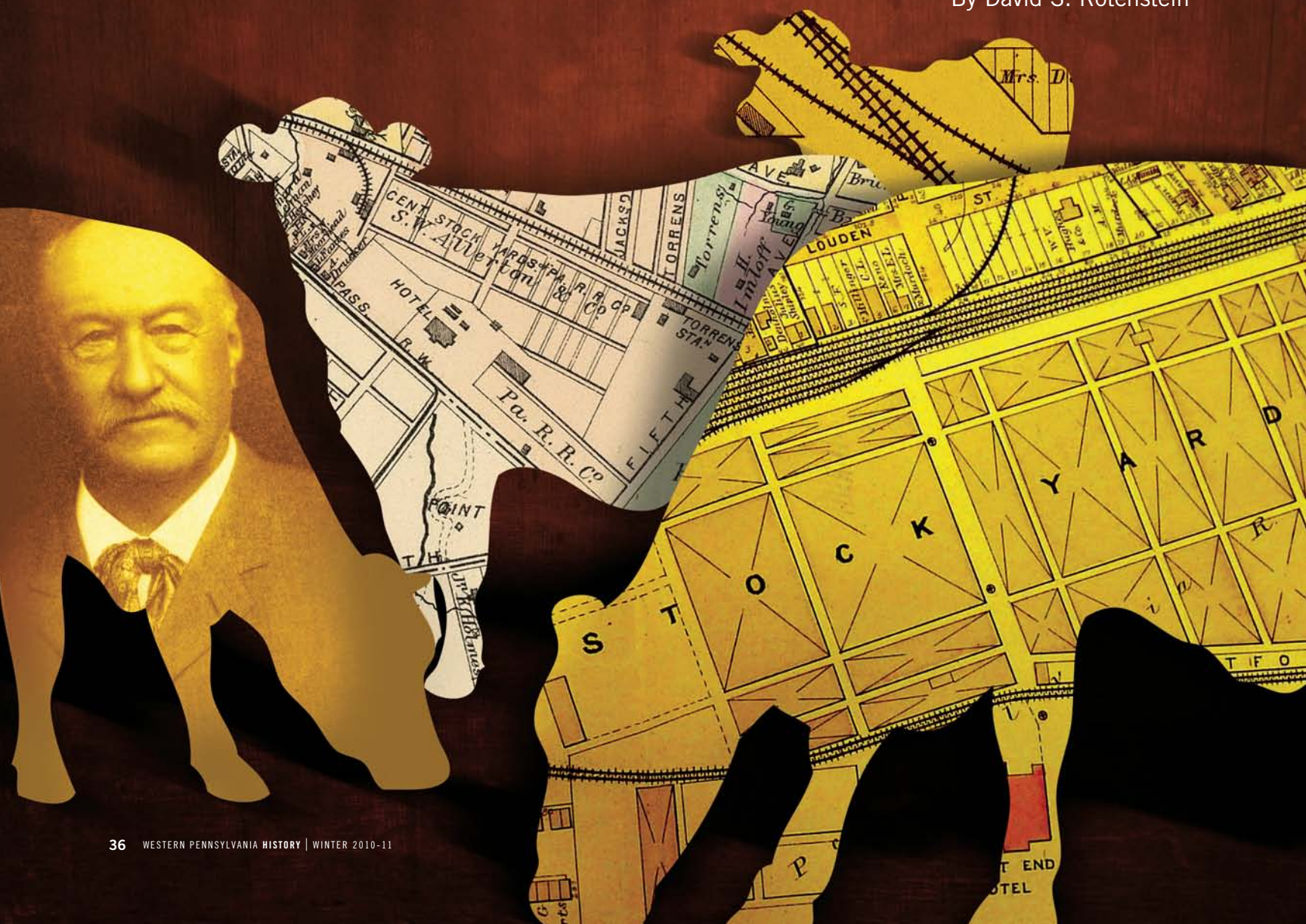


# MODEL FOR THE NATION:

## *\$ale, Slaughter, and Processing at the East Liberty Stockyards*

By David S. Rotenstein





I am acquainted with the situation of the East Liberty Stock-yards," Mr. R.S. Robertson told a Pennsylvania court in February 1875. "The smells arising from them were so exceedingly offensive that we were obliged to close the windows of my house and to burn camphor all over the house."<sup>1</sup> Robertson rented a home near the stockyards and like most other urban dwellers who lived and worked nearby, he found them a disagreeable nuisance.

By the turn of the 20th century, many American cities had neighborhoods like Robertson's where animals were concentrated for sale, slaughter, and processing into food and byproducts. These neighborhoods were dominated by large union stockyards connected by railroads to a nationwide network of farms, feedlots, and smaller transit yards. Robertson lived near the world's first union stockyards, built by the Pennsylvania

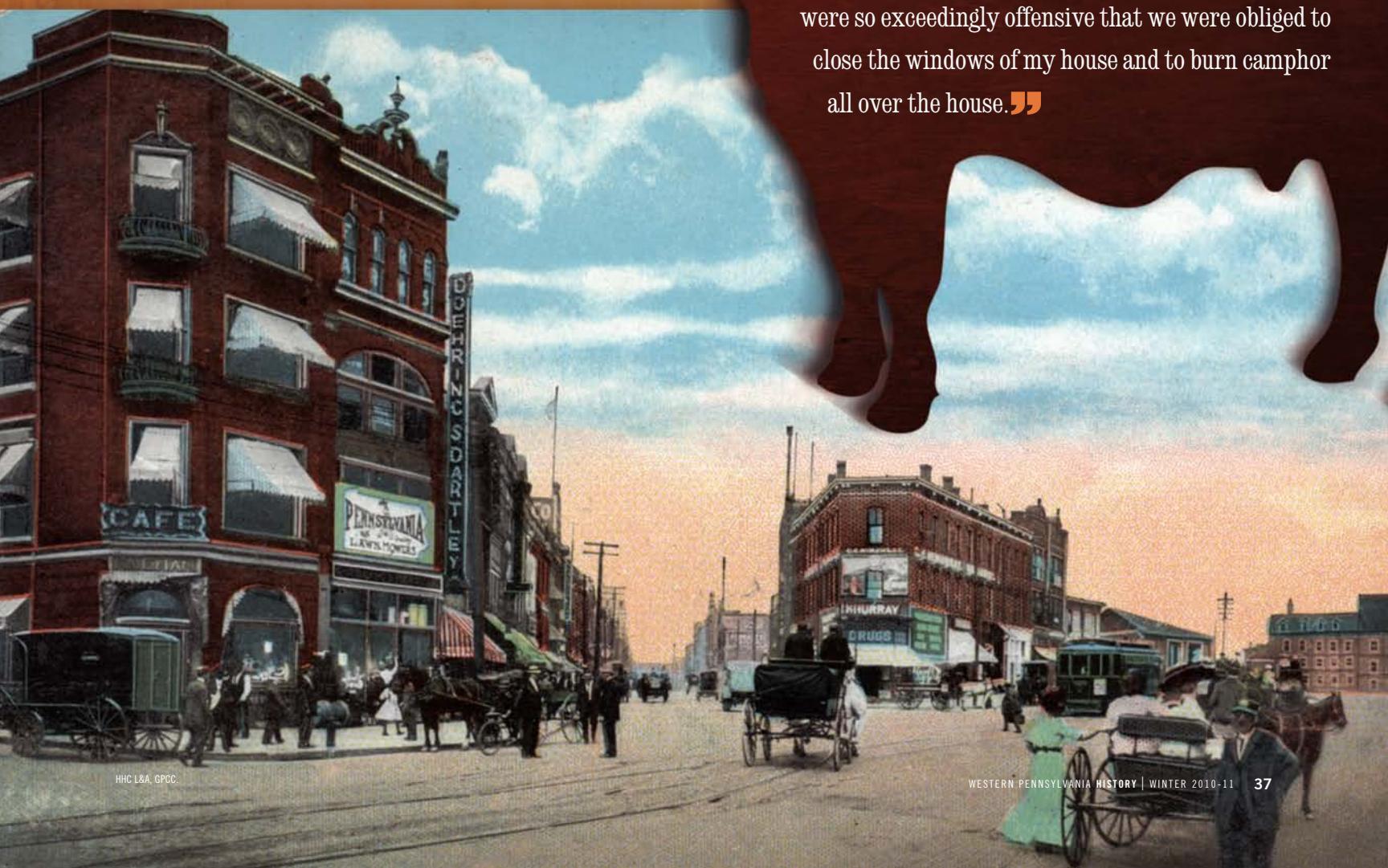
Railroad on an East Liberty farm field about five miles east of downtown Pittsburgh. Union stockyards were the industrial descendants of animal drove yards where drovers (i.e., drivers of cattle or sheep), farmers, shippers, dealers, and butchers stopped to rest and transact business as they traveled along turnpikes from farms to urban markets.

