM has an extensive library and archive of western railroading resources including 1500 individual items or collections in their catalog relating to Pullman. Highlights include:

- 980 maps and technical drawings relating to Pullman
- over 400 negatives and photographs relating to Pullman
- over 80 published books and reports on Pullman activities
- 18 archival MS collections that contain Pullman-related materials including:
  - Ralph L. Barger Pullman Company Collection, 1874-1970 (22 boxes): Pullman Company corporate records including correspondence, blank forms, requisition forms, property ownership documents, car and equipment forms and other documents. They focus primarily on the sale of Pullman property and cars in the late 1960s.
  - The Pullman Company Denver District Car Service Collection, 1935-1969 (MS 680)
  - Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company Color and Design Renderings, 1940s (MS 68)

For a railroading library and archive to visit for Pullman material, this one is a good choice.

Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, IL

www.lakeforest.edu/library/archives/railroad/ArthurDubin.php

The ArthurDubin / Donnelley and Lee Library Archives and Special Collections holds something like 10,000 photographs that comprise the collection of Arthur D. Dubin, architect and long time rail enthusiast who published *Some Classic Trains* (1964) and *More Classic Trains* (1974). More

relevant here is his *Pullman Paint and Lettering Notebook: a Guide to the Colors Used on Pullman Cars from 1933 to 1969* (1997) and the photographs in this collection that informed that work. A finding aid to that collection is available on the LFC Archives website above to some 5,500 of those images. Another 423 images of originals held at LFC are loaded on Railroadheritage.org. Durbin assembled the Pullman Palace Car Co. Collection now held by the Smithsonian Archive Center (see above).

Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA

www.phmc.pa.gov/archives/

Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company of Butler, PA *[ca. 1902-1982]. 155 cu. ft.*

Records of the Butler branch of Pullman-Standard consist primarily of general arrangement volumes, tracings and mechanical drawings of railroad freight cars and components manufactured between 1902 and 1969. Other technical material consists of trade association manuals and standards. Also included are employee indexes from 1909 to 1937 and employee records from 1949 to 1982. Audio-visual materials, including photographs, motion picture films and audio tapes, are available. Unusual items include a volume of car drawings produced by the Rio de Janeiro plant; die drawings of all the components used in the manufacture of artillery and naval shells; and a volume from the Imperial Railways of North China which contains drawings of the parts of road beds, rolling stock and locomotives, as well as pages on the operation of the railroad, conduct of personnel, and precautions to be taken during the flood season.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY

www.metmuseum.org/search-results#!/search?q=Arthur%20F.%20Schermerhorn

The Met has a collection of clothing worn by Harriett Sanger Pullman Carolan Schermerhorn. She donated these items to the Brooklyn Museum in 1957 and the Met acquired the collection in 1957.

The Carolands Foundation, Hillsborough, CA

carolands.org/history/

Harriett Pullman and her husband Francis Carolan built Carolands, a mansion in Hillborough, California, in 1916. The Carolands Foundation has a number of artifacts and historical resources related to Harriett.

APPENDIX B
SURVIVING PULLMAN CARS IN NORTH AMERICAN MUSEUMS

Numerous cars made by the Pullman company survive in museums across the United States and the world today. The best resource for the range of Pullman cars built for use on American rails is the 16-volume set, The Official Pullman-Standard Library, edited by W. David Randall and William G. Anderson (Alton, IL: RPC Publications Inc., 1990). Unfortunately, the set only contains a selection of cars, predominantly from the 1930s-1950s and difficulty is that the set is divided by railway, rather than by car type. For those interested in, say, observation cars, all 16 volumes would need to be consulted and it would not necessarily provide the comprehensive study one would hope for. Still, it is the best published resource for photographs, side elevations, and floorplans of the cars when they were new.

As a small step towards providing a reference to *surviving* cars by type, rather than by road, the table below summarizes known existing Pullman railcars in public museums in the U.S. In July 2019, a brief survey was sent to approximately 110 museums in North America with online contact details (email or webform) and telephone inquiries were made to another 25 museums, asking them to self-identify any cars made by Pullman (in any of its incarnation) in their collection. We asked for whatever details that had about each car's manufacturing date, type, and condition.[1] Of these, only 42 museums responded to inquiries (and a disturbing number of museums contact details form their own websites were dead email addresses or disconnected phone numbers), and of those, about half held no Pullmans. The inquiry was, as it turns out, rather naïve, as a given Pullman car may have gone through a number of reconstructions during its lifetime, and in the process changed type, configuration, mechanical systems, and ownership. Nonetheless, the table below is a place to start if one wishes to investigate certain types of cars built by Pullman.

The following consolidated list of responses is representative. It is known to *not* be the full number of surviving cars in the U.S., and further outreach should be undertaken with U.S., Canadian, and Latin American railroad museums. Some large museums known to have Pullmans could not easily generate a list [2] some cars' makers are not known; other cars' rebuilding histories have obscured their origins. Nonetheless, the following list gives a good indication of the range of products built at Pullman Palace Car Co., Pullman Inc., and Pullman-Standard.

[1] Based upon the Wikipedia list: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_railway_museums. There are over 300 rail museums on other continents, but we did not extend of the survey that far—partly for time considerations and partly because Pullman is not known to have exported that widely (though some special cars are known), but rather having set up shops abroad (notably in the UK). This project was also inspired by the too brief final chapter of Joe Welsh and Bill Howes, *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service* (St. Paul, MN: MBI Publishing, 2004), 148-55.

[2] For example, the Illinois Railway Museum holds 71 Pullman cars, but their online Roster of Equipment Search Results can only display 50 items for a query and there is no other way to see the remaining 21. Those first 50 are included here.

Seating cars

This section includes all forms of parlor cars, day cars, and coach seating cars, including club cars and more modern interurbans.

Parlor Cars

Built	Car designation	Status	Collection	Location
1887	**"Annette"** (renamed "Gabrielle" in 1900; renamed "Shafter" in 1914)[3]		Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1887	**"Undine"** (renamed "Cobre" in 1913)[4]		Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1901	**Northern Pacific Railway no. 1799**[5]	On Display (ext. only)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1905	**Mineral Point & Northern no. 202 wooden 1st class coach**[6]	Not on display	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1905	**Wisconsin Central no. 63**[7]	On Display (ext. only)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1908	**Chicago & Northwestern Railway no. 613**[8]	Undergoing restoration	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1910	**Chair car**[9]	On Display	Travel Town Museum	Los Angeles, CA
1915	**Northern Pacific Railway no. 1361**[10]	On Display (ext. only)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1916	**Illinois Terminal "President One"**[11]	On Display (ext. only)	Virginia Museum of Transportation	Roanoke, VA
1920	**"Monsanto"** (Texas & Pacific no. 1603)[12]	Restored (tourable)	Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO

3 Wooden body, composite underframe, 68’ 5” long, 6 wheel trucks, 36 inch wheels. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

4 Wooden body, composite underframe, 68’ 5” long, 6 wheel trucks, 36 inch wheels. Reconfigured prior to 1900; reconfigured again prior to 1912; rebuilt 1918 with steel underframe and new roof ($10,026.26). Retired April 1942 and later suffered fire. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

5 Intact interior with little change since retirement in 1939. https://www.TrainMuseum.org.

6 Pullman Co., Lot 3148. Sold to the Cazenovia Southern Railway (WI) in 1920. Presently body only, awaiting restoration. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/mineral-point-northern-2/.

7 Pullman Co., Lot 3182, Plan 1841 https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/wisconsin-central-63/.

8 Pullman Co., Lot 3584, Plan 2078-O https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/chicago-north-western-613/.

9 Car type 2513.

10 Modernized in 1937. https://www.TrainMuseum.org/.

11 Apartment on wheels and features a 9’x4’ open observation platform, a Interior President One passenger car living/conference area (13’x9’), three bedrooms, a bath with a shower, a dining room (12’x9’), quarters for a steward, as well as a kitchen and pantry. This type of car was usually the last on the train. On the rear grill, there was often a large electric sign, which boldly displayed the train’s name.

12 *Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection* (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 24.

1921	**Southern Pacific no. 2175** (Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio [T&NO] coach no. 837)[13]	In Service	CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1925	**Southern Railway no.1207**[14]	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1926	**Heavyweight club car**[15]	storage	Richmond Railroad Museum	Richmond, VA
1927	**"White Diamond"** (Lehigh Valley Railroad no. 1552)	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA
1928	**Atichinson, Topeka, & Santa Fe RR, no. 3355**[16]	On Display	Travel Town Museum	Los Angeles, CA
1937	**Union Pacific "The Little Nugget" no. LA-701 dormitory club car**[17]	On Display	Travel Town Museum	Los Angeles, CA
1941	**Southern Railway no. 805**[18]	On Display (ext. only)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1947	**Illinois Central no. 2640**	On Display (ext. only)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1948(?)	**RPCX 1236** (original number unknown)[19]	Not on display	Medina Railroad Museum	Medina, NY
1949	**Norfolk & Western no. 512**[20]	Undergoing restoration	Roanoke Chapter, National Railway Historical Society	Roanoke, VA
1949	**Norfolk & Western no. 537**[21]	Restored (tourable)	Roanoke Chapter, National Railway Historical Society	Roanoke, VA
1949	**Norfolk & Western no. 538**[22]	Not on display	Roanoke Chapter, National Railway Historical Society	Roanoke, VA
1950	**Nickel Plate Road no. 105**	On Display (ext. only)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH

Coach cars

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION

[13] Converted to chair car. https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.
[14] Reconfigured in 1940 as a segregated passenger coach
[15] 12 open section one drawing room.
[16] http://www.vmt.org/collections/rail/passenger-cars/southern-railway-sleeping-car-lake-pearl-2422/.
[17] http://rrpicturearchives.net/showPicture.aspx?id=4868934.
[18] Restored but used as static restaurant dining car; currently closed to public.
[19] Built as Lackawanna coach, currently gutted.
[20] Built as a P-2 class (divided) coach; later used in company service.
[21] Built as a P-3 class 58 seat long-distance coach; later rebuilt for Chicago commuter service.
[22] Norfolk & Western 538 was built in 1949 by Pullman Standard as a P-3 class 58 seat long-distance coach. It served on the N&W in passenger service through 1971 with the beginning of Amtrak.

1942	**Atlantic Coast Line M-5 Caboose**[23]	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum/Savannah Children's Museum	Savannah, GA
1905	**Illinois Central no. 3996 wooden coach**[24]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1905	**Wisconsin Central no. 63** (renumbered to no. 1941 in 1909; renumbered to W-323 in 1935 as bunk car and foreman's office in work train)[25]	Restored	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1908	**Chicago & North Western no. 613 wooden coach** (renumbered X300328 n.d.) [26]	stationary sleeping quarters	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1910	**Chicago & North Western no. 151 PC**[27]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1910	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 567**[28]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1912	**Elgin Joliet & Eastern 8766** (parlor car "Melanie")[29]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1914	**Defense Plant Corporation 7271**[30]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1914	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 556**[31]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1914	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 561**[32]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1914	**Northwestern Pacific no. 458** (SP 1012) [33]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA

[23] Built in 1942 as a boxcar; rebuilt in 1964 as an M-5 class caboose. Currently used as indoor museum space for a children's museum.

[24] 66' 8" L x 10' 6" W x 14' H; L-3 breaks and MCB 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[25] Wooden car, 2nd class carriage. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/wisconsin-central-63/.

[26] https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/chicago-north-western-613/.

[27] Steel Sheathed Wood Coach. 68' 4" L x 10' 4" W x 14' 5" H; 102,400 lbs. LN breaks and 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[28] 84 seats. 80' L x 10' 6" W x 14' 4" H; 130,000 lbs. UC breaks and Pullman 2410 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[29] Steel. 62 seats. 82' 6" L x 10' 3" W x 14' 5" H; UC breaks and Pullman 2411 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[30] Steel. 78 seats. 70' 1" L x 9' 8" W x 11' 5" H; 106,000 lbs. P-2 breaks and Commonwealth 6223A trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[31] Steel. 78 seats. 70' 1" L x 9' 8" W x 11' 5" H; 106,000 lbs. P-2 breaks and Commonwealth 6223A trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[32] Steel. 78 seats. 70' 1" L x 9' 8" W x 11' 5" H; 106,000 lbs. P-2 breaks and Commonwealth 6223A trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[33] https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

1917	**SR 1212**[34]	On Display (ext. only)	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1921	**Southern Pacific no. 2170** (Louisiana Western [T&NO] 832; SP 2170)[35]	In service	CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1922	**North Georgia RR no. 1104** (SR 3780)[36]	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1922	**SR 1078**[37]	On Display (ext. only)	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1924	**CofG 527**[38]	Exterior Display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1924	**SR 1065** (Pullman 1636)[39]	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1925	**Grand Trunk Western no. 9695** (No. 2276)[40]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1927	**Chicago Burlington & Quincy no. 481**[41]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1928	**Southern Railway no. 10** ("Purple Martin")[42]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1940	**SR 812**[43]	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1959	**Chicago & North Western no. 1304** (NIRC 8700)[44]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
unknown	**Chicago & North Western no. 8784** ("Floyd River")[45]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL

[34] 80’ Coach (Jim Crow). https://www.facebook.com/pg/roanokenrhs/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1436809756371350.
[35] https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.
[36] 80’
[37] 80’ https://www.facebook.com/pg/roanokenrhs/photos/?tab=album&album_id=181790518539953.
[38] 80’ Coach (Jim Crow). https://www.facebook.com/pg/roanokenrhs/photos/?tab=album&album_id=178297272222611.
[39] 80’ https://www.facebook.com/pg/roanokenrhs/photos/?tab=album&album_id=703499633035703.
[40] Steel. 64 seats. 81’ L x 10’ 5” W x 13’ 10” H; UC breaks and Pullman 242A trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.
[41] 84 seats. 79’ 2” L x 8’ 5” W x 14’ 2” H; 152,400 lbs. UC breaks and Commonwealth 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.
[42] 44 seats. 82’ L. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.
[43] 85’.
[44] First CNW Cab Car. 155 seats. 85’ L x 10’ 6” W x 15’ 10” H; 127,900 lbs. 26C breaks and CXV1 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.
[45] 84’ L x 10’ 1” W x 14’ 1” H; UC breaks and Pullman 2426 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

Lounge and Observation Cars

Built	Car designation	Status	Collection	Location
1910	**"Glen Springs" lounge car** ("Inglehome")[46]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1914	**Atichinson, Topeka, & Santa Fe RR, no. 1534 lounge car**[47]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1913	**Oregon Washington Railroad & Navigation no. 1590 observation car**	Restored (tourable)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1924	**Southern Pacific no. 2902 "El Dorado" observation car** (UP 1536, SP 2902)[48]	In Service	CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1928	**New York Central no. 7 observation car**	On Display (ext. only)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1948	**"Silver Crescent" observation car**[49]	Restored (tourable)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
1948	**"Tower View" observation car** (PRR No. 8420)[50]	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA

Combination Passenger-Baggage Cars

Built	Car designation	Status	Collection	Location
c.1886	**Combo no. 05**[51]	Under reconstruction	Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
c.1886	**Combo no. 06**[52]	unsuitable for restoration; used for parts	Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1888	**Western Pacific no. 402** (D&RG coach no. 812; rebuilt as combine no. 550 in 1905)[53]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA

[46] 50 seats. 83' L x 10' 4" W x 13' 10" H; UC breaks and Pullman 2410 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[47] 79' 2" L x 10' 4" W x 14' 10" H; L-3 breaks and 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[48] https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

[49] Built for the *California Zephyr*, the "Most Talked About Train in the Country." Operated between Chicago and Oakland, CA, 1949-70. One of seven other such cars, this is the only surviving one that remains in the original condition and configuration when it was in service. It last saw service on the last westbound *California Zephyr* in 1970 and never was operated by Amtrak.

[50] Later a lounge and sleeper car.

[51] 59' 1" long, wooden body, composite underframe, 6 wheel wood frame trucks, steam heat, open platform. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

[52] Converted to outfit car no. 06 (for section gang living) in 1940. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

[53] Open platform. https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

1898	**Lake Superior & Ishpeming no. 1 wooden baggage-coach car** (renumbered to no. 15 n.d.; renumbered no. XB-15 in c.1930 as paint car)[54]	awaiting restoration	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1912	**Southern Pacific no. 3178** (chair car no 2523; combine no. 1926)[55]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1915	**Chicago & North Western no. 7409**[56]	restored and operational	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1915	**Chicago & Northwestern Railway no. 7409**[57]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1917	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 425**[58]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1925	**Pennsylvania RR 8089** ("Glen Alta")[59]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1927	**Atichinson, Topeka, & Santa Fe RR, no. 2544 steel combo car**[60]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL

Interurbans

Built	Car designation	Status	Collection	Location
1914	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 557**[61]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1914	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 563**[62]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI

54 Pullman Palace Car Co., Lot 2325, Plan 1079 https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/lake-superior-ishpeming-1/.

55 https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

56 Steel car. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/chicago-north-western-7409/.

57 Lot 4334, Plan 2876 https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/chicago-north-western-7409/.

58 Steel car with 58 seats and forward baggage compartment. 110,900 lbs. Lot 4434, Plan 2849. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/delaware-lackawanna-western-425/.

59 Originally had 6 compartments and 3 drawing rooms. 84’ L x 10’ 1” W x 14’ H; 180600 lbs. UC breaks and 242A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

60 42 seats. 76’ 10” L x 10’ 11” W x 15’ H; UC breaks and Commonwealth 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

61 Set of 3: Steel frame but with Wooden styling. 78 seats. 108,000 lbs. Lot 4298, Plan 2848. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/delaware-lackawanna-western-557/.

62 Set of 3: Steel frame but with Wooden styling. 78 seats. 108,000 lbs. Lot 4298, Plan 2848. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/delaware-lackawanna-western-563/.

