

“Men Must Play; Men Will Play:” Occupations of Pullman Athletes, 1880 to 1900*

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Toward the end of the nineteenth century George M. Pullman, the noted railroad entrepreneur of the Gilded Age, built a town for the production of railroad cars and the housing of the workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company (PPCC). The new town of Pullman was an economic and social experiment designed to demonstrate that American industry could create a community which would solve the company's labor problems and alleviate major contemporary social issues. In addition, the town was to be a company "showplace" where visitors might view the success of the Pullman endeavor. Sport and recreation were important elements in the design of the Pullman experiment. Workers were provided with various sports and physical recreations, including baseball, cricket, football, track and field athletics, cycling, rowing, and shooting, organized and promoted largely through the efforts of the Pullman Athletic Club (PAC), an association organized early in the life of the town. These sports were to aid in the attraction and retention of a superior type of working man who in turn would be elevated and refined through athletics and become a contented employee.¹

Welfare capitalism was not entirely novel in the Gilded Age, but many of the services Pullman provided his employees were milestones in the development of American welfare capitalism. Such quasi-productive business activities as company-organized sport teams and recreational activities would become central components of twentieth century welfare capitalism. Stuart Brandes maintains that recreation received more company support than any other aspect of

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1. Wilma J. Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900," *Journal of Sport History* 9 (Summer 1982): 38, 52; Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 39, 44, 124-25, 139.

that multi-faceted program which included provisions for libraries, schools, neighborhood beautification, and profit sharing.²

This article contends that Pullman sport was largely a blue-collar phenomenon attributable mainly to the considerable economic and ideological support provided by the company. The Pullman Palace Car Company created extensive sporting facilities without which Pullman athletes could not have sustained competition. In the initial years of the experiment, the company built clubhouses, playing fields, racing courses, and grandstands. The conducive setting facilitated heavy blue-collar participation in sport. At the ceremony opening the Pullman theater in 1883, the keynote speaker characterized the philosophy of the recreation planning for the factory town's workers when he noted: "Men must play! Men will play!"³ And play they did.

In an earlier investigation, Pesavento examined the development of sport and recreation at Pullman between 1880 and 1900, but no effort was made at that time to examine the degree to which workers employed and living in Pullman and its environs actually participated in the sports provided. This study attempts to correct that omission by examining the occupations of Pullman worker-athletes during the period 1880 to 1900.

During the past decade, both labor and sport historians have given increased attention to sport and leisure practices of the industrial workers of the nineteenth century. In their examinations of the associational life of workers' communities in various eastern towns and cities, labor historians examined sport peripherally as part of their investigations of saloons, unions, lodges, fire companies, and ethnic clubs. They arrived at varied conclusions regarding the functions of associational life. Cumbler found institutions functioned to preserve militancy and class solidarity in Lynn and Fall River while Palmer theorized that associational life had a stabilizing effect on worker and community mobility in Hamilton, Canada. Walkowitz reported that associational traditions affected patterns of protest in mid-nineteenth century Troy and Cohoes. Rosenzweig found Worcester workers successfully protected their leisure hours from outside encroachment. In Pittsburgh, Couvares found that leisure entrepreneurs largely defined plebeian leisure patterns. Collectively, these studies revealed that blue-collar workers had a vigorous leisure culture during the Gilded Age and that on occasion it included a blue-collar presence in sport.⁴

2. Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 10, 17, 75; Steven M. Gelber, "Their Hands Are All Out Playing: Business and Amateur Baseball, 1845-1917," *Journal of Sport History* 11 (Spring, 1984): 6, 22, 25.

3. Mrs. Duane Dotv. *The Town of Pullman* (Pullman: T. P. Struhsacker, 1893). Appendix, D, 30.

4. John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 4, 5, 11, 150, 160, 161, 219, 224; Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), pp. 38, 39, 52-54, 70; Daniel I. Walkowitz, *Worker City. Company Town: Iron and Cotton-Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-84* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 11, 43, 157, 158, 163; Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1, 5, 74, 75, 82, 85, 128, 139; Francis G. Couvares, "The Triumph of Commerce: Class Culture and Mass Culture in Pittsburgh," in *Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society*. eds. Michael H.

Sport historians have shown that members of the working class participated in sport, but that a variety of factors mitigated against extensive participation. Metcalfe's examination of organized sports in Montreal indicated the presence of an occasional working-class sporting club by the late 1860s. At the turn of the century, membership in the city's sporting clubs was still dominated by white-collar workers, with only a fifth of the sporting club members coming from blue-collar occupations. While workers participated in a wide range of sports, participation was neither general nor widespread. Throughout the nineteenth century, most Montreal working-class teams lacked permanency and continuity; only fourteen existed for more than two years. Similarly, Wettan and Willis indicated that late nineteenth century New York athletic clubs which catered to working-class athletes had great difficulty staying in operation⁵

Utilizing quantification techniques, Adelman, Freedman, and Riess determined the occupations of groups of nineteenth century cricket and baseball players. Adelman found that cricket players in New York were largely white-collar workers, although approximately a fifth of the St. George cricketers in 1848 were skilled craftsmen. While the proportion of blue-collar cricket players in New York declined from 1848 to 1865, the proportions of blue-collar baseball players in New York and Brooklyn rose during the years from 1850 to 1870, from one-quarter to one-third of the player population. Freedman found a similar proportion (30 percent), of blue-collar amateur baseball players in Chicago during the period from 1865 to 1870. When Riess examined the occupations of professional baseball players, he found that one-third of the ex-major leaguers who were active from 1871 to 1882 were later employed in blue-collar occupations.⁶

Kirsch has recently found that most cricketers in 1860 New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Boston were white-collar workers. However, he also discovered that nearly 85 percent of the players in Newark were working-class (and one-half of the town's baseball fraternity were blue-collar). More than three-fourths of the players in that factory town's top three cricket clubs were skilled artisans, with some representation from unskilled and white-collar workers. The city's working class elevens challenged middle and upper class teams from Philadelphia and New York City for supremacy in the sport before the Civil War.⁷

Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), pp. 124, 129, 141-44.

5. Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901," in *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives*, eds. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson (Ontario: Don Mills, 1976), pp. 84-86, 95; Alan Metcalfe, "Working Class Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1860-1895," in *Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sports and Leisure*, eds. Hart A. Cantelon and Richard S. Gruneau (Kingston: Sport Studies Research Group, 1978), pp. 1, 12-14; J. Willis and R. Wettan, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915," *Journal of Sport History* 3 (Spring 1976): 45, 53-55.

6. Melvin L. Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics: Sport in New York City, 1820-1870" (Ph.D., dissertation, University of Illinois, 1980), pp. 299, 331, 356-57, 398-99, 445; Stephen Freedman, "The Baseball Fad in Chicago, 1865-1870: An Exploration of the Role of Sport in the Nineteenth Century City," *Journal of Sport History* 5 (Summer 1978): 56; Steven A. Riess, *Touching Ease: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*, (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 159.

7. George B. Kirsch, "American Cricket: Players and Clubs Before the Civil War," *Journal of Sport History* 11 (Spring, 1984): 32, 37, 42, 43, 46, 50.

The Pullman Athletes

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, teams representing the midwestern factory town played their matches and held their tournaments on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and the national holidays of Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day. Chicago newspapers often covered model town sport and carried lineups of Pullman athletes from which we produced a list of 530 Pullman athletes (see Table 1). These athletes either participated on Pullman sports teams or with PAC designation in Pullman tournaments. The greatest number of names, over 150, were from cricket and track and field. Rosters of athletes participating in other Pullman sports—baseball, cycling, football, rowing, shooting, and soccer—were noticeably smaller, ranging from 15 to 54. Discrepancies in number of athletes found from the various teams were due to: 1) life of the sport club; 2) athletes necessary to field a team; 3) number of teams fielded annually; 4) existence of opposition teams; 5) newspaper policy toward publishing selected sport lineups; and 6) accessibility to team rosters⁸

Roughly 30 percent of Pullman athletes participated in track and field. By 1882, athletes competed in a newly constructed track viewed by hundreds of fans comfortably seated in a 2000-seat grandstand located on Athletic Island. The construction of such fine facilities undoubtedly prompted the PAC to sponsor numerous track and field meets which received lengthy coverage in Chicago's daily newspapers. Athletic competition at Pullman included annual Spring and Fall Games, winter exhibitions, and field days. Besides members of the PAC, there were also competitors from other Chicago athletic clubs, and on occasion, local scholastic and collegian stars, as well as representatives from Turner and Caledonian societies, the YMCA, and Wisconsin sports clubs. The press coverage of Pullman athletics also included junkets of Pullman athletes to AAU mid-winter games in New York City.⁹

Although no grandstand facilities were constructed for cricket and baseball, Pullman's working class athletes utilized a twelve-acre playground which provided ample playing fields for cricket, baseball, and later, soccer, as well. Thirty percent of Pullman athletes played cricket, and virtually every contest played between 1882 and 1899 was covered by the press. When Pullman first began the game in 1882, its sole rival was the older Chicago Cricket Club, though within a year the Wanderer's Cricket and Athletic Club was organized. Both of these clubs were presumably white-collar teams. The three early teams

8. To obtain a listing of Pullman athletes, sport rosters were obtained from the *Chicago Times*, selected because of its extensive coverage of Pullman sport. During the course of the research it was found that 1893 and 1894 issues of the *Times* contained no rosters of Pullman athletes, although issues of earlier years had provided considerable data. Consequently, the *Chicago Tribune* was substituted for the *Chicago Times*; the *Times* was researched for the years 1882 through 1894, and the *Tribune* for the years 1893 through 1899. In addition to examining Saturday, Sunday, and Monday issues of the Chicago dailies, issues published during a seven-day period that included Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day were also searched.

9. *Chicago Infer-Ocean*, 5 July 1882; *Chicago Times*, 16 July, 10 September, 21,22 October 1882,30 March, 7 April, 29,30,31 May, 10, 16 June, 1 July, 15, 16 September 1883,17,31 May, 27 September 1885, 11 April, 16 May, 27 June, 26 September 1886,28,29 May 1887,8 January, 5 February, 17 March, 2, 16 September 1888,6, 20 January, 5 May, 5 July 1889, 31 May 1890, 31 May 1891, 31 May 1892, 31 May, 30 July, 17 September 1893; *ChicagoTribune*, 31 May 1890,16 April 1893,5,31 May 1894,10,31 May 1896,29,30 May 1897,31 May 1898, 28, 30 May 1899.

of the Chicago Cricket Association were eventually joined by ten other clubs.¹⁰ Pullman was the powerhouse of the association, and by 1889 had won more championships than any other club. Model town cricketers won the A. G. Spalding Cup three years running, from 1888 to 1890, and also took the Hiram Walker Cup in 1895, both trophies denoting Chicagoland cricket supremacy. II

Approximately 10 percent of Pullman athletes competed in either baseball, rowing, or soccer—considerably fewer than in cricket and track and field. Although comparable in proportion of players, the experience of these three sports varied considerably in length. Baseball was a popular sport in Pullman, and in Chicago, throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Newspapers regularly reported challenges, notices of forthcoming games, and game results, but carried few lineups of any amateur teams, including Pullman. Games were played on what was known as the Playground, a six hundred-foot square recreational park devoted largely to team games. The model town competed with nines from a variety of social classes, white collar teams such as the Board of Trades, and neighborhood teams such as the Englewood Ravens. No evidence was found that any Pullman team played in any league.¹²

On the other hand, rowing, along with track and field, was a showcase sport at Pullman. No other sports received the support showered on the oarsman and track and field athletes. By 1883, thousands of fans gathered to watch amateur contests and world-class oarsman in professional competition. George M. Pullman welcomed both athletes and fans with a newly dredged rowing course, boathouses, and a grandstand overlooking the waters of Lake Calumet.¹³ Newspaper coverage of Pullman rowing was extensive in the 1880s when the town competed regularly in Mississippi Valley Amateur Association contests, though coverage became sporadic in the 1890s. For the latter decade, Pullman was reduced to racing in local competitions such as the Lake Geneva regatta,

