Historic Pullman?

Towards a New Ethic of Preservation in the Model Town

BY JACOB BARNEY

In the spring of 1999 David Dunlap of the *New York Times* wrote a brief article titled, "In Chicago, Layers of History but Uncertain Future," about the current state and future of the neighborhood of Pullman, Illinois. Curiously placed in the Real Estate section, the story engaged questions about the community's struggle for identity. The article was representative of a reawakened interest by those outside the community after a 1998 fire destroyed the iconic factory tower of George Pullman's once mighty industrial works. For Dunlap, the neighborhood's identity should take its roots in one of Pullman's pasts, but which past remained unclear (1999). Was it to serve as a reminder of urban planning, or transportation? Perhaps it would emphasize its tense historical moments of political struggle, as a birthplace of organized labor, or civil rights? How would these pasts integrate into the economic and social realities of the contemporary community?

This paper is concerned with questions surrounding these "layers of history" in the neighborhood of Pullman, Illinois.[1] Dunlap's conception of "layers" emphasizes the many facets of a single historical period focused on the neighborhood's founding: its technologies, philosophies, politics, economics, and social developments. Layers may also be taken in a more geological sense. Like the process of sedimentation, material landscapes and their accompanying historical narratives accrue through time.

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[1] Unlike Dunlap's brief work, this study is limited in its scope to South Pullman, located between 111th and 115th streets.

Occasionally, the physical remnants of past time are self-consciously portrayed as "history," such as when artifacts are displayed in a museum or during an architectural history tour. Most of the time, we see this material residue of history as merely the environments of everyday life — in our streets, parks, and homes. This material is not only part of our functional lives. As we make use of it, or observe it, it informs us about past and current ideas, values, and processes. Landscape commentator J. B. Jackson simply writes, "landscape is history made visible" (Horowitz, 1997, p. x).

This paper has two central goals. I begin with a critique of current historic preservation policy in Chicago, Illinois. Like the view of history implicit in Dunlap's article, this policy retains a notion that the past is in some manner disconnected from the present. In doing so, I add to the growing population of authors in heritage, preservation, and geographical studies who have sought to document how contemporary societies attempt to cordon themselves off, conceptually and spatially, from the past (Lowenthal, 1988; Barthel, 1996; Hamer, 1998; Hoelscher, 2004; Wilson, 2004). This paper's first section "Preserving History: Two Accounts," documents the existence of a preservation ethic that privileges a particular moment of an area's history for remembrance. A review of the impacts of such preservation efforts in American communities follows, before closing with the illustration of a charter of preservation presenting a more continuous view of history.

The goal of the second section, "Moments of Origin and Survival," demonstrates the impact of current preservation policy on what we remember and value about a community's history through a case study of Pullman, Illinois. By revisiting the founding of the model town in the late-19th century, I emphasize both the history of environmentalist belief to which it belongs, and the novelty of its design. I argue that Pullman's uniqueness is located in the spatial relations between structures rather than the architectural style of individual buildings. This finding has implications for the way we think about preservation policy. The study of the moment of "survival" attempts to recapture the time period in which neighborhood residents organized successfully against the planned destruction of the model town and their community.[2] Despite apparent correspondence of this type of neighborhood organizing and the idea of strong neighborhoods promoted by the city of Chicago, current preservation policy ignores this moment, as its current incarnation has no way to recapture it through its primary pedagogic tool — the built environment (Lewis, 1975).

I am aware that the strategy of focusing on "moments" to tell the historical narrative of a neighborhood and community implicitly repeats the same mistake I criticize preservation policy for making. This tack is chosen for pedagogic reasons, and should not be read as insinuating that only these moments are worthy of remembrance. What I hope it communicates is the politics of historical memory embedded within preservation. In the particular case of Pullman, the current era of preservation policies may actively work to erase the material legacy of other eras. While this is hardly a new finding, I further suggest that in some cases, perhaps ironically,

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[2] The terms "origin" and "survival" are adopted from Hamers's unique 1998 work that presents a wide-ranging survey of the history of historic districts.

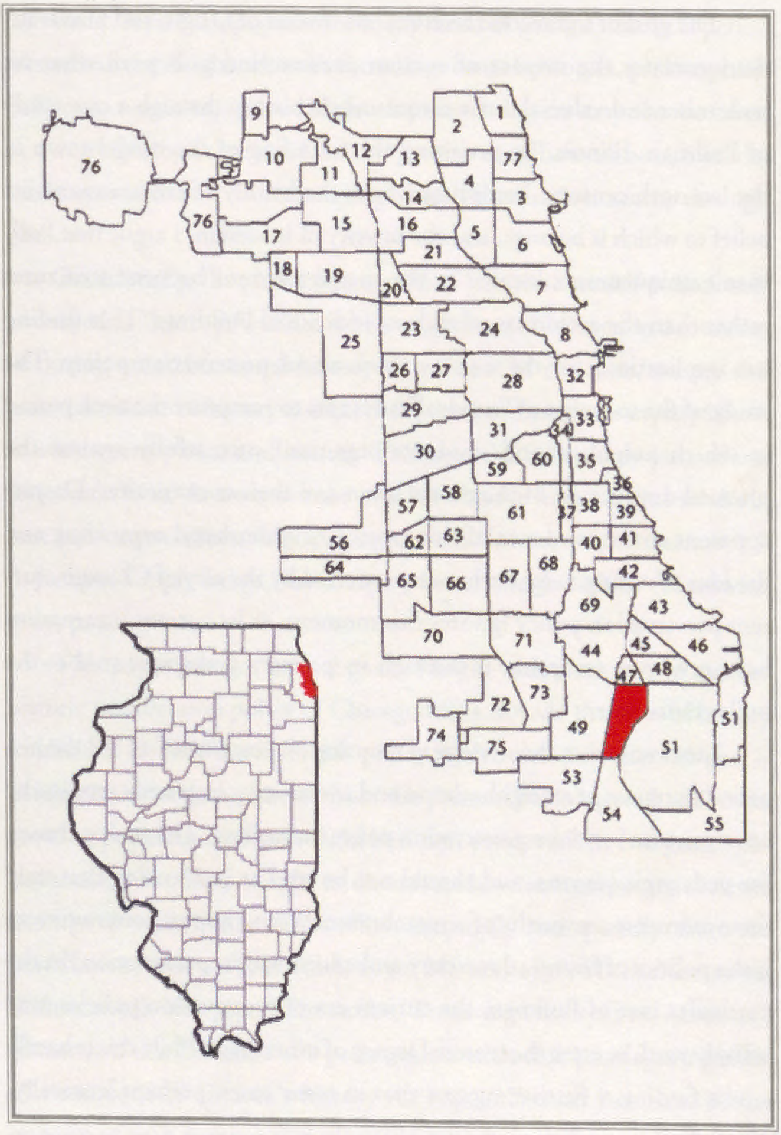

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Figure 1. City of Chicago Community areas with North and South Pullman highlighted in red.

City of Chicago

preservation works to erase the material remnants of the very historic eras that made it possible (Forty, 1999).

The paper's final goal is to study architectural modification as a method to overcome preservation's privileging of a single moment. The hope is to expand my study to the constant remaking of the built environment. By studying the architectural modifications themselves, we can remember the multiple, coexisting histories of different groups and eras of a neighborhood. This challenges the idea embedded in current preservation work that architectural modifications are inappropriate by asserting that they too have historic value.

I present the results of a contemporary survey of the neighborhood of South Pullman in order to outline how preservation work may incorporate architectural modification into current programs. This includes a review of the evolving socioeconomic context of the neighborhood's region, alongside an outline of the roles of various state and community organizations in current neighborhood dynamics. The bulk of the survey and analysis is dedicated to the exterior residences of the original model town, recording patterns of maintenance, restoration, and architectural modification. The survey shows both that Pullman's basic structures are well preserved and details the large amount of architectural modification undertaken in the intervening century (Garner, 1984). I outline possible implications of the prevalence and geography of particular modification, namely that they represent the historic legacy of residents of the survival era. A new ethic of preservation that recognizes the constant maintenance of the built environment, as displayed in architectural modifications, may be able to capture the important characteristics of Pullman's initial building while conserving visual clues to those who are responsible for its continued existence.

Preserving History: Two Possible Accounts

Much current preservation work takes as its goal the remembrance of a particular moment of a locale's history, which I term "snapshot preservation." A review of national and local Chicago policy documents illustrates how this conception is instilled in policy and what this has meant for local communities. While many communities have benefited from instituting such a program of preservation, many critics recently have outlined the unequal distribution of the associated costs and benefits of preservation for community members, as well as questioned what it does for our conception of history. Alternative conceptions of preservation, such as the *Deschambault Charter*, which I term "evolutionary preservation," are beginning to be drafted. These newer works of policy, may address many of the problems identified by critics, by arguing for the historic importance and remembrance of all past and future eras of a place.

The American Context

In the fall of 1979, after decades of urban renewal in America, French critic Jean-Paul Sartre observed, "For us [Europeans] a city is, above all, a past; for them it is mainly a future" (Collins, 1980, p. 88). Yet 13 years prior to Sartre's comment, the United States government had passed the Historic Preservation Act, although preservationists often trace their roots farther back to the movement to save Mount Vernon in 1853 or the destruction of Penn Station in 1963 (Page, 2004). The national Historic Preservation Act of 1966 built upon this history of individual efforts—most often by social and economic elites—and local conservation ordinances. The Act did not establish specific historic sites, but created a mechanism by which these sites could petition for unique legal status.

Thus the Act of 1966 provided a platform for historic preservation to become what Mason and Page have called ". . . one of the broadest and longest lasting land-use reform efforts in this country" (p. 3).

Pierce Lewis (1975) has summarized the arguments that preservationists commonly make to justify their projects. At the forefront is the pedagogic value of historic structures or districts present to modern society. The tangibility of historic material provides lessons unattainable through reading, hearing, or even seeing images — this line of reasoning may apply to most types of historical reconnaissance that involve material objects, whether placed in museums, or through places becoming museum-like. Furthermore, the educational value of objects indicates the necessity of preservation as a direct link, and symbol of appreciation, for ancestors. Yet less than 30 years later, after exponential growth in the land covered by some historic designation (Hamer 1998), one preservation scholar was ready to assert, "there is no longer any bedrock of values supporting what preservationists do" (Barthel, 1996a, p. 153). Still, historic preservation work continues at a rapid pace across America. Hence it is necessary to consider what different policies might mean to different places given that each have their benefits and pitfalls. What affected residents' desire, what the larger public deems necessary, and what is possible in a given locale should constantly inform policy at the many levels that constitute the American preservation landscape.

Snapshot Preservation

The majority of historic preservation aims to conserve or reconnect to a particular historic period — instances of "snapshot preservation." Hamer, in his outline of developmental stages of historic districts, refers to this as the "original history," which justifies the unique status of a site or area (1998, p. 22). Most often, this period is the initial establishment of the historic object or district (Datel, 1970; Hamer, 1998; Milligan, 2007). For historic districts these selections often coincide with the greater metropolitan area's rise within the urban hierarchy, reflecting changes in underlying currents of capitalism (Suttles, 1984). Examples of this phenomenon abound: Beacon Hill in Boston alludes to the era of its mercantile prowess, while Charleston's antebellum houses help the visitor recall its dominance as a trade entrepôt. Historic districts often coalesce around these eras due to the architectural elegance made possible by the periods' good economic fortune. These buildings, and the time period they represent, may take on what is considered to be "the inherent right of the historic built environment to continue to exist in an authentic state" because of their elegance alone (Milligan, 2007, p. 105). The emphasized period is made through a process of symbolic purpose joining with contemporary aesthetic tastes (Hamer, 1998). *Whose* symbols and tastes get selected introduce political overtones into the process of preservation.

Numerous critics consider the idea of a completely reconstructed history inherently dubious. (Nara, 1995; Starn, 2002; Lowenthal, 2004; Milligan, 2007). This critique springs largely from concerns surrounding the meaning of authenticity and integrity in preservation. These twin concepts are the premise of most current historic preservation charters, including the once-canonical *Venice Charter* (Rowney, 2004). Starn has nicely summed these challenges:

> Depending on the critical lexicon, the idea of restoring or even conserving an "authentic cultural heritage" could be attacked as a sign of "false consciousness," "cultural imperialism," or "bad faith," a marketing ploy or a metafiction, a postmodern mix of fact and fiction or simply muddied thinking (2002, p. 3).

Whether achieving authentic preservation is possible or not, snapshot preservation is the most prevalent form of current practice. Critiques of snapshot authenticity are a relatively recent concern of preservationists (Page, 2004). They are only now finding their way into policy-oriented documents. The majority of historic structures or districts remain guided by charters that reflect snapshot preservationist ideas, claiming only one time period for recovery. The next section focuses on how the ideals of this snapshot ethic of preservation have become instilled in legally enforceable policies through a review of two documents governing Pullman.

Standards for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings

The Department of the Interior introduced its *Standards for Historic Preservation Projects with Guidelines for Applying the Standards* 10 years after the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. In an effort to stave off the destruction of historic sites and districts, multiple tax reforms in 1976, 1978, and 1981 provided the economic incentives for rehabilitating older structures. Generally these incentives took (and continue to take) the shape of tax credits, ranging from 10–25% of the rehabilitation costs. While popular, their efficacy has been widely disputed. For instance, Morley (1985) concluded that efforts in Missouri and Illinois were due largely to increased private investment in historic places. However, this investment missed the most distressed locales, thus raising a more general problem of the ability to address a public issue (the preservation of national history) through private incentives.

Although largely aimed at assuring equal treatment under the new tax reform laws, the *Standards* also outlined the type of preservation that was nationally sanctioned. Rowney (2004) calls it primarily a second-tier document, focusing on statements of principles and objectives of preservation without addressing the philosophical underpinnings of directives or the methods necessary to accomplish them.[3] Four of its 10 standards (numbers 3, 4, 9, and 10) explicitly deal with alterations to the original design of an historic site or building. Principles 3 and 4 may be seen as contradictory due to the vague usage of terms surrounding historical merit and cultural significance. Principle 3 assures that additions, which aim to be "historic," coincide with the actual establishment of the site, disallowing stylistic cues that would represent an older period (Morton, 1983). Principle 4 deals with accumulated changes to historic buildings and reads,

> Changes which may have taken place in the course of time are evidence of the history and development of a building, structure, or site and its environment. These *changes may have acquired significance in their own right*, and this significance shall be recognized and respected (italics added) (Morton, 1983, p. 5).

In some ways the *Standards* appeal to a preservation of history that is adaptive. However, unlike the guidelines detailing historic rehabilitation techniques, the *Standards* provide no guidelines or techniques for adaptive "significance."[4] What is significant and what is not are hardly obvious or well known. Is significance an architectural achievement of rehabilitation (here the Musee D'Orsay might come to mind) or a less obvious symbol such as simple the stylistic changes of constant maintenance? Furthermore, there is an issue of how to respect these additions when restorative and reconstructive work demands removal of features not belonging to the interpretive period of a site (Howett, 2000). These are major questions about the history embodied in buildings, and by extension our own heritage.

