NOTES

1. THE LARGE-SCALE ORGANIZATION IN MODERN AMERICA

1. William H. Whyte, Jr., popularized this idea with *The Organization Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956).


9. Ibid., p. 337.


12. This statement is likely to be misunderstood. I am not saying that all of American history in, for example, the last century can be best comprehended from this vantage point. What I am saying is that organizational change along the lines discussed here had a more decisive impact upon our history than any other single factor. My position—after substituting the organization for the frontier—is the one that Richard Hofstadter graciously attributes to Frederick Jackson Turner; see *The Progressive Historians* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 118–25.


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15. Here and throughout the book I am using the concept of a generation in a special and restricted sense. I employ the term as merely a convenient tool for aggregating data and ranking causal factors for time periods of approximately twenty years. Demographers and social historians use other, more complex definitions, especially when they are studying family history.

16. My statement is true only if one is searching out the beginnings of an interrelated sequence of events, a continuous developmental process which resulted in the rise of modern bureaucracies. For a different opinion, see Lynn L. Marshall, “The Strange Still-birth of the Whig Party,” American Historical Review 72 (January 1967): 445–68.


19. Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 251–325. One private banking firm which became rather large and complex was Brown Brothers; but the company remained a partnership, and when, in the 1850s and 1860s, one of the branch offices forced the partners to decide between the family and the firm, it was the family that won. See Edward Perkins, “The House of Brown: America’s Foremost International Bankers: 1800–1880” (Ph.D. diss.: Johns Hopkins University, 1972), pp. 100–117, 138–55.


33. Grant McConnell, *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), provides an excellent analysis of this transition, although, as his title indicates, he evaluates the results in a way different from mine.

34. We prepared a list of such companies, using *Moody's Industrials, 1929*.


37. The classic exposition of this point is found in Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).


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42. Ulman, *The Rise of the National Trade Union*, pp. 68–200; the quotations are from pp. 124–25.
47. This is a major theme in Louis Galambos, *Competition and Cooperation: The Emergence of a National Trade Association* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 1–138.
55. *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 13–25. While they relate the other-directed character to “contemporary, highly industrialized, and bureaucratic America,” the authors nonetheless adopt a causal analysis that stresses demographic change (perhaps because it enables them to stretch their generalizations from ancient Athens to contemporary America). Ibid., pp. 7–17.
58. *Capital*, 3: 259. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” in Lewis S. Feuer, ed., *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1959), pp. 1–41, analyzes the varieties of reformers, including conservative, or bourgeois, socialists who are “desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.” Marx and Engels conclude: “The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. . . . The socialism of the bourgeoisie simply consists of the assertion that the bourgeois are bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class” (pp. 35–36).


63. Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 114, said that “by the end of the Taft administration the primary objectives of the antitrust movement had been fairly accomplished. There was no longer any constitutional doubt that the federal government possessed ample power to prevent monopoly and suppress unfair trade practices in the day to day operations of businessmen. Because of Roosevelt's and Taft's vigorous prosecutions, moreover, the age of monopoly was over. Great corporations remained and dominated certain industries, but these oligopolies existed by the sufferance of public opinion and a government that jealously guarded their smaller competitors.”


70. Ibid., pp. 301–2.


73. The assumption here was that values had to be grounded in effective and lasting organizations, built into their structure of roles and sanctions, to be of major significance.

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2. RESEARCH TECHNIQUE: CONTENT ANALYSIS DESCRIBED AND DEBATED


13. The philosophical position might well be labeled “Mandelbaum’s Middleground”; see Maurice Mandelbaum, “Historical Explanation: The Problem of ‘Covering Laws,’ ” *History*

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and Theory I (1961): 229–42. A similar conclusion—stated in a different way—can be found in Berkhofer, A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis, pp. 270–91.