10. At least three of Pullman's early cricketers had belonged to the pioneer Chicago Cricket Club—Frederick Wild, C. A. Needham, and T. D. Phillips. Wild was a clerk and Needham a draftsman at Pullman. Apparently the Reverend Phillips had no association with the Pullman company or the town yet he played cricket for Pullman in 1882 and 1888. Employment or residency at Pullman did not seem to have been a requisite for sport team membership. Perhaps PAC membership was sufficient for a talented player. However, the number of Pullman athletes without company or town affiliation was miniscule, less than two percent of Pullman athletes. On the other hand, the intervening one hundred years may have blurred a "legitimate" Pullman designation. There is little reason to believe the social stratum of the initial Pullman cricket team was any different from the other two early Chicagoland cricket teams. Eight of the eleven identifiable Pullman cricketers on the 1882 team were white-collar workers. Most were company clerks. Only Alexander Harper, chief accountant for PPCC, was a high ranking company employee.

11. *Chicago Times*, 11, 18 June, 15, 16 July, 13 August, 17 September 1882, 3 June 1883, 14 September 1884, 24 May, 7 June, 5 July 1885, 1 August, 12 September 1886, 26 June, 3, 10 July, 3, 10, 18 September 1887, 5 August 1888, 30 May, 2 June, II, 18 August, 1 September 1889, 27 April, 18 May, 1, 7, 15 June, 40 October 1890, 11, 12 April, 20, 21 June, 1, 15, 16, 23 August, 6, 20 September 1891, 4 June 1892; *Chicago Tribune*, 30 April, 3, 10, 25 June, 2, 9, 16, 22, 23 July, 5, 6, 13, 26 August 1893, 27 May, 10 June, 1, 8, 15, 29 July, 26 August, 16, 30 September 1894, 1, 9, 15, 21 June, 28 July, 2, 18 August, 8 September 1895, 21 March, 7, 14, 28 June, 12, 19, 26 July, 9, 16, 23 August 1896, 28 March, 23 May, 1, 6 June, 18 July, 15, 22 August, 5, 7, 12, 19 September 1897, 22, 29 May, 5, 12 June, 31 July, 7, 14 August, 25 September 1898, 19 March, 21, 30 May, 18, 26 June, 2, 9 July, 15 October 1899.

12. *Chicago Times*, 16 June, 19, 23 July 1882, 11 May, 31 September 1884, 20 May 1888, 24 May, 14 June, 6, 12 July 1891, 31 January, 7, 20 August, 18 September 1892, 10 June 1894. Although the question of the existence of amateur baseball leagues in Chicago has not been investigated, it appeared from the newspaper research that there were few if any such leagues in Chicago in the 1880s and 1890s.

13. Buder, Pullman, pp. 55, 61, 72, 93, 94; Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in Pullman," 44, 45, 52-56.

whereas in the 1880s, the town's oarsmen rowed against such socially elite Chicago boat clubs as the Farragut, Delaware, and Iroquois associations. The provisions of superior rowing facilities at Pullman was undoubtedly a factor in enabling Pullman crews to compete against elite squads. Often the facilities of the elite teams compared unfavorably with those of the model town. In addition to boating facilities provided by the company, the PAC purchased boats and hired coaches for Pullman's oarsmen. Working-class participation in Chicagoland amateur rowing would have been virtually impossible without the extensive support provided by the company and the PAC.¹⁴

Like newspaper coverage of model town rowing, Chicago dailies regularly reported the details of Pullman soccer although the existence of soccer was somewhat sporadic. The town did not field a team until 1891 and apparently discontinued play from 1894 through 1897. Even the recruitment of a noted player from Toronto with a job offer failed to keep the soccer team alive in the mid-1890s.¹⁵ However, by 1897 Pullman was a member of the Chicago Football Association vying for the Chicago championship and the Jackson Challenge Cup. It was the only group to field second elevens against the other eight teams.¹⁶

While certain Pullman sports received considerable support from the company, or the PAC, cycling, football, and shooting got little help. Few Pullman athletes (3 to 6 percent) competed in the latter three sports. Cycling had a long life compared to the other two. Newspaper coverage throughout the period 1882 to 1899 included contests at the annual Spring and Fall Games, the yearly Pullman Road Races, and even a Pullman Cycling Club race. Local races took place on a small course designed for track competition and mishaps were common. While the PAC purchased racing equipment for oarsmen, there was no evidence of its purchasing bicycles for cyclists, although it would seem such support would be necessary for working-class athletes. Pullman wheelmen did not play a prominent role in the famous Pullman Road Race, a contest monopolized by wheelmen belonging to elite Chicago teams.¹⁷

Although Pullman cyclists raced throughout the 1880s and 1890s, there was little evidence of football or marksmanship competition. Football did not become a popular sport in the town until the early 1900s. Men who played in a 1888 intramural game were all office staff employed at the downtown Chicago

14. *Chicago Times*, 5 June, 7, 30 July, 22 October 1882, 6, 13 May, 10 June, 22 July 1883, 20 July 1884, 12 July 1885, 11 April, 13 June, 5 September 1886, 17 July 1887, 8 July, 12 August, 16 September 1888, 17 March, 12 May, 21 July 1889, 14 August 1891, 22 January, 31 May, 19 August 1893, 18 March, 26 August 1894; *Chicago Tribune*, 31 May 1890, 19 August 1893, 4 April 1897.

15. After coming to Pullman from Toronto, William McWhirter played forward on the Pullman team in 1893 and was employed that year as a plumber in the Palace Car Company. While McWhirter was recruited to Pullman, two other Pullman athletes accepted good offers from a St. Louis club in 1897. George Aston and Benjamin Grovier, both carpenters, returned to Pullman the following year and were "sources of strength" during the 1898 and 1899 soccer seasons.