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[3] The *Standards* are also accompanied by a set of more technical guidelines, which refer to how particular materials (e.g., stone, brickwork, wood, roofing, etc.) should be handled. These, however, unlike the *Standards* are nonbinding (available at www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tps/tax/rhb/).

[4] Much the same line of critique concerning the vagueness of terms employed in the *Standards* has been leveled at its usage of the word "integrity" by Howett (2000) in her study of U.S. Department of the Interior preservation documents.

Although the *Standards* represent the basis for much of the historic preservation work that goes on across the country, localities are also affected by state and local preservation documents. Unlike national documents, which only serve in order to attain historic status or favorable tax treatment, local documents in some cases provide enforcement mechanisms. This difference may derive from the inability of a national body to provide enforcement over the 80,000-plus locations on the National Register of Historic Places (Register, 2007). Additionally local agencies may have more expressed interest in enforcing standards if they are to produce consumption-oriented landscapes as a growth mechanism, as suggested by critics (Wilson, 2004). Like others, the City of Chicago has implemented enforcement mechanisms (including permits and fines) in order to cover work undertaken in historic districts, thereby legitimating certain changes while criminalizing others.

Commission on Chicago Landmarks Documents

The Commission on Chicago Landmarks provides three documents which relate to the question of what kind of history (a single era versus

Such vagueness has the positive aspect of retaining some room for local decision-making and evolving knowledge about a possible site. This may have provided a rationale for intentionally leaving national policies vague.

a continuum) will be instilled in a historic district and through what mechanisms: the *Criteria for Designation of Chicago Landmarks,* the *Guidelines for Alterations to Historic Buildings and New Construction*, and the *Economic Incentives for the Repair and Renovation of Historic Buildings*. Before a site within the city of Chicago can become a municipally recognized landmark, it must meet two of seven criteria: critical part of the city's heritage, location of a significant historic event, significant person, important architecture, important architect, distinctive theme as a district, or a unique visual feature. Additionally it must meet a criterion for the "integrity" of the historic structure (Chicago Landmarks, 2001b). Like the *Standards*, questions of "significance" or "integrity" are left untreated within the *Criteria*. However, the *Guidelines for Alterations to Historic Buildings and New Construction*, states "the Commission's staff is available to define the significant features of a property . . ."(Chicago Landmarks, 2001b, p. 5). In other words, the Commission's staff ultimately decides what counts as worth remembering, and what does not.

All eras of history are not marked out for equal remembrance. The Commission's *Guidelines,* which serve to regulate the visual landscape of protected sites, reflect a bias favoring the 19th century.[5] This can be seen in two distinct ways. First, of the 20 addressed items in their document, at least 10 items specifically address how to restore designated structures to a particular period of time, predominately the mid- to late-19th century. For instance, on the alteration of porches they remark,

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5. Work done on the exterior of a structure, especially that which is viewable from a public way, must go through a permit process directed by the Commission. The exception to this rule is painting which is not within the Commission's jurisdiction. The Commission retains no control over the interiors of historic places.

> . . . porches were strictly decorative rather than strictly functional features and were never enclosed. They did not function as storm vestibules; most nineteenth century homes have entrance foyers, which serve this function. Front porches should not be enclosed (Chicago Landmarks, 2001b, p. 8).

Such historic specificity implies that these are the only time periods appropriate for preservation work. This might be expected, given that a large majority of Chicago's landscape was constructed before World War II, itself a popular reference mark within the *Guidelines* (Conzen, 2006). Secondly, the Commission includes a guideline that addresses the changes that have been made to historic structures in the past. Unlike the national *Standards*, the Commission's guidelines do not supply any way for these changes to garner the "significance" needed to be of historical merit. Such "inappropriate changes," are to be extinguished with any additional work done on the property (Chicago Landmarks, 2001b, p. 7). The focus on a specific time period coupled with an inability to reconcile the meaning and possible importance of changes to historical sites demonstrate the inability of preservation documents to grapple with the very topic they are designed to address, the passage of history. This resistance of historic preservation policy to change through time has been commented on repeatedly.[6] As Hamer writes, such an urban landscape is,

> . . . not only un- or even antihistorical. It is also profoundly antiurban in the sense that it denies the diversity that is the very essence

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[6] See Hamer (1998) in relation to districts, Howett (2000) on national preservation documents, Lowenthal (2004) on heritage and tourist sites, Rowney (2004) on international preservation charters, and Milligan (2007) on the privileging of the stability of buildings over people.

> of urban life and the source of its greatest challenges and enjoyment. For change is the essential and only constant characteristic of the history of many American city districts (1998, p. 95).

Such deep indictments of current preservation practice are now widespread and demand the rethinking of preservation efforts. To simply accept theoretical criticisms of current snapshot preservation as a wholesale denounciation of it as a public policy may be premature. Consideration must also be given to the social and economic impacts of such policies in local places. Understanding the benefits reaped by particular social groups through preservation is necessary to address questions of what interests current preservation policies serve, and what changes in policy may mean for local communities.

Benefits from History?

Despite all the critiques, preservation work across America has brought tangible benefits to many sites and neighborhoods. By the 1970s, historic preservation had become a strategy not only to recover and retain elements of the past, but also a more general urban revitalization tactic (Datel, 1970). Even if preservation is not always in line with critics' notions of integrity and authenticity, it has created spaces for middle- and upper-class reinvestment in inner-city housing stock. Urban neighborhoods across the United States like Savannah's Victorian district are "accomplishing the dual goals of historic preservation and neighborhood rehabilitation" (Allison, 2005, p. 5).

One possible explanation for preservation's effectiveness at encouraging reinvestment is that it presents a set of unique environmental amenities that contemporary documenters of urban growth patterns see as driving urban growth (Florida, 2004; Clark, 2002). As early as 1980, Ford argued that the distinct urban morphology of historic districts — a sense of orientation in place — played a large role in their redevelopment. Many neighborhoods in Chicago exemplify this type of redevelopment, most notably the area of Wicker Park (Wilson, 2004; Lloyd, 2006). Though it is difficult to determine the independent causal relationship between historic preservation and neighborhood change, the correlation between preservation and revitalization in particular places in particular times has been well documented (Hamer, 1998; Allison, 2005; Lloyd, 2006; Milligan, 2007). In some cases, the types of social and economic change brought about by historic preservation constitute a specific form of reinvestment known as gentrification. Numerous authors worry that historic preservation may displace long-standing residents through the process of gentrification — in some cases possibly the very residents who struggled for preservation (Allison, 2005; Woodward, 2007).[7] How to best assure the preservation of historic places, while simultaneously assuring historic residents a place within them, remains an unanswered question.

Current scholarship on the relationship between gentrification-revitalization and historic preservation lacks a study of the comparative impacts of different regimes of preservation policy that regulate the visual landscape.[8] As Duncan and Duncan (2004) have detailed in the suburban context, strict management of the visual landscape — that is the legislation of aesthetic tastes — has been central to the production of consumable places for the middle and upper classes. Likewise, developers reproduce historic-looking landscapes to create sellable urban districts in contemporary cities (Boyer, 1992). In reference to one of the goals of historic preservation, Wilson argues, "luminous, sellable culture is to be fabricated across Chicago that attracts investment, lures new populations, and makes Chicago safer and more livable" (2004, p. 56). In all of these cases, creation of a uniform historic look within the landscape has enabled an increase in property values. An ethic of preservation — like the one outlined in the following section — that emphasizes multiple histories and eras, thus enabling a diversity of visual appearances, may resist the commoditization of property in historical districts (Kopytoff, 1986).

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[7] Hamer (1998), Chapter 2, has discussed these "survival" type community-organizing processes that lead to historic designation.

[8] There may be reason to believe that policies that align with what I have called "snapshot preservation" are more likely to produce gentrification-like effects than is the "evolutionary preservation" described in the following section.

Evolutionary Preservation

As the preservation movement evolves, some proponents have begun to propose alternative philosophies of landscape management, which attempt to conserve a more continuous history of a place. The problem of how to address the change in historic districts becomes more poignant because their very establishment often leads to social and economic changes. Historic preservation by itself, then, is an active force in the construction of a neighborhood's history, and has meaning beyond the physical environment it outwardly engages. Rowney summarizes such worries when he writes,

> . . . but as they reflect a dynamic society, so should they today be part of this continuing dynamism, otherwise their existence will be no more than a museum artifact — evidence of the past, but without a role in the social and economic present or future (2004, p. 91).

Some charters attempt to recognize both the past and present. Few documents yet exist that outline the actual methods of implementing preservation that embraces change through time. Ethical statements concerning the aims of preservation, however, provide a useful starting point.

The Deschambault Charter

In April 1982, the International Council on Monuments and Sites Canada French-Speaking Committee (ICOMOS) formulated principles to govern the preservation of history in the Canadian province of Quebec. The charter was to be followed "above all as a code of ethics" that would maintain the unique cultural context of specific locales and resist forces that contribute to erasure of the historic fabric (Conseil des monuments et des sites du Québec, 1982, p. 1). "It would be inappropriate to rely solely on chronological classification to determine the relative value of its different elements" (p. 2). The idea of preserving a single historic moment is eschewed in Article IV–B, "Respect must be shown for the significant contribution of *every historic period*" (pg. 4).[9]

Article IX emphasizes the importance of community participation. It takes direct aim at the issue of displacement caused by historic preservation designation:

> The Preservation of the *dynamic* and *functional* character of our heritage is ensured by local residents who are an integral part of that heritage and contribute to its protection and its vitality (p. 8).

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[9] It should be noted that, like the *Standards*, the Charter gives no guidelines for the establishment of what is "significant."

The statement acknowledges that communities (and the values they embody), which rally to maintain their heritage and ways of life, are as valid and valuable as any other historical moment possibly bound for preservation. Even if it appears to be a less grand or exceptional history, it is the type of citizenry that denotes national pride and civic maintenance. The *Deschambault Charter* represents an alternative philosophical statement about what it means to conserve the continuous history and heritage of a place, rather than only one period's historic accomplishments.

Concluding Remarks

Current preservation policy like that governing Pullman, Illinois, works to recapture a particular historic era for remembrance. Two effects of "snapshot preservation" are of concern for this paper. First, preserving a singular moment has downplayed other moments of a locale's history, often actively removing their visual legacy from the built environment. In this sense, historic preservation is both an act of remembrance, and an act of forgetting (Forty & Kuchler, 1999). Second, while the reinvestment correlated with historic preservation has often been portrayed in a positive light, its benefits for some may come at a cost to others in the form of displacement caused by gentrification. To counteract these potential problems, some charters have developed codes with a more continuous view of historical development and highlight the historical importance of communities' roles in preserving their heritage.

The view of history developed within preservation documents raises questions about how these sometimes vague or general guidelines function in actual places. The next section explores two historic moments in the area of Pullman, Illinois. The "original" moment is the chosen era of history (1880–1900) to be interpreted through preservation and restoration projects. Exploring this moment offers a supplemental reading of Pullman's unique planning. In a later period (1960–1969), neighborhood residents organized to save their neighborhood through appeals to its historic significance, or what Hamer has termed, "the phenomenon of survival" (1998, p. 28). Rereadings of both of these moments have significance for the objects and methods of preservation in the neighborhood of Pullman.

Moments of Origin and Survival

The "Original" Moment

Pullman's preservation focuses on its "original" moment, approximately 1880 through 1900. Some contests remain, however, about which of the area's thematic legacies should be emphasized in preservation work. For instance, Thompson's (2000) report for the future of Pullman's industrial area offered, "The 'Five Stories' of Pullman," though all take place in the first 30 years of the town's founding.[10] The two small neighborhood museums run by the Historic Pullman Foundation and State Historic Site organize their historic materials in a similarly thematic fashion, forgoing much coverage of any time period beyond the neighborhood's first 30 years. Such a focus is not limited to preservationist history and tourist literature; the majority of academic work done on the area studies this era. Buder tackles many of these themes while covering the town until the 1930s (1967). As we will see, his narrative of community loss was premature, but most of the popular and academic histories of Pullman draw primarily from this one short episode of its long history.[11]

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[10] Dunlap's 1999 article posed similar questions about whether the place should stand as a monument to transport, organized labor, planning, utopianism, or civil rights, given the history of the formation of the African American–based Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and its efforts for equal work rights.

This literature does provide background on the area's creation, including its design and the motivations behind it. Pullman offers a particularly radical representation of a more general trend of environmental solutions to social problems. Employing new research on the architectural geography of Pullman rather than architecture of singular buildings, I argue that the novelty of this built environment is the spatial and symbolic relationships between buildings, and I question current preservation's focus on individual properties, rather than their geographic context. This profile of Pullman's landscape provides a basis for examining later episodes of Pullman's history and the legacies of the area's built form.

Pullman in Context

The building of Pullman at the end of the 19th century came during a period of massive economic growth and mounting turbulence between capitalists and the labor they relied upon. As Smith (1995) has documented, the period's social unrest was often aligned in academic and elite minds of the time with the sudden growth of the modern industrial metropolis. Large proportions of the population lacked adequate housing, clean water, sewage disposal, and other basic social services. Not only were cities often unsanitary, but they also symbolized an immoral environment standing in stark contrast to a supposedly idyllic countryside. In many ways Chicago was the archetype of such a city. Its explosive growth was accompanied by labor unrest displayed prominently in the Haymarket Bomb incident of 1886 (Smith, 1995). Pullman's fresh construction far outside the city's boundaries stood in juxtaposition to this urban environment. The model town, with its quality housing, sanitation, and religious and cultural outlets, was to be an answer to the question of how industrial capitalism could organize its labor in a supposedly favorable space. Pullman was not an altruistic utopian project, but rather one that remade people's physical surroundings in response to the social *and* economic issues of its day (Buder, 1967).

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[11] Likewise numerous studies have focused on the town's initial architecture and built environment (Ducato, 1982; Ely, 1885; Laine, 1987; Lillibridge, 1953; Pointer, 1970; Vogel, 1999), its relation to other planned industrial communities (Garner, 1984), or to laissez-faire industrial capitalism (Brandes, 1970; Smith, 1995). Displaying a similar focus on Pullman's early history is Reiff's consideration of the production of the town's image by the Pullman Palace Car Company (1989) and the town's early gender relations (2000).

Pullman's design assumed that a new environment could moralize and control parts of a population employed long before its building, a theory that continues to influence planning practice today. Instances of this attempt to portray urban space as a cause of social unrest (rather than a symptom) can be traced at least as far back as James Kay Philips's suggestions for welfare provision in Manchester, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann's justification for rebuilding Paris, and Fredrick Law Olmsted's belief in parks as a tool of moral betterment (Thompson, 2003; Spirn, 1995). The model town of Pullman can be read as giving explicit physical shape to this type of discourse about the effect of human-environmental relations on moral and social character. As Robert Ely famously wrote shortly after the town's completion,

> . . . the most extensive experiment of this character (company town building) is that in progress at Pullman, Illinois. It is social experimentation on a vast scale, and this is its significance (1885).

