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 In addition, this section will consider historical documents valuable for studying change over time in the extant built environment and also strategies for using Pullman's incredibly rich built environment as primary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.

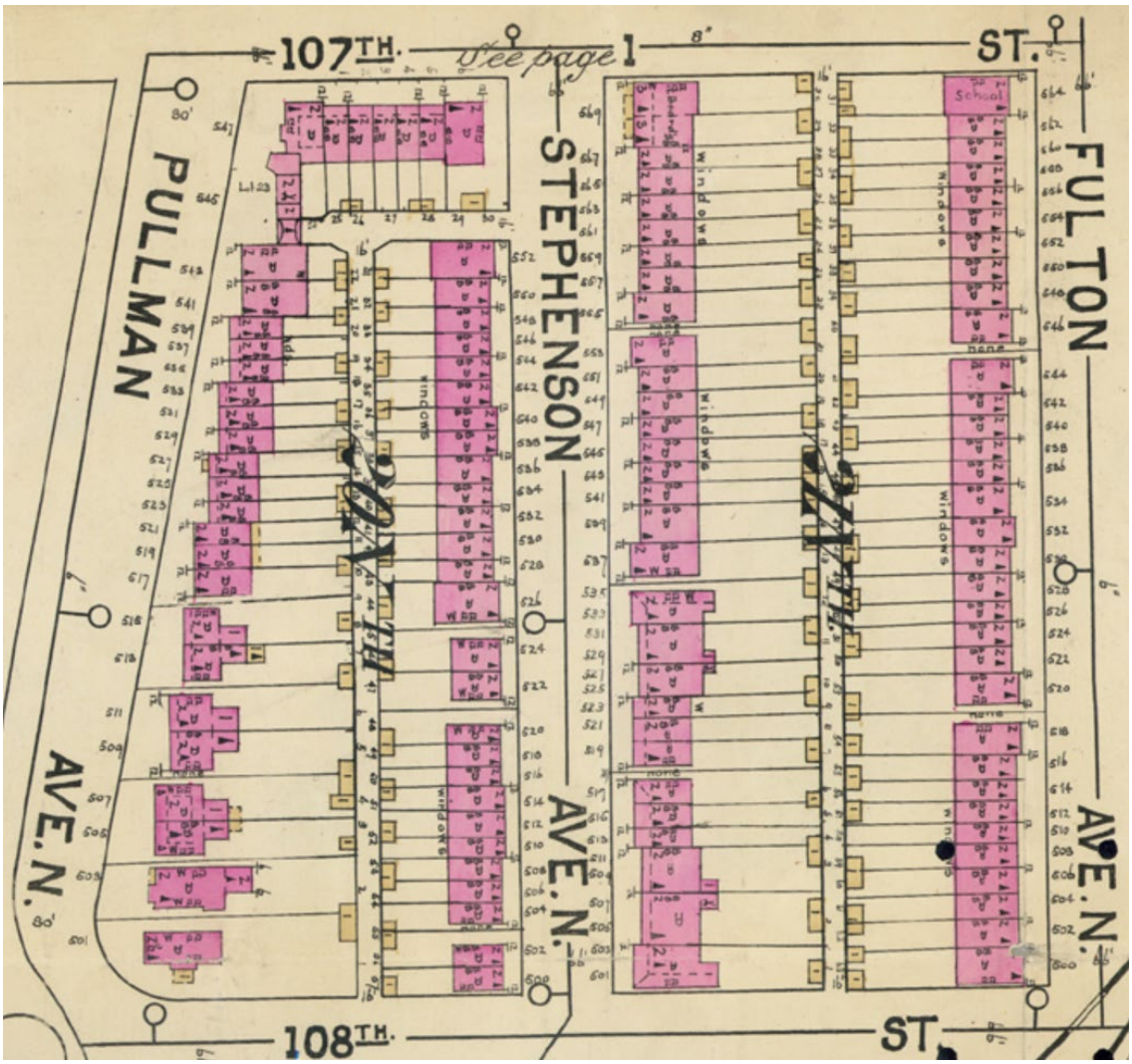

Figure 6.3. Detail of 1887 Rascher Map shows that even the lowest status housing included frame sheds at the rear of the lots. (Blocks 20 and 21).

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).