16. *Chicago Tribune*, 29, 30 April, 20 November 1893, 13 May, 28 October 1894, 8, 10, 17, 24 May 1897, 5, 19, 21 March, 4, 11, 18, 25 April, 13 June 1898, 19 March, 24 April 1899.

17. *Chicago Times*, 22 October 1882, 16 June 1883, 27 September 1885, 26 September 1886, 9 August, 26 September 1891, 28, 30, 31 May 1892, 31 May 1894; *Chicago Tribune*, 31 May 1890, 29 May, 5 July 1897, 4, 5 July 1899.

Pullman Building. Undoubtedly the news release was “fed” to the newspaper by a company publicist.¹⁸ The Pullman Gun Club was short-lived, and appears to have existed only in 1882 and 1883. Shooting may have suffered from competition with other sports since in those early years numerous Pullman athletes were already competing in track and field, baseball, cricket, cycling, and rowing.¹⁹

Occupations of Pullman Athletes

From an initial list of 530 Pullman athletes we were able to identify 329 Pullman worker athletes (see Table 1). The percentages of identified athletes participating in each of the eight Pullman sports were about the same as those of the entire cohort of 530 sportsmen except for track and field. Twenty-three of the 329 Pullman worker-athletes could not be categorized according to occupation either because press accounts did not report their full given and proper names or because different workers had the same names. The final list of Pullman worker-athletes with known occupational categories was comprised of 306 names (see Table 1). They represented actually 265 men since thirty-four competed in more than one sport²⁰

Between 1882 and 1900, members of Pullman’s sport teams were predomi-

TABLE 1
Pullman Athletes and Worker-Athletes, 1880 to 1900

Pullman Sports	Athletes on Reported Line-ups		Identified Worker Athletes		Worker-Athletes with Known Occupational Category	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Athletics	155	29	72	22	67	22
Baseball	46	9	35	11	30	10
Cricket	158	30	100	30	94	31
Cycling	34	6	10	3	10	3
Football	22	4	17	5	17	6
Rowing	54	10	44	13	44	14
Shooting	15	3	12	4	12	4
Soccer	46	9	39	12	32	10
Total Pullman Sports	530	100	329	100	306	100

18. *Chicago Times*, 9 December 1888.

19. *Chicago Times*, 23, 30 July 1882, 8 July 1883. Connorton’s *Hyde Park and Englewood Directory* (Chicago: J. W. Connorton, Publisher, 1883), p. 35.

20. The town of Pullman was a part of Hyde Park Township until 1889 when both were annexed by the city of Chicago. The Chicago Historical Society possesses four issues of directories for the township of Hyde Park during the period: 1883, 1887, 1888, and 1889. These directories were searched for the town of Pullman, and the neighboring towns of Kensington, Roseland, Riverdale, and Hyde Park. In addition, Chicago directories were searched for the years 1882 through 1900.

nantly blue-collar workers. Fifty-eight percent of Pullman athletes were blue-collar workers (see Table 2). Forty-five percent were skilled workers, 7 percent unskilled, 5 percent were foremen, and a scant one percent held semi-skilled positions. Clerks and semi-professionals, the second largest category of worker-athletes, were 24 percent of the worker-athletes. Seven percent were managers and professionals in the company and 10 percent were town businessmen and salesmen.²¹

What was true for the general worker-athlete population in Pullman was also true for specific sports. The worker-athlete in most sports was likely to be from blue-collar ranks. In five of the eight sports played by Pullman workers, the proportion of blue-collar workers to white-collar workers was equal to if not greater than the proportions in the general worker-athlete population. Track and field and rowing had almost identical proportions of blue-collar worker-athletes as the general population; approximately 60 percent of the track and field athletes and oarsmen had blue-collar occupations. Blue-collar worker proportions were slightly greater in baseball and cricket, approximately 65 percent, and were significantly greater in soccer, over 75 percent.²² Only in football and shooting did white-collar workers outnumber blue-collar workers in Pullman. In cycling, proportions of blue-collar and white-collar worker-athletes were equal.

The great majority of blue-collar Pullman athletes, 75 percent, were skilled mechanics. Skilled craftsmen participated in sport in similar proportions to their numbers in the town. Buder estimated that half of Pullman workers were skilled craftsmen,²³ while 45 percent of Pullman's worker-athletes were skilled craftsmen. Proportionately they were most active in baseball, cricket, and soccer and were least in football and shooting. Twenty-five skilled crafts were represented in the occupations of Pullman athletes. More carpenters than any other craftsmen played on Pullman's athletic teams; 34 of the 136 skilled craft worker-athletes were carpenters. They were most active on the cricket team with sixteen players, while seven played soccer and five rowed. The remaining

21. Models of worker occupation categories in Themstrom's study of nineteenth century working-class families, the collective Five City Study, and the Adelman, Freedman, and Riess investigations were modified slightly to "absorb" or illustrate Pullman worker-athlete occupations. Themstrom ascribed foremen to white-collar status because of the non-manual nature of their occupation. At the Same time he noted that white-collar and laboring workers were clearly separated as one entered the white-collar group after having received considerable schooling and one entered it directly. Justification for placing foremen of blue-collar departments in blue-collar worker category in this investigation was based upon Themstrom's assertion of blue and white-collar separation. Foreman of blue-collar departments neither received considerable schooling for their jobs as foremen nor did they enter such a position directly, rather the position was entered after a number of years as a blue-collar skilled worker. Stephen Themstrom, *Poverty and Progress Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 64,68,69,91, 113, 145. Theodore Hershberg, Michael Katz, Stuart Blumin, Lawrence Glaxo, and Clyde Griffen, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7 (June 1974): 174-216.

22. The high proportions of blue-collar athletes playing cricket and baseball in Pullman corresponded to the high blue-collar involvement in the two sports in mid-nineteenth century Newark. In both factory towns, blue-collar participation in cricket and baseball generally predominated and was significantly higher than that reported for various large North American cities in the nineteenth century. While blue-collar participation in cricket was higher in Newark than in Pullman, blue-collar participation in baseball was higher in the midwestern factory town than in the eastern town.