The Building of Industrial Utopia

The building of the model town of Pullman, Illinois, from 1880 through 1884 was an innovative reworking of technical and social issues of the modern city. The environment built by the Pullman Palace Car Company (PPCC) under the leadership of George Pullman included over 1,800 housing units and multiple large commercial, cultural, and religious structures. In order to expand and consolidate its industrial works, the company acquired extensive amounts of land 14 miles south of Chicago. Along the Illinois Central railroad line, the PPCC built an independent settlement, not a suburb heavily reliant on the central city. Solon S. Beman, architect, and Nathan F. Barrett, landscape architect, were commission to create more than a grand town from scratch. They were ordered to provide a place of a particular manner of social reproduction in its provision of fine housing, wide streets, sanitation, cultural amenities, educational opportunity, and extensive parks (Buder, 1967; Ely, 1885; Garner, 1984).

George Pullman saw the PPCC as a profit-making business in both its role as employer and as landlord. During these initial years when large returns (around 6%) were made from rental housing, it garnered much attention as a possible solution to many social ills facing the modern industrial metropolis. Visitors flocked from the Columbian Exposition of 1893 to tour the town and marvel at the Hotel Florence, the spacious interior mall of the Arcade Building, and its picturesque residences. One European planning group repeatedly granted it an award as "The World's Most Perfect Town" (Buder, 1967).

The exacting control of the PPCC enabled such apparent order and beauty and allowed the company to make large profits in strong economic times. But it left the PPCC doubly exposed to downturns of the business cycle, such as that of the early 1890s (Smith, 1995). To offset losses from poor contracts, the company switched workers from hourly pay to a per-unit basis. While this method kept many men partially employed, it could not counteract a generally substantial decline in wages. Despite the depressed wages paid by the PPCC, rents owed to the company by its workers remained constant (Buder, 1967; Smith, 1995; Brandes, 1970).

For George Pullman, there was no reason a decrease in wages should be matched by rent reductions. He envisioned his role as landlord and employer as fundamentally distinct. Though residents were legally free to work elsewhere, the geographical isolation, 14 miles from the city center, made supplemental employment both difficult to come by and costly to undertake. In 1894, workers at the PPCC walked out of the company's industrial works. The strike slowly gained momentum, eventually reaching the national stage through a wide boycott of Pullman sleeping cars causing extensive disruptions in rail service across the country.

The town and buildings survived, undamaged by the strike and under management of the company until the end of 1907. After a ruling by Illinois Supreme Court against the company's ownership of the Pullman's residences, housing in the model town was sold off. A community in Pullman that owned and exercised control over its own environment emerged:

> By 1910, except for the plan's architectural residue, Pullman was an ordinary industrial community. No longer a "show place," the town was neither controversial nor newsworthy. Little attention was given to the plan's dismantling (Buder, 1967, p. 215).

The model town of Pullman, however, never became merely another industrial neighborhood of Chicago's South Side. Its continuing exceptional character owes much, not only to its storied history, but also to the built environment left in the wake of Pullman's vision.

Design of the Model Town

George Pullman and his designers Beman and Barrett developed the model town and associated industrial works free of many of the limitations imposed on most building commissions. No urban form existed in the chosen site, bound only by Lake Calumet to the east and the Illinois Central rail line on the area's western edge. Within these boundaries, the designers created all aspects of the town: modern sewage and water systems, landscaped roadways, factory complexes, community buildings, and residences for all employees.

Community Buildings and Functional Paternalism

Pullman's most ornately designed buildings housed community and commercial functions. In both their material form and social provisions, they provided a remarkable array of educational, cultural, and religious structures for the largely working-class population they served (Buder, 1967; Lillibridge, 1953). Placed in the northwestern area of the model town, these well appointed buildings were composed in an eclectic manner, drawing on popular styles of the day such as Victorian and Queen Anne. The Arcade building inhabited the square directly off of the Illinois Central Railroad line and facing the Hotel Florence. It served as one of the primary social centers of the community's life, housing a dry-goods store, basic services, spaces for approved community groups, a theater, and a well-outfitted library. Market Hall, an Italianate-inspired structure, filled out the commercial landscape in the original design of Pullman, providing an outlet for vegetables from the company owned and operated farm. Other community buildings were decorated in a similarly fine fashion, such as the Greenstone Church, with decorative marble sourced from Pennsylvania. Large stables provided a recreational outlet, while the Old School was heralded as providing one of the finest educations, in the most superb setting, in the State.[12] Workers would develop good moral and social character if given easy access to such amenities, according to Pullman. If contemporary observers' opinions are to be believed, this hope was in some respects met, as residents appeared well-dressed, well-mannered, and driven (Ely, 1885; Buder, 1967).

What is missing from the landscape was as essential to Pullman's social goals as the fine spaces included, as the new town excluded a number of standard amenities (or space for them to develop). Pullman noted one of his primary motivations for the model town "was to exclude all baneful influences" (Brandes, 1970, p. 16). The lack of bars or any commercial venues to buy liquor is the most commonly noted absence from the model town. Though free-market forces helped generate the wealth of the PPCC, those same forces were not allowed to operate in the town itself. George Pullman prescribed the types of activities in which people could partake. His apparent moral superiority strictly excluded particular functions, which modern critics often label a form of functional industrial paternalism written into the landscape (Garner, 1984; Brandes, 1970). While recognizing and critiquing the dictatorial land-use policy employed by the PPCC in Pullman, we must also accept that it simultaneously provided amenities, which would have been largely unavailable or unaffordable to the working class. For many of its residents, Pullman was, as Buder relates, "better a gilded cage, than merely a cage" (1967, p. 98).

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[12] The New School replaced the older structure in the early 1920s due to the need for more classroom space to house students from across the now-populated surrounding areas.

Residences and Symbolic Paternalism

The housing designed by Beman has been the most uniformly heralded of any of the outlays by the PPCC (Brandes, 1970; Ducato, 1982; Ely, 1885; Garner, 1984; Lillibridge, 1953). Despite their quick construction, all homes enjoyed well-appointed interiors, including indoor plumbing and their own bath; these features were luxurious in their own time and for decades to come. With the exception of housing meant for the company's executives along what is now 111th Street, all of Pullman's residential structures were row houses, sharing common walls as in Figure 2. The housing emphasized individual private spaces, rather than the low cost barrack-style housing of other North American company towns (Garner, 1984). The rooflines, window treatments, and masonry work were designed to break the long rows of connected houses into units indicative of single-family living. Even in an otherwise harsh critique of the Pullman experiment, Robert Ely of *Harper's Magazine* wrote,

> No other feature of Pullman can receive praise needing so little qualification as its [housing's] architecture. Desirable houses have been provided for a large laboring population at so small a cost that they can be rented at rates within their means and yet yield a handsome return on the capital invested (1885).

The originality and experimental success of Pullman's conception and realization as a largely self-sustaining town seems of little doubt.

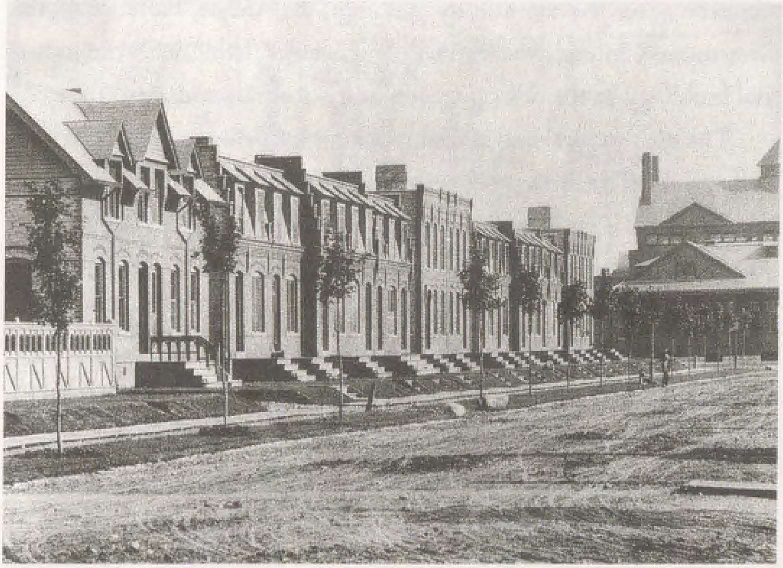

Figure 2. Original row houses looking toward Market Hall. c. 1886.
Courtesy of the Pullman State Historic Site, Paul Petraitis Collection.

However the importance of the formal architecture of each individual house is not as clear a story.

The formal architectural work of individual Pullman residences was not pioneering. Much has been written on the architecture of the town, but no review has established the architectural importance of individual structures. Although the spatial legibility and its unified plan and look have garnered much attention, Lillibridge argued in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, "the attempt to stylize the result by labeling it Queen Anne, Romanesque, or Gothic in inspiration probably represents rather more than the architect himself considered" (1953, p. 19). Even Ely (1885), who appreciated the quality of the residences, saw their design's repetition of coloring, rooflines, and facade decorations as bordering on monotonous. Other cursory examinations of Pullman's architecture see the community buildings, the Arcade, Florence Hotel, Greenstone Church, Market Hall, and Stables, along with the industrial buildings, as the objects most worthy of commendation.[13]

The architectural and spatial relationships *between* residences, that is, the study of the interplay of elements in the visual landscape, require consideration. This is important for a more thorough understanding of both the town's formal design, and how the town reflected prevailing ideologies while simultaneously reinforcing them in everyday life. Such an undertaking requires a complete survey of the model town's basic house types and external architecture. Using historical photographs, original architectural reliefs of residences, and fieldwork, I will outline the geography of house types and suggests some possible implications.

As Figure 3 indicates the placement of housing in Pullman followed a distinct pattern laid out by Beman. While there is some intermixing of house types (executive, row houses, and apartments), especially around Market Hall, there are clear trends, with larger homes concentrated in the northwestern area of town, while apartments and smaller single-family homes appear most frequently in the southern and eastern parts of the town. This general pattern of larger living areas in the north and smaller in the south also holds true for apartments, demonstrated by the four-unit apartments south of Market Hall, which have larger square footages than the three- and four-unit structures in the southern reaches of town.[14] House size, combined with the level of archi-

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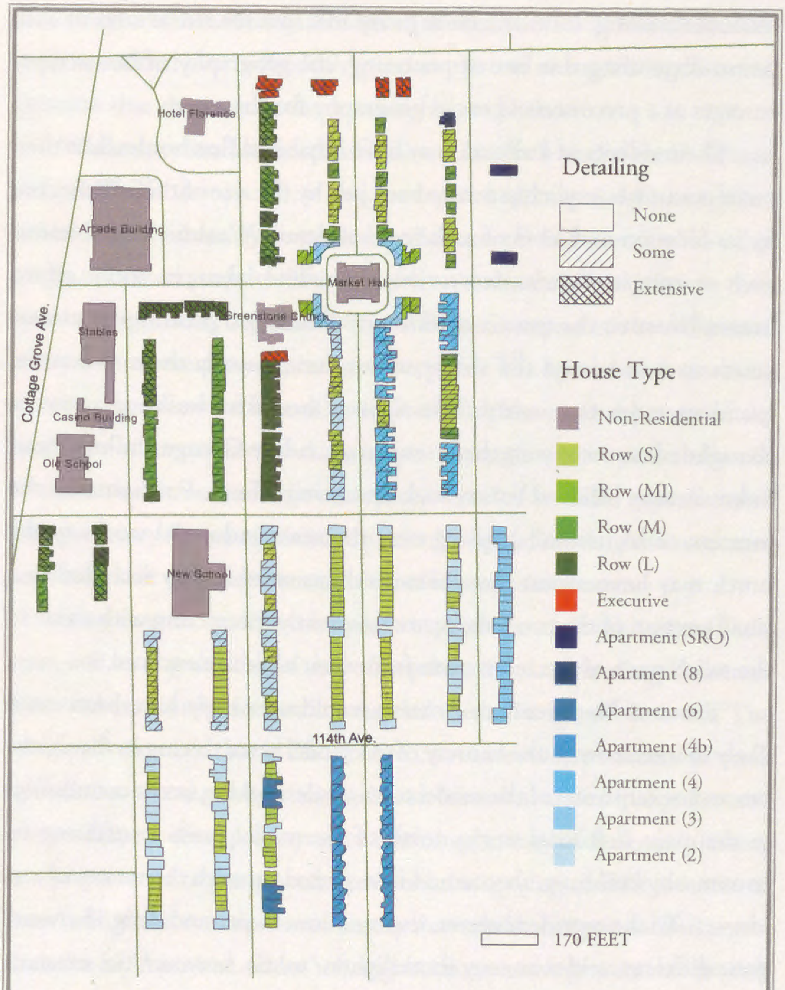
[13] See: Ducato, 1982; Laine, 1987; Lillibridge, 1953. Many of the structures have disappeared from the contemporary landscape.

[14] Square footage of apartments are based on polygon area divided by number of historic units. Polygons were constructed in a geographical information system based on georeferenced Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps.


Hotel Florence
Arcade Building
Market Hall
Greenstone Church
Stables
Cottage Grove Ave.
Casino Building
Old School
New School
114th Ave.
Detailing
None
Some
Extensive
House Type
Non-Residential
Row (S)
Row (MI)
Row (M)
Row (L)
Executive
Apartment (SRO)
Apartment (8)
Apartment (6)
Apartment (4b)
Apartment (4)
Apartment (3)
Apartment (2)
170 FEET

Polygons: Based on Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of 1901

House Type: Based on Personal Photographs (2007–2008), Historic Sketches, and Google Street View Images (2007)

Figure 3. Spatial Distinction and Architectural Detailing of Housing in South Pullman.

Map by Author.

tectural detailing, is likely a close proxy measure for rental rates of each house. Extending this line of reasoning, the geography of house types emerges as a preconceived social geography for the town.

The residents of Pullman may have inhabited fine homes, but their social status was explicitly marked not just by the size of their home, but by its location and level of architectural detail. Wealthier inhabitants, such as company executives or highly skilled laborers, could afford homes closer to the town's community buildings, granting them easy access to services and the ability to consume visually these structures' grandeur more frequently. The sight of beautiful buildings may be thought of as merely aesthetic enjoyment, but George Pullman and Solon Beman believed beauty had moralizing effects. Furthermore, the location of higher-end housing near the main industrial works to the north may have meant that these residents were largely secluded to a small portion of the townscape, not frequently interacting with those in the south parts of the town aside from their children's school.[15]

Those of lesser economic means would seemingly have been more likely to interact with the entirety of the model town. Living in the southern and eastern areas of the model town while working (most commonly) in the main industrial works north of the model town or utilizing its community buildings, they would have passed through the variety of residences. To the outside observer, the variations in size and design between these different residences may seem slight or subtle, however, the constant repetition of these differences, and the very limited amount of stylistic variation, may have made the social status of the person associated with each structure immediately obvious to the resident. How this symbolism was internalized into individuals' psyches presents an interesting historical question that the current data cannot fully explore.