The meat-producing and livestock industries share a common origin narrative in which the world's first union stockyards opened in Chicago in December 1865. "When you speak of the stock yards you refer to Chicago," wrote the *National Provisioner* in 1903.<sup>2</sup> The establishment of the Chicago Union

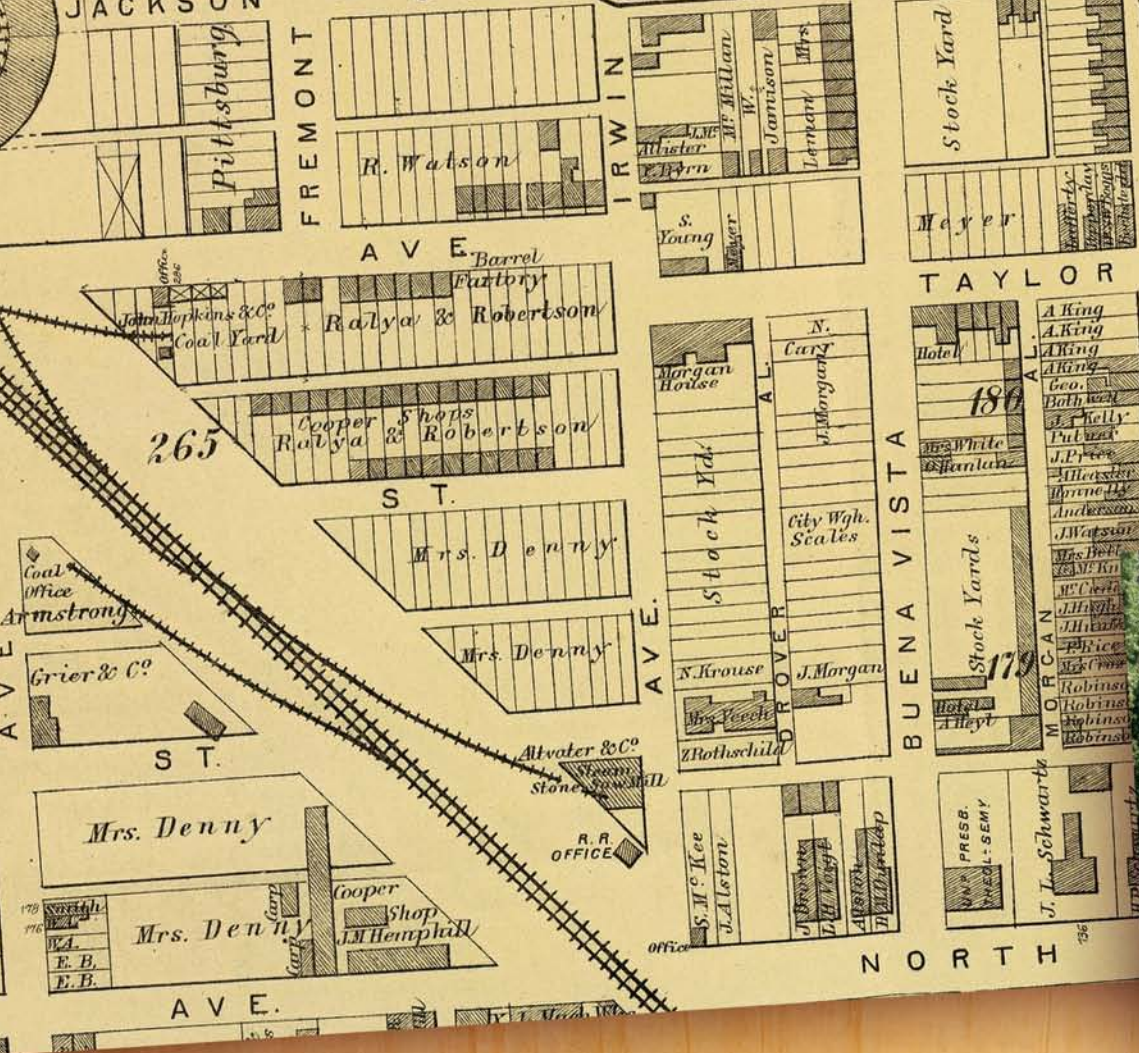
Stock Yards is widely hailed as a turning point in American economic and urban history because for the first time a city's dispersed drove yards were concentrated into a single integrated shipping and sales facility.<sup>3</sup>

Less well known, but equally important, were the union stockyards that opened in February 1864 in East Liberty. Owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad and built and operated by a partnership of Chicago- and New York-based livestock entrepreneurs, the East Liberty stockyards became the template for the Chicago Union Stock Yards and all of the stockyards that followed. That's no coincidence; the East Liberty partners were

“I am acquainted with the situation of the East Liberty Stock-yards,” Mr. R.S. Robertson told a Pennsylvania court in February 1875. “The smells arising from them were so exceedingly offensive that we were obliged to close the windows of my house and to burn camphor all over the house.”







Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago drove yards, Allegheny City in the Atlas of the Cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, G. M. Hopkins and Co., 1872

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Present day Drovers Way, North Side, called Drovers Alley on the map.