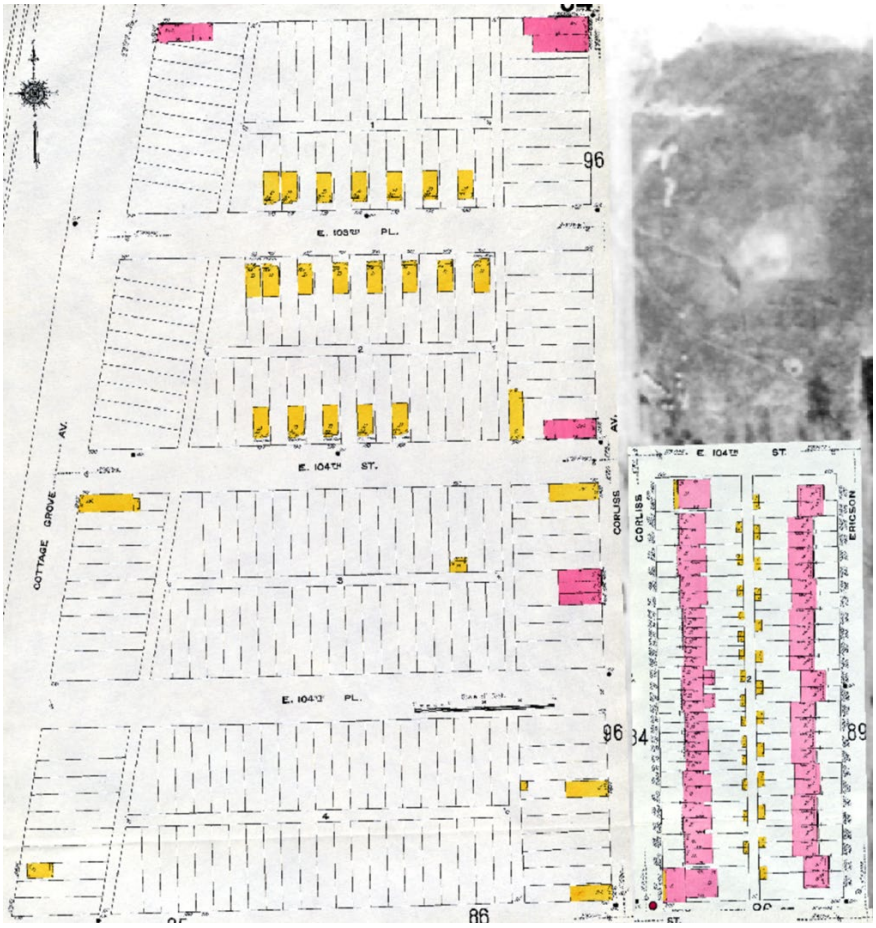

Figure 6.4. 1911 Rascher Map showing Blocks 24–37, between 103rd Street and 105th Street. Note the several frame and brick structures built on the west side of Corliss Ave and the neat frame houses added to 104th Street and 103rd Place.

