"SUCH A WELL-BEHAVED TRAIN STATION:" EVOLVING SPATIAL PATTERNS AT PHILADELPHIA'S LATE-VICTORIAN CENTRAL PASSENGER DEPOTS, 1876–1901

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"I checked my bag at Reading Terminal and suddenly felt like false pretenses. I wondered if anybody had ever done anything dishonest before at Reading Terminal, it always seems like such a well-behaved train station." – Christopher Morley's Kitty Foyle[2]

During the late-Victorian era, the Philadelphia region's train lines knit together the various strands of the emerging middle-class metropolis into a new urban fabric. These rail lines became "bourgeois corridors" carrying passengers among the middle-class enclaves of bedroom neighborhoods, department stores, amusement parks, theatres, and offices. The rail cars themselves were further examples of these new bourgeois spaces in the city. The trains insulated their largely middle-class passengers from dirt, disorder, and (thanks to high fares) the working classes. The ceremonial gateways to the bourgeois corridors were Reading Terminal and its counterparts. Within and around these grand depots, space became more precisely ordered for middle-class passengers during the late-nineteenth century. The interiors of the newly constructed stations became more complex and better defined. The Philadelphia & Reading and its competitors more clearly divided areas meant for trains from those for humans. By 1901, middle-class Philadelphians lived by railroad time,

traveled on carefully scheduled train paths, and arrived and departed from complex, well-planned central depots.[3]

Reading Terminal, built by the ever ambitious but often bankrupt Philadelphia & Reading Railroad in 1893, is a wonderful example of these portals to (and from) the middle-class city. Usually the structure is seen as a reflection of both the grand dreams and the harsh realities of the Reading's always unsuccessful attempts to best its crosstown rival, the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad. Never as busy — or as palatial — as the Pennsylvania's Broad Street Station three blocks to the west, the two depots immediately defined the relative importance of two corporations. But Reading Terminal and the other late-nineteenth-century stations in Philadelphia indicated more than just the business acumen of their owners. From the very respectable dining room on the second floor to the more hectic farmers' market under the train shed, Reading Terminal echoed middle-class Victorian culture. It and the other depots quickly became important parts of everyday life for the bourgeois women and men of the region. For many observers, the buildings themselves took on a middle-class tone. By the early-twentieth century, Reading Terminal had become, in the eyes of the novelist (and ex-Philadelphian) Christopher Morley, a "well-behaved train station."[4]

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The central locations of Philadelphia's late-Victorian depots illustrate the importance of the railroad to the new middle-class city. During the nineteenth century, the relationship between the terminals and the main commercial district can be divided into three distinct phases. First, during the 1830s and the 1840s the small, independent railroads attempted to locate their passenger facilities on the fringes of the commercial district. Later, in the 1850s, the railways moved their now larger depots further from downtown and began to rely on horse-drawn streetcars for the final delivery of their passengers. The final phase began in 1881, when the now consolidated railways started to move their facilities back into Center City.

The map at FIGURE I shows the placement of the railroad terminals in relation to the main business district in 1876. Not one of the stations stood within the commercial core. Few were convenient to each other; nearly four miles separated the Kensington depot in the north (marked as 7 on the map in FIGURE I) from the Prime Street station in south (1). The railroads had located their stations to these outlying points in the 1850s for a number of legal and economic factors, including the cost of land and municipal
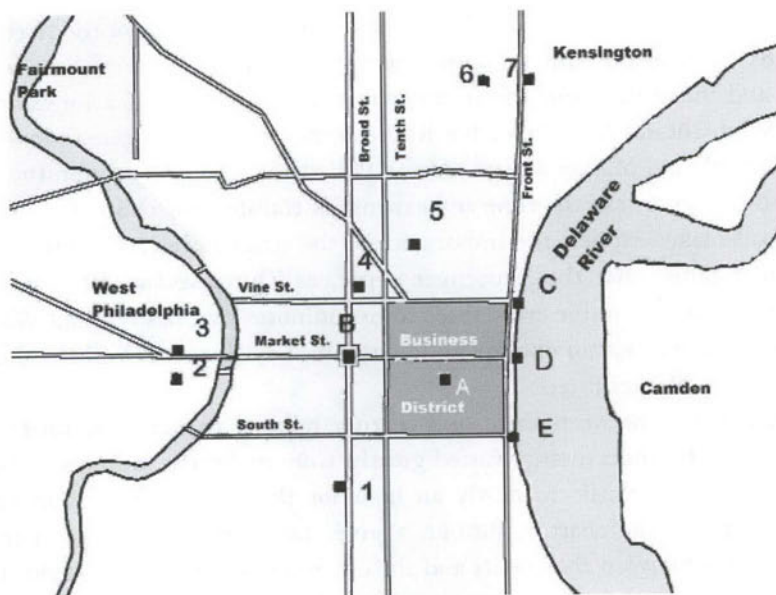
FIGURE I Philadelphia's main railroad passenger terminals in 1876.

Key:
1. Prime Street depot, Philadelphia Wilmington & Baltimore (later Pennsylvania)
2. West Chester depot, West Chester & Philadelphia (later Pennsylvania)
3. West Philadelphia station, Pennsylvania
4. Main Line depot, Philadelphia & Reading
5. 9th and Green station, Philadelphia & Reading
6. North Pennsylvania depot, Philadelphia & Reading
7. Kensington depot, Pennsylvania
A. Old State House
B. Centre Square
C. Vine Street ferry
D. Market Street ferry
E. South Street ferry

ordinances and agreements that effectively banned steam locomotives from most of the streets of the original city (from river to river between South and Vine streets). Because of the distance between the terminals and downtown, almost every passenger in 1876 had to begin or end his or her railway journey by omnibus or streetcar.[5]

The city's horse-drawn streetcars were the key to station location in Philadelphia before 1881. They allowed the steam railroads to end the expensive and inefficient practice of using horses to propel their trains within the old city. Prior to the introduction of streetcars, most steam railroads placed their facilities at the fringe of downtown, even though this meant that the last few miles of the journey had to be made on rails laid in the city streets

and the trains had to be pulled by horses. After the coming of the streetcars in 1858, the steam railroads withdrew to operationally more efficient terminals and ended this switch from steam to horse power. In 1866, for example, the West Chester & Philadelphia Railroad moved its passenger station from Eighteenth and Market streets to west Philadelphia (shown at 2 on the map in FIGURE 1) to save the time and expense of transfer. An 1869 guide to the railroad makes explicit the importance of the street railways in this process when it noted that the "passenger depot, at Thirty-second and Chestnut Streets, [was] accessible every three to five minutes by Chestnut and Walnut Street cars, and within one square [a city block to Victorian Philadelphians] of those on Market Street."[6]

Travel time between these mid-century railroad passenger facilities and the central business district varied greatly, from under ten minutes for some of the ferry terminals to nearly an hour for the stations located in north Philadelphia. The chart in FIGURE 2 gives the distances and approximate travel time between the depots and the old State House (Independence Hall to non-Philadelphians) by street railway in 1876. The old State House, located at Fifth and Chestnut streets, was in the heart of the commercial district and serves as a good surrogate for typical middle-class business and shopping destinations of the period.[7]

The location of these passenger facilities also affected the development of middle-class residential districts in the region. Although the majority of

FIGURE 2 Travel time to stations in 1876.