14. My research assistant and I tested our ability to reproduce our results, working as a team. In order to check our reliability in deciding what opinion an item expressed, we reexamined four issues, picked at random, after all of the materials had been read and the results tabulated. The results of the first and second readings were compared, using a percentage agreement index: the index $= \frac{2P_{ab}}{P_a + P_b}$. In this formula, $P_a$ is the number of items scored in the initial reading; $P_b$ is the number scored in the second reading; $P_{ab}$ is the number scored both times. The index for our decisions about the opinion reflected by the material was 0.96. (We derived this index from Merritt, Symbols of American Community, pp. 200–201.) We did not do a similar test using two other readers, in large part because we felt that both readers would need about a month’s experience with the materials and the rather complex score sheet we were using before they could reproduce our results. This, I decided, made the test cost more than it was worth. Had I looked upon myself as a scientist, I would doubtless have concluded that the cost was commensurate with the benefits. Richard L. Merritt has ardently proposed that I erred in this decision, and I would like to acknowledge his earnest advice, even though I ignored it.


16. These two areas included a substantial number of the nation’s farmers. In 1880, 64.4 percent of the country’s farms were concentrated in the north central and south central regions; in 1900 the figure was 67.2 percent. U.S. Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Agriculture, 5 (Washington, D.C., 1902), p. xxxiii.

17. This paper appeared under various names: Southern Cultivator; The Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer; and The Southern Cultivator and Industrial Journal. In this case and others, I have used only one name throughout. All of the circulation figures for Southern Cultivator and for the other papers were taken from N. W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual. These figures are not above suspicion, and in several instances there is good reason to believe that the subscription rates were inflated to enhance the image of the paper or an affiliated organization; thus, the Journal of the Knights of Labor claimed a circulation of 100,000 in 1905, long after the union had entered a period of significant decline. For an intelligent discussion of circulation data, see Daniel A. Pope, “The Development of National Advertising, 1865–1920” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), pp. 263–72.

18. This and other comments upon the readers are based in part upon the published letters to the editor.

19. We analyzed one overlapping year for both journals in order to test this conclusion.

20. In January 1895 the name of this publication was The Farm and Dairy; this was changed to Wallaces’ Farm and Dairy, and then to Wallaces’ Farmer. In 1901, Wallaces’ Farmer had a circulation of 23,769; by 1910 the figure had reached 54,006, and by 1920 it was 65,200.

21. To be consistent, I should not have used Wallaces’ Farmer for the years 1921–24, when Henry C. Wallace was secretary of agriculture.

22. The National Labor Tribune claimed a circulation of 13,000 in 1890 and 18,000 in 1905.

23. The circulation of the American Federationist was officially listed as 43,389 in 1905 and 100,000 in 1920.

25. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1925.

26. This publication was also entitled *Engineering News and American Contract Journal*, *Engineering News and American Railway Journal*, and *Engineering News-Record*. Its circulation was 6,000 in 1890 and 31,327 in 1920.

27. This issue was discussed in 1934 when *Congregationalist* went out of business (March 29, 1934, p. 211). In 1938, an editorial in its successor, *Advance*, noted that “perhaps the most persistent false notion concerning *Advance*, the one that most deeply affects the paper, and the one that is hardest to overcome, is the idea that *Advance* is a minister's paper.” Often it is expressed as if it were a clearly-recognized assumption, or a commonly-established fact. It is cited by ministers in extenuation of their failure to interest laymen in the paper, and by laymen as an excuse for an attitude in which they have not even taken the trouble to test the matter for themselves.” The editorial denied that this was the case. *Advance* 130, no. 4 (April 1938): 145.


29. The *Congregationalist*, which was published in Boston, did not survive the Great Depression and its place was taken in 1934 by the *Advance*. The circulation of the *Congregationalist* was 21,000 in 1880, 24,000 in 1901, and 20,000 in 1915.