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[15] This is largely speculative and requires further research for precise confirmation, namely the reconstruction of individual daily commuting patterns of workers within the model town.

While the visual landscape of Pullman has been lauded for its "spatial clarity" (Reiff, 2000, p. 13), it also gave spatial and visual definition to an ordered social hierarchy conceived by Beman and Pullman. Unlike other utopian-focused projects that advanced an aura of egalitarianism in their visual environment, the model town of Pullman expressed the differences of wealth inherent to capitalist enterprise. The spatial and symbolic relationships between houses combined with the general beauty of the landscape to naturalize, and therefore foist legitimacy upon, the social stratification it embodied and represented.[16] The daily experience of the space may have impressed a particular "good" social structure onto residents, as it ordered them into a manicured environment.

Even an attempt, like this one, to expand the studied history of Pullman, one must grant a good deal of importance to its founding. Pullman's historical continuities are still grounded in the "original" moment. The "original" moment that is the focus of current historic preservation work in Pullman is commonly presented as an historical anomaly. Spoken and written history often portrays the remaining century of Pullman's history as representative of the general trends of urban evolution. The moment of "survival" in the 1960s presents a story that is both exceptional and representative of "American values" of neighborliness and ingenuity. Integrating this moment of Pullman's history into the story of historic preservation presents an ethical, political, and technical challenge to current policy.

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[16] A similar notion has been explored in relation to religion in the landscape in Duncan (1990). This is predominately speculation, based only on the spatial and symbolic relations of these structures, rather than residents' actual perceptions.

The "Survival" Moment

Investigating the commonalities between the history of historic districts in urban areas David Hamer wrote,

> My argument is that the key to understanding the continuities very often will be found to reside in the second or intermediate phase, which is the one least noticed and understood—or if noticed, regarded in a predominately negative light. This is the period during which the history now thought worth commemorating was left behind because there were as yet no influences and agencies at work aiming at preserving as "historic" the legacies of the "historic era" (1998, p. 23).

As Hamer recognizes, phases of history blend into one another yet historic periods serve as a useful pedagogic devices. In the case of Pullman, the era of survival was also the movement towards preservation. Pullman's survival depended on preservation, and the establishment of preservation (and the continued existence of the neighborhood today) depended on actions during this era. While the story is recounted with great admiration at Pullman Civic Organization (PCO) community meetings, the material residue from the era is perceived as having little or no historic worth—when it is noticed at all. As the narrative of this era shows, the methods used and objectives accomplished reflect deeply held American values of neighborliness, community, and the right to claim a space you have long occupied.

Historic Preservation as Community Survival

From 1910 until the 1950s, the neighborhood of Pullman appeared very much like any other suburb on the industrializing South Side of Chicago. It housed shifting ethnic groups, primarily of European descent, who worked in local industries. Like most places, the Great Depression of the 1930s struck at Pullman's economic base as the neighborhood shifted from a primarily owner-occupied community to one primarily comprised of renters. Increased industrial production to meet war time demand of the early 1940s helped to repopulate Pullman to greater than its original level. By the 1950s the population had stabilized, but the following decades saw a massive shift in the surrounding communities to a majority African American population (Newcomen, 1998). The model town of south Pullman, unlike its northern counterpart, maintained its majority Caucasian working-class demographic in contrast to these wider regional shifts.

As the control of the PPCC diminished, so did the uniformity of the architecture it had built. Some high maintenance detailing, such as the original woodwork and paint, deteriorated. Community buildings of the model town also struggled as new commercial and retail spaces opened in neighboring communities. By 1931, the Arcade building had been demolished, and the Market Hall had been destroyed by fire (Newcomen, 1998). A number of larger residences and Hotel Florence were for periods converted to single-room occupancy (SRO) housing. Some have seen the era as one of diminishing community solidarity, as the residents were no longer necessarily coworkers (Buder, 1967). Although they did not work for a single employer, the majority of the residents were still employed in local industry.[17]

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[17] In fact, many residents continued to work for the elements of the PPCC now subsumed under other names.

Community residents largely shared similar socioeconomic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds as well as common walls between their homes, which produced solidarity during the 1960s.

In 1960, during Chicago's urban renewal era, the Chicago Planning Commission produced a study on the industrial sectors of the South Side, which recommended that the model town of Pullman be demolished. The supposed run-down, undersized, and obsolete residences were to be leveled and the area converted into an industrial park. Noting that the area of Pullman and surrounding neighborhoods had been in a cycle of decline, the plan suggested that its location between rail lines and Lake Calumet made it ideal for intermodal transportation industries (Newcomen, 1998). Ironically, two of the very features that attracted George Pullman to the location to build a model town made the Chicago Planning Commission outline a plan for its destruction.

The community's clever and successful response to the Commission's report is now something of a local legend. Residents immediately responded to the plan by activating what was left of the World War II civil defense organization, broadening its scope, and renaming itself the Pullman Civic Organization (PCO). This organization started a bottom-up style campaign to save the community, going door-to-door to enlist residents in neighborhood clean-up programs, and producing events to rejuvenate neighborhood pride. In their appeals to the Commission, the PCO framed their arguments against the plan in a manner and language particularly appealing to its professional planners — that of urban design. The PCO's work not only thwarted the Commission's original plan, but also helped to mobilize the Commission's staff to help Pullman attain status as an historic district (Reiff, 1989). By 1969, the entire area developed by the PPCC was designated as a National Historic Landmark, followed by designation as a State of Illinois Site in 1970, and the City's recognition of Pullman as a landmark community in 1972 (Beman, 2004; Garner, 1991; Newcomen, 1998; Reiff, 1989). Reiff may be correct in arguing, "Pullman would be saved by its past, or more accurately, its pasts," (2000, p.28) in that this is what was most important to the population outside the community. The impetus behind Pullman's salvation, however, may likely have its roots in residents' desire to save their own homes, and the community they had built around them.

Residents and workers of Pullman stood defiantly not only against exploitation of labor in the late-19th century, but also against the often destructive planning regimes of the mid-20th century. In many ways Pullman's struggle for survival was emblematic of the rise of historic preservation, which revalued past ways of life through the pedagogic tool of the material environment. The struggle itself simultaneously embodied many of the values some have claimed the preservation or heritage industry longs for — a past life of neighborliness, community, civic virtue, and independence (Lowenthal, 2004). This realization has implications for what historic preservation might seek to memorialize as the defining moments of Pullman's story.

What do these rereadings of Pullman's past mean for the future preservation of its environments? Currently preservation activities focus on restoring community structures and individual residences to the "original" moment, clearly a legitimate project. In its "original moment," Pullman was a utopian dream, an urban-design innovation, a project of industrial paternalism, and a site of resistance to unfair labor policies. As a tool for relating this history, the built environment from this era may serve as both an object of warning and inspiration. However, the geography of different house types depicts a particular set of social relationships conceived by the town's designers and experienced by its residents. Future preservation work may attempt to find ways to maintain and illustrate the importance of the relative location of house types, rather than the decoration of individual houses alone.

In a struggle to maintain their community, the residents of Pullman utilized the close social ties of the neighborhood and trumpeted the importance of its material fabric. Although they implicitly celebrated many of the ideals reflected in the practice of historic preservation, the current practice of preservation as dictated by policy leaves little room to conserve their legacies in the built environment as well. Does historic preservation have space for the history of those who fought for its inception? Surveying the residue from residents other than original designers, as well as other social and material landscapes of contemporary Pullman, may offer a basis to develop a new ethic of preservation within the constraints of the neighborhood's current trajectories.

Contemporary Landscapes of Pullman, Illinois

The Evolving Socioeconomic Landscape

Chicago, in its early days, simultaneously functioned as one of the Great Plains' dominant grain and livestock outlets produced by Eastern capital penetrating into the American West. The city built a large industrial manufacturing complex on top of existing transportation networks (exemplified by its concentration of railroads) and financial markets (most notably its development of futures trading) (Mayer, 1973; Cronon, 1991). Industry and manufacturing were concentrated along the transportation corridors of the Chicago River and more broadly spread throughout the city's southern regions. These regions provided access to railroads, water (alongside Lake Michigan and Lake Calumet), and highway corridors. A broader pattern of industrial reshaping in North

America began to take hold in the 1970s and has continued. Fordist powerhouses concentrated along the Great Lakes, in places like Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, and Cleveland, all saw widespread flight of industry to the south, west, and overseas. Between 1967 and 1982, Chicago alone lost 46% of its manufacturing jobs (Sassen, 2006). While the city as a whole felt the economic impact of the loss of its major manufacturing base, communities on the South Side of the metropolitan region experienced particularly acute problems associated with unemployment, aging populations, industrial pollution, and lack of services.

The 1990s into the turn of the century proved better times for the city's economic health as a whole. Building upon its long history as a center for specialized financial markets, Chicago successfully captured new sectors of economic growth not associated with the traditional base of manufacturing and shipping (Sassen, 2006). The new corporate service sectors of Chicago's economy grew rapidly, and with them came high-end residential markets and commercial outlets (Abu-Lughod, 1999). However, this economic prosperity developed a particular geography within the metropolitan area. By 2006, "the residential resurgence of Chicago's Downtown and North Side high amenity zone ha(d) become defining features of the city's geography in the 21st century" (Greene, p. 73).

Former industrial regions on the southern side of the metropolis were not included in the economic rise of the central and northern districts. The Calumet region (which Pullman borders) has proven a particularly problematic area. Historically home to steel-making, chemical plants, transportation equipment manufacturers, and refineries, the region suffered a major loss of industry during the 1980s and 1990s, including such significant local employers, such as Wisconsin Steel, U.S. Steel, Pullman Standard, and Sherwin-Williams. The disappearance of these industries not only affected local job markets, but also left severe environmental degradation in its path, assuring that such land had very little capacity for residential or commercial redevelopment without massive investment in remediation. The regional community continues to debate whether this area should attempt to maintain heavy industry or seek to reclaim some of its habitat for rare wildlife (Bouman, 2006).

Massive economic shifts forced reorganizations of the region's social geography as well. Former residents relocated and were replaced by ethnic and racial groups from the city's interior. African Americans represented the largest of these geographic expansions, as they became the majority of residents on Chicago's South Side. Still, the model town of South Pullman remained a socially distinct community as indicated by U.S. Census data from 1990 and 2000. Although most census tracts neighboring Pullman are over 90% African American, South Pullman remained less than 10% African American. While predominately Caucasian, Pullman (and neighboring Roseland) has retained significant Latino populations since the 1930s (Reiff, 1989). The large racial divide does not reflect significant economic divides, with residents of South Pullman having only very slightly higher per capita incomes than some neighbors (U.S. Decennial Census, 2000). Likewise, despite its designation as a historic district for 40 years, house values in the neighborhood remain in line with regional averages.

Taken in sum, such social and demographic statistics indicate that despite turbulent economic shifts and patterns of ethnic succession, the model town of South Pullman has remained a predominantly blue-collar, Caucasian neighborhood, with a strong Hispanic contingent, in the largely African American South Side. Speeches at community meetings indicate that this makeup is the result of the neighborhood families' propensity to remain in the area over many generations. Recognizing the similar economic character yet exceptional racial statistics of South Pullman compared to its neighbors, how has this divide been sustained?

One possible explanation is that contemporary South Pullman is defined by hard geographic edges, which encourage the creation of neighborhood identity through stricter spatial notions of who is, and who is not, part of the neighborhood (Ford, 1999). Entering or leaving the area produces an abrupt shift, both functionally and visually. Figure 4 displays the contemporary land-use patterns for the study area given by the city of Chicago in 2005. South Pullman (as defined by single-family residences) is cordoned off on each side. Industrial borders to the north and south of the community are more permanent than light industrial or warehousing usage, which give way to residential redevelopment when area rents become high (Lloyd, 2006). Comparing Figure 5 to Figure 4 shows that the northern industrial site is the State Historic Site, an unlikely candidate for redevelopment and currently unused. The southern industrial area has been a site of severe environmental degradation, and is currently undergoing remediation.[18] At the same time, the neighborhood is visually isolated by the large empty expanses of industrial lands to the north and south, and a multiple-track, above-grade commuter rail line directly to its west. Together these material boundaries help to define who and what is inside or outside the neighborhood, but they alone are not sufficient to produce strong social ties.

An Institutional Landscape

Pullman's ability to remain a stable, cohesive community throughout its long history derives partially from its institutions, which have served

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[18] Based on a presentation given by the Sherwin-Williams Company at a PCO Meeting in February 2008.

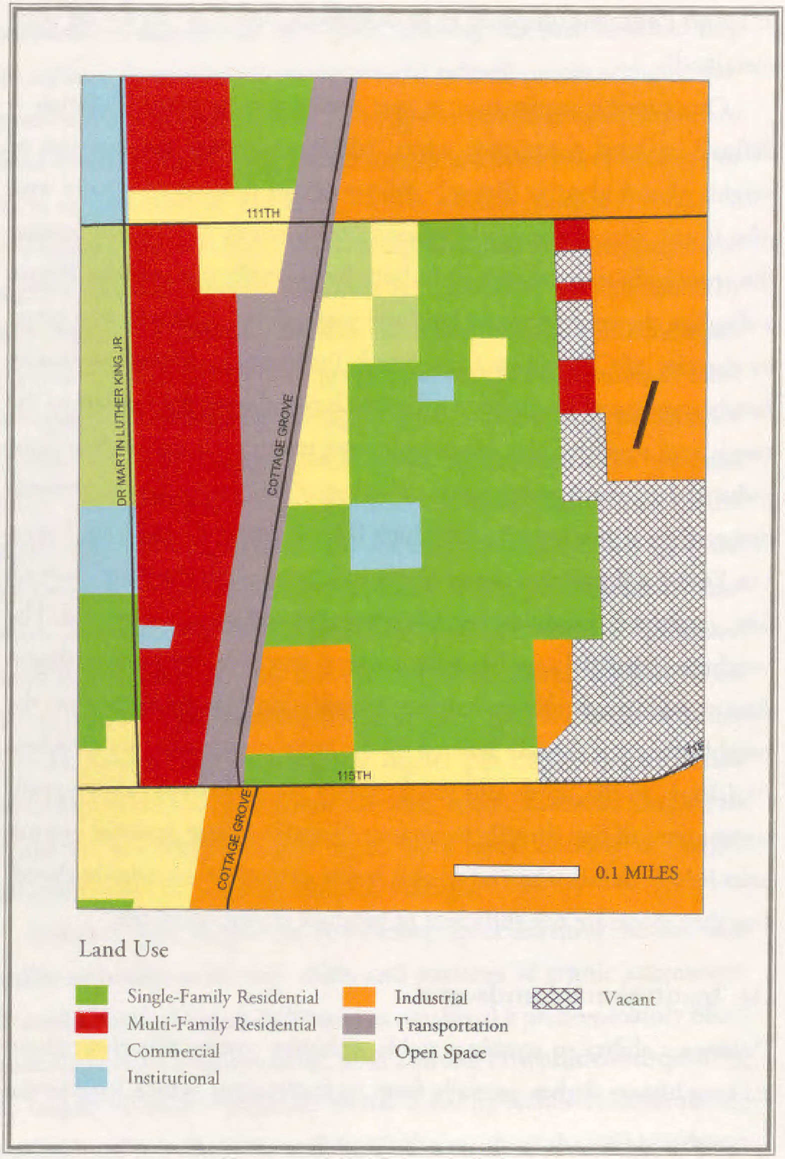
111TH
DR MARTIN LUTHER KING JR
COTTAGE GROVE
115TH
COTTAGE GROVE
0.1 MILES
Land Use
Single-Family Residential
Multi-Family Residential
Commercial
Institutional
Industrial
Transportation
Open Space
Vacant

Figure 4. South Pullman Land-Use in 2005.