Depot	Distance from State House	Travel time
Prime Street (1)	1.5 miles	30-40 min. (†)
WC&P depot (2)	2 miles	20-25 min.
PRR depot (3)	2 miles	20-25 min.
Main Line depot (4)	1 mile	20-25 min.
Green Street (5)	1 mile	20-25 min.
North Penn (6)	2.5 miles	35-55 min.
Kensington (7)	2.5 miles	35-55 min.
Vine Street ferry (C)	1 mile	15-20 min. (†)
Market Street ferry (D)	.5 mile	5-10 min.
South Street ferry (E)	.5 mile	10 min.

Key: The number or letter in parenthesis refers to the labels in FIGURE 1. All travel times are estimated for direct trips, no change of cars, unless they are followed by the symbol (†), in which case there were no direct services in 1876 and a change in vehicles or a long walk was required to make the journey.

commuters continued to live within the expansive city limits throughout the nineteenth century, suburbanization began on a small scale for the elite and upper-middle class shortly after mid-century. Haddonfield, in Camden County, New Jersey, developed as an early bedroom community in part because the commute to Center City via train and ferry was short. The progress of Philadelphia's famous "Main Line" suburbs, however, lagged behind that of Haddonfield partly due to its relative inconvenience to downtown compared to its access to the ferry terminals.[8]

Of these ten railroad passenger facilities in use in the mid-1870s, four were by far the busiest: Prime Street, West Philadelphia, and Ninth and Green rail terminals, and the Market Street ferry. Prime Street was the northern terminus of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, an independent line that served the cities in its name while also forming part of a jointly operated route between New York and Washington. The West Philadelphia station of the Pennsylvania Railroad hosted trains for New York, Pittsburgh, and Washington (the through service from New York). The Ninth and Green depot operated by the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad was the city's busiest commuter terminal. Boats from Market Street wharf connected with trains in Camden for many points in southern New Jersey including the rapidly growing resort of Atlantic City and the early elite suburb of Haddonfield. The remaining facilities were not as busy. They either served less important lines (like the small West Chester & Philadelphia) or were the downgraded remnants of once major stations. Kensington depot serves as one example. Following the takeover of the Philadelphia & Trenton by the Pennsylvania Railroad and the subsequent transfer of most of its train service to the West Philadelphia station, its service fell off dramatically.[9]

Until the late-1870s, Philadelphia's railroads remained committed to their outlying locations. For the Centennial Exposition, the Pennsylvania Railroad built a new and larger West Philadelphia depot and the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore rebuilt and expanded its Prime Street station. A few years later, the Philadelphia & Reading planned to enlarge its terminal at Ninth and Green streets to serve as a consolidated station for all its passenger services (at the time divided among three facilities). The Pennsylvania Railroad, however, began the transformation of this old order when it moved its main station to the western fringe of downtown in 1881. This movement eastward by the Pennsylvania had been planned for some time. Before rebuilding its West Philadelphia Station for the Centennial, the railroad searched for a more central location. The project was dropped with some

fanfare in 1876 (because of the high cost of acquiring the land) and not publicly resumed until 1879 (after the railroad had secretly purchased much of the needed property). By 1893 all the railroads operating in 1876 would be merged into just two companies and both of them would consolidate their services in new terminals situated within the central core.[10]

On 5 December 1881 the Pennsylvania Railroad made travel more convenient for many middle-class Philadelphians and contributed to the radical alteration of the fabric of the city when it opened its Broad Street Station at Centre Square. The new structure replaced not only the railroad's West Philadelphia depot but, because of corporate consolidations, the West Chester & Philadelphia and Prime Street terminals as well. In 1881, the station was just west of the main business district, about a ten-minute streetcar ride from the old State House. By 1901, as illustrated in the map at FIGURE 3, the
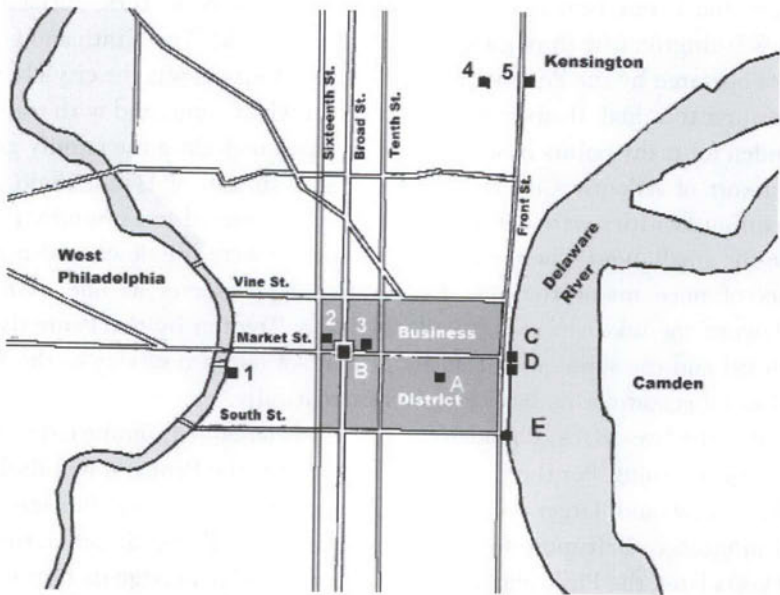

FIGURE 3 Philadelphia's central railroad passenger stations in 1901.

Key:	
1. Baltimore & Ohio station	A. Old State House
2. Broad Street station, Pennsylvania	B. City Hall
3. Reading Terminal, Reading	C. Market Street ferry
4. Berks Street depot, Reading	D. Chestnut Street ferry
5. Kensington station, Pennsylvania	E. South Street ferry

station stood within the expanded downtown. Four separate but related decisions dramatically shifted the focus of the city core to Centre Square from the old State House in the late-nineteenth century: the municipality's construction of a new City Hall in the square, John Wanamaker's 1876 conversion of an abandoned railroad freight station into a large retail establishment one block to the east, the opening of Broad Street Station one block to the west; and the establishment of a new Philadelphia & Reading passenger terminal three blocks to the east in 1893. This new city center of grand retail, transport, and governmental structures epitomized the middle class metropolis.

