

Spring 2000

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Recommended Citation

William J. Adelman, Gerald E. Berendt, & Melvin G. Holli, The Pullman Strike: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, 33 J. Marshall L. Rev. 583 (2000)

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LECTURE

SECOND ANNUAL
ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG CONFERENCE

THE PULLMAN STRIKE:
YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

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BURTON J. BLEDESTEN, ERIC ARNESEN, ROBERTA LYNCH,
JAMES C. FRANCZEK, JR. & ROBERT W. FIORETTI

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: Welcome to the John Marshall Law School, to the continuation of our Centennial celebration and to the Second Annual Arthur J. Goldberg Conference. The conference is named for Arthur J. Goldberg who was United States Secretary of Labor and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court and Ambassador to the United Nations among many other things. During our Centennial Celebration, the John Marshall Law School chose to celebrate the life of Arthur Goldberg who served on the Law School's faculty in the 1930s, the 1940s and the 1950s.

Last year's inaugural conference was devoted to the legacy of Arthur Goldberg, to American labor relations and the proceedings of that conference have recently been published in the John Marshall Law Review and a videotape of the conference, the first conference, is available from the law school. The generous contributions of private donors, particularly the Chicago Federation of Labor and the family of Justice Goldberg made this year's conference possible. Specifically, I would like to thank Don Turner and Tim Leahy of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Barbara Goldberg Kramer, and Robert Goldberg, the children of Justice Goldberg. In addition we wish to acknowledge the assistance and support of the conference's advisory committee, the law school's Board of Trustees, particularly the president of the Board of Trustees, Louis Biro, who has been very helpful. And we also wish to acknowledge one of the members of the Board of Trustees who is in the audience, Ron Riskin, a new member of the Board of Trustees who is visiting us from San Francisco for today's Board of Trustees' meeting. I want to extend special thanks to Gary Watson, and the event management department for planning

and coordinating another excellent presentation, also the publications department for that truly exceptional brochure that I hope you received, our public relations department for arranging the publicity and our media services department for providing the audio visual support for this conference. Finally, I wish to single out several individuals for recognition: Jennifer Woodward, the Deputy Associate Chancellor of the University of Illinois Chicago who put me in touch with several of our speakers who are part of the program today; also John Marshall law professors Walter J. Kendall and Ralph Ruebner who provided many of the ideas and much needed encouragement, advice and support for the conference; and finally Assistant Dean Bill Beach whose efforts led to the fundraising for this year's conference. Thank you all.

This year's conference is devoted to the Pullman Strike of 1894, one of the defining moments in the emergence of organized labor in this country. The program is divided into three parts: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. The first part of our program, Yesterday, takes us back over 100 years to the event itself. There is no better person to take us there than William J. Adelman, professor emeritus of the Institute of Labor Relations of the University of Illinois. Professor Adelman is a founding member of the Illinois Labor History Society and serves as its vice president. He is well known for his presentations on labor history, particularly Chicago labor history including a presentation on Haymarket revisited which I was lucky enough to see several years ago. Today, he will lead us back in time to the events that have helped define labor management relations in America to this day, the Pullman Strike. Please join me in welcoming William J. Adelman.

Professor William J. Adelman: Thank you very much. Thinking about how appropriate Pullman is in connection with the Arthur Goldberg Conference, a number of years ago I did a slide show titled "Chicago, Heroes and Heroines Sung and Unsung." And what amazed me was the way these people related to each other. Arthur Goldberg was included. They kind of reinforced each other. And as I thought about this particular program, of course, Jane Addams was involved in the strike. In fact I have a little reprint which she wrote at the time of the strike, *A Modern Lear*. However, she chickened out and didn't publish it until 1912. The attorney at Hull House at that time was Clarence Darrow, and of course Arthur Goldberg admired Darrow. Arthur Goldberg would later become the attorney for the United Steelworkers Union and Local 1834 at Pullman that became known as the Eugene Victor Debs local of the Steelworkers Union. So, you have all that kind of interlocking and those references and connections.

Now, George Pullman was not born poor by any means. His mother, Emily Pullman and his father, Louis, lived in Albion, New

York. The town is just west of Rochester. They were very near the Erie Canal. The first thing the family did in making an income, although they also produced furniture, was to invent a system of jacks to lift up buildings because the Erie was the most profitable of all the canals. The I & M in Illinois never really did too well, but the Erie was very profitable. So, they wanted to widen it, but they didn't want to tear down the permanent stone buildings. The family developed a system of jacks to lift up buildings, move them back and then widen the Erie. I always thought that Pullman had invented that system, but actually it was his brothers and his father. Chicago needed to be lifted out of the mud. So, in 1859, Pullman and some of his brothers arrived here to lift the downtown area because the Army Corps of Engineers had said in 1800 the one place the city should never ever be built is where Chicago is built because every Spring it would flood. They came here and they lifted all the buildings along State Street. Prior to that, there were great amounts of water and mud. We're still having trouble with the water. The latest solution is the Deep Tunnel. So that's the way Pullman made his money and became famous in Chicago the first time.

He then went out to Colorado to pan for gold. He found out he could make more money selling equipment to the people that were panning for the gold, such as food and supplies. Then he came back to Chicago and became interested in transportation. I've often asked young people when I've taken them on tours to Pullman, what did Pullman invent. And I always used to say it was those jacks, but not the sleeping cars because many of those ideas he either stole or bought the patents. He finally created the Pioneer, his first great car. His real ability was in public relations and he succeeded in that when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. He convinced Robert Todd Lincoln, Lincoln's son, to carry Lincoln's body back to Chicago and down to Springfield in one of his cars. Great canopies were built over the cars as they went from city to city. Thousands of people went through the car and saw the car and wanted to have a ride in a similar car. That was his genius, public relations. He had promised Robert Todd Lincoln that he would make him the attorney for his company if he would persuade Mary Todd Lincoln, the widow, to do this. He did do that. Eventually, of course, after the death of Pullman and the governorship of Loudon, Robert Todd Lincoln would become the president of the company. That's the time when A. Philip Randolph was organizing the sleeping car porters. We'll hear more about that this afternoon. A. Philip Randolph once said that "Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves and then his son, Robert Todd Lincoln made us slaves again, as porters for the Pullman Company."

Well, now Pullman was wealthy. He was trying to expand his

cars into Europe. He was very successful in Italy. He was not quite as successful in Britain because they didn't have the long rides, so the Pullman cars weren't as necessary. But while in England he visited a town, the town of Saltaire. Now Sir Titus Salt, who was a friend of Charles Dickens, did not want to build his factory in the very dirty, filthy town of Bradford. So he decided to build outside of Bradford on the Air River. So, Sir Titus Salt named it Saltaire. The town was seen by George Pullman when he visited England in the early 1870s and obviously was the inspiration for the town of Pullman. Very many of the same features that existed in Pullman later would exist in Saltaire. There was a great factory building and a church. In his case, Sir Titus Salt was a Congregationalist so the church was Congregationalist. There was an Institute Building with a library that I visited in 1971, and I was very impressed with the structures and how sound they were. There was a library, theater. They were practicing dance and theater for a production. Over a hundred years had passed and this was still going on. There was a Technical School across the street and in the school there was skill training, new technical training that you could get at a very low price. There was a wonderful hospital with a rose garden in front of it and across the street were almshouses for the retired workers.

Now, that was something that Pullman never had, nor did he have the large hospital. Well, of course, then he came back to Chicago and in 1877, we had the closest thing this country has every had to a worker's revolution: The Great Upheaval of 1877. Pullman was a member of the Law and Order League in Chicago and he was horrified by the sight of young men going from work site to work site shutting down the jobs. He saw what was happening to his neighbors on Prairie Avenue, the McCormicks and the Armours. In the Pilsen area, where the McCormick plant was located, people were rioting. In the stockyards where Armour had his plant, the people were rioting. So, the idea of Saltaire and the way it had been organized came to him.

By 1880, Pullman conceived of the idea of setting up a separate community like Saltaire, away from the evil influence of the unions and the workers that had been rioting in 1877. Secretly, through a friend of his, Judge Bowen, he purchased land and then began construction. You can see what happened and how this story unfolded in a video we made 16 years ago titled "Palace Cars and Paradise." I think it will give you, for the rest of this conference, a good overview. When the video is finished, I'll make a few additional comments.

Video Presentation: How did this unique community come to be? Who are the people that first lived in these buildings? What events transpired here? Perhaps in answering these questions and learning about the people of Pullman, we'll also learn a little bit

about ourselves. Like many of Chicago's neighborhoods, Pullman is a neighborhood with a rich and fascinating history. Many of the homes here have been restored and look the same as they did when they were built 100 years ago. But history is not preserved simply by restoring buildings. History is also the story of people and the lives they lived.

In the 1860s, the land where Pullman stands today was still open marsh and prairie 12 miles south of Chicago. It was a time when poets like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman spoke of the idyllic life of the farmer who lived in the presence of nature. But this attitude was in part a reaction to the cities growing rapidly and seen by many as lawless, uncivilized, uncontrollable settlements. Everything was changing. Industry was being revolutionized, work was becoming machine-like, and giant monopolies were evolving. A single individual often controlled the work life of hundreds, even thousands, of people. Many of them were unorganized and paid the lowest possible wage. New ideas were evolving to explain and justify these changes. Darwin's theory of natural selection had been twisted into a new doctrine: social Darwinism.

While we sympathize with God's poor, let us remember: there is not a poor person in the United States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings. It is all wrong to be poor and to sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins is to do wrong.

According to this doctrine, the road to paradise lay through the jungle of human competition. But in Chicago the jungle was nearly everywhere. There was no profit in building decent homes for those who had little money. More immigrants came and more shacks appeared. The only social centers were the corner bars. The Chicago Fire in 1871 inspired sermons on God's judgment of the wicked, but it didn't change street life. Jane Addams described life in some segments of the city.

Many of the people living there are very poor. They often move from one wretched lodging to another. Living for the moment without social organization of any kind. Practically nothing is done to remedy this. This divides the city into rich and poor. Into the favored who express their sense of the social obligation by gifts of money and into the disfavored who express it by clamoring for a share.

It was during this time that George Pullman built his empire. The success of the Pullman Company rested upon the superiority of its cars but the growth of the company was actually due to another innovation. The cars were leased to railroad systems across the country so one service with uniform methods carried passengers for long runs over many different roads. Within thirty years, this system was nearly a monopoly covering three-quarters

of the railroad mileage of the United States. George Pullman believed that these cars provided not only increased safety and comfort. He believed they also had a psychological effect upon the rider.

Take the roughest man and bring him into a room elegantly carpeted and furnished and the effect upon his bearing his immediate. The more artistic and refined the external surroundings, in other words, the better and more refined the man. This goes further than the mere fact that people will be more careful in a beautifully decorated, upholstered and carpeted sleeping car than they would if there were not such surroundings about them. When carried out under other conditions this idea pertains to the more important matter of a man's productive powers and general usefulness to himself and society.

The Palace cars were beautiful, but their beauty contrasted sharply with incidents that occurred on the tracks during the 1870s. It was a decade of depression and the year 1877 exploded in violence. Most of it stemming from strikes on the railroads. There were riots in nearly every major city in the north that summer. The worst were in Pittsburgh and in Baltimore. In Chicago, 31 died and 100 wounded in one afternoon. Shortly after this year of violence, George Pullman decided to construct new cars in one large centrally located facility. The Pullman Land Association was organized and began purchasing land near Lake Calumet. After the land was purchased, the company hired hundreds of workers to begin dredging the marsh, laying the foundations and erecting shops. And the architect, Solon Spencer Belman, was commissioned to design buildings. According to a local farmer the town seemed to appear out of nowhere. Substantial buildings were built not only for use, but also for beauty: the shop with its clock tower and huge Corliss engine which provided power for the machinery and the shops; the water tower stood 200 feet high and held thousands of gallons of water; behind the shops an immense lumber yard was established with lumber used for the construction of the Palace cars; and in front of the buildings a large artificial lake, Lake Vista.

But not only shops were built. George Pullman described the full extent of the construction.

We decided to build homes for working men of such character and surroundings as would prove so attractive as to cause the best class of mechanics to seek that place for employment in preference to others. We also desire to establish the place on such a basis as would exclude all baneful influences believing that such a policy would result in the greatest measure of success both from a commercial point of view and also what was equally important but perhaps of greater importance: a tendency toward continued elevation and improvement of the

conditions not only of the working people themselves but of their children growing up about them.

This was not just a town. It was a showplace. Visitors were invited to come and view the thriving village. Often they would be met by company representatives and given tours of the town. Sometimes they would be joined by George Pullman. As they walked about viewing the town he would talk about his reasons for building it.

I always believed that the public would be willing to pay for quality. No citizen of the world who pays for it himself lacks beauty and comfort as well as an American. I demonstrated this idea to be of certainty when I built up the Palace car system. I started the Pullman town upon that idea. I believe the working men like to live in comfortable houses and have stylish things about them. I have tried the experiment. It is a success.

To help insure its success, a region of open land was left surrounding the model town. And no bars were allowed except one in the Florence Hotel which was only used by visitors and company executives. There had been company towns before, but never had a corporation attempted to construct an entire community in such grandiose style. Some reporters who visited were quick to praise it even describing it as the most perfect town ever created. While others were more cautious. Certainly, the town seemed to have the social organization lacking in neighborhoods in Chicago. The Pullman Company provided for everything. The huge arcade like our modern day shopping malls allowed residents to do all of their shopping indoors. It also included a library and a theater. Other shopping could be done at the market square. There was a school built for the children of Pullman. A firehouse. A church built of green serpentine stone. An island was made in Lake Calumet with an athletic field. The Pullman athletic teams were famous as were the Pullman bands. Sunny afternoons could be spent parading down Torrence Boulevard or having a picnic in a nearby park.

Some of the workers in Pullman were unskilled laborers. But many were highly skilled craftsmen which the company needed to produce the beautiful Pullman Palace cars. Most of the workers were native born Americans but some came to Pullman directly from European countries particularly Sweden and Germany. Beneath the appearance of tranquility, however, many of the residents were not contented after moving to Pullman. In fact, the town always had problems. The population was unstable. Many people lived in Pullman for a year or two then moved away. There were numerous strikes, but they ended when the company simply fired those who refused to work. Some reporters tried to look beneath the surface and analyze the problems by speaking directly

to the residents of Pullman. They observed that many of the residents seemed too frightened to speak out openly about the town. Those who did seemed to feel that their lives were bound on all sides by the Pullman Company. The town was ordered and regulated by the company. Pullman was the horizon in every direction, but the workers had no active role in this master plan. They were merely cogs in the machinery.