23. Buder, *Pullman*, p. 78.

TABLE 2
Occupations of 306 Pullman Athletes, 1880 to 1900

Occupational Category	Pullman #%	Athletics #%	Baseball #%	Cricket #%	Cycling #%	Football #%	Rowing #%	Shooting #%	Soccer #%
Company									
Blue-Collar									
Unskilled	22 7	10 15	0 0	3 3	1 10	0 0	3 7	0 0	5 16
Semi-Skilled	4 1	1 1	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 2	1 8	1 3
Skilled	137 45	26 39	17 57	48 51	4 40	0 0	21 48	2 17	19 59
Foremen	16 5	2 3	3 10	10 11	0 0	0 0	1 2	0 0	0 0
Total Company Blue-Collar	179 58	39 58	20 67	61 65	5 50	0 0	26 59	3 25	25 78
Company									
White-Collar									
Clerks, Semi-Professionals	74 24	10 15	7 23	18 19	3 30	17 100	11 25	3 25	5 16
Managers, Professionals	21 7	8 12	2 7	2 2	0 0	0 0	5 11	4 33	0 0
Total Company White-Collar	95 31	18 27	9 30	20 21	3 30	17 100	16 36	7 58	5 16
Town									
White-Collar									
Commercialists	32 10	10 15	1 3	13 14	2 20	0 0	2 5	2 17	2 6
Total Company & Town White-Collar	127 41	28 42	10 33	33 35	5 50	17 100	18 41	9 75	7 22

carpenters were equally divided between the track and field and baseball teams. The Palace Car Company employed a large number of carpenters, approximately 40 percent of the skilled mechanic's work force, and therefore, one might expect a large number of carpenters to be on Pullman sport teams.²⁴ In addition to the journeymen carpenters, five foremen from the carpentry and finishing departments also played on Pullman teams. In the 1880s, Daniel Martin played baseball and James N. Chadwick played cricket while in the next decade George Campbell rowed and John Lewis and Arthur Wilson played cricket. Perhaps these sportsmen-foremen recruited workers from their departments for athletic teams. Eighteen machinists also played on Pullman clubs, thirteen on the cricket team along with machinist foremen James Langham and John Wardle. While almost half of the carpenters played cricket, over 70 percent of the machinists played the game. The presence of carpentry and machinist foremen on a team appeared to have had a positive relationship to the number of carpenters and machinists on that team.²⁵ In addition to carpenters and machinists, from ten to twelve blacksmiths, painters, and carbuilders were also Pullman athletes. Half of the blacksmiths participated in the heavy field events in track and field. Their strength and size were valuable assets in various puts and throws and the tugs-of-war. Painters played baseball, cricket, and soccer almost equally, and carbuilders participated in most of the sports at Pullman. All of the other twenty skilled craft occupations were represented by six or fewer athletes.²⁶

During the entire Pullman experiment, sixteen athletes held foreman or inspector positions and comprised 5 percent of Pullman athlete-workers. It is difficult to ascertain the number or proportion of blue-collar department foremen during the period. Assuming that Buder was correct in saying that nearly every chief of the thirty-odd departments in Pullman had joined the PAC, few foremen of the twenty-odd blue-collar (journeyman mechanic) departments actually played on Pullman teams. Pullman foremen were most active in cricket as ten of the sixteen known foremen-athletes played cricket. Three played baseball, two were track and field athletes, one shot, and one rowed. Of the foremen with specific departmental designations in city directories, five were in the related carpentry, finishing, trimming, and woodworking departments, two were machinists, and one each in the electrical and upholstery departments.

24. This estimate was derived from Buder's data listing 1893 journeymen mechanics employed in the cabinet, car building, freight-car building, and shop carpentry departments of PPCC. Buder, *Pullman*, pp. 164-165.

25. A common ethnicity may also have united foremen and skilled workers at Pullman. However, no ethnic breakdown for skilled workers or for any category of Pullman worker-athlete was possible. Federal, state, and municipal censuses were unavailable. The 1890 federal population census was largely destroyed; there were no state or Chicago population censuses during the period; and Pullman census figures provided but cursory ethnic breakdown of the town's population. Pullman worker-athlete surnames do however appear to be English and Scotch names. In 1892 over 1100 Pullman employees were Irish, English, Canadian, or Scotch-born. At the same time, there were a similar number of Swedish employees, and over 700 Germans and Hollanders. Yet few if any athlete names appear to be of these nationalities. Doty, *Town of Pullman*, p. 35.

26. Skilled craftsmen held the following jobs in the company and were athletes in the towns in the following numbers: six gas litters and molders; four boilers and steamfitters; three brickmakers, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, and woodworkers; two electricians, finishers, platers, plumbers, springmakers, and tinsmiths; and one coremaker, glazier, hammersmith, ironworker, and bricklayer.

There was no evidence that any craft foreman was recruited to play on a Pullman team. Eight foremen had begun their working careers as skilled craftsmen at Pullman. Skilled craftsmen were necessary in the railroad car industry and if these mechanics were promising athletes, they had little difficulty in gaining employment in the Palace Car Company.

Unskilled workers were substantially underrepresented on Pullman sport teams falling far short of their relative numbers of the work force. Buder estimated they comprised 17 percent of the employees of the company yet they represented just 7 percent of Pullman's known athletes.²⁷ It should be pointed out that the city directory search was unable to locate over two hundred Pullman athletes. A disproportionate share of these athletes may have held jobs in the least skilled worker categories and been omitted from city directories. Unskilled workers played on Pullman soccer teams and took part in Pullman track and field tournaments in relatively substantial numbers and were represented on cricket, cycling, and rowing teams. John M. Price, a janitor at the Arcade Building, a Pullman shopping mall, rowed several years on Pullman teams in the 1880s, captained the Boat Club, was a shareholder of the PAC, and was an official of the Associated Amateur Athletic Union of Chicago and Vicinity.²⁸ Another Pullmanite, laborer Samuel Dumon, wrestled for a number of years in the late 1880s at the Annual Fall Games tournament. Some Pullman workers such as Frank Foster began their careers in the unskilled ranks and moved to skilled ranks. Foster began as a janitor in the Pullman boathouse which was used as the PAC clubhouse, and moved "up the ladder" to roofer, and then to carbuilder. Laborers in Pullman were not without their athletic aristocrats but the vast majority of unskilled workers remained at the lowest worker level during their years in sport at Pullman.