1914	**Delaware Lackawanna & Western no. 595**[63]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1925	**Chicago South Shore & South Bend no. 14**[64]	Not on display	Fox River Trolley Museum	South Elgin, IL
1925	**Chicago South Shore & South Bend no. 7**[65]	Not on display	Fox River Trolley Museum	South Elgin, IL
1928	**North Shore Line no. 420**[66]	Partial Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

Sleepers

This section includes all cars originally built as sleepers.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1882	**"Silesia"**[67]	restored and operational	Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1911	**Louisville and Nashville RR no. 1652**[68]	On Display (ext. only)	West Florida Railroad Museum	Milton, FL
1913	**"Sumter"**(renamed Canadian National commuter coach no. 5375 in 1942)[69]	Not on display	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1915	**"Wetamoo"** ("Emerald Vale"; now Ann Arbor 3296)[70]	Not on display	Southern MI RR Musuem	Clinton, MI
1917	**"Vassar College"** (rebuilt as "Vassar College" in 1934) [71]	On Display (ext. only)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
1919	**CNR "Colonist"** (Car no. 2791; GTW 8812in 1940)[72]	On Display (ext. only)	Iron Horse Park	Durand, MI

[63] Set of 3: Steel frame but with Wooden styling. 78 seats. 108,000 lbs. Lot 4298, Plan 2848. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/delaware-lackawanna-western-595/.

[64] https://www.foxtrolley.org/equipment-roster.

[65] https://www.foxtrolley.org/equipment-roster.

[66] Acc. 1966.1.1. Pullman Car Co. Steel Interurban Coach. 55’ 3”L x 8’ 8”W x 12’ 8”H; 98,300lbs. 58 seat double-end Arch roof, 2 West. 557R5 motors with HLF(28A3) controllers; DH-25 compressors and AMU breaks.

[67] Coach no. 03 until conversion to Chair Car no. 5 c.1918 (~$8,900). Retains original leaded art glass windows. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

[68] Car was one of four used 1961-1971 to transport atomic material across country from AEC Oak Ridge, TN.

[69] Early all-steel construction. Lot 4222, Plan2522. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/canadian-national-5375/.

[70] Former Maintenance of Way (MoW) equipment.

[71] “Moffett” Lot 4527, Plan 2585-D; “Vassar College” Lot 4527, Plan 4042.

[72] 10’ x 80’, 132,500 lbs. Originally came with 18 undivided sections with facing seats that converted into dual-berth bunks at night and a rudimentary kitchen at one end with wood stove, ice box, and water. Rebuilt as a baggage car in 1938. Used as baggage and mail car until April 1971, where it became a temporary yard office for GTW in Pontiac, MI. Sold to the Durand Area Bicentennial Committee for use as a Railroad Museum (later Durand Railroad Museum, Inc.,) in July 1975 which opened April 30, 1976 (dissolved 1991). Car subsequently passed to Michigan Railroad History Museum inside Durand Union Station and then to City of Durand in 2017.

1923	**"Mt. Harvard"**[73]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1923	**"St. Carvan"** [74]		Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO
1923	**Southern Railway no. 2422 "Lake Pearl"** [75]	Undergoing restoration	Virginia Museum of Transportation	Roanoke, VA
1924	**"Cameron Pass"**[76]	On Display (ext. only)	Gold Coast Railroad Musuem	Miami, FL
1925	**"Glen Alta"** [77]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1925	**"McGirth" heavyweight**[78]	Not on display	Richmond Railroad Museum	Richmond, VA
1926	**"Dinwiddie County"**[79]	Not on display	Richmond Railroad Museum	Richmond, VA
1929	**"Inglehome"** [80]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1929	**"Ruffin"** (SR 2442)	Exterior Display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA

[73] With observation portion. Built with block ice air-conditioning, blow-fan activated. Floorplan revised 1939. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/former-collection-items/mt-harvard/.

[74] Open berth. *Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection* (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 9.

[75] Said to be the finest example of a Pullman car remaining in the United States. The Lake Pearl is a deluxe sleeping car from the golden age of passenger rail travel. It contains a combination of sleeping compartments: open sections with seats that fold into beds with upper berths above, screened from the aisle at night by heavy curtains; two private bedrooms; and one drawing room, a bedroom with a private lounge. Fixtures are largely intact. Fabrics are authentic Pullman "rose-red," dating back to the 1940s, needing careful cleaning, and some minor repairs. "The interior is very special because it is so fully intact. It is extremely rare to find an unrestored, 'heavyweight-era' sleeping car interior in such authentic and complete condition, with Pullman berths, folding-berth hardware, seats with Pullman upholstery, and interior fixtures including dressing/bathroom fixtures." (Report of William Withuhn, Smithsonian Institution transportation curator, April 2012). The Lake Pearl cannot be open for display due to its current condition. The primary threat to the Lake Pearl comes from water damage/roof leaks and leaking around windows which has caused rusting. Heavily-flaking paint prevents visitor entry. The Museum has a plan for the car's conservation, which is underway. A private donor has already offered $25,000 toward the restoration of the Lake Pearl. This funding has enabled an assessment of the condition of the car and the development of a restoration plan. New windows have been fabricated and installed to replace the rotting windows. The roof needs to be waterproofed and repainted and the exterior repainted. Flaking paint must be removed in the interior and then repainted. Upholstery, carpets and curtains need to be carefully cleaned, and in some cases repaired or replaced. A very few fixtures need to be repaired or replaced. All the wiring needs to be replaced, and an HVAC unit must be added for conservation and visitor comfort.

[76] Atlantic Coast Line as a 8-section, 1-drawing room, 2-compartment sleeping car. It was sold in 1948 to SAL No. 1251 to MofW bunk car to SCL No. 765310 to CSX to GCRM.

[77] 24 seats. 84' L x 10' 1" W x 14' H; 180,600 lbs. UC breaks and 242A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[78] 12 open sections and a drawing room.

[79] 10 open sections and a lounge.

[80] 23 seats. 84' L x 10' W x 14' H; 168,700 lbs. UC breaks and Pullman 2411 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

1920-30s	**"Donizetti"**	On Display (ext. only)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1930	**"Washington Club"** [81]	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1934	**"Swarthmore College"**[82]	On Display (ext. only)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
1937	**18 roomette sleeper**[83]	On Display	Travel Town Museum	Los Angeles, CA
1940s	**Troop Sleeper no. 7407**[84]	Restored (tourable)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1940	**2-4-4 Sleeper**	On Display	Travel Town Museum	Los Angeles, CA
1940	**Northern Pacific Railway no. 230** ("Cascade Knoll")[85]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1942	**Erie RR "American Life"**	Restored (tourable)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1942	**Illinois Central no. 2804** ("King Cotton")[86]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1943	**Cleveland Transit System no. 4223** (Army Troop Sleeper)		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1943	**Duluth Missabe & Iron Range Railway no. 84** (Army Troop Sleeper)[87]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1944	**Troop Sleeper** [88]	On Display	Wichita Falls Railroad Museum	Milton, FL
1948	**Chicago & North Western X300902 lightweight** ("Savanna")[89]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1948	**Chicago Burlington & Quincy "Dubuque" no. 482**[90]	Restored (tourable)	Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO

[81] Sleeper/Lounge Car.

[82] The car was heavily modified and converted to MoW train service. Showers replaced the men's and women's lounges. The fold down bunks and chairs in the sections were removed leaving open areas and a kitchen space with a concessions counter, refrigerator and sink that were installed in the middle of the car.

[83] Ran on the City of San Francisco and Panama Limited.

[84] 7407 is restored to as built, also have 4 more in collection, converted to boxcars.

[85] 20 seats. 84' 6" L x 10' W x 13' 7" H; 126,500 lbs. D22 breaks and 4-wheel RB trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[86] 26 seats. 84' 6" L x 10' W x 11' 6" H; HSC-D22 breaks and American Steel Foundry trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[87] 51' 8" L x 10' W x 13' 2" H; 70,700 lbs. UB breaks and Allied trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[88] sold to MKT converted to MoW car, as MKT 100261.

[89] 29 seats. 85' L x 10' 6" W x 11' 6" H; HSC-D22 breaks and ASE 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

[90] *Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection* (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 7.

1948	**Sleeper**[91]	Unrestored	Florida Railroad Museum	Parrish, FL
1949	**Norfolk Southern no. 17** (SR 2019 "Tugalo River")	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1949	**Sussex county lightweight 10 roomettes 6 bedroom**[92]	awaiting restoration	Richmond Railroad Museum	Richmond, VA
1951	**Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway "Wapinitia Pass" no. 701**[93]	Not on display	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1956	**"Silver Slumber"**[94]	Restored (tourable)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
1956	**"Silver Vale"**[95]	Restored (tourable)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
unknown	**No. 5341**[96]	On Display (ext. only)	Coastal Heritage Society/GA State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA

Dining cars

This section includes all cars built for food service, whether preparation or dining.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1906	**Boston & Maine 3285 wooden café car**[97]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1907	**Baltimore & Ohio "Villa Falls" wooden diner**[98]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1913	**"Lotos Club"**[99]	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA
1916	**Illinois Central "King Cotton"** [100]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL

91 10 Double bed and 6 roomettes. for use for the Silver Meteor between Florida and New York Owned by PA railroad operated from New York to DC. (possibly built by Edward Budd).

92 Built for the N &W http://www.vmt.org/collections/rail/other-unique-rolling-stock/norfolk-western-safety-instruction-car-418/.

93 http://www.greatnorthernempire.net/index2.htm?GNEPreservedGNPassengerCars_Sleepers.htm.

94 Built for the *Denver Zephyr*, a streamliner which operated between Chicago and Denver. A Slumbercoach provided private rooms for one or two persons. The room layout had 24 single rooms and 8 double rooms.

95 Also built for the *Denver Zephyr*. The car is known as a 10 roomette/6 double bedroom sleeper or a "10/6." The floor plan for this car placed the less expensive 1-person roomettes over the wheels and placed the larger 2-person bedrooms towards the middle making them smoother and quieter. All rooms had their own toilet and sink but no bathing facilities.

96 interior used as office space; doors and bed removed.

97 48 seats. 80' 4" L x 10' W x 15' 1" H; 133700 lbs. P-2 breaks and 6-wheel Wood trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

98 36 seats. 80' 3" L x 10' W x 15' 1" H; 124000 lbs. P-2 breaks and Pullman 5A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

99 Remodeled later as Sleeper Lounge. Limited tours of interior available with prior arrangements. https://sftm.org/pcccars.shtml.

100 36 seats. 82' 7" L x 10' 5" W x 14' H; 167800 lbs. UC breaks and 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

1924	**Elgin Joliet & Eastern 8726 buffet lounge** ("Dover Strait")[101]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1924	**RMOX 3100**[102]	On Display	Railroad Museum of Oklahoma	Enid, OK
1926	**SR 3168**	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1927	**Nickel Plate Road no. 104** (No. 127)[103]	On Display (ext. only)	Mad River & NKP RR Society	Bellevue, OH
1927	**Southern Pacific no. 10026**[104]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1943	**Troop Sleeper**[105]	On Display	Wichita Falls Railroad Museum	Milton, FL
1948	**RPCX 1919**[106]		Medina Railroad Museum	Medina, NY
1950	**Atlantic Coast Line "Birmingham" lightweight diner**[107]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1955?	**Chesapeake & Ohio "Bedford Tavern"** (renumbered DAWX 1407; now RPCX 1950)	In service	Medina Railroad Museum	Medina, NY

Business/Office cars

The following section contains cars built for businesses for corporate use.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1889	**No. 100 [1st]** (renamed no. 101 "Ely" in 1916; renamed "Noa" 1957)[108]		Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1911	**"Superb"** (SCL 301)	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA

101 26 seats and 6 bedrooms. 81’ 7” L x 10’ 5” W x 14’ 8” H; UC breaks and 242A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

102 Converted to a portable surgery Hospital for the Vietnam War. http://rrpicturearchives.net/showPicture.aspx?id=445880.

103 The only heavyweight diner on the NKP that was never externally modernized.

104 36 seat dining car. Became SP MoW diner 7007F in 1959; 7058; to Western Pacific MoW 27-8 ca. 1985; 79-7. Gi’ 3/2008 from Union Pacific to CSRMF (To be rebuilt as open air excursion car). https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

105 Sold to MKT, converted to MoW car, as MKT 100260

106 In service, converted from Lackawanna coach to dining car.

107 36 seats. 85’ L 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

108 Wood body, metal underframe, 66’ 11½” long w/o its wide vestibules and 6 wheel trucks. Steel side sheathing and steel underframe added 1928. By end of service, it measured 75’ 4” long, 9’ 11” wide, 14’ 6” high and seats 10. 143,200 lbs. and is fitted with L-2 brakes. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

1913	**"Columbus"** (built as observation car no.3855; rebuilt as office car no.100; name change in 1953 to "Columbus;" retired in 1967)	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1913	**No. 100 [3rd]** (renamed [2nd] "Cyprus")[109]	Unknown	Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1914	**Western Maryland Railway Business Car No. 203**[110]	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA
1916	**No. 100 [2nd]** (renamed "Anthracite" in 1935; "Scranton" before Aug. 1937; later No. 3 and No 97; "Setauket" in 1963; "Jamaica" in 1971)[111]	Operational	Nevada Northern Railway	East Ely, NV
1923	**Chicago, Burlington & Quincy "Aleutian"** [112]	Restored (tourable)	Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO
1924	**SMRX 307** (ACL 307)	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1925	**"Atlanta"** (built as parlor car "Edith"; converted to coach no.647 in 1941; converted to executive office car "Atlanta" in 1950)	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1925	**Norfolk Southern research car no. 31** (Pullman no. 31)[113]	On Display (ext. only)	Virginia Museum of Transportation	Roanoke, VA
1926	**Union Pacific no. 102 "Overland"** (Harriman family car; UP no. 107)[114]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1929	**"Minnekahda Club"** (renumbered no. 775 in 1948 as a business car; Chicago & Northwestern business car no. 440; renumbered no. 100 in 1955 as crew car; renamed Edward I in 1968; renamed no. 440 in 1980)[115]	Restored and operational	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI

[109] Sold to the U.S. Army in 1943 for use as a "hospital car" (ward-dressing car during WW II for domestic service; converted in 1946 to mortuary car). https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

[110] Limited tours of interior are available with prior arrangements.

[111] All metal, 73' 6" long. For use of Solomon R. Guggenheim, president of the Nevada Northern Railway. https://www.nnry.com/history/httpdocs/pass/passroster/passrost.html.

[112] *Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection* (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 7.

[113] Later a Research car/Track Geometry car in mid-1960s. Rebuilt from a Pullman passenger car underframe only at the Hayne Shop of Southern Railway, 1966-67.

[114] https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

[115] Steel car. Originally built with 4 single bedrooms, 2 compartments, 1 drawing room, and an "intimate club room" with walls finished in walnut paneling. Rebuilt 1935 and converted to business car 1948. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/chicago-north-western-440/.

Private and Custom cars

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1889	**Minneapolis St. Paul & Sault St. Marie (Soo Line) 67** (Private car "Ely")[116]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1905	**"Colonial"**[117]	Restored (tourable)	Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO
1905	**Chicago Burlington & Quincy no. 6166**[118]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1921	**Henry Ford's "Fair Lane"**[119]	On Display (ext. only)	The Henry Ford Museum	Dearborn, MI
1929	**"Ferdinand Magellan"** [120]	Restored (tourable)	Gold Coast Railroad Museum	Miami, FL
1948	**"John McGloughlin"** (Private car "Susan Marie")[121]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
unknown	**"W. Graham Claytor, Jr."** (Car no. 1070)[122]	Not on display	Virginia Museum of Transportation	Roanoke, VA

Cabooses

Pullman apparently built a very small number of cabooses, as in our survey, only a single one seems to be known, and it was originally built as a boxcar.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1942	**Atlantic Coast Line M-5 Caboose**[123]	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum/Savannah Children's Museum	Savannah, GA

116 10 seats. 75’ 4” L x 9’ 11” W x 14’ 6” H; 143200 lbs. L-2 breaks and 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

117 *Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection* (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 24.

118 10 seats. 83’ 1” L x 10’ W x 13’ 10” H; 175,000 lbs. UC breaks and Pullman 2411 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

119 Sold by Ford in 1942 to the Cotton Belt Railroad; then to the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Oklahoma; then to private collector, who restored it; and then donated to the Henry Ford Museum in 1996 (Acc. 96.112.1).

120 https://www.goldcoastrailroadmuseum.org/the-ferdinand-magellan.

121 82’ L x 10’ 1” W x 15’ 1” H; 211240 lbs. D26 breaks and 6-wheel RB trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

122 Private use open air luxury car used by the Claytor brothers, attorneys who both became presidents of a railroads (Graham Claytor of the Southern Railway; Robert Claytor of the N&W). Later outfitted with bench seating and low windows for excursion service.

123 Built in 1942 as a boxcar; rebuilt in 1964 as an M-5 class caboose. Currently used as indoor museum space for a children’s museum.

Baggage Cars

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1901	**Chicago & North Western no. 1236 wooden Railway Post Office and baggage car**[124]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1908	**Chicago & Illinois Midland X-81 PC wooden**[125]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1910	**Nevada Northern no. 10 baggage/storage/mail car**[126]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1916	**CofG 405**[127]	Exterior Display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1924	**No. 430**[128]	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1936	**Chicago & North Western "Floyd River" baggage and mail car** ("City of Denver" no. 30; no. 12203)[129]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1936	**Chicago & North Western X250398 baggage and bar-room car** ("City of Denver" no. 70; no. 11701)[130]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1940	**"Normandy"** (St. Louis - San Francisco (Frisco) no. 251)[131]	Restored (tourable)	Museum of Transportation, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO
c.1950	**SR 451 Library car** (Tourist Sleeper Pullman no. 6031; converted to Baggage Express 451 in c.1950)[132]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1963	**Norfolk & Western no. 1459 lightweight baggage**[133]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL

124 63' 6" L x 10' W x 14' 4" H; P-2 breaks and Pullman 5A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

125 69' L x 9' 11" W x 14' 5" H; 99,400 lbs. P-2 breaks and Pullman 5A 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

126 82' L x 10' 1" W x 14' 1" H; 147,000 lbs. UC breaks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

127 70 '

128 built as "Charles Carroll" parlor car; converted to coach no.639 in 1942; converted to baggage car no.430 in 1949

129 78' L x 10' W x 12' 8" H; 87620 lbs. AHSC breaks and UP-Pullman 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

130 36 seats. 78' L x 10' W x 12' 8" H; 98460 lbs. AHSC breaks and UP-Pullman 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

131 Fluted Stainless Steel sides. Museum of Transportation: Highlights of the Collection (St. Louis: Transport Museum Assn., 1997), 25.