Pesavento's has been here since the turn of the century. It was one of the numerous bars built in Bum Town where the Pullman residents went to have a drink. The only people who call it Bum Town anymore are the long time residents who grew up here. But you can still see the Schlitz buildings along the west side of the tracks built just outside of the town to take advantage of Pullman's wish for a town without saloons. The Greenstone Church sat empty after it was first built because no single denomination could afford the rent and the residents did not like George Pullman's idea that they should all worship in the same building. Today, the church is Methodist. The Pullman stables were the only place in Pullman where horses could be kept. This was to assure cleanliness in the town. It's now a gas station. The huge arcade shopping center was torn down in the 1920s for a proposed office building for the Pullman Company, but most of the shops had already moved out because of high rent and had relocated in Roseland and Kensington.

In the distance, in front of the factory buildings, was Lake Vista. It was later filled in for the extension of Cottage Grove Avenue. If you walk through the community you can notice something interesting about the homes. There are many different types. These larger homes closest to the shops house the executives, and as you move further away the homes become smaller and less individual in style. In the least desirable areas furthest from the shops and arcade these larger structures containing numerous rooms were rented to the unskilled workers. Many of them shared washrooms and entranceways. You can still see how the systematic arrangement and size of the homes mirrored the worker's position in the company.

This is the Market Square and this is Market Hall, which has caught fire and burned three times. This is all that remains. Around it you see Romanesque columns with single apartments above built in the 1890s to provide housing for visitors to the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

A magnificent city was constructed in Jackson Park several miles north of Pullman. Millions attended the fair and saw a vision of the city of the future. But many who came to see the fair noticed that Chicago was quite different from the vision in Jackson Park. The country was in the grips of another depression. As many as 200,000 who came to Chicago to work on the Fair were

now stranded, some actually living in shacks on the lake shore while others lived in mansions on Prairie Avenue. The Pullman residence was considered one of the most lavish. There was no attempt to hide this wealth from the poor. In fact it was flaunted. Money was king. Potter Palmer who lived in this castle on the lakeshore would point to his wife and say proudly, "[t]here she stands with \$200,000 on her."

Thorstein Veblen, an economist at the University of Chicago created new phrases to describe their lifestyles, some still used today such as the leisure class and conspicuous consumption. And he noticed sarcastically that in order to be reputable one's expenditures must be wasteful. At the same time, fifty railroad workers frustrated by the lack of cooperation among the many railroad brotherhoods met in Chicago and formed the American Railway Union (ARU). They elected Eugene Debs their president and began the task of bringing all railroad employees into one large industrial union. In the winter of 1893, after the close of the Columbian Exposition, orders for new cars dropped dramatically and thousands of Pullman workers were laid off. But employees cannot pay rent if they are not working. So, steps were taken to keep the workers busy.

The salaries of Pullman officials, superintendents and foremen were not reduced nor were dividends to stockholders. The workers began to complain not only of the cuts in wages but of the rigid system the shops operated under and the feeling that in difficult times the burden was not shared equally. In May, a delegation of workers met with George Pullman to demand an increase in wages and a reduction in rents. The next day, three members of that committee were laid off and on the following day 3,000 workers walked out. Thomas Heathcote, chairman of the strike committee, described the situation:

We do not expect the company to concede our demands. We do not know what the outcome will be and in fact we do not care much. We do know we are working for lower wages than will maintain ourselves and families and the necessities of life. And on that proposition we absolutely refuse to work any longer.

A relief headquarters was established and donations were received from across the country. Eugene Debs visited the town and spoke to the strikers: "The fraternalism of Pullman is the same as the interest of a slave holder in his human chattels. You are striking to avert slavery and degradation."

In June, delegates from the Pullman strike committee attended the second national convention of the American Railway Union. The union membership now numbered over 150,000. Pullman delegates such as this nineteen-year-old seamstress, Jennie Curtis, went before the assembly and spoke about the other

side of the Pullman model town. In the tenements and the brickyards, many of the Pullman residents were struggling merely to survive. Often begging bank clerks not to deduct their rent so they would have enough money to feed their families.

The Pullman workers had been strike for six weeks with no effect. The members of the ARU voted for a sympathetic boycott to cut off the major source of revenue of the Pullman Company. They refused to move Pullman cars. It was now the American Railway Union, which operated out of this office on the Ashland block, versus the General Managers Association (GMA). The GMA was a coalition of all the railroad companies with tracks through Chicago. They saw this boycott as an opportunity to destroy the union and immediately hired deputy marshals and brought in strikebreakers. Most newspapers saw the boycott as the first step toward anarchy and mob rule with King Debs leading the way. The boycott was most effective. The GMA looked to Washington for assistance. They had a friend in Richard Olney, who had been an attorney for the railroads before being selected as President Cleveland's attorney general. His position was clear. To break the strike in Chicago and prevent its spread throughout the country. The GMA placed Pullman cars on mail trains and the government brought in thousands of federal troops to protect the mail. The Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was written to protect the nation from monopolies, was invoked and an injunction was issued against any conspiracy to restrict trade. Eugene Debs was arrested for ignoring the injunction and thrown in jail where he lashed out against what he called the money power building its fortifications on the bones of its victims and its palaces out of the profits of its piracies.

The governor of Illinois, John Peter Altgeld, protested what he considered the unlawful use of federal troops merely to break a strike. But bringing troops to Chicago did not bring peace. In fact, it seemed to spur the mobs of unemployed and the deputy marshals hired by the railroads to more violence. Clarence Darrow, the attorney for the American Railway Union, viewed some of the rioting on the tracks and said that that evening he first came to realize how little pressure it took for a man to revert to the primitive. The Reverend Carwardine of the Pullman Methodist Church wrote a book about his experience during the strike. He believed that fear of anarchy and mob rule blinded people to the injustices of one segment of society upon the other. He warned that we should look at this evil calmly and remedy it or it would break forth again and again.

In Pullman, the strike remained relatively peaceful. The town was divided: those who supported the strike and those who supported the company. Except for one incident when an innocent bystander was shot by a deputy marshal, the town was peaceful

and the troops spent most of their time exercising and lounging around the town. Later in July, notices were distributed in Pullman stating that the company would begin rehiring. Over 1,000 ARU members were fired and blacklisted. Charles Sweet, George Pullman's secretary wrote to him:

Our foremen are carefully watching the work of all the new men to judge of their ability and desirability as workmen. We must not only know what the mechanical ability of these men is. We must also have some assurance as to their character in order that houses may not be rented to any undesirable men.

The town was never the same again.

George Pullman died three years later and was buried here in Graceland. The coffin was lowered into an enormous pit, then filled with cement to protect his body from vandalism. He received severe criticism for his failure to speak to his workers during the strike. Only one year after his death, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled his town to be illegal stating that the existence of a town where all the property belonged exclusively to a corporation was opposed to good public policy. After the Illinois Supreme Court decision, the Pullman Company was forced to sell the homes to the residents of Pullman. By the 1960s, the town was threatened with final destruction. The eighty-year-old buildings were showing signs of decay like these apartments in North Pullman. Plans were in process to tear down the buildings to make room for a modern industrial site. It was then that the residents worked together to save not a model town, but a neighborhood. Through their efforts the town has been designated a National Historic Landmark and the Historic Pullman Foundation was formed to begin restoring some of the buildings. Perhaps in the future even North Pullman will show signs of rejuvenation. With the turmoil created by the Pullman strike it would be easy to say that no conclusions can be drawn from the Pullman experiment. It simply was caught in the trauma of its time. But that ignores the basic fact that the town had existed fourteen years before the strike, the people in the town were never generally happy. It just showed itself in the constantly changing population. People simply didn't think of the model town as a permanent home. They moved away as soon as they had a chance.

The experiment didn't end with the strike. The experiment ended three years later with the death of George Pullman. It was his town and his tenacity which maintained it. That's one of the main problems with the model town where those very features that the public most highly praised: its order, its cleanliness, its regularity. Everything was provided for and everything had its place. Listening to the first residents of Pullman it appeared that many of them felt they were in prison. *The New York Journal,*

after the strike, said that liberty has its price but its better to pay it. Self-dependence has its trials, but they beget strength. Pullman's personal motives may have been good, but the model town of this corporation was a gilded cage. Perhaps that was too high a price to pay to live in the city of brick.

(End of video presentation).

Professor William J. Adelman: Now, the idea of Pullman was that beautiful people in a beautiful place made these beautiful cars. I was a part of the exhibit at the World's Fair in 1893. It was Epcot. Epcot means Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow and Pullman was Epcot at that fair. And the architect, Solon Spencer Belman, of course, was so proud of his community, and there's an apocryphal story about this that he went to George Pullman because he had built this town. He was just a young architect. Earlier he had built an addition on Pullman's house. He said I'm so proud of what I did for you, let's call the town Belman, Illinois. And Pullman is supposed to have said, I'll tell you what we'll do. We'll use the first syllable of my name P-U-L-L and the last syllable of your name Belman M-A-N and we'll call it Pullman, Illinois. Whether Pullman had that kind of sense of humor I really don't know. The town had 12,500 people in the north and south sections; 5,000 people worked in the plant. Even before Henry Ford and mass production you had an assembly line going from the wheel factory up to the paint factory, something like eighteen blocks. Cars would go along and then the glass would be put in and the finishing parts would be added almost on an assembly line basis. The working conditions were very, very bad. There was a Dr. McLean who offered his services to Pullman. He had been a doctor in the Civil War. He was still a doctor in the town by 1912. So he was a pretty old man. And of course Dr. Alice Hamilton, who became a famous pioneer in occupational health and safety, would find out, this was after Pullman's death, that out of 600 workers in the paint factory, which is now the same building that Sherwin Williams occupied for many years, there were about 450 of the 600 dying from lead poisoning. And the company argued that they were alcoholics because the last symptoms of lead poisoning are similar to acute alcoholism. Dr. Alice Hamilton had to get together with Louise DeKoven Bowen, who had worked with Jane Addams at Hull House, and they were successful in having Dr. McLean fired and new safety conditions in the paint factory established.

Another thing I wondered about was why Pullman had to turn to Washington for his help in the strike. And one reason was the fact that the Mayor Hopkins of Chicago disliked Pullman. Of course, Pullman Town had become a part of Chicago in 1889. It had been annexed. Pullman tried to get Reverend Ogle at the Presbyterian church, the Greenstone church, to give a sermon to

try to discourage people from voting for annexation. The sermon was "the lamb shall not lie down beside the lion." The lion was Chicago, the lamb of course Pullman. Well, it did get annexed, because of the fact that it was connected with Hyde Park and Hyde Park joined Chicago and that's where the World's Fair was then held. So, Pullman lost control of the community itself.

Then he had an employee, John P. Hopkins, who worked for him and asked for a raise and sort of ran the arcade, the facilities there, and when Hopkins asked for a raise Pullman fired him. He later became the mayor of the city of Chicago at the time of the strike. So, unlike other places where you had the police, like at Haymarket, the police being used against the workers, the mayor was not about to send the police to help out Pullman. Then we got the secret ballot in Illinois in October of '91 before that you voted before an election judge who might be your boss. The foreman told you how to vote on Monday. If you didn't vote right on Tuesday you got fired on Wednesday. And so in 1892, for the first time, Illinois votes went and had a secret ballot. They could vote for who they wanted to vote for. And they elected John Peter Altgeld. He did not have someone he could go to and get the National Guard out, as happened in Wisconsin shortly after Haymarket when the National Guard was used against the workers at the Allis plant in Bayview. So, he had to turn to Washington. But we had a Democratic president and you would have thought Cleveland would not agree, but Cleveland was having a rough time. Remember he's the only president that was in and was out and then was in again. And in his first term in office, of course, this personal scandal about the fact he had an illegitimate child, and then he married his ward who was half his age. Then he gets back in office again but there are all kinds of scandals and things that are used against him. Richard Olney becomes his Attorney General, and he was a Republican. He had problems with a Depression, and he did not have a very friendly Congress and so he listened to Olney. I recently heard on the History Channel, and some of you may have heard this too, Cleveland had a cancer in his mouth, and he was scared to death that might get to the newspapers and the Depression was on and all these things were happening. He had the operation on a private yacht in the Potomac, in order to hide it from the reporters and the newspapers. So, he was out of commission a lot of the time. I think Olney, who was a friend of George Pullman, was kind of running the show.

Earlier, Pullman had been instrumental in the establishment of a military base thirty miles north of Chicago. After the Haymarket affair, Farwell, a friend of Marshall Field, and Pullman came up with the idea that instead of having troops in Leavenworth, Kansas or bringing them in from the Dakotas,

wouldn't it be wonderful if we had a fort right here? Then they could always bring in the troops if they were needed in a labor dispute. And so, they sent their neighbor General Sheridan to Washington to lobby for a permanent military base at Highwood, Illinois and then Sheridan died and Ft. Highwood was named Ft. Sheridan. It was opened on November 8 and then just three days later on November 11 the Haymarket martyrs were executed. The whole idea was that this fort was to be used against any possible labor problems. And the only time it was ever used for that purpose would be in the Pullman strike, and of course there was a special telegraph line from the Rookery building in Chicago to the White House just waiting for any trouble that was happening in Chicago. The President didn't know the difference between rioting that happened around 46th and what is now the Dan Ryan and 111th St. where Pullman was located. When those boxcars were looted, he was willing to send in the troops and he did it on the 4th of July ironically our Independence Day.

Pullman's mother was Baptist and his father a Presbyterian, but they became Universalists. But when he came to Chicago and he found out that the church to go to was the Presbyterian Church on South Michigan Avenue, he became a Presbyterian. And, of course, the church in Pullman was Presbyterian and he wanted everybody, as was mentioned in the video, to worship in that church.

The Catholic archdiocese had to fight until 1890 to finally get the right to build Holy Rosary, but it was on Pullman land with a 99-year lease and his policies of course was very much against the Irish and the Catholics. He thought that the Irish were too intemperate, too belligerent, and too pro-union. So, that was one of the groups that he kept out.

You saw the reference to the band. The band was part of that public relations policy that he practiced. The McDonald Company has a band today that goes from place to place in a similar kind of a fashion. And as you saw, although he drank and he had a bar in the Florence Hotel for his visitors, he did not want his workers to drink. In fact, there would be inspectors who could go into the homes at any hour of the day or night and check if there was any kind of alcohol there. But he forgot to buy one little strip of land a couple of blocks long, sort of a wedge and Joseph Schlitz bought it and put in dozens and dozens of saloons in that one little area. But it's interesting, during the strike, the strike committee patrolled that area to keep the workers from going in there and getting drunk because there might be some demonstrations and they didn't want this. However, things were very peaceful in Pullman. Any violence was not actually in Pullman and yet, the president and the public was fed a line that there was violence in the town itself.