Semi-skilled blue-collar workers were poorly represented on Pullman sport teams, comprising but one percent of Pullman worker-athletes. Railroad car manufacturing and repairing required the talents of skilled artisans. Semi-skilled positions were few in Pullman.²⁹ The only semi-skilled occupations filled by model town athletes during the experiment were fireman, gardener, and teamster. These semi-skilled workers were competitors in track and field, rowing, shooting, and soccer.

Company white-collar workers played on all the teams in Pullman, comprising approximately one-third of all athletes though this is somewhat distorted by the case of football. Without the participants from the downtown Pullman

27. This finding was generally consistent with the low proportion of unskilled workers playing baseball and cricket in mid-nineteenth century New York, Brooklyn, Newark, and Chicago. Whereas the unskilled were only 1 percent of Brooklyn and New York ballplayers, Newark's unskilled and semi-skilled were approximately 7 percent of the athlete population. A large minority, 13 percent, of mid-nineteenth century Chicago ballplayers had unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Adelman, "Sport in New York," pp. 299, 331, 357, 399,445; Kirsch, "American Cricket," p. 33; Freedman, "Baseball Fad in Chicago," p. 56.

28. The Arcade was an impressive structure housing a thousand-seat theater, public library, gymnasium, and some thirty shops. Although listed as a janitor in city directories, Price may have been the superintendent of the staff that cared for the Arcade. Without such an explanation, it is difficult to explain how a janitor could have performed the functions Price did for the PAC.

29. Buder did not estimate the proportion of semi-skilled workers in Pullman. Perhaps he considered the semi-skilled as unskilled workers or there may have been so few as to be inconsequential.

Building who played one another in a inter-departmental game, the proportion of company white-collar workers drops from 32 to 28 percent of Pullman athletes. Compared to the proportion of company white-collar workers playing on all sport teams, a disproportionately high number shot for Pullman and a disproportionately low number played soccer and cricket. The vast majority of company white-collar workers were clerks and semi-professionals rather than managers and professionals. Low white-collar worker-athletes were the second largest group of athletes in Pullman and outnumbered high white-collar worker-athletes four to one. Low white-collar workers played on Pullman sport teams in not too differing proportions when football is excluded. High white-collar workers participated on track and field, baseball, cricket, rowing, and shooting teams. Their proportions on these teams were somewhat similar with the exception of shooting where more gunmen were employed in high white-collar positions than in any other subcategory of worker occupation.

Low white-collar worker-athletes were mainly clerks, bookkeepers, and timekeepers with a few bank tellers, accountants, agents, draftsmen, and storekeepers. Pullman clerks, timekeepers, and bookkeepers seemed to move back and forth between jobs so that it was impossible to determine the single leading type of low white-collar position held by Pullman athletes. Edward E. Butcher, the leading nineteenth century Pullman athlete, was a clerk/timekeeper during the entire model town era. He competed in four sports-cricket from 1882 through 1889, track and field from 1882 through 1893, soccer from 1892 through 1899, and indoor baseball in 1892. Butcher's greatest athletic achievement was his victory in the 100-yard race in the first annual AAU athletic championship in 1888. Butcher was a Pullman legend still remembered in the mid-twentieth century.³⁰ Nevertheless, he never advanced into mid-level management. Butcher's teammate on the cricket club, William C. Philpott, also remained a clerk/timekeeper/bookkeeper throughout his tenure at Pullman. Another cricketer, Frederick Wild, who played eleven years on the Pullman team, was a clerk/accountant who eventually rose to the position of assistant manager in the PPCC. Athletic contributions did not necessarily boost a worker in his employment status with the company.

Company managers and professionals were active in shooting and also participated in track and field, baseball, cricket, and rowing. A number of heads of Pullman enterprises played on Pullman teams, including the superintendents of the brickyard, the ice houses, the Florence Hotel, the Pullman farm, and the livery stable. Alexander Harper, chief accountant of the Palace Car Company, played baseball and cricket and shot with the gun club in the early 1880s. A shareholder and director of the PAC, he was elected its president in 1887. Solon Spencer Beman and Nathan F. Barrett, architect and landscape architect of the widely-heralded model town, were also directors and shareholders of the PAC. Both took part in the first annual Fall Games at Pullman in 1882. Perhaps the most active of all Pullman professionals was Daniel R. Martin, principal of the

30. *Chicago Times*, 2 September 1888; *South End Reporter*, 19 October 1958.



Most Pullman athletes were blue-collar workers in the Pullman Palace Car Company. A few were white-collar professionals and high-ranking company managers such as the three elites who competed in the first annual Fall Games held in Pullman in 1882. Solon Spencer Beman was the architect of Pullman, Nathan F. Barrett was its landscape architect, and scenic painter Hughson Hawley decorated the town's theater. All lived at the Florence Hotel while working at Pullman. (Courtesy, Chicago *Historical Society*, *ICHi*: 18045).

