

Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900

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“Pullman” has a number of connotations to today’s generation, perhaps none of them very strong. The images of labor strife and the Pullman strike of 1894 may be recalled. Also remembered may be the Pullman sleeping car which altered travel in the late 1800s from the drab and enduring to the luxurious and enjoyable. Perhaps less well remembered is the town of Pullman created as a model community for the production of railroad cars and the housing of the workers. All connotations of Pullman are derived ultimately from the man, George M. Pullman, post-Civil War businessman and member of Chicago’s entrepreneur set of the “gilded age.”¹

The model town of Pullman was built “overnight” in the early 1880s on several thousand prairie acres fifteen miles south of Chicago on the shores of Lake Calumet. Pullman was considered to be both an economic and social experiment, an experiment designed to demonstrate that American industry could create a town which would solve the social problems of the time and thereby would solve the labor problems of the company. The social regeneration of the worker would be accomplished by providing a model community environment which would encourage the development of proper middle-class values. In addition, the town was to be the company “showplace” where visitors might view the success of the Pullman endeavor.

Sport and recreation were important facets, if not cornerstones, of the experiment at Pullman, and the function of these activities was consistent with the overall objectives in creating the model town. Enlightened industrialists were beginning to recognize by the 1880s that sport and recreation could be used to promote certain objectives among employees. At the time of the creation of Pullman no earlier effort by American industry had come to light which attempted to weave the two, sport and recreation, into the fabric of an experiment in town planning and industrial order. Sport and recreation programs at the National Cash Register Company in Dayton and the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead were yet to occur in the last years of the nineteenth century and may in fact have received their genesis from Pullman.²

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From the company's point of view, the most important objective in erecting the town was to provide itself with a stable, skilled work force free of discontent. The town was expected to attract and retain a superior type of working man who in turn would be elevated and refined by the physical setting and would become a contented employee. George Pullman believed the community environment of his model town would develop a superior type of American working man. By aiding the working man and his family to obtain comfortable homes and decent surroundings, middle-class values would be developed. The worker who lived in the utopian town would become clean, sober, educated, frugal, and happy. Consequently a reduction of absenteeism and "shirking on the job" would result; an industrious worker would be created. In addition, such workers were expected to be less susceptible to the exhortations of labor "agitators." Not only would the model town attract, create, and retain the skilled mechanics required in the railroad car industry but it also would protect the company from labor unrest and strikes. The strikes of the 1870's still were fresh in mind.³

On a visit to the town in 1881, Pullman explained his method of improving the workmen. He intended to have "every attribute of a town exemplified" and to provide every attraction that could be desired, including churches, schools, gymnasia, and reading-rooms. By providing such an environment for the workers, better workmen would be created and the employer's industries would be better developed.⁴ Nor did Pullman stop with the provision of gymnasia, for other facilities and buildings were built which offered extensive opportunity for sport and play.

Also inherent in the blueprint for Pullman was the need for "healthful" recreation by the workers. In providing for recreational opportunities, the substitution of virtuous activities for immoral vices was undertaken. Athletic sport was promoted while drinking and gambling were barred. The speaker at the opening of the town's theatre described the recreation planned for the workers in the early 1880s: "Men must play! Men must play! They must have, and will have, rest and recreation. They will have it in virtuous forms and under virtuous conditions or they will get it under vicious forms and under vicious conditions."⁵ The single place where liquor could be purchased in Pullman was in the town's hotel and this provision was for the convenience of visitors. No other bar or saloon was tolerated.⁶ George Pullman explained his reason for this regulation and the substitutes for liquor provided inhabitants of the town:

We allow no liquor in the city; now take strong liquor away from men who have been accustomed to it, and not furnish something to fill the gap is all wrong—there is a want felt, a vacuum created and it must be filled; to do this we have provided a theater: a reading room, billiard room, and all sorts of outdoor sports, and by this means our people soon forgot all about drink, they find they are better off without it, and we have an assurance of our work being done with greater accuracy and skill.⁷

The social experiment which took place at Pullman was not considered by its founder to be philanthropy; it was business and it was designed to yield a return to the investor. Seeing 'nothing wrong in a society oriented toward profit, Pullman's intentions were to apply principles of business efficiency to meet the needs of the worker. In keeping with this idea most buildings in the town were expected to repay the company a six percent profit on their cost, be it home, church, or store. According to Pullman, the workers were to be neither supported as paupers nor amused as children, They were to be treated as men who could appreciate the comforts and luxuries afforded them and who would be glad and willing to pay something for them. Furthermore, their appreciation would result in rendering better service to their employers and in becoming useful and self-respecting citizens.⁸ Some of the opportunities for sport and physical recreation in Pullman were free but most were operated for profit, or as it was termed, "a moderate interest on the investment." The management of sport and recreation was consistent with the overall management of the model town. The speaker at the opening of the Arcade Theater at Pullman characterized the profit-oriented experiment: "All this chance for manly sport and beautiful recreation for body and brain are not given as charity, but are wisely and justly furnished to all who need and will pay fair price for fair enjoyment."⁹

I

The Town and Its Inhabitants

During the early part of 1880 the Pullman Company acquired the prairie acreage necessary for the construction of the model town and the industrial complex. By 1884 a charming little city was completed with workers' residences, public buildings, and parks and playgrounds. The quality of the workers' residences deserves special attention. Homes constructed in Pullman were provided with conveniences and luxuries virtually unknown to the worker of the 1880s. The dwellings were predominantly brick row houses containing from two to seven rooms. No dwelling was ever more than two rooms deep in order to secure cross ventilation and sunlight. Every unit provided water and gas for cooking and lighting, and access to complete sanitary facilities. Nor was beautification neglected, for lakes, trees, shrubs, and flowers created a park-like atmosphere throughout the town.¹⁰ It was this ambience that Pullman expected to create the superior working men for the company.

The residents of Pullman were a socially and economically diverse population. Company officers, foremen, skilled mechanics, laborers, merchants, and professionals lived in the model town. Two to four-room flats generally housed various cabinetmakers, carbuilders, and laborers. The typical cottage, consisting of five rooms, was rented by skilled artisans while company officers, foremen, and the town's merchants and professionals occupied the larger single family homes. Rentals for the eighteen hundred dwellings in

Pullman varied but all were expected to return a six percent profit.¹¹ Residents were denied the opportunity to purchase any property in the town during the entire Pullman experiment; a Pullman inhabitant was a renter, not a homeowner.

Unskilled laborers comprised perhaps but one-fourth of the work force population. The great majority of workers at Pullman were skilled artisans. These proficient mechanics, with higher industrial skills, were vital to the success of the company. The model town had been conceived and built in an effort to attract them to Pullman and to keep them at Pullman. Approximately two-thirds of all workers were employed in the thirty-odd repair and manufacturing shops of the Palace Car Company. The company employed other workers in various company enterprises in the town.^{1 2}

The population of the town increased steadily from the occupation of the first house in January 1881 until the depression of 1893. By 1882 there were two thousand residents of Pullman and the following year that number rose to six thousand. During the next four years the number of residents increased by two thousand every two years, and by 1895 over twelve thousand inhabited the town. Adult male residents generally accounted for one half of Pullman's population throughout the period. By 1892, their number reached six thousand. Most of them worked in Pullman. It was for this adult male population that most of the sport and physical recreation activities in the town were created. In addition, the bachelor population was to be singled out for particular attention. The work force at Pullman had a large number of bachelors at all times, variously from two to three thousand. While a number of houses were built to accommodate from twenty to fifty boarders each, a large majority of single men preferred to live with private families. By the early 1890s probably not less than nine hundred families in Pullman took in one or more boarders or roomers.¹³