What is often forgotten is that it wasn't Eugene Debs who was the one who was for helping the workers of Pullman. It was actually Reverend William H. Carwardine, who would later write a book, *The Pullman Strike*, and tell the story and almost get thrown out of the Methodist church because of it. He was one of the first ministers to preach the social gospel. A teenager, Jenny Curtis, a young woman who went to see Jane Addams, convinced Jane Addams to support the strike. Anybody who was in support of the strike wore a white ribbon. All over the country people started wearing white ribbons and that scared the management of the company to death so, they hit on the idea of little American flags in their lapels, as if that was the real way to show you're an American.

It's interesting that the Disney Company is currently building their own Pullman, called Celebration, Florida. There's even a new book about a family that lived in the town of Celebration, Florida, and it sounds almost exactly like Pullman all over again. When Gary was built they hesitated to build any housing because of what had happened in Pullman. Gary, Indiana was laid out by U.S. Steel. But a young man by the name of Hershey had visited Pullman when it was part of the World's Fair of 1893 and he got the idea of building a town of his own, Hershey, Pennsylvania. I visited Hershey and was a speaker there not long ago and I was telling them a story about how Pullman one day ordered a motorcar and he went and picked it up and his driver took him down to around 103rd Street and the thing broke down. So he went into the plant there and he called back to the stables where the horses were and the carriages. And nobody answered the phone. And he was so mad he walked up and down the street and of course he owned all the houses. When he saw anybody out in front of the house doing something that he was annoyed with he would write their name down and he was going to have them fired. Well, I was telling that story to the director of the program at Hershey and she said Hershey let those people own their homes. She told me a story that one day Hershey was out driving. He saw a house, they all had nice front porches, but someone had a lot of junk on his front porch. So, Hershey got real angry with this and he sent his workmen over and they enclosed the whole front porch so he wouldn't have to look at it.

Well, in closing, of course, George Pullman was worried about his grave being desecrated. He was also concerned with the fact that about this time, shortly before his death, Abraham Lincoln's grave in Springfield had been opened up and his body had been stolen for ransom. He was afraid that that might happen to him especially with all the people he had fired, and people around the country who were angry with him. So, he had this foundation dug in the ground at Irving and Clark, Graceland Cemetery, and then

it must have been covered up with a tarp over the years to keep out the rain. There was a party at the house on Prairie Avenue. He wasn't feeling well and asked to be excused. He went up to the second floor to lay down, and when they came up stairs they found out he was dead. His body was placed in a mahogany casket that was made at the plant and put into a concrete box. At sunrise it was taken out to the cemetery, put in the middle of this foundation that had been built earlier. Then concrete was poured to the level of the coffin and steel rails every few inches anchored to the walls going north and south, then concrete up to the two-thirds line and steel rails going east and west and concrete up to ground level. You saw in the video the beautiful Corinthian columns and the two benches that were built. But I've often said that if there's the Second Coming he's never going to be able to make it.

Thank you very much.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: Thank you Bill. The next portion of our program is entitled Today, and before I introduce our speakers, I wanted to acknowledge we have representatives from two groups that made a generous contribution to the Goldberg Conference—Tim Leahy from the Chicago Federation of Labor and Justice Goldberg's daughter, Barbara Goldberg Kramer along with her son, Matthew.

This portion of the program is devoted to the aftermath of the Pullman strike up to the present and its contemporary significance and our distinguished panel consists of Professors Melvin G. Holli, Burton J. Bledstein and Eric Arnesen, all of the University of Illinois at Chicago. Professor Holli is the author of thirty articles and 14 books including the recently published *The American Mayor—The Best and Worst City Leaders* published by Penn State University Press and you couldn't have missed that book because it's been covered by all of the news media. Dr. Holli will give us his observations and opinions concerning the political context during and since the Pullman strike. Our second panelist is Professor Burton Bledstein, who is a fellow at the Great Cities Institute at the university and has a long list of books, articles and essay to his credit. He is the contributing author in the forthcoming volume three of *The History of the Book in America* and Professor Bledstein will discuss the images of labor before, during and since the Pullman strike. Our third panelist is Professor Eric Arnesen who is the author of a forthcoming book for Harvard University Press, *Brotherhood of Color—African American Railroad Workers Struggle for Equality*. Professor Arnesen also has a long list of books and articles to his credit. He will talk about the issues of race associated with the employment relations in the railroad industry. Melvin, would you like to begin?

Professor Melvin G. Holli: All right. Thank you. I wondered

if I had anything else to say about Pullman after Adelman finished up. I did note that he did cite a book by Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, and I suppose this gathering is the leisure of the theory class, as it were. What I'll do very briefly is to look at some aspects of Pullman, the way they were treated by scholars in the middle and late part of the 20th century. And for scholars you will see writings, textbooks, etc., dealing with this strike and the boycott and the riot itself.

It has become in some quarters an emblematic event in that it was the last of the great labor upheavals of the 19th century, which involved enormous federal troop input to finally suppress that strike. Secondly, it also signaled a transformation of the nature of the character of organized labor and part of that transformation has been captured by Wisconsin labor historian named Selig Pearlman and his conclusions have been disputed, but in the long perspective they're probably right. And that is that American labor changed from a class consciousness to a job consciousness. Less work and more pay and not social revolution or changing the structure of the capitalistic system. Thirdly, it's also viewed as the beginning point of the new liberalism or urban liberalism which would become the progressive era after 1900 which does incorporate into its program's labor in a significant kind of way. A good example of that arises here from Chicago itself right during the Pullman strike.

A group of wealthy do-gooders formed the civic federation in 1894 in response to a book written by a British journalist, William T. Stead, called *If Christ Came to Chicago*. The book described the brothels and the vice and the gambling and the disorder of the inner city often used by tourists as kind of a badaeker of the fun places. But the civic association was concerned about really cleaning up vice at that level and then came the Pullman strike and the Pullman boycott and the Pullman riot and they formed a conciliation group to actually try to conciliate the strike between George Pullman and the American Railway Union. They weren't successful but they did suggest that something called arbitration should be the technique, the device to settle these conflicts. Now, it was not a novel idea that they suggested. There was a first rate public visibility of suggesting that a third party come in to say get the disputants together and finally settle the strike itself. Well they were turned down by Pullman and nothing seemed to come of it, but then again President Grover Cleveland was also inspired by the thought. He formed a U.S. strike commission which indeed examined the strike and came out with the idea of perhaps arbitration should be used to settle strikes of this kind. A third party intervention into settling the strike between the disputants. Now, the labor unions themselves were initially chary about going along with arbitration because they felt it would give the upper

hand to the employer and not to labor, so the civic federation then suggested that arbitration be voluntary, and both parties having to agree to a third party intervening to settle the strike. And eventually the would be legislation passed in Illinois and at the federal level setting up arbitration conciliation bodies to look at strikes. So, that's one of the products that comes out of the Pullman controversy of this time. A second sometimes unnoticed result of it was legitimizing the formation of labor unions by according to labor a seat at the table during this bargaining process. For that reason Sam Gompers of the American Federation of Labor finally subscribed and signed on to arbitration provided it were voluntary and not compulsory by the third party.

The other questions that have arisen from the Pullman strike, which scholars continue to ask and puzzle about are: Why no socialism in America? Why no labor party in America? In Great Britain, after all, the labor unions formed a labor party. In Germany and the central European nations, socialist parties were formed strongly supported by labor, but in America a socialist party, a labor party would never be formed. Now, the person who asked that question was a German social theorist named Werner Sombart, University of Breslau, who came to visit Chicago, actually saw and he was looking at the German socialist labor party and he had a number of answers for that question. His mantra, of course, was that on great wreaths of roast beef and apple pie socialist utopia is everywhere sent to its doom. So, he argued basically the material wealth and the abundance of America were undercutting class consciousness among German workers and if one looks at the structure of the German working-class in Chicago by 1900 it appears that is indeed the case. Some 57% of German American workers, first and second generation, were skilled workers. That's a very high percentage. Among the Irish some 75% were unskilled laborers. Among the Poles and Italians 90% were unskilled laborers. So, Germans were the butchers and bakers and candlestick makers and they benefited from those skills that they had. So, Sombart may have certainly perceived this when he made his statement.

Other factors that also hindered the formation of the labor party which scholars have puzzled about in the post-Pullman days have been what I call, in epigrammatic terms, the Tower of Babel factor and the Irish trinity. The Tower of Babel factor, of course, being that you had multiple language groups in the first generation of immigrants. Even in Pullman, where the workers were selected very carefully, only about 28% were native born. The next biggest group was Scandinavians, mostly Swedes, about 26% and then Germans, roughly about 14 to 18% and Dutch. So, if you were organizing a local in Pullman, you had to talk in three languages, German, Swedish and sometimes Dutch, as well as

English, which of course complicated labor organization. And indeed Sombart said the same thing. He said the socialist labor party is a German monopolized social gathering and non-German speakers are simply not welcome into the socialist labor party at the turn of the century. Well that's one of the epigrams, the Tower of Babel factor which leads to an ethnic divisiveness and does mean that effective labor organization will come in the second and third generation when fluency in English is widespread.

The second factor I mentioned was the Irish trinity and again occupational status of the Irish is very important here. The Irish trinity is not the father, the son and the Holy Spirit, but rather the priesthood, the police force and politics. The three areas where the Irish made their distinctive stamp on the American industrial city. Again we can use Chicago to illustrate that epigram and that is if you look at the church, every bishop in Chicago from 1850 to 1915 was either Irish born or Irish American with one exception, Vandevelde who served for a very short time in the '80s. Secondly, the priests were primary Irish Americans as well. They gave the Catholic church a peculiar Irish flavor. The second of those three p's of the Irish trinity being the police force. By 1900, 43 to 45% of Chicago's police officers and firemen and watchmen were Irish Americans. So, again they were very dominant in that occupation as well. And finally politics, of course, that's a more familiar story to you. Although the Irish comprised only 17% of Chicago's population in 1900s they composed one-third of the city council, 40% of all of the committeemen who really control politics in Chicago and they had names like Hinky Dink Kenna, Bathtub John Coughlin, along with Joe Mack and others. So, they were important in these three areas. Often when you had a strike, you would have Irish policemen on one side and occasionally Irish workers on the other side, and this placed enormous cross pressure the Irish population. Furthermore, whenever a social revolutionary group mentioned socialism, the Catholic church was opposed and since many of the Irish were fairly devoted they of course would not associate with the socialist labor party which German American immigrants had put into being.

The other epigram is on great wreaths of roast beef and apple pie. Sombart to his satisfaction looked at the levels of income in Germany and also Chicago, which he studied and discovered that indeed they were much better. The reasons immigrants had come is the guild system was breaking down in Germany and all these skilled craftsmen were being replaced by machinery at a much more rapid rate than the U.S., and thus, they migrated to cities like Chicago. Along with that, the Bismarck's Germany had banned the socialist party and many socialist émigré editors, labor agitators and others also migrated to Chicago. So, there's enormous fueling of the kind of intellectual left on the part of

German Americans. If you look at the Haymarket rioters in 1886, more than 63% are German Americans. Another roughly 18% are Bohemian Americans and they mostly spoke German because they had been educated under German circumstances in that country. So it's very much a kind of Germanic club and there were a number of radical German newspapers in the city, but in 1890 Bismarck repealed the anti-socialist laws and suddenly the flow of radical émigré editors, agitators and labor leaders stopped. By 1908, there's a distinct change in the character of German labor organization.

One of the German labor leaders, editor of the *Heinrich Bartells*, complains in 1908 about German workers in Chicago that all they think about is the bank book, a savings account and knife and fork culture. In short, they had become stomach Germans as it were said and the radicalism was passing by the wayside. There was a kind of embourgeoisement of German workers taking place. Their high skills also would continue to the embourgeoisement. An interesting test of how they then bourgeoisified is to look at the rioters and the Haymarket riot of 1886 which I just did showing you the disproportionate two-thirds German membership in the strike. Then look at the next great radical episode in American history, the formation of the communist party, which was formed here in Chicago in 1919. You see almost a complete absence of German names in the cadres, the membership and the organizers. The people who do organize the communist party are now Ukrainians, eastern Europeans, Finns, but no German names are found in the communist rank. So what has happened is that the Germans had vanished from the radical left completely having been bourgeoisified. That again would contribute to the difficulty of creating unity within the labor movement itself.

Other scholars have argued that also the Homestead Act and the availability of free land which could be patented at very low cost or no cost was also a kind of safety valve draining off from cities the enormous urban discontent that industrialization sometimes caused. There is also the triumph of business unionism which perhaps Professor Arnesen will talk about and that is that the Sam Gompers idea of seeking better working conditions and more pay and shorter hours would be the major aim of American labor and not social revolution. Gompers, of course, was very active in the '90s.

Repression which Professor Adelman mentioned at great length has often been argued by many scholars as the principal fact that prevented a labor party or a socialist party from being shaped or formed in this country. And, of course, the Pullman strike is kind of a signaling event along with the Homestead strike in 1892. The trouble with the argument is that repression, if it were to suppress labor organization here, didn't work in Europe.

European workers were perhaps more oppressed and repressed by the state especially in Bismarck's Germany. But still they formed a socialist party and a labor party in England. So the repression argument is a variable that you have to factor in but it's not the persuasive or the dominant reason to explain why the U.S. would not see a labor party.

Now something else which also occurred, which Professor Adelman knows a lot about as well, is that ethnic succession often befuddled and weakened the labor movement. The latest group of newcomers off the boat were the most vulnerable to being recruited as strikebreakers to break strikes. Normally, it was the workers who acclimated and seasoned themselves in the American workplace who formed unions to create strikes. If you look at the strikes in the packing industry in 1886, for example, they were broken by strikebreakers fresh off the boat from Poland. If you look at the 1892 strikes in the same industry, they were broken by Slovaks and some African-Americans fresh off the train and fresh off the boat from Europe. In 1904, the teamsters strike and packer strikes were broken by Italian strikebreakers again fresh off the boat or the train from Europe. In 1919, again Italians recruited on Halsted Street and also Blacks recruited from the south would break the strike in 1919. In 1919, in the steel industry, Mexican workers again were used as strikebreakers. So, one of the problems organized labor faced for much of the 20th century was the fact that you had new law recruits from poverty stricken areas of the world willing to accept less wages because they were good by the standards they were still higher than the wages they received in their mother country. It would then take almost a second generation before labor organization could become effective.