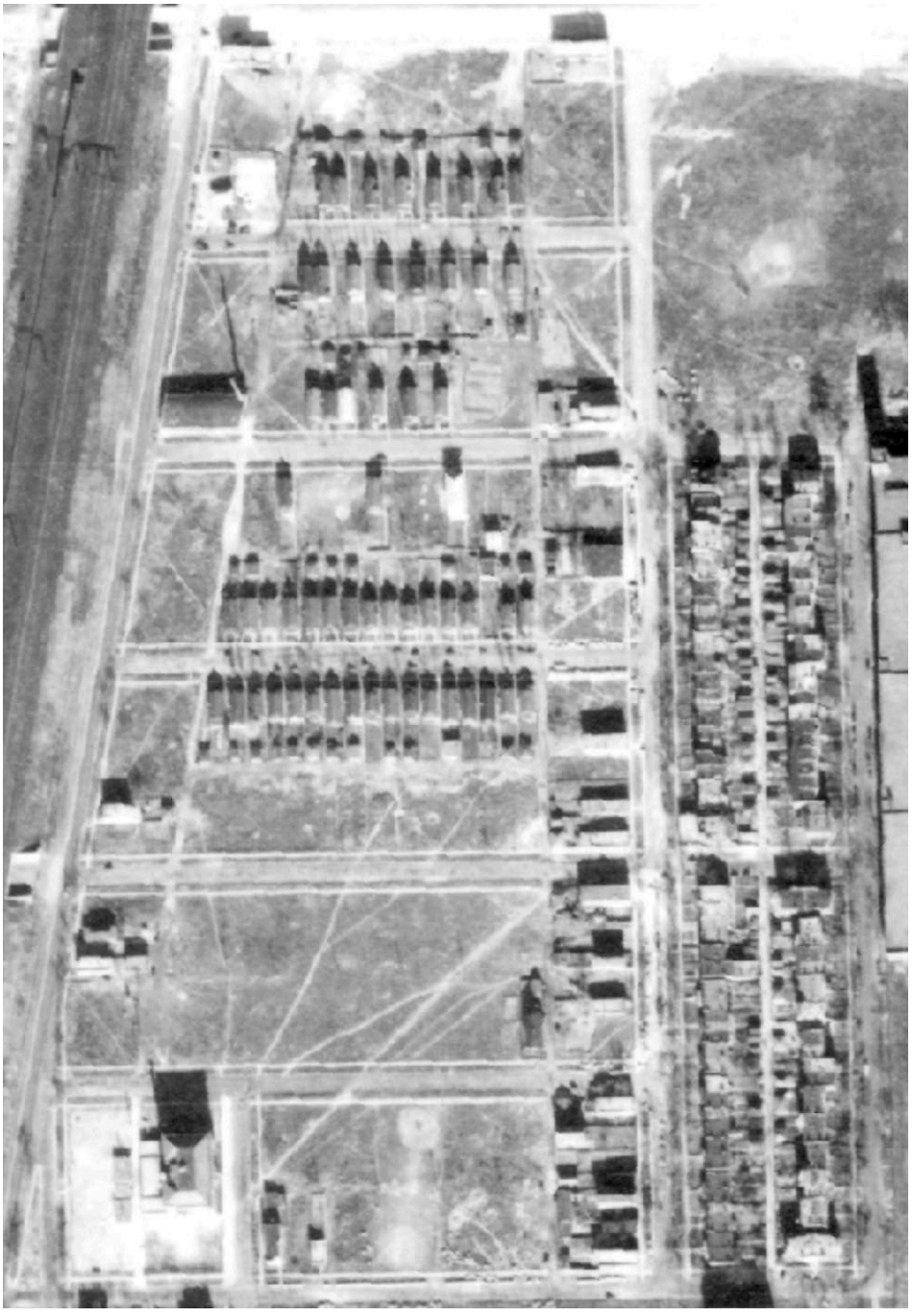

Figure 6.5. Detail of 1938 aerial photograph of Blocks 24–37, between 103rd Street and 105th Street. Note the many new brick bungalows built on 104th Place.

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]

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[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

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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]

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[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

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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

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[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'

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[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

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[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.

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[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.

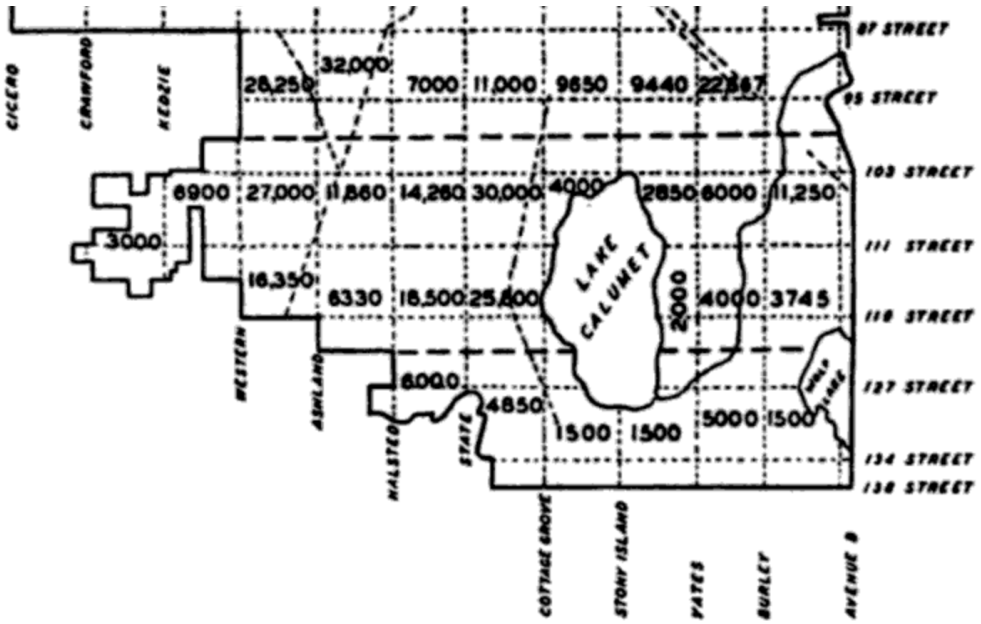


Figure 7.2. This map of land values in 1928 shows higher values in Pullman, Kensington, and Roseland than many surrounding areas. Produced by University of Chicago sociology studies, this map and much other data like it can be mined for studying social identity in Pullman. Detail of Figure 43 "Land Values 1928,"in Homer Hoyt, One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago, 1830–1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