132 80'.

133 74' 3" L x 10' 6" W x 13' 7" H; ABD 4-wheel GSC breaks and trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

unknown	**SR 116**[134]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
unknown	**SR 4529** ("Dorado" 3009)[135]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
unknown	**SR 582** (Benburb SOU no. 2438)[136]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
unknown	**SR 6457** (Point Noire no. 6204)[137]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA

Freight Cars

Although few are collected in railroad museums, it is worth remembering that throughout its corporate lifespan, freight cars were the bread and butter of the car-building industry. Though no where near as glamourous as sleepers or parlor or observation cars, technologically they are quite important to the not only the running of railroads, but also their technological development.[138]

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1904	**Missouri-Kansas-Texas no. 24420**[139]		National Museum of Transportation	St. Louis, MO
1913	**Chicago & North Western no. 4103 flatcar** (ex Commonwealth Edison)[140]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1916	**Western Pacific no. 75893**[141]		CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1921	**Soo Line no. 29667**[142]		Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1934	**Seaboard Airline no. 17954**[143]	Restored (tourable)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1941	**Northern Pacific Railway NP 28129**[144]	On Display (ext. only)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1941	**Northern Pacific Railway NP 28417**[145]	On Display (ext. only)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA

134 60'.
135 80'.
136 80'.
137 80'.
138 John H. White, *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
139 Gondola type 30-ton capacity; wood frame and body; steel center sill.
140 44' 9" L x 9' 8" W x 4' 2" H; 33700 lbs. None breaks and Simp/Andr trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.
141 Steel 40' stock car; Ex-WP box car 15000 series. https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.
142 Freight 40' stock car, 40-ton capacity. Built by Haskell & Barker Car Co. just before this Michigan City, IN plant became part of Pullman. https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-freight-cars/soo-line-29967/.
143 Steel boxcar.
144 https://www.TrainMuseum.org.
145 https://www.TrainMuseum.org.

1951	**DLA90613 military boxcar**	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA
1953	**DLA90614 military boxcar**	On Display (ext. only)	Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania	Strasburg, PA
1953	**US Air Force no. 26687**[146]	Operational	CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1953	**US Air Force no. 26909**[147]	Operational	CA State RR Museum	Sacramento, CA
1961	**Southern Railway no. 992528MW**[148]	On Display (ext. only)	Coastal Heritage Society/Georgia State Railroad Museum	Savannah, GA
1965	**CHV 9012**[149]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1965	**CHV 9014**[150]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1965	**SR 33309**[151]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1965	**SR 9690**[152]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
1969	**CHV 98705**[153]	Not on display	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA

Other cars

Any cars which did not fit the above sections are listed here.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION
1912	**"Badger no. 2" fish car** (Wisconsin Fish Commission no. 2; renumbered no. 104 n.d.)[154]	Restored (tourable)	Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI
1913	**Great Northern no. 6 Railway Post Office Car**[155]		Mid-Continent Railway Museum	North Freedom, WI

146 Steel 40’ box car. Purchased from McClellan AFB. https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

147 Steel 40’ box car. Purchased from McClellan AFB. https://www.californiarailroad.museum/assets/carousels/CSRM-Public-Roster-7-19-2016.pdf.

148 Freight car; Covered Hopper; later used as a scale test car.

149 50’ Box PS1.

150 50’ Box PS1.

151 50’ Box rib sided.

152 84” DD Box.

153 50’ Box Waffle Side.

154 Steel underframe with steel tanks to carry fish to restock waterways. William D. Middleton, "Fish Cars," in *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, ed. William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk, and Roberta L. Diehl (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007). https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/wooden-passenger-cars/wisconsin-fish-commission-2/.

155 Steel car (may have been made by ACF; website contradicts itself). https://www.midcontinent.org/equipment-roster/steel-passenger-cars/great-northern-90/.

1914	**Grand Trunk Western no. 5316 steel Rail Post Office car**[156]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1915	**Chicago & North Western no. 8202, auto and baggage car**[157]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1921	**Great Northern no. 485 rider-storage-mail car**[158]	On Display (ext. only)	Northwest Railway Museum	Snoqualmie, WA
1924	**Chicago & Illinois Midland 117 wooden auto car** (C&A 39167)[159]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1941	**SR 1701 Rail Post Office car**[160]	Open to tour	Southeastern Railway Museum	Duluth, GA
c.1942	**WWII Troop Car**	Restored (tourable)	New Buffalo RR Museum	New Buffalo, MI
1947	**Norfolk & Western Safety Instruction Car no. 418** (Boston & Maine Railway "Bald Eagle"; Maine Central no. 15; Boston & Maine no. 70; Wabash no. 1570)[161]	Restored (tourable)	Virginia Museum of Transportation	Roanoke, VA
1949	**Great Northern no. 1148 lunch counter / crew dormitory car**	Undergoing restoration	Roanoke Chapter, National Railway Historical Society	Roanoke, VA
1950	**Chicago & North Western no. 55659 lightweight Rail Post Office/Express/Baggage car** (MOW No. 301030)[162]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
unknown	**Boston & Maine no. 3288 PC** (Camp Car X117)[163]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL

Streetcars and trolleys

Although thought of primarily for real travel, Pullman from the early days built street cars (See Figure 3.7) both electromotive as well as gasoline powered.

BUILT	CAR DESIGNATION	STATUS	COLLECTION	LOCATION

156 63’ 8” L x 10’ 2” W x 14’ 4” H; UC breaks and Pullman 2411 trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

157 73’ 5” L x 9’ 11” W x 14’ 3” H, with a 8’ 6” end door; 122,400 lbs. LN breaks and 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

158 http://www.greatnorthernempire.net/index2.htm?GNEPreservedGNPassengerCars_Sleepers.htm.

159 44’ 8” L x 9’ 5” W x 14’ 2” H; 48500 lbs. AB breaks and Bettendorf trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

160 https://sftm.org/pcccars.shtml.

161 Began service as a stainless steel café lounge car as part of the famed train, the “Wabash Cannon Ball.” As a safety car (refitted 190/71), included an office, a bedroom for the instructor, bathroom, and shower as well as an instructional theater capable of holding 48 people.

162 82’ 6” L x 10’ 7” W x 13’ 11” H; D22 breaks and General Steel Casting 4-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

163 81’ 6” L x 10’ 7” W x 14’ H; UC breaks and 6-wheel trucks. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

1890	**Pittsburgh Railways Pay Car M-1**[164]	Not on display	Pennsylvania Trolley Museum	Washington, PA
1895	**Union Pacific no. 501**[165]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1895	**West Chicago Street Railway no. 4**[166]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1908	**Chicago CTA no. 225**[167]	Partial Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1908	**Chicago Great Western 99**[168]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1908	**Chicago Surface Lines no. 4001**[169]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1923	**Boston MBTA no. 512**[170]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1923	**Boston MBTA no. 513**[171]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1924	**Boston MBTA no. 546**[172]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1924	**Boston MBTA no. 547**[173]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

164 ST Pay Car with Westinghouse 93A motors. 32’8″ L x 12’0″ H; 27,000 lbs. https://pa-trolley.org/collection/pittsburgh-railways-M1/.

165 Double End, Single Truck, Deck Roof, Closed with 30 seats. 30’ L x 7’ 9” W x 11’ 1” H; 18000 lbs. Hand breaks and Brill 21E trucks. 2 GE 800 motor with K10 control. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

166 Double End, Single Truck, Deck Roof, Closed with 30 seats. 30’ L x 7’ 9” W x 11’ 1” H; 18000 lbs. Hand breaks and Brill 21E trucks. 2 GE 800 motor with K10 control. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

167 Acc. 1957.6.1. Pullman Car Co. Wooden Prepayment. 49’ 2”L x 8’ 9”W x 11’ 8”H; 53000lbs. 44 seat double-end Deck roof, 4 G. E. 216A motors with K-35G controllers; National A4C compressors and breaks.

168 Double End, Double Truck, Deck Roof ,Wood PAYE with 44 seats. 49’ 2” L x 8’ 9” W x 11’ 8” H; 53000 lbs. Straight Air breaks and Pull/Bald 150 trucks. 3 GE 216A / 1 Westinghouse H194319B motor with K35G control and A4C compressor. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

169 Double End, Double Truck, Deck Roof ,Wood PAYE with 44 seats. 49’ 2” L x 8’ 9” W x 11’ 8” H; 53000 lbs. Straight Air breaks and Pull/Bald 150 trucks. 4 GE 216A motor with K35G control and A4C compressor. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

170 Acc. 1987.2.1. Pullman Car Co. no. 1 East Boston Rapid Transit. 47’ 3”L x 8’ 3”W x 13’ 2”H; 44000lbs. 44 seat single-end Monitor Arch roof, 4 West. 514E motors with PC-5(CJ-127) controllers; DH-16 compressors and SMEE breaks.

171 Acc. 1987.2.2. Pullman Car Co. no. 1 East Boston Rapid Transit. 47’ 3”L x 8’ 3”W x 13’ 2”H; 44000lbs. 44 seat single-end Monitor Arch roof, 4 West. 514E motors with PC-5(CJ-127) controllers; DH-16 compressors and SMEE breaks.

172 Acc. 1987.2.3. Pullman Car Co. no. 2 East Boston Rapid Transit. 47’ 3”L x 8’ 3”W x 13’ 2”H; 44000lbs. 44 seat single-end Monitor Arch roof, 4 West. 514E motors with PC-5(CJ-127) controllers; DH-16 compressors and SMEE breaks.

173 Acc. 1987.2.4. Pullman Car Co. no. 2 East Boston Rapid Transit. 47’ 3”L x 8’ 3”W x 13’ 2”H; 44000lbs. 44 seat single-end Monitor Arch roof, 4 West. 514E motors with PC-5(CJ-127) controllers; DH-16 compressors and SMEE breaks.

1934	**Chicago Surface Lines no. 144**[174]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1941	**Boston MBTA no. 3019**[175]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1942	**Dayton, OH no. 376**[176]	Partial Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1944	**Boston MBTA no. 3037**[177]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1944	**Boston MBTA no. 3069**[178]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1944	**Boston MBTA no. 3127**[179]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3083**[180]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3174**[181]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3327**[182]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

174 Single End, Double Truck, Arch Roof, Experimental Streamliner with 58 seats. 47’ 6” L x 8’ 6” W x 10’ 4” H; 39600 lbs. No breaking system Shop (Brill 67F) trucks. Westinghouse VA control but no motor. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

175 Acc. 1974.2.1. Pullman-Standard Air Electric MU Pre-War Pullman Car Co.. 46’L x 8’4”W x 11’ 1”H; 36580lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432D motors with West. PCC controllers; Quincy compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks. https://traveltown.org/projects/hunter.shtml.

176 Acc. 1969.3.1. Pullman-Standard 45-WS Trolley Coach. 37’ 4”L x 8’ 5”W x 10’ 9”H; 22000lbs. 44 seat Arch roof, 1 G. E. 1213 motors with MRC controllers; DH-10 compressors and Str. Air breaks.

177 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Air Electric MU Wartime PCC. 46’L x 8’4”W x 11’ 1”H; 38860lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432D motors with West. PCC controllers; Quincy compressors and Dyn,Air Trd/Track breaks. https://www.laparks.org/traveltown/passenger/atchison-topeka-santa-fe-snack-car-3355.

178 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Air Electric MU Wartime PCC. 46’L x 8’4”W x 11’ 1”H; 38860lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432D motors with West. PCC controllers; Quincy compressors and Dyn,Air Trd/Track breaks. https://www.laparks.org/traveltown/passenger/union-pacific-dormitory-club-la-701-little-nugget.

179 Acc. 1982.4.2. Pullman-Standard Air Electric MU Wartime PCC. 46’ L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39020lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 G. E. 1198F3 motors with GE PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Trd/Track breaks.

180 Acc. 1982.4.1. Pullman-Standard Air Electric MU Wartime PCC. 46’L x 8’4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39700lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch w/Monitor roof, 4 West. 1432H motors with West. PCC controllers; Quincy compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

181 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Air Electric MU Wartime PCC. 46’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 40195lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch w/Monitor roof, 4 G. E. 1220A1 motors with GE PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks. http://www.vmt.org/collections/rail/other-unique-rolling-stock/norfolk-southern-research-car-31/.

182 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3328**[183]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3331**[184]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3332**[185]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3338**[186]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3340**[187]	Partial Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3343**[188]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Boston MBTA no. 3344**[189]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1945	**Dallas, TX no. 608**[190]	Partial Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1946	**Boston MBTA no. 3221**[191]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

183 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

184 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

185 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

186 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks. https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-collections/artifact/96492.

187 Acc. 1982.4.3. Pullman-Standard Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

188 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks. https://www.laparks.org/traveltown/passenger/southern-pacific-chair-car-2513.

189 Acc. n/a. Pullman-Standard ***Double End Air Electric Pullman Car Co. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 42 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks. https://traveltown.org/projects/rosebowl.shtml.

190 Acc. 1978.2.3. Pullman-Standard Double End PCC. 47’L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 39360lbs. 52 seat double-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1432HE motors with West. PCC controllers; PC-2 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

191 Acc. 1977.3.1. Pullman-Standard All Electric MU Post-War PCC. 46’ 6”L x 8’ 4”W x 11’ 1”H; 40874lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch w/Monitor roof, 4 G. E. 1220E1 motors with GE PCC controllers; None compressors and Dyn,Elec Drum,Track breaks.

1946	**Chicago Surface Lines no. 460 PC**[192]		Illinois Railway Museum	Union, IL
1947	**Chicago Rapid Transit Company no. 5001**[193]		Fox River Trolley Museum	South Elgin, IL
1948	**Boston MBTA no. 8361**[194]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1948	**Shaker Heights Rapid Transit no. 94**[195]	Undergoing restoration	Pennsylvania Trolley Museum	Washington, PA
1951	**Boston MBTA no. 3274**[196]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1951	**Boston MBTA no. 3292**[197]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1951	**Boston MBTA no. 8490**[198]		Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1951	**MTA no. 3321**[199]	On Display (ext. only)	Shelburne Falls Trolley Museum	Shelburne Falls, MA
1951	**No. 3299**[200]	On Display (ext. only)	Shelburne Falls Trolley Museum	Shelburne Falls, MA
1958	**Boston MBTA no. 1178**[201]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

192 Single End, Double Truck, Monitor Roof, One Man, Electric PCC with 53 seats. 46’ 5” L x 8’ 4” W x 11’ 1” H; 39800 lbs. All Electric Clark B2 trucks. 4 Westinghouse 1432J motor with XMA452 control. http://www5.irm.org/cgi-bin/searchr.cgi?q=pullman.

193 Chicago RTC agreed to try a rapid transit car utilizing all-electric Pullman Car Co. technology. Thirty such cars were ordered from the St. Louis Car Company, but the order was canceled due to financing difficulties. Ultimately, four were ordered, two from St. Louis and two from the PCC, all with similar dimensions. The Pullmans, numbered 5001-5002, were delivered first (August 1947), followed by the St. Louis cars, numbered 5003-5004. These became the 5000 series, of which only these four were built. By the time the final car was delivered, the Chicago RTC had been absorbed into the Chicago Transit Authority and the design was changed, resulting in the 6000 series. The four 5000 series cars were retired in 1985. https://www.foxtrolley.org/equipment-roster.

194 Acc. 1963.5.1. Pullman-Standard 43-CX Trolley Coach. 37’ 11”L x 8’ 6”W x 10’ 10”H; 20550lbs. 43 seat Arch roof, 1 West. 1442 motors with XC423L controllers; DH-10 compressors and Str. Air breaks.

195 Currently [2019] repainting this car in its original paint scheme for static display. https://pa-trolley.org/collection/shaker-heights-rapid-transit-company-94/.

196 Acc. 1978.2.2. Pullman-Standard Air Electric MU Post-War PCC. 46’ 6”L x 8’ 8”W x 11’ 1”H; 40280lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch w/Monitor roof, 4 G. E. 1243A1 motors with GE MCM controllers; DH-10 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

197 Acc. 1991.4.4. Pullman-Standard Air Electric MU Post-War PCC. 46’ 6”L x 8’ 8”W x 11’ 1”H; 40280lbs. 42 seat single-end Arch w/Monitor roof, 4 G. E. 1243A1 motors with GE MCM controllers; DH-10 compressors and Dyn,Air Drum,Track breaks.

198 Acc. 1976.1.2. Pullman-Standard 44-CX Trolley Coach w/ Le’ Side Door. 40’L x 8’ 6”W x 10’ 9”H; 21350lbs. 44 seat Arch roof, 1 G. E. 1213 motors with MRC controllers; DH-10 compressors and Str. Air breaks. http://www.rrpicturearchives.net/showPicture.aspx?id=4868847.

199 This is a Pullman-Standard car, one of the last sets of trolleys built in Massachusetts.

200 Ibid.

201 Acc. 1991.4.2. Pullman-Standard no. 11 Lightweight Steel Subway Elevated. 55’L x 9’8”W x 11’ 10”H; 57540lbs. 46 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 G. E. 1250A1 motors with MCM(C-3) controllers; None compressors and SMEE breaks.

1958	**Boston MBTA no. 1179**[202]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1963	**Boston MBTA no. 1450**[203]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME
1963	**Boston MBTA no. 1455**[204]	Complete Restoration	Seashore Trolley Museum	Kennebunkport, ME

[202] Acc. 1991.4.3. Pullman-Standard no. 11 Lightweight Steel Subway Elevated. 55'L x 9'8"W x 11' 10"H; 58620lbs. 46 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 G. E. 1250A1 motors with MCM(C-3) controllers; A-4 compressors and SMEE breaks.

[203] Acc. 1997.1.1. Pullman-Standard no. 5 Cambridge Dorchester RT Car. 69' 6"L x 10' 5.25"W x 12' 5"H; 69080lbs. 56 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1454G motors with XCA-248 controllers; None compressors and SMEE breaks.