The Palace Car Company was dependent in large measure upon immigrant workers for those higher technical skills required in the manufacture and repair of railroad cars. This dependence upon a foreign-born population increased as the town grew. In 1885, fifty-three percent of the town's residents were of foreign birth. Those nations most well represented were Germany, Sweden, Ireland, Canada, England, and Holland. Those born in Germany and Sweden each accounted for at least twelve percent of the town's population. By 1892 the proportion of American-born employees at Pullman had even further decreased, but thirty percent were American-born. The numbers of Swedish workers had increased to eighteen percent, Germans remained stable at twelve percent, and Hollanders increased to twelve percent. Irish, Canadian, and English-born workers continued to swell the immigrant population. It was not until after George Pullman's death and his bequeath of \$1,200,000 to build and maintain a technical school for the benefit of persons living or

employed at Pullman that the company was able to obtain from a native-born work force the skilled mechanics necessary for the building and repair of the railroad cars.¹⁴

The origin of Pullman's ideas for his model town is unknown. No material is available indicating either how the town was conceived or from where Pullman may have borrowed ideas for his experiment. Lindsey maintained that while it was not known to what extent, if at all, George Pullman borrowed from earlier paternalistic experiments in Europe, he was doubtless familiar with their existence.¹⁵ As Buder pointed out, however, Pullman denied having derived his original ideas from one or the other of the model company towns in Europe.¹⁶ Pullman claimed that the town was a logical extension of his business experience. A pamphlet prepared by the company for distribution at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 stated: "The story of Pullman naturally divides itself into three parts—the building of the car, the building up of the operating system, and the building of the town. Each of these stages is the natural, logical sequence of the other; through them all there runs the same underlying thought, the same thread of ideas."¹⁷

Nevertheless, the town of Pullman began to be compared with certain model company towns in Europe: Saltaire in England, Guise in France, and Essen in Germany. The European towns and their concern for the social well-being of the residents, including sporting and leisure facilities, resembled Pullman in varying degrees. A brief treatment of the European experiments indicates that Pullman was not the first to create model towns with sporting and leisure facilities as extensions of business interests.

The town which in many ways bore a striking resemblance to Pullman was Saltaire. This beautiful little town in Yorkshire, England was built as a model community for the families of artisans working in the manufacture of alpaca woolens in the factories of Sir Titus Salt. In addition to homes, Saltaire provided churches and schools for worship and instruction, bathhouses for cleanliness, clubs and lyceums for culture and "harmless" recreation, public parks for athletic sports, marts and shops for necessary goods, and almshouses for the sick. By 1872 the village had grown to twenty-six acres upon which were built over seven hundred dwellings and shops. Four thousand workers lived in stone cottages with little plots of grass in front and gardens behind. Besides the cottages owned and rented by Salt, many artisans bought lots and built their own homes.¹⁸

Following the completion of the cottages, work began on the public buildings which provided for the employees' spiritual, social, and physical needs. The first built was the church; the Saltaire Club and Institute, built in 1870, followed and was designed to provide recreation and education for the operators after their day's work. Salt established the Institute to take the place of the

“evil tavern,” and secondly, as a resort for conversation, business, recreation, and refreshment. Believing that it was good to be “merrie and wise,” he proposed that the recreational uses of the Institute should almost occupy a place as prominent as that accorded to education. Separate game rooms for billiards, bagatelle, and chess were provided. Also included within the club was a gymnasium having a supply of trapezes, horizontal bars, and other gymnastic appliances. Salt bore the initial cost of the building of the Institute; upon completion a “minimal rent” was paid. Membership in the Institute was open to men and women, and boys and girls; their quarterly fees varied from two shillings to sixpence.¹⁹

For those “athletic and lusty sports in which all Englishmen delight, but which are the special passion of Yorkshiremen,” a fourteen-acre recreational park was built adjoining the river Aire. Trees, shrubs, and promenades were laid out. A boathouse and landing place afforded opportunities to those who delighted in aquatic sports, while a large section of the park was set apart for a cricket ground. A tastefully designed pavilion overlooked the cricket ground. There were croquet grounds and bowling greens also. An angling association and cricket club were among the social institutions of the town.²⁰

Saltaire’s school provided a “good common school education” for the children of the workers. Besides the regular school rooms, a large playground covered with asphalt, “so as to afford recess recreation in wet weather,” lay to the rear of the school. In the boys’ section of the playground—separated from the girls’ playground as were the classrooms—were “complete” gymnastic appliances.²¹

The similarities between Saltaire and the Pullman experiment will become apparent as Pullman is described. Briefly stated, both towns extensively included sport and physical recreation for the benefit of the workers and their families. While the model town at Guise and Essen resembled Pullman in many ways, the provision of extensive sporting and physical recreation opportunities was not one of the similar characteristics. In fact, there was but meager provision for sport and physical recreation for the workers and their families at the Godin iron works at Guise and the Krupp steel works at Essen.

II

Sport and Physical Recreation in Pullman

The degree to which sport and physical recreation were woven into the fabric of the town can best be illustrated by the extent to which facilities of Pullman were devoted to sport and physical recreation, the extent to which the company and its representatives involved themselves in the development and management of sport and physical recreation, and the varying types of sport and physical recreation afforded the workers and their families.

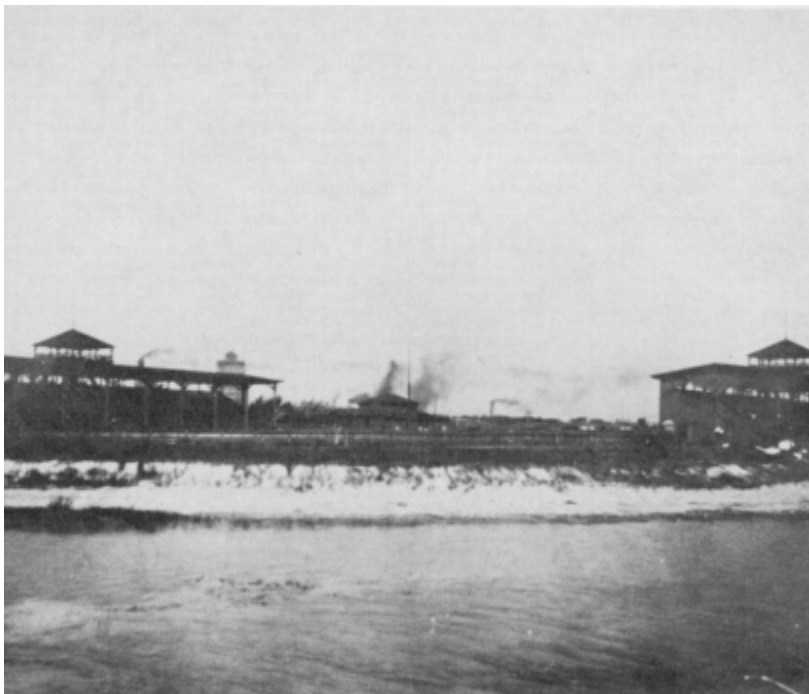
A number of public facilities and structures were built which provided the inhabitants of Pullman with comforts, luxuries, and opportunities new to the 1880 American worker. These buildings and facilities served a number of functions; provision for sport and physical recreation was a function of a large number of them. They offered the inhabitant, and the visitor, an opportunity to sport and play and also an opportunity to view sport on a somewhat grand scale. At the very least, it was not on a scale appropriate to a new town of a few thousand souls.

Two facilities specifically built by the Pullman company to accommodate sport and physical recreation were the Playground and Athletic Island. In addition, a number of buildings were designed to function primarily for other purposes but on occasion served as accessories to the sporting and recreational life in Pullman. The Arcade, Florence Hotel, Market Hall, Casino, and the school were such facilities. They too illustrate how George M. Pullman utilized sport and physical recreation to accomplish his goals.