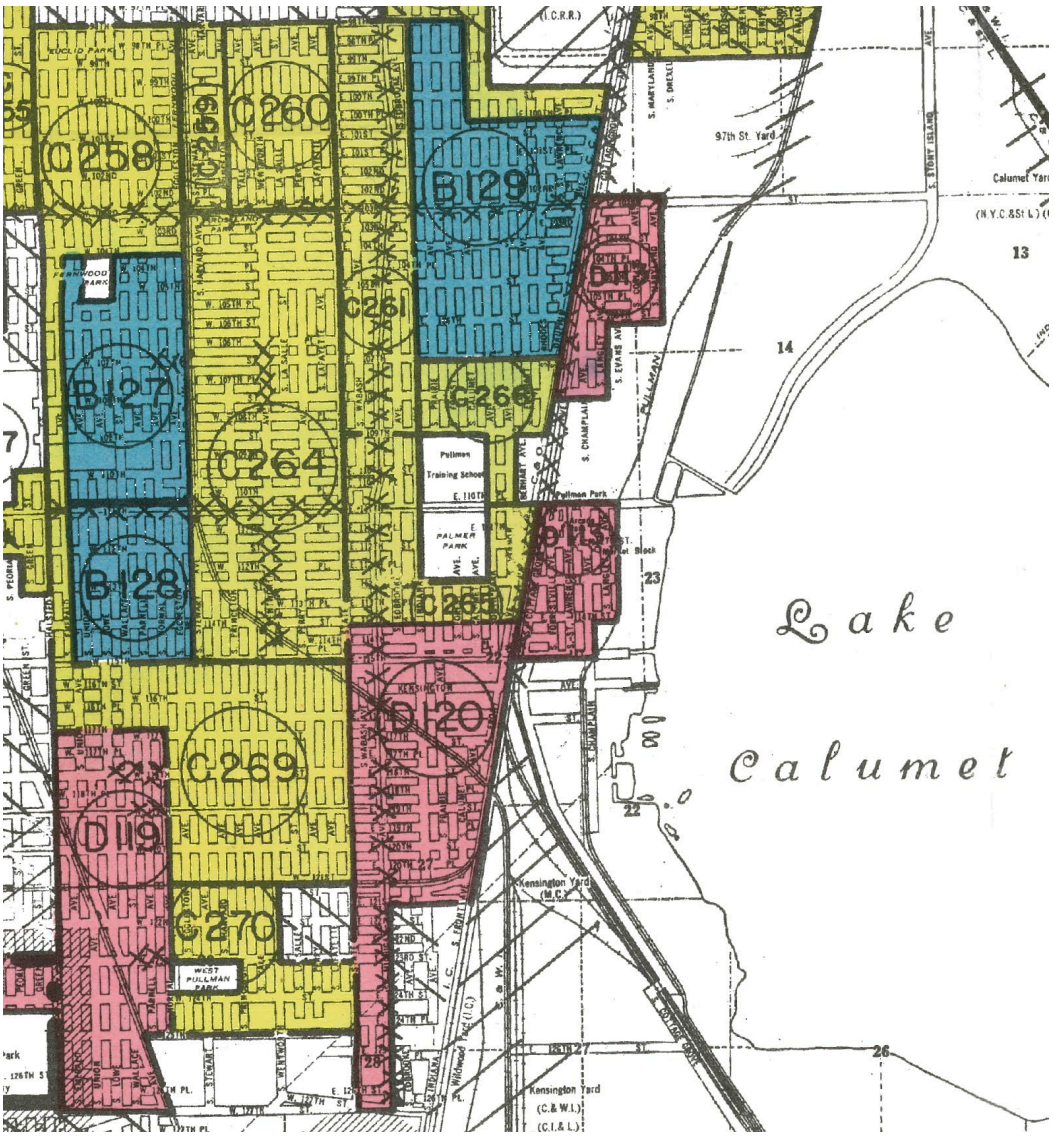
Another rich set of documents to help understand the changing neighborhood in these years are the national Home Owners' Loan Corporation maps. These HOLC maps were produced at the request of the Federal Government's Federal Housing Association to provide mortgage insurers data about the racial, ethnic, 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.

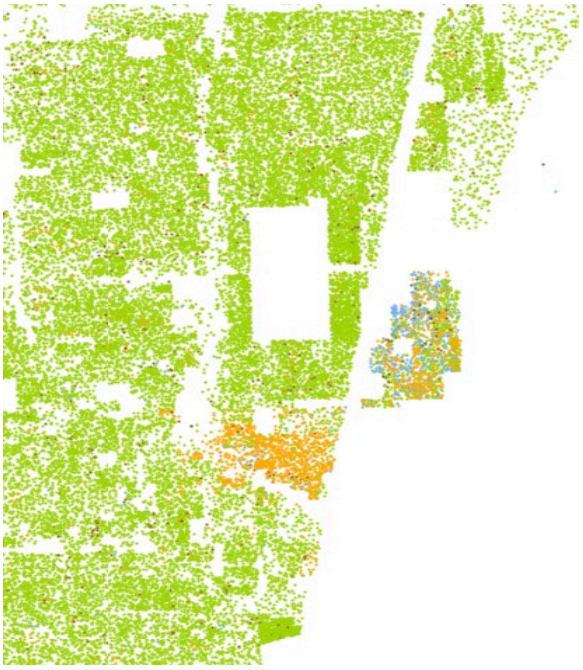


Figure 7.4. In 2010, southern Pullman stands out dramatically in the Calumet region for being racially integrated in the otherwise African American South Side. The northern parts of Pullman are predominantly African American. Detail of "The Racial Dot Map," Image Copyright, 2013, Weldon

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

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[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.