[204] Acc. 1997.2.1. Pullman-Standard no. 5 Cambridge Dorchester RT Car. 69' 6"L x 10' 5.25"W x 12' 5"H; 69900lbs. 56 seat single-end Arch roof, 4 West. 1454G motors with XCA-248 controllers; compressors and SMEE breaks.

APPENDIX C
PULLMAN MATERIAL CULTURE

There is a great deal of material culture surviving from Pullman rail travel. Everything from Pullman branded towels, china, stationary, menus, or ticket stubs, to pieces of old cars ranging from small brass signs to lighting fixtures, lavatory fixtures, and even berths are typically usually available through sites like eBay as well as higher value items through auction houses that deal in "railroadiana."

In what follows, we give just some examples of how the material culture of Pullman rail travel might be explored.

Pullman, Foodways, and Gastronomy

Pullman China

The dining experience aboard the Pullman car was one of the strongest selling features for luxury travel. One Pullman advertisement from the 1940s used the tagline, "I just Adore being waited on!" and in the accompanying image of a Pullman porter waiting on their table, reminded "experienced" travelers of the full-service table settings to be had on Pullman: "the '1st CLASS' way to go!"[205] George Pullman had introduced the first dining car in 1865, and by the time he built the town of Pullman, most railroads were running at least buffet cars, if not full service dining cars.

Railroad china is a collectors' niche unto itself and far too diverse to go into in this report, though note that such pieces are often the pride of railroading museums and is some of the most sought-after ephemera of the genre.[206] It is worth noting, however, that each rail line had its own china pattern, and it would therefore seem that although the Pullman cars were being run on a given line on contract, the china itself remained property of the railroad. There were a few cars which sported the Pullman-branded china, however, in patterns such as "Calumet", "Indian Tree", and "Verde Green". Contrary to at least one recent assertion, Pullman did not manufacture the china itself. They took delivery from dozens of china manufactures in the U.S. and abroad, notably from Bauscher Brothers in Germany and Shenango China Co. and Syracuse China.

Pullman bread and pans

The square slices of bread that we have come to associated with institutional cafeteria lines—think of the pre-packaged sandwiches often now cut into two 45˚ right triangles and sold in the plastic cases with a tear-away cellophane film—also have a connection to Pullman and come from what are now known as "Pullman Loafs." These loaves were baked in rectangular pans with very slightly tapering and corrugated sides and had a tight sliding lid that prevented the rising dough from creating the crown of a typical loaf of bread. Although the late nineteenth-

[205] Richard W. Luckin, *Dining on Rails: An Encyclopedia of Railroad China* (Denver, CO: RK Publishing, 1983), 229. and see brief catalogue of Pullman pattern china on 230-231. See also James D. Porterfield, *Dining by Rail: The History and the Recipes of America's Golden Age of Railroad Cuisine* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998); Neil Wooler, *Dinner in the Diner: A History of Railway Catering* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1987).

[206] There is in fact an entire category on eBay for Collectibles>Transportation>Railroadiana & Trains>Dinnerware & Utensils.

century innovation of the dining car is not strictly the invention of George Pullman, his name came to be associated with very high-end dining on the rails. Counterintuitively, these institutional square loaves of bread were seen at the time as the pinnacle of the baker's art: "nearly crustless flat top, delicate texture, fine crumb and good flavor, Pullman bread was considered by connoisseurs to be something of a crown jewel."[207] The epithet of a "Pullman loaf" became common just after the turn of the century and was recommended across the country (spread by the extensive network of Pullman trains and travelers' experiences on them across the country) as the best bread for sandwiches. In 1905, a Pullman loaf sold for 10¢ while a cottage loaf was only 5¢; a modern Pullman loaf pan will cost you over $30.

Figure App.C.1. Knoxville Journal and Tribune, *Oct. 22, 1920, p. 10.*

Sumptuousness of the Pullman Cars

One of the selling features of the Pullman car in the late nineteenth century – really in its wooden-bodied phase – was the sumptuousness of the cars that Pullman could make for its clients. Private individuals might order an elaborate car, or certain lines, too, might splurge on an opulent parlor or dining car.

Take for example, car 2293, a general service parlor car built in 1898.[208] Built to plan 1278a, these six cars used ash. birch, maple, oak, and three types of pine plus mahogany, *primavera* (AKA 'white mahogany'), satinwood, and vermillion in the body, and then 18 different veneers to adorn the interior. Then many dozens of individual castings and forgings, most made at Pullman, outfitted the interior and underbody; something like 6,000 bolts and screws and 3,900 lbs. of glue held them all together; and over 160 itemized trimming items—from pull cords, water coolers and faucets, to springs, lifts, latches, locks and pulls—were added to each car (the inventories sometimes lead to curious rabbit holes: what, for example, was 4,400 ft. of 'Okonite' cable for electrical wiring [still in business!]). From these dockets, one could investigate how the running trucks were built, the steam heating plant and distribution, plumbing and electrical systems, and glass, paint, and upholstery came together to make the opulent hotel on wheels that everyone wanted to ride. Finally, one can see breakdown by department of the $23,500 labor costs that went into these six cars, for which Pullman charged a total of $86,000 (For purposes of comparison, when Charles M. Schwab ordered a single steel private car in 1916, it cost

[207] Peggy Wolff, "Pullman Bread Loaves, a Culinary Legacy of the New National Monument," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 27 2015..

[208] Pullman Car Co., "Details of Cost, Lot 2293," Dec. 22, 1897 – April 29, 1898, Smithsonian National Museum of American History (NMAH) Archives Center, Pullman collection, acc. 0181, folder 26. The 6 cars (Occia, Ocellina, Ocresia, Oenone, Ogygia, and Omphale) and were apparently initially ordered by the PRR, though that destination is struck through on the docket.

almost exactly the same, but consumed over $31,000 in labor and took four times as long to complete.[209]

At the World's Fair in 1893, the Pullman exhibit was noted to be the most handsome of the fair. In the center of the Transportation annex, they displayed a "Limited" train (that is, an express, that made limited stops for long-distance travel), which was described as follows:

> First is the baggage and smoking car *Marchena*, with bath-room, barber's shop, writing-desk and library. Next is the dining-car *La Rabida*, finished in the finest of vermilion wood imported from Central America, with windows of stained glass in delicate hues, seats elaborately carved, and kitchen which is a model of cleanliness and condensation of space. There are the sleeping car *America* and the compartment sleeping car *Ferdinand*, both marvels of comfort and decorative skill, the latter finished in Pompeiian red, and satin wood, artistically carved and polished to a mirror-like brightness, each of its compartments a miniature boudoir, and with separate design and color scheme, as in ivory and gold, in olive green, in blue and satin wood, all with upholstery of silk brocade. The last is an observation car, named *Isabella*, a portion of which is furnished as a drawing-room, with large railed platform at its end. In this train it would almost seem that the perfection of comfort and convenience had been attained, many skilful [*sic*] devices, though small in themselves, contributing to the general effect. All the compartments are provided with toilet appliances, and with water, hot, cold, and iced. The electric lights are shaded with silken fringe; the entrance ways paved with mosaic, and vases placed on

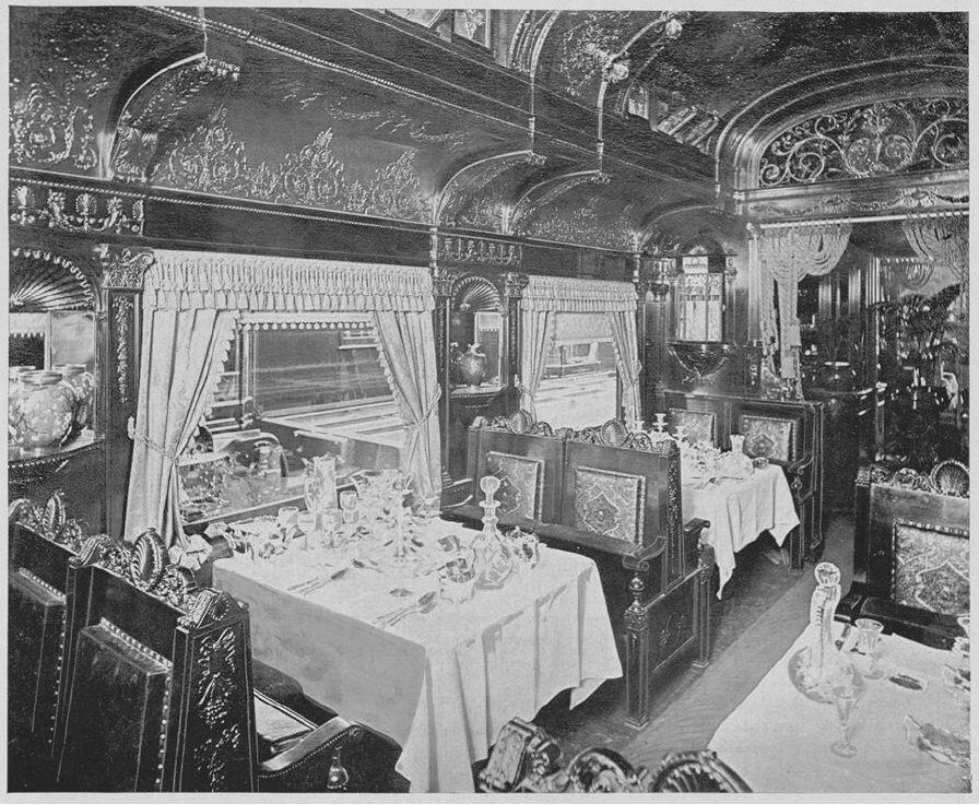


Figure App.C.2. Pullman dining-car La Rabida. *(Bancroft, 1893, p. 552)*

[209] Pullman Car Co., "Details of Cost, Lot 4460," Nov. 2, 1916 – Oct. 24, 1917, Smithsonian NMA Archives Center, Pullman collection, acc. 0181, folder 9.

stands remain undisturbed by the motion of the train; so smoothly run these palace cars, the very embodiment of the luxury of modern travel.[210]

(Im)Material Culture—Intangible Cultural Heritage

It would also be worth looking at various manifestations of Pullman in literature and media. Pullman cars are quite ubiquitous in novels, and films of the twentieth century, though there are also some interesting examples in the nineteenth.

There is, for example, a comic musical from the 1870s, "Tourist in the Pullman Car" by the noted comic composer (apparently something of a Weird Al Yankovich of his time), W.A. Mestayer. Mestayer and his "jolly company" performed a play—"for want of a name for something that is not an opera, comedy, burlesque, comedy, tragedy, or anything else in particular"—with "one act in Newport,[211] and another act somewhere else on the road." The *New Orleans Picayune* said, "the idea of the tourists is to make as much fun for a dollar is anyone person can take during the evening."[212] The play parodied popular songs of the time and some of the sheet music exists.[213]

The "Tourists'" titular song goes as follows:

> Over the grassy planes we swiftly whirl along
> No thought of care would ever dare to mar our happy song
> The car to ourselves, the time seems to fly away
> Without a fear of any interruption by the way.
> Oh what a joy to be a tourist and travel near and far
>
> [Chorus] While we are riding in Pullman Palace, in a Pullman Palace car.
> Oh what a joy it is to be a tourist to be a tourist
> and to travel near and far in a Pullman, in a Pullman, in Pullman Palace car
> In a pull, pull, pull, in a man, man, man, in Pullman Palace car.
>
> Here in the wildest districts of our wondrous land
> The rocky cañons are so rude, so fresh from natures hand
> The trees of the east we miss for here we see but a few
> And of the distant mountains now we get a bird's eye view
> We tear across the country of the red man
> From whence he has gone off far

[210] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 5 vols. (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 552-53.

[211] *I.e.*, Newport, RI, the resort of high society.

[212] *The Daily Review* (Decatur, IL), Feb. 21, 1883, p. 1. There is also a broadside for this play in the Chicago Historical Society (W.K. Mestayer, *'Tourists.' 'Do You Think You Could Return My Love.' Mestayer's Ever Popular Tourists, in A.P.P.C. Fifth Annual Season, over 1800 Performances Given by This Original Organization in All the Leading Cities and Towns in America. Tourists! Tourists!! Tourists!!!*, 1870. Burrow-Giles Lithographic Co.).

[213] It should be noted that the lyrics are "of a time", which is to say, somewhat offensive or at least awkward today: See The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collections archive at John Hopkins, https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu; search "Pullman."

[Chorus][214]

The Pullman strike also generated a (anti-)labor song, "Ruined Through the Strike" (1894). The story of the song, in short, is that an old man tells of how he (with wife and son) used to be happy (until they were ruined through the strike). One day he was just standing in a crowd of men, not meaning any harm, some soldiers fired into the crowd and as a result he lost an arm. The man loses his faith in humanity, the son dies from lack of the simple wants of life, and the wife dies of a broken heart. The events in the song could have been meant to relate to the railroad strike of 1877, which also had militia firing into a crowd, but it seems to have been written as a cautionary tale for the strikers of 1894. The style of the drawing on the sheet music is very much in the style of newspaper drawings of some of the events at Pullman.[215]

There are also plenty of songs that refer to the Pullman Porters, perhaps most famously, Etta James singing “Railroad Porter Blues” (written in 1922 by Clarence Williams, and on her album “Blues In The Night” from 1985). Other songs in the genre include “Porters on a Pullman Train” by Charles D. Crandall (1880 and redone by Arthur Collins & Byron G. Harlan [1923]); “Pullman Porter's Ball” by John Stromberg (1901); and “Pullman Porters Parade” by Maurice Abrahams and Ren G. May (1913), the latter a young Irving Berlin writing under a pseudonym [Ren G. May is an anagram of “Germany”]. There was also a song called “Pullman Passenger Train” by the Pullman Porters Quartette (1927), who may or may not have been actual porters, and an early ballad called “The Harvard Student” but also known as “The Pullman Train” and “Riding Down from Bangor” that involves a young man meeting a woman on a Pullman—wooing of course ensues.[216]

Then there several minstrel and blackface era songs that are racist caricatures from the early twentieth century. One such from 1911 went as follows:

> On the 20th Century Limited train has a porter man named Daniel Lane
> Who let a double life. At each end he had a wife.
> He’d bid goodbye to number one Saying “goodness, how I’ll miss you, hon!”
> Then go to number two and swear that he’d been true.
>
> His wife, out in Chicago, sat a singing all day long,
> While in New York his other wife would sing the same old song.
>
> [Chorus] He’s my Dan, my Pullman Porter man!
> He’s the high Magul and Czar of the Pullman Palace car.
> ‘Long the line, just his buttons shine,
> I’m swelled all up because I know he’s mine.

[214] George Bowron, “Tourists in a Pullman Car” [sheet music] (New York: Spear and Denhoff, 1880).

[215] Richard Boyce with music by Stanley Clayton, “Ruined Through the Strike,” Chicago, National Music Co., 1894. Compare the sheet music cover illustration (https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/collection/059/049) to illustrations of the strike actions (https://publications.newberry.org/pullman/archive/files/811ee9fd1047c6b8d7af84408dedd86f.jpg). Our thanks to Alice Margerum for this information.

[216] Gleaned from “List of train songs” (Wikipedia). For the last, however, see Robert B. Waltz and David G. Engle, "The Harvard Student (The Pullman Train)," *Folklore. The Traditional Ballad Index: An Annotated Bibliography of the Folk Songs of the English-Speaking World* (Fresno: California State University, 2012).

At Buffalo they had a wreck and poor Dan and nearly broke his neck
The news his wives both heard and thought that he was dead.
They both packed up and jumped on trains to view their loved one's last remains,

They reached his side next day While in a trance he lay;
The doctor said "who is this man, now please identify,"
Then both his wives look down at Dan and both began to cry.

[Chorus][217]

It would no doubt be amusing (though perhaps also troubling) to find a copy of the Roscoe 'Fatty' Arbuckle short from 1919 called "The Pullman Porter."[218] There was (now lost) also a 1912 comedy short by the Foster Photoplay Company of Chicago, "The Railroad Porter" (also released as "The Pullman Porter") starring William D. Foster (also the director), Lottie Grady, Edgar Litterson, and Jerry Mills, which is credited to be the world's first film with an entirely black cast and director.[219] For more on Pullman Porters on screen, see the Black Film Center/Archive Blog.[220]

[217] Stanley Murphy (words) and Arthur E. Behim (music), "The Pullman Porter Man" [sheet music] (New York and Detroit: Jerome H. Remik Co., 1911).

[218] See https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0794328/. Also staring Al St. John. The IMDB entry links to a French archive of silent film which is supposed to have the short, but the website is not working as of July 2019.

[219] See https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0139555/ (which somehow gives the film a rating of 8.1/10 form 7 reviews, even though the film is apparently lost) and https://media.dream13.com/the-railroad-porter-1912/, which has a plot summary. Also Livius to The History Blog, Sept. 23, 2014, http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/32468.

[220] Jonathan Jenner to Black Film Center/Archive Blog, Jan. 2, 2013, https://blackfilmcenterarchive.wordpress.com/2013/01/02/pullman-porters-on-screen-part-1-pre-1960/; Jonathan Donald Jenner ibid., Jan. 18, https://blackfilmcenterarchive.wordpress.com/2013/01/18/pullman-porters-on-screen-part-2-since-1960/.

APPENDIX D
GRAVES ASSOCIATED WITH PULLMAN PORTERS

These are records relating to known Pullman porters from various databases. There are included here to indicate the potential for citizen history-based programming related to building an historical spatial data infrastructure for Pullman NM.

FindAGrave.com

These records can be used to show the significance of the Great Migration in the lives of Pullman Porters.