Pullman public schools. Martin rowed on the Pullman team from 1882 through 1884 and was also an official of the Mississippi Valley Rowing Association and the Associated Amateur Athletic Union of Chicago and Vicinity.³¹

Businessmen and salesmen with no association with the company also participated in Pullman sport. Most were residents of Pullman. Their places of business were generally in the town as well as in Kensington, Roseland, Hyde Park, and Chicago. 32 Of the thirty-two town athletes, nine lived in Roseland or Kensington, three in Chicago—two of whom lived in the Pullman Building, and one in Hyde Park. Their businesses included real estate offices, drug stores, coal dealerships, plumbing establishments, hardware and furniture stores, billiard halls, and even a saloon. Thomas Armitage, an intermittent cricket player for Pullman from 1888 to 1897, operated a saloon in Kensington in the early 1890s while living in the model town. No liquor was sold in Pullman with the exception of the Florence Hotel but Kensington was just across the Illinois Central train tracks and saloons flourished there. Such an occupation as saloonkeeper did not bar Armitage from the cricket team. A more famous Chicagoan, and one-time Pullmanite, John P. Hopkins, elected mayor of Chicago in 1893, played on the 1889 cricket team. He was also a PAC shareholder and officer, and was an official in various annual Fall Games in the town, all useful associations for a politician. Both Armitage and Hopkins had worked for the PPCC before opening their own businesses. Three other town athletes had also worked for the company. Town businessmen played a larger part in Pullman sport than did company managers and professionals, participating in all Pullman sports except football. They were numerically most active in track and field and cricket but proportionately, in cycling and shooting.

Athlete Turnover and Diversity

In addition to examining worker-athlete occupations in Pullman, athlete turnover also was investigated. The average length of residence in 1892 was four and a quarter years. 33 Resident stability obviously affected athlete turnover. Three hundred of the 329 worker-athletes played on Pullman teams less than five years and over 200 of them were on a team for only one year (see Table 3). Athletic turnover was representative of the population stability of the entire community. Few athletes were on sport teams over four years; twenty-two athletes spent from five to nine years on teams, six athletes were members of teams from ten to fourteen years, and only one athlete—Edward Butcher—played over fifteen years on a team. Proportionately, one-third of Pullman worker-athletes played under the Pullman banner at least two years. The average length of time an athlete competed on a Pullman team was estimated at two and

31. Martin attended Amherst College during the 1874-1875 school year. Although a Boating Club existed at the time, no mention was made of Martin belonging to the club in the school yearbook. Neither is there any evidence that he rowed while there.

32. Both Kensington and Roseland were towns neighboring Pullman to the west. Hyde Park was situated north of the model town midway to downtown Chicago.

33. Buder, *Pullman*. p. 81.

TABLE 3
 Years of Participation in a Pullman Sport
 by 329 Pullman Athletes,
 1880 to 1900

	1 Yr.		2-4 yrs.		5-9 yrs.		10-14 yrs.		15-18 yrs.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Athletics	51	71	19	26	2	3	0	0	0	0
Baseball	33	94	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cricket	37	37	40	40	16	16	6	6	1	1
Cycling	9	90	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Football	17	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rowing	32	73	10	23	2	5	0	0	0	0
Shooting	12	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soccer	22	56	15	38	2	5	0	0	0	0
Total	213	65	87	26	22	7	6	2	1	0*

*Less than 1 percent

a fifth years.³⁴ Athlete turnover was lowest in cricket; over 60 percent of its athletes played at least two years while 23 percent played five years or more. Soccer also experienced a relatively low turnover rate; approximately two-fifths of its athletes played from two to four years and a few men played during each of the five years the town fielded a team. Perhaps playing on the successful cricket and soccer teams kept these worker-athletes in town working for the company. 35

According to Buder, the high residency turnover rate in Pullman occurred at all levels of employment.³⁶ The athlete turnover rate for white-collar and blue-collar worker-athletes was in proportion to their numbers in the model town. Long-term participation in Pullman sport was neither dominated by blue-collar nor white-collar workers. Fifty-nine percent of the twenty-nine athletes spending five or more years on a team were engaged in company blue-collar occupations, the same proportion of blue-collar worker-athletes employed at the Palace Car Company during the 1880s and 1890s. Sixteen of the seventeen long-term blue-collar athletes were skilled mechanics. Conversely, 41 percent of the athletes playing on Pullman teams either worked in white-collar occupations at the PPCC or lived in the town and its environs, the same proportion of white-collar workers playing on Pullman teams five years or more. Ten of the twelve long-term white-collar athletes were either clerks, bookkeepers, or

34. This estimate was determined by averaging the products of the median number of years in each time category in Table 3 and the number of athletes in that category.

35. Newspaper coverage may have been a factor in determining Pullman athlete longevity. Citations were generally more explicit regarding cricket and soccer lineups than for most of the other sports of the town.

36. Buder, *Pullman*, p. 81.

timekeepers. Distortion of data may have occurred due to the large number of cricket worker-athletes in the over-five-year athlete population; twenty-three of the twenty-nine athletes in this cohort were from cricket. On the other hand, this data may have represented athletic longevity quite accurately. Athletic longevity in cricket was a real phenomenon and not a quirk. Cricket players could participate in the game well into middle age.

Just as most Pullman athletes participated on a team merely one year, most played on only one team. Only thirty-four workers competed on more than one team, representing 13 percent of the 265-man athlete population (see Table 4). Of these multitalented men, twenty-eight played in two sports, five in three, and one, Butcher, competed in four sports during their working lives at Pullman. Multisport athletes were mainly blue-collar workers. Fifty-six percent held blue-collar occupations and 44 percent held white-collar occupations. These proportions strongly resembled occupational data of all Pullman athletes (see Table 2). Multisport participation was greatest in track and field, cricket, rowing, and soccer. If an athlete participated in rowing, he also was likely to take part in track and field. Track and field and rowing were common activities in early athletic clubs of the nineteenth century, such as the Pullman AC, and both reached their zenith in the Chicago area during the first decade of the Pullman experiment. Furthermore rowing was often a part of Pullman athletic tournaments. Perhaps an athlete competing in a rowing event might participate in a track and field event as long as he was already taking part in the tournament. Yet another trend is observable from Table 4. If a multisport athlete participated on a soccer team, he also was highly likely to play on a cricket team. The scheduling of soccer and cricket allowed this type of multisport participation. Cricket games were scheduled from May or June until September. On the other hand, soccer was scheduled during early spring and occasionally May and June, and the fall months of October and November. Thus soccer and cricket seldom overlapped. In addition, cricket matches were generally played on Saturday afternoons and soccer matches on Sunday. Chicago cricket clubs were white-collar elite clubs but since Pullman athletes were given half-Saturday holidays for athletic participation, play with elite clubs was entirely possible. On the other hand, soccer was a working-class sport in Chicago. None of the elite cricket and athletic clubs fielded soccer teams. Pullman played teams from the mining districts of Braidwood and Carbon Hill in addition to non-elite Chicago teams. The six-day work week of a number of Pullman's opponents would have necessitated Sunday play.