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[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.

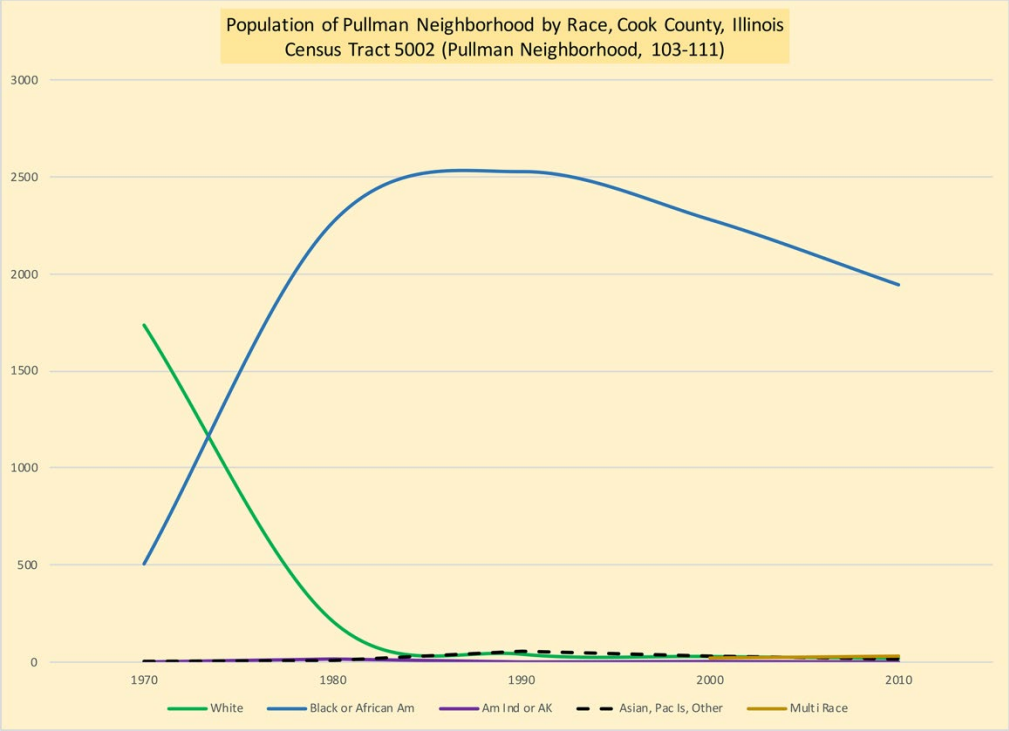

Figure 7.5. Chart showing changing racial demographics in the Pullman neighborhood. Decennial Census data from

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

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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

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[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.

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[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]

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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