The Baltimore & Ohio and the Reading rounded out Philadelphia's complement of late-Victorian train stations by building new depots at Twenty-fourth and Chestnut streets in 1887 and Twelfth and Market streets in 1893, respectively. The B&O facility befitted the railroad's late arrival and minor role in the city: it was smaller than its rivals and was the only late-nineteenth century station not built within or near the central business district. Reading Terminal at Twelfth and Market street in Center City, however, was an appropriate competitor for Broad Street Station. When it opened, the Reading closed both the Ninth and Green and Broad and Callowhill depots and significantly downgraded the Berks Street station.

By 1901, the two main railroad stations for Philadelphia were in the heart of a thriving commercial district. The only two passenger facilities distant from downtown were the two in north Philadelphia, both of which survived as distinctly minor terminals. As one guide to the city put it: "Third and Berks and Kensington depots, however, are but little used, because the major part of the business has been transferred to [the new stations and t]hey are, moreover, remote from the center of the city, and offer few conveniences for travelers."[11]

Most middle-class workers and shoppers who used the trains could now walk from either the new Pennsylvania or Reading depot to their final destinations. The travel time to John Wanamaker's dry goods store, for example, was reduced from twenty minutes by streetcar from the Reading's Ninth and Green station to just a two-minute walk from the new Reading Terminal (or a five-minute one from Broad Street Station). In addition, passengers traveling to locations in the city outside the business district had access to more car lines at the new locations. According to the Pennsylvania Railroad's official history, "the superior location of [Broad Street Station] seemed to create new traffic." By moving their terminals closer to the new offices, stores, and theatres, both the Pennsylvania and the Reading dramatically increased the

potential for local passenger traffic by helping to define a new core for the middle-class metropolis.[12]

Broad Street Station and Reading Terminal were not only more convenient to downtown Philadelphia but they were also larger and qualitatively different in the services that they offered to the public. During the late-nineteenth century, the railroads redefined the very nature of space in and around their central termini. To reach these new depots the railways separated their trains from road traffic by an increasingly elaborate network of bridges, viaducts, and tunnels. Not only did space become better defined between the railroad and the community but it also became better ordered within the stations. Passenger trains were separated from freight trains. Train space became more clearly divided from human space. Incoming and outgoing passengers had separate routes through the buildings. The railroads offered an increased range of passenger amenities within the structures. Like much of Victorian middle-class life, the world of the railway traveler became more elaborate and better organized.

The Ninth and Green streets depot was typical of the enlarged "train barn" stations built throughout the United States in the 1850s that the railroads replaced with these late-Victorian structures. In Philadelphia, both the Philadelphia & Reading's Main Line depot of 1859 and the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore's Prime Street station were similar. At its base, this style of building consisted of a head house, which usually contained waiting rooms and ticketing and baggage facilities on the first floor and company offices on the second, attached to an enclosed train shed (typically with a largely solid, wooden roof). The structures, though palatial compared to the original depots of the 1830s that they had replaced, tended to be small. The station at Ninth and Green streets, for example, took up half of a smaller than average city block and its train shed contained but three tracks. The photograph in FIGURE 4 of the station (taken after it had closed to passengers in 1893, which explains its rather rundown condition) illustrates both the structure's small size and the relationship between the train shed (in the background) and the head house. Note that the shed is barely longer than the three short passenger cars in the train positioned in front of the depot.[13]

Like most antebellum stations, the interior layout of the Ninth and Green terminal was simple with few spatial divisions. It part, this was because these depots offered little to the public except for those services directly related to

FIGURE 4 The Reading Ninth and Green depot, circa 1895. Courtesy of the Print and Picture Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

train travel. Like the modern airport, the only people who ventured to these inconveniently placed mid-nineteenth-century railroad facilities were passengers and people accompanying or meeting the train riders. A floor plan of the Ninth and Green station is shown in FIGURE 5. The largest portion of the structure consisted of the dark wooden train shed that covered the three tracks and the grandly named "platforms" that were little more than walkways between the tracks. Four other interior spaces are shown on the plan as being used by the public: two waiting rooms, a package room, and a baggage room. The larger waiting room likely contained both the ticket office and the news stand (the only non-railroad service in the building). The smaller waiting room was probably the Ladies' Waiting Room, a feature provided at most major urban terminals by mid century. There was no restaurant; nor did the Reading provide a place within the building for its passengers to smoke, as it officially designated both waiting rooms as non-smoking. All in all, its interior was simple and its amenities Spartan.[14]

Although their interiors were simple, stations like the one at Ninth and Green streets were not particularly safe places. The location of both the tracks and the "platforms" at street level meant there was no clear division between train space and passenger space. People often crossed the running lines within the station as a shortcut to their train or to the street. For example, on a Sunday in 1881, the mapmaker John L. Smith left his mother's house in North Philadelphia to spend the day with friends in Germantown. After dinner, he returned home via the Ninth and Green depot. His day came to a
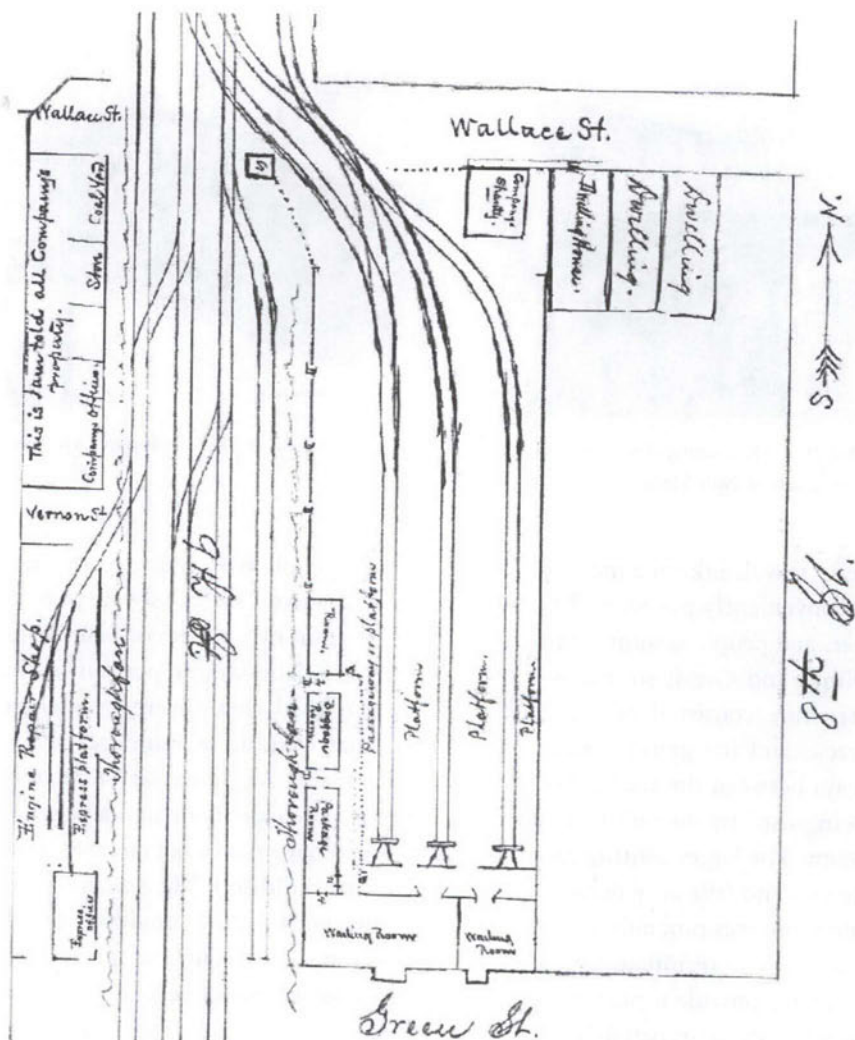
FIGURE 5 Layout of the Ninth and Green depot, 1886. Courtesy of the Hagley Museum and Library.