The Playground was carved out of lakefront property to the east of the town. While early accounts described the twelve-acre facility as a playground for children, later descriptions indicate that this six hundred foot square recreational park was devoted to athletic games.²² The facility was popular with the town's residents and the company's work force. As early as 1882, one observer noted the park took on a "lively appearance" between five and eight on working days: "Throngs of ball players, cricketeers, football, and tennis players congregate to play those games, while a larger number of enthusiastic admirers flash around to see the sport. No less than 250 persons are to be seen there when the weather is at all favorable."²³

A wooden bridge led from the Playground to an artificial island created from the dredgings from Lake Calumet, one hundred feet off the shore. This little five-acre island was known as Athletic Island as it was the arena for athletic sports. A temporary boathouse, supplying facilities for the Pullman Athletic Association, was built in 1882 at a cost of seven hundred dollars. At the same time, architectural plans were made for a larger facility costing three thousand dollars to be built the following year. The elegant, ornately designed boathouse was rented to participating sport clubs. Two huge grandstands also were constructed on the island. The larger of the two overlooked a one-sixth mile oval, cinder track. This amphitheater accommodated seven thousand spectators who viewed many prize-winning track and field contests.²⁴ The smaller grandstand overlooked Lake Calumet where spectators could watch topnotch oarsmen and crew teams in various annual regattas while the Pullman brass band played lively tunes. The rowing course was designed to be one of the best in the country. Almost any required distance could be covered. The mile course, in full view of the grandstand, was entirely straight and could be started in either direction as may have been made necessary by the

wind.²⁵ Besides competition in various sports, Athletic Island was used for recreational activities during the winter months. The interior of the running track was flooded and frozen providing a large skating rink. The lovely boat-house was kept warm for the skaters and was used by them as a dressing room.²⁶



Lake Calumet view of Athletic Island in the late 19th century. The larger grandstand to the left overlooked the track and field facilities. The smaller grandstand to the right overlooked the rowing course. The Pullman Athletic Association boathouse, situated between the two grandstands, stood at the north edge of the Island.

While Athletic Island was used at times for professional boat races, it seems the facility was reserved for amateur athletic events. In 1882, a one hundred yard match-footrace held at Pullman for a purse of one hundred dollars was denied the facilities of Athletic Island by the Pullman Athletic Association due to the professional nature of the event. The two contestants, one from Pullman and one from Chicago, instead ran their match on Florence Boulevard. A number of “sporting men” from Chicago and other cities attended the event.²⁷

Three public buildings housed gymnasium facilities for Pullman’s male inhabitants. The initial gymnasium was located in the Arcade, the most impressive building in Pullman. Begun in 1881, only one year after the acquisition of the land for the town, the Arcade cost over \$250,000 and contained some

thirty shops in addition to a gymnasium, billiard parlor, theater, and public library. The acre of roof was slate covered, except for the portion over the central passage which was of glass thus creating a central mall "as light as day." The theater, known as the pride of Mr. Pullman, had a seating capacity of one thousand and was acclaimed as an artistic gem. Various theatrical companies rented the hall, but the directors excluded "immoral" productions and accepted only those providing "innocent" amusement and instruction.²⁸ Two rooms in the Arcade were rented by the Young Men's Christian Association and used as a gymnasium. An 1893 issue of the *Pullman Journal*, a local publication, ran two notices which illustrate the diverse programs of the YMCA. One notice was a call to training for Pullman athletes who expected to take part in the Spring Games, an annual Decoration Day athletic tournament at Pullman. The other notice announced an open lecture on the subject of physical culture. Two years later, in 1895, Pullman Palace Car Company (PPCC) officers and residents of the model town were to organize a men's society strongly resembling the YMCA in function. Perhaps by 1895 the YMCA was no longer an occupant of the gymnasium rooms in the Arcade. It is known that by 1896 the Arcade's gymnasium was under the control of the Pullman Athletic Association. It is doubtful that PPCC officials would have organized a society in the town which competed with the YMCA and would have installed Athletic Association control over gymnasium facilities if the YMCA had not already left the town.²⁹

The departure of the YMCA from Pullman in the mid-1890s may have been prompted by a number of factors. Eiche Turnverein had been founded in 1886 in the neighboring town of Kensington. German residents of Pullman no doubt supported Eiche Turnverein and may have abandoned any possible patronage of the YMCA. It is also probable that company mechanics could no longer afford to belong to the organization, due to their reduced income following the reduction of workers' hours by the company after the depression of 1893. Membership in the Pullman YMCA obviously was not free of charge. It was common practice to charge for the use of gymnasium facilities. Various welfare organizations with gymnasium facilities in Chicago charged annual membership fees. The Chicago Athenaeum, of which George Pullman was both board member and president, charged ten dollars and the Chicago YMCA charged five dollars for membership. Upon leaving Pullman, the YMCA did not abandon the area completely; in 1899 it rented rooms in neighboring Roseland, not one mile from the model town. Roseland rental fees may have been less than the annual rental of eighteen hundred dollars charged in Pullman. Examination of an early membership roster indicates that residents of Roseland of Dutch origin were instrumental in its organization.³⁰

Another Pullman gymnasium, or a facility used as an exhibition gymnasium, was located in Market Hall. Designed as a market place for fresh meats and vegetables, Market Hall had yet another function in the town's social life. On

the second floor was a large public hall where various entertainments, banquets, and balls were held. Issues of the *Journal* from the 1890s indicate that the hall also housed annual indoor athletic contests, which generally included such events as wrestling, jumping, boxing, tug-of-war, and Indian club swinging.³¹ These contests probably were held for the benefit of local athletes, as no mention was made of them in Chicago papers. They also may have been considered preliminary contests for the widely publicized Spring Games.

The third public building with gymnasium facilities in Pullman was the Casino. Begun in 1882, its main floor originally housed the repair shops for the town while the second story was devoted to club rooms and society halls for the forty social organizations of the town. After various renovations in 1895, the Casino's first floor accommodated a large assembly room, gymnasium, and reading room while the basement contained a bowling alley and bath facility. A number of games and athletic activities were available in the Casino gymnasium from the beginning—basketball, handball, fencing, boxing, punching bag and pulling weights—while the bowling alley and shuffleboards were added later.³² Interestingly, these renovations took place after the strike of 1894, after the workers showed that they had not become “happy and contented employees,” as the experiment had been designed to bring about. Too, the renovations illustrate that George M. Pullman had not abandoned his experiment because of the Pullman strike crisis; he continued to attempt to promote his experiment in creating an ideal worker's environment according to his standards.

The organization that managed the Casino gymnasium facilities was the Men's Society of Pullman. The Society strongly resembled the YMCA in scope and character; its stated purpose was to promote the social, intellectual, and moral welfare of its members. Activities of the gymnasium, reading room, and classroom were promoted. No games of chance were allowed nor was betting permitted on the premises. “Temperance refreshments” were available at reasonable prices and alcoholic beverages were barred. From the time of its incorporation, in 1895, it was a popular club in Pullman. The initial membership list included one hundred fifty active members. The thirty-odd associate members, of whom George Pullman headed the list, were officials of the Pullman Company in Chicago, St. Louis, and New York or company enterprises in Pullman. Although all Pullman men were eligible to join, the Casino rooms were designed particularly as a partial substitute for home to the many hundreds of unmarried men working in the Pullman shops. Interestingly, no Pullman athlete's name appears on the club's initial membership list. Membership dues of three dollars annually probably charged by each organization may have prevented joint membership.³³ Pullman paychecks had diminished after the 1893 depression. The payment of rent left little, if any, discretionary income for belonging to social organizations. Even with “bad

times” in Pullman, members of the Men’s Society were expected to pay annual dues; the Pullman experiment was based upon the tenet of recipient payment for services received.