30. The shift at this point from the singular to the plural pronoun is deliberate. The plural indicates that two persons, myself and my research assistant, Barbara B. Spence, were directly involved in this part of the research. After some initial trials and a period of floundering, we settled into the following routine: Ms. Spence made the preliminary selection of items to be scored and prepared a score sheet on each such article or editorial; I then read each of these items (as well as any marginal choices) and checked the score sheets; we then discussed and resolved any differences of interpretation. When, for a time, we exchanged duties and I did the initial reading, Ms. Spence raised most of the same objections to my decisions that I had to hers, which suggested that our different opinions were more closely related to the content analysis procedure than to personal bias or previous training.

31. As it turned out, this was an error. There were a large number of very small railroad companies which could well have been eliminated.

32. In a few instances simple addition produced a result which contradicted our intuitive impressions of the article. If our intuitive impressions agreed, we broke the rule.

33. In Pool, *The “Prestige Papers,”* p. 41, only explicit judgments were counted; thus, an editorial associating communism with slave labor camps was considered neutral unless the editor said that slave labor camps were bad.

34. Future scholars will doubtless improve on our technique and introduce more sophisticated measures of attitude. One might, for instance, use a scale ranging from plus three to minus three to measure the intensity of feeling. See Charles E. Osgood, “The Representational Model and Relevant Research Methods,” in Pool, *Trends*, pp. 48–49.

35. In this case we simply wrote down a description of what caused the item to appear and categorized the answers after we had read most of the journals.


37. We discarded this part of the data from the southern farm journals because when we first read the early issues of these papers we were still experimenting with the technique and later changed our rules for this part of the study.

38. Since the information in these categories was used in order to reach conclusions about patterns of attention, I introduced a systematic bias by providing two slots for some aspects (e.g., 13 and 14) and one for others (e.g., 23). It would also have been better if I had been able to

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design categories with the same level of generalization; but, for example, price policy (23) was highly specific, while the large firm's contribution to the general welfare (17) was not. In this sense the two types of information were not completely comparable, but I compared them nevertheless by ranking them in order of importance.


40. In order to check the difference between a two-month and a four-month sample, we compared the total number of items in two samples, one for January and July, and the other for April and October. The samples were taken from yearly issues, picked at random, of *Southern Cultivator* and *Wallaces' Farmer*. At the 5 percent level of significance, we could not reject the hypothesis that there were no differences between the populations from which the two samples were drawn. For practical purposes, what this means is that 95 times out of 100 there would be no statistically significant difference between matched samples drawn from these publications.


41. We actually tested our sample for several of the different journals, including *American Federationist*. In the latter case we compared our regular sample with a six-month sample for one year, picked at random. Changing the sample size increased the number of items scored from ten to twelve per issue and altered the percentage of unfavorable items by 10 percent, for this particular year. This was the least favorable of our results and should perhaps be regarded as an outside limit. The choice of July as one of the two months selected probably introduced an upward bias into the data on corporate political activities, because the Fourth of July usually stirred up some special commentary on the state of American democracy; since, however, the same bias existed for all of the years studied, the figures from any two (or more) years could still be compared without discounting for this bias.

42. My work was funded in part by the Advanced Research Projects Agency under ARPA Order No. 738 and monitored by the Office of Naval Research, Group Psychology Branch, under Contract Number N00014-67-A-0145-0001, NR 177-909. To those of a patriotic bent, this can be seen as a contribution to the national defense effort; those who are critical of university involvement in the military-industrial complex can take solace in the fact that money spent for content analysis could not be used to buy napalm.

3. AN UNEASY EQUILIBRIUM, 1879–1892


2. Until recently, the least understood of the changes has been the development of the distribution system. Fortunately, we can now turn to Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay's study of *Merchants and Manufacturers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).


7. I use singular nouns and pronouns throughout the book when I am discussing the various groups and their perceptions of big business; this is merely a literary device, and I do not mean

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to imply that I am studying either an individual or personality as a system. My focus is upon social phenomena which characterize relatively large groups such as engineers and professional men in general.

Those readers who are interested in the annual percentages depicted in figure 3–1 (and in all of the subsequent graphs) can write directly to the author for a mimeographed copy of the data.