dramatic, and nearly fatal, conclusion when he "made a narrow escape" from a locomotive as it backed into the station while he was crossing the tracks. Smith leapt out of its way, prompted by the shouted warnings of nearly "40 train Hands." Accidents like Smith's near miss were not uncommon at American railroad stations. As late as 1893, a guidebook for European travelers warned: "A special word of caution may be given to the frequent

necessity for crossing the tracks, as the rails are frequently flush with the floor of the station and foot-bridges or tunnels are rarely provided" as was then the practice throughout much of Europe. Conditions, however, were particularly bad at this Reading depot. In addition to the many passenger train switching movements that took place within and around the structure (like the one that nearly felled Smith), the Reading operated a busy freight line down the center of Ninth Street (shown in both the photo in FIGURE 4 and the plan at FIGURE 5). The ground-level tracks also created numerous grade crossings of streets for trains using the station. This both slowed the trains and disrupted life in the surrounding neighborhoods. The mix of railroad and street traffic also led to many accidents around the depot.[15]

By the mid-1880s these problems were serious enough for Reading operating officials to express concern over passenger safety. One manager proposed locking most of the entrances to the station, posting additional watchmen, and petitioning the city to close Ninth Street as a public thoroughfare in order "to reduce the high number of accidents … as locomotives and cars are being constantly moved." In other words, he wanted the railroad (and the city) to more clearly define the boundary between the trains and others. Another supervisor was distressed by the "many narrow escapes [the railroad has had] while unloading our passengers at night...." Although the Reading installed additional lights in 1883 and did close some entrances, the cramped, dark, and busy station at Ninth and Green remained a relatively unsafe place until its abandonment in 1893[16]

The movement away from buildings like the one at Ninth and Green began in 1876 when the Pennsylvania Railroad built a new passenger station in West Philadelphia and the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore substantially reconstructed its facility in south Philadelphia. These two depots were important transitional structures, built largely on the scale of the mid-century terminals but with far more complex interiors presaging the layouts of Broad Street Station and Reading Terminal. What they show us is that Victorian Philadelphia adopted its new classification of space before the structures grew in size. Cultural — and not demographic — imperatives drove the middle-class search for spatial order.

The PW&B's Prime Street station had been one of Philadelphia's most impressive railroad depots since it was built in 1851–1852. Although similar in appearance to the Reading's facility at Green Street, it was larger and more elaborately decorated. Its train shed held seven tracks and three platforms. When built, the railroad claimed that the head house contained "every

convenience known or believed to be essential to a station of such prominent importance." It was probably the first depot in Philadelphia to include a dining room in addition to the standard waiting room, ticket office, and baggage facilities supplied at the other depots. But the station also shared many problems with the Reading's Green Street facility. The Prime Street train shed was low and dark. Its tracks and the platforms were placed at street level allowing passengers to enter the station through the train shed. And, until the 1876 renovation, freight trains used the facility with their passenger counterparts.[17]

If space was not well defined in and around the mid-century Prime Street, the PW&B station was a masterpiece of planning when compared to the jumble of tracks and structures that made up the Pennsylvania Railroad's pre-1876 depot in west Philadelphia. As part of the mid-century movement away from the city core, the Pennsylvania had relocated its main Philadelphia terminal to a small structure at Thirty-first and Market streets from an even smaller building at Eleventh and Market in 1864. By the early-1870s, the Pennsylvania's passenger facilities at West Philadelphia had grown to two separate stations with three sets of platforms sprawling over two city blocks, with a group of freight depots and tracks intermixed (see FIGURE 6 for a map taken from a city atlas that shows this conglomeration of tracks and platforms). The original 1864 terminal ("A" in FIGURE 6) had two tracks under a train shed and housed the trains to Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. A short distance to the west was the separate "New York" station, built in 1867, with its own two-track train shed for service to Trenton and Jersey City ("B"). Finally, still further to the west, a wooden walkway led from the New York depot to a platform located on a low-level connecting line where the through Washington to Jersey City trains stopped ("C"). With the large number of freight trains running on the tracks adjacent to these passenger facilities, this complex of buildings and platforms must not have been easy for the first-time passenger to comprehend. Not only was there little separation between freight and passenger space, there was effectively none between the railroad and the community.[18]