Last Name	Location (City, State)	NOTES	Findagrave .com Memorial #
Allen	Italy, TX	Elmer Allen (1911-1991). Born in Temple, Texas, Mr. Allen settled in California while working as a Pullman Porter. Sometime after a debilitating injury in 1947, he returned to Texas, where he died at 80 years of age in Mansfield. Mr. Allen signed a labor contract with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on 1937. In 1947, Mr. Allen fell from his train and broke his leg. Eileen Welsome later reported that while at the hospital, he was secretly injected with plutonium as part of Manhattan Project experiments to measure the effects of radiation. In this particular study, doctors injected 18 persons, including adults and babies. Doctors told Mr. Allen he had cancer in his leg, which they amputated three days later at the University of California Hospital in San Francisco. The Manhattan project researchers tracked Mr. Allen (using the code name CAL-3) during the rest of his life, without telling him or anyone of his role in cold war experiments. Of the 18 persons so injected, In 1973, researchers convinced Mr. Allen to travel to Argonne National Laboratory and New York's Strong Memorial Hospital for tests, but told him nothing of their experiment. The doctors also wrote a letter to Mr. Allen's personal physician asking that they be informed of Mr. Allen's death so they could study his body. His tombstone, designed by his son, is inscribed "One of America's human nuclear 'guinea pigs.'" His file includes portraits and other photos and the file for CAL-3 contains more detailed information.	46377356
Bass	Haltom City, TX	S. Daniel Bass (1884-1930) Born in Texas, Mr. Bass died in Fort Worth. He was a Pullman Porter. At the time of his death, he was living at 1015 East Magnolia Street in Fort Worth.	135835574
Boyd	Collingdale, PA	James W. Boyd (1889-1929). Mr. Boyd was born in Arkansas and died in Philadelphia. He was a veteran of WWI and a Pullman Porter.	154445655
Brockman	St. Louis, MO	Jason Brockman (1869-1905). Having been born in Alabama and died in St. Louis, MO, Mr. Brockman graduated from the Hampton Institute and became a teacher. At some point, he took a position as a Pullman Porter, which was his occupation at the time of his death.	103394337

Brown	Kansas City, MO	Rufus Brown (1878-1932). Mr. Brown was a Pullman Porter.	126505942
Burns	Dallas, TX	Clima D. Burns (1881-1950), born in Dallas and died in Dallas. Buried in Butler Nelson Cemetery in Dallas. At the time of his death, he lived at 2321 Jordan Street in Dallas.	134735235
Burns	Houston, TX	Robert Burns (1904-1982). Born and died in Texas, Mr. Burns was a Pullman Porter.	138296923
Burns	Dallas, TX	Robert Burns, Sr. (1894-1962). Mr. Burns was born and died in Texas. He was a Pullman Porter. At the time of his death, he resided at 3526 Packard Street.	144104117
Caldwell	Kansas City, MO	William L. Caldwell (1872-1926). Mr. Caldwell was born and died in Missouri. He was a Pullman Porter.	58083419
Cherrie	New Orleans, LA	Ernest E. Cherrie (1899-1981) Born in New Orleans and a soldier in the Army during WWI. As a young man, worked as a Pullman Porter, a "house boy", summer time singer and dance performer, and a blackboard artist. He was educated at local schools and then Straight College (now Dillard University), Northwestern University, Howard University, and Columbia University Medical School, becoming a physician and business executive. He held appointments to Tulane University Medical School's Department of Radiology and Flint-Goodridge Hospital and was very active in different civic, academic, and economic organizations.	114120480
Cobb	Eatontown, NJ	Charles H. Cobb (1873-1953). Mr. Cobbs birthplace is unknown. He died Eatontown, NJ. He was a Pullman Porter for the New York Central Railroad and at the time of his death, had lived in Eatontown for more than 40 years.	40334224
Daniels	Aslip, IL	Oscar J. Daniels (1888-1925). Bornin Hawkinsville, Georgia, "O.J." Daniels was a Pullman Porter. He was killed in Rockport, New Jersey, while working as the porter on the Sirocco car. Mr. Daniels survived the accident and then charged into the billowing steam to close the door and save the passengers. He died as a result of his burns and injuries. In recognizing his heroism, the Sirocco was repaired and renamed the Daniels.	194590761
Eustace	San Antonio, TX	Eugene Eustace (1883-1950). Born and died in San Antonio, Texas, Mr. Eustace was a Pullman Porter for 32 years. He worked as a Porter Instructor for a number of years before his 1948 retirement. He was a member of the Pullman Porter Benefit Association and several church-based associations.	187935653
Fields	Chicago, Il	Calvin Fields (1892-1960) was born in Mississippi and died in Chicago. During WWI, he served in Company L, 806th U.S. Pioneer Infantry. He returned to civilian life in Mississippi in 1919. By 1940 he was living with his wife Cora in Chicago. His death certificate lists him as Pullman Porter, aged 67 years old. He lived at 2618 South Parkway in Chicago.	155204942

Gardner	Nashville, TN	Kossie Gardner, Sr. (1897-1990). Born with the name Carthegerius Cosby in Pulaski, Tennessee, Mr. Gardner died in Nashville at 92 years of age. At the time of his death, he was living at 2707 Meharry Blvd. He had been apprenticed to a farmer and then became a Pullman Porter as a young man. When his great uncle died, he became an undertaker and operated a funeral home on Jefferson Street in Nashville for 50 years. In addition to his main business, Mr. Gardner owned, developed, and built the first house in the first black subdivision in the city (the "Gold Coast"), which he organized. Over the years, he also owned various businesses, including a chicken farm, a turkey farm, a chicken hatchery, a service station, a soybean farm, an 80-acre dairy farm, a school for waiters, a trade school for veterans, a construction company, a restaurant, and a gas station. He also broadcast a long-running live radio program from his funeral home, appearing for 14 years on WNAH.	198842831
Garner	Dallas, TX	Amos Cox Garner (1901-1953). Mr. Garner was a Pullman Porter.	193745431
Gauff	New Orleans, LA	Calvin Sylvester Gauff (1896-1963). Born and died in New Orleans, Mr. Gauff worked as a Pullman Porter.	92714858
Gilliam	Okolona, Ms	Charlie W. Gilliam (1870-1962) As a young man, Mr. Gilliam worked as a porter for the Gaston Hotel in Memphis, TN, and then became a Pullman Porter for the Frisco Railroad. For more than 70 years, he was the owner-operator of the C. W. Gilliam General Store in Okolona. During his life, he was one of the founders of the Okolona Industrial School and was an advocate for education.	25772032
Gilmer	Denver, CO	Floyd Gilmer (1877-1953). Born in Alabama and in Colorado on his death, Mr. Gilmer enlisted in the United States Army in 1899 and served in the Spanish American War and the First World War. He was a First Lieutenant in the 363rd Infantry at his discharge in 1918. In civilian life, Mr. Gilmer worked as a porter for the Pullman company.	120013307
Glaspie	Haltom City, TX	Tom Glaspie (1896-1945). Born and died in Texas. Mr. Glaspie was a Pullman Porter.	84232849
Gonerway	Longview, TX	Joel J. Gonerway (1913-1979). Born and died in Texas, Mr. Gonerway was a Pullman Porter for the T&P Railroad. At the time of his death, he lived at 3412 Bronco St in Longview, TX.	136499523
Hardeman	San Antonio, TX	Carlos Pee Hardeman (1885-1960). Born in Tilden, Texas, and died in San Antonio. Mr. Hardeman was a Pullman Porter and a member of the Old Mission Lodge of the Knights of Pythias #205. He was also a member of the Pullman Porters Benevolent Association.	137351816

Harkins	Spencer, OK	Clarence Harkins, Sr. (1922-2008). Born and died in Oklahoma. Mr. Harkins worked as a Pullman Porter during the summer months while he was a student at Langston University, a common strategy among students at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). He was a noteworthy student athlete while at Harkins, playing both basketball and football, and after university he accepted a position with the New York Brown Bombers in the Negro Football League. He held many other jobs, working at the Hoboken Shipyards while a student, owning and operating a gas station in Amarillo. He also created Jiffy Manufacturing, which made fraternal/sororal and HBCU logo paraphernalia.	25489207
Kimbro	Spencer, OK	Isaac Kimbro (1918-2005) born and died in Oklahoma, he attended public schools and then the Tuskegee Institute. He served in the United States Navy. Had multiple careers, including Pullman Porter for the Santa Fe Railroad, 20 years as a nursing assistant for the Veteran's Administration Hospital in Oklahoma City, owner-operator of Kimbro Plumbing, Jericho Corrections Center, and the Salvation Army. He also served as the Sargent-at-Arms for the Oklahoma State Senate.	67552969
Ledsema	San Antonio, TX	Agedo Uriegas Ledesma (1888-1955). Mr. Ledesma was a veteran of WWI, serving as a private in the infantry. He is buried in the Fort Sam Houston National Cemetery. By 1940, he was a tailor and porter in the employ of the Pullman Company. The details of his time as a porter and tailor are mentioned in his first spouse's memorial, Ms. Carmen Cardenas Ledesma (1900-1926). After her death, Mr. Ledesma married Luisa Luna.	81077623
Love	Santa Monica, CA	Nathan Love (1854-1921). Mr. Love was born an enslaved person in Tennessee, but learned to read as a child despite legal prohibitions. After the Civil War a short period of sharecropping and working odd jobs, Mr. Love left Tennessee to become a cowboy in Dodge City, Kansas. After years as a working cowboy in Texas, he spent many years working as a Pullman Porter on many different rail lines. He later wrote an autobiography, capitalizing on his interesting life story and the mystique of his "Deadwood Dick" and "Red River Dick" nicknames.	86810172
Lusk	Dallas, TX	George R. Lusk (1897-1973). Born and died in Texas, Mr. Lusk was a Pullman Porter.	136518104
Mapps	Spokane, WA	Ross Mapps (1890-1967). Mr. Mapps was born in Henderson, Texas, and died in Spokane Washington. When he registered for the draft in 1917 for WWI, Mr. Mapps was living in Galveston, Texas, and was working as a Pullman Porter. At that time, he listed himself as single, living only with his dependent sister. He served as a corporal. By 1920, the census found Mr. Mapps had moved to Ritzville, Washington, and working as a hotel porter.	126451761
Melton	Fort Worth, TX	Roy Melton (1894-1938). Born and died in Texas, Mr. Melton was a Pullman Porter and resided at 1162 Moann Street at the time of his death.	140085348
Mendinghall	Charlotte, NC	Featherstone L. Mendinghall (1891-1931). Born and died in Charlotte, North Carolina. He was a Pullman Porter.	166456354

Moten	Kansas City, MO	Ira Edward Moten (1877-1956). Ira E. Moten was born in Wyandotte County, Kansas and killed in Kansas City, MO. Mr. Moten was a Pullman Porter. He was the older brother of Bennie Moten, who led a band in which Count Bassie played. (Beware of confusion because another Ira Moten also played in that band, but he was the nephew of Bennie Moten and had the nickname Buster or Bus.)	6872076
Newman	Arlington, TX	Gusine L. Newman (1915-1989). Mr. Newman was born in Lindale, Texas, and died in Fort Worth. He was a veteran of the United States Army. He worked as a Pullman Porter and then for Santa Fe Amtrak, which would make him one of the "Grey Heads." He was a member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and was also a much sought after attendant for the American Association of Private Railroad Car Owners. He was very active in the Baptist church and was ordained as an Elder, serving as an assistant pastor and trustee for various churches.	169310170
Noell	Saint Joseph, MO	Isaac Noell (1880-1923). Mr. Noell was a Pullman Porter.	62429489
Payne	Dallas, TX	Maurice D. Payne (1891-1974). Mr. Payne was a Pullman Porter, born and died in Texas. At the time of his death, he was in hospital care, but lived at 2601 Marburg Street in Dallas.	136912686
Perpener	Halton City, TX	John Oliver Perpener, Sr. (1883-1951) bornin Flatonia, Texas and died in Fort Worth, TX. Was a railroad porter, retired by the time of his death. His brother Lawrence Albert Perpener was also a retired porter and served as a representative to the Railroad Board.	157229137
Pierce	Madison, WI	Samuel S. Pierce (1870-1936). Born in Virginia and died in Madison, Wisconsin, Mr. Pierce was a Pullman porter. He left that job to become a messenger for the Governor's Office, working for Governor's Blaine, Zimmerman, Kohler, and Schmedeman. His passing was commemorated by Governor Phillip La Follette. Noted for his skills charming citizens who came into the Governor's office in anger, calming visitors and easing their interactions with the Governor.	46517664
Rupe	Nashville, TN	John Rupe (1891-1951). Mr. Rupe was born in Texas and died in Tennessee. He was a porter for the Pullman Company at the time of his death due to pneumonia. He was living at 1109 Scovel Street in Nashville at the time of his death.	198541972
Schooley	Fort Worth, TX	Clarence William Schooley (1894-1947). Born in Leander, TX, and died in Fort Worth. Mr. Schooley was a Pullman Porter for the T&P Railway Co. At the time of his death, he was living at 1106 Illinois St., Fort Worth, TX.	154400125
Scott	Houston, TX	Robert Scott (1888-1961). Born in Camden, Texas, and died in Houston. Occupation listed as a Pullman Porter. He was a resident at 1903 Sakowitz Street, Houston, TX, at the time of his death.	151117881
Selden	Norfolk County, VA	William Lewis Selden, Jr. (1915-2003). born and died in Norfolk, VA. Mr. Seldon was a Pullman porter for the Norfolk and Western Railway.	71573519

Shaw	Minneapolis, MN	Frank Shaw (1896-1963). Born in Arcadia, Louisiana, and died in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Mr. Shaw was a Pullman Porter. His grave site is not known and his wife's cemetery lot card indicates that she is interred in an unmarked grave in Crystal Lake Cemetery in Minneapolis.	187726880
Singleton	South Boston, VA	George Goodwin Singleton (1900-1980) worked as a shoe shine boy and in the tobacco fields until he got a job as a Pullman porter and selling insurance for Northwestern Life Insurance Company. Attended Mrs. Helen Cobb Industrial Institute in Barneville, Georgia, and then Atlanta University Preparatory School. He then went on to Atlanta University and New York University (MBA) and the American Extension School of Law. He then took positions first at Atlanta University and then at Virginia State College. He was a leader in many community, academic, and financial organizations, and notably as an administrator and advocate for college athletics.	8101981
Smallwood	San Antonio, TX	William Smallwood, Jr. (1880-1939). born and died in Texas, Mr. Smallwood worked for the Pullman Company for 21 years as a porter and retired. He was born and educated in San Antonio, Texas, living there all his life.	188067294
Sykes	Waco, TX	Harvey Sykes (1894-1975). Mr. Sykes was born and died in Texas. he was a retired railroad porter.	137559998
Tabb	Dallas, TX	M C Tabb (1886-1941). Born and died in Dallas, TX. Mr Tabb was a Pullman Porter. He died at a St. Paul (MN?) hospital due to injuries from an automobile accident.	134243828
Tabb	Dallas, TX	A C Tabb (1890-1958). Mr. Tabb was born and died in Texas. He was a Pullman Porter and a resident at 1610 Marburg St. at the time of his death.	134249385
Tapo	Metairie, LA	Lionel Joseph Tapo (1907-2001) was born in New Orleans and died in Southwest Louisiana. Mr. Tapo worked for 20 years as a Pullman Porter for the Illinois Central Railroad. He was an accomplished jazz and Dixieland musician, performing at Preservation Hall and listed in the Hogans Jazz Archive in Tulane University. He held membership in the musician’s union. Over the years, he also worked as an insurance agent and broker and other jobs.	85835537
Thomas	Dallas, TX	Pete Taylor Thomas (1883-1950). Mr. Thomas was born in Dixie, Louisiana, and died in Dallas, Texas. He worked as a Pullman Porter.	195237894
Waller	Fort Worth, TX	John Pearl Walker (1887-1970). Mr. Waller was born and died in Texas. He was a Pullman Porter and resided at 1301 Stewart Street at the time of his death.	157353814
Washington	Marlin, TX	Leonard Washington (1877-1939). Mr. Washington was born and died in Texas. He was a Pullman Porter for the T&P railroad.	152229083
Waters	Fort Worth, TX	Henry Waters (1888-1932). Mr. Waters was born and died in Texas. He wa a Pullman Porter.	104348400

Williams	Dallas, TX	James Williams (1888-1932). Mr Williams was a Pullman Porter. He was murdered in Dallas, Texas, victim of a gunshot wound to the abdomen.	106057230
Williams	Monmouth, IL	Maurice Sam Williams (1987-1935). Mr. Williams was born in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and he died in Chicago, Illinois. After his father was shot and killed in 1901 as a result of a dispute with a co-worker, the family moved to Illinois. When he registered for the draft for WWI, Mr. Williams said he was working as a porter for the Pullman Company of Chicago, but he gave his home address as with his mother in Monmouth, Illinois. By 1920, Mr. Williams identifies himself as a hotel porter. During the 1910s and the 1920s, Mr. Williams and his brothers were living in Chicago. His brother Luther Morris Williams was working as a dining car waiter for a Chicago railroad in 1918 (perhaps Pullman), while Mayo Williams had wrapped up his military service, studies at Brown University, and a career as a famous professional football player and started working in the music industry, producing and marketing "race records." Mayo recruited many well known musicians to record for Paramount Records, The Chicago Record Company, Brunswick Records/Vocalion, Decca, and finally his own Ebony Records.	20573948
Wooten	Houston County, TX	Howard Lincoln Wooten (1892-1990) born in Houston County, TX. He served in WWI, became a Pullman Porter after the war, then he completed college and became a teacher. He left teaching to become one of the Tuskegee Airmen during WWII. Following the war, he was a rancher and a farmer.	62252839
Brigham	Dallas, TX	David H. Brigham (1889-1950). Born and died in Texas. DaughterofCal3 identifies him as a Pullman Porter.	187496044
McClennie	Dallas, TX	Milton McClennie (1902-1955). Born and died in Texas. Mr. McClennie was a Pullman Porter.	193399361

APPENDIX E
PULLMAN-RELATED NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATIONS AND LISTINGS

These are listings identified in the National Archives as having associations with the Pullman company, key persons associated with the company, or Pullman Porters. These are included as potential network site examples for building thematic heritage routes.