Photo by author.

instrumental in the founding of the Chicago stockyards and they handled livestock for the three leading livestock carriers of the time: the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central, and the Erie railroads.<sup>4</sup> The East Liberty partners profited from virtually every animal that entered and left Chicago by rail and again in each of the individual stockyards in the network stretching eastward to Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and New England. At the confluence of geography, railroad lines, and market manipulations, East Liberty—for a brief period—was the fulcrum on which the entire livestock industry balanced.

## THE UNION STOCKYARDS

Stockyards are way stations for live and dead animals and the people who ship, sell, and slaughter them.<sup>5</sup> Drove yards, a European import derived from cattle stances and

drovers' inns located along British drove roads, were some of the first facilities to develop in concert with taverns and inns in America.<sup>6</sup> Among the first to chronicle these places were the authors of regional travel narratives and early local historians.<sup>7</sup> Other early sources include autobiographical works by farmers and shippers as well as government reports on railroad rates, livestock shipping, animal diseases, and meatpacking.<sup>8</sup>

More recently, researchers writing on stockyards have relied on the published reports issued by state and federal investigations into meatpacking and livestock shipping that began in the 1870s; the Chicago-first fallacy has its basis in these government reports.<sup>9</sup> Economists and historians writing on the meat-producing industries from the 1920s to the turn of the

21st century have not aggressively questioned these sources.<sup>10</sup>

Stockyards are specialized entities that serve as warehouses and inns for the animals passing through them and for the people doing business there. Stockyards also have a public market function and they are inextricably tied to regulated common carriers—railroads—thereby exposing them to governmental scrutiny greater than most private-sector businesses.<sup>11</sup> In the second half of the 19th century, the institution was new and it presented challenges to courts and legislators, not to mention the people who lived where they were built.<sup>12</sup> Union stockyards (also known as terminal markets), while larger in scale and scope than other livestock facilities, have a much narrower definition than their counterparts



that function as trackside way stations where animals in transit were rested, watered, and fed.<sup>13</sup> Stockyards also hosted agricultural fairs, livestock shows, and 4-H events. Some urban neighbors used stockyards for gambling and other illicit activities, while frequent animal escapes damaged property, injured bystanders, and created impromptu urban roundups.<sup>14</sup> Stockyards provided the contexts for tight-knit urban ethnic communities, all starting with founding of the first of these industrial communities in East Liberty.<sup>15</sup>

## EAST LIBERTY

The origins of the East Liberty stockyards lay in a different Pittsburgh neighborhood now known as the “Mexican War Streets.” Pittsburgh and Allegheny were adjacent 19th-century cities with distinct industrial identities. As key trans-shipment points for commodities moving east and consumer goods moving west, both cities were historically significant nodes in early transportation networks. When the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad completed its line between Chicago and Pittsburgh in 1856, the railroad’s Pennsylvania terminus was in Allegheny City, north of the Allegheny River. In anticipation of the new business to be stimulated by the railroad, livestock entrepreneurs began buying land where they subsequently established drove yards and hotels next to the railroad’s main freight terminals.

Establishments like drover James Morgan’s “Morgan House Drove Yards” and hotelier William Veach’s “Drove Yard Hotel” sprang up in Allegheny City among tanneries and slaughterhouses near the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago facilities.<sup>16</sup> Hogs, cattle, and sheep were driven through the streets and across the Allegheny River to Pittsburgh to be reloaded into Philadelphia-bound Pennsylvania Railroad stock cars. This transfer was costly to the livestock shippers and was a smelly and noisy nuisance to Allegheny City and Pittsburgh residents.

The Allegheny City drove yards thrived on the burgeoning numbers of meat animals shipped by rail. By the end of the 1850s, livestock was the dominant commodity shipped eastward. In 1859, for example, more livestock (by weight) was shipped on the Pennsylvania Railroad than any other commodity. The U.S. Department of the Treasury reported that the railroad in 1859 shipped 65,103,756 tons of livestock between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. By 1863, the figure was more than four times the 1859 amount: 270,713,390 tons.<sup>17</sup>

To meet the new freight challenges, the Pennsylvania decided to consolidate and integrate all Pittsburgh livestock operations. In the spring of 1863, the Pennsylvania Railroad board of directors authorized the purchase of land in East Liberty for a new kind of livestock accommodations. The railroad also approved contracts connecting railroads originating in the midwest to ship all livestock delivered at Pittsburgh for shipment east via the Pennsylvania Railroad, as well as stock destined for Pittsburgh buyers through the new stockyards at East Liberty.<sup>18</sup> In July 1863, the railroad selected a firm—the Pittsburgh Union Stock Association—to build and operate the stockyards.

The Pennsylvania Railroad’s contracts among the other railroads and the lessees,

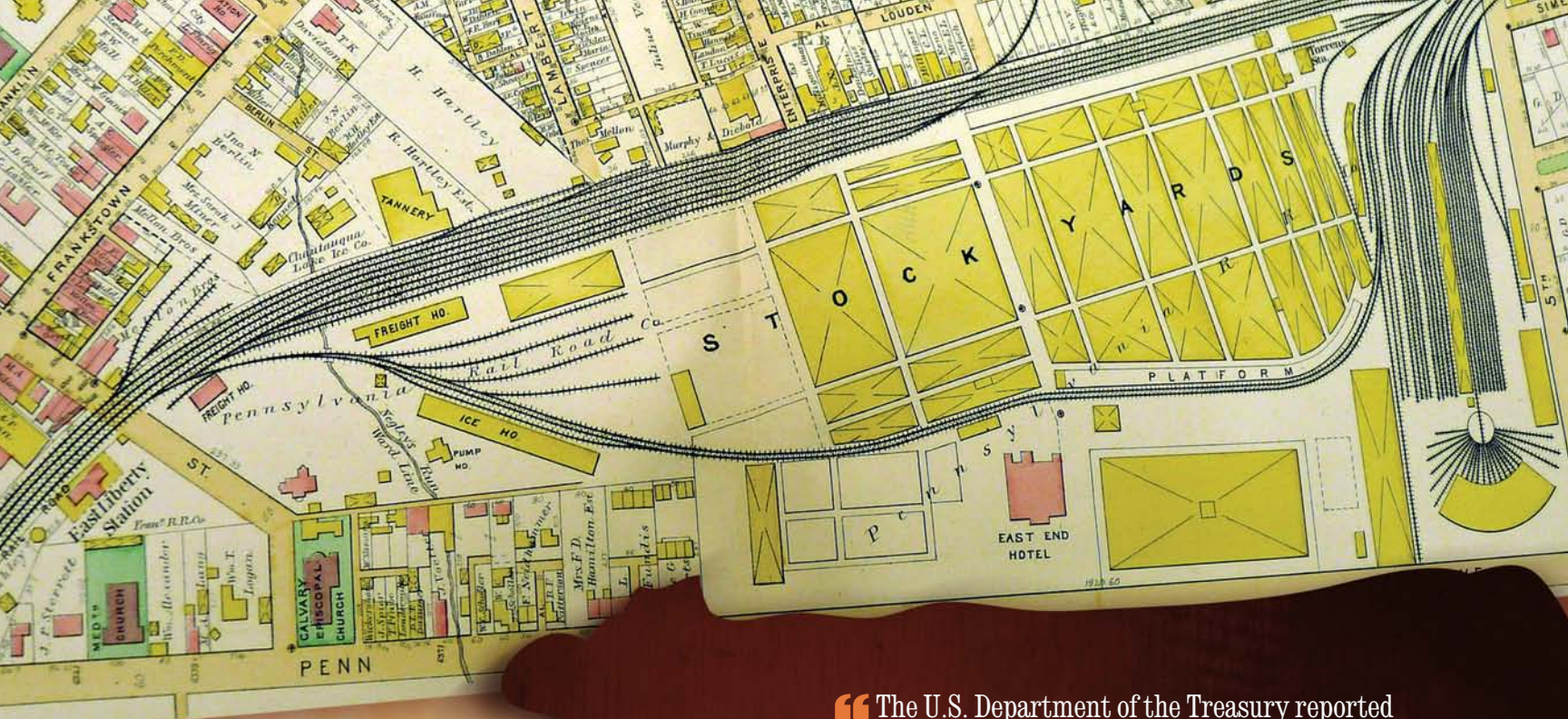
combined with the East Liberty yards’ intended functions as an integrated terminal facility, created an innovative institution. The railroads handled the details for getting the animals to East Liberty and the stockyard firm was responsible for site preparation, construction, and oversight of the facility. Joseph McPherson, a Chicagoan who in 1863 was the livestock agent for the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, was a partner in the new firm and he was its first onsite owner-manager.