Part of the answer is also timing. The fact that labor tired to organize during this huge inflow of workers from all over the face of Europe and also areas made it very difficult. Another reason scholars have used to explain the post-Pullman lack of a labor party or the difficulty of even organizing unions is that machine politics played their role as well. And that as I mentioned already the Irish dominance and predominance in machine politics, but the Irish machines were also very clever in most cities by often siphoning off the natural leadership of many groups that might have become opponents politically or economically. So, machine politics is thought to have been a factor that also weakened the post-Pullman labor party movement.

One of the big developments out of Pullman, however, is the new liberalism that I alluded to just very briefly, that the civic federation in Chicago whose membership would not have encouraged workers necessary join it but many did. And as a matter of fact, about one-sixth of the civic federation membership by 1895 was composed of labor leaders and also union workers.

The reason was that the civic federation had tried to intervene in the Pullman strike to force arbitration, which became more attractive then for labor. Now, I mentioned before that this arbitration idea would live on through a federal commission eventually to come out of the strike commission report and federal legislation as well. The civic federation itself would then begin to think in terms of cross class and all class social organizations and political organizations and they would attract large numbers of workers because people like Yerkes were trying to get long term franchises for the streetcar systems and workers had a genuine interest in lower transit rates because they used trolleys to get to work in many cases so many American workers have been induced into these civic groups fighting political corruption such as the civic federation, the municipal voters league and the like. And so, the labor party for a variety of reasons I've mentioned in the post-Pullman year would not resemble that of Europe or central Europe or Great Britain.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: Thank you Dr. Holli. Our second speaker in this part of the program is Professor Burton Bledstein who is about to begin his presentation on how labor is portrayed.

Professor Burton J. Bledstein: I have some comments before I show the images. I'm also very interested in the legacy of Pullman. The Pullman strike, I think it can be argued, is the premier strike in American history. It has received more attention than any other single strike. It seems to have serious legs and the question is why? Why was it considered such a seminal event? I think one can speculate as to a number of interesting reasons why it's a strike that seems embedded in the richness of context. One place to begin is that it occurs in the railroad industry, which is a modern industry, so in fact it has dimensions of a very modern strike. The railroad industry was intrinsic to the modern urban industrial economy and indeed what Pullman was doing, making these Palace cars, was visible and experienced by many ordinary people.

In the 1870s, Pullman was considered at the cutting edge of civilization. He was creating comfort. No less than Walt Whitman said that had Voltaire ridden a Pullman car from New York to Chicago most likely there would not have been a French revolution. Mark Twain in 1871, in *Roughing It*, after ten years earlier having taken this long coach trip to California in a stagecoach, was ecstatic about the possibility of traveling in a Pullman car. Twain of course was a traveling man and traveled extensively. Even in the middle to late 1880s one would have been very hard put to predict that there was going to be a major strike at Pullman in this industry at this time, given the nature of the industry and where it sat in terms of how people felt about rising standards of living, modern progress, increasing transportation

and comfort. A second factor why this strike takes on legs I think is that the array of people, the confluence of individuals and social movements that occur in Pullman are quite unique and unpredictable like any significant event is. It was unpredictable that this confluence of social movements and people would come together and of course the results were as unpredictable and I will speak about those.

The major characters in this play, this melodrama are personified. They take on very individual personalities. It's George Pullman who speaks for the Pullman Company. He testifies at the hearings. It's Eugene Debs who speaks for the American Railway Union and he testifies at the hearings and then testifies in the court cases. It's Samuel Gompers who speaks. Pullman is an old man by this time, but Debs and Gompers are quite young men in this period. It's Gompers who speaks for the AF of L and he's dead set opposed to this strike and quite disillusioned with Debs himself. It's Grover Cleveland and Richard Olney who represent the state. It's William Stead, Jane Addams, John Commons and Clarence Darrow who represent the kind of middle class reformers and proto-progressives. In nearly every one of these cases these were career-defining moments. Jane Addams was a young woman who had just come to Chicago four years earlier. She has the opportunity, although she doesn't publish the *Modern Lear* essay until 1912, she has the opportunity to testify at the Carol Wright, the labor secretary's hearing. And she talks about Hull House and the rents in the Hull House neighborhood and what the Hull House neighborhood is like. This was a defining event for Jane Addams. It put her on a national scene as one example.

Another possible reason why this was such a defining moment and here we get closer to what I want to focus on in this address, the imagery, and that is conceptual identities in this strike were defined in the public arena. For example, for the corporations, for labor, for the reform movements, for the state, the four major players in the strike. They took on conceptual identities and individuals that transcended politics. They also transcended all the partisanship, the bickering for example, the division, the fragmentation that you found of course in the business world, in the labor world and so forth. Out of this strike comes something called the labor movement. Out of this strike comes something like a unified conception of the corporate business movement, and why? It's because every major force, every major power in this strike, including Pullman, Debs, Addams, Stead understood they weren't speaking to each other. They were speaking to the public and so they spoke in the public forum and they spoke to influence public opinion of their point of view. In short this strike was about publicity on a modern scale, in a grand way.

Now, let me be more specific and then I'll show you the images that I think demonstrate it. Pullman is interested in its corporate identity. Many of the images you saw in Bill's video were Pullman Corporation images that the Pullman Corporation made to in fact project a specific image and that is to say an image can't be used just naively. It's made by somebody for somebody and many, many of those images of course were made by the Pullman corporation to project to the public as to what a benign suburban useful community this was. And indeed this is kind of the beginning of modern corporate culture and the projection of corporate images which I will show you some examples of in this period. And the themes, of course, in these images are always efficient production, satisfied workers and strong products. More to the point here, of course, is labor begins to project a unified image in and after the Pullman strike as the trade union movement. And through the images you can see in fact how the fundamental labor themes of the next thirty years, the next generation and a half begin to take on real shape, convincing shape beginning at this point and projected through imagery. And what were those images? Well, legislation against labor injunction, workmen's compensation, protection for working women and mothers, child labor laws, the eight hour day and the symbolic role of Labor Day as a unified labor event. Labor Day at the federal level begins in 1894 partly in response to the Pullman strike and there are indeed pictures of a labor parade at Pullman in this period. The state begins to be very concerned about its image in the public as an administrative state drawing on academic expertise and managerial skills and public policy. And finally the reformers, the proto-progressive reformers, the people who will become progressive reformers within a few years indeed are using this imagery and projecting their concerns: quality of life, health, hygiene, the slums, the tenements, income, education, working conditions and so forth. Now, how are you going to effect this? How are you going to project these new public images? How are you going to in fact pull off what in part is public relations, but it's also creating a public image for your own people as a unified internal kind of movement. Well, here you have to look to what was basically a new medium and that was the use of photography, and the ability to use photography effectively at the national level.

The Kodak Camera appears in 1888. It's not widely available, but it is being used in the 1890s. It allows ordinary people to take photographs that are much more spontaneous than earlier photographs and after 1900s the Brownie appears and you get really what we call today the snapshot which means you can take a picture effectively that in fact is convincing, convincing so to speak of reality. The new pictures in fact and it's not coincidental that documentary photography within a decade from Louis Hine

and so forth, appears at this time. It has a kind of realistic quality. It's gritty, it's contextual. It's like the camera is a current witness to events. It's believable. Seeing is believing and it's much more spontaneous. It's much quicker than a text and much more convincing of reality. Yes, I'm seeing that it's real just like I'm sure you watched this video and you thought the pictures you were seeing were real. That's the way it really looked. Well, maybe yes and maybe no. But the point is that these images in fact can be used. In short, what I'm saying is that the images created a new understanding of events especially when pictures for the use of image were more quickly and easily accessed than text. There was a legitimacy to the phenomenon. So, there became a legitimacy to the corporation, a legitimacy to the labor movement, a legitimacy to the progressive reformers and indeed the state.

The 20th century has been the century of photography. The Holocaust, for example, has basically been demonstrated through it. That's all we have is basically photography and it's what's so convincing that there was a Holocaust against so to speak the naysayers. Susan Sontag who after seeing the Holocaust images said "[i]t seems plausible to me to divide my life into two parts. Before I saw those photographs and after. Some limit had been reached. Something went dead. Something is still crying." In short, there was a new kind of standard now for reality and that is what I would say what does it look like? What did labor look like? What did a corporation look like? What did a slum look like? Which is beyond just reading. And the looking at the image is an experience that is to say how does one experience the image? In that sense, how does one experience the event?

Let me move on now to the images. I'm of interested in showing you how the processes played out in forming this new sense of public opinion, especially public imagery as related to the labor movement. The effect on the labor movement really in part begins with the Pullman strike. This is what I see as one of the more immediate legacies of the Pullman strike because I'm basically talking about the late 19th century and then the period up through the New Deal.

(Beginning of slide show presentation).

This is an early labor image of a mechanic's apprentice in 1850 and this is what images of labor would look like in this period. This, of course, is a daguerreotype which are the first photographs in the 1840s and 1850s and what these images projected were very straightforward, very honest types of labor. The individual is identified with the occupation, the purpose of the occupation is to be useful, to be productive, to be in fact a producer.

Let me show you the second one. This happens to be Mark

Twain, Sam Clemmons, at the age of thirteen as a printer's apprentice. His father has just passed away which was an extremely common of the period and this is the first picture he took as a printer's apprentice and he's extremely proud of it. Then a final example of a typical printer's early laborer photo would be the carpenter photo. Again there are obviously carpenters, the shop, the tools, all the symbols indicating where they fit in society, where they belong and there's a sense more of character than career. There's no sense of movement. This is what we do and we are productive. I'll just show you one more. Here's a seamstress. These things were produced by the thousands if not the millions, these daguerreotypes. They were also expensive which indicates that people were very proud of taking these pictures. Photography was a phenomenon that became extremely popular and visible. And just one final example, here's the case of a peddler and again all the tools of the trade appear in the picture. He's not anonymous. He doesn't need a name, he has an occupation.

Now the use of imagery is critical to American business in the 19th century because it's the only way they had of projecting themselves. So, indeed the trade card, the image of the corporation just explodes after the 1840s and the Exhibitions, the 1876 Exhibition, the 1893 Exhibition in Chicago, are largely about corporations passing out images of themselves. This is a wonderful thing I found. This is from 1861 showing the bill poster. For example you would find bill posters on the Oregon Trail to California. They would paste the billboards on the rocks promoting things. Here is an example of an industrial image from 1879.

Now, another interesting way of getting your fingers on this is *Scientific American*, a lavishly illustrated magazine nationally produced, being seen by many people which begins appearing in the 1840s. Here's the 1851 patent drawing of the Singer sewing machine, which appeared in *Scientific American*. What's interesting about these images that are infusing the public is they're all about technology and not very much about people. You can in fact increasingly see that over time. We can just jump at this point to the 1893 World's Fair, which is a good example. Here's an image of the construction of the Ferris wheel in *Scientific American*. That's in fact what they choose to display. And the only place you're going to find people are at the very bottom there. People get smaller and smaller in these images as the technology gets bigger and bigger and increasingly the people disappear entirely. For example the cover for the World's Fair is the Ferris wheel and it has no people in it at all. It just tells you how many people can ride the Ferris wheel.

This is the context in which the Pullman strike occurs. Pullman well understood this and the Pullman Company itself in

the early 1880s began promoting pictures of the Pullman town and they put out literature called the story of Pullman. It's bucolic, suburban, orderly, clean, and so forth. That's an image from 1887 when you still had the lake at Pullman. Okay, that's an effective use of photography very early with the image of the tower in the lake and so forth. So, the Pullman people are using the best there was in terms of photographic ability to produce their image.

And it's the same thing as in fact you saw in the video of the town, of the residents of the town. And you will also find these techniques being used by all corporations as they grow and become big in America. For example, machine shops, these images are produced by thousands and sold as postcards, and again the emphasis is on the technology, on the structures, on the scale, and the people just kind of fit it. They're not particularly important. Here's a classic picture of workers in a company brochure. Corporations are very sophisticated about this, just about all of them start using it. Machine shops, steel factories, showing you their processes that appear to be modern, advanced, progressive, clean, neat and the like.

Let's get to the strike. Now, how is the strike portrayed? Strikes of course have a very bad image and here I'm following Harper's Weekly, the journal of civilization. Here's Harper's Weekly cover of the 1877 strike showing rioters, the troops, the guns and so forth. And the same kind of incendiary imagery is used in the 1886 Haymarket Riot. There's a broadside. Chicago riot with a bomb. And this is what aggressive workers are associated with. When and how does this begin to change? Well, as you heard, the Pullman strike occurs in the summer of 1894. Harper's Weekly runs a full month of magazines every week with lavish pictures on what they call the great railroad strike and it had a significant effect on public opinion. Here's the July 14th cover of King Debs. And then it goes on further to show all the railroad stations locked up. This is the Northwestern station on Halsted street brought to an utter stop by the strike. And a typical Harper's picture of the events of the strike where the strikers are always portrayed as semi-mad, violent and aggressive. And this goes on for four weeks in lavish photography for the day. Here's some from the July 28th issue which focused on the damage to the railroad stock. Now you have to realize this kind of photography is new to people. They haven't seen images like this before. The images they've seen are drawings, illustrations that are nowhere near this realistic, this gritty, this detailed. In short it has an air of reality to it. It's relatively convincing. Seeing it is believing it. Again, damage to the rolling stock goes on for an entire month in the Harper's Weekly.

Now, how about the workers? How did they begin to appear in the strike? Well, for one, you begin to see for the first time

realistic pictures of unemployed people, the poverty in Chicago. This is an 1894 picture of unemployed people in the Chicago area. No one had seen a picture of this before. The pictures had been much more slanted. Here is a picture of drunken guardsmen. Certainly portraying a different image of what was going on with the federal troops in the Pullman strike than the company was portraying. Likewise you already saw some pictures in the video from the strike itself so one of the points I want to make is right here and that is once this realism starts there's no controlling it in the imagery. And by the time you get to the 1910 garment strike in Chicago the photography has become extremely realistic and the people indeed are very real. This is a 1910 portrait of the garment strike and there's no question of what's happening here. Here's a Jewish family as part of the garment strike, the domestic scene. And the last picture I have of the 1910 strike is the women picketing on the street and in fact if you blow it up they have wonderful looks on their faces.