City of Chicago Land Use Data.

as the public face of the neighborhood. These institutions scale relatively small individual resources into larger pools to form both economic and political power. Through civic engagement and promotion of the unique history and architecture of the Pullman neighborhood, these institutions, driven predominantly by the local residents, have served to create an enduring sense of community.

The largest of these contemporary institutional groups is the grassroots, volunteer-run PCO, which promotes the general welfare of the community.[19] It organizes community events ranging from simple community movie nights to large productions, such as the Pullman Historic House Tour organized in conjunction with the Historic Pullman Foundation. Capitalizing on the area's unique historic architecture and planning is a long-time characteristic of the PCO's work. The PCO's monthly community meetings serve as a general outlet for other, smaller community groups. These well-attended meetings often last several hours and provide a forum for any local speaker.[20] PCO meetings are also the most effective way for outside actors wishing to deal with the neighborhood and community to collect and distribute information.

The most developed subgroup of the PCO is its Beman Committee, which — as the name implies — focuses on the neighborhood's original architecture composed by Solon S. Beman. This small group raises awareness of local history and disseminates information concerning the rules and regulations of living in a historic district. It also provides detailed information on the proper standards for exterior architectural work in the neighborhood (such as correct Pullman colors, historic mortar types, and period-correct roofing), and the resources available for creating that work (Beman, 2004).[21] The Beman Committee members (and it is hoped community residents more generally) act as both preservation resources and a set of eyes for the city of Chicago's Landmark Commission concerning changes in buildings' exterior architecture, which are not allowable under current regulations.

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[19] Newcomen (1998) has presented a review of this history of community organizing in Pullman. Most remaining material comes from primary research centered on attendance at community meetings and retrieval of what little literature these institutions produce in the way of flyers and notices.

[20] The two I attended were gatherings of 60-plus residents. This attendance, I have been assured, was unusually small due to inclement weather.

The Historic Pullman Foundation (HPF) describes itself as the "natural outgrowth of efforts initiated by the PCO and its Beman Committee," explicitly focusing on maintaining the historical memory of the town, and specifically its built environment (HPF website, 2007). Substantially smaller than the PCO, the HPF's membership contains numerous experts affiliated with the professional trades, including a number of architects and other professionals directly linked to the preservation industry. The Beman Committee and the HPF together are the primary forces defining the town's history, largely through archival and architectural research.

Acquiring South Pullman's historic community buildings has been the HPF's predominant focus since its inception in 1973. A descendent of George Pullman donated the Hotel Florence to the HPF in 1975. The State of Illinois Historic Site now runs the hotel, but the HPF still provides consulting and expertise. The HPF also purchased the site of the historic Market building, acquired and renovated the Masonic Lodge building on 113th Street, and played an influential role in the industrial site stabilization project (Thompson, 2000). Education of visitors about the area has also been a key focus, both in their Historic House Tours and the Historic Pullman Visitor Center.

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[21] This document is distributed to all new homeowners.

Municipal and state agencies play extensive roles in the preservation of both South and North Pullman, as well as the remaining industrial sites between them. Like most urban historic districts, the city plays the most active role in the legal regulation of the exterior features of homes. The city also provides its own set of economic incentives for particular styles of approved renovation (Chicago Landmarks, 2003). In the everyday lives of Pullman residents however, the State Historic Site has a more visible presence, running a small museum out of the Hotel Florence, keeping a full-time staff, and allowing common areas of the hotel to be used for community meetings.[22] While Pullman has also been designated as a national landmark since 1969, no national agencies play a regular role in the upkeep or administration of the district. Registration on the National Register of Historic Sites does however assure legal status, which makes removal of historic fabric either by demolition or redevelopment less likely.

The Geography of Preserved Districts

Although national, state, and municipal designations happened within a brief window of time (1969, 1970, and 1972, respectively), the boundaries of each designation varied widely (Thompson, 2000).[23] As seen in Figure 5, the national designation covers the largest area, followed by the city of Chicago, with the state maintaining the smallest site. Certainly, this variation reflects pragmatic concerns particular to each institution, but it also raises questions about what selecting particular areas means for the interpretation of the district's history. A necessarily selective endeavor, preservation creates narratives, which emphasize particular histories, and often implicitly forget others (Forty, 1999). I will briefly consider why certain areas of Pullman have been granted historic status by particular institutions and the possible meanings associated with each selection.

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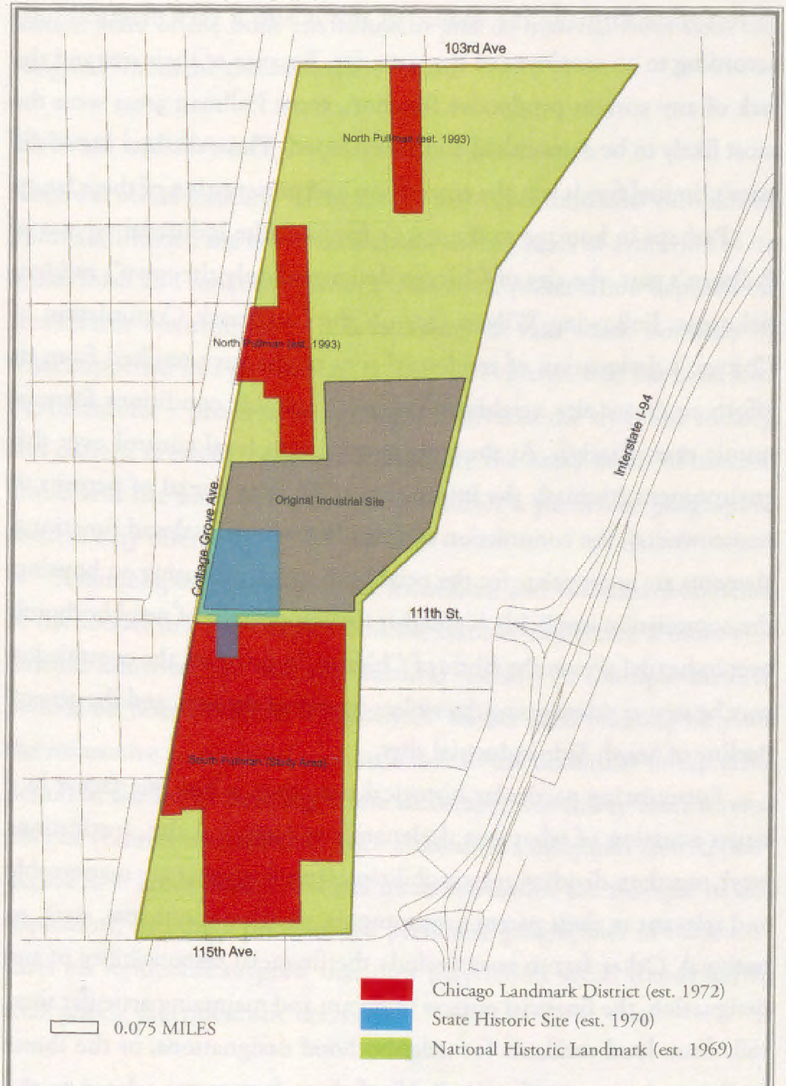
[22] The state is also responsible for the upkeep of the most thorough website on the history of Pullman with especially rich pictorial archives. http://www.pullman-museum.org.

[23] The original City of Chicago Landmark status covered only the model town of South Pullman. North Pullman districts were added in 1993.

The national government selected the entire remains of the Pullman project as the area deserving preservation. This includes both north and south residential areas and the industrial sites, which the PPCC developed or planned to develop. Though it is the least active, the national site is the only district to encompass both industrial and residential sites. Choosing to preserve the wide variety of functions associated with the original model town implies that the area, at least historically, should be considered an integrated whole. The basis of the 1894 strike lay in the exertion of control by the Pullman Company over both the working and domestic spaces of life (Buder, 1967; Brandes, 1970; Smith, 1995). The nationally designated area suggests that recognition of the historical origins of the strike requires envisioning Pullman as interrelated parts, not just in their design, but in their social repercussions as well.

The strike at Pullman, while important at municipal and state levels, may not be the main focus of historical merit. The state of Illinois' designated only industrial areas and the Hotel Florence, giving no formal recognition to the homes of the workers who participated in the strike. The state's preservation of the industrial site may allude to PPCC's important role in the early industrial and economic development of Illinois, and the town's builder George Pullman could, in some manner, be seen as one of the state's prodigal sons. Furthermore, the state's choice


103rd Ave
North Pullman (est. 1993)
North Pullman (est. 1993)
Interstate I-94
Original Industrial Site
Cottage Grove Ave
111th St.
South Pullman (Study Area)
115th Ave.
0.075 MILES
🟥 Chicago Landmark District (est. 1972)
🟦 State Historic Site (est. 1970)
🟩 National Historic Landmark (est. 1969)

Based on Pullman Factory Task Force Final Report (Thompson, 2000, p. 5).

Figure 5. Historic District Designations
in Pullman area as of 2008.

to recognize formally the industrial site is also a very practical one, according to an employee of the state site. Because of their size and the lack of any current productive function, these Pullman areas were the most likely to be demolished and redeveloped. Thus, the best use of the state's limited funds was the acquisition and preservation of these lands.

Perhaps in homage to the state's focus on the industrial aspects of Pullman's past, the city of Chicago designated only the town's residential areas. Following Wilson (2004), the Landmark Commission of Chicago's designation of residential sites might have resulted from its efforts to create city neighborhoods with suitable conditions for economic revitalization. As the only agency with legal control over this environment (through the imposition of fines or denial of permits to homeowners), the commission can regulate what visual and functional elements are appropriate for the neighborhood. By focusing on housing, the commission implicitly highlights the importance of neighborhoods over industrial sites in the fabric of Chicago. In doing so, the commission may be seen as sidestepping the violent history of the area, and the general decline of South Side industrial sites.

Formulating particular historical narratives is but one factor in a larger equation of what gets designated an historical site. Institutions work together, dividing responsibilities into efforts that are manageable and relevant to their parent governments, whether municipal, state, or national. Other factors may include the financial responsibility of site designation, the financial outlays to obtain and maintain particular sites, calls from local residents for neighborhood designations, or the threat level posed to a specific site.[24] All of these factors are related to the current state of the built environment and its material from both the "original" moment and subsequent years.

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[24] For example, the city tax revenue lost through provision of incentives to restore housing to "historically correct" design.

Material Landscapes

Since the initial building of the model town and industrial complex of Pullman, Illinois, the town has seen almost 130 years of evolution of its urban form and function. Given that historic preservation depends on recoverable environments, it is necessary to take stock not only of what happened in a given location, but the evidence that has been left. Furthermore, a preservation policy sensitive to the dynamic history and current needs of a city must inventory the many layers of historic fabric and the kind of future opportunities a particular geographic context may offer.

A contemporary survey of the functional and visual environments of the model town of South Pullman, Illinois, can create a more systematic knowledge of the architectural remains of multiple historic periods on South Pullman's residences. Rather than focusing only on the restorative potential of each structure to the dominant interpretive period of the initial building of the landscape, this survey takes careful note of features accumulated since a building's inception (see Appendix). These accumulated features often appear (or are thought to be) haphazard, but the repetition and particular geographies of these features on residences suggests that they may reflect social trends rather than purely individualistic decisions.

Residences of the Model Town

Preservation in South Pullman primarily focuses on the area's late-19th-century homes that are the most numerous and cover the greatest segment of the model town's footprint. Residences in South Pullman have also enjoyed the benefits and pitfalls of consistent use. Their continuing functional relevance as homes to community members helped to save the neighborhood despite pressures of the late 1960s. Even though the houses were of the finest quality available at their time of construction, the interim 120 years have taken a toll on their materials and designs. Constant use over their life spans has ensured that these houses have been variously run-down, well maintained, modified, and more recently, restored. Legacies of Pullman's residents have been inscribed on these structures over the past century as they dealt with social and economic changes, as well as shifts in housing and design tastes.

A survey of housing in the model town was undertaken from 2007–2008 in order to understand the current maintenance, restoration, and modification of these residences.[25] The survey area was confined to land within the Chicago Landmarks Commission's original 1972 designation.[26] Within this study area, 547 residential structures were individually coded for six individual variables concerning their external appearance. "Historic house type" indicates their initial intended design as a single-family or apartment structure, as well as their relative size or number of units. "Current maintenance" scored the upkeep of the physical structure of the exterior and foreground of the residence. Fresh paint, recently replaced woodwork, tuck-pointing, or the addition of other historic elements indicated evidence for the "restoration" variable. The remaining four variables accounted for architectural alterations to the buildings since their construction in the late 19th-century, including: "facade modification," "window alterations," and "porch additions." In order to generalize architectural deviation from the original design, an index of "total modification" was computed by summing the results of the final three variables.

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[25] Data is based on personal field observations and photographs. These observations were checked against photographs from Google Street View taken in the summer of 2007 and recent photographs of individual houses provided by the State Historic Site in order to confirm a building was undergoing renovation.

[26] See Figure 5. Due to the scope of this study, North Pullman's built environment could not be similarly analyzed. Residences built as infill since the first phase of building by the PPCC were not included. None of these excluded residences however are interdigitated with the structures built by the PPCC. Numerous factors led to the decision not to include these structures; most prominent are the different regulatory frameworks, which oversee them compared to the PPCC-built residences.

South Pullman principally contains structures designed for single-family living, making up 70% (n=382) of the town's residential buildings. In actuality, the number of current single-family homes is slightly larger, as numerous structures designed as multiple apartments have been combined into single-family units.[27] Of these, nine of these single-family units are duplexes, while the remainder are row houses. Figure 3 depicts the location of these structures, showing that the nine duplexes (labeled "executive") are on the northern edge of town. Row houses, divided into three categories based on their size, were built throughout the town, although larger structures tended to occupy more northern and western tracts.[28]

Apartment buildings make up the remaining 30% (n=165) of housing structures built by the PPCC in South Pullman. Based on their number of units and design, all seven of the original residence types remain in contemporary Pullman. These range from four-unit structures designed to look like the single-family row homes, which sit intermingled around Market Square, to the only three-floor residential units in Pullman (located between 113th and 114th Streets on the far eastern side). Although some of these structures have been converted into single-family homes, anecdotal evidence from conversation with local residents suggests that the majority of these structures remain in their original configurations, often with added bathrooms to fit modern tastes.[29]

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[27] An exact count of these transformations was not taken as field research was limited to the exterior elements of homes. In some cases exteriors suggest internal transformation, such as a single mailbox on a building designed to contain four units. Internal upsizing of this kind is also featured on the Historic Pullman House tours.