8. Annual data on salaries in engineering and on the demand for engineers are not available for the eighties, but with employment opportunities on the railroads obviously increasing and with the national economy recovering from the recession, it is highly unlikely that engineers were motivated at this time by economic distress.

9. This was the theme of Veblen's collection of essays on The Engineers and the Price System (New York: Viking Press, 1921).

10. Engineering News, July 2, 1887, p. 8. Quotations cannot, in any strict sense, be representative; each has its own individual qualities and that is generally why we employ them. In my case I considered each quotation to be representative of a general category of thought, but I made no effort to ensure that the selections were drawn from the central range of statements within that category. In fact, there was an inherent bias toward the unusual comment, a bias which may not be recognizable in this case because of the rather bland verbal recipes that the engineers used when they wrote.


12. Ibid., July 7, 1888, p. 11.


14. My working definition of ideology is taken from Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 349: “An ideology ... is a system of beliefs, held in common by the members of a collectivity, i.e., a society, or a sub-collectivity of one—including a movement deviant from the main culture of the society—a system of ideas which is oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity, by interpretation of the empirical nature of the collectivity and of the situation in which it is placed, the processes by which it has developed to its given state, the goals to which its members are collectively oriented, and their relation to the future course of events.”

15. This distinction is between what Parsons calls “existential” and “evaluative” belief systems. Ibid., pp. 326–32.

16. Their ideology was thus an empirical, existential belief system rooted in a role structure that was characterized by a high degree of achievement orientation (as opposed to ascriptive norms), by very specific (as opposed to diffuse) relationships, by an emphasis on the collectivity and on the maintenance of affective neutrality and relatively universal standards.


19. Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy describe the various attacks on the Standard Oil combine in Pioneering in Big Business: History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), 1882–1911 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), pp. 201–19. The reader should recall that the figure presented here is based on a two-issue sample; the number is only useful in a relative sense, when compared, for instance, to the thirty-five times that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was mentioned during these same years.


21. Even in the period 1887–92, favorable comments outweighed negative remarks about management (11 to 8).

22. Engineering News was not opposed to regulation as such; when it could be shown to be necessary, as for instance, in assuring the construction of safe iron bridges, the paper approved...
of "mandatory legislation." *Engineering News*, July 2, 1887, pp. 8, 10-11. But, on the other hand, the engineer recognized that "anti-railway legislation puts a check on railway extension" (Jan. 5, 1889, p. 10).


27. Ibid., pp. 91-135, 163-81. On p. 182, May says that "it is . . . difficult to estimate the effect of these new teachings [that is, the social gospel] on the large, solid homogeneous mass of American Protestant opinion." This, I think, is one of the problems that data of the sort I am using can help us solve. An important question to which I am not addressing myself is why this denomination or any part of it was more or less open to these ideas than were other denominations.

28. Buried here are some important distinctions. One is between two kinds of belief systems—those which are ideological and thus empirical, and those which are nonempirical and are philosophical or religious in nature (hence not subject in any final sense to what Talcott Parsons calls "the canons of empirical knowledge"). (The Social System, pp. 328-32.) The other distinction is between a belief system and a value. The latter is in this usage "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (Clyde Kluckhohn et al., "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," in Talcott Parsons et al., *Toward a General Theory of Action* [New York: Harper and Row, 1962], p. 395). A belief system is a cultural pattern which incorporates a number of such values, lends order to them, and performs an integrative function in the social system.

29. Throughout, I am using the pattern variables introduced in chapter I, section IV.


33. Ibid., July 7, 1887, p. 231.

34. Ibid., July 3, 1890, p. 234.

35. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1887, p. 12.

36. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1886, p. 16.

37. Ibid., July 3, 1890, p. 230.

38. Ibid., July 2, 1891, p. 221.

39. Ibid., Jan. 10, 1883, p. 11.

40. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1890, p. 4.

41. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1892, p. 12.

42. This pattern of trade union development was not broken until the 1920s. See Ulman, *The Rise of the National Trade Union*, pp. 42-43; Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), pp. 84-90.


44. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1887, p. 11.


47. Southern Cultivator 40, no. 3 (March 1882): 2; 41, no. 4 (April 1883): 3.

48. This happened so frequently and was the occasion for so many favorable remarks in both the southern and midwestern papers that I felt it distorted my data on the agrarian view of corporate price policies. Very often the same issue of the paper that attacked monopoly prices and price discrimination would follow up these remarks with a friendly comment on the most recent convention rate—itself a form of discrimination in the farmer’s behalf. See, for instance, ibid., 47, no. 7 (July 1889). With this in mind, I have partially discounted the large number of favorable references to price policies.

49. Ibid., 38, no. 1 (January 1880), quoting remarks made at an Alabama Grange meeting, with editorial comment; and W. L. Jones’s article in 44, no. 7 (July 1886).

50. See the letter from J. B. Hunnicutt in ibid., 49, no. 4 (April 1891); also the letter from Thomas D. Baird in 50, no. 10 (October 1892).


52. Ibid., 45, no. 7 (July 1887): 300–301.

53. The figure of 40% refers, of course, only to those articles that mentioned big business. The annual percentages were: 1887, 30%; 1888, 25%; 1889, 17%; and 1890, 40%.

54. Ibid., 49, no. 1 (January 1891): 23.

55. Ibid., 48, no. 7 (July 1890): 321.

56. Ibid. As table 3–3 indicates, almost all of the items mentioned the firm’s economic functions, and the four leading characteristics of the corporation, 1887–92, were all economic in nature.

57. Ibid., p. 324; 47, no. 7 (July 1889): 360–61. The leading negative characteristics, 1887–92, were: 1) general economic power; 2) prices, which was tied with the existence or expansion of the firm.

58. Ibid., 47, no. 7 (July 1889): 356.


63. This subject came up one or more times every year from 1882 through 1888.

64. Southern Cultivator 48, no. 1 (January 1890): 26, and no. 7 (July 1890): 289–99.

65. The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation (used here and in all subsequent calculations) between cotton prices and the percentage of neutral-ambivalent items was +.58. The coefficient for prices against unfavorable attitudes was only −.14. All prices and income data were taken from Strauss and Bean, Gross Farm Income, pp. 63–67. Lacking information on net income (which would measure the cost-price squeeze), I prepared an index of annual gross income from cotton and cottonseed (in constant dollars). Correlations between this index and the figures on unfavorable attitudes indicated, however, that for the years 1879–92 there was a significant positive relationship (+.86). Forced either to concede that during these years the income statistics did not accurately reflect economic distress or, on the other hand, to explain why lower income made farmers less hostile toward the trusts, I chose the first alternative.

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66. It was not irrational to be concerned about one’s status, about the family, or about the declining moral condition of the country. At best, however, these problems had a tenuous connection—if any at all—to the rise of the large firm. Doing away with big business entirely would not have altered the farmer’s status or shored up the family farm, and the farmer’s tendency to see a causal relationship between these problems was, in my view, irrational.

67. *Southern Cultivator* 45, no. 7 (July 1887): 300–301.

68. Ibid., 47, no. 7 (July 1889); 49, no. 1 (January 1891); and 47, no. 7 (July 1889): 320.

69. Ibid., pp. 360–61.


72. Of course, Hofstadter and his opponents have concentrated primarily on those farmers who were actively engaged in reform, and in that sense my sources are different from theirs. I am not meeting the question head on, as does Nugent, for example. Since, however, fine distinctions have not been made in this debate and since the farm mentality in general has been brought into question, I feel justified in contributing to the discussion.