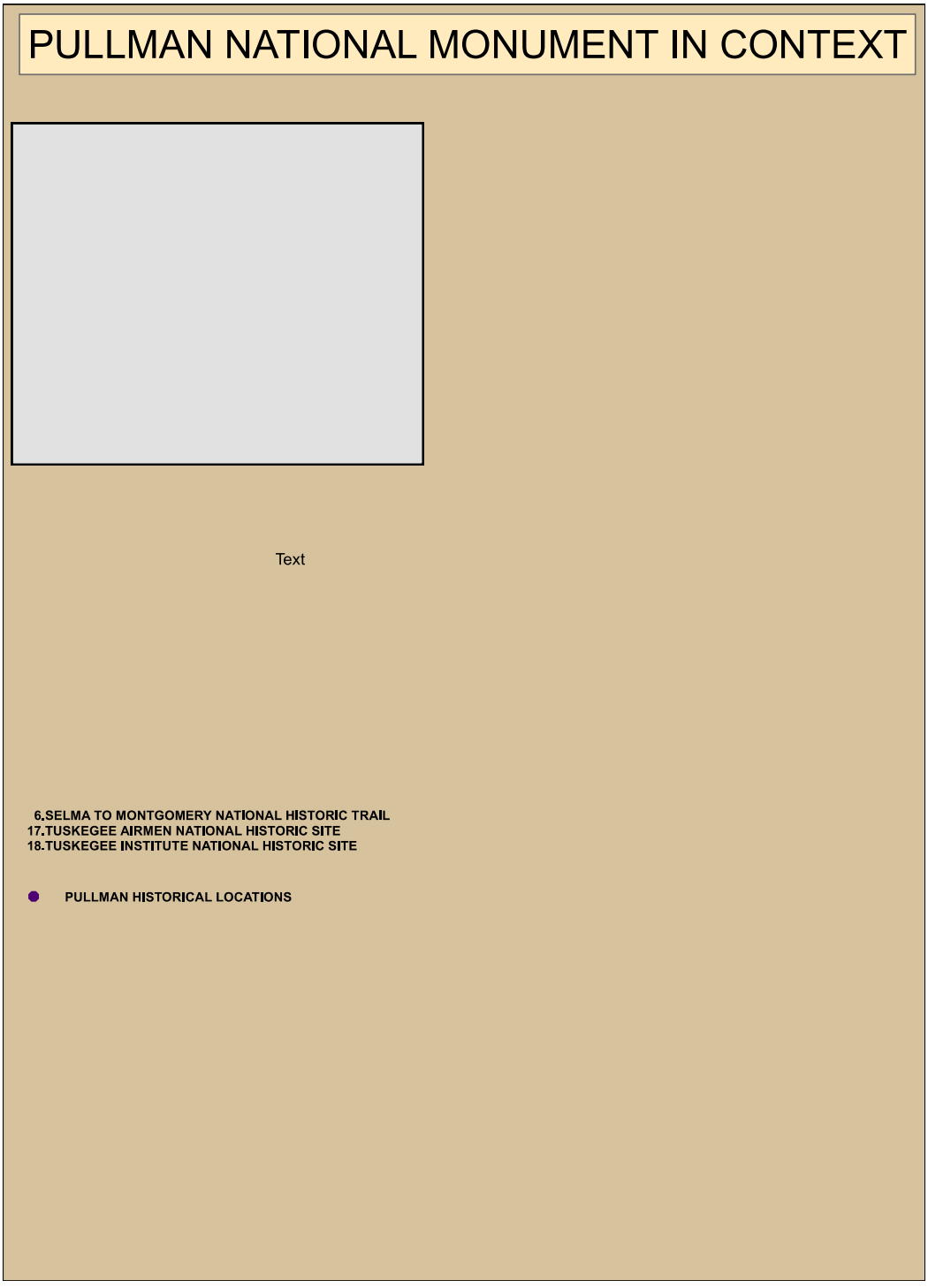

Figure 8.1: National Park Service sites related to Pullman National Monument.

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.

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[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

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[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?

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[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

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[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]

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[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

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[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

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[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]

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[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

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[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.