In 1876, space became noticeably better defined both in and around the Pennsylvania and the PW&B terminals. Perhaps the single most important change resulting from these improvements was the clear separation of passenger traffic from freight traffic at the new or renovated depots. In south Philadelphia, the PW&B built a new freight facility adjoining its Prime Street station. This allowed the existing structure to be used exclusively for passenger purposes. In west Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania finally built a
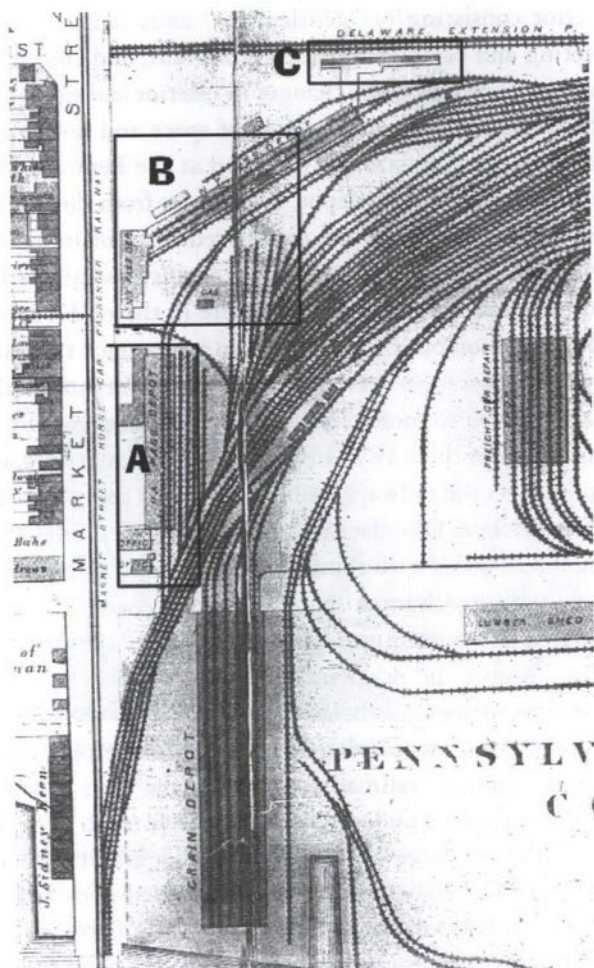
FIGURE 6 The Pennsylvania's West Philadelphia stations in 1872. Courtesy of the Map Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

Key:
A Original depot for Pittsburgh trains
B New York station
C Platform for Washington trains

depot at Thirty-second and Market streets large enough to house all its passenger services in one station. Like the renovated facility at Prime Street, the new Pennsylvania terminal was for passenger trains only. Also like its counterpart in south Philadelphia, the west Philadelphia depot's head house had a

a small lobby and then on to a large booking hall. They noted the separate local and through tickets windows and, while waiting to buy their tickets, also observed the Pullman Company office (for parlor and sleeping car reservations) and outgoing baggage room. After completing their transaction, they went up the sixteen-foot wide grand stairway, lined with enameled bricks. They may have looked up and noticed the hand-carved and inlaid wood ceiling above the stairs. When they reached the second floor, they saw more well-organized and elaborately decorated rooms. This level was the train floor because the railroad entered the station on elevated tracks. They immediately noted the airy and spacious feeling of the well-lit, two-story high general waiting room: eighty by fifty-two feet with large windows, a skylight, polished hardwood wainscoting and details, and painted plaster walls. A large map of the Pennsylvania Railroad system dominated the north end. The room had padded benches, and opened onto a confectionery store, a newsstand, a package room, and a telegraph office. Although Smith and his friend would have liked to have explored more of the new station, train time was approaching. They went through one of the two arched openings into the train lobby, where they found their departure track clearly indicated above the gate. To reach their train, they showed their tickets to the uniformed attendant at the gate. As they walked to their train, they noted how even the train shed seemed bright, because of the many glass panels in the roof. It was, as a guide to the city observed, "a wide, lofty apartment."[22]

On this visit, Smith did not have time to take in all of the station's amenities but he would return often and have many opportunities to explore the remainder of the building. A few years later, on a Sunday morning, he boarded the wrong horse-drawn streetcar and missed his suburban train. With an hour to kill until the next departure, he may have visited some of the areas of Broad Street Station he had rushed by on his first trip. This time, after buying his ticket and ascending the main stairs into the general waiting room, he may have walked to (but not through) the ladies' waiting room. The ladies' waiting room was not quite as large as the main one but it was similarly furnished and decorated. A guide to the city noted: "The ladies' waiting-room is a magnificent apartment, having tall, Gothic-arched windows, set with ornamental glass, a hardwood paneled ceiling, and a great, cheery, open fire-place, ornamented with tiles. It is very comfortably furnished with settees, rockers and easy-chairs and rugs." Both rooms were well-lit, by natural light during the day and by electric lamps (backed up by gas fixtures) at night. The reason Smith could not go through the ladies' waiting room was that it (and the adjoining ladies' retiring room) were guarded by a railroad

matron. Smith could wander into the restaurant, however. Here he found both a lunch counter and a dining room. He walked through them and returned to the general waiting room. If truly bored, he may have explored the separate arriving and departing baggage areas or used the elevators to reach the third floor where he could find the barber shop and the bathing facilities for male travelers.[23]

As Smith's visits demonstrate, Broad Street was very different from the station it had replaced: West Philadelphia. It was not only larger and more conveniently located but it was better organized and offered more services. Arriving and departing passengers had separate passages, stairs, and baggage rooms. The person leaving the city could buy tickets, make reservations, and check luggage on the first floor. Wrought iron gates separated people from the trains. The station also offered special services for the traveler: bathtubs, barbers, and breakfasts. As the business district moved west to meet the station, the restaurant became a popular dining location for non-passengers too. John Smith, who lived in North Philadelphia and worked on Sixth Street, would stop at the station for lunch if he was in the area on business or pleasure. A guide to the city recommended "the restaurants of both the Broad Street Station and the Reading Terminal [as] excellent, and not extravagant in price." As this entry illustrates, all these changes that took place at Broad Street would also occur at the other new downtown stations constructed in the next decade: the Baltimore & Ohio's Twenty-fourth and Chestnut streets station and Reading Terminal. All three stations were featured in an 1890s treatise on railway station construction and operation.[24]

Similar to Broad Street, the interiors of the other two late-nineteenth century termini illustrated the same complex specialization of space. Although the exterior of Reading Terminal was very different from that of Broad Street, it looked more like an office building than a church, the internal layout and the services offered within the structure (and the B&O's smaller depot) were nearly identical to that of its rival (FIGURE 8 shows the Market Street frontage of the station). The interiors of these late-Victorian depots were less open than those of the mid-century stations (such as Ninth and Green streets); their floor plans were divided into a variety of differentiated uses (FIGURES 9 and 10 illustrate the first and train floors of Reading Terminal; the trains arrived at Reading Terminal on an elevated viaduct, as they did at Broad Street Station). A disadvantage of this new layout was that passengers frequently got lost in the bewildering array of doors, rooms, and passages. At all the stations there were special areas set aside exclusively for the use of women;

FIGURE 8 Postcard view of Reading Terminal, circa 1905. Author's collection.

carefully guarded by railroad matrons. Space was also divided by class. The Pennsylvania routed its immigrant traffic through an entirely different facility in south Philadelphia, so as to not sully the bourgeois character of Broad Street Station, while the Reading provided a separate waiting room for immigrants. In addition, railroad policemen and others patrolled the stations to maintain the middle-class nature of the facilities.[25]