73. *Southern Cultivator* 48, no. 10 (October 1890). See also ibid., 45, no. 7 (July 1887), where the secretary of the East Tennessee Farmers’ Convention says (pp. 300–301) that “the scum of European population is coming here as never before, but few of them have any ideas or appreciation of our system of government.” Cf. *Engineering News*, Jan. 4, 1890, p. 2, which comments “unhappily” on the recent increase in immigration; and *Congregationalist*, Jan. 14, 1892, p. 12. See also ibid., July 1, 1886, p. 217. After 1900 the attitudes expressed in *Congregationalist* suggest that nativism was on the decline, but as late as 1901 the paper quoted a letter from a prominent minister in the interior (that is, the Midwest) that said: “To think that the man who shot the President [McKinley] was American born fills me with horror. If he had been a Russian or Italian, it would not have been half so bad” (Oct. 5, 1901, p. 486).

74. *Farmers’ Review* 17, no. 3 (July 1886): 40; *National Labor Tribune*, July 2, 1881, p. 2.


76. Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913). For editorial discussion of the organizational side of farm life, see *Southern Cultivator* 48, no. 1 (January 1886); 44, no. 7 (July 1886); 45, no. 7 (July 1887); 49, no. 1 (January 1891).


78. Hans B. Thorrell, *The Federal Antitrust Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), pp. 369–80. The impact of the Sherman Antitrust Act can be seen in the change that took place in the number of industries the farmers associated with the concentration movement. In the late eighties, the number increased sharply, while the (relative) amount of attention devoted to the railroad declined; after the law was passed, the number of industries dropped off and railroads assumed their customary position as the leading subject of concern.

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80. Ibid., July 7, 1886, p. 1.

81. Ibid., June 6, 1882, especially the article on "Farming at the Front," pp. 424–25. For similar statements, see ibid., June 6, 1886, p. 12; July 7, 1886, p. 13; Jan. 16, 1889, p. 34; July 8, 1891, p. 433; July 22, 1891, p. 468; Jan. 27, 1891, p. 58.

82. Ibid., April 16, 1890, p. 265; July 2, 1890, p. 448; Jan. 21, 1891, p. 34; Jan. 28, 1891, p. 59; July 8, 1891, p. 427; and July 22, 1891, pp. 458–59.

83. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1891, pp. 18, 30.

84. Ibid., July 29, 1891, p. 475. In both the South and Midwest there was thus evidence of lightning rod effects and of a sense of general social crisis. When one takes the entire period into consideration, however, these patterns of thought were a major aspect of farm thought in the South and only a minor element in the Midwest.

85. Ibid., Jan. 26, 1887, p. 56.

86. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1884, p. 8; Jan. 30, 1889, p. 65. In a discussion of the United States Senate, one article said: "In all matters relating to or affecting either nearly or remotely the questions of methods of accumulating money, and the safety, security, and profitableness of investments, the granting of privileges to corporations, by which fortunes may be made, and the thousand and one ways in which men with fortunes seek to add to them still other fortunes, they act for the interest of their class" (July 7, 1886, p. 8).

87. For examples, see the following selections: *Farmers' Review* January 1879, p. 8; July 22, 1885, p. 53; July 29, 1885, p. 72; Jan. 6, 1886, p. 12; July 7, 1886, p. 5; Jan. 26, 1887, p. 60; Jan. 11, 1888, p. 442; April 30, 1890, p. 309; July 16, 1890, p. 480; Jan. 7, 1891, pp. 3, 6.

88. In the Midwest (and not in the South), the railroads had exerted an important influence on patterns of settlement. Additionally, the close link between railroads and elevator companies left the wheat and corn farmers convinced that the prices they received for their products were controlled by the roads. The southern farmer did not face this situation; his closest relationships were with the local merchants who were the southern counterpart of the elevator companies. (I am here using *northern* and *midwestern* as synonymous terms.)


90. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1885, p. 52; Jan. 29, 1885, p. 73.