McPherson began constructing a hotel and livestock pens shortly after the lease was signed and local newspapers reported on the progress.<sup>19</sup> The 41-acre tract acquired by the railroad was bounded on the south by the Pittsburgh and Greensburg Turnpike (Penn Avenue) and the north by the Pennsylvania Railroad. When the not-yet-completed yards opened February 1, 1864, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* boasted, “This point is hereafter to be the great cattle market of the west.”<sup>20</sup>

Conflict brewed among the partners as the new stockyards were preparing to open and in March 1864 the railroad canceled the lease with the Pittsburgh Union Stock Association. Three of the firm’s partners sold their stakes to McPherson; McPherson in turn found new partners: New York drove yard proprietor Archibald M. Allerton and Chicago livestock







East Liberty Stockyards c. 1889 in *Atlas of the Cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny*, G. M. Hopkins and Co.  
HMC Library & Archives.

entrepreneurs John B. Sherman and Samuel W. Allerton, Jr. The Allertons and Sherman were members of an extended family of butchers, drovers, and livestock dealers who began providing New York City with meat animals from their Mid-Hudson Valley farms in the first quarter of the 19th century.<sup>21</sup>

When the East Liberty yards opened, the effects to Pittsburgh's landscape were almost immediate. The Allegheny City drove yards quickly lost all of the through traffic continuing on to Philadelphia and New York. "The principal hotels at the Allegheny yards are now for rent," reported the *Pittsburgh Gazette* the day after the East Liberty stockyards opened.<sup>22</sup> Although most of the livestock business moved to East Liberty, the mainly German butchers and meat byproducts processors remained behind in Allegheny City. East Liberty, meanwhile, became a stockyards community. The former Second Ward of Allegheny City where the drove yards once were located eventually lost all material ties to the prominent sites but one: an alley named Drovers Way tucked in

among streets commemorating Mexican War generals and battles.

Across the river in East Liberty, Sam Allerton immediately took control. Although there was no model for a fully integrated livestock terminal market, Allerton quickly completed the pens, installed drainage, and finished internal circulation networks necessary to accommodate animals and their human handlers. The brick four-story hotel had accommodations for drovers and others, a bar, billiards room, and an area to house an exchange where business was transacted.

“The U.S. Department of the Treasury reported that the railroad in 1859 shipped 65,103,756 tons of livestock between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. By 1863, the figure was more than four times the 1859 amount: 270,713,390 tons.”

Known first as the Eastern Exchange Hotel and later the East End Hotel, it was the first building completed at the site. Water tanks, storage buildings, alleys, and animal pens covering 25 acres quickly followed.

Preparations to open culminated with the transfer of stock from Allegheny City. Cattle broker Peter Kleman claimed to have bought the first bull sold at East Liberty. Nearly 10 years later he recalled, "When I moved here in 1864 it was a new yard with a small business but it increased from that day and hour up to the present time."<sup>23</sup> Although East Liberty



became the region's livestock focal point, stock cars continued to arrive in Allegheny City's "Outer Depot" and animals had to be moved to the new stockyards.<sup>24</sup>

Opened at the height of the Civil War, the demand for cattle and byproducts like leather created a steady flow of animals and stock cars through the new yards. Stock cars were loaded and unloaded daily. Traffic into the yards was heaviest Sundays as cattle from Illinois and Ohio arrived for sale Mondays. During its first year in operation the East Liberty stockyards turned a tidy profit, taking in more than \$40,000 and paying shareholders \$12,000 quarterly dividends. With a capacity to hold 35,000 hogs and sheep, 10,000 cattle and 5,000 horses, in 1864 the yards handled between 60 and 70 stock cars daily. The business was so brisk at first that the stockyards lacked the capacity to handle all the animals passing through and cattle were kept in cars on rail sidings for as long as 24 hours until space opened up inside the yards.<sup>25</sup>