SITE NAME	Location (City, State)	NOTES	Return: Reference Number	Return: National Archives Identifier
Greenfield Village and the Henry Ford Museum (under The Edison Institute)	Dearborn, Michigan	From the nomination form: "Greenfield Village is an open-air village museum. It is composed of nearly 100 buildings~ structures, and objects. Included are homes, shops, stores, mills, and laboratories. Most of the buildings are typical of 19th century America and were chosen because they illustrate the development of one of three fields -agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation." Among the inventory of buildings in Greenfield Village, there are several sites with Pullman connections. page 495/283, in the description of the Abraham Lincoln Courthouse, is a description of the significance of Lincoln, himself. His son, Robert Todd Lincoln, Civil War Veteran, Harvard-educated lawyer, Secretary of War (under Garfield), was also President of Pullman Company from 1897-1911. page 496/284, in the description of the Abraham Lincoln Courthouse, is mention that as President Lincoln's body was transported by train from DC to Illinois, Mary Todd Lincoln rode in George Mortimer Pullman's new sleeping car, "The Pioneer": "Car so large, bridges had to be raised and railroad platforms moved"	69000071_NHL	25338797

Romine Avenue Historic District	Dallas, Texas	From the nomination form: "The Romine Avenue Historic District encompasses a two-block area of Romine Avenue between Octavia and Latimer streets in South Dallas, and includes a small but cohesive grouping of Tudor Revival-inspired domestic buildings that were built between 1926 and 1938. The district is an important part of South Dallas' African American heritage and is representative of the concerted effort undertaken by the City, local financial institutions and powerful community organizations such as the South Dallas Improvement League to establish racially based sections of town. Houses in the district were built exclusively for African Americans; however, they are larger and more substantial than most other residences in the area, and historically were occupied by prominent members of Dallas African American community." page 13/14: "The subdivision was conceived, built and sold to African American clientele, as houses in Wheatiey Place had been in the 1920s. ...the residents of Romine Avenue enjoyed an elevated status within the African American community. A resident profile in 1934 shows the street to be populated by educators, including the principal and several teachers at Booker T. Washington High School, a life insurance agent, the proprietor of a hotel, **and several Pullman porters, a job considered to be very cosmopolitan and highly esteemed by African American families of that period."**		40968728
City of Milwaukee (car ferry) (AKA S.S. City of Milwaukee)	Elberta, Michigan	From the nomination form: "The Great Lakes Train Ferry City of Milwaukee, currently moored at the Arbor Railroad Terminal in Elberta, Michigan, is a steel-hulled vessel with a steel superstructure. A dominant feature of the vessel is the large four-track		25338734

		enclosed car deck which will hold 22 modern-size freight cars. City of Milwaukee is being prepared for museum use. She is nearly all original with only a few minor changes. She is in excellent condition." page 4/4: "The spar cabin deck contains six cabins for 11 crew members, galley, officer's mess, and passenger dining room. Forward is the main saloon with six passenger cabins alongside each flanking side. The forward cabin on each side has a fold-down "Pullman" berth, denoting the railroad influence of the vessel."		
"The Marcia" (Pullman car) (AKA David H. Moffat private car)	341 East Victory Way, Craig, Colorado	From the nomination form: "The Marcia" was built by the Pullman company in 1906 honoring David Moffat's daughter. The wood work in the Marcia is all solid mahogany imported from Africa. The Marcia has comfortable sleeping quarters for 12 people and a cleverly designed dining table will seat twelve." David H. Moffat was the first president of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Car was gifted to City of Craig in 1953. It now stands on rails taken from the original Moffat line, at the entrance to City Park. Mr. Moffat was born in 1839, and by 1859 he was an early partner with C.C. Woolworth. page 5: "David Moffat died March18,1911, in a New York City hotel room, exhausted and beaten down in his efforts to raise funds for his beloved Denver and Northwestern pacific Railroad. Later it was disclosed that he was practically bankrupt; his own great fortune had vanished in pursuit of his dream of pushing a transcontinental railroad west from Denver." "The Denver, Northwestern and pacific Railway company was incorporated July18,1902, with David H. Moffat as president, and he continued in this capacity	75000526	84131768

		until his death March18,1911. The "Marcia" was built by the Pullman Company in 1906 and named Marcia, honoring David Moffat's daughter. The car cost $24,568. New Pullman cars purchased in 1952 cost $206,000 each. The woodwork in the Marcia is all solid mahogany, imported from Africa. Available now only in small quantities, this African mahogany is not sold by the foot but retails at one dollar a pound. Upholstery of furniture in the Marcia is the original leather."		
"Mt. Broderick" Pullman Lounge-Observation- Sleeping Car	136 South Main Street, New Haven, Kentucky	Built in November and December of 1926. One of thirty cars that year constructed according to Plan 3521A Lot 4998. All cars of this plan were of the "Mt." series. Originally, the car was air conditioned by venting air over blocks of ice. A factory rebuild in 1935 replaced this with an electrical coolant system. Currently resides at the Kentucky Railway Museum, which purchased it in 1958. "One of the last known railways cars of its configuration. Divided into ten sections, the car held up to fifty-two passengers."		123851534
Roald Amundsen Pullman Private Railroad Car (AKA New York Central Railroad Business Car #17, North Star)	7301 Indian Bend Road, Scottsdale, Arizona	Built at a cost of $205,000 in 1928. Built at the Chicago plant in a group of six cars, all named after explorers (the Explorer Series). Intended to be rented, leased or chartered by wealthy people for private travel. The Amundsen is identical to the Ferdinand Magellan from the same series, both built according to Plan 3972. Used ice cooling system and had a plug in telephone that was useable at stations. Originally had berths for 12 passengers. Used for Hoover's 1932 presidential campaign. Used for FDR's 1936 Presidential campaign. The car was leased to the government for FDR's use from 1940-1942. In 1940, the Amundsen was the site of intense discussions		75610244

		between FDR and the Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, related to homeland defense, which immediately and directly lead to the founding of NORAD. The Ogdensburg declaration was signed on this train. The Magellan was rebuilt and used for FDR in 1942, so the Amundsen is the last surviving example of this plan. In 1942, the car began to be used by the NY Central RR. In 1942, Madam Cian Kai Shek of China rented the Amundsen in February and April. In 1945, as Eleanor Roosevelt rode in the Magellan, President Truman rode in the third car from the rear in the funeral train of FDR- in the Amundsen. The car was sold in 1948, as part of the Pullman divestiture. Was also used by Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign. In 1967, the NY Central RR sold it to Clifford Thomas, who changed the name to North Star, In 1968, it was sold to Franz Talley, to be used by his family when the family traveled to California on the Zephyr. In 1971, the family donated it to the City of Scottsdale for use at the park.		
Dinwiddie County Pullman Car (AKA "Mt. Angeles")	Midlothian, Virginia	The Dinwiddie County, built in 1926 as the Mount Angeles by the Pullman Company, is a heavyweight, all-steel sleeping car with ten sections and one observation lounge. The car was the first of a lot of thirty that were built by Pullman between October and December 1926. Of the thirty cars built to this plan only two are know to be extant. When it was completed in October 1926, the car was named the Mount Angeles. All thirty of the cars in this lot carried the names of mountains, for example the Mount Broderick and the Mount Wood. In June 1934 Pullman changed the name of the car to Dinwiddie and again in April 1937 the name was changed to Dinwiddie County, which name it retains to this day.		41680176

		These name changes represent the car's transfer to service on the Norfolk and Western Railway's trains operating to and from Virginia.		
Pullman-Standard Historic District (AKA United States Housing Corporation Industrial Housing Project No. 457)	Hammond, Indiana	Began in 1916. The Pullman Standard Historic District comprises approximately fourteen blocks in the City of Hammond, Indiana. Its plat and construction as worker housing places it near an industrial area on its east side with railroad tracks running near its north side. Many of the original owners were workers in the Pullman-Standard Company (see registration form) with jobs like machinist and "axel-turner". The last house in the development was completed in 1957. page 29: "The Pullman-Standard Historic District qualifies under criterion A because of its development as company housing for the Pullman-Standard Company. This represents a unique response to housing needs for the industrial sector when demand for labor resulted in new residential developments. In addition to its broad association with industry and labor, a specific clash, part of the nationwide 1919 steel strike, occurred on the streets of the district. The district also qualifies under criterion C in the creative approach to the development's plat and in the unique architectural styling of its residential buildings. The neighborhood was a project of the United States Housing Corporation, and was planned by architect J.C. Llewellyn and completed in 1919. page 36: Locally, the Standard Steel Car plant became the scene of a long and violent summer of marches, confrontations, and riots centered around labor issues at the plant. SSC, while recognizing the labor union representing most skilled, native born labor, did not recognize the union representing less skilled and predominantly non-native born laborers. This		77835283

		union was known as the Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers (AA). In August of 1919, 4,000 rioters manned barricades at the plant's entrance. A month later a thousand men gathered at Columbia Avenue and Highland Street and began a march toward the SSC plant. The men, gathered behind the American flag, collided with police officers near the end of Highland Street. Four workers were shot and killed and sixty more were injured. The strike ultimately collapsed in October and the AA took on a passive role. Unions played an important part in the life of the residents of the district, so much so that the local chapter of the Polish Union of America had its headquarters in the neighborhood at 6037 Wallace Road during the middle part of the 20th century. This also portrays the ethnic background of the neighborhood as does many of the surnames of the occupants of the homes.		
Pennsylvania Railroad Rolling Stock-1896 Passenger Day Coach #8177	Lancaster County, Pennsylvania	From the nomination form: "Many attempts had been made to provide a safe covered passageway between cars. Patents were granted on a number of devices to accomplish this as early as 1852. The use of canvas curtains proved impractical in 1857, and it was not until 1887 when the Pullman Company patented the 'vestibule', that the problem was satisfactorily met....The PH Class was a transition between the open-ended car and the Pullman Company's narrow vestibule."		71993193 OR 79002270 OR 71993195
J.M.S. Building	108 N. Main Street, South Bend, Indiana	Designed by Solon S. Beman, a Chicago architect who is best known for his design of Pullman, Illinois.		132002104
Northland (railroad car)	Proctor, Minnesota	Constructed in 1916 by the Pullman Company for the Duluth Missabe and Northern Railway. In limited use.		93203009

Hillside Cemetery	Anniston, Alabama	The Hillside Cemetery is significant as an illustration of the concept of "welfare capitalism" that was espoused by many industrialists...during the second half of the 19th century. The cemetery, designed by N. F. Barrett, noted landscape architect who assisted in the design of the company town of Pullman, Illinois, was originally prepared for workers of the Woodstack Iron Company.		77834973
Mountz House	507 East Houston Street, Garrett, Indiana	The Mountz House is outstanding for the excellent condition of its original fittings. Most rooms of the first floor have classical enframements of polished golden oak; the built-in china closet in the dining room and the woodwork and wainscot of the kitchen are of yellow pine. The oak woodwork, as well as the central parlor's mantel, the stairway, and the built-in cabinets in the second floor hall were made by the Pullman Company in Chicago.		132002789
John Palmer Usher House	1425 Tennessee, Lawrence, Kansas	The John Palmer Usher house was built in 1872 for John Palmer Usher, Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's cabinet. Usher became general solicitor for the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, and was active in promoting the building of the railroad west from Kansas City. Later called the Kansas Pacific, the road was eventually consolidated with the Union Pacific in 1880. Interior ceiling heights are 14 feet and the windows are approximately eight feet high. The interior finish was the highlight of the house. The original seven-room house had five fireplaces; the most magnificent was in the music room: a single-piece dark red marble fireplace given to Usher by the other members of President Lincoln's cabinet. Much of the paneling and woodwork was dark walnut-trimmed in gold leaf made and installed by craftsmen		123863828

		of the Pullman Palace Car Company. Beams in the living room were made of railroad ties. The newel post of the walnut staircase at the downstairs hall bears the gold leaf monogram of the builder.		
Fourth Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church (AKA Fourth Avenue United Methodist Church)	318 West Street Catherine Street, Louisville, Kentucky	The Fourth Avenue Church was designed by Dodd and Cobb. Dodd was the architect and Cobb was the engineer. William J. Dodd came to Louisville in 1884, from Chicago where he had worked for William Jenny and S.S. Beeman on the town of Pullman.		123850560
Clara Barton National Historic Site (AKA Clara Barton House)	5801 Oxford Road, Glen Echo, Maryland	Written documentation identifies the second floor bedrooms across the rear as those of Clara Barton, George Pullman, and Dr. Julian Hubbell. George Pullman, financial secretary for the American Red Cross from 1892 until December 7, 1897. George Pullman was the son of Reverend Royal H. Pullman, a pastor at a Universalist Church in Baltimore and nephew of George M. Pullman, inventor of the Pullman Sleeper Car and railroad fame.		106777795
Manual Training High School for Negroes	704 Altamont Street, Muskogee, Oklahoma	Adapted from nomination form: Muskogee was a major rail center for Indian Territory as three railroad tracks were laid down in the town between 1872-1885. In 1910 there were six railroads and fourteen passenger trains daily, and Muskogee became division headquarters for Katy, Missouri Southern, Muskogee Union, and Pullman Company. Because of commercial and industrial growth, it became an attractive urban center for black migrants seeking employment. Muskogee's 25,278 population in 1910 consisted of 7,831 blacks. Educational facilities were needed.		86511549
Tears-McFarlane House	1200 Williams Street, Denver, Colorado	Designed in 1898 by the English architect Frederick Sterner. The interior of the house is a fine example of late 1800grandeur. A cherrywood staircase made by the Pullman Company is a front hallway feature.		8412886

Gleim Building	265 West Front Street, Missoula, Montana	The Gleim building is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and C. It is the building on West Front Street best representative of the "Red Light" district, which extended along West Front Street in the late ninetieth and early twentieth century. This building was constructed in 1893, when the property was owned by Mary Gleim (1889). Subsequent owners included Catherine Frazier (1903), Estate of Kate McCormick, Joseph Johnson (1939), and E. c. Mulroney (1944). The building was constructed as a women's lodging house in what was the "Red Light" district in Missoula between the 1880s and the 1920s. This building and those adjacent to it along Front Street are listed as female boarding houses on the early Sanborn maps. They appeared on the west end of Front Street early and proliferated with the coming of the railroad construction crews in the early 1880s. The construction of the railroad attracted gamblers and prostitutes to Missoula and led to the construction of a number of "hurdy gurdy" or "honky tonk" houses and female boarding houses ("brothels"). The buildings constructed along West Front Street openly operated as houses of prostitution until 1916 when city officials, under a great deal of public pressure, closed them. Prostitution did not disappear from Missoula in 1916, but operated with more discretion. Mary Gleim owned a number of houses of prostitution in Missoula at the turn of the century. In 1890, she owned eight. She was notorious for assaulting people and for her frequent outbursts at her court appearances. Joseph Johnson, a black man, began leasing the property from the estate of Catherine Frazier Crumplin in 1921 and operated a billiard parlor there. He acquired the		71975215

		property in 1939. Other businesses located in this building during the historic period include the Pullman Pool Hall (1929), Carroll Nash Cigars (1932), and the Hawthorne Club (1940).		
Alice French House (AKA "Thanford")	State Highway 228, Clover Bend, Arkansas [demolished]	Since demolished, this was the home of Alice French. "Though virtually unknown in the present day (1975), Alice French was one of the most consequential and highly paid American authors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a literary conservative, Alice French wrote in defense of the status quo, old values, and entrenched traditions. Her fictional treatment of contemporary problems, such as the Pullman strike, the rise of unions, and what was then referred to as "the Negro question," brought praise from many prominent public figures, including Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Writing in a style halfway between Romanticism and Realism, Alice French was a local colorist whose works were admired by the major literary critics of her day:"		137888789
Church of the Presidents (AKA St. James Episcopal Church, AKA Long Branch Historical Museum)	1260 Ocean Avenue, Long Beach, New Jersey	Built in 1879. When the area was a resort community for the rich and famous, many presidents and rich people worshipped there seasonally. The members included George Pullman.		135815246
Collings-Knight Homestead (AKA Collings-Knight House)	500 Collings Avenue, Collingswood, New Jersey	"After reaching majority, Edward Z. Collings' son, Edward III, obtained full ownership of the farm in 1862. In 1868, he sold the structure to his cousin, Edward Collings Knight, who had previously lived in the house after helping his uncle build it in the 1920s. In the interim, Knight had gained fame in South Philadelphia where he ran a grocery chain and a sugar refinery before inventing the Pullman car, for which he sold the patents in1859."		135814137