Well, the last thing I want to show then is what does the image of labor begin to look like after the turn of the century. And my point is that labor images of working people after the turn of the century make them human, make them real. Working people become real, not just dismissed, not just crazies, not just violent in the pictures. One thing, for example, that's now shown in photography are industrial accidents and the effects of industrial accidents on people. For example, here are two from the anthracite industry. Those are two bodies lying in the mine after an explosion. Here are two miners that lost their left legs by riding the railroad cars. These kinds of images just proliferate. In fact, they certainly play a significant role in the workmen's compensation legislation when people can see it really for themselves. Working children. Never before were pictures of working children shown like they were shown in this period. It was reality. It wasn't something people were dreaming up. For example, here are two boys in the cigar industry in Tampa. When you take a look at these kids, there are thousands of these photographs, they don't look like they're out of Dickens. They look like children who are working because their families need the wages. Very seldom do they look like they're hungry. Here are two little kids junking which was a very popular activity for kids. Cleaning out the trash cans. All these photos come from before 1910. Lots of newsgirls in this period on the streets. The persuasions of these photographs are closely related to child labor laws that are being passed, but are not being enforced. Even hobos take on a dimension of reality. Here's a caricature of a hobo from 1901 harassing, mooching, thieving on the streets. Here's a realistic picture of hobos who were among the most literate people in society sitting on a bench up in the Hull House neighborhood

around 1920.

Pictures of immigrants and ethnics become real human beings. For example, here are pictures of ethnic workers. Italians and bakeries. They probably are on Halsted Street. And pictures of immigrants. That's a Bulgarian. And what's significant about these is that if you've seen one immigrant you haven't seen them all. They all in fact look different. Croatian. An Italian. And so on. Now in conclusion, here's a picture of Pullman workers in 1910. Unlike any picture you would see of Pullman workers in 1894 or the Pullman strike—they're at their lunch break here.

(End of slide show presentation).

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: Our final speaker in this part of the program is Eric Arnesen who is going to address questions relating to racial issues that have arisen in the railroad industry over the many years before, during and since Pullman.

Professor Eric Arnesen: To most of us who have called ourselves new labor historians since the early 1980s or late 1970s, the Pullman strike of 1894 still stands out as one of those dramatic moments and turning points of the 19th century and in 19th century labor history in particular. Workers' conflict with the Pullman Corporation was nothing short of crystal clear. It was a morality play. On the side of the angels was the America Railway Union, the first significant industrial union on the nation's railroads that succeeded in overcoming the divisive craft divisions promoted by the more conservative railroad brotherhoods of engineers, conductors, firemen and brakemen and others. The ARU made genuine solidarity across craft lines a reality for the first time on the nation's railroads. And joined by thousands of non-railroad workers, the ARU engaged in a heroic and mortal combat with the forces of darkness led by the Pullman Corporation, the General Managers Association, and the federal government, which placed at the employer's disposal the full repressive powers of the state. At the crucial moment, Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor balked, refusing to allow a more general strike and allowing the ARU to go down to a blazing and fatal defeat. In the aftermath of the conflict, the ARU's membership, much of it blacklisted from the industry, dwindled. The conservative craft unionism of the brotherhoods survived to pick up the pieces. The imprisoned Eugene V. Debs contemplated and eventually embraced socialism, and the AF of L continued down its path of accommodation with industrial capitalism. In this morality play, the protagonists, the members of the ARU, had utterly failed despite the most heroic of efforts.

This was the version of events that I learned almost two decades ago as a graduate student and one that still dominates traditional narratives of the history of American labor in the late 19th century. But it's a story that, while not wrong, remains

incomplete and misleading, for it ignores the experiences of one critical group of railroad workers whose stake in the strike was minimal at best, and whose experiences, if considered, cast the protagonists in a somewhat different and less heroic light. That group of workers of course is African-Americans.

The dissident railroad unionists who formed the ARU in 1893 broke with the members of the railroad brotherhoods and espoused intercraft solidarity and militant action. But, they also shared considerable ground with them, particularly on matters of race. Since their inception several decades earlier, the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods—embracing engineers, conductors, firemen, and brakemen—had written into their very membership a definition of race. They officially restricted their ranks to white men; any applicant for membership had to be "white born of good moral character, sober and industrious, sound in body and limb . . . and able to read and write the English language." That ensured that new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, from Mexico and Asia would find no place in these unions, just like their African-American counterparts. The exclusionary provisions in the brotherhood constitutions remained standard well into the 1950s and 1960s when federal and state courts declared such formal racial prescriptions illegal following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In many ways a radical alternative to the established brotherhoods, the ARU also drew the color line and restricted its membership to whites. Copying a page out of their predecessors' rulebook in 1894, the ARU's committee on legislation authored a constitution whose preamble defined "all railroad employees born of white parents as entitled to membership." Some delegates to the ARU's 1894 convention, including its president Eugene V. Debs, objected to the constitutional narrowing of the ARU's base on the grounds of race. "It is not the colored man's fault that he is black," Debs argued before the assembled delegates that fateful summer. He continued: "[i]t is not the fault of six million Negroes that they are here. They were brought here by avarice, cupidity [and] inhumanity of the white race. If we do not admit the colored man to membership the fact will be used against us." This was hardly a ringing endorsement of interracial solidarity. Instead, Debs adopted a variant of the "industrial equality" argument that was advanced by some proponents of biracial unionism. Debs drew a distinction between economic and social equality. "I am not here," he said, "to advocate association with the Negro but I will stand side by side with him, take his hand in mine and help him whatever is in my power". Likewise, Michigan delegate J.H. Mooney spoke in favor of admitting Blacks, as he put it, "on humanitarian grounds and again for the purpose of self-preservation and protection." While L.W. Rogers, an ARU

organizer in the south and an editor of the Union's newspaper, *The Railway Times*, recommended the adoption of the classic biracial formula of giving Blacks who were loyal to the Union cause "a separate organization as was the case in many churches in the south" so you have a white local of the ARU and you have a black local of the ARU separate, perhaps equal, but collaborating at any rate.

Debs and his allies encountered strong opposition from the convention floor. A Denver delegate, Samuel A. Heberling, not only blamed Blacks for assuming the strikebreakers' role in the past, but predicted that the ARU would lose "5,000 members in the west if colored men were allowed to become members." Heberling, not Debs, carried the day when the convention now re-upheld the racial restrictions on ARU membership. The best that the ARU could do was to recommend the creation of an auxiliary for Blacks which even if it had been created (and it wasn't), would likely have attracted few African-American members.

The American Railway Union had inherited, had failed to challenge, and in effect replicated a racist tradition of long-standing. During the ARU's disastrous strike and boycott of the Pullman cars in the summer of 1894, its racial stand surely cut white members off from potential black allies and weakened them in their relation to their employers. As one black editor explained, "[t]he colored have not lost any sleep over the [1894 Pullman] strike for they have no interests at stake to be affected." Other black journalists argued that Blacks should "Let it alone for the strike was a white man's war. Let him fight it out alone." In the "contest between the color-line union and the Pullman Company," the duty of African-Americans was clear, the *Cleveland Gazette* insisted. "Do your duty." That is go to work. The ARU found its participation in the Pullman boycott of 1894 excoriated in the pages of the black press, which condemned both the general violence and lawlessness that accompanied the strike and the contradiction of fighting for the "dignity of labor while excluding the downtrodden Negro whose right to everything is denied."

Perhaps more significant was the fact that black workers, barred from ARU affairs, played the role of strikebreaker that was assigned to them by their white working-class adversaries. Here in Chicago, one group of Blacks formed an "Anti-Strikers Railroad Union" whose express purpose was to fight the ARU and to replace its strikers. With black brakemen and firemen running their freight trains out of Birmingham, Alabama the officials of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad could declare with confidence that the "backbone of the strike . . . is practically broken" shortly after it begun. In contrast, one white newspaper suggested that the Queen and Crescent Line running through Tennessee and Kentucky had "more trouble than any other road because they

employed none but white men," and "every firemen, brakeman and switchman on the entire road struck".

Decades later Debs speculated that the admission of Blacks into the ARU would have produced as he put it a "different story of the strike, for it certainly would have had a different result." His revisionist perspective reflected more his political views and his wishful thinking than any realistic assessment of the balance of forces in the 1890s. Whatever the case, it was a lesson that white railroad workers failed to learn. Interracial solidarity or even mere collaboration across racial lines was simply not one of the legacies of the Pullman strike of 1894.

Long before and long after the Pullman strike, the American railway labor force was sharply segmented along ethnic and racial lines. As late as the mid-1960s, a commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission could conclude that "like no other industry in America, railroads have been allowed a free hand in writing their own traditions and prejudices into the laws of our land, and been allowed to apply those laws themselves, have been allowed to interpret and reinterpret those laws by their own experiences. The result is," he concluded, "in racial terms one of the most highly institutionalized forms of industrial segregation in the land." Indeed, from the origins of American railroads in the early 19th century through the 1960s and the early 1970s black railroaders were members of a labor force stratified sharply by race. "As every traveler knows," one observer put it in 1959, "Negroes have been conspicuous for their absence in railroad trains, offices and yards—except for waiters and porters in dining parlors and sleeping cars—and through no wish of their own." Everywhere African-Americans dominated the service sector of the railroad industry as Pullman porters, as dining car attendants, and as station red caps. And in many regions of the country they dominated freight handling, track laying and maintenance of weight crews as well. Excluded from the most highly-skilled and better paid positions as engineers and conductors, African-American men could find work as locomotives firemen and brakemen only in the American South. By the early 20th century, their hold on even those positions as firemen and brakemen grew increasingly tenuous as their white counterparts engaged in terrorism, strikes, and contract negotiations to reduce the proportion of Blacks in their occupational categories. By the Second World War, they nearly succeeded.

But I want to stress in my remaining time, they didn't succeed. White railroaders in the "Big Four" brotherhoods never voluntarily relinquished their anti-black stance. I want to make that clear. It was only the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that outlawed union exclusion on the basis of race and led to the very gradual admission of African-Americans into brotherhood ranks. But long

before the passage of the act, black railroaders themselves took up the trade union cause in spite of everything else the trade union movement was doing against them and against tremendous odds sought to organize on their own behalf. They aimed to achieve not only traditional union goals of higher wages, improved working conditions, seniority and grievance procedures and the like, but the additional goal of dismantling the discriminatory barriers they encountered in the workplace. They struggled on multiple fronts, for their targets included not only employers, but white railroad workers and their unions as well.

The achievements of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are the most widely recognized of these African-American efforts. By most objective standards, the Pullman Company, the very same that had delivered the fatal blow to the much larger and more powerful ARU several decades earlier, appeared an unlikely target for successful unionization in the 1920s and 1930s. The company retained widespread support among many sectors of the African-American community. It was, its supporters never hesitated to point out, the single largest employer of black labor in the United States, with roughly 12,000 black men and a very small number of African-American women on its payroll by the end of World War I. Taking little for granted, the company funneled charitable contributions to Chicago's South Side black institutions like the Wabash Avenue YMCA, the Chicago Urban League and Provident Hospital. As one black observer stated, "Pullman is the greatest benefactor of our race that it had ever known." Yet wages remained low; porters depended heavily upon tips from passengers; working hours often proved long; and the porter was subjected to the arbitrary authority and discipline of his immediate supervisor who was always white. The plight of the porter was, A. Philip Randolph declared in the mid 1920s, "miserable and tragic" for the company treated him "like a slave." "In very truth the Pullman porter has no rights which the Pullman Company is bound to respect," he declared. "So far as his manhood is concerned, in the eyes of the Company, the porter is not supposed to have any." Dispensing with the "Gratitude Complex," the BSCP, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, substituted a new slogan—"Not servitude, but service"—and heralded the birth of a new Pullman porter, one with a "new vision" whose "creed is independence without insolence; courtesy without fawning; service without servility . . . [and] [o]pportunity, not alms."

Critiquing Pullman, however, was easier than beating Pullman. It took the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters a decade, from 1925 to 1935, before it won a representation election to serve as the legally designated bargaining agent for Pullman porters. It achieved only that because of a New Deal revolution in

labor law, the 1934 amendments to the Railway Labor Act that allowed Pullman porters to achieve this victory. And it took another two years, until 1937, for the newly recognized union to win a contract from the company. Not only did the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters dramatically improve the porters' condition, but it served as a powerful example of the possibilities of black trade unionism. But the porters were hardly alone. The rise of the International Brotherhood of red caps, which changed its name in the early 1940s before it joined the CIO to the United Transport Service Employees of America, and the Joint Council of Dining Car Workers in the late 1930s also symbolized a new black activism that spread far beyond the labor movement and the workplace.

By the Second World War, these unions of black railroaders were engaged fully in a wide range of civil rights initiatives including campaigns for fair employment practices, challenges to racial barriers to occupational advancement, protests against racial violence and disfranchisement, and organizational assaults against the racial practices of the American labor movement. Their counterparts in the industry's operating sector—locomotive firemen and brakemen—waged their own and less successful battles against employers and white trade unionists. But ultimately, what they called the "courthouse routes" or alternatively the "strike through the courts" proved partially successful. In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled in the *Steele* and *Tunstall* cases that while trade unions (in this case the White Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen) couldn't be forced to admit Blacks to membership. After all, these were private organizations. But they had to represent fairly all members of their craft or class, Blacks included. That is, they couldn't negotiate contracts that actively discriminated against one portion of the labor force that they theoretically represented, even though they didn't admit African-Americans to membership. These cases, the *Steel* and *Tunstall* cases, were argued by noted civil rights attorney Charles Hamilton Houston on behalf of two independent associations of southern black firemen. The "duty of fair representation" that was established in these cases did not end workplace or union discrimination, but they did provide an opening wedge for black railroaders, who used the courts over the course of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, to force white unions to cease their discriminatory practices. Just as one set of practices might become outlawed the white unions would come up with another one. They were very ingenious at these techniques, but ultimately the legal struggles against them were successful.

Just over a hundred years after the Pullman boycott, the railroad industry's recent changes have been nothing short of revolutionary. In little more than a generation since the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the skilled railroad labor force has undergone a

dramatic racial recomposition. New generations of black workers not only found jobs after decades of declining employment levels, but they progressed slowly up the occupational ladder into previously all-white domains as well. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the industry promoted its first African-American engineers and the first African-American conductors in its entire history. Working-class race relations on the railroads similarly altered radically, with many white workers accepting Blacks as co-workers even as supervisors and admitting them with little friction, though often with little welcome, into their unions. Although this revolution remains incomplete, the tremendous achievements of black railroaders in the 1990s represents the very real fruits of the generations of civil rights activists in their industry and in the broader society that forced railway unions to live up to the ideals that they professed. This is not to say that racial discrimination has vanished. Black complaints and numerous recent lawsuits against railroad companies and railroad unions attest to the persistence of racial discrimination. But as many African-American railroaders can themselves attest the struggle for equality remains an ongoing one that requires their constant vigilance, commitment and engagement.