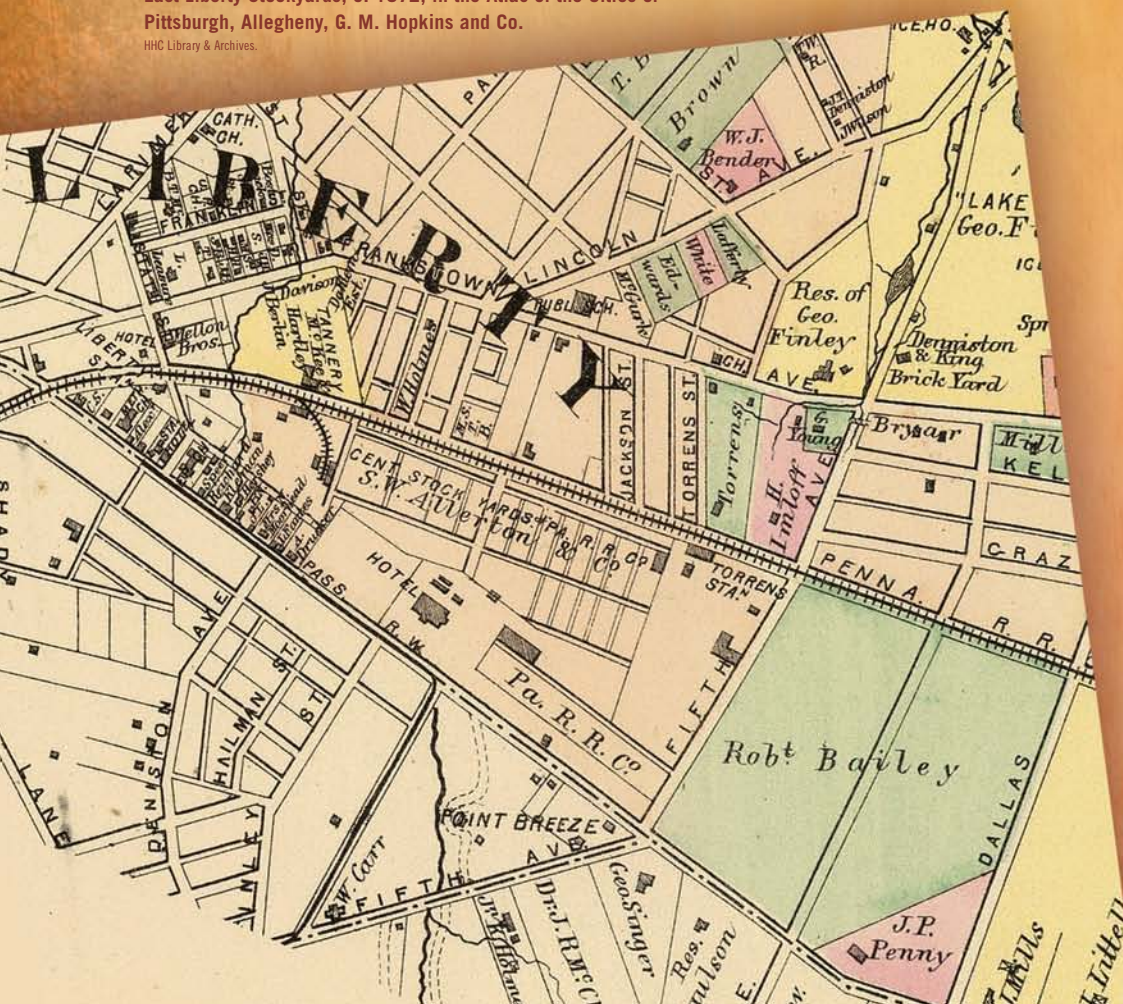
After the end of the war, in Chicago and in other eastern cities, integrated slaughterhouses were key parts of the business plans developed by stockyards companies and railroads. In part, these companies—many of which were owned or controlled by Sam, Archibald, or David Allerton or one of their relatives—were reacting to external anti-pollution movements and municipal nuisance ordinances in addition to internal economizing. As part of this new business model, the East Liberty stockyards in 1866 gained a sibling on the west shore of the Hudson River opposite New York City. The New Jersey Stock Yard and Market Company was incorporated in April 1866 with Sam Allerton and Joseph McPherson among the company's new owners. The new company began building a massive stockyards and slaughterhouse facility at Communipaw Cove in Jersey City, New Jersey. Prior to that time the Pennsylvania had no dedicated livestock terminal in the New York market. Animals the railroad carried from the west were offloaded in Elizabethport, New

Jersey, and ferried across the Hudson River to Manhattan where they were driven through the streets to the Allerton stockyards at 44th Street and Fifth Avenue.<sup>26</sup> While New York City's new health laws (which became effective in 1866) contributed greatly to the construction of the Communipaw abattoir and stockyards, the reduction and elimination of the costs of driving livestock across the Hudson River and through city streets also were significant factors along with increased competition for livestock by the three major railroads.<sup>27</sup>

As the network of railroad stockyards spread, controversy over their siting increased. Neighborhoods surrounding drove yards and later stockyards became populated by drovers and other workers in the industry. As the consolidation of stockyards by Sam Allerton and his local partners in Philadelphia was litigated in the mid-1870s, West Philadelphia's Hestonville was described as a place with "few good houses" but lots of saloons and open space. The neighborhood housed many drovers, livestock commission merchants, and others who either worked in the drove yards or serviced them. According to those who lived near where the Pennsylvania Railroad proposed to build a union stockyards and slaughterhouse, Hestonville was a community of diminished property values, questionable odors, and undesirable residents.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, East Liberty and Pittsburgh residents like R.S. Robertson recounted their tales of noisome smells and sounds.

In Pittsburgh, slaughterhouses and byproducts processors were slow to open near the East Liberty stockyards. By the turn of the 20th century, only a few small slaughterhouses, one tannery, and an ice plant had opened in proximity to the East Liberty yards during their active lifespan. As Pittsburgh grew in the second half of the 19th century, its eastern suburbs were absorbed into the city as wealthy industrial entrepreneurs built homes along streetcar lines and eastern boroughs were annexed into the city.<sup>29</sup>

East Liberty Stockyards, c. 1872, in the *Atlas of the Cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny*, G. M. Hopkins and Co.  
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## LOOKING WESTWARD

East Liberty was a successful experiment and its proprietors wasted no time in setting their sights on creating a larger-scale version in Chicago. Before the Chicago Union Stockyards opened in 1865 there were six principal drove yards scattered throughout the city. McPherson operated the Fort Wayne yards while Sherman had the Michigan Central's yards. In New York, brothers Archibald and David Allerton handled the New York Central's livestock in two Midtown Manhattan stockyards.<sup>30</sup> By the outbreak of the Civil War, the Allerton yards were among the largest in Manhattan and the Allertons began supplying cattle for the Union Army throughout the Mid-Atlantic.<sup>31</sup>

The Allertons, Sherman, and their partners comprised a cartel of the most powerful livestock entrepreneurs in the country. The Pennsylvania strategically selected them for the East Liberty yards with larger network concerns driving its decision making. "The purchase of the grounds and the creation of the yards, which were simply to secure a cattle traffic over the road, you will understand we desired men well known in the business, known to be pecuniarily responsible, to have control of those yards," explained the railroad's attorney at the time.<sup>32</sup> He later amplified his statement on why the Allertons and Sherman were critical. "It was by reason of the connection of Mr. [A.M.] Allerton and Mr. Sherman with these stock yards, either as owners or lessees of them, receiving a majority, if not all, of the stock coming into Chicago, as well as into the City of New York – that they would necessarily be intimate with the shippers of stock."<sup>33</sup> And, at the time the Pennsylvania Railroad was keenly aware of the partners' plans to capture the Chicago livestock terminal market. An 1873 exchange between a Pennsylvania Railroad executive and a lawyer representing John B. Sherman and A.M. Allerton illustrates how the partners were selected by the railroad and why Sherman and A.M. Allerton were silent partners in the venture:

Question: With reference to the reasons assigned by Sherman and A.M. Allerton for not having their names appear in the lease sued upon, I call your attention, first, to the record which you have already examined upon your direct, and to your own testimony on the previous occasion; and now ask you whether the reason assigned for Mr. Sherman's name not appearing was not, in fact, that Sherman was then connected in Chicago with Archibald M. Allerton, and that they were then trying to start



Chicago, September, 1907.

*Samuel W. Allerton.*

Samuel Allerton, 1907.