Le Petit Trianon	De Anza College Campus, Cupertino, California	Originally built in 1892. Harriet Pullman Carolan (heir to the fortune of George Pullman) bought it in 1909. :As a small girl she earned her first allowance by thinking up names for sleeping cars." "The palatial Le Petit Trianon lent itself well to the lavish social functions of this "Gilded Age" in California history."	72001552	123861722
Folsom Depot	200 Wool Street, Folsom, California	This site consists of a station and other facilities, and "rolling stock" which includes a Pullman car. "Passenger Car #2210 was built in January of 1924 by the Pullman Company. The seventy two foot car was used as a commuter car on the San Francisco Peninsula until its retirement in February 1969.	82002229	123860588
Colfax Passenger Depot (AKA Southern Pacific Railroad Colfax Passenger Depot)	Colfax, California	This site sits on the same location as a previous depot- one which was on the site from 1865 to approximately 1905. This first depot housed the Stockton National Guard and 40 US Army Soldiers who slept on its floor while guarding the installation during the Pullman strike.	98001605	123860388
Louisville and Nashville Combine Car Number 665 (AKA "Jim Crow Car", AKA NE-410)	136 South Main Street, New Haven, Kentucky	Currently part of the stock of the Kentucky Railway Museum. Made by American Car Foundry. The car's passenger compartment was separated by a central baggage compartment, with white passengers sitting on one side of the baggage compartment, and blacks on the other. The car is preserved specifically to highlight the complicated relationship of African-Americans and rail travel- a place where they were distinguished as Pullman Porters, but relegated to second class status as passengers.	97001343	123851530
The L and N Passenger Station (AKA The Depot)	Berea, Kentucky	"The November 5, 1959, issue of the Citizen reports that Pullman service ended for Berea with the passing of the "Flamingo" on November 1, 1959. The March 7, 1968, issue reports: 'Berea no longer has passenger train service. The last southbound train, No. 17, cam	75000797	123851209

		through last night and No. 18 stopped here early this morning on its last northbound journey.' Freight service was halted in 1969."		
Old Presbyterian Theological Seminary (AKA Jefferson Community College)	109 East Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky	"The building committee chose a plan by architect William J. Dodd, then of Dodd and Cobb (later of McDonald and Dodd). Dodd (1862-1930) received his architectural training in Chicago under William Henney and S.S. Beman. He had worked on plans for the new town of Pullman and as an architect for the Northern Pacific Railway before coming to Louisville in 1884. In his partnership with McDonald, Dodd completed such Louisville structures as the Seelbach Hotel (listed on the National Register August12,1975) and the First Christian Church.	78001362	123850698
Temple Adath Israel (AKA Adas Israel)	834 South Third Street, Louisville, Kentucky	"...a most fitting example of the work of W.J. Dodd (1862-1930), on of the finest and most influential architects in Louisville's history...Dodd gained his early architectural experience in Chicago at a crucial time for the development of "modern architecture," the early 1880s, during the second wave of construction after the great fire of 1871. Dodd worked with two of the most influential architect-engineers of the period, Major William LeBaron Jenney, often considered the inventor of the steel skeleton skyscraper, and Solon. S. Beman, one of those who adapted the manner of H.H. Richardson to the new Chicago commercial structure. Dodd is said to have worked with Beman on one of his major accomplishments, the planned city of Pullman, Illinois.	74000882	123850420
Selim Newton House (AKA Edwin H. Galloway House, AKA Newton-Galloway House)	336 East Pioneer Road, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin	Galloway's devotion to his home is evident in the final product. He hired...William A. Heathcote to supervise the woodcarving. Heathcote was a retired church	76000060	106780947

		architect who, at the time, was in charge of woodworking on Pullman cars for the Northwestern Railroad. Heathcote and his railroad artisans produced the staircase, the gazebo, and the exterior woodwork, while the interior pine was worked at Galloway's lumbermill.		
Sargeant House	1036 Lake Avenue, Detroit Lakes, Minnesota	During his long tenure with various railroads, Sargent formulated the first through freight tariff from Bost on to St. Louis and the Great Lakes area, served on the first Board of Directors of the Union Stockyards in Chicago, and he was one of the incorporators and directors of the famed Pullman Palace Car Company.	88003005	93201355
Harding Railroad Car (AKA Denali)	Alaskaland, Faribanks, Alaska	from the nomination form: "The Pullman passenger-observation car Denali (Alaska Railroad equipment No.X-336) that was used by President Warren G. Harding and his party when he visited Alaska in July 1923 had been purchased by the railroad earlier in the year from the Great Northern Railroad." "...The primary purpose of the Alaska trip was to drive the golden spike that signified completion of the railroad owned and built by the Federal government, that connected the Interior of Alaska (Faribanks) with the year-round port (Seward). By August, Harding was dead, with speculation that an itinerary change during his Alaska trip seemed to "sap him of his vitality." "In 1945 the car was converted to an outfit car. Shortly after, the car was retired and left on a siding at Nenana. The car was refurbished by the railroad in1959-1960 at a cost of $2,600 and donated, by request of the Pioneers of Alaska, Igloo No.4, to the City of Fairbanks." In 1967, it became part of Alaska and, "a park established by the City of Fairbanks in	78003423	75325494

		connection with the 1967 Alaska Purchase Centennial. [see: entry for The Superb]		
Arcade and Attica Railroad	Village of Arcade, Towns of Arcade and North Java, New York	from the nomination form: "This nomination includes the fifteen-mile right-of-way remaining from the original system and the following significant buildings and structures: the Arcade and Attica Railroad Passenger Station Complex in Arcade, which includes the Repair Shop, the Sand House and a Storage Building; the Curriers Depot, Curriers and Java Center Depot, Java Center; and the Beaver Meadow Trestle crossing Beaver Meadow Creek and Road, north of Java Center. The Arcade and Attica Railroad rolling stock included in this nomination consists of a #14 Baldwin Locomotive, a #18 American Locomotive, and six passenger cars [built between 1914-1917]." page 7: "Passenger trains [non-Pullman cars] survived n the A. and A. until 1951." "In the early months of 1962, the A. and A. decided to pursue passenger excursions to augment freight service. They decided to purchase trains from the era of their original passenger service, which meant they purchased nostalgic cars. They purchased six Pullman cars. "Three of these were coaches and three were combines. These were purchased from the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad of Buffalo. A combine. No.305 and coach. No.307 werebuiltin1915and purchased in 1962. The numbers 306 and 309 combines were built in 1917 and purchased in 1962 and 1963 respectively. Coaches No.311 and No.312 were built in 1914 and purchased in 1972." page 4: "Passenger excursions are still run between Arcade and Curriers during the summer months,	80002797	75323322

		which, coupled with the freight business for several industrial customers along the line, has enabled the Arcade and Attica Railroad to survive since the nineteenth century."		
Croton North Railroad Station	Croton-on-Hudson, New York	from the nomination form: In 1986, two self-propelled, electric commuter cars were moved on to the property and installed on track laid for that purpose north of the station on the east side of the platform. These steel, arched-roofed Pullman-Standard coaches were built in 1930 for use on the Erie Line in eastern New Jersey. They are fully intact and operable and have furnished interiors with upholstered seating, overhead luggage racks, and driving compartments." page 8: "...are rare surviving examples of historic electric railroad technology."	87001458	75322999
Wagner-Webster House	Palatine Bridge, New York	Built in 1876. Designed by architect Horatio Nelson White, closely linked with the railroad age. Built by Webster Wagner, the inventor of the Wagner sleeping car, of the drawing room car, and of the elevated ventilation panel for the roof of railroad cars. Webster was the president of New York Central Sleeping Car Company, which later merged with Pullman's company. On January 13, 1882, Wagner burned to death in one of his railroad cars in the Spuyten Duyvil Railroad accident on Hudson River Railroad.	73001210	75319061
United Methodist Church of Batavia	Batavia, Illinois	Designed by the same architect that designed Pullman, Illinois- Solon S. Beman.	83000320	28893190
Studebaker Building (AKA Fine Arts Building)	Chicago, Illinois	Designed by the same architect that designed Pullman, Illinois- Solon S. Beman.	75000653	28892450

The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Business Car No. 101 (AKA The Abraham Lincoln)	Othello, Washington	from the nomination form: page 4: In 1910, "the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad ordered 51 of Pullman's new steel passenger cars. Car No. 845 (which was renumbered by the railroad as Car No. 926) was completed in Fall" of 1910. The nomination says the car represents a pivotal year in the production of Pullman cars- 1910- when nearly overnight the company went from wooden to steel-beamed cars. "...rebuilt by the railroad in 1929 [and renumbered to Car No. 101] to serve as a luxury executive railroad car...original seating capacity of 84 and featured 40 windows arranged in 20 pairs (ten on each side of the car). The original interior was detailed in the Mission Style and included two bathrooms and electric lights...In 1937, further changes were made to update the appearance of the car...Between 1950 and 1980 minor alterations were made. Since 1984, rehabilitation has restored a part of the clerestory windows, two of the enlarged windows were reduced to original size, and modern lights were removed...." page 4: "...one of the oldest operable Pullman cars in the country."	88000740	75611963
Branford Electric Railway Historic District (AKA Branford Trolley Museum)	East Haven, Branford, Connecticut	On the nomination form, in the inventory that lists the rolling stock of the Museum, are dozens of rail cars of various types, with various past owners of private or transit system origin. Of those built by Pullman: Car No. 197 (or 167, or 324) and Car No. 824	83001278	132355253
Griffith Grand Trunk Depot	Griffith, Indiana	The depot sits in the town of Griffith, which was originally built as a planned company town. The area was settled in the 1850s, after the state's offer of swampland for $1.25 and acre. The town was associated with railroads early in its history, and	3000985	132003623

		formally founded in 1891 when Jay and Elmer Dwiggins purchased the 140 acres of farmland around the junction of four railroads. Originally billed as "Chicago's Best Factory Suburb" (Pullman, Chicago, was developed in 1880). The brothers borrowed against the land, and fled during the Panic of 1893. There was also a pipeline for Standard Oil in the town- another huge source of employment.		
Louisville Free Public Library, Western Colored Branch	604 South Tenth Street, Louisville, Kentucky	from the nomination form: "A handsome specimen of the Carnegie-endowed libraries, the Western Branch occupies a relatively small, rectangular site at the southwest corner of Tenth and Chesnutt Street. What was once a largely residential neighborhood street has been swept clear by Urban Renewal...designed by the local firm McDonald and Dodd [Dodd worked with Beman to help design Pullman, Chicago], it was dedicated in October 1908. The building was the inheritor of a 1905 effort of the black community in the are to open their own self-funded free library." The building served as a community center, and hosted many events, including "addresses made by professional men of the race." It is believed to be the nation's first free library for Black people. In its early years, it also hosted a library science training program for African-Americans.	75000771	123850652
Rossonian Hotel (AKA Baxter Building, AKA Baxter Hotel)	2650 Welton Street, Denver, Colorado	The building- built in a triangular style-- sits on a wedge of land at a five corner intersection, in what has historically been known as Five Points community ["the primary black community in Denver since the 1920s"]. from the nomination form: "The Rossonian Hotel was one of the most important jazz clubs between St. Louis and Los Angeles from the late 1930s to the early	95001009	84129887

		1960s. ...these major African-American entertainers were denied lodging in most Denver hotels due to the racial segregation policies of the period. page 6: "The 1920s saw a transition to a Black majority in the Five Points area which has continued to the present." page 7: "Most men were employed as janitors, shoeshine boys, Pullman porter, railroad cooks, dishwashers, pimps, and gamblers...The largest employer was American Woodsman Insurance Company- an insurance company for Blacks still existing in Denver today."		
Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh Railway Station	395 South Lincoln Avenue, Orchard Park, New York	This nomination is for a train depot built in 1911, which has a rolling stock with a Pullman Standard steel baggage car, built in 1925.	7000871	75317572
Tennessee Valley Railroad Museum Rolling Stock	2202 N. Chamberlain Avenue, Chattanooga, Tennessee	The Tennessee Valley Railroad Museum owns 39 pieces of rolling stock, including the following Pullman-built cars: No. 98 B&O Business Car (1917), a drawing room car Mountain Road (1923), a ten section observation car, used by the Pullman Pool Service, then Capitol Limited, and by Southern System. One of the few remaining "deep platform" Pullmans. No. 4530, 6464, 4064, and 598 baggage cars (1924), built as tourist sleeping cars for Southern System, who converted them to baggage cars. As a type, they were known as "head end" cars, because they were at the head end of the train. No. 906 (1923), a 64 seat passenger coach No. 1076 (1923), a 54 seat passenger coach No. 1000 (1924), a 48 seat passenger coach No. 1008 (1924), a 48 seat passenger coach No. 1058 (1925), a 48 seat passenger coach	80003824	135818613

		No. 1066 (1925), a 48 seat passenger coach No. 1071 (1925), a 48 seat passenger coach No. 1072 (1927), a 48 seat passenger coach Maitland (1925), a Pullman sleeper with 12 sections and one dining room Lake Moreau (1925), a Pullman Car with three dining rooms, eight open sections The rolling stock inventory list also contains several train cars that are not attributed to a builder at all, and could be Pullman cars.		
The Superb (AKA Los Angeles, AKA Pope Pius XI, AKA Business Car 101, AKA Business Car 301)	3595 South Old Peachtree Road, Duluth, Georgia	The car is part of the rolling stock of the Southeastern Railway Museum. Constructed in 1911 as a "Private Car", plan number 2503, lot number 3847. In 1923, it carried Warren G. Harding and his wife on his speaking tour called "The Voyage of Understanding", during which, he died. Harding's casket was carried in the car from San Francisco to DC, then to Marion, Ohio, for burial. The Superb is the name given to it by Pullman. It is the second-oldest "heavyweight" car built by the Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company still in existence in its original configuration. It is of a series of heavyweights that include The National, The Federal, and The Superb's "sister" car, The Ideal. Besides The Superb, only the Federal remains, and it is privately owned, undergoing restoration. The Ideal was last known to be owned by Monroe Auto Equipment Company in 1945. Pullman scrapped the National. Interesting in this nomination is the assertion by the author that The Superb was one of the last remaining Pullman cars used to transport the casket of a "sitting" President. "The Pullman-built Conneaut was used to transport the casket of FDR in 1945. However, the car has most likely been scrapped since it cannot	98001560	93208518

		be located." Also, the Pullman Company modified The Superb before the Presidential trip to include radio transmitters for broadcasting- the first nation-wide broadcast of Presidential speeches, and the first time a railroad car was fitted with such wireless transmission equipment. from the nomination form: "The car continued to serve as a passenger car until 1969. The Superb was briefly renamed Pope Pius XI during its participation in the Cardinals Train in 1926. ...The car was leased by Pullman to the Charleston & Western Carolina Railroad in 1928. The car finished its service as a business car transporting managers and company officials. Ownership of the car changed hands several times from 1944 until it was donated to the Southeastern Railway Museum in 1969. [see: entry for Denali]		
Ray Apartment Buildings (AKA The Baron)	1550/1560 Ogden Street, Denver, Colorado	Constructed in 1906. page 3: "The Ray Apartment Buildings continue as originally designed with six luxury apartments each, two apartments on each level in each building. The buildings share construction, ownership, and use history. The buildings are located in North Capitol Hill, a neighborhood that has evolved in use from residential to residential and office use. The Ray Apartment Buildings are across the street from the Swallow Hill Historic District, listed on the National Register of Historic Places." page 7: A hall runs along the central brick wall from front entry hall to the rear rooms in each apartment. All rooms except the kitchens, formerly the servants' quarters, at the rear are accessed off the hall. The effect of the long hall with doors opening off it	1000029	84129087

		resembles that of a Pullman train car. Ray Apartments tenants have long referred to the plan as a "Pullman plan." This term is in fact used to describe certain types of apartment in eastern US cities, but the eastern Pullman-style apartments are smaller and more simply furnished. The term in the east is used to describe small efficiency apartments.		
Bing Rooming House	205 South Allen Street, Plant City, Florida	page 9: Janie Wheeler married Elijah L. Bing in 1917, recently arrived to Plant City and with a teaching certificate. Elijah was a business man who wore a tie to dinner every night. Janie was his second wife. She eventually had three kids and became a full time wife. They were an influential family and all three children went to college. One son drafted the 1971 desegregation plan for the schools in the same county in which he grew up. page 8: In the early 1900s, the railroad was essential to the livelihood of Plant City. page 11: The Bing Rooming House was a landmark in community though the early 1970s. It is the only Black community boarding house/hotel that remains from the years of segregation. A large, two-story rooming house located at 514 E. Haines appears on the 1919 Sanborn map. It was owned and operated by Lula Bing, Bing's first wife, but no longer exists." page 10: "Blacks were not allowed to stay in the white hotels or eat in downtown restaurants, so the hotels and restaurants in the black community were patronized by black teachers, baseball players, Pullman porters, cooks, brakemen, and many others....The hotel was briefly home to Frank Robinson, a Hall of Fame baseball player with the Baltimore Orioles. Robinson spent a spring training season in Plant City."	2001009	77842662

		The Bing Rooming House was built and owned by the Bing's.		
Dr. JW Darden House	1323 Auburn Street, Opelika, Alabama	Dr. Darden was born to a former slave in South Carolina, in 1876. His father eventually became North Carolina's first Black mortician. Dr. Darden started his working life as a Pullman porter, and eventually worked his way through medical school being a porter. The house was his residence, and his office near the end of his life. He also ran an insurance company catering to Blacks from his house. When he died, a local Black high school was named after him. The house was used in a movie in the late 70s, because Mr. Darden's niece knew Maya Angelou, the author of the book the movie was based on (Sister, Sister). Lindsay and Mae Sistrunk acquired the house in 1980 and lost is to bank foreclosure in 1999. During their ownership, the City condemned it. Alumni of the high school named after him and members of the East Alabama Medical Society got together and bought the house and stabilized it. Over time, it was refurbished and opened as a community center.	9000605	77836650
Cobblestone Historic District	Childs, Gaines Township, New York	George Pullman spent his adolescence in Childs, and attended the Unitarian Universalist Church in this historic district. His father was a cabinet maker in Childs. After he made a fortune in the rail car industry, he donated $64,000 to build a UU church in Albion to replace the Cobblestone Church in Childs.	93001603_NHL	75316014
Pullman Standard Office Building	Butler, Pennsylvania			
US Car #1 (AKA Ferdinand Magellan)	3398 SW 9th Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida	Originally fabricated in 1928 as a private car in the Explorer Series. Rebuilt in 1942 for Presidential use. Was in service to 1958, when Air Force One took over.	77000401	77842169

		In 1958, it was sent to the University of Miami as surplus government property. Plan #3972-D.		
St. Ferdinand Avenue in the Ville Historic District	4200 block of St. Ferdinand Avenue (south side), St. Luis, Missouri	This nomination is for a residential neighborhood, built between 1884 and 1928. page 3: "Overall, the streetscape retains the historic character that it possessed during its period of significance when it was a block inhabited by working and middle-class African-Americans- many of whom were Pullman porters, cabinet makers, and electricians- in the 20th century.	11001023	63818082
Park Building	140 Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio	page 7: Built in 1912 for the Sweetland Candy Company. Still maintained as an office building. For years, the tenants were all transportation companies, including Pullman Company.	96000674	71987379
Wallace Chapel AME Zion Church	138-142 Broad Street. Summit Town, New Jersey	The Wallace Chapel AME Zion Church stands today as a living legacy to the life work of Reverend Florence Spearing Randolph (1866-1951). She was an African-American woman who spent her life as a social, political, and spiritual leader advocating for the progressive ideals od gender and racial equality, temperance, and suffrage. In 1886 she married Hugh Randolph, of Richmond, Virginia, who was a Pullman car cook. He died in 1913. Also, in the 1880s, she began to study with Rev. E. George Biddle, and AME Zion Holiness minister, Tale graduate, and Greek and Hebrew scholar.	7000877	135816095
Gary City Center Historic District	Gary, Indiana	Built as workforce housing for US Steel Company, and differs from Pullman-Standard area of Hammond in that it was built as a city, not a neighborhood. Platted so that Gary could avoid the Pullman issues, which "were based on housing conditions."	94001352	132003615
The Carolands (AKA The Chateau)	565 Remillard Drive,	page 6: "It is commonplace that in their search for status, wealthy Americans have often attempted to	75000478	123861494