Thank you.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: Thank you, Eric. The third party of our program invites us to consider the lessons of Pullman and its aftermath and to consider the future. Our first speaker is Roberta Lynch, Deputy Director of Council 31 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Ms. Lynch is also a vice president of AFSCME International. She has authored numerous articles and is co-author of *Rusted Dreams, Hard Times in the Steel Community*, published by the University of California Press. Ms. Lynch will discuss the future of the labor movement organizing and collective bargaining in light of the lessons of Pullman.

Ms. Roberta Lynch: I don't know how many of you happened to see the *New York Times* on Sunday, but I thought it was very interesting, especially in light of the enlightening presentations that we've already had today, that the business section contained an article headlined "A New Idea for Unions: Forget the Past." I think this panel gives us some idea about the dangers of doing that.

You've heard today how the Pullman strike helped to re-define labor relations in the United States stimulating greater labor activism at the grass roots level and legislative and political changes at the national level. Today, the American labor movement faces greater challenges than it has perhaps at any time since prior to World War II. The reason is simple to define and extraordinarily complex to address: labor's declining numbers.

The labor movement today represents just over 14% of the workforce and barely 10% of the private sector workforce and that number has been steadily declining through the last several decades. This decline in the labor movement does not just represent a decline in the power of organized labor, it represents in fact a weakening in the relative power of hundreds of millions of workers in this country both organized and unorganized. We are living now in what are termed boom times. In fact, *Crain's Chicago Business* this week reports that the boom economy is "helping the rich get richer" (in case you didn't know that). So rich, in fact, that the sale of luxury items is booming over on Oak Street this holiday season and there is a rush on cashmere pajamas which cost \$1,200 and on Armani cardigans which cost \$12,000. There's a waiting list for the \$4,000 Hermés handbag. And then there was that final group that was scrambling to purchase those rare Burmese rubies that range in price from \$250,000 to \$1 million dollars.

So, we know that the people at the top are in fact doing very well. But the reality is that the vast majority of people are mostly just getting by. The minimum wage has been stuck at \$5.15 an hour so that you had people working full-time and making just a little over \$10,000 a year, \$7,000 below the poverty line for a family of four. Real wages have effectively been declining since the 1970s. Just in the last two years for the first time in two decades real wages have slowly begun to increase, but they still are not where they were in the early 1970s. The number of people working full time without any health insurance has been steadily increasing throughout these boom times at a pace of about one million people per year. The number of citizens without health insurance now totals about 44 million. And nearly two-thirds of the workforce now lack a pension. At the same time, inequality in our society continues to grow. The gap between the people at the top and everyone else gets wider. How is it that wages can stagnate, that essential benefits can diminish, and that income inequality can dramatically increase during one of the strongest and longest periods of economic prosperity in American history? While some analysts continue to puzzle over this situation, many have recognized that the most significant variable is the declining power of the labor movement. Without a force that can win a fairer share of the pie for a significant segment of the workforce and thereby drive the wage policies of other employers as well, the evidence is clear and nearly irrefutable that employers will not organically or willfully share the wealth that is being created in any fair or equitable manner. So, I believe that the case is also clear and irrefutable that anyone who is genuinely concerned about issues of social justice should be concerned about the fate and future of the labor movement today in this country.

Let me now turn to the matter of that fate. While the article in the *New York Times* did readily acknowledge that “workers do seem to benefit from the countervailing power of a union,” its central thesis was that the labor movement is about as “relevant as calligraphy.” It goes on to argue that the labor movement is “hidebound and conservative” and that its fundamental motto is, in essence, “change is evil.”

This notion of organized labor as an institution stuck in the past is widely purveyed in the media, in the academy, and among many political pundits. And yet, I would argue it is almost exactly the opposite of what is happening within the labor movement today. In fact, if the labor movement today has a motto, it is the AFL-CIO’s slogan “changing to organizing—organizing to change.” And, I believe that the reality of the labor movement today very much fits that motto.

Let me briefly discuss three kinds of massive change that are underway relative to the labor movement. The first has to do with that imperative to grow—to increase the labor movement’s numbers and to diversify its ranks. Are labor’s stagnating numbers the result of labor movement inertia or labor’s negative image as some allege? I don’t think so. Beginning in the early 1990s and intensifying with the election of John Sweeney as the head of the AFL-CIO in 1995, the labor movement has dramatically shifted resources to organizing new members. Virtually every union, though some certainly more than others, have active programs underway to reach out and organize—sometimes within their traditional jurisdictions, sometimes breaking new ground and organizing whole new constituencies or sectors. It is impossible to overstate the importance or the urgency of this mission and it is astonishing that so much of the media has failed to recognize its scale or its initial success. Last year over a 100,000 new members were added to labor’s ranks and that’s a net growth. It takes into account how many people lost their jobs—and thus left the labor movement—due to lay-offs and downsizing which still remain, even in these boom times, a constant feature of our economic landscape.

Equally important, this new organizing has served to intensify another trend that actually began decades ago—the diversification of labor’s base. It never fails to amaze me as well that so many in the media continue to insist on viewing the labor movement as a white man’s movement, or they see it as an industrial worker’s movement, or a building trades movement. It is certainly all of those—but it is in point of fact much more. The labor movement today has a membership that is almost 40% female. It has a membership that is over 20% minority. It increasingly includes a broad spectrum of the workforce that challenges the image of the traditional labor union member. Did

you know that flight attendants are among the top five unionized jobs in the United States today? They are more highly unionized by far on a percentage basis than truck drivers, mine workers or carpenters. New organizing efforts are focusing to a large extent on low wage workers such as janitors and nurses aides, but they are also reaching out to those in previously unorganized professions or new types of work. I'm sure you've all seen the headlines about doctors forming labor unions as well.

Much of the discourse today assumes that employees don't want to be in unions and that that's why the labor movement's growth has stagnated. But polls, and our own experience, tell us exactly the opposite. There is a vast, untapped number of employees who want to join unions, but the labor movement's organizing program is moving at far too slow a pace to reach them. And for one fundamental reason: the unremitting hostility from employers toward workers' efforts to form unions. There is virtually no union organizing effort waged today that is not met with intense employer opposition. There are scores of union organizing drives in which unfair labor practices are routinely committed. Workers are routinely being fired for simply trying to exercise their right to organize a union. Moreover, it is not just union organizing drives; achieving a first contract after an organizing victory has also become a monumental task due to employer resistance and delaying tactics. Our union just had a situation in southern Illinois in which it took us five years to secure a first contract. And we won an election by a margin of 274-47. Five years of workers being denied their basic rights and of an enormous cost to our union—resources that could have been spent on other organizing if we had been able to fairly and reasonably negotiate a contract. So the problem of growth is not, contrary to what you will sometimes read or hear, a problem of the labor movement's resistance to change. I would argue the problem of growth for the labor movement is fundamentally a problem of employers' resistance to the change that unions bring.

The second area of change I wanted to touch on is developments in unionized workplaces all across the country. I raise this because I think this idea that the labor movement is unwilling to change, that it's stuck in its ways, is dragged out repeatedly whenever the labor movement refuses to just go along with changes that employers want. In reality, there are many, many examples of changes in which unions either cooperate or often lead the way in workplaces all over this country. Programs like the innovative labor-management quality teams involving the U.A.W. at Ford Motor Company that brought about major changes in work culture and in the product. Like the joint labor management initiatives to train workers and to foster workforce development, which the C.W.A. has been involved with all

throughout the telecommunications industry. Like the career development program AFCME negotiated with the state of Illinois that provides career counseling, college tuition and expanded promotional opportunities. There are many, many unions that have been at the forefront of developing those kinds of quality improvement and career development programs. There are many unions that have led the way in developing in family friendly workplaces by fostering child care programs, elder care programs, expanded family leave and paid parental leave. These are the kind of innovations that unions have been helping to forge at workplaces all over this country. Other kinds of innovations have come in the way that unions deal with employers, employers who don't want to negotiate fairly in bargaining. These tactics are referred to as "corporate campaigns" and can involve bringing community pressure to bear, targeting boards of directors, identifying regulatory violations, public embarrassment and more. For instance, some of you may be familiar with the battle the Steelworkers Union was just waging against Farley. They were on strike at a West Side at a tool and engineering company he owned. Their strategy was to use other leverage by going to City Council and blocking his effort to get a cable franchise. So there are many new ways in which unions are creatively responding to the change in power dynamics that has come about in this country and the tactics that employers have been using.

The third area of massive change is labor's role in the public arena. Here, more than anywhere else, the election of John Sweeney and his team has been decisive. For it was indeed the case that the labor movement had been stuck in outdated methods of political participation, of lobbying and of getting its message out throughout the 1980s, and that we were losing many important political battles as a result. But in just the last four years, the labor movement has dramatically demonstrated that despite its reduced numbers, it is the only force committed and able to fight for working families in the political arena. It has built an effective grassroots political operation. It has honed its ability to communicate with the public. And it has been willing to take bold stands and to advance them aggressively. Just think, it was only five years ago that Newt Gingrich seemed to be on top of the world and that the so-called "Contract with America" was defining the political debate. No doubt Bill Clinton deserves significant credit for helping to turn that situation around, but I believe that the labor movement's role was also decisive. It was the labor movement that mounted effective campaigns against dozens of targeted legislators, drastically shrinking the Republican's majority in Congress and putting the fear of God into those that remain. And it was those same efforts that helped to send Newt Gingrich on that midnight train back to Georgia.

It was the labor movement that really almost single-handedly made the fight for—and won—an increase in the minimum wage for the first time in decades. It was this new labor movement that took on its own ally, Bill Clinton, and many other Democrats to put the brakes on fast track trade authorization. It was this new labor movement that helped to catalyze and focus the opposition to the weakening of Social Security, despite the multi-million dollar campaign by Wall Street, to win support for massive privatization of the system. It was this new labor movement that also played a significant role in defeating efforts to weaken Medicare and Medicaid.

It was this new labor movement that almost alone won a referendum vote when it defeated Proposition 226 in California which was designed to effectively curtail labor's political program, despite initial polls showing overwhelming support for the measure. In doing so, the labor movement was also able to call a halt to dozens of similar measures to thwart labor's political activism that were being pushed in other states all over the country, as well as national legislation that was patterned on the California referendum. And it is the labor movement that has played such a remarkable role in moving the issue of globalization to the center stage of American political debate. I do want to say we don't do this because we are highbrow and protectionist, as some claim, but because we are determined to insure that trade not only be free, but fair. We don't do it because we are trying to stop trade, but because we want to insure that no American corporations can profit by eliminating jobs here and exploiting workers elsewhere.

Now when I say it was the labor movement that did these things I of course don't mean that the labor movement did them alone. But I think it would be hard to make the case that any one of them would have happened without this new and revitalized labor movement. Many of you who are not part of the labor movement may have at one time or another echoed that *New York Times* article and decried the labor movement's unwillingness to change. I hope that I've made the case that we are in fact in the throes of change. We may not be making just the changes that you want. Sometimes we're not making just the changes that I want, believe me. But I'm sure that there are many more changes that are going to come tomorrow and the day after. I'm sure because there is now such a widespread recognition within labor's ranks that we in fact must change or die. So the issue isn't how much we change. It's how much those of you who consider yourselves friends of labor, or liberals, or even just concerned citizens, can also help that change. For if America is to be a just society then it needs a labor movement. And everyone concerned with justice should see the active aiding of that labor movement as part of his

or her mission. So, I disagree with the *New York Times* that we can in fact forget the past, but neither can we live in the past. Instead we have to learn from the past in order to shape a new, different, and I hope better future.

Thank you.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: And now for something completely different. Jim Franczek is an old friend of mine and he represents management both in the private and public sector. He is with the law firm of Franczek and Sullivan, formerly was the managing partner of Vedder, Price. I had a rather long introduction prepared for him intending to skewer him, but time doesn't permit that. I would have too much to say so my friend Jim Franczek will give his views on the future of labor relations in this country.

Mr. James C. Franczek, Jr.: Thanks, Gerry and thanks to all of you for your patience. Following Roberta Lynch is a daunting task at best. She is an articulate and forceful advocate for the labor movement. I do not come to you this afternoon as the personification of evil nor as the personification of employer resistance. I come to you as but a humble observer of what I think is the labor movement and I want to discuss with you just very briefly three aspects of the post-Pullman situation that occurred to me.

One is to flesh out Roberta's numbers on who and where are union members in the United States today; talk a bit about what I've observed in terms of the changes that we can forecast in union labor relations in the future because of demographics—the change in the population because of age; and, thirdly, about what the labor movement vis-à-vis employers is going to look like in 2000 and beyond.

Roberta noted correctly that in 1998 organized labor stood at 14%. That's a drop from 1954 when it was at its height of 35%. Labor went up just marginally in terms of actual numbers from 16.1 million workers to 16.2. But look a little more carefully at those numbers because they're fascinating to me. Of those six million workers, little over 16 million workers, 40% of them are in the public sector—about 6.7 million—60% or 9.6 million are in the private sector. If those numbers were to continue at the present rate of growth, public sector employees organized would exceed private sector employees by the year 2004. That's a phenomenal statistic. Who are these union members out there? Forty-five percent and this is an interesting synergy of statistics, 45% of organized union members now are forty-five years or older. Only 9% are thirty-five years or younger in organized labor. Sixteen-point-two percent are men; only 11.6 percent are women. Thanks to Gerry Berendt in the public sector here in Illinois, 95% of our teachers are organized. Seventeen-point-seven percent of African-

Americans are members of a union whereas only 13.5 percent of whites, and only eleven percent of Hispanics. Transportation industry that we talk about, 36% of its unionized. Seventy-three percent of railroad employees are unionized. You know what's the single-most unionized profession job in organized labor? Firefighters. Our firefighters. Thanks to the valiant efforts of Dale Berry and his colleagues, firefighters are the most unionized single job category. Firefighters are the single-most unionized profession in the United States. New York is the most unionized state in the United States. So you put all that together would it be fair to say that your typical unionized worker is an old black guy who happens to live in New York and is a firefighter? I would hardly say that that is your typical union worker today. But what I do think, contrary to what Roberta has indicated, is that you're seeing a huge blip go across the demographic statistics of organized labor right now.