Author's collection.

what are now known as the Union Stock Yards, and that that was the reason why Sherman did not want his name in? Answer: I believe it was, and that that is, in substance, what I have stated in my direct examination today.<sup>34</sup>

The Pennsylvania Railroad attorney, William J. Howard, later explained,

It was by reason of the connection of Mr. A.M. Allerton and Mr. Sherman with those stock yards, either as owners or lessees of them, receiving a majority, if not all, of the stock coming into Chicago, as well as into the City of New York – that they would necessarily be intimate with the shippers of stock; and as these were terminal points of a large amount of traffic, it would be a matter of indifference to them by what route it would reach New York, so that it got there; and that their interest in an intermediate yard between Chicago and New York, at East Liberty, within a few miles of Pittsburgh, would give them a motive to influence trade over the Pennsylvania Railroad that we supposed it did not exist either upon the New York Central or upon the Erie.<sup>35</sup>

Chicago's Union Stock Yards immediately eclipsed the East Liberty yards to become the largest union stockyards in the United States when they opened in 1865, sprawling over 130 acres. The product of collusion among the Allertons and Sherman worked out in their East Liberty efforts, the disparity in scale was expected, as A.M. Allerton told Sam Allerton in early 1864: "It [East Liberty] was a mere bagatelle compared with the Union stock yards."<sup>36</sup> When the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company opened its monumental Chicago yards, Sherman became the company's first superintendent, a job he held until 1900.

The Allerton partnership quickly soured and deteriorated into litigation spanning nearly two decades. The firm was created to foster the creation of a cartel among the leading livestock shippers and stockyards owners and it ended in legal proceedings that laid bare Sam Allerton's opportunism and influence with the Pennsylvania Railroad. In the first case, *Archibald M. Allerton and John B. Sherman against Samuel W. Allerton*, the court found that Sam Allerton had cheated his partners out of their interests in the stockyards.<sup>37</sup>





Herr's Island, c. 1928.

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As the first case was working its way through the appeals courts, Archibald Allerton found an extra-legal way to settle up with Sam. In May of 1870, Archibald and partner John B. Dutcher arranged a meeting between the nation's leading livestock shipper, John T. Alexander, and the New York Central's president, William H. Vanderbilt, in Vanderbilt's New York City office. The meeting resulted in a contract executed between Vanderbilt and Alexander's firm. It went into effect in the following month, and it required Alexander to ship all of his livestock on the New York Central and its affiliated railroads at greatly reduced rates and it set the stage for one of the first great rate wars in railroad history.<sup>38</sup>

The May 1870 contract enabled Alexander to ship cattle and hogs from Chicago to New York at \$105 for each car containing 20,000 pounds of cattle and 65 cents per 100 pounds for hogs. The Alexander contract caused the price to ship a carload of cattle from Chicago to New York to drop from about \$150 per car to about \$50 per car. The year-long rate war eventually resulted in some cattle cars traveling from Chicago to New York for nothing. Dubbed the "Alexander Break," the move orchestrated by Archibald Allerton allegedly cost the Pennsylvania Railroad approximately \$500,000.<sup>39</sup>

Shortly after he lost the final appeal, Sam Allerton in 1873 used his influence with the Pennsylvania Railroad to compel the company to sue his former partners and himself. Although named as a defendant in

the Pennsylvania Railroad suit, Sam Allerton's defense was separate from Archibald and Sherman's and the railroad's attorneys did not aggressively examine witnesses about Sam Allerton's alleged role in rate fixing and attempts to defraud the railroad. In reporting on the suit, the *Chicago Tribune* offered a synopsis of the New York case and the paper suggested that the federal suit was retribution for Sam Allerton's loss in New York. "A plausible theory, or, at least, a reasonable inference, is that Samuel Allerton's interests are completely identified with the plaintiff, and that the name of the Pennsylvania Company is only used as a convenience," wrote the newspaper in December 1873.<sup>40</sup>

Evidence presented in the second Allerton lawsuit provided Alexander with the basis for filing suit against Vanderbilt for fraud. Alexander was financially and personally devastated by being caught in the Allertons' internecine feud: he lost about \$250,000. The suit alleged that the Alexander firm was

unable to ascertain the actual costs for shipping cattle to New York.<sup>41</sup> Alexander's former manager and partner, William Fitch, testified in later litigation that Alexander never again shipped cattle from Chicago to New York. Alexander, once known as a "cattle king" had been reduced, at least temporarily, to a cattle pauper after turning over most of his assets to creditors. His brother and partner, George, in 1872 was committed to an Illinois insane asylum. Alexander died in 1876 and his executors continued litigation against

“The East Liberty stockyards closed at the end of August 1903 when the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad created a joint stockyards facility on Herr's Island in the Allegheny River.”



Vanderbilt begun in 1873. The lower courts ruled that the statute of limitations had run out on Alexander's opportunity to file fraud charges despite the fact that he had not learned of the facts until after they were revealed the *Pennsylvania Railroad v. Sherman, et al.* case instigated by Sam Allerton. Finally, in 1887, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower courts and the last lawsuit deriving from the opening of the East Liberty stockyards was over.<sup>42</sup>


The network of union stockyards that began in East Liberty and spread out across the rail-connected landscape grew to more than 50 by the second decade of the 20th century. Historically manipulated by livestock shippers at one end of the food chain and meat producers at the other, union stockyards occupied a contested middle ground. As an institution, union stockyards were demarcated by formal contractual constraints and informal understandings among their principals and the railroads. The business conducted within the stockyards impacted the landscape within which the yards were located by defining new relationships between animals, their handlers, and the people who lived and worked near the yards.

The East Liberty stockyards closed at the end of August 1903 when the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

created a joint stockyards facility on Herr's Island in the Allegheny River. Sam Allerton anticipated the yards' closing and in 1901 formed the Pittsburgh Provision and Packing Company with the owners of the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Drove Yard Company, owners of stockyards built on the island in 1884. At the same time, Allerton was named by the Pennsylvania Railroad's board of directors as the new facility's lessee. In 1903 the railroad executed new contracts with another new Allerton company: the Pittsburgh Union Stock Yards Company. Pittsburgh's stockyards were an Allerton enterprise up to his death in 1914.

With the East Liberty Yards closed, the new Herr's Island facilities opened the following Labor Day Monday. The transition marked an important but forgotten moment in the American meat-producing and livestock industries. While touting the new modern facilities, the *National Provisioner* lamented, "It means also the relegation of the present Pittsburg Central Stock Yards into the background after a brilliant and honored career of forty years."<sup>43</sup> By the end of September 1903, the East Liberty yards had been dismantled and the scrap lumber burned and 15 years later the National Biscuit Company built a large brick bakery on part of the property. The new Herr's Island facility quickly rose to one of the top 10

largest stockyards in the United States during the first quarter of the 20th century.