The Florence Hotel was another of the public buildings in Pullman that on occasion supported sporting and recreational life in the town. Named after George Pullman’s favorite daughter, it was built to accommodate the many visitors to Pullman. It was a deluxe hotel with both furnishings and services on a grand scale. The multi-gabled and dormered building was skirted by a broad veranda that looked out over gardens, walks, a band shell, and even a man-made lake. It was at the Florence Hotel that the Pullman Athletic Association entertained the athletes and officials of the first national track and field tournament held at Pullman in October 1882. The town’s athletes were treated to an “inside view” of the hotel that few of the residents enjoyed. Residents could not afford its services. Also, the nearness of Pullman to Chicago not only brought thousands of wheelmen to Pullman every year, but many sleighing and tallyho parties made the journey from downtown Chicago to the Florence Hotel.³⁴

Recreational facilities for the children of Pullman were provided in both the Playground, as discussed earlier, and on school environs. The basement of the school was fitted as a playground for the winter while the large lot upon which the school was built, about an acre and a half, was laid out as an outdoor playground for year-round use. Duane Doty, editor of the *Pullman Journal* and Pullman Palace Car Company senior town agent, had earlier been superintendent of the Detroit and Chicago public schools before coming to Pullman as a civil engineer to lay out the model town. Drawing upon his experience in education, Doty assisted the model town’s architect in the design of the school.³⁵ Twenty years earlier, Chicago had begun designing basement rooms in elementary schools as indoor playgrounds for students.³⁶ Like the other structures in the town, the school too was rented from the company. While members of the local board of education were elected by the residents of the town, control of the school usually rested with Pullman company officials. With only one exception, every member of the board of the Pullman school was an officer of the Palace Car Company or some concern which bore the name of Pullman.³⁷

The town of Pullman had a large number of social organizations. The number, variety, and strength of these groups was due partly to the role of the company in the town’s life. Officers and clerks of the Pullman Palace Car Company and the town’s merchants and professionals assumed positions of leadership in all social activity, which George Pullman encouraged in a number of informal ways. Nor was this patronage inconsistent with the overall plan of the building, organization, and management of the town. The Company owned and managed the facilities for the production and repair of its railroad cars; it

owned and managed the dwelling units and public buildings; and it organized and managed the social life of the town. The Company assumed the responsibility for the success of the total Pullman social experiment.

One of the town's forty organizations, the Pullman Athletic Association, (PAA), was especially active. Established in 1882, the PAA sponsored sporting events throughout the period of the experiment. Regattas, track meets, cycling contests, cricket matches, and baseball games filled the grandstands on Athletic Island and crowded the playing fields of the Playground within two years of the occupation of the first house in Pullman. Information regarding the Association is fragmentary but does include lists of officers and directors, numbers of members, and descriptions of financial affairs. By June 1882, the first officers of PAA had been selected; they were seven in number. E.Q. Hendricks was president; John McLean, M.D., vice-president; E.C. Tourtelot, secretary; Major J.L. Woods, treasurer; C. A. Needham was captain of the crew; and William Lee and F.H. Fendbe were manager and assistant manager of the baseball grounds. At the same meeting, seven trustees of the organization were also chosen. In addition to Woods, McLean, and Hendricks, the initial trustees were A. Kapp, C.W. Green, and N.F. Barrett. The type of men selected demonstrated the involvement of the PPCC in the social life of the residents of Pullman; most of the men, if not all, had important positions in the company or in the town. Hendricks' many company positions included chief clerk, town agent, and superintendent of the brickyards. McLean was company physician and school board president. Tourtelot was company chief clerk, Woods was in charge of the Allen Paper Wheel Company, and Barrett was the town's landscape architect.³⁸

The only additional list of officers and directors available is from the year 1884. Hendricks remained president while D.Q. Martin became vice-president, Alex Harper was the new secretary, and John Hopkins the new treasurer. Dropped from the list of officers were the captain of the crew and manager of the baseball grounds; added was the position of athletic instructor which was filled by W.C. Dole. Directors of the PAA were increased to eleven in 1884. Hendricks, Hopkins, Woods, McLean, and Harper were joined by M.A. Lincoln, F.A. Secord, J.W. Hazlehurst, Jesse Wardell, N. Ropp, and D. R. Martin. The new officers and directors were important people in the company and in the town. Hopkins was general timekeeper of the shops; Secord was a Calumet area merchant who rented four stores in Pullman's Arcade with Hopkins and formed the Arcade Trading Company; Hazlehurst was a merchant, tailor, and dealer in "Gents' Furnishings and Goods," in Pullman's Arcade; and Wardell was manager of the Red Lion Boot and Shoe Company, also in the Arcade.³⁹ Control of the Pullman Athletic Association was completely vested in company managers and clerks and in town merchants and professionals. Skilled mechanics, upon whom the company depended and hoped to attract to the town, do not appear to have

held office in the association and therefore had little to say in the management of sport and physical recreation in Pullman.

Limiting leadership in the PAA to the elite of the town was probably by design. Such a practice was consistent with the whole experiment in that all services for the town were performed by the company and its representatives. Pullman was to project an aura of orderliness and was not to be viewed as a hodgepodge with possible examples of neglect. There was perhaps yet another explanation for PAA's leadership being vested in the town's elite. The basis for this reason may be found in Lindsey's statement that the Association was capitalized in 1882 at ten thousand dollars and that its board of directors were chosen by the stockholders.⁴⁰ Selecting boards of directors from the ranks of corporation stockholders was common practice. Perhaps some of the directors of the PAA were stockholders and were selected because of that fact although no evidence exists to support this conjecture. There is also the possibility that the directors were selected because of their qualifications, as that too was not an uncommon practice. Being businessmen, they could aid in the management of the organization's works. At the same time it is doubtful that PAA stockholders would have selected skilled artisans working for the company as members of the board since mechanics had neither the funds to buy stock in the PAA nor the business capacity that would qualify them as experts. On the other hand, the men who were chosen as officers and members of the board of directors had ample reason to buy stock. An examination of their occupations in the town and in the company indicates that they quite possibly had an interest in the success of the sporting contests that were run by the PAA. Company clerks and officials, if nothing else, would be helping George Pullman achieve his goals, and town businessmen would be boosting the town and attracting customers to their shops when sport enthusiasts flocked to Pullman.

Only one stockholder in the PAA is known. Frank Staples, the treasurer of the socially elite Farragut Boat Club of Chicago, was a PAA stockholder.⁴¹ The amount of stock he held is not known but he obviously had his reasons for purchasing PAA stock. The purchase may simply have been for investment purposes or Staples may very well have wanted to have been connected with a George Pullman venture as a friendly associate.

The issuing of stock by the Pullman Athletic Association could have served at least two purposes: 1) to raise capital in order to cover operating expenses, and 2) to limit the liability as a form of protection for the organization and perhaps for the company. Both functions were in keeping with the total Pullman experiment where each aspect of the town was expected not only to be self-sustaining but also to be an interest-producing investment and certainly not a source of future expense. In June 1882, there was nearly two thousand dollars in the PAA treasury and it was thought that the sum would probably

“be largely increased during the next five weeks.”⁴² Perhaps one-fifth of the available stock had already been sold at this time. Whether the full amount of stock issued was sold is not known.