The management of the often impecunious Reading saw to it that their new terminal offered the same features and services as the Pennsylvania provided at Broad Street. Reading officials continually compared their amenities to that of their crosstown rival. This regular fretting was less inspired by competitive pressures (as the Reading and the Pennsylvania directly battled on few passengers routes), as it was from a desire for respect in the railroad's hometown. The Reading viewed itself as an equal of the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad and wanted Philadelphia to do so too.[26]

During the nineteenth century the nature of the railroad terminal changed dramatically in Philadelphia. The depots shifted from being simple

FIGURE 9 First (street) floor of Reading Terminal, 1893. From Walter G. Berg, *Buildings and Structures of American Railroads.*

transportation hubs to become civic landmarks. To reach these terminals the railroads separated their trains from the road traffic by an elaborate network of bridges, viaducts, and tunnels. Not only did space become better defined between the railroad and the community but it also became more ordered within the stations. The world of the railway traveler became more elaborate and organized. All these changes in and around the depots were not unique; they reflected broader trends in nineteenth-century urban society. At about the same time, other parts of the middle-class metropolis began to exhibit the same organizational trends. Philadelphia developed retail, commercial, entertainment, and residential districts. Buildings, such as the new office towers and department stores, developed more specialized interiors.
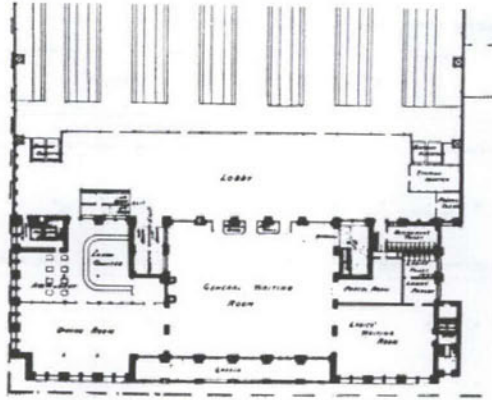
FIGURE 10 Train (second) floor of Reading Terminal, 1893. From Berg, *Buildings and Structures of American Railroads.*

All these structures were part of the new middle-class city that began to develop in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This new bourgeois city was logical and rational and well catalogued: everything and everyone had its place in this version of Philadelphia. Middle-class Philadelphia was just one set of urban images — broadly shared along class lines — that resulted in multiple Philadelphias occupying the same physical space. The city of the elite, who lived on Rittenhouse Square or the Main Line, summered in Maine or Europe, and lunched at the Philadelphia Club, was a far different urban vision than that of the working classes, in which life often revolved around a single neighborhood or town. Philadelphia's aristocracy could afford to use every transportation and technological innovation to remake and to expand their world. For working-class Philadelphians, home, work, and shopping, indeed much of everyday life, often was bounded by a few blocks. Yet these different Philadelphias coexisted within the corporate limits of one municipality, often overlapping in areas like Center City.[27]

Throughout this middle-class city both space and time underwent a consistent reorganization in the late-nineteenth century. To put it simply, space and time became more precise and controlled. This specialization took place not only within the organizations studied but on the streets of the city and throughout bourgeois life. Historians have found this desire for exacting classification nearly everywhere in Victorian bourgeois society: in education (both in the creation of universities and new disciplines — the social sciences — and in methodology), in architecture (both in the layout of middle-class homes

and more complex commercial structures), in business (careful classification was the "science" in scientific management), and in knowledge (Dewey cataloguing). Time became something that humans could control; first came standard time in the 1880s and then daylight saving time in the 1910s.[28]

The changing spatial patterns in and around the Victorian train stations provide us with an important clue to the motivations behind this middle-class search for order. Although many scholars have noted this mania for classification, they have usually dismissed it as a simple reaction to growth. But at the depots, these transformations occurred before the structures grew in size. Fin-de-siècle Philadelphians' conception of space changed not because of technological or demographic imperatives, but because their paradigm for order shifted.[29]

What inspired this search for spatial order was the application of science — as the Victorian middle class understood the term — to everyday life. Following the leads of Isaac Newton and Francis Bacon, the bourgeoisie borrowed from the methodology of the life sciences and carefully arranged and classified their world. What they created was a taxonomy of space. Taxonomy was an easily accessible science; any intelligent, educated person could both understand the method and apply it to life. Taxonomy involves grouping items within a hierarchy of classifications and then drawing conclusions from the relationships among the articles. A simple example that most people are familiar with is the Library of Congress cataloguing system. In this taxonomy, the combination of letters and numbers given to a book not only assigns it a specific subject but also places it within a well-defined range of related topics.[30]

This scientific world-view pervaded Victorian middle-class society. Behind it was a faith in continued progress that drove a trans-Atlantic bourgeoisie to embrace change. The search for order of the middle class was more than a simple reaction to the effects of industrialization and urbanization, and it was more than a fearful drive for paternalistic control. Science would allow the Victorian bourgeoisie to revisualize and to remake their environment.[31]

NOTES

2. Christopher Morley, *Kitty Foyle* (1939; reprint, New York: Signet Books, 1950), p. 112.

3. Unlike in Britain, where scholars have been actively exploring the place of the railway in society for decades, few American historians have considered the effects railroad stations had on everyday life. Two recent examples of this large British canon on the railway in society are Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: A Social History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Jack Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991). An American essay that drew on earlier British works (with the added advantage of a focus on Philadelphia) is Jeffrey P. Roberts, "Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia 1830–1900," in William W. Cutler, III; and Howard Gillette, Jr., eds, *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800–1975* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 27–55. Other works that have looked at the cultural meanings of railroad stations are: John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) is the source of my concept of "bourgeois corridors"; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (New York: Berg, 1986) from whom I borrow the gateway metaphor, and Sally A. Kitt Chappell, "Urban Ideals and the Design of Railroad Stations," *Technology and Culture* 30 (1989), pp. 354–375.

4. Reading Terminal is probably best known for this farmers' market that continues to function to this day. Since the 1860s there had been a food market at Twelfth and Market streets. In order to buy the land for its station, the Reading agreed to house this facility on the ground floor of its new structure under the platforms. The Pennsylvania Railroad found this so humorous that it published a cartoon showing the president of the Reading as a butcher and promising, among other things, "A parlor car seat goes with every turkey sold." The history of the market can be found in Carol M. Highsmith and James L. Holton, *Reading Terminal and Market: Philadelphia's Historic Gateway and Grand Convention Center* (Washington: Chelsea Publishing, 1994), pp. 38–52.