That leads me to my second point that I want to talk to you about and that is the enormous change that we're seeing in the demographics in the United States right now. Nearly 70 million Americans are fifty years or older. That's about 30% of the working population. How many of you in this room are fifty or older? They won't admit this. I mean we're not going to film this, right? You're over fifty years old . . . every seven seconds a baby boomer turns fifty years of age. By the year 2008 we're going to have 25 million Americans who will be fifty-five years or older. Now that means your workforce is changing phenomenally. You're coming in with Generation X, your twenty, twenty-five, thirty-year-olds. I looked at the *New York Times* too this past week and they did a piece and there's a very fascinating woman out in California named Amy Dee, got a Ph.D. right here at the University of Chicago. Part of what that *New York Times* piece talked about was the Generation Xer's viewing organized labor as irrelevant and outmoded. No place to go. Organized labor doesn't have anywhere to go. It also quoted and it says some very interesting statistics. There's a whole list of a survey. This new generation that we're about to get into with organized labor and I'm just going to give you two of the statistics that they come up with to give you some idea of a cultural change that we're about to be faced with in the upcoming years. Forty percent of these Generation Xers and they took the Generation Xers to be from 18 to thirty years old, 40% of that group thought that the best retirement plan was a lottery ticket. Forty percent of that group thought that the best retirement plan was a lottery ticket. I am not making that up. Give you another one. Same group, they asked them, "How do you know when you don't have any more money left in your checking account?" The answer of 60%, almost 60%—58 something was, "[b]ecause you have no more checks left

in your checkbook.” That’s mind boggling. That’s absolutely mind boggling.

Now I don’t have statistics on this, but anecdotal experience tells me a little bit more about this generation. And let me ask you another question. How many of you had mothers or fathers or aunts and uncles who were members of a union? Raise your hand. Almost everybody in this room. Okay? You go back and talk to a friend of yours who happens to be in their twenties. Ask them, “Is your Mom and Dad a member of a union?” “Your aunt and uncle a member of a union?” I did this back in my law firm before I came over here today. I mean this is purely intuitive, just anecdotal, etc. None of them had a parent who is a member of a union. Even I used to belong to a union way back when. Ask them again when you go back “If something wrong happens to you in the workplace—do you think you’re not getting paid what you should get paid,” if you think somebody else is getting a promotion that you ought to get, if you think that you’re being denied that you ought to get, what is the first thing that that generation thinks of as a way of redressing that wrong? Government. Absolutely, government. And how do they view it? Do they view it collectively? I’m in the same workplace with somebody else; we’ve got to get together to do it? No, I do it individually and I can go to the E.E.O.C., I can go to the Illinois Department of Human Rights, I can go to any . . . and how did all that come to be? Because the Roberta Lynches of the world and the Mike Gavins of the world and the Dale Berrys of the world and the Gil Feldmans of the world worked hard for years and years and years to be able to create those kinds of rights for working Americans. Now this comes under my theme of no good act goes unpunished. Do they look to unions to come back and redress their rights in the future? I suggest to you probably not.

I’ve gone to a couple of these millennium conferences lately and they’re very, very interesting. I went to one for Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce. I went to another one a couple of weeks ago over at the Historical Society and they did these projections of what business is going to look like in Chicago in 2000 and beyond. What kind of industries are we going to see growing. What kind of workers are we going to be looking for. And here are the top four growth industries that these panels, these experts, business people, even labor people, politicians said. One is high-tech, e-commerce. Amazingly enough, one trillion dollars worth of goods they project being sold over the internet in but a mere two years. A second is financial services—banks, insurance. Third is commodities, securities and business services, and fourth, law, accounting, insurance, etc. How many of those currently are unionized? The percentage in those industries for unionization is very, very small.

I want to leave you with a couple of other thoughts. Go back to this public/private sector dichotomy. The tea leaves you're are going to see that will portend what's going to happen with the labor relationships in the private sector are first going to occur in the public sector. And the reason for that, especially in the protective services like police and fire and in public schools, is that retirement occurs earlier on average than it does in the private sector employment. I am fortunate enough to represent the Chicago Public Schools. Chicago Public Schools employs almost 40,000 people. As we speak, 45% of those people are fifty years or older in the teaching core of the Chicago Public Schools. We're going to have almost an 80% turnover in the next five years in the Chicago Public Schools. That's incredible. That's absolutely incredible. The average age of an officer in the Chicago Police Department right now is like forty-four years of age. We have a huge blip over there that's forty-five years or over. An average Chicago police officer retires at fifty-four or fifty-five years of age. That's substantially lower than what it is in the private sector. Labor, collective bargaining is going to be a product in my view in the change of demographics in the next years and I will predict to you a few things. One is that what's going to be interesting to watch is what's going on in Silicone Valley with people like Amy Dean and her efforts to organize these Silicone Valley and harking back to the craft union model I think is absolutely fascinating. I'm interested to see how that is going to diminish substantially as time goes on.

Even with those thoughts there is a lot to be said for some of the comments that Roberta made. The big three auto contracts; four years; first-time percentage increases; neutrality agreements with regard to unionization of any spin-offs or broke offs of the major auto companies—those are not instances of huge employer resistance. Those are the most collaborative agreements ever negotiated in the auto industry. The aviation industry which Chicago just had a huge conference on yesterday American Airlines, American Eagle and ALPA negotiated a 16-year contract and they went through a huge, as most of you probably realize, bitter dispute for much of the time. I take some, and there are other examples. Even something like Dominick's the other day where they had terrible kinds of things: five-year collective bargaining. Steelworkers, you haven't heard of a threat in steelworker's strike for a long time. I don't know, but it could be the five-year contracts they just negotiated. LTV entered into a big deal on neutrality with regard to the steelworkers in Alabama. There are lots of instances like this where there's collaboration between management and union on a very high level. Not to mention my favorite, of course, the Chicago Public Schools.

Thank you all. I appreciate your attention.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: I had hoped to give Roberta Lynch some rebuttal time, but I think we're awfully short, so we're going to move to Robert Fioretti. It's our pleasure to have him here today. He's the president of the Historic Pullman Foundation and an attorney with Fioretti & Des Jardins, a law firm in Chicago. You've seen his name many times in recent newspaper articles about the efforts to preserve the historic Pullman site as a state-owned national landmark. He'll close the program by telling us about those efforts.

Robert W. Fioretti: Thank you very much for the opportunity to comment on past and current developments in the Pullman Community. Just a couple of items to clear up in terms of the historical backdrop, is Keith Herron still in the audience? Tonight there is a community task force meeting in Pullman. He is the property site manager for the state sites from the Illinois Historical Preservation Agency and there were a couple of questions that I had that maybe he can clarify for us. I think that it was an appropriate word that was used, the confluence of events that lead to the strike of 1894. You would also have to review the confluence of events that lead to the development of Pullman as a community. Primarily you have to look at the industrial revolution.

Pullman was designated a National Historic Landmark District in 1969 by the U.S. Department of Interior. South Pullman was designated as a Chicago Landmark District in 1972, followed by North Pullman in 1993. The two landmark districts were renamed the Pullman District by the Chicago City Council in the fall of 1999.

Pullman is nationally significant for its association with architecture, town planning, landscape architecture, organized labor, history, work culture, industry, civil engineering and African-American history and the roots of the Civil Rights Movement. Pullman represents a unique opportunity to interpret this convergence of such diversity of significant themes and places them in the broader context of American history.

In the late 1800s, America was shifting from an agricultural to an industrial society, coinciding with the growth of urban centers. What had been a population living in the country became a nation of city dwellers. That change was probably first and foremost in thinking of George M. Pullman who was born in 1831. We have three components in the industrial revolution. First, the advances in technology such as the steel forge, the steam engine and rapid advances in transportation especially in the railroad industry which led to mechanization and improved transportation. All of these factors lead to dramatic growth in the cities and therefore we called it the industrial revolution.

Secondly, we look at the growth of the cities and primarily

what we have here is the industrialization and urbanization of America occurring around 1850. You must remember the population of the city of Chicago in 1850 was 29,963 people, just shy of 30,000. However, by 1900, over 1,698,000 (1,698,575) people lived in the city of Chicago. We had a large increase in the population. But what happened in these population centers, these urban centers? Well we know of and have heard of some of the problems from many of the prior speakers. We had problems in terms of running water, congested housing, inferior living conditions and the quality of urban life was not good. In fact there were no paved streets. City growth was generally, not regulated. Lack of sewers or running water and congested housing conditions characterized many urban centers in the late nineteenth century. These conditions were particularly bad in working class neighborhoods and led to outbreaks of cholera and influenza, which killed many people. When Bill was talking originally at the start of the program, Chicago had to elevate many of its buildings. That's why George M. Pullman came here to elevate buildings, so they could install a sewer system.

Finally, we have the waves of migration of individuals. The first settlers here in this country were primarily again English speaking Protestants. Also, many African-Americans were forced to work as slaves on plantations from the 1600s until the Civil War. Simultaneously, we had a large influx of Germans and Scandinavians in the 1800s. The next wave that came into this country was comprised of Italians, Poles, Ukrainians and Russians. All of which led to the working class of the 1870s. Working conditions were generally bad and accidents occurred regularly on the job. Fifteen-hour days were common and wages were less than ten cents an hour. Children would work in factories and contribute to their families' income. George M. Pullman was born in 1831. He died in 1897. I believe this is significant because I have met many people, including Pullman porters, in the last few years that have come to the area of Pullman and others who worked for the company in the 1930s and 1940s and believed George M. Pullman was still active there based on the energy and productivity of the company. George M. Pullman was alive then. And so we now work to preserve the Pullman legacy. At the Historic Pullman Foundation, we try to preserve the buildings and protect their historic character and we promote educational programs.

George M. Pullman came to Chicago in 1859 to raise the buildings. Chicago had ungraded muddy streets that often flooded when it rained. Instead of putting sewers beneath the streets, the sewage system was built at ground level and the streets were raised five to eight feet. Raising the streets required the buildings located on them to be raised. Pullman came here after securing a

contract to raise a hotel, the Matteson House Hotel, located at 97 West Randolph Street. It was a five-story wooden structure that he helped raise several feet without breaking any of the windows so a sewer system could be built underneath it. This feat was accomplished by digging out spaces in the foundation and inserting screw jacks. Hundreds of jacks were installed and carefully turned. Workmen were positioned at each jack and instructions were called down the line so everyone turned his jack at the same time. He successfully raised the Matteson House Hotel and as a result secured other similar contracts. He left Chicago shortly thereafter to go to the Gold Rush in Colorado in 1860. He returned to Chicago in 1863 to turn his attention to and begin further development of his Palace Pullman Company. In 1858, George Pullman employed skilled workmen to outfit two bare passenger cars so that they could be converted into sleeping cars at night. We must remember what rail transportation was about at that time.

The Industrial Revolution was assisted by the growth of rail transportation. Freight such as iron ore and coal could be shipped to industrial centers and used to manufacture goods. With the development of railroads and the U.S. system, Americans experienced greater mobility and improved communications.

The government assisted the growth of railroads, and many different railroad lines, each with its own cars and tracks, were established. In the 1800s, the invention of the steam engine and improved steel-making techniques created the modern railroad. One of the first railways was started in 1826 in New York. The first regular passenger service began in 1830. By the 1860s, people and goods could travel throughout the East Coast and Midwest and in 1869, the Union Pacific was complete, linking the two coasts of America by rail.

A few passenger cars were outfitted for sleeping as early as 1836. These early cars had stoves within the train car and the bunks themselves had dirty sheets and dirty linens. After a sleepless night in such a car, George Pullman decided that rail travel could be improved. He made cars with bunks that came down. He had already begun hiring the porters, African-Americans, before the Civil War to work in the cars to change the bedding and the public acclaim was pretty important and well received at that point and these types of changes in rail transportation were widely accepted. However, the war led to certain other changes. It stopped him from developing the Pullman Company, which was finally incorporated in 1867.

It was not until 1864 that George Pullman built the "Pioneer," the sleeping car that would radically change the standards for sleeping cars. In building the Pioneer, Pullman spared no expense and the Pioneer was completed at a cost of \$20,000, four times the

usual cost of other railway sleeping cars at the time. It was constructed of wood with a steel undercarriage, but it was a higher and wider than other passenger cars and a tall man could easily walk around without bumping his head. The interior contained such luxuries as red carpeting, hand-finished woodwork, silver trimmed coal-oil lamps and George M. Pullman's patented hinged sleeping berths. Recently freed African-American slaves were hired as porters to attend to the passengers' needs. In addition to providing service and a plush interior, Pullman made sure that the ride itself would be more comfortable. He used cast-iron wheel trunk topped with coil springs and rubber blocks to cushion the passenger from jolts.

In 1879, Pullman began to extend his company operations and began looking for an area where he intended to build a whole town devoted to the construction of Pullman Palace Cars. I think there is a handout that many of you may already have that defines where the town of Pullman is located. The Pullman area is from 103rd to 115th, bound by the Bishop Ford expressway and Cottage Grove. Even though Pullman purchased 600 acres at that time some of it is not shown here on this map. George M. Pullman did not come up with the idea of providing an entire community for his workers—other models existed both in Europe and in America. He obtained his ideas from Sir Titus Salt's Saltaire, England, which was a company town. However, in that company town they were able to own their own homes and they were also able to take part in the running of the town itself. Also, he looked to Lowell, Massachusetts which was a company town. However, the quality of the homes was less than what he wanted to build here in the Pullman community and the streets were unpaved. In Lowell, the company's chief concern was turning a profit. George Pullman decided to combine what he saw as the best elements of both types of factory towns—he would provide a beautiful and orderly environment for his employees to live and work in, but retain full ownership to maintain orderliness and control of services. He later found himself caught in the conflict that was the genesis of the strike. He had taken on the responsibility of providing for the workers, but only if it made a profit. Pullman employed three people at the time to develop his model town; a town that was pleasant to live and work in, beautifully designed and entirely self-sufficient. They were architect Solon S. Beman, who developed all of the homes in the Pullman area and the factories, and the administration building, which we will see; landscape architect Nathan F. Barrett who was thirty-seven-years-old when he began his project in Pullman; and a former Chicago superintendent of sewage who designed the water, sewage and gas systems, Benzette Williams. The sewer system included storm drains and a system for using the town sewage to fertilize a vegetable farm located

three miles away.

The construction of the town was carefully planned to proceed in the most efficient manner possible. On April 24, 1880, preliminary work was underway and surveyors began laying out the placement of the streets and building foundations. Factories were built first so that their facilities could be used to produce construction materials for the town. Company employees were given half-fare discounts on the train from Chicago and came to Pullman daily to construct the doors, window frames and bricks which were used to build the housing and other buildings. Bricks were made from clay dredged from nearby Lake Calumet. Brick construction was solid, durable and fireproof, an important consideration after the Chicago fire of 1871. On January 1, 1881, the first residents, Mr. E. A. Benson and his family, moved into Pullman.