While PAA officer and board of director ranks were filled by town businessmen and company clerks and managers, it is doubtful they were the sole members of the organization. No list of names remains to identify all the members. At the time the association was organized, the membership was about one hundred. Fourteen years later, in 1896, there were one hundred fifty members.⁴³ The adult male population of Pullman was one thousand in 1882 and six thousand in 1893. Few townsmen belonged to PAA in relationship to the number eligible. One of the factors that may have accounted for the vast discrepancy may have been the long workday and the long workweek in the Pullman shops. The working day fluctuated from ten to eleven hours during the period of the experiment and in 1894 was ten and three-fourths hours.⁴⁴ There was little time after the day’s toil to enjoy a game of ball. It seems unlikely that playing fields would entice mechanics and laborers after working ten or eleven hours daily. In addition, the weekend provided but one day of leisure for recreation. The Pullman shops were kept operating on Saturdays and closed at noon only on special occasions in order to accommodate such affairs as the Spring Games.

As discussed earlier, immigrants comprised a large proportion of the Palace Car work force throughout the Pullman experiment. John McLean, one of the town’s doctors and PAA officer, believed the foreign workers strongly resented the lack of the free time and energy to enjoy their higher wages and better living conditions.⁴⁵ If McLean’s belief was correct regarding the resentment toward the long workday and long workweek harbored by foreign workers, this resentment may have mitigated against a larger proportion of the town’s immigrants joining the PAA.

Another factor mitigating against larger numbers of Pullmanites belonging to the PAA may have been the dues structure of the organization. No evidence remains that dues were assessed members but it would have been inconsistent for membership to be free in the PAA when membership dues were common for other social services and clubs of the town such as the library and the Men’s Society of Pullman. Both charged twenty-five cents monthly dues. “Three dollars here” and “three dollars there” may have been more than Pullmanites could afford. In addition, the large number of organizations in the town would be likely to lessen the numbers belonging to any one organization.

At the time the PAA was organized in 1882 with a membership of one hundred, nearly all the chiefs and foremen of the thirty-odd departments of the PPCC belonged to the association.⁴⁶ Perhaps the chiefs happened to be “aco-

lytes of the Temple of Hercules” or they may have believed it was important to their professional life that they join the athletic association. In addition, ten or so company supervisors and clerks and town merchants and professionals belonged in leadership capacities. Little evidence exists as to the occupations of the remaining fifty-odd members of the PAA. Departments in which former athletes worked were briefly mentioned. Included were the accounting, passenger, tin, rolling mill, and blacksmith departments.

By the mid-1890s, membership in the PAA had grown to one hundred fifty. It appears that the number of members was directly related to the roster of team-members necessary to man the various athletic teams of the town and as the number of sport clubs increased so did the membership in the PAA. Initial clubs were baseball, cricket, athletics, rowing, and gun clubs, while soccer and football clubs were organized in the second decade of the period of the experiment.

The Pullman Athletic Association held its first tournament on the Fourth of July in 1882, a bare month after the club was organized. Chicago newspapers heralded the coming event and glowingly announced the results of the various contests. Thousands visited the city of brick in its holiday attire for the grand occasion. Contests were open only to local athletes as the Island and ball grounds were not yet in readiness to accommodate as large a crowd as would have been present were it an open affair. Already plans had been made for a later Fall Tournament where the most noted athletes of the country might be induced to participate. Hank Ward, a New York oarsman selected to coach the Pullman crew, was chosen marshal of the day for the Fourth of July tournament. Events included track and field contests, a baseball game, and a cricket match. Although a boat race was planned, rough water on Lake Calumet forced its cancellation.⁴⁷

The track and field tournament took center stage for the day. Thirteen events were planned for the afternoon of the Fourth. Track events held were one hundred and two hundred-yard runs, the one hundred-yard hurdle, the one-mile run, and one-mile walk. Field events consisted of the running high jump, running long jump, hammer throw, and shot put. A tug-of-war, sack race, and three-legged race completed the events on Athletic Island.⁴⁸

On the morning of the Fourth a baseball game was played on the Playground between two rival clubs of Pullman, the Athletics and the Brown Stockings. They were to settle the question of which club should be the champion nine of the town and which would be entitled to be called the “Pullman Club.” The Athletics won by a score of 19 to 18 and thereby played in the afternoon game against the Pastime Club of Chicago. The Pullman Club lost, 32 to 10. A cricket match rounded out the activities of the first athletic tournament held at Pullman. The Pullman eleven and a picked eleven from the town played one

another in a one inning match which resulted in the Pullman team winning by a score of 96 to 63.⁴⁹

The anticipated Fall tournament was held on Saturday, the twenty-first of October. Providence smiled on the PAA for the weather was delightful with but a slight southern breeze and no events needed to be cancelled due to weather conditions as had been done in July. Over three thousand spectators were present. Trains brought hundreds from the city of Chicago and the shops at Pullman were closed at noon to give the employees an opportunity to observe the day's events and to participate. The first athletic meet held in the West under the auspices of a national athletic association brought contestants from as far away as New York. Pullman was gaining national prominence in athletic circles within two years of its creation. Over one hundred athletes competed in the day's contests consisting of track and field, bicycle, and boating events. Track and field again formed the central core of the day's tournament as they had in the initial contest in July. Athletes competed in the 100-yard, 220-yard, 440-yard, and 1-mile races in addition to the 220-yard hurdle and the 1-mile walk. Field contests were extended in number from the July events to also include pole vaulting and a fifty-six pound weight throw. The sack race and the three-legged race were dropped from the earlier program; only the tug-of-war remained. New additions were the boys' one hundred yard race and the two- and four-mile bicycle races. The boating events in this early tournament were the four-oared shell, four-oared gig, single-scutt shell, and working class races. The course for all events was two miles in length.⁵⁰

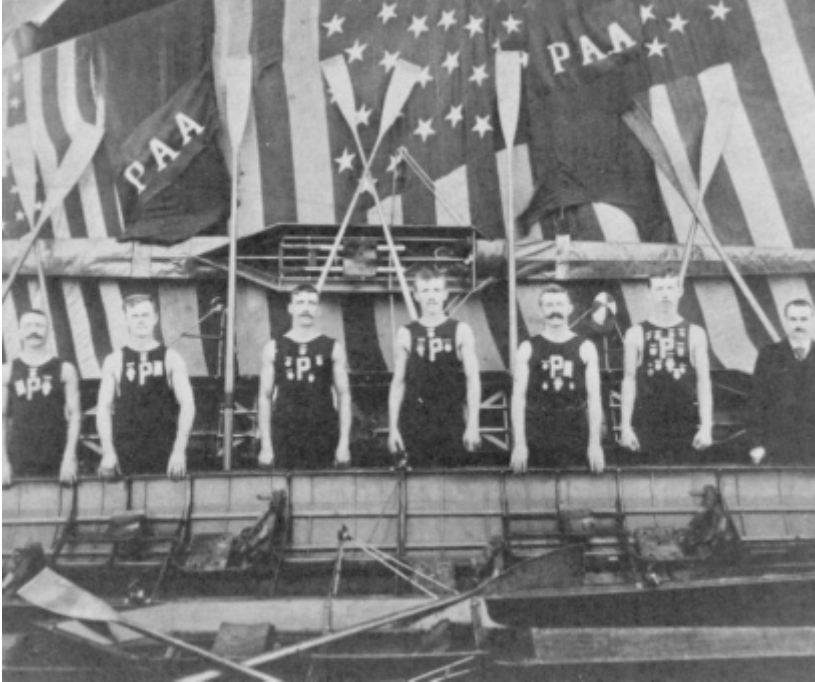
Although PAA officials had hoped to attract the best athletes from all parts of the country to the October tournament, only two out-of-state athletes participated in the amateur tourney. A.L. Carroll and C. A. J. Queckenberner came from New York. They swept all field events and vowed to return to Pullman for the next tournament.⁵¹ Why Carroll and Queckenberner were the sole outside participants is unknown. Perhaps they were encouraged to come to Pullman by Hank Ward who had come to Pullman from New York to train the Pullman rowing team and had marshalled the earlier July tournament.