91. Ibid., Jan. 18, 1883, p. 33.

92. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1885, p. 47. This particular missive aroused a rejoinder from a correspondent who felt that the Northwestern's rates were "as low as any other" and that "their agents here... would rough... it to accommodate any one of the settlers along the line" (Jan. 29, 1885, p. 84).

93. In the period 1879–86, the leading negative aspects were (in rank order): prices; dependence upon political assistance; and the existence or expansion of big business.

94. Ibid., July 20, 1882, p. 33; Jan. 1, 1885, p. 16; July 5, 1883, p. 8.

95. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1885, p. 54.

96. I tested these relationships using index numbers for gross income (in constant dollars) from corn and hogs; the data on income came from Strauss and Bean, *Gross Farm Income*, pp. 39, 119. Here and throughout the book, I converted income to constant dollars by using a consumer price index. See Ethel D. Hoover, "Retail Prices after 1850," in *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 162. For later periods, I spliced the Hoover index into the consumer price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is available in *Historical Statistics*, p. 126. In the instance at hand the results were as follows (1918 = 100):

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The wheat farmer had similar problems; the price per bushel (yearly average) and the annual gross income from wheat both stayed below the 1882 level during the following ten years.


98. The coefficient of correlation (r) between the percentage of favorable items and an index for freight rates, 1879–89, was −.66. For the percentage of unfavorable items, r = +.59. The index (1882 = 100) was based upon revenue per ton mile. See Ripley, *Railroads*, pp. 411–25; and *Historical Statistics*, p. 428.


100. Ibid., April 23, 1890; Jan. 7, 1891, p. 3; July 22, 1891, pp. 458–59. The paper quoted with approval Supreme Court Justice Barrett's remark: “This question of trust is, I think, almost of as much consequence as slavery” (July 2, 1890, p. 448).


102. These figures are the respective means of the annual percentages.

103. Between 1880 and 1886, the leading negative aspects (as opposed to the leading aspects given in table 3–5) were as follows: labor relations; dependence upon political assistance; wages and hours.

104. *National Labor Tribune*, July 2, 1881, p. 2. This was the Frick Coke Co., which, as mentioned above, “vomited” strikebreaking “hungry Hungarians” on Pennsylvania.

105. Ibid., p. 5.

106. Ibid., July 1, 1882, p. 1.

107. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1881, p. 1; July 1, 1882, p. 2.


116. For examples, see the following: *National Labor Tribune*, July 1, 1882, pp. 1, 3, and 4; Jan. 6, 1883, p. 5; Jan. 5, 1884, p. 1; July 13, 1889, p. 1.


118. From Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, came a letter offering an optimistic report and a wonderfully mixed metaphor: “We have now got this district in proper shape in unionism. . . . It is moved from center to circumference, and the tower of monopoly that has been predominant is no more as such. A break has been made, the clouds are scattered, and a firmness of purpose is exhibited by the men that the power of monopoly cannot break” (ibid. July 4, 1891, p. 4).
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10. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1894, p. 33.
11. Ibid., July 4, 1895, pp. 15–16, 33.
12. Ibid., July 5, 1894, pp. 7–8.
13. Ibid., pp. 9–10; Jan. 3, 1895, p. 34. See also July 4, 1895, p. 33, where “the tyranny of labor” is labeled one of the nation’s “new problems”; and July 2, 1896, pp. 10–11.
15. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1896, p. 33, contains approval of a gentle variety of noblesse oblige.
16. This statement may appear to contradict the information under “Leading characteristics” in table 4–1, but the data in that table are based on the total number of times “Labor relations” and “Financial practices” were mentioned, regardless of whether they were presented in a favorable, unfavorable, or neutral way. The statement above refers to the number of times these characteristics were considered in a negative fashion between 1893 and 1896.
17. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1894, pp. 10–11. See also July 6, 1899, pp. 12–14.
18. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1895, p. 34; July 4, 1895, pp. 8, 36.
19. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1897, p. 38; July 1, 1897, p. 34; July 7, 1898, p. 29; Jan. 5, 1899, pp. 2, 6–7; July 5, 1900, p. 2; Jan. 5, 1901, p. 46; April 6, 1901, p. 567.
20. Ibid., July 6, 1899, p. 8.
21. Ibid., July 6, 1901, p. 42.
22. Ibid., July 1, 1897, p. 9; Jan. 4, 1900, p. 16; July 5, 1900, pp. 2, 26; Jan. 5, 1901, p. 17; April 6, 1901, pp. 513–14, 524, 556; July 6, 1901, pp. 7, 18, 26–31, 33, 51; Oct. 5, 1901, pp. 497–501.
23. Ibid., July 6, 1901, p. 7.
24. I prepared a rough index of real annual income, 1890–1926, based on the average earnings listed in Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), pp. 91–92; I converted these average earnings to constant dollars by using the consumer price index that was discussed in note 96, chapter 3. The resulting index figures for income (1926 = 100) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1892</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