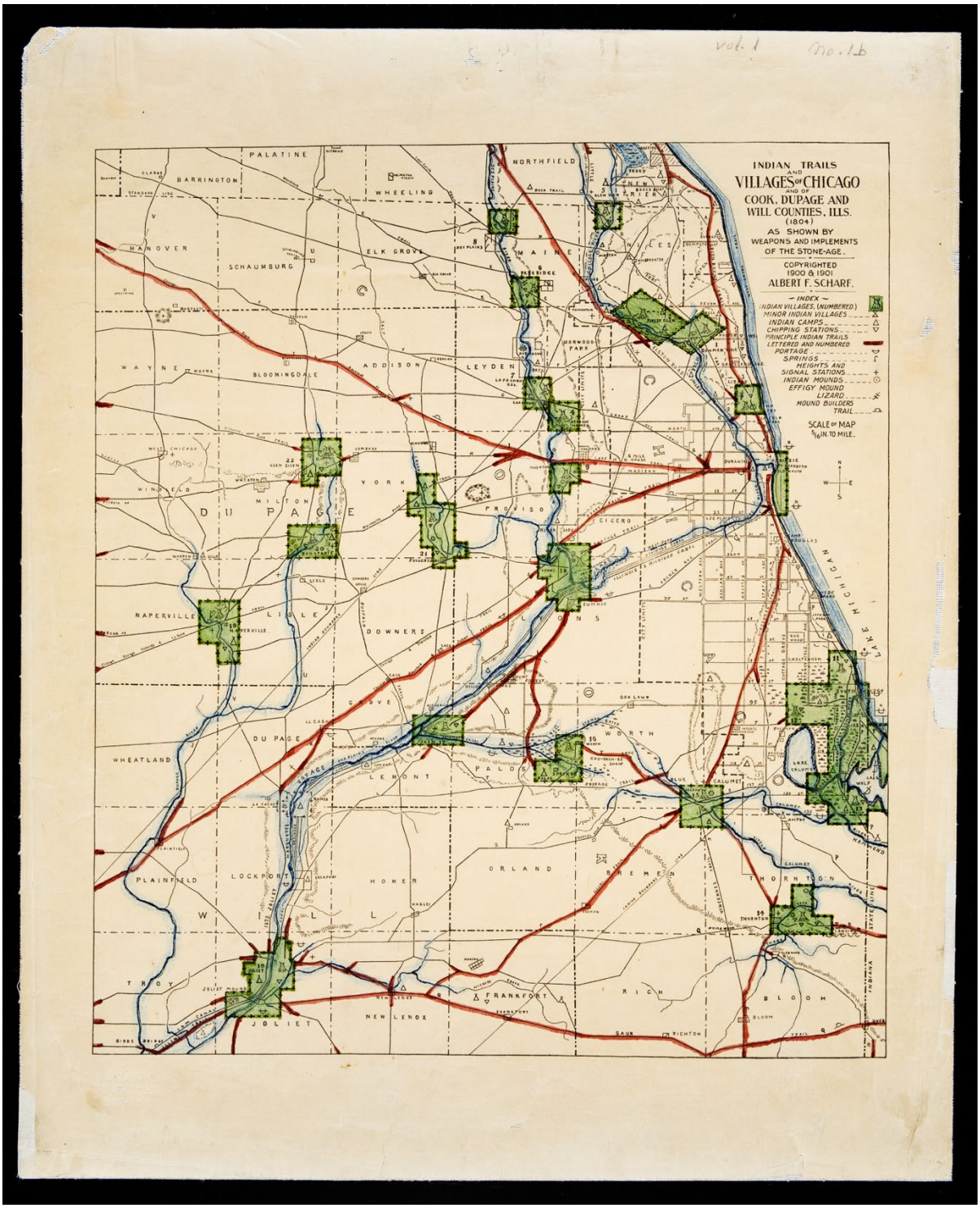

Figure 8.2: Albert Scharf's 1901 map showing his reconstruction of paths and villages around Chicago as they were in 1804. Indian Trails and Villages of Chicago and of Cook, DuPage, and Will Counties, Illinois. Chicago History Museum, ICHI-029629