As truck and highway transportation replaced rail during the second half of the 20th century and the stockyards, large slaughterhouse, and a nearby rendering and fertilizer plant were closed, the Herr's Island yards were fallaciously remembered in local histories and by the media as a "rest stop for livestock trains."<sup>44</sup> This coda on the union stockyards institution that was born in Pittsburgh and which reached its early climax in Chicago pushed Pittsburgh and its stockyards further into the dim and faulty recesses of historical memory. 

<sup>1</sup> R.S. Robertson, in *Complainants Rebutting Affidavits*, John Sellers et al. v. The Pennsylvania Railroad et al., 1875, 107.

<sup>2</sup> "Chicago Leads the World," *The National Provisioner*, September 19, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, 1st ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 209-213; Louise Carroll Wade, *Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

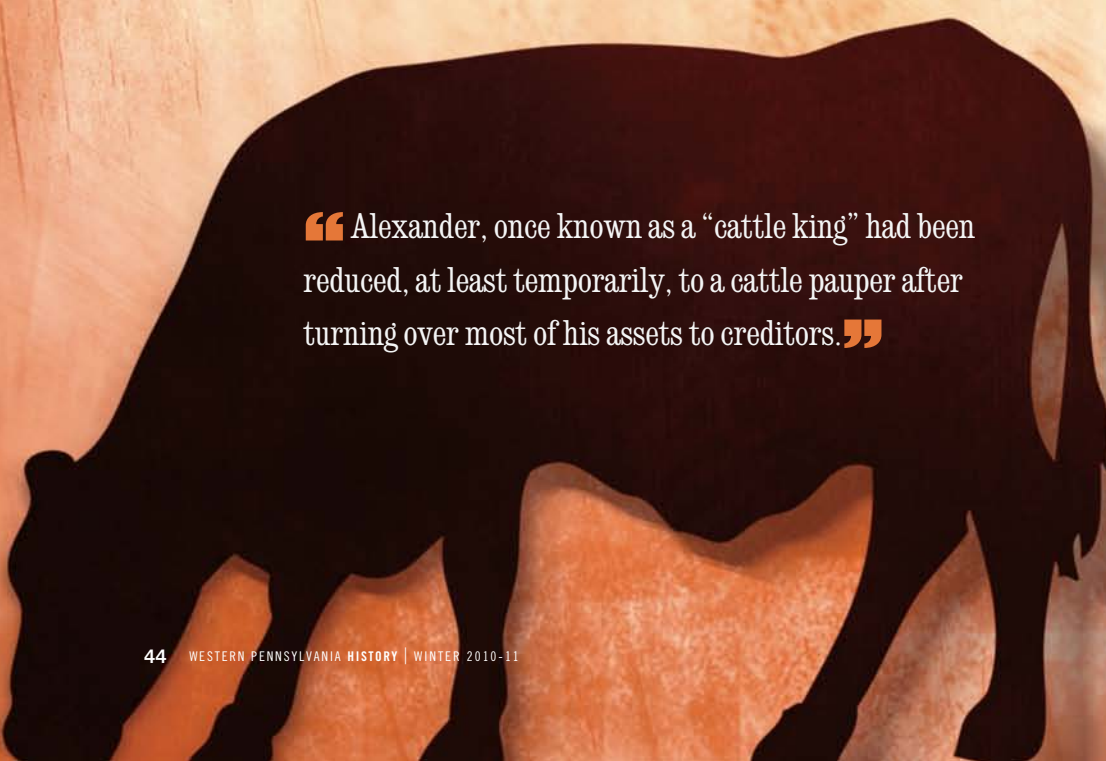
<sup>4</sup> The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad did not reach Chicago until 1874 and was not a major livestock shipper prior to the 1880s. Mary Yeager, *Competition and Regulation: The Development of Oligopoly in the Meat Packing Industry* (Greenwich, Conn: Jai Press, 1981), (Chapter 2, n. 6), 42.

<sup>5</sup> *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. v. Central Stock Yards & Transit Co.*, 45 New Jersey Equity Reports 50 (Court of Chancery of New Jersey 1890); U.S. Congress. Senate, *Packers' Consent Decree. Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 1098.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth J Bonser, *The Drovers, Who They Were and How They Went: An Epic of the English Countryside* (London, 1970), 44-45; A. R. B Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (London: Nelson, 1952); Terry G. Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 194-196; James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860* (Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1973), 95.

<sup>7</sup> Robert M. Aduddell and Louis Cain, "Public Policy Toward 'The Greatest Trust in the World'," *Business History Review* 55, no. 2 (1981): 217-242.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, Calif: The Arthur H. Clark company, 1940); Mary Vose Harris, "The Autobiography of Benjamin



“Alexander, once known as a “cattle king” had been reduced, at least temporarily, to a cattle pauper after turning over most of his assets to creditors.”



## Early Stockyards Companies in the Eastern United States

Stockyards Company	Location	Year Created	Railroad
A.M. Allerton & Co.	44th Street (New York City)	c. 1855	NYC, PRR, Erie
East Liberty Stockyards	Pittsburgh	1863	PRR
Allerton, Dutcher & Moore	Albany	1866	NYC
	Buffalo		NYC
	Suspension Bridge		NYC
	100th Street (New York City)		NYC
Chicago Union Stock Yards & Transit Co.	Chicago	1865	PRR, IC, MC
New Jersey Stock Yard & Market Co.	Communipaw (Jersey City)	1866	CNJ (PRR)
Hudson City Stock Yard and Market Company	Hudson City (Jersey City)	1868	Erie
National Stock Yards Company	Weehawken	1869	Erie
Central Stockyard & Transit Co.	Harsimus Cove (Jersey City)	1873	PRR
St. Louis National StockYards Co.	East St. Louis	1873	PRR, NYC, Erie
Philadelphia Stock Yard Co.	Philadelphia	1875	PRR
Baltimore Stock Yard Company of Baltimore County	Baltimore	1880	B&O
Calverton Stock Yards Co.	Baltimore	1881	PRR
Pittsburgh and Allegheny Drove Yard Company	Pittsburgh	1884	B&O
Union Stock Yard Co. of New Jersey	Washington, D.C.	1887	PRR, B&O
Union Stock Yard Co. of Baltimore, MD	Baltimore	1891	PRR, B&O
Pittsburgh Joint Stock Yards Company	Pittsburgh	1903	PRR, B&O

Key: PRR = Pennsylvania Railroad Company, NYC = New York Central, B&O = Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, CNJ = Central Railroad of New Jersey, Erie = Erie Railroad

Franklin Harris," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1923* (1923): 72-101; Joseph Nimmo, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Treasury Department, 1879); Joseph Nimmo and United States, *Report in Regard to the Range and Ranch Cattle Business of the United States*, reprinted 1972. (New York: Arno Press, 1885); New York. State Cattle Commission, *Report Of The New York State Cattle Commissioners, In Connection With The Report Of The Metropolitan Board Of Health, In Relation To The Texas Cattle Disease*, Senate, No. 9 (Albany: New York State Senate, 1869), 11-156.