[28] Measurements are based on footprints provided by Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of 1901 combined with the number of floors (from 1.5 to 2.5).

Structures built by George Pullman's company to house its workers from 1880–1893 remain almost uniformly conserved 130 years later.[30] Due to their generally small size and antiquated amenities, these apartments remain relatively inexpensive, providing housing for a wide variety of income levels within Pullman. But affordability does not come cheap. These aged structures often require larger resources for basic upkeep and utilities. The next three sections describe in greater detail the current state of maintenance, restoration, and architectural modification throughout Pullman's contemporary residential landscape.

Maintenance

The residential structures of the original model town remain in remarkably good condition. Over 85% of all residences in the study area were coded as being in "good" or "excellent" condition. In order to compute statistics and compare groupings, these scores were assigned numerical weights of 1 (fair), 2 (good), or 3 (excellent). No category less than 'fair' was merited, as no residences (excepting those under heavy renovation) were in a dilapidated state. Using this scale, the average level of maintenance based on exterior observation of houses was 2.04.[31] There is little apparent variation between average maintenance levels of single-family (avg.=2.07) and apartment (avg.=2.01) structures. Variation was more apparent in the specific house type, with home size roughly correlated with higher levels of maintenance—54.5% of the largest structures appeared "excellent" while only 11.6% of the smallest fit this standard. Apartments structures do not follow such a simple association of number of units to average level of maintenance. Two- and four-unit buildings largely follow patterns of the smallest row homes. There is greater discrepancy between other apartment types. For instance, of the three-unit three-story apartments, 96.7% were coded as "good," while the four six-unit buildings were uniformly graded as in a "fair" state of repair.

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[29] A member of the HPF further explained that in their original designs, all residences had indoor plumbing, but most structures only contained one, and occasionally two, bathrooms (Buder, 1967, Chapter 5).

[30] There are a few minor exceptions to this, notably two of the dormitory-style apartment buildings (S.R.O.s) in the northeastern section and two row houses in the north, just south of 111th Street.

Due to the grouping of specific house types, the association of maintenance with particular types of residences produces spatial variation, as indicated in Figure 6. Groupings here are based on visual sight lines between buildings. Hence buildings that face each other along one block have been grouped together, as have buildings that face a particular landscape feature (such as the former Arcade building or Market Hall –Figure 3). Groupings, which include larger single-family homes in the northwestern and western tracts, have the highest average maintenance. Low maintenance cores are found in internal blocks of the town, which feature smaller historic house types. While it may be easy to assign main-

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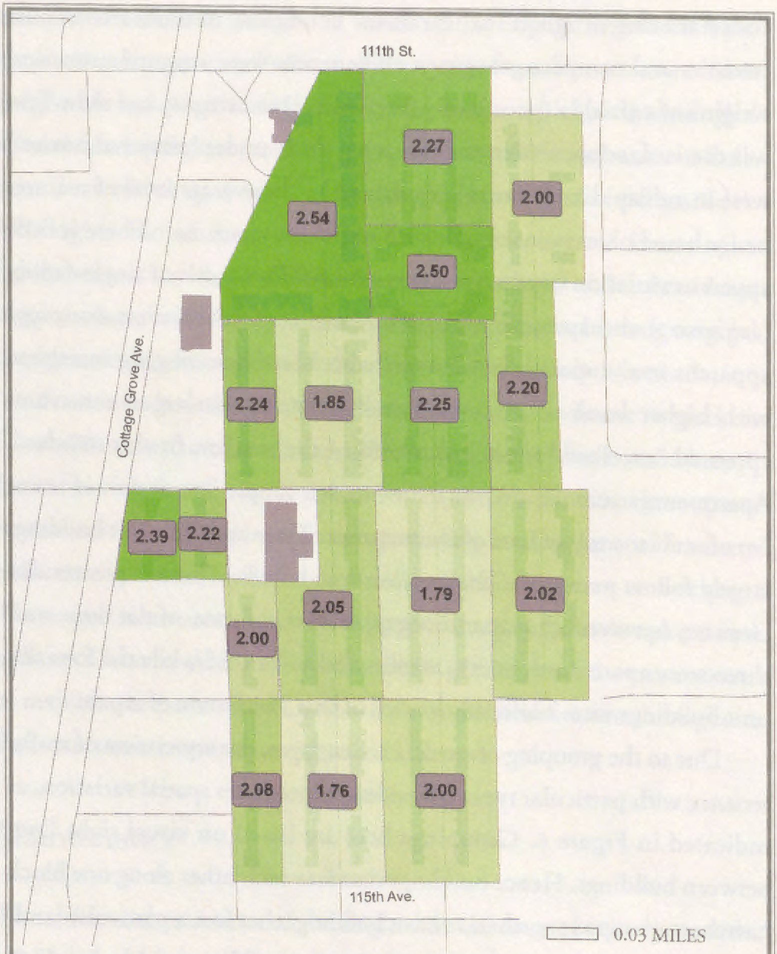
[31] For a full table of statistics regarding the Housing Survey see the Appendix.


111th St.
Cottage Grove Ave.
2.27
2.00
2.54
2.50
2.24
1.85
2.25
2.20
2.39
2.22
1.79
2.02
2.05
2.00
2.08
1.76
2.00
115th Ave.
0.03 MILES

Based on 2007–2008 Housing Survey.

Groupings based on rough visual sightlines. For instance, both sides of a street along one block, all those residences facing a park or other prominent landscape feature.

For an explanation of coding methods of maintenence scores see the Appendix.

Figure 6. Average Rates of Exterior Maintenance

Map by author.

tenance to house type and size alone, the planned arrangement of house types itself placed more expensive house types in more favorable areas of the model town, such as parks, services, or place of work.

Restoration

In recent years, Pullman has seen a large amount of renovation and restoration work on its residences. In some cases, these represent the improved economic conditions of individuals or new neighborhood residents. These activities may also have been spurred by the outreach of preservation- and conservation-minded groups like the PCO, specifically through its Beman Committee and the HPF. Although sometimes at odds, these two groups are together in their attempts to create an "ethic of preservation" throughout the neighborhood (Beman, 2004). Additionally, since 2004 a Facade Reimbursement Program has been in effect, sponsored by the PCO. This program matches dollar for dollar (up to 1,000 dollars) homeowner investments in facade renovation following Chicago Landmarks Commission preservation guidelines. By 2006, 16 homeowners had taken part, with another 12 scheduled for 2007 (Beman, 2007). The focus on the fronts of Pullman homes in neighborhood policies is not surprising, as it is the most commonly described visual feature of Pullman's "historic look" in neighborhood promotional materials (Chicago-Landmarks, 2001).

The housing survey included a coding of apparent restoration work to detail the extent of this rebuilding. This work was confined to visuals of residences' exteriors. Coding of restoration may be conflated with merely good maintenance. Conservation and preservation (the processes which maintenance upholds) are distinct from restorations: the latter restores something not already there, while the former retains what is present. Beyond general maintenance, particular visual clues which suggested renovation included fresh paint in the traditional red and green "Pullman colors," new woodwork, updated masonry (for example, recent tuck-pointing), completely new brick facades which replicate the original color and design, and additional smaller, "historical" elements such as address lettering, mailboxes, or porch lamps (Beman, 2004). One might characterize restoration as an attempt to erase the long history of the houses by returning them to their earliest state. In short, a building was coded as "restored" in some manner if it installed some design element associated with the late-19th-century interpretive period.[32]

In total, just under one quarter (24.4%) of Pullman's residences show some effort towards restoration to the prescribed stylistic period.[33] Apartment structures show a slightly higher level of restoration (25.5%) than single-family residences (23.0%). Again the size of a single-family home correlates with likelihood of some restorative work. However, due to the large number of small row houses, this group presents the largest total number (n=7) of extensively restored homes. Four-unit apartments of both design types are most likely to be restored (37.5% and 33.3%), followed by two-unit structures (24.7%). Like the small row houses, the numerical dominance of this type of houses makes it the most commonly restored apartment style in absolute numbers with 21 of the 42 restored apartment structures. Of course, house restoration does not happen based on a large stock of housing alone, although these certainly help in providing many possibilities to new buyers in the market. Physical size, and associated financial costs, may make these smaller structures

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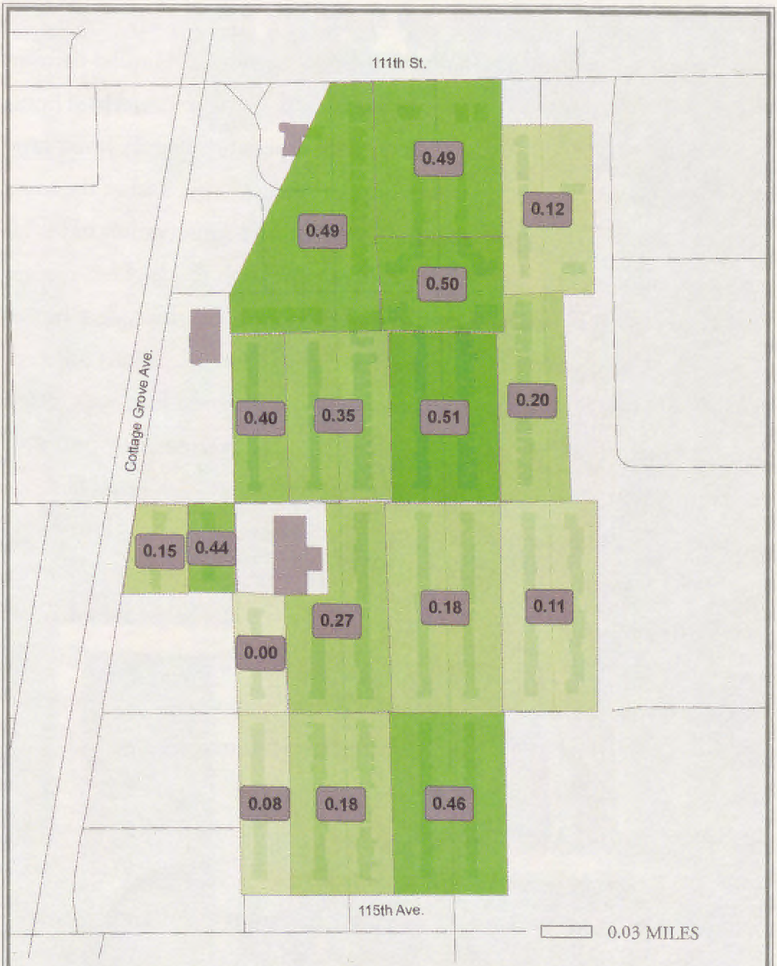
32. Based on the amount and type of the restorative work undertaken structures were coded as "none" (0), "minor" (1), or "extensive" (2).

33. See the Restoration Table in Appendix for full statistics.


111th St.
0.49
0.49
0.12
0.50
Cottage Grove Ave.
0.40
0.35
0.51
0.20
0.15
0.44
0.27
0.18
0.11
0.00
0.08
0.18
0.46
115th Ave.
0.03 MILES

Based on 2007–2008 Housing Survey.

Groupings based on rough visual sightlines. For instance, both sides of a street along one block, all those residences facing a park or other prominent landscape feature.

For an explanation of coding methods of restoration scores see the Appendix.

Figure 7. Average Rates of Exterior Renovation

Map by author.

more accessible to a larger number of buyers.

Spatial variation of restoration within Pullman reveals similar patterns as levels of maintenance (compare Figure 6 and Figure 7). Clusters of housing that had very high levels of maintenance experience slightly lower rates of restoration, as in areas to the west along Cottage Grove and in the more northern tracts. This might be expected given that conservation of buildings precludes any restorative needs. The area with the highest average restoration (0.51) directly south of the Market Hall did not reflect exceptionally high levels of maintenance. This cluster contains various different house types (see Figure 3), including numerous restored four-unit apartments, some of which appear to have been converted into two-unit structures. "Bay-style" four-unit apartments also show high levels of renovation. Generally, as Figure 7 suggests, restoration work has predominately taken place within the model town's northern areas. In total, over 120 homes in Pullman show some attempt at restoring the original look, with 26 seeing major exterior work. That there is something to restore implies that something "historic" has been lost. For residents, much of this is attributed to architectural modifications made on residential facades.

Architectural Modification

For many preservationists and residents of Pullman, modifications of structures deemed to be of historic value reflect "inappropriate changes made in the past" (Chicago Landmarks, 2001, p. 7). These architectural changes do not fit within the prescribed interpretive period of the district, its "original" moment. For a historic district to determine realistically achievable goals, it must assess the amount of stylistic material remaining from the chosen era. In this respect, as a local resident and professional preservationist related, South Pullman is very lucky to have

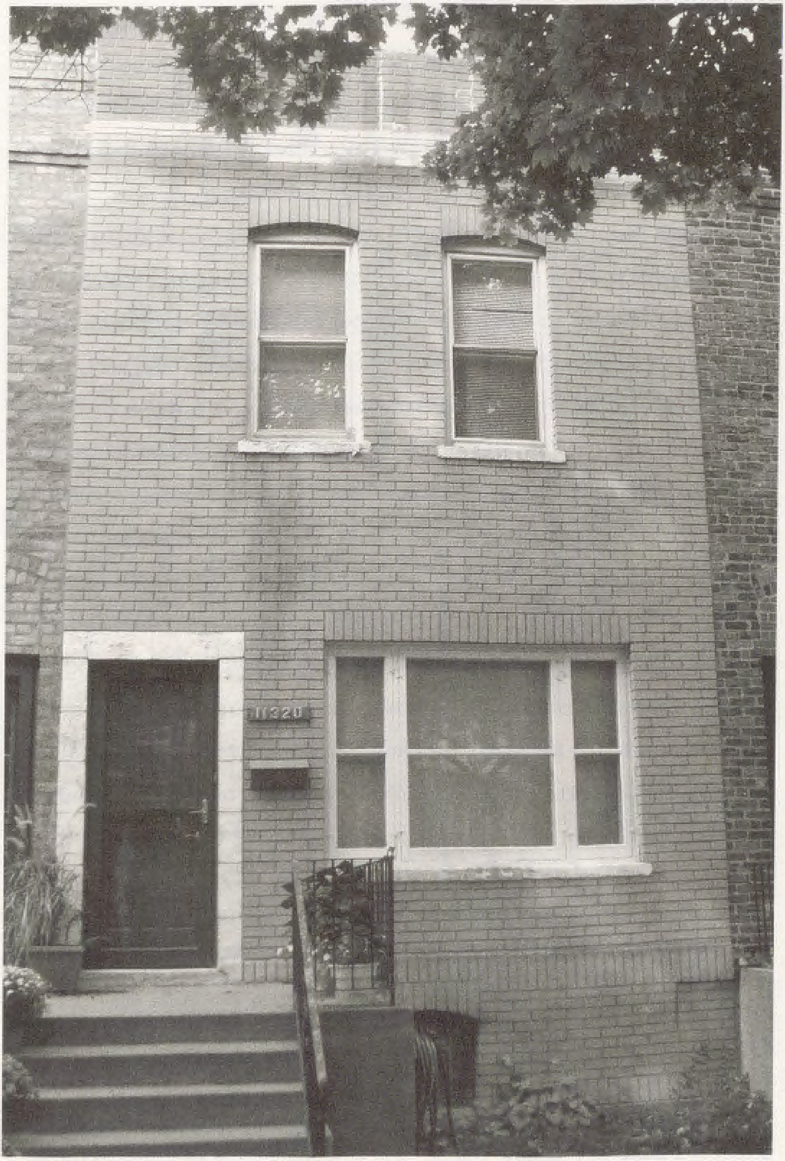


Figure 8. Facade and window modifications on a small row house.