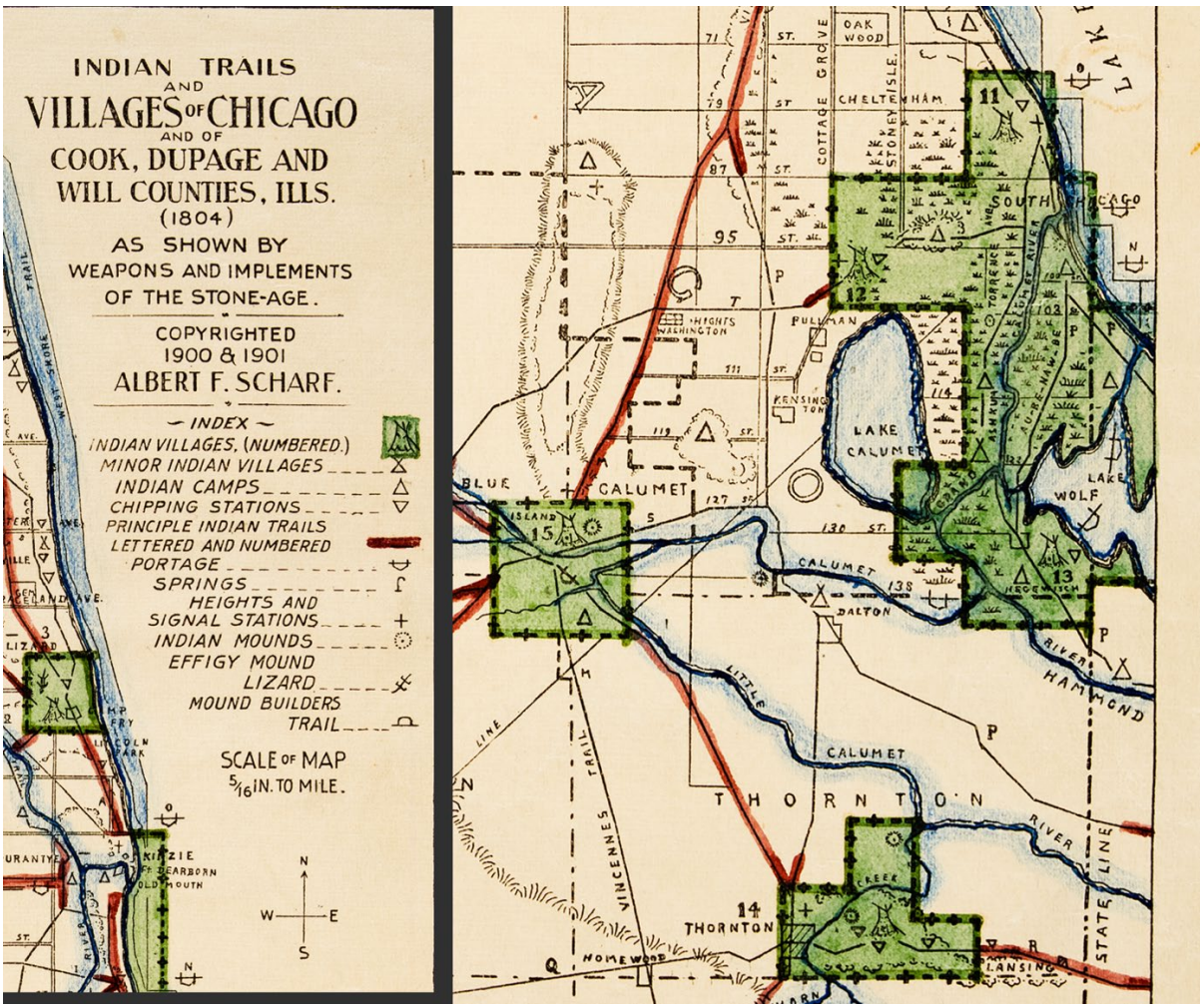

Figure 8.3: Detail of Lake Calumet and Pullman area of Albert Scharf's map, showing a major and minor villages with sites of other land use. Chicago History Museum, ICHi-029629

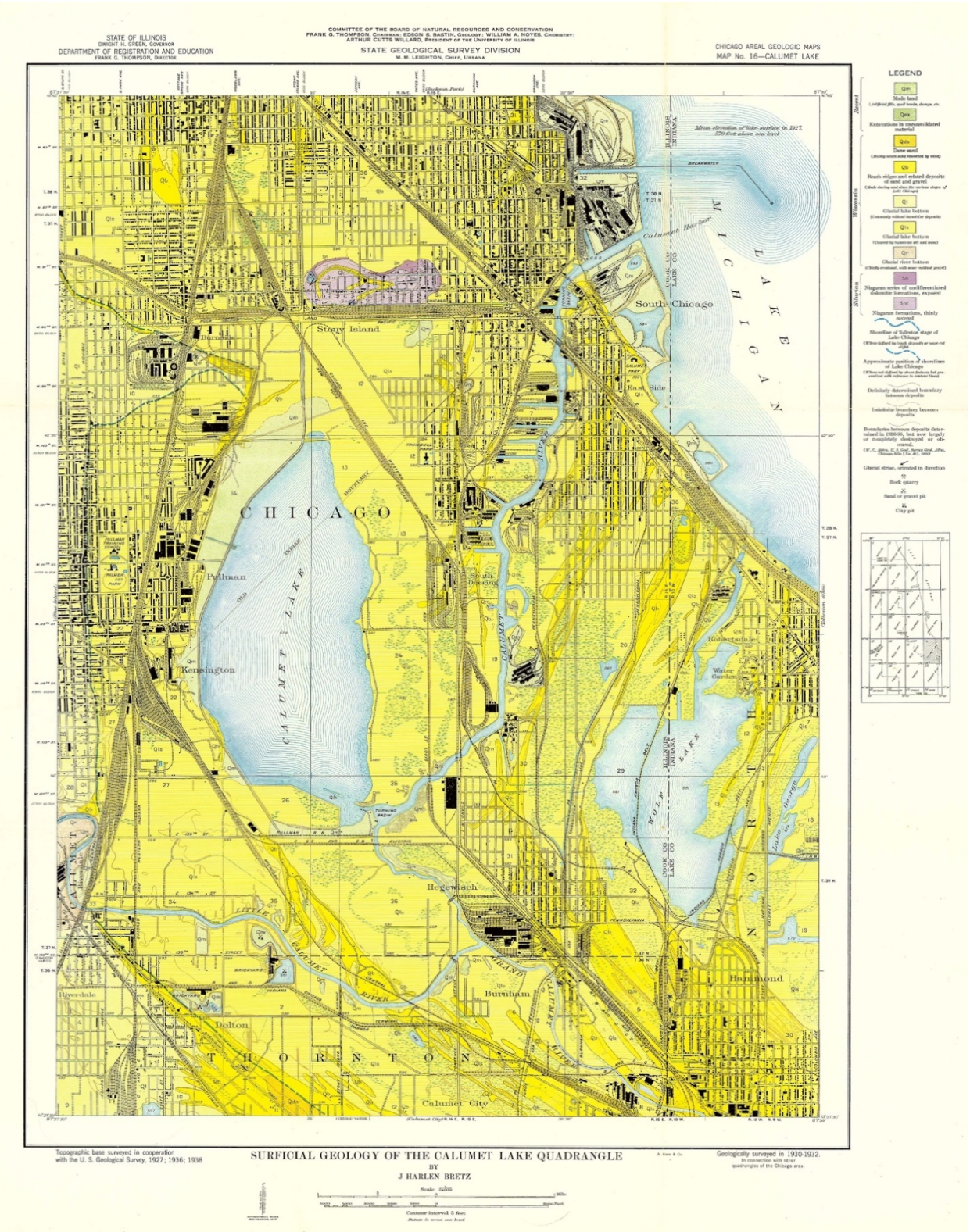

Figure 8.4: J. Harlen Bretz's map showing results of the 1930-1932 survey of the surficial geology around Lake Calumet and Pullman. University of Illinois.

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]

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[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.

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