<sup>9</sup> New York State Legislature. Assembly, *Proceedings of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate Alleged Abuses of Railroads Chartered by the State of New York*, 8 vols., Report and Testimony Assembly Doc. No. 38, 1880; U.S. Congress. Senate, *Report of the Select Committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products*, 51st Cong., 1st sess. S. Rept. 829, 1890; United States. Federal Trade Commission, *Report on the Meat-Packing Industry*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d.). The frequently-cited 1919 Federal Trade Commission report on meatpacking authoritatively stated that the Chicago Union Stock Yards and Transit Company was the prototype from which all subsequent centralized facilities were derived. United

States. Federal Trade Commission, *Report on the Meat-Packing Industry, Pt. 3, Methods of the Five Packers in Controlling the Meat-Packing Industry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 12-13.

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<sup>12</sup> *The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. v. Central Stock Yards & Transit Co.*, 45 NJ 50.

<sup>13</sup> United States. Department of Agriculture. Office of Markets and Rural Organization, *Report to the Committee on the Economics of the Meat Situation. Methods and Cost of Marketing and Slaughtering Meat Animals and of Marketing and Distributing Meat Products and By Products*, February 23, 1915, 29, RG 136, Records of the Agricultural Marketing

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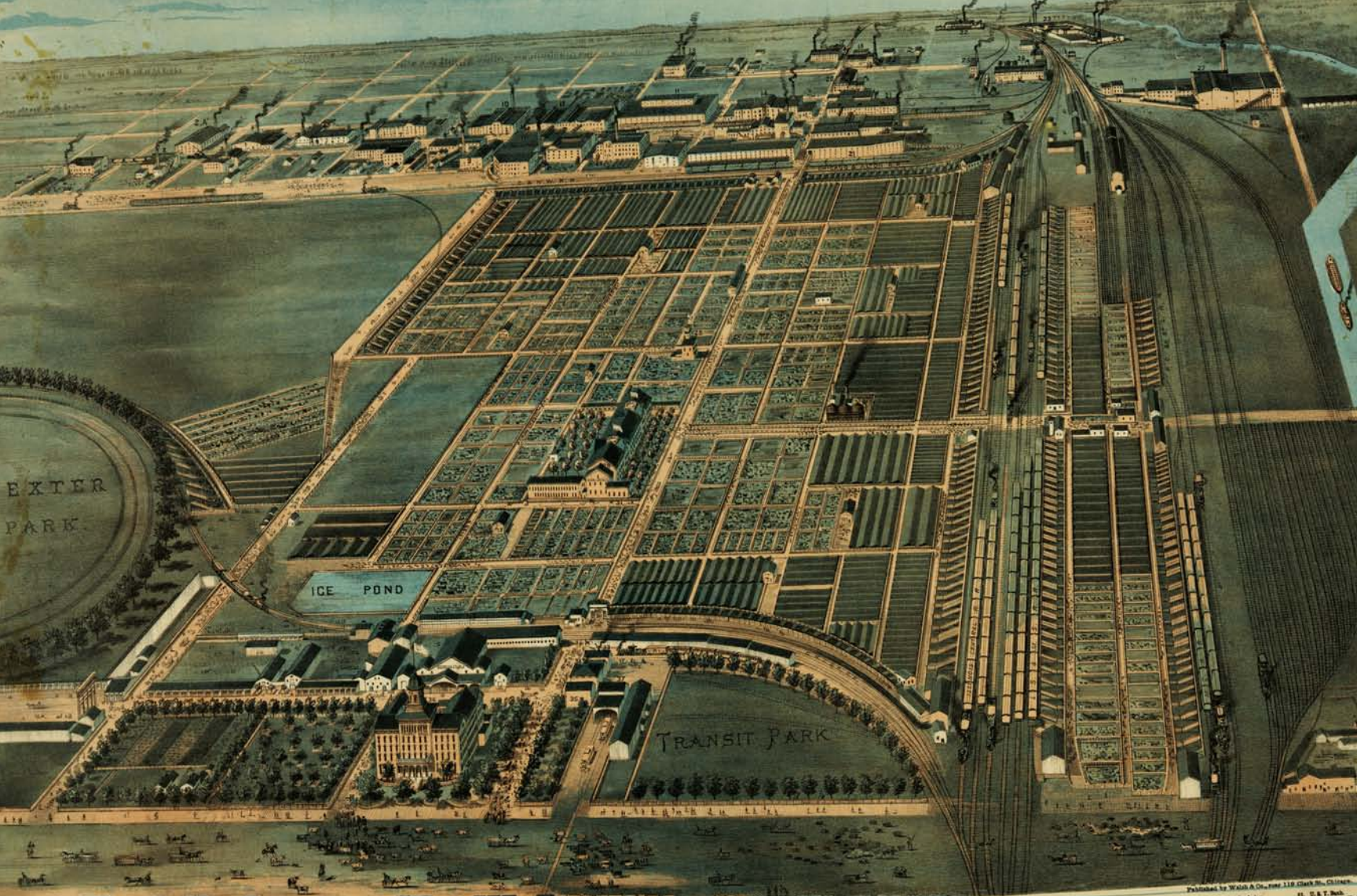
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- <sup>28</sup> "John Sellers et al. v. The Pennsylvania Railroad et al.," n.d., Charles Henry Lea Papers, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Pennsylvania. Both the Mexican War Streets and Hestonville became fashionable Victorian suburbs after the livestock-centered businesses relocated. Robert Carl Jackle, "Philadelphia Across the Schuylkill: Work, Transportation and Residence in West Philadelphia, 1860-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1985); Roger Miller and Joseph Stry, "The Emerging Suburb West Philadelphia, 1850-1880," *Pennsylvania History* XLVII, no. 2 (1980): 99-145.
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**THE GREAT UNION STOCK YARDS OF CHICAGO.**  
*Packing Houses in the distance. Covered Pens for Hogs and Sheep; Open Pens for Cattle. Area of Yards, 118 acres; 90 miles Railroad tracks. Daily Capacity, 20,000 head Cattle; 100,000 Hogs; 10,000 Sheep and 1,000 Horses.*

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| <p>1. Chicago &amp; Dubuque, Paek. House.<br/>         2. D. Thompson &amp; Co.<br/>         3. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         4. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         5. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         6. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         7. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         8. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         9. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         10. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         11. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         12. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         13. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         14. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         15. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         16. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         17. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         18. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         19. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         20. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         21. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         22. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         23. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         24. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         25. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         26. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         27. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         28. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         29. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         30. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.</p> | <p>31. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         32. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         33. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         34. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         35. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         36. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         37. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         38. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         39. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         40. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         41. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         42. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         43. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         44. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         45. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         46. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         47. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         48. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         49. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.<br/>         50. J. L. Lusk &amp; Co. Paek. House.</p> |
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**The Chicago Union Stock Yards.**  
 Library of Congress, LC DIG pga 02434.

“ This coda on the union stockyards institution that was born in Pittsburgh and which reached its early climax in Chicago pushed Pittsburgh and its stockyards further into the dim and faulty recesses of historical memory.”