As might be expected, Pullman athletes who competed in more than one sport participated for a longer period of time than did the average athlete (see Tables 3 and 4). Few multisport athletes participated only one year, while two-thirds competed from two to four years. The typical multisport athlete participated 3.7 years, 60 percent more than the average player, and was twice as likely to compete for five years or longer.³⁷ More than likely, multisport athletes were

37. This estimate was determined in the same manner as the average length of time a Pullman athlete competed on a Pullman sport team was calculated.

TABLE 4
 Years of Participation in Pullman Sport by 34 Multisport Pullman Athletes, 1880 to 1900

	Yrs. in Sport	Occupation	Ath-letics	Base-ball	Crick-et	Cy-cling	Foot-ball	Row-ing	Shoot-ing	Soccer
1. Anderson, Frank	2	Carbuilder	x						x	...
2. Aston, George	10	Carpenter			x					x
3. Beman, S.S.	1	Architect	x					x		...
4. Brass, Harry	2	Clerk	x							x
5. Butcher, Edward	18	Clerk	x	x	x					x
6. Brown, O. F.	2	General Manager	x	x						
7. Campbell, George	2	Foreman	x					x		...
8. Cannon, Joseph	2	Kensington Plumber	x		x					
9. Fake, A. T. Hall	4	Surveyor Hyde Park	x			x		x		...
10. Foster, Frank	3	Carbuilder	x	x				x		...
11. Frazier, Edward	3	Molder	x							..
12. Glendenning, Harry	1	Gasfitter	x					x		...
13. Grovier, Benjamin	5	Carpenter			x					x
14. Gibson, Thomas	3	Clerk			x					x
15. Harper, Alexander	3	Chief Accountant		x	x				x	...
16. Hawks, Harry G.	1	Fireman	x					x		...
17. Holmes, O. L.	2	Timekeeper	x					x		...
18. Jennings, James	3	Blacksmith	x					x		...
19. Maginal, Eugene	2	Electrician		x						x
20. McLaughlin, Robert	7	Carpenter	x							x
21. Martin, Daniel R.	4	School Principal	x					x		...
22. Murphy, James E.	4	Hardware Kensington	x			x				x
23. Needham, C. A.	2	Draftsman			x			x		...
24. Osborne, John	3	Boiler			x					x
25. Philpott, Jefferson	5	Machinist			x					x
26. Reis, Lawrence	4	Foreman		x	x					...
27. Robertson, Charles	3	Foreman	x	x						...
28. Richards, Frank J.	3	Superintendent	x					x		...

TABLE 4-Continued

	Yrs. in Sport	Occupation	Ath-letics	Base-ball	Crick-et	Cy-cling	Foot-ball	Row-ing	Shoot-ing Soccer
29. Smith, Harry	2	Laborer	x					x	
30. Thompson, James	7	Carpenter		x	x				x
31. Turner, Sr. Mark	4	Springmaker			x				x
32. Weldrake, Herman	6	Musician			x				x
33. Walpole, Thomas W.	2	Carpenter			x			x	
34. Yorke, Harry	1	Clerk			x			x	

more talented than the ordinary athlete. Talented performers also may have remained in Pullman longer so they could take advantage of the town's varied sports programs.

Conclusion

Sport was a continuous and vital feature of Pullman throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Over five hundred athletes played on its teams on national holidays and Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Most of the worker-athletes held blue-collar positions in the Palace Car Company. With their large blue-collar contingent, track and field, baseball, cricket, rowing, and soccer flourished while cycling, football, and shooting floundered with a smaller proportion of blue-collar athletes. Although fewer in number, company and town white-collar workers played with their blue-collar co-workers and competed under the Pullman banner during the eighteen-year period. Pullman sport melded white and blue-collar workers on its playing fields. No worker was excluded due to the type of work performed. Any worker who could perform well on the sport field played on the team whether he worked with his hands or sat at a desk. The emphasis at Pullman was on beating rival teams and on illustrating that the name, Pullman, was preminent, whether it be on the team, the town, or the company. Laborers, journeymen mechanics, clerks, and superintendents played together although most of the athletes wore the blue collars of the working class. In that sense, Pullman sport was unlike blue-collar sport in Newark and white-collar sport in New York, Montreal, and Chicago where the mixing of the social classes on the playing fields was less pronounced.

While the occupations of Pullman athletes varied, the blue-collar worker for whom the town and its recreation had been designed played a prominent role in its sport. Almost half of the model town's athletes were skilled mechanics who competed in every sport except football. In addition, most of Pullman's long-term and multisport athletes were skilled blue-collar workers. It is doubtful that sport played a significant role in the retention of the valued journeyman mechanic at Pullman, but it seems entirely possible that a few talented athletes may have been reluctant to leave the town and its sports.

Pullman workers in general and blue-collar employees in particular played largely because of the unique opportunity provided them. Company policy and practice made sport an attractive recreation. The Palace Car Company wanted its employees to participate in sport; sport was to help develop a superior type of American working man. As a consequence, the company provided extensive facilities and support services for the sport of the model town without which the working class would have found it difficult to participate. Sport teams thrived when company and PAC support was extensive and either struggled or were short-lived when support was inadequate or lacking. At the same time, blue-collar workers predominated on those teams which were well supported. When teams received little support, smaller proportions of blue-collar athletes participated. Working-class participation in Pullman sport was predicated upon broad company support. Without the vast playing fields and racing courses, the grandstands and clubhouses, and the equipment, coaches, and recruited athletes, Pullman blue-collar workers may well have had to play their sport within ethnic and union groupings or short-lived sport clubs as so many of their eastern counterparts had done.