The two athletic tournaments held in 1882 were the forerunners of annual Spring Games held at Pullman on Memorial Day. Specific events varied but dashes, long distances races, walking races, hurdles, field events, tugs-of-war, bicycle races, and boat races generally comprised the days' competition. The 1890 Spring Games even included a wrestling match for the lightweight championship of Chicago.⁵² Having failed to attract the best national athletes to the Fall tournament, it appears the Spring Games evolved into contests designed primarily for townsmen and various athletic clubs, cycling clubs, and YMCA groups from the Chicagoland area. The games were amateur events and awards generally were gold and silver medals. It may have been asking too much to expect a national athlete to travel to Pullman in quest of a twenty-

five dollar gold medal from Mr. Pullman. Nevertheless, the Games lasted at least until 1894. Even the turbulent times of the Pullman Strike did not disrupt them. No record remains of the Spring Games after 1894.

While track and field sports were emphasized in Pullman, boating activities received even greater assistance and backing by the PAA. No other sport in Pullman received the support showered on the oarsmen. The PAA hired professional coaches for two successive summers in 1882 and 1883 to train the Pullman crew, it sent the team to a national regatta two months after organization, and it sponsored a regional tournament its second year of operation. The man hired as coach in the summer of 1882 was Hank Ward, from New York, who held the long distance record for four-oared shells at the time. Ward was responsible for selecting and training a crew for the national regatta to be held in Detroit in August 1882. By July, he selected C.A. Needham—stroke and captain of the crew, Dodd, J.M. Price, and D.R. Martin. In spite of misfortune, the Pullman team took third place out of seven entries. The captain had ruptured himself a few days before the races necessitating a substitute to row stroke. Besides this, the rudder broke in the first race. In the second race, while leading at the turning stake, the Pullman boat was fouled, and another team took over the lead. A spectator at the second race, world champion sculler Edward Hanlon, said the Pullman boys rowed the best stroke of any of the contestants.⁵³ Although never acknowledged, a real benefit to Pullman oarsmen was the released time from work necessary for such lengthy trips as to Detroit.

The Mississippi Valley Amateur Rowing Association held its sixth annual regatta on Lake Calumet in 1883. W.C. Dole succeeded Hank Ward as team coach for the event. Securing such a regatta for Pullman was a notable achievement but not difficult to explain. The Pullman crew had rowed against the socially elite Farragut Club from Chicago in 1882. Farragut officers also held office in the Mississippi Valley Association and were in a position to aid in the selection of the 1883 tournament site. In addition, various Farragut officers also belonged to the Chicago Athenaeum gymnasium and George Pullman was both president and a member of the board of Chicago Athenaeum. There were opportunities for Pullman to influence the site selection committee. Pullman men were represented in three races at the Lake Calumet regatta—the four-oared gig, senior four-oared gig, and six-oared barge contests. O.L. Holmes and J.E. Hinkins joined Martin and Price in the four-oared events and Hawkes and H. Woods rowed with the four-oared crew in the six-oared event. No notice remains of their success. The occupation of but one oarsman is known, D.R. Martin, who was the principal of the town's elementary school, a position he retained throughout the 1880s and 1890s in spite of some criticism of his qualifications.⁵⁴ Whether the PAA and/or George Pullman decided Martin's rowing skill overrode his possible poor qualifications as school principal is not known.



Unidentified 19th century crew members of the Pullman Boating Club.

Rowing competition also played a part in the recreational life of workers who didn't belong to the crack touring team. The annual Labor Day employees' picnic regularly included rowing and other athletic contests as part of the festivities. Two crews of picked oarsmen from the car shops competed against each other in 1891 when George Pullman chartered two trains to carry the picnic-goers and he also provided a baggage car to haul the boats to the race in Indiana. Another race that lingered in the mind of one of the contestants was one held on Lake Calumet between a light English crew and a crew of husky Irish blacksmiths who averaged forty-five pounds heavier. The English crew trained at a faster stroke-per-minute rate and vanquished the slower-stroked Irishmen.⁵⁵

Not all the regattas held on Lake Calumet and sponsored by the Pullman Athletic Association were amateur contests. Noted professional oarsmen were attracted to the two-day Pullman Professional Regatta held June 1883, just two years after the inception of the town. Edward Hanlon, "champion of the world;" William Elliott, champion of England; E. Morris, ex-champion of the United States; and Jacob Gaudaur, ex-champion of Canada, contested with twenty-odd other oarsmen in the widely publicized gala. Twenty-five entries rowed for the thirteen hundred dollar purse in Friday's single-scull

race. The number of entries was so large that trial heats began at ten in the morning. Fifteen thousand spectators, many shuttled between downtown Chicago and Pullman by Illinois Central trains, watched Hanlon win the race covering a three-mile course. The second day of the regatta was devoted to an additional single-scutt race and to a double-scutt race. The first event was open to all entries from Friday's event with the exception of the three scullers who won the prizes. Six entries rowed in the double-scutt race. Hanlon, Morris, and Gaudaur were included in the two-man entries but not as partners. Although Pullman Athletic Association officers and members organized and managed these professional races, none participated as oarsmen.⁵⁶ Professional competitions served mainly to showcase the small town to observers of the Pullman experiment and to advertise the products of the manufacturing company. In addition, proceeds from such events helped to swell the coffers of the PAA's treasury, something the Mississippi Valley regatta failed to do.

Similarly annual bicycle races run under the auspices of various cycle clubs and the PAA brought national attention to the town. The Great Pullman Road Race, as it was called, was run from the Leland Hotel in Chicago to Pullman, a course covering fifteen-odd miles. The popular bicycle race, held annually on Decoration Day beginning in 1886, filled the town with enthusiastic audiences. In 1892 fifteen thousand spectators witnessed the finish on Florence Boulevard. The number of contestants further illustrated the importance of the race. In 1890 about two hundred men competed, in 1892 about four hundred, and in 1893 three hundred fifty.⁵⁷ Then a temporary two-year hiatus followed. Evanston, immediately north of Chicago, became the objective of the Decoration Day race in 1894 and 1895. The congestion on a main southern artery leading to the Chicago Columbian Exposition grounds and used by the Pullman cyclists had prompted the change. The following year the Pullman race resumed, but on the Fourth of July. The date was changed in 1897, to the fifth of July. No evidence exists for the spectacular race after 1897. Cycling manufacturers such as Pope Manufacturing, Holbein Swift, Coventry Machinist, Taylor Cycle, and A.G. Spaulding donated prizes for the affair at times ranging as high as three thousand dollars. Triplets, tandems, and singles headed the lists of prizes. Always included among the prizes was Mr. Pullman's twenty-five dollar gold medal.⁵⁸

Baseball was a popular sport in Pullman but it failed to receive a fraction of the support given the Rowing Club by the PAA. Competition for membership on the Pullman team continued throughout much of the summer of 1882. The earliest recorded baseball game took place early in July 1882 against the Pastime Club in Chicago. By the middle of the month, however, an entirely new nine was selected due to the earlier team's poor performance. The selection of this team marked the organization of the Pullman Baseball Club but it didn't end the controversy over the official Pullman team. After the match game between the Athletics and the Brown Stockings was played on the Fourth of

July to decide the issue, the defeated team claimed that the game was not played for that purpose. The issue of picking the Pullman baseball team was not decided until later in July when the consolidation of the two ball clubs was effected. First and second teams were selected and both bore the title of Pullman. Little time was wasted in rescheduling a match with the Pastimes who had earlier humbled the Pullman nine.⁵⁹

Only two rosters of players on Pullman baseball teams remain, one from 1882 and the other from 1889. The 1882 roster provides some insight regarding the personnel on the team. L.T. Ries, formerly of the White Stocking Club, pitched and James Shields, of the old Janesville Mutuals, caught. Playing second and third were Alex Harper and Daniel Martin who were to become officers of the PAA in 1884.⁶⁰ The remaining five members of the team, in addition to Ries and Shields, do not appear on Andreas' list of prominent Pullmanites of 1884. It is probable that these seven were not Pullman elite, but rather Pullman Company mechanics or clerks. Occasionally the company brought good athletes to Pullman by offering them attractive jobs, but there is no evidence that baseball players were selected to work for Pullman because of their athletic skill. If such recruitment did occur, it would seem that Ries and Shields were promising candidates to field a successful nine for the town.