	Hillborough, California	recreate the surroundings of the European aristocracy; but the Carolands is among the very best examples of this phenomenon. It was built by Harriet Pullman Carolans- heiress to the Pullman fortune. This was the house built with the seed money given by George Pullman so that the couple could afford to build a house "suitable to receive my daughter."		
Lindstrom House	4669 East Talmadge Drive, San Diego, California	page 6: This house is considered the first example of the bathroom sink fitted into a cabinet, which later was called the Pullman sink.	1000027	123860913
Roscino [a sunken yacht]	Lake Michigan, Wisconsin	A sunken steel yacht built with several "Pullman"-style features (beds, green carpeting, shades, etc.). The first diesel yacht on Lake Michigan. It is intact and extremely well-preserved. At the time of its loss, it was owned by Colonel Robert H. Morse. Built in 1916 by Wilmington, Delaware shipbuilders Harlan and Hollingworth. Originally named Georgiana III, then named Whitemarsh, then Roscino.	1000737	106781318
Dr. Brailsford R. Brazeal House	193 Joseph Lowery Boulevard, Atlanta, Georgia	Dr. Brazeal is the author of the seminal The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (1946).	5000278	93208098
Northern Pacific Railway Company's Como Shops Historic District (AKA Burlington Northern Incorporated: Como Shops)	1269 DeCourcy Drive, St. Paul, Minnesota	A 51-acre parcel of land that housed the Como shops, where railroad cars were worked on. The Como Shops constructed railroad coaches for a more modest passenger- below Pullman status.	83000937	93202666
Humboldt Street Historic District	Denver, Colorado	In this district is the Tammen House, with a dining room designed by George Pullman, himself. This room hosted Presidents T. Roosevelt and Taft, when they were in office. Tammen came to Denver as a bartender, and ended up buying the Denver Post.	78000848	84129255

Army National Guard Armories in New York State	New York (statewide)	page 17: A string of events that began with The Panic of 1873, and included an influx of radical European immigrants, the Railroad Strike of 1877 and the Pullman strike in 1894, "convinced many Americans that the United States was on the brink of class warfare. America's ruling upper classes argued that social order must be maintained at any cost and that military force could and should be used to ensure domestic peace. Some National Guard units and armories were even privately funded, and most were also considered elite clubhouses for military members. The State of New York has several of these, and they reflect their funders' and members' tastes and influence (to include interiors designed by Tiffany).	64500442	75315308
Kingswood Methodist Episcopal Church (AKA Kingswood Mission of the St. Paul's M.E. Church, AKA Kingswood Community Center, AKA Jimmy Jenkins Community Center)	Wilmington, Delaware	This nomination is for a church, built in 1891, that stands at the heart of the Kingswood neighborhood- a cohesive once-cohesive neighborhood of American Blacks (40%) and immigrant Italians (60%). The neighborhood was largely erased in the 1950s and 1960s "Urban Renewal" push. "The residents were generally employed by the Electric Hose and Rubber Company (whites only) and the Pullman Car Company (Blacks and whites). The church was absorbed by the community center, and then closed, and then eventually became a Senior Center. The building was sold to the city of Wilmington in 1983 and has been vacant since that time.	89000008	75324575
Peirce City Fire Station/Courthouse/Jail	Pierce City, Missouri	This building was the site of a lynching in 1901, and the city's entire black population left in three days. The atmosphere was further exacerbated by Pullman strikes, where the white Pullman employees tried to "drive the Negroes from the city."	98001108	63819629

Cote Brilliante Avenue in the Ville Historic District	St. Louis, Missouri	This nomination is for a district with residential dwellings built between 1890 and 1927. page 3: "...the district retains the architectural character that was prevalent during its period of significance as a working class and middle-class African American neighborhood in the 20h century." page 18: The neighborhood's employers were the Post Office, public schools, railroads, and several domestic workers. At least one was a Pullman porter.	11001021	63818080
Dunmere	560 Ocean Road, Narragansett, Rhode Island	The landscape architect for this property- the gardens are a large part of the historical value of the site- are done by the same person who did the landscape architecture for Pullman, Illinois (Nathan Franklin Barrett).	5001061	41375813
Parkway Garden Homes	6330-6546 South Martin Luther King Drive, Chicago, Illinois	The group low and high-rise dwellings that are the subject of the nomination were all completed in 1955 (first phase in 1944). The neighborhood in which they sit moved, during the 50s, from 6% African American to 86% African American. The neighborhood was within walking distance of several industrial plants in the south side of Chicago, to include the aircraft division of the Pullman Company.	11000848	28892594
Sacramento Northern Railway District (AKA Western Railway Museum)	5548 State Highway 12, Suisun City, California	This is a railway museum with rolling stock. In the inventory of rolling stock is the following Pullman-built car: Outside braced boxcar 15451 (1916)- rebuilt to become a caboose, and ended life as Sacramento Northern 1632	12000402	123862025
Old Fair Oaks Bridge	Fair Oaks, California	The nomination form is for a bridge. However, the bridge is situated in a community that was originally a real estate/railroad speculation that was originally sold to executives and management-level workers of Pullman Car Company.	6000913	123860582

Kirkwood Historic District	Atlanta, Georgia	The nomination form is for the entire neighborhood, which encompasses residences from single-family homes to old apartment buildings, a commercial center on Hosea Williams Drive (Boulevard) and industrial areas- many railroad-related. The neighborhood was formerly its own town- unincorporated, and then became a streetcar suburb, and eventually became a distinct neighborhood of Atlanta. Among the streetcar stops was "Pullman-Pratt Station", and the Pullman-Pratt Yard is still a neighborhood landmark. The Yard was, in the 1950s, the southeastern maintenance yard for Pullman Car Company. Many buildings from that are still stand, although the land is now owned by the Georgia Building Authority (the same entity that owns many pubic-use structures such as parking lots, the OMNI complex, and Atlanta metro area rights-of-way).	9000749	93207783
The Balsams	Dixville, New Hampshire	This hotel was in its heyday, and got its name from, the Hale family, who purchased the hotel with wealth gained from Mr. Hale's invention of "the reversible Pullman seat."	2000166	77844935
Dunbar High School (AKA Bessemer Colored High School, AKA Dunbar-Abrams Community Center)	2715 6th Avenue North, Bessemer, Alabama	This school- completed in 1923, and located across from what was then the Pullman Standard plant- was a high school for black children that emphasized a general curriculum, as opposed to the vocational curriculum that was standard for segregated high schools at the time. Also, the neighborhood was predominantly African-American, at the time.	10001051	77836488
West 147th-149th Streets Historic District [Harlem]	New York, New York	This neighborhood includes tenement dwellings, schools, and transportation-related infrastructure. Originally home to immigrants, starting in 1925, both the immigrants and the American-born (usually Southern migrants) residents began to be	3000407	75320055

		predominantly Black. page 23: The jobs that residents held reflect the segregated nature of employment in New York and other northern cities in the early decades of the twentieth century. Jobs held by men included restaurant cook, railroad cook, railroad Pullman porter, elevator man...". The historic district remained a stable working class community until the final decades of the twentieth century when major abandonment of the tenements occurred.		
Malcolm X house site	3448 Pinkney Street, Omaha, Nebraska	This nomination form is actually for a vacant lot where the house used to stand. Malcolm X's first job- the job he left to join "the street life" was as a Pullman porter (he ran between Boston and New York in 1942).	84002463	73920634
Elverson Historic District (AKA Springfield)	Elverson, Pennsylvania	This nomination is for a neighborhood that has an old railroad station in it. There is a Pullman car listed as a "noncontributing object." page 32: "Car owned by P.A.R.R. Co."	93000354	71995447
Wilmington and Western Railroad (AKA Landenberg branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad)	Hockessin, Delaware	This nomination is for a scenic excursion railroad line, to include tracks, buildings, and rolling stock. Rolling stock manufactured by Pullman: Passenger cars 571 and 581 (1914 Boontoon-class), Passenger car 603 (1916, Boontoon-class)	80000932	75324493
Hickory Street District	St. Louis, Missouri	This nomination is for a neighborhood with records that reflect that many of the original tenants and owners of the residences were employees of Pullman Car Company.	85000107	63820621
Quinn Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church	2401 Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois	The chapel was originally constructed in 1891, and is significant in its association with the oldest Black congregation in Chicago. The congregation was originally non-sectarian, and organized in 1844 by citizens. It's first AME preacher was a circuit rider	79000827	28892400

		named Bishop William Paul Quinn, in 1947. With other churches, is was the center of social life for the area's Black elite. The congregation founded other important community institutions, such as a children's home, a YMCA, a hospital, and a playground. The church was active in the abolitionist movement, and later in the Civil Rights movement. During the Civil Rights period, the leader of the church was Archibald J. Carey, who used his connections with the city's white establishment to get resources and support for actions against the Jim Crow South. He- and the congregation- led a petition to the Pullman Company to defy Jim Crow law and allow Black and white passengers together on rail cars. New Southern Black migrants to the area would be placed in Pullman jobs by the congregation's connections. The move to unionize Pullman porters split the black community in Chicago, and the congregation. The Chapel received a lot of financial support for George Pullman, when Florence Pullman helped save the congregations hospital and the Pullman Company donated to the YMCA.		
Chicago Club	81 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois	Constructed beginning in 1927. The Chicago Club grew out of a defunct previous club that did not survive the Civil War. George Pullman was a member.	5000109	28892276
Prairie Avenue District (AKA Fort Dearborn Massacre Site)	Chicago, Illinois	This area is known as a residential area where homes for some of Chicago's wealthiest and most powerful citizens. It is also the site of a massacre of evacuees of the War of 1812. In 1893, George Pullman erected a monument to the massacre on his property at 18th Street and Calumet Avenue. page 16: "The statues stood on this site until 1931 when it was moved to the Chicago Historical Society.	72000452	28891918

		In 1959 a bronze tablet depicting in bas-relief Pullman's monument was affixed to an industrial building at the corner of 18th and Prairie. At present this is the only physical indication that in this vicinity occurred the tragic Fort Dearborn Massacre.		
Ethnic (European Historic Settlement in the City of Chicago (1860-1930)	Chicago, Illinois	This form is to document multiple properties-dwellings, churches, businesses, etc.- that are part of the indicators of waves of European migration into the City of Chicago. These groups include: German, Irish, Swedish, Norwegian-Danish, Bohemian (Czech), Jews, Italians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Greek, Ukrainians, Slovakian, and Croatian. The period covered is from 1860-1930. Many of these groups found work at Pullman Palace Car Company, benefited from Pullman-family philanthropy, or lived in Pullman-built dwellings. This form details specific connections to Pullman Palace Car Company and labor history of Chicago.	64501044	28891022
Captain Bror W. Olsson House	631 S. Tenth Street, Coos Bay, Oregon	This house was designed by the same architect (Benjamin Ostlind) that was instrumental in getting Pullman Palace Company to make accommodations in their cars for extra tall people. He founded the Longfellow's Club, for tall people (he was 6'4").	86002905	77849039
Portland Brownstone Quarries (AKA Shaler & Hall Quarry, AKA Middlesex Quarry, AKA E.&S. Brainerd Quarry, AKA Town Quarry, AKA A. Brazos & Sona, Inc. Quarry)	Portland, Connecticut	This quarry produced much of the brownstone used in Chicago's historic mansions and public buildings, to include George Pullman's mansion.	00000703_NHL	132353658
Fairmount Heights Historic District	Fairmount Heights, Maryland	from the nomination form, page 4: "The period of significance begins in 1900, with the platting of the first subdivision known as Fairmount Heights, and ends in 1960. The town has remained a prominent African-American community in Prince George's	11000821	106777954

		County to the present day." The town hall was erected in 1908, and the school was built by local residents in 1912- the first elementary school for Black children in the county. page 5: "...Fairmount Heights was settled by African Americans seeking home ownership in a community that would allow them control over their lives. The early owners worked together to develop their own political and social institutions as a safe haven from the hostility brought about by segregation." page 21: "Settlement in the neighborhood appears to have been greatly influenced by affiliations, such as kinship, professional relationships, and school networks. For example, John S. Johnson, occupant of 612 60th Avenue, was one of a number of residents who worked as Pullman porters."		
Historic Resources of Potlatch	Potlatch, Idaho	This lumber town, founded by and named after the Potlatch Lumber Company, was intentionally modeled after Pullman, Illinois. After the 1893 Pullman Strike, the company made a few changes to the town's structure and governance to keep the concept alive and address the issues brought up by the strikers.	64000169	84248523
Downtown Bessemer Historic District	Bessemer, Alabama	This nomination is for an entire town/downtown area that has an existing section of Black-owned businesses that have historically always been present there. This is significant for our project in that Pullman Standard Company was a major employer in Bessemer Alabama all the way until the 1980s.	92000852	77836448
Eastover (AKA Harold S. Vanderbilt Mansion, AKA Casa Miranda)	1100 South Ocean Boulevard, Manalapan, Florida	This nomination is for the home of Harold S. Vanderbilt, who also incorporated the town in which it was built. From 1952-1966, he was the mayor there. The town was developed as a upscale residential development, and his home was a	2001694	77843502

		seasonal one. In the nomination, he is described as a "capitalist, contract bridge specialist, and yachtsman." He was the great-grandson of Cornelius Vanderbilt. page 19: "Vanderbilt's primary business interest and holdings were in the New York Central Railroad, which his grandfather, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt had assembled in the middle of the nineteenth century." He held a seat on the Board of Directors for the Pullman Palace Company.		
Hildene (AKA Robert Todd Lincoln Estate)	Off U.S. Route 7. South of Manchester, Vermont, Bennington County	Otherwise known as Robert Todd Lincoln's summer retreat. There are architectural flares in the structure that match the Pullman Sleeping Cars and their combined components (aka. wood type, style, furnishings). Robert Todd Lincoln was the president of the Pullman Company after the death of George Mortimer Pullman in 1897.	PH0503088	84285081
Illinois Unity Building	127 North Dearborn, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois	The building was destroyed in the late 1900s. The Unity Building was built by Mr. Altgale, a Chicago Judge who defended the striking workers during the Pullman Strike of 1894.		137889340
Eugene V. Debs House	451 North 8th Street, Terre Haute, Vigo County, Indiana	Eugene V. Debs was the leader of the 1894 Pullman Strike. He was also a candidate for the presidency on a socialist platform. Its still standing to this day.	66000008_NHL	132002429
Vandergrift Historic District	Vandergrift, Pennsylvania	While not directly related to Pullman, this historic district was inspired by the industrial model town of Pullman.	95000525	71998482
Chocorua Lake Basin Historic District	Tamsworth, New Hampshire	One of the homes in this district is called Willowgate, this home was owned by John Sumner Runnells who, at the time of the Pullman Strike, was the Vice President of the Pullman Palace Car Company.	5000569	77844740

Kress Building	445 Third Street , Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge County, Louisiana	In 1937 Congressman Arthur L. Mitchell began a lawsuit that would eventually end segregation in Pullman railroad car safer experiencing discrimination during a train trip.	6000714	73973535
Prospect Avenue Mansions Historic District	Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Mansions along this avenue were designed by the architect Solomon Bemen, the architect hired by Pullman to design Pullman	90000478	106781783
Deerpath Hill Estate Historic District	Lake Forest, Illinois	In 1928, Turnbull (a resident of the estates) sold their house to Irvine Osborne Jr., President of the Pullman Railroad Car Company. This establishes a connection to Pullman.	6000676	28891292
St. Louis Union Station and Trainshed	1820 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri	The second, third, and fourth floor of this building housed offices of the Pullman Company and other railroad organizations/businesses.	70000888	63818180
Santa Fe Railroad Station		In the 1920's the Santa Fe Railroad brought on dining cars and Pullman Sleeping Cars. Significance doesn't have to do with Pullman but the cars that were added to the line.	76002012	40971407
O'Mahony Dining Car No. 1107	981 W. Weber Canyon Road, Oakley, Utah	Not a Pullman Car, but it was specifically designed to emulate a Pullman Dining Car.	9000639	72001769
Budd, Edward G., Manufacturing Company		Budd (one of the company founders) designed all-steel Pullman Cars. Once their company got off the ground they did work for Pullman cars, as well as later competing with them in the 1930s.	7001328	71997486

Works Cited in the Appendixes

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair; an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.* 5 vols. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.

Jenner, Jonathan. "Pullman Porters on Screen, Part 1 (Pre-1960)." In *Black Film Center/Archive Blog*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 2013.

Jenner, Jonathan Donald. "Pullman Porters on Screen, Part 2 (since 1960)." In *Black Film Center/Archive Blog*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 2013.

Livius. "Moma Finds Lost 1913 Film with All-Black Cast." In *The History Blog*, 2014.

Luckin, Richard W. *Dining on Rails: An Encyclopedia of Railroad China.* Denver, CO: RK Publishing, 1983.

Mestayer, W.K. "'Tourists.' 'Do You Think You Could Return My Love.' Mestayer's Ever Popular Tourists, in A.P.P.C. Fifth Annual Season, over 1800 Performances Given by This Original Organization in All the Leading Cities and Towns in America. Tourists! Tourists!! Tourists!!!". [New York]: Burrow-Giles Lithographic Co., 1870.

Middleton, William D. "Fish Cars." In *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads*, edited by William D. Middleton, George M. Smerk and Roberta L. Diehl, 446-49. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Porterfield, James D. *Dining by Rail: The History and the Recipes of America's Golden Age of Railroad Cuisine.* New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.

Welsh, Joe, and Bill Howes. *Travel by Pullman: A Century of Service.* St. Paul, MN: MBI Publishing, 2004.

White, John H. *The American Railroad Freight Car: From the Wood-Car Era to the Coming of Steel.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Wolff, Peggy. "Pullman Bread Loaves, a Culinary Legacy of the New National Monument." *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 27, 2015.

Wooler, Neil. *Dinner in the Diner: A History of Railway Catering.* Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1987.