5. See Roberts, "Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia 1830–1900," pp. 27–55, generally, for a discussion of the effect of stations (and their ancillary facilities) on the urban fabric, and, specifically, for the shift to more central locations, pp. 37–47. A more detailed history of these changes in location can be found in John H. Hepp, IV, "'Such a Well-Behaved Station:' The Philadelphia & Reading Railroad and its Passenger Terminals in Philadelphia, 1830–1900" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Industrial Archeology, Sacramento, Calif., 1996), and John H. Hepp, IV, "Before Thirtieth Street: A Century of Pennsylvania Railroad Passenger Terminals in Philadelphia," (paper presented at the Conference on the Sesquicentennial of the Chartering of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Strasburg, Penna., 1996). The basis for the maps in FIGURES 1 and 3 is an 1876 map of the railroads in Philadelphia prepared by John L. Smith in the collection of the author. Similar maps are held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Map Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

6. The quote is from *Guide-Book to the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad* (Philadelphia, 1869), p. 8, Delaware County Historical Society. For the movement of stations to outlying locations at mid century, see the *Fifth Annual Report of the Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Company* (1852), pp. 16, and 37–38, Pennsylvania State Archives; and *The Tenth Annual Report of the President and Managers of the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company* (1860), pp. 9–10, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. Estimates of travel time are based on information in Theodore Hershberg, Harold E. Cox, Dale B. Light, Jr., and Richard R. Greenfield, "The 'Journey-to-Work': An Empirical Investigation of Work,

Residence and Transportation, Philadelphia, 1850 and 1880," in Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the 19th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 128–173; *Philadelphia and its Environs*, 2nd ed., (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1873), p. 86; and a map in *Philadelphia Store News* (Philadelphia: John Wanamaker, September 1883), p. 3, box 75, John Wanamaker papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The *Official Street Railway Map and Guide Book of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: E. P. Noll, 1886), lists the routes, fares, and transfer privileges of the various street railway companies.

8. For the role of the railroad in the development of Haddonfield, see Margaret S. Marsh, *Suburban Lives* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990). The later development of the Main Line suburbs can be seen in J. W. Townsend, *The Old "Main Line"* (priv. print., 1922), p. 21.

9. Steam railroad schedules for 1875 can be found in the *Travelers' Official Guide of the Railway and Steam Navigation Lines in the United States and Canada, September 1875* (Philadelphia: National Railway Publication Company, 1875), Railroad Museum of Pennsylvania. Information on the start of through New York to Washington service can be found in "Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad," *American Railroad Journal* (New York), 21 June 1862, pp. 466–468.

10. As to Prime Street, see *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company* (1877), pp. 9–10, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For West Philadelphia, see board minute book no. 7 (26 January 1876 meeting), p. 141, Penn Central collection, Hagley Museum and Library. A reference to the Reading's plans and a copy of a privately held architectural drawing can be found in George E. Thomas, Michael J. Lewis and Jeffrey A. Cohen, *Frank Furness: The Complete Works* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991), pp. 140 and 254. For the Pennsylvania's 1876 plan to move downtown, see "Another Large Depot Improvement," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 8 February 1876, p. 1.

11. *Rand McNally & Co.'s Handy Guide to Philadelphia and Environs Including Atlantic City and Cape May* (New York: Rand, McNally, 1900), p. 10.

12. Information on travel time from *Philadelphia Store News*, p. 3. The Broad Street quote is from George H. Burgess, and Miles C. Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846–1946* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Railroad, 1949), p. 433.

13. The details of the evolution of this station can be found in *Report of the President and Managers of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company to the Stock and Loan Holders, November 3, 1851*, pp. 5–6; *Report of the President and Managers of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company to the Stock and Loan Holders, For the Year ending September 30, 1858*, p. 4; *Report of the President and Managers of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company to the Stock and Loan Holders, For the Year ending September 30, 1863*, pp. 6–7; *Report of the President and Managers of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company to the Stock and Loan Holders, For the Year ending Sept. 30, 1864*, p. 6; and *Report of the Receivers of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Co.* (1882), p. 61, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For an examination of the changing station styles, see Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), chaps. 2–3, especially pp. 48–55 and 69–75. For illustrations of similar structures see Lawrence Grow, *Waiting for the 5:05: Terminal, Station and Depot in America* (New York: Main Street/Universe Books, 1977), pp. 29 (Rochester, N.Y.), 31 (Baltimore), 32–33 (Savannah), and 39 (Baltimore). For similar developments in other cities, see Carl W. Condit, *The Railroad and the City:*

A Technological and Urbanistic History of Cincinnati (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), and Richard C. Barrett, *Boston's Depots and Terminals: A History of Downtown Boston's Railroad Stations* (Rochester, N.Y.: Railroad Research Publications, 1996).

14. The package room held parcels (frequently from Center City retailers) for pick-up by outbound passengers and visitors' luggage as they explored the city. The plan appears as an attachment to John W. Royer to A. A. McLeod, 23 November 1886, and the "non-smoking" policy is contained in Franklin B. Gowen to J. E. Wooten, 2 March 1883, Reading Company collection, box 1025, Hagley Museum and Library.

15. The story of Smith's "narrow escape" comes from the entry for 4 September 1881, John L. Smith diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Others passengers were not as fortunate as Smith. See, for example, "The Fatal Accident at the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Depot," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 9 August 1876, p. 1. The guide book warning is in *Baedeker's United States, 1893* (1893; reprint, New York: De Capo Press, 1971), p. xxix. Grade crossing fatalities were very common in the city. A few representative newspaper articles (from just one month) include: "Fatal Railroad Accident," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 2 June 1876, p. 1; "Meeting of the Highway Committee," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 6 June 1876, p. 1; "The Pennsylvania Railroad — Fatal Accident — Coroner's Investigation in the Case of Matilda Cubler," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 8 June 1876, p. 1; and "Fatal Railroad Accidents," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 26 June 1876, p. 1. These grade crossings created numerous problems and expenses for the railroads. For example, on a three-mile stretch of the Reading's main line through the city the railroad stationed watchmen at nineteen street crossings in 1881. Henry G. Jones to J. E. Wooten, 14 May 1881, Reading Company collection, box 227, Hagley Museum and Library.

16. The concern over general safety is in John W. Royer to A. A. McLeod, 23 November 1886, and over lighting is in I. A. Sweigard to J. E. Wooten, 20 November 1883, both in the Reading Company collection, box 1025, Hagley Museum and Library.

17. *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company* (1851), p. 24, and *The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company* (1853), p. 25, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "History of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore R. R. Co.," *American Railroad Journal* (New York), 24 February 1855, pp. 120–24, 123; Charles P. Dare, *Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Guide* (Philadelphia: Fitzgibbon & Van Ness, 1856); and *Baist's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Baist, 1873), plate 9.