The 1889 baseball team carried no former players from 1882. It was an entirely new team, resplendent in their new uniforms as they sat for the team photograph. It is believed they were the first uniformed baseball team playing in Pullman. Popular subscription had provided the uniforms, not PAA funds.⁶¹

The Pullman cricket team realized considerable success during the years of the Pullman experiment. As early as June 1882, it played against the socially elite Chicago Cricket Club, acknowledged as the best team in the Western Cricket Association at the time. The Chicago Club had been organized in 1876 primarily by Canadians and by 1885 listed one hundred fifty members. There also were a large number of Canadians employed at Pullman. These immigrants, in addition to immigrants from England, were probably responsible for organizing the Pullman Cricket Club and for its success. Expert cricket players were brought over from England to work at the Pullman shops around 1900. Similar recruitment may have existed during the late 1800s. Evidence exists that the Pullman team traveled to Canada in 1890 to meet Chatham, one of the best clubs of the Dominion. Such trips would have provided the opportunity for recruitment. No roster of players exists for the years before the turn of the century although C.L. Stokes was chosen as captain of the team in 1884. By 1887 the Pullman eleven had become a strong team, losing only three out of forty contests between 1887 and 1890. During this period it annually captured the championship of the Chicago Cricket Association. The team was acclaimed the best west of the Hudson River and was said to hold the championship of the West.⁶²

Like the Pullman cricket team, the town's soccer team was highly successful on the field. Organized in 1892, it was one of the oldest soccer teams that played in the Chicago area. Competition was keen for the Jackson Cup with such teams as the Chicago Rovers, the Chicago Thistles, and several teams from the mining districts of Braidwood and Carbon Hill. After winning the trophy in the late 1890s, the Pullman eleven captured it for nine successive years. John Osborn, initially a halfback and later manager of the team, had come to Pullman in 1891 from Staffordshire, England., Although the birth-places of other members of the team are unknown, the names of the starting line-up indicate English and Scotch origins. As late as World War I, six members of the early team were still working for the Pullman car works. Members of other athletic teams did not stay in Pullman employment for so long a period.⁶³

Little mention was made of the Pullman football team in either local or Chicago publications with the exception of its date of organization and a description of one of its players. The football team was formed in 1891. All necessary equipment for the team was secured immediately. It would seem the decision was made to emphasize football for a noted player from Toronto, William McWhirter, was recruited for the Pullman eleven by being offered a job in Pullman.⁶⁴ No information exists regarding additional players, playing schedules, or possible successes. Football did not blossom in Pullman until the twentieth century.

Athletic Island hosted yet another type of competition at Pullman. The Pullman Gun Club shot against the Riverdale club in August 1882. The town of Riverdale was situated a few miles south of Pullman on the shores of the Calumet River. Ten glass balls at eighteen yards were allowed each member of the six-man teams. Two months later, the Pullman team competed against the South Chicago Gun Club, from the industrial town on the western shore of Lake Calumet. At the same time Pullman club members shot for the gold medal offered by the town's founder. Both matches were organized by the PAA. No further mention was made of the team from Pullman until late in the decade. It is likely the early club was short-lived for the *Arcade Journal* spoke of the gun club being organized in 1889, long after the original matches.⁶⁵

III Conclusions

By the end of the nineteenth century George M. Pullman, railroad entrepreneur of the Gilded Age, had provided the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company with many and diverse forms of sport and physical recreation, all deemed virtuous and uplifting by the designer of the Pullman experiment. Cricket, baseball, soccer, football, boating, track and field, cycling, and shooting were organized and promoted. Grandstands holding thousands, an

ornately designed boathouse, a sixth-mile running track, an entire five-acre athletic island, baseball and cricket fields covering twelve acres, and gymnasiums were created for teams manned by the workers of Pullman. Organizations, formed largely from the ranks of officers and clerks of the Pullman Palace Car Company, picked and trained skilled teams. Professional athletic coaches were hired. Local, regional, and national tournaments were secured and placed strategically on special days—Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day. Athletes and visiting dignitaries were feted at the lovely Florence Hotel. Special trains were run to accommodate the festivities. Thousands viewed spectacular sporting contests. Brass bands played their lively tunes. The model town had indeed been athletically showcased.

As a town, Pullman was considered to be both an economic and a social experiment. The Pullman experiment failed. While evidence existed that a “superior” type of American working man was developed who was clean, sober, frugal, and educated, the Pullman worker was not so happy with life in the model town and the company that the impact of additional events and circumstances was to keep the work force stable and free of discontent. The depression of 1893, the Pullman strike of 1894, the death of George Pullman in 1897, and the 1898 Illinois Supreme Court decision forcing the company to sell all of its non-industrial properties all contributed to the failure.

Following the depression of 1893, the Pullman Company sharply reduced wages while it refused to make any adjustment in the charges for rent and utilities to the residents. These payments for rent and utilities proved an intolerable burden on the underpaid workers. “Landlord Pullman was not lenient when President Pullman reduced wages.”⁶⁶ The strike of 1894 further exposed the weaknesses of the Pullman experiment and stamped in the minds of the Pullman worker the true characteristics of the experiment. The existence of arbitrary control and the absence of democracy were major sources of dissatisfaction in the town. The experiment was variously described as paternalistic, feudalistic, and oligarchic. The town was viewed as a gilded cage that imprisoned its workers and residents. Another major source of dissatisfaction was the refusal of the company to allow the inhabitants to buy property for the construction of homes in Pullman. The desire for the possession of a home was underestimated by the company. George Pullman lived to see his plan held up to public scorn. The industrial world would have to search elsewhere for a solution of industrial problems.⁶⁷

The Pullman experiment was concluded in 1898 with the court decision forcing the company to sell the little town. George Pullman had died the year before and the neglect of the town by the company was evident as it gradually became a ghost of its former glory. Parks became ragged and untidy and the grass became parched with the first summer heat. The Athletic Island and Playground fell into decay and resembled the old lakefront. The clubhouse

and grandstands were demolished and a railroad roundhouse rose from their ruins. The little rustic bridge was gone and the channel between the island and the mainland was filled. A switchtrack ran diagonally across the Playground and onto the island. Ball park, gridiron, and cinder path were gone.⁶⁸ What had begun twenty years earlier was virtually non-existent by the turn of the century. What remained was an idea, an idea formulated by nineteenth century industrialist, George M. Pullman, which pioneered the use of sport and recreation for the promotion of company interests in America.