Photo by author.

"retained the basic architectural skeleton of the original design which gives [the town] a certain resonance" (PCO meeting, March 2008). Although its "bones" remain largely intact, modification has slowly accrued on residences over their 130 years. Architectural alterations sedimented onto Pullman's homes act as material layers of history.

Details that explicitly did not match the original design (and thereby restoration policies) qualified as modification of residences in Pullman. These fell in three main categories: window alteration, porch addition, and facade modifications. Window alteration was scored as a simple "Yes" or "No" (numerically recorded as 1 and 0 respectively) for any changes to the facade's original windows.[34] Addition of porches encompassed a wide variety of structures built onto the fronts of residences, from small overhangs or awnings coded as "minor," to screened-in rooms and "historically correct porches" coded as "major." "Minor" changes in facades included painting over the original brick, doorway alterations, or removal of original masonry or woodwork elements. "Major" modification included elements of the "minor" category, but also saw complete replacement of the facade with more recent building materials. These three categories were generalized into a measure of total architectural modification.[35]

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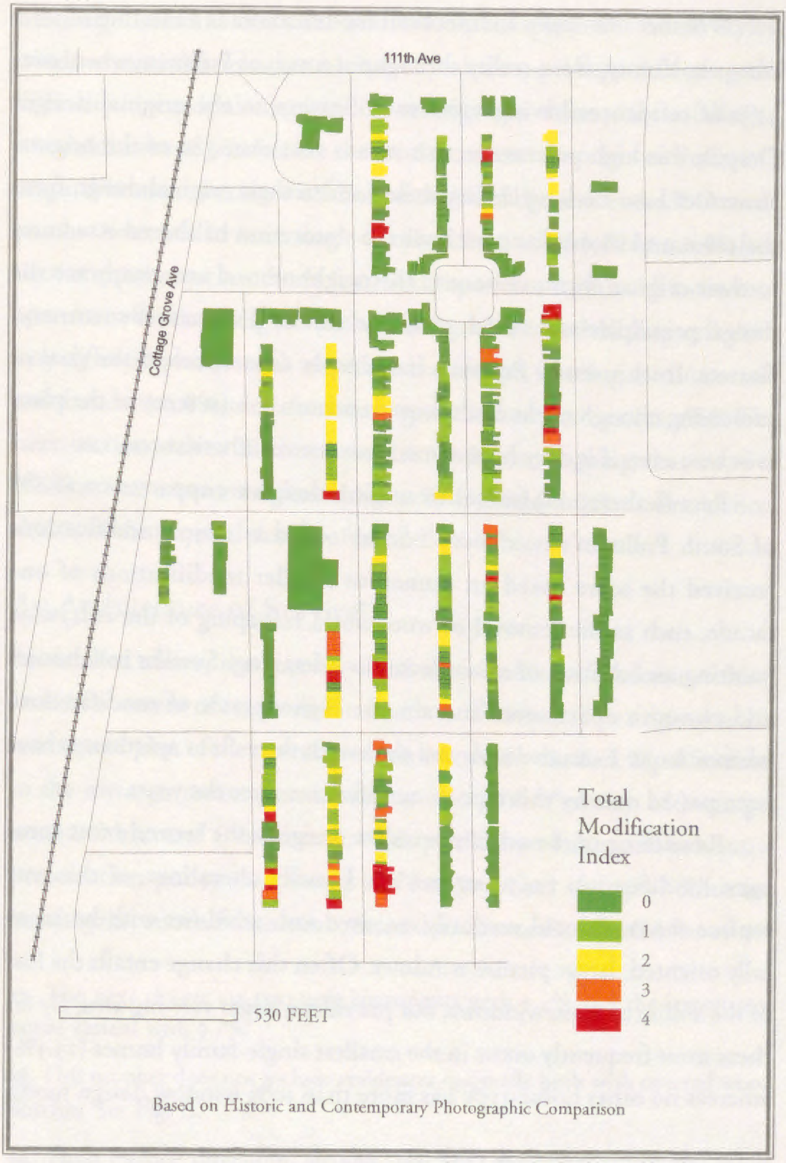
34. This included removal of windows, addition of windows, and changes in the dimensions of the windows. Not included was updating of windows to newer frames within the same physical proportions. Updating of this type is common and contested as preservation codes stipulate the need for wood-frame windows.

35. This measure is based on the sum of window, porch, and facade modification. In cases where a variable could be coded in multiple ways "minor" was assigned a score of 1, where "major" was assigned a score of 2. For example, a house with modified windows (1), a small overhang (1), and an original facade that had been painted over (1) would score a 3.


111th Ave
Cottage Grove Ave
530 FEET
Total Modification Index
0
1
2
3
4

Based on Historic and Contemporary Photographic Comparison

Figure 9. Facade Modification in South Pullman

Map by author.

Whether one views architectural modification as a blessing of, or a curse on, history, it is a reality throughout much of Pullman, where over 43% of residences having some modification to the original design. Despite this high percentage, this means that over 320 of the original structures have no long lasting alterations to their original design from the 1880s and 1890s. Even without the restoration of altered structures to their original form, visitors to the neighborhood can clearly see the design principals and social goals laid out by Pullman, Beman, and Barrett. In this sense, Pullman has already accomplished the goal of preserving enough of the built form to relate a robust sense of the place as it was, even if it does have some more recent inheritances.

Facade alterations from their original design are apparent on 16.8% of South Pullman's residences.[36] Some coded as major modifications received the score based on numerous smaller modifications of one facade, such as the removal of woodwork, reshaping of the entryway, painting, or addition of other decorative detailing. Smaller row houses and two-unit apartments contain the highest rates of modification, whereas larger Executive-style and three-unit three-floor apartments have been passed over by this type of modification over the years.

Reworking of the original window design is the second most common modification (n=74 or 11.8%). Usually alterations of this sort replace the traditional vertically oriented sash windows with horizontally oriented, larger picture windows. Often this change entails the loss of the ability to open windows, but provides a larger viewing area. By far these most frequently occur in the smallest single-family homes (23.3%) whereas no other house-type has more than 10% window design modification.[37] In both Executive and three-unit apartment house styles, window modifications are completely absent, perhaps reflecting the difficulty in manipulating window redesigns on three-story buildings.

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[36] This does not include facades whose only alterations are restyling of windows or porch additions.

Additions of porches are the least recurrent alteration to Pullman's original homes, gracing the front of 11.6% of the residences.[38] Overall, porches were added onto single-family homes considerably more often than on apartment structures (14.7% compared to 8.5%) with numerous apartment types seeing no such additions.[39] Porch building reflects a very different pattern with respect to house type, favoring medium-sized row houses (23.8%) and four-unit apartment structures (22.2%). The next section delves further into this variation, arguing that relative location was a more influential factor in the modification of residences than was the physical design of houses.

An Architecture of Survival?

As detailed above, the current visual environment of Pullman reflects both its moment of origin and its later modifications. The original architecture and plan of the town have been extensively studied. Modifications to the town go unmentioned and are seen as the "erosion of homogenous architecture" (Newcomen, 1998, p. 16) or are lambasted in historic preservation policy documents as "inappropriate changes" (Chicago Landmarks, 2001). Some more recent documents, like the *Deschambault*

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[37] The next closest are two-unit apartments with 9.4% and the largest row house variant with 9.1%.

[38] This number does not include residences originally built with covered wood porches. See Fig. 11.

[39] These include three-unit, six-unit, and SRO apartment structures. While Executive–sized homes also appear exempt from this phenomenon, this is true only because they were built with ornate porches in their original incarnation.

Charter, have presented codes of ethics, which identify multiple past eras as worthy of historical representation in preservation policy. In Pullman, historic appreciation of the area might come not only from the age of the buildings, but their accrued modifications. Any effort to relabel these modifications, or "disruptions," as useful symbols of the past requires a more substantive justification than age, as this would simply repeat current ideas about historic value in preservation policy. Longevity, following the assertion made in the *Deschambault Charter*, should not be the only measure for valuing historic materials. Instead the presence of these modifications can lead to more pertinent questions about why they were made, who made them, and the meaning that may be attached to them. The research presented here was limited to a study of the expression of these modifications. It cannot therefore fully answer these questions, as they require more detailed historical, and perhaps archaeological, study. What follows is not an attempt to fill that void in full, instead it presents possible answers based on the visual and spatial expression of these characteristics.

Possible Meanings of Modification in Pullman

In Pullman the most common large modifications to the facades of residential homes are the alterations of window designs, the addition of porches, and the re-facading of the building. There are interesting historical questions related to the function of these modifications and what these features may have meant to those who added them. Why did Pullman residents commonly resize their windows into larger, horizontally oriented picture windows? Economy is a possible explanation, because replacing traditional windowpanes was more costly than picture windowpanes and was less efficient at regulating temperatures. But is this

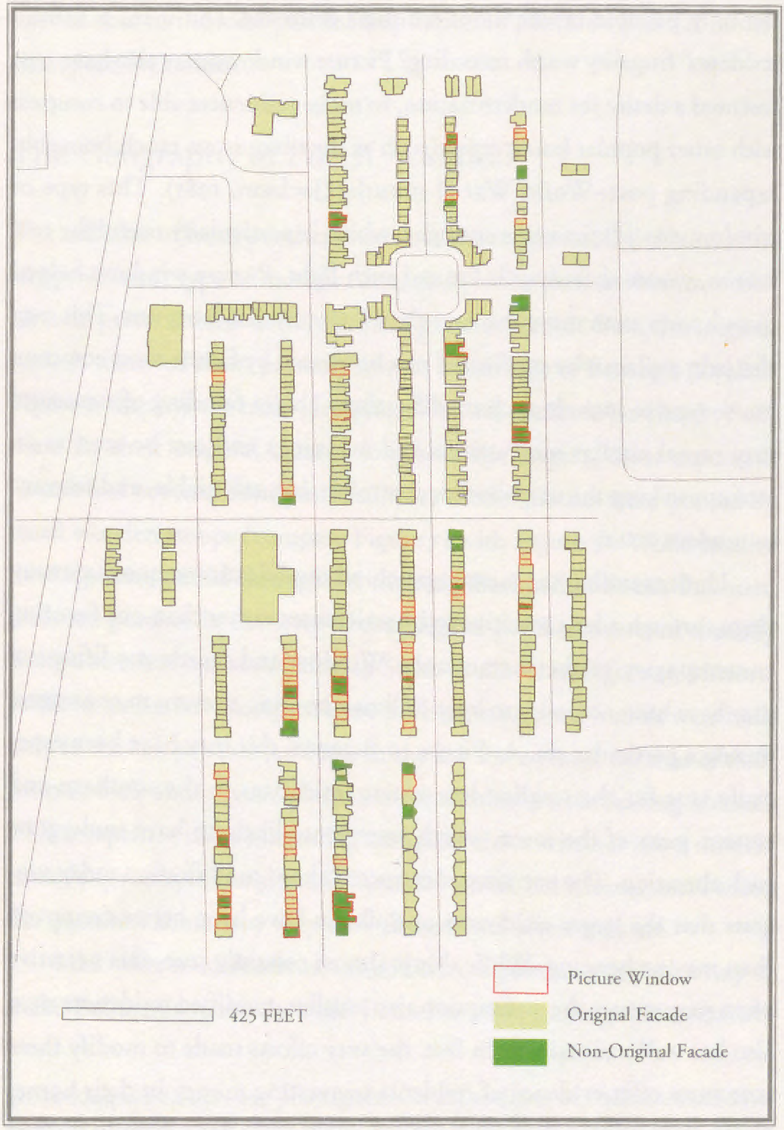
425 FEET
Picture Window
Original Facade
Non-Original Facade

Figure 10. Modified Facades and Windows in Pullman
Possible signs of residents of the survival period.
Map by author.

the only possible explanations for their existence, and if so, is former residents' frugality worth recording? Picture windows may also have represented a desire for modernization, to make residences able to compete with other popular house types (such as the ubiquitous ranch house) in expanding post–World War II suburbs (Jackson, 1985). This type of window also admits more sunlight, which is particularly useful for row houses, whose shared walls limited such light. Picture windows helped these houses seem more spacious than their physical footprint. This may also help explain why small-sized row houses are by far the most common house type to include such modification. The re-facading of structures may reveal similar motivations and meanings and can be seen as an attempt to keep the neighborhood comfortable, affordable, and relevant to modern tastes.

Understanding the meanings behind modification requires viewing them through a lens sensitive to historic tastes rather than one favoring contemporary aesthetic standards. Window and facade modification may have been necessary to keep Pullman housing relevant to consumers during a particular era. As Figure 10 suggests, this may have been especially true for the smaller, less ornate residences in the southern and eastern parts of the town, which were more likely to have undergone such alteration. The narrative constructed about modification today suggests that the larger residences of Pullman have been better conserved than modest housing. While this is almost certainly true, this narrative often perpetuates the assumption that smaller, modified residences were also less well maintained. In fact, the very efforts made to modify these structures offer evidence of residents reinvesting money in their homes and their neighborhood. Thus, the modifications represented an effort to keep Pullman relevant in a day when its future was more prized than its past. Yet in some cases, like that of porches, modification appears to have looked to the local past for inspiration to provide a more comfortable space for residents.

The Geography of Porch Addition

The addition of front porches onto Pullman residences is the most visually prominent type of modification, and yet the least contentious with historic preservationists. While these porches are not from the original period, many of them partially mimic the design of Beman's porches. Figure 11 displays the main grouping of added, enclosed porches in Pullman. In their original incarnation, only the largest, most expensive houses had covered front porches. More modest houses were fronted by small wooden stoops (compare Figure 13 with Figure 3). While smaller awnings were added throughout the neighborhood of South Pullman, enclosed porches in the style of the original porches clustered spatially along one street just south of 112th Street as shown in Figure 13. Historic preservationists have accepted these porches, even though most were built only in the last 50 years (and one in the last three years), because of their historic look and relative placement near other porch-bearing houses[40] This acceptance raises interesting questions about whether it is a modification's age or style that grants it "historic" worth, but it leaves unanswered the questions about why they were constructed where they are.