18. *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Co.* (1865), p. 43, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Co.* (1866), p. 56, and *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Rail Road Co.* (1868), p. 51, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and *Atlas of West Philadelphia including the 24th & 27th Wards* (Philadelphia: Hopkins, 1872), p. 8.

19. As to Prime Street, see *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company* (1877), pp. 9–10, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and "Preparations for the Centennial Travel over the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 8 May 1876, p. 1. For West Philadelphia, see Burgess and Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company,* pp. 353–355; board minute book no. 7 (26 January 1876 meeting), p. 141, Penn Central collection, Hagley Museum and Library; "Another Large Depot Improvement," *Public Ledger*

(Philadelphia), 8 February 1876, p. 1; "The New Depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Thirty-second and Market Streets," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 22 April 1876, p. 1; and *Atlas of the 24th & 27th Wards West Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins, 1872), p. 39.

20. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1862), sec. 15; board minute book no. 6 (1 May 1873 meeting), p. 179, Penn Central collection, Hagley Museum and Library; *Insurance Maps of the City of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1879), vol. VIII, p. 121; *Insurance Maps of the City of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Ernest Hexamer, 1879 [rev. 1889]), vol. VII, p. 121; and Campbell Collection, vol. 52, p. 113, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

21. For an example of Philadelphians visiting the construction site, see the entry for 1 February 1880, John L. Smith diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The resemblance to St. Pancras is more than coincidental. St. Pancras was the largest and newest of the London terminals when the Pennsylvania built Broad Street and the railroad may have used this well-known landmark as a model for its depot. At this time, Philadelphia was constructing its new City Hall (the "Public Buildings" to Victorian Philadelphians) in Centre Square, which, when completed, would be the largest office building in the world. Both structures were expressions of Philadelphia's continued competition with New York. For photographs and drawings of St. Pancras, see Grow, *Waiting for the 5:05*, p. 42, Meek, *The Railroad Station*, figs 40, 92, 109 and 110, and V. R. Anderson and G. K. Fox, *A Pictorial Record of L.M.S. Architecture* (Headington, England: Oxford Publishing, 1981), plates 111–20.

22. The details for these reconstructed tours of the station are taken from "The New Broad Street Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad — Its Occupancy on Monday," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 3 December 1881, p. 1; board minute book vol. 9 (28 December 1881 meeting), pp. 389–90, Penn Central collection, Hagley Museum and Library; and *Dictionary of Philadelphia and its Vicinity*, pp. 16–19. Entry for 20 May 1882, John L. Smith diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The quote is from *Philadelphia and its Environs, Illustrated*, p. 9.

23. Entry for 22 September 1889, John L. Smith diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Quote from *Dictionary of Philadelphia and its Vicinity*, p. 17. For the role of the matron see E. F. Smith to Theodore Vorhees, 26 April 1902, Reading Company collection, box 1032, Hagley Museum and Library.

24. Entry for 13 March 1904, John L. Smith diary, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Quote from *Dictionary of Philadelphia and its Vicinity*, p. 17. Walter G. Berg, *Buildings and Structures of American Railroads: A Reference Book* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1893).

25. Lost passengers wandering into railway offices is the subject of I. A. Sweigard to Theodore Voorhees, 5 July 1894, Reading Company collection, box 1029, Hagley Museum and Library. For the Reading's concerns over "bums" in the station, see I. A. Sweigard to Theodore Voorhees, 26 February 1897, box 1029, and E. F. Smith to Theodore Voorhees, 6 March 1899, box 1030, Reading Company collection, Hagley Museum and Library. The same company's problems with its Ladies' Waiting Room can be found in E. F. Smith to Theodore Voorhees, 30 April 1897, and Theodore Voorhees to Joseph S. Harris, 1 October 1898, box 1030, Reading Company collection, Hagley Museum and Library. For the creation of the Emigrant Waiting Room at Reading Terminal, see Theodore Voorhees to E. F. Smith, 23 August 1894, Reading Company collection, box 1029, Hagley Museum and Library. For a view of the Pennsylvania's immigrant facility, see the back cover of *Tariff of Immigrant Fares from Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Immigrant Clearing House Committee, 1887), Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

26. The surviving Reading records on the terminal from this period make fascinating reading. Officials of the railroad regularly worried that the public might not perceive its depot as the equal of Broad Street Station. See boxes 1027 through 1030 in the Reading Company collection, Hagley Museum and Library.

27. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see John H. Hepp, IV, *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876–1926* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming 2003)

28. Examples of classification in American Victorian life are included in the following works: Kenneth L. Ames, *Death in the Dining Room & Other Tales of Victorian Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) for home interiors; Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976) for the professions; Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) for office buildings; M. Christine Boyer, *Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style, 1850–1900* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985) for city streets; John P. Comaromi and M. P. Satija, *Dewey Decimal Classification: History and Current Status* for London: Sterling Publishers, 1989) for library cataloguing; John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978) for urban space; Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow, Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) for culture; Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) for social science; and Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate, 1870–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) for management. Temporal changes are examined in Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), and Michael O'Malley, *Keeping Watch: History of American Time* (New York: Viking, 1990).

29. The use of the concept of a paradigm to explain sudden shifts in thought originally came from the history of science. See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Subsequently, scholars in other fields have borrowed the concept; see, for example, Robert L. Beisner, *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865–1900* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing, 1975).

30. I acknowledge an intellectual debt to Alex Roland of Duke University who urged me to take the Victorians seriously when they claimed they were acting scientifically (at least so far as they defined the term). An introduction to the historiography of Victorian science and technology can be found in James Roger Fleming, "Science and Technology in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in Charles W. Calhoun, ed., *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1996), chap. 2. For the methodology of the life sciences in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, see Garland Allen, *Life Sciences in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), chap. 1, and Lois N. Magner, *A History of the Life Sciences* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979), chap. 12 (in particular pp. 342–348). An article that illustrates the pervasiveness of the life sciences in nineteenth century culture is Daniel Goldstein, "Yours for Science: The Smithsonian Institution's Correspondents and the Shape of the Scientific Community in Nineteenth-Century America," *ISIS* 85 (1994), pp. 572–599.

31. The classic political interpretation of this middle-class desire for order is found in Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), and a valuable analysis of this

book is Kenneth Cmiel, "Destiny and Amnesia: The Vision of Modernity in Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order*," *Reviews in American History* 21 (June 1993), pp. 352–368. Another work that looks at this transformation from a cultural perspective is Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture & Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). His interpretation focuses on the cultural effects of the emergence of the modern business corporation. Although Trachtenberg's view and my argument are consistent with each other, we differ on the basis of the middle-class metaphor. To me, the corporation is just another example of science applied to society and not an independent variable.