Notes

1. For discussions of the Pullman strike, the Pullman Palace Car Company, and the model town of Pullman, see Almont Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1942); Lucius Beebe, *Mr. Pullman's Elegant Palace Car* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961); and Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930* (New York, 1977).
2. John R. Schleppe, "'It Pays': John H. Patterson and Industrial Recreation at the National Cash Register Company," *Journal of Sport History* 6 (Winter 1979): 20-27; Ted Vincent, *Mudville's Revenge: The Rise and Fall of American Sport* (New York: Seaview Books, 1981), p. 220.
3. Charles H. Eaton, "Pullman, A Social Experiment," *To-Day*, II (January 1895), 8-9; Anonymous, *The Story of Pullman* (Chicago, 1893) pp. 22-25; *Chicago Tribune*, August 21, 1881; *New York World*, May 3, 1885; *Pullman Journal*, January 14, 1893; Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, pp. 39, 44, 139. Reference material used in this study largely came from three sources. Pullman Company Miscellaneous Scrapbooks deposited at Newberry Library in Chicago provided periodical and Chicago newspaper clippings. References from the Pullman Branch Library, Chicago Public Library, consisted mainly of Pullman and Calumet region newspaper clippings, Pullman Company periodicals, and manuscripts, reports, and photographs of the town of Pullman. Photographs and other town memorabilia were obtained from the archives of Historic Pullman. The town of Pullman was designated an Illinois Historic District in 1969, a National Landmark District in 1970, and a Chicago Landmark in 1972.
4. *Chicago Tribune*, August 21, 1881.
5. Mrs. Duane Doty, *The Town of Pullman* (Pullman: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893), Appendix p. 30.
6. Richard T. Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXX (1885), 459; *Railway Age* (Chicago), May 12, 1881; *Chicago Evening Journal*, August 16, 1881.
7. *Ottawa Daily Free Press*, September 9, 1882.
8. Ely, "Pullman," 457,461; Eaton, "Pullman," 2; *Railway Age*, May 12, 1881.
9. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, Appendix p. 30.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 51.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 105; Buder, *Pullman, An Experiment*, pp. 87-88.
12. Ely, "Pullman," 462; Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, p. 78.
13. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, pp. 30, 34-35; Ely, "Pullman," 453; Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, p. 89.
14. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, p. 35; Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, pp. 90, 210-11.
15. Lindsey, *Pullman Strike*, p. 33.
16. Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, p. 45.
17. Anonymous, *Story of Pullman*, p. 18.
18. Anonymous, "Saltaire and Its Founder," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLIV (1872), 827, 830-31, 835.
19. *Ibid.*, 832.
20. *Ibid.*, 831-35.
21. *Ibid.*, 834.
22. *Chicago Times*, October 23, 1881; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, November 2, 1881.

23. *Chicago Times*, June 8, 1882.
24. *Boston Herald*, August 1, 1881; *Chicago Times*, October 23, 1881; *Ibid.*, June 5, 1882; *Chicago Tribune*, May 17, 1882; *Chicago Evening Journal*, June 5, 1882; Doty, *Town of Pullman*, pp. 109-10.
25. *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1883; *Saturday Evening Herald* (Chicago), July 8, 1882; *Mississippi Valley Amateur Rowing Association Regatta at Pullman* (Handbill), July 27 and 28, 1883.
26. *Chicago Times*, January 4, 1883.
27. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1882.
28. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, Appendix p. 30; Ely, "Pullman," 458.
29. *Pullman Journal*, January 14, 1893; *Ibid.*, February 1, 1896.
30. A.T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol. III: *From the Fire of 1871 Until 1885* (Chicago: The A.T. Andreas Company, Publishers, 1886), pp. 416-18.
31. Ely, "Pullman," 456; *Calumet Index* (Chicago), February 2, 1955; *Arcade Journal*, March 8, 1890; *Ibid.*, March 15, 1890.
32. *Chicago Times*, September 27, 1882; *Chicago Evening Journal*, September 27, 1882; *Pullman Journal*, November 9, 1895; *The Men's Society of Pullman: Articles of Association and By-Laws* (Pullman: Men's Society Institute, 1895), pp. 3-16.
33. *Men's Society: By Laws*, pp. 4-13; Doty, *Town of Pullman*, p. 30; *Pullman Journal*, November 9, 1895; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, November 9, 1895.
34. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, pp. 108-9; *Chicago Times*, October 22, 1882; Almont Lindsey, "The Town of Pullman as a Social Experiment" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1936), p. 106.
35. *Chicago Times*, July 9, 1892; Charles S. Winslow, "Duane Doty," *Chicago Principals' Club Reporter* 31 (April 1939), 14-15. No special instructors for physical education were employed at Pullman elementary school although special teachers for art and music were a part of the faculty.
36. Wilma Pesavento, "A Historical Study of the Development of Physical Education in the Chicago Public High Schools, 1860 to 1965" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1966), pp. 24-26.
37. Ely, "Pullman," 459-461.
38. *Chicago Times*, June 5, 1882; *Ibid.*, June 9, 1882.
39. A.T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Illinois From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas Publishers, 1884), pp. 621, 625-27.
40. Lindsey, "Town of Pullman," p. 191.
41. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, p. 679.
42. *Chicago Times*, June 5, 1882.
43. *Ibid.*; Doty, *Town of Pullman*, p. 25.
44. Lindsey, *Pullman Strike*, p. 28.
45. Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment*, p. 81.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
47. *Chicago Times*, June 5, 1882; *Ibid.*, June 25, 1882; *Ibid.*, July 2, 1882.
48. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1882.
49. *Ibid.*; *Chicago Times*, July 2, 1882.
50. *Saturday Evening Herald*, July 8, 1882; *Chicago Times*, October 22, 1882; *Ibid.*, October 27, 1882. Newspaper accounts failed to indicate the particular national athletic association under whose patronage the tournament was held.
51. *Chicago Times*, October 22, 1882; *Ibid.*, October 27, 1882.
52. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1882; *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1890.
53. *Chicago Times*, June 5, 1882; *Ibid.*, July 14, 1882; *Chicago Evening Journal*, June 5, 1882; *Chicago Tribune*, August 13, 1882.
54. C.H. Lee, "Old Pullman Boating Days," *The Pullman Car Works Standard* III (May 1918), 16; *Chicago Times*, October 22, 1882; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, pp. 676-80.
55. *The Pullman-Standard Carworker*, September 20, 1946.
56. *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1883.
57. *Chicago Tribune*, May 31, 1890; *Pullman Journal*, June 4, 1892; Doty, *Town of Pullman*, p. 25.

58. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, May 19, 1892; *Chicago News*, December 2, 1892; *Chicago Herald*, March 10, 1893; *Chicago Tribune*, June 20, 1897.
59. *Chicago Times*, June 16, 1882; *Ibid.*, July 9, 1882; *Ibid.*, July 19, 1882; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1882.
60. *Chicago Times*, June 16, 1882.
61. *The Pullman Car Works Standard III* (January 1918), 16.
62. *Chicago Times*, June 17, 1882; Andreas, *History of Chicago* pp. 681-82; *Idem*, *History of Cook County*, p. 621; *South End Reporter* (Chicago), October 19, 1958; Lindsey "Town of Pullman," p. 193.
63. *The Pullman Car Works Standard IV* (January 1919), 16; *South End Reporter*, October 26, 1955.
64. Lindsey, "Town of Pullman," pp. 193-94.
65. *Chicago Evening Journal*, August 14, 1882; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, October 28, 1882; *Arcade Journal*, December 17, 1889.
66. *Chicago Journal*, October 26, 1898.
67. Lindsey, *Pullman Strike*, pp. 84-86, 90-91, 347-50.
68. *Chicago Chronicle*, January 8, 1899; *Ibid.*, January 31, 1899; *Chicago Tribune*, January 31, 1899; *Ibid.*, March 25, 1899; *Ibid.*, July 2, 1899.