Like other modifications, the addition of porches might be a way to make Pullman's relatively small houses more appealing. Homeowners

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[40] A comparison between photographs in the archives of Pullman State Historic site provides proof of the lack of porches in the town's earliest years. Figure 12 shows houses along the right side, while Figure 11 shows these same houses at a later date, now with porches. "Watt Ave." in the photograph is now known as St. Lawrence Avenue.

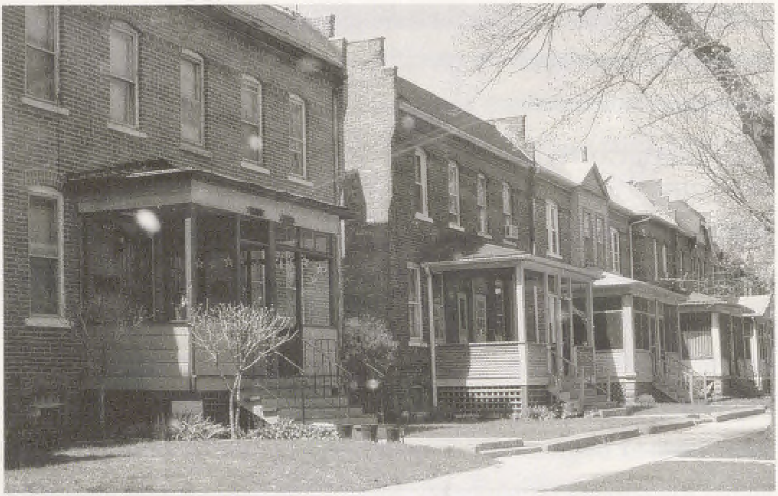

Figure 11. Group of porch additions between 112th and 113th streets.

Photo by author.

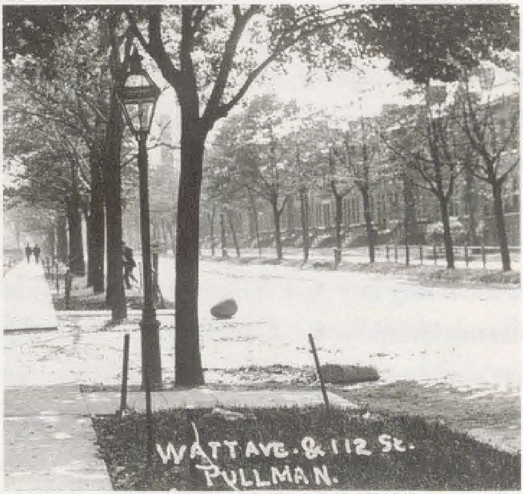

Figure 12. Same houses as Figure 11 on the right side without porches. Date unknown, though likely c. 1900 given growth of trees.

Courtesy of the Pullman State Historic Site, Paul Petraitis Collection.

increased the useable space available to them by adding enclosed porches. Rather than look at newly built housing elsewhere for cues, these additions copied styles from the larger, more intricate houses within Pullman. Due to the facade design and door placement in the houses' original design, most of these porches cover two distinct houses. Therefore the addition of these large porches is a necessarily communal undertaking between neighbors, rather than an individualistic modification — something that is often also true for re-facading in Pullman. While we might appreciate the historical aesthetic of these porches, we can also see evidence of community interaction in their construction. Furthermore, once built, these porches may help to foster community interaction and cohesion by softening the division between public and private space (Duany, 2001).

Whether stylistic, such as picture windows, or spatial, such as the porches, the alteration patterns in Pullman indicate that they were social rather than individual decisions. In many ways, these modifications are neighborhood reinvestments. Viewed this way, there is continuity between past modification and the modern restorations made under the banner of historic preservation. Both processes generally attempt to make the neighborhood desirable and its residents proud. Further research on the actual process of modification, including both the dates of the modifications and the motivations behind them, may further illuminate Pullman's long and varied history. If we presume that most of these modifications were made before the implementation of historic preservation,[41] these alterations may serve as material evidence from the period of "survival." Taken together, the modifications can be seen as

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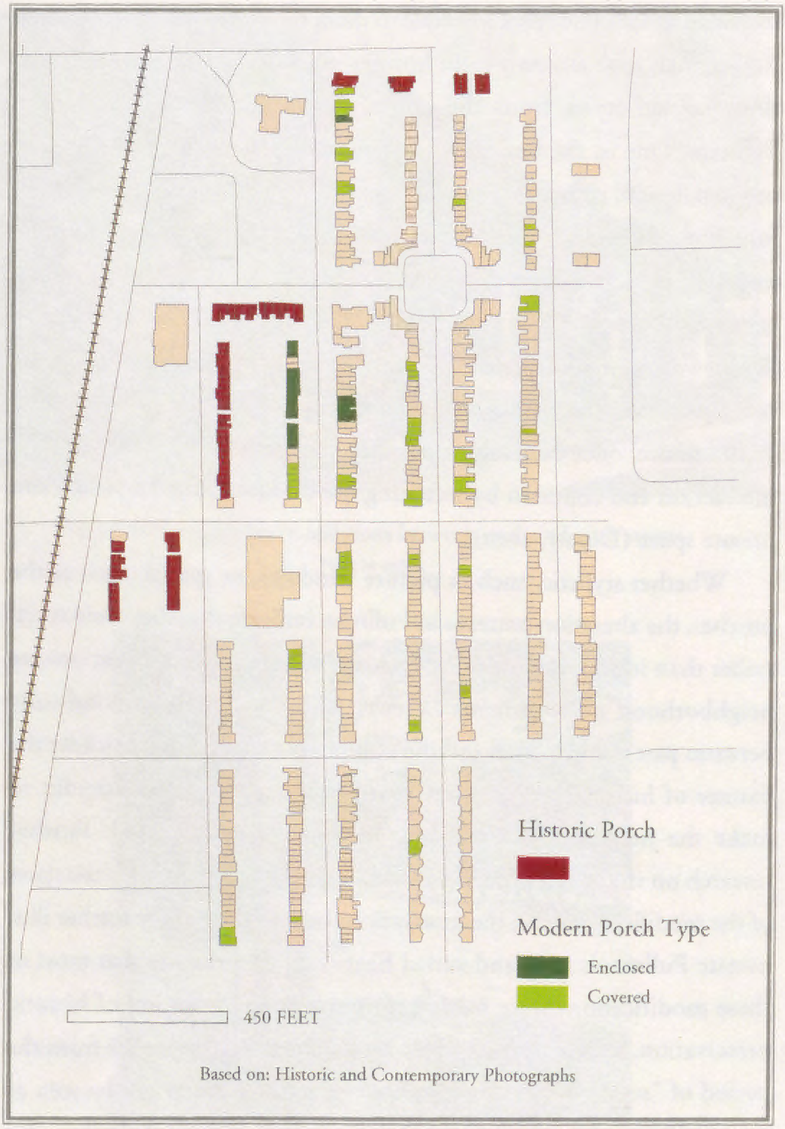
[41] This is a fair assumption given the heavy penalties for not following the Chicago Landmarks Commission's preservation guidelines.


Historic Porch
🟥
Modern Porch Type
🟩 Enclosed
🟩 Covered
450 FEET

Based on: Historic and Contemporary Photographs

Figure 13. Spatial diffusion of historic and contemporary porches in South Pullman.

Map by author.

evidence of the residents' focus on the upkeep of the built environment and community. The study and preservation of this enterprise, which may be described as the "architecture of survival," might allow the proponents of historic preservation to begin to embrace and document change in an urban environment.

Past Legacies, Future Prospects

Exiting the quick commuter train linking downtown Chicago with the neighborhood of South Pullman 14 miles to its south, a quick misstep in negotiating the station immediately identified me as a visitor to the neighborhood. A middle-aged African American woman returning home to Pullman from her downtown sales job offered to walk me to our common destination. On the way to the PCO's monthly meeting, we discussed her 15 years in Pullman and what she likes and dislikes about living in the community. Like most residents of the neighborhood, she displayed immense pride in the area, and was eager to share its tales. After establishing that I was a researcher interested in Pullman, she speedily asked a sharp question about whether I was interested in the area's past or future. I jokingly responded that I was not quite sure, and she began to detail the issues facing the neighborhood. She thought that the real estate in the neighborhood might be increasingly in demand. Rising gas prices might make it more attractive to those looking for affordable, efficient commuting, and the smaller brick homes are generally cheaper in terms of utilities and taxes. The neighborhood was listed as a historic site and tourist opportunity in Chicago's bid to host the 2016 Olympic games, which could be an economic boost to the neighborhood, also increasing its desirability. While she admitted to enjoying the beautiful restorations of the last 10 years, she wondered what continued restoration and combining smaller residences into larger homes might mean for the affordability that had allowed her to join the community 15 years ago. Along with the questions she raised about who will live in Pullman, there was a question about what material and what history will represent the neighborhood's future.

Modern preservation policy, both in Pullman and across the nation, has generally focused on a place's material evidence from one particular time. This type of snapshot preservation has proved useful as both a pedagogic tool to think about the past and a strategy for neighborhood revitalization. At the conclusion of this study, Pullman had not yet seen any of the market-inflating, displacement-causing revitalization that has affected many other historic urban districts. Even if these shifts occur, the inability of snapshot preservation to encompass multiple histories is problematic in urban districts, which have long histories of change. In response, new charters of preservation present a new ethic that embraces the history of change and the enduring communities.

The neighborhood of Pullman, for one, has maintained itself over its 130-year history. The building of the model town of Pullman in the late-19th century has been adopted as its "original" moment and the historic preservation documents suggest (and legislate) a return to this original appearance. Research on the geography of house types, along with a survey of the town's architectural reviews, reveal that it may be the symbolic and spatial relationships between buildings that were more innovative than their individual formal architecture alone. While George Pullman built the town, the continued existence of its built fabric is owed to those residents who fought off destruction. Without this resident mobilization, it is likely that the model town of Pullman would have ceased to exist.

The material legacies of both these moments are represented in the neighborhood of Pullman today. Many of its original community buildings have been removed or functionally altered, yet the residential stock of the model town is almost completely preserved. The strong institutional structures of the PCO and the HPF, combined with the area's hard visual and functional edges, have helped to maintain the neighborhood's physical and social environments. A century after construction, the general condition of Pullman's built fabric is very good. Throughout the residential area, there are many signs of community members attempting to recapture the "original" moment through house restoration, whether through a simple addition of paint or a complete interior and exterior renovation. With an active base of local historians and preservationists, the protection of the area under various governmental institutions and the increased demand for historic and transit-friendly housing, the "original" moment of the town seems likely to last long into the future.

Given the current focus on restoration to the "original" moment, the architectural remnants from the period of "survival" are less secure. Prior to the historic preservation codes, Pullman's residents updated their homes with picture windows, new facades, and porch additions. These modifications can be seen as symbols of neighborhood reinvestment, and the cooperative nature of the construction underscored community development. Further research on the exact dates of modification, as well as details about who made them, may reveal that the participants in this type of neighborhood upkeep also fought to save the neighborhood during the moment of "survival." Architectural modification may be one way to visually record the legacy of these residents' grassroots efforts to save Pullman and impart it to future inhabitants.

The current ethic of preservation in Pullman, and throughout the nation, places little value on the modifications made during eras other than the specified interpretive period. This may be largely because it judges modifications through the lens of contemporary aesthetics, instead of considering the meaning of modification and the struggles it represents. In the case of Pullman the era of modification made the era of preservation possible. Implicit in this realization lies a question for the current ethic as it matures into an agent of history itself: can historic preservation find meaningful ways to account and portray its own history? The answer lies where preservationists have always looked, in the built environment's layers of history. ■

Appendix

Maintenance

	Total Count	Excellent n / %	Good n / %	Fair n / %	Average
Row (Small)	224	26 / 12	167 / 74	31 / 14	2
Row (Medium)	105	17 / 16	76 / 72	12 / 11	2
Row (Large)	44	24 / 54	15 / 34	5 / 11	2
Executive	9	9 / 100	0 / 0	0 / 0	3
Total Single Family	**382**	**67 / 17**	**258 / 67**	**48 / 12**	**2**
Apartment (2)	85	14 / 16	60 / 70	11 / 13	2
Apartment (3)	30	1 / 3	29 / 97	0 / 0	2
Apartment (4)	18	4 / 22	13 / 72	1 / 5	2
Apartment (4b)	24	6 / 25	12 / 50	6 / 25	2
Apartment (6)	4	0 / 0	0 / 0	4 / 100	1
Apartment (SRO)	4	0 / 0	4 / 100	0 / 0	2
Total Apartment	**165**	**25 / 15**	**118 / 71**	**22 / 13**	**2**
Total Combined	**547**	**92 / 16**	**376 / 69**	**70 / 13**	**2**

Alterations

	Total Count	Window n / %	Porch n / %	Facade Minor n / %	Facade Major n / %	Average Total
Row (Small)	224	52 / 23	23 / 10	29 / 13	21 / 9	0.96
Row (Medium)	105	6 / 6	25 / 24	4 / 34	5 / 5	0.67
Row (Large)	44	4 / 9	8 / 18	4 / 9	2 / 4	0.61
Executive	9	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0.11
Total Single Family	**382**	**62 / 16**	**56 / 15**	**37 / 10**	**28 / 7**	**0.56**
Apartment (2)	85	8 / 9	9 / 10	11 / 13	7 / 8	0.74
Apartment (3)	30	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0
Apartment (4)	18	1 / 5	4 / 22	2 / 11	2 / 11	0.77
Apartment (4b)	24	1 / 4	1 / 4	1 / 4	2 / 8	0.33
Apartment (6)	4	2 / 50	0 / 0	1 / 25	2 / 50	2.25
Apartment (SRO)	4	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0
Total Apartment	**165**	**12 / 7**	**14 / 8**	**15 / 9**	**13 / 8**	0.68
Total Combined	547	74 / **12**	**70 / 12**	52 / 9	**41 / 8**	**0.62**

Restoration

	Total Count	None n / %	Minor n / %	Major n / %	Total n / %
Row (Small)	224	188 / 84	29 / 13	7 / 3	36 / 16
Row (Medium)	105	81 / 77	18 / 17	6 / 6	24 / 23
Row (Large)	44	24 / 54	16 / 36	4 / 9	20 / 45
Executive	9	1 / 11	8 / 89	0 / 0	8 / 89
Total Single Family	**382**	**302 / 79**	**63 / 16**	**17 / 4**	**80 / 21**
Apartment (2)	85	64 / 75	16 / 19	5 / 6	21 / 25
Apartment (3)	30	25 / 83	4 / 13	1 / 3	5 / 17
Apartment (4)	18	12 / 67	6 / 33	0 / 0	6 / 33
Apartment (4b)	24	15 / 62	7 / 29	2 / 8	9 / 37
Apartment (6)	4	3 / 75	0 / 0	1 / 25	1 / 25
Apartment (SRO)	4	4 / 100	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Total Apartment	**165**	**123 / 74**	**33 / 20**	**9 / 5**	**42 / 25**
Total Combined	**547**	**425 / 78**	**96 / 17**	**26 / 5**	**122 / 23**

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