All housing built in Pullman was row-housing, meaning that adjacent buildings shared a common solid brick wall. Row-housing was less expensive to build and more efficient to heat and gave the community a distinctly urban character. The men designed the dwellings with many windows and oriented them east-west so that they would be well ventilated by the breezes from the lake. Different kinds of housing were built for different levels of income and family size. Every dwelling was supplied with indoor water and gas as utilities.

In addition to housing, Pullman built other facilities to serve the needs of the community. The Arcade Building (since demolished) provided shops (leased to private businesses) and a bank on the first floor, and meeting halls, a library, reading room and lavish theater on the second and third floors. Pullman carefully monitored the types of theater productions, which came to Pullman, making sure that they were appropriate for the whole family. The enclosed Arcade Building was a forerunner of the modern-day shopping mall.

Across from the arcade was a stable, firehouse and a casino. Another market, in a different location for sanitary purposes, sold fresh meats and vegetables. Many of the vendors sold food grown on the Pullman farm. The stores in the Arcade and Market Hall were rented to businessmen (not company stores), requiring these tenants to turn their own profit. The school was constructed for the education of the children and was much praised for its modern facilities. The Hotel Florence, named after his favorite daughter, was built to provide impressive accommodations for visitors who came to see the marvelous, Pullman.

An important feature of the design of Pullman was the incorporation of parks and green-spaces. In front of each house was a lawn and trees were planted throughout the town. The lovely arcade, park and gardens provided outdoor areas for

strolling and playing. On the shores of Lake Calumet were ten acres of athletic grounds, a five-acre artificial island which contained a grandstand, boat house and track. A vegetable farm, dairy farm and nursery were located on the outskirts of the town.

(Beginning of slide show presentation).

This is a vintage photo of the old Pullman clock tower as it was with the lake in front. It was taken from the I.C. tracks or from where the Illinois Central tracks were at the time. We heard about the various waves of immigrants, and when Pullman decided to build this town, he had the French Canadians make the bricks that built the town of Pullman. He had different groups that did separate work throughout the town of Pullman.

The original factory plan, as pictured in "Western Manufacturers" in 1881, had sixteen work areas: passenger car shops (called the "erecting shops") and administrative offices, freight car shop, equipment and paint shop, an engine room and boiler house, lumber storage area, dry kiln (for lumber), water tower, iron machine shop, blacksmith shop, boiler house, hammer shop (for forging iron), warehouse, the Allen Paper Wheel Company, gas works, and wood machine shop. Lumber yards were located on the shores of Lake Calumet to the east of the factory complex. Of particular interest were the main factory building, the Corliss Engine room and the water tower. The main factory building was 700 feet in length and consisted of a three-story central pavilion topped by a 120-foot clock tower, flanked by 1 1/2 story wings. The central section housed the administrative offices and the wings housed the passenger car erecting shops. The design was simple yet monumental and was offset by the artificial pond, Lake Vista, which sparkled in front. Lake Vista provided the industrial complex with a pleasant park like setting and also served the utilitarian function of providing a water source for cooling the exhaust of the Corliss Engine.

This is a recent photo of the clock tower and administration building taken within the last twenty years. This extension was the 1907 addition. The early Palace Cars were constructed of wood with steel undercarriages. In 1907, the company began manufacturing all-steel railroad cars. The 1907 addition was destroyed in the fire and has been completely demolished within the last few months. A lot of people did say we should take it down because it had no historical integrity. However, the 1907 addition was important because it was a time that the railroads began moving to steel car structures from wooden cars, and it was I believe a historically important building. However, it is catalogued in terms of what happened in that building and how the building was built. A final note, it was built after George M. Pullman's death.

Here are some of the photos in the rear of the erecting shops

in the Pullman area—in the factory and in the administration building.

This is what remains after the fire. The fire occurred December 1, 1998. This was the clock tower administration building. Luckily we do have the original architectural plans that were prepared for this building. It is our intent and our aim of the people of Pullman and preservationists throughout the world that we restore this to a museum that focuses on the building and surrounding areas for their preservation, redevelopment and historical interpretation. I think we have all learned today that Pullman is about an individual who came to this area and had a profound effect on American history. Whether we hear about the beginnings of the labor movement, the rise of the Civil Rights movement or urban planning.

In this photo is the historic Pullman Center, which was one of the first buildings acquired by the Historic Pullman Foundation. I do not see a date on this photo. It was originally a boarding house in the Pullman community.

This series of slides depicts some of the restored windows on the Pullman Center. There are several sites that we are concentrating our preservation efforts on in the Pullman community. The Pullman area was threatened in the early 1960s. But not all of the Pullman area. From 111th to 115th, developers wanted to demolish the housing stock and in its place build another planned industrial park in that area. The residents at that time gathered together to “fight City Hall” and fight this industrial park idea, which led to the development of the Pullman Civic Organization. From there it was an outgrowth which the Pullman Civic Organization still exists. Today they began to landmark the district both on the federal, state and city landmarks in that area. The Historic Pullman Foundation is an outgrowth of that movement because it is a 501(c)(3) dedicated to the education and preservation of the Pullman area.

This is Market Hall in 1893. You will see in the next slide that this is how it looks today under stabilization and construction. Market Hall, like the clock tower administration building, has been subject to several fires. The first fire occurred in 1891. It should be noted that Clarence Darrow, who defended Eugene Debs in the Federal Courts for his role in the strike, gave a speech on the eight-hour workday at Market Hall in 1891. It was completely demolished and rebuilt in time for the World’s Fair. We cannot see the housing around Market Hall. You may be able to see some of the housing in one of the photos that was shown earlier by Bill around the side. Pullman built the houses and apartments for the World’s Fair, because he wanted to attract people there and show what it was like he built the apartments around that area. The hotel for the six months of the World’s Fair,

which I believe has almost sixty rooms, were continuously occupied during the World's Fair. The apartments in the back were also continuously occupied during the World's Fair.

And this is a current rendering of a renovated Market Hall. We are seeking \$2.5 million in funding to restore Market Hall to essentially an educational center for storage of the archives, research center and with limited retail for the Pullman area. It has been described by people and by various including in *Harper's Weekly* in the 1890s, as the heart of the Pullman community.

This slide is the Hotel Florence. The hotel has been described as the jewel of the community. The Hotel Florence was purchased by the Historic Pullman Foundation in 1975. We began a restoration project of the Hotel Florence, however, it is costly and in 1990, the State of Illinois purchased the hotel. The Hotel Florence is open and there is a museum on the second floor. This slide demonstrates the restoration of the hotel. This aspect of the veranda has been removed. That photograph shows the interior of the recently painted lobby. Pat Schmanski was responsible for this project. As you can see this is a volunteer effort. Pat lives in the community and she organized other volunteers who helped paint the interior.

We are in the process of securing from the State of Illinois \$3.5 million for a stabilization effort of the hotel and restoring the hotel to its original splendor. Many of us have the belief that we can restore it completely to either a bed and breakfast or full modern restaurant. It will require an additional \$4 million.

This is one of the dinners that we host in the hotel. We just hosted a Victorian dinner for over 160 people last Saturday. This coming Saturday we will conduct a Christmas house-walk with five houses on the tour.

This is the George M. Pullman suite. It's where he would sleep. Other guests in the hotel recently included Hillary Clinton who was there this past October. Marshall Field, Robert Todd Lincoln, the successor president of the Pullman Company, Diamond Jim Brady, many of the editors of *Harper's Magazine* who were pro-management had stayed at the hotel.

We serve lunch throughout the hotel five days a week and brunch on Sunday. The hotel is open for tours throughout the week.

This is the visitors' center. It's the site of the original Arcade Building which you saw in one of the pictures. It is also a museum. There are many artifacts from the Pullman community. Last year we had the Army Corp of Engineers lay 100 yards of track alongside of the building to place a train car on exhibit. We have a car named the Rye Beach, which is made of aluminum. It is currently in Hegewich. It's been there for almost a year. It's been completely restored in terms of its windows. The interior has

not been restored. It was just recently acid washed and the undercarriage painted and we hope to place it here within the next few months. However, it does weigh 147,000 pounds and it's a little bit heavy for many of the volunteers right now.

This is the mural that was painted on the other side of the hotel which demonstrates the activity that's happened here. The mural depicts Pullman Bank, as you can see off to the side and the workers and the solidarity with the workers for the train car. It was painted by students of the American Academy of Art located downtown on Michigan Avenue.

One thing that we have to remember about the Pullman Company is that it had several plants throughout the United States and throughout Europe. I was recently in Bora Bora and when I was in the airport there was a Pullman poster in the airport. I believe Pullman had its impact throughout the world and people remember it. As we talk about events of the 1990s and the Pullman strike, we see what remains of a legacy of a person who I believed applied Victorian standards. Like many Victorians he believed that scientific solutions could be applied to human problems as he developed the town of Pullman.

Pullman emphasized cleanliness and orderliness in his town, and to accomplish this, he oversaw all aspects of its functioning. Pullman believed he could profit and could ensure that his workers lived and behaved according to standards he thought were appropriate. His views for behavior were made through town-planning. No bars existed in Pullman and recreational activities such as the Pullman band and athletics were encouraged by providing space for such activities.

There was a reference made on which house George M. Pullman put his workers. Well, that's not necessarily true. Workers rented their homes according to what they earned or rented their homes according to what they could afford. So, depending on whether you're a foreman, executive, skilled labor, unskilled labor, you would rent your home according to the amount that you could afford.

These are some of the homes that still exist. It's interesting to note that George M. Pullman probably was the first zoning administrator and probably every zoning administrator in every town would look to him with . . . and admire what he was able to do. The Supreme Court of Illinois in 1898, probably in response to the events of the strike of 1894, stated that the company has to divest itself of the town's property, because it was not in the charter that was set up by the corporation. The company began selling the homes in 1907. The company had also shifted to steel construction of Pullman cars and necessary alterations of the factory altered the character of Beman's original design. New owners modified their homes to suit their taste and the town lost

many of the wooden porches. People put stucco up especially in the 1960s. They took away some of the original windows and put in picture windows at that time. There is an effort to restore most of the homes to their original architectural splendor.

These are the types of homes that have restored wooden porches and the original color. I know we have to go a long way on some of the windows, but I think given the advances being made that we will be able to make a lot of changes in the way we restore the original windows. One thing that George M. Pullman did in all the homes when they were built in 1880, was that he had originally installed gas lighting and gas heat. About five years later, about 1885, electricity became the norm throughout the new construction. He removed the gas connections and place electricity in all the homes.

And in this photo we see someone restoring one of the homes in the Pullman community.

I recently took the *Sun Times* architecture critic, Lee Bey, through several of the homes, both in southern Pullman, and northern Pullman and what you see throughout Pullman is a pride felt by all the residents. Each home as you walk into them there's something about Pullman whether it's a poster hanging, some piece from a train car, something about the company itself, something about the strike, about management. You will see a different item in each home no matter whose home you walk into.

This slide is the interior of a home as they are restoring it. This is the restoration on some of the windows. The homes were built east-west to permit the wind current to go through them and in the summer months would be air cooled with the skylight.

Here is a photograph of the Greenstone Church. The Greenstone Church was built by George M. Pullman. Pullman, a Universalist, built a church in the town. Pullman planned that the "Greenstone" Church (named after the serpentine stone which covers the facade) would be used by all different denominations, who would pool their resources to afford the high rent. Accordingly, the interior of the church displays no ornamentation with religious references such as figures or crosses. Unfortunately, each religion wanted its own church and the building lay vacant for three years, until the rent was lowered and the wealthy Presbyterians moved in. Other churches were never built in Pullman proper due to the large number of religious and ethnic beliefs, and refusal to rent the church.

From the perspective of planning, Pullman was an amazing achievement. The town was built using the most modern concept of design, and, because it was built from scratch, each element could be carefully planned as part of the larger whole. The functioning of the town and factories operated according to a total system of management and the town was neat, orderly, and

efficient. Paved streets, indoor plumbing, parks and alleys were just a few of the features used in Pullman which would later become standard in urban planning. Furthermore, everything in the town was built on a pedestrian scale. Residents could walk to work, to market, to school and to the park.

Hundreds of thousands of people traveled to Pullman to witness firsthand the model town, especially during the World's Fair of 1893. A person traveling by train to Pullman was treated to a majestic view of the factory complex. The grand Hotel Florence lay amongst gardens and parks and everywhere a visitor walked was clean and pleasing to the eye. The town of Pullman was undoubtedly a success from the perspective of planning and in 1896 the Prague International Hygienic and Pharmaceutical Exposition voted Pullman the "most perfect town in the world."

A few critics looked beyond the success of Pullman's design and saw in the total control that George Pullman maintained over all aspects of its operation something akin to feudalism. One reporter, Richard T. Ely, commented in 1885 that the lack of freedom in Pullman seemed wholly "un-American." However, on the whole, public reaction to Pullman was enthusiastic until the events of the Pullman Strike in 1894 revealed another side of the model town of Pullman.

In its heyday, the new factory complex included dozens of industrial buildings and vast lumber yards on the banks of Lake Calumet. Many of the industrial buildings have long been demolished, but the historic core of the still picturesque town of Pullman remains, including the original main factory complex, the Hotel Florence, Arcade Park, the Greenstone Church, Market Hall and the Pullman Firehouse.

Most important of all, there are approximately 1,000 houses that remain in the district. We conduct tours throughout the year on the first Sunday of every month and we conduct educational tours and seminars throughout the year. I think we've had almost 200 tours throughout this year alone. Pullman is a thriving community. It's not just as some people refer to it as a museum. I believe many people who have seen many of the pictures and photographs that have been on the news within the last year believe that Pullman is just a burned out hull. Well, residents live down there. People live down there and it is an area that I ask everybody to come visit within the next year or if you want to join us for a tour this Saturday or Sunday you can come down or call us at any time.

Thank you.

Professor Gerald E. Berendt: I want to thank the speakers and all of you who stayed until the end and simply end with this quote from Eugene Debs in 1894.

Ten thousand times has the labor movement stumbled and

bruised itself. We have been enjoined by the courts, assaulted by thugs, charged by the militia, traduced by the press, frowned upon in public opinion, and deceived by politicians. But notwithstanding all this and all these, labor is today the most vital and potential power this planet has ever known and its historic mission is as certain of ultimate realization as is the setting sun.