25. The coefficient of correlation for favorable attitudes against real income = .12; for unfavorable opinions against real income, r = .52; Congregationalist, Jan. 5, 1899, p. 9.
27. Southern Cultivator 54, no. 1 (January 1896): 17; July 15, 1897, p. 16; Aug. 1, 1897, p. 30. The price of cotton fell from 8.0 cents a pound in 1893 to 6.0 cents in 1894, went back up to 7.4 cents in 1895 and 1896, and then fell to 6.1 cents and finally to 5.1 cents in 1897 and 1898 respectively. The price in 1898 was lower than it had been at any time in the previous twenty years. Frederick Strauss and Louis H. Bean, Gross Farm Income and Indices of Farm Production and Prices in the United States, 1869–1937 (Washington, D.C., 1940), p. 64. The figures presented here are farm prices for the calendar year.
28. The period of greatest disequilibrium was from 1887/89 through 1896/98. Hereafter, the reader should look to the Appendix for data in support of any references to equilibrium or disequilibrium, stability or instability.
30. The July 15, 1897, issue of Southern Cultivator is sprinkled with articles in this vein.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1897; see also similar comments in 54, no. 1 (January 1896); August 1, 1897; and Jan. 15, 1898.

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33. See tables 3–3 and 5–3.
34. My hypothesis about the relative importance of these two factors is grounded in the assumption that negative sanctions are generally less effective in the learning process than positive sanctions; hence, I concluded that the removal of those organizations which either rewarded or seemed to hold out the promise of positive rewards to the farmer would be more likely to influence his behavior than would the negative experience of Bryan’s defeat.

35. Southern Cultivator, Jan. 1, 1898, p. 16.
36. Ibid., July 1, 1900, p. 4.
38. Hoffmann, The Depression of the Nineties, pp. 84–89. Strauss and Bean, Gross Farm Income, p. 64.
39. Strauss and Bean, Gross Farm Income, p. 64.
40. Southern Cultivator, Jan. 15, 1901, pp. 18–19. There were more favorable references to products and services than to any other aspect of the large firm, 1897–1901.
41. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1900, p. 10.
42. Ibid., July 15, 1900, pp. 9, 16; Jan. 1, 1901, p. 20. In 1900, 50% of the references to the economic dimensions of the large firm were favorable and 38% unfavorable; in 1901, the figures were 60% and 40%.
43. In 1900 the percentage of favorable items in Southern Cultivator was greater than the percentage of negative articles for the first time since 1892.
44. This transition has received substantially less attention from historians than have the origins of the several periods of intense agrarian political activity—in particular the Populist phase in the mid-nineties. In general, historians have been more concerned about where agrarian discontent came from than they have been about how, when, and why it waned. For exceptions to this rule, see the following studies, each of which offers an explanation which differs in some regards from the one given above: Fred A. Shannon, The Farmer’s Last Frontier (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1945), p. 327; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), pp. 109–30; Harold U. Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890–1900 (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 268–70; Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), pp. 55–56; C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877–1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 369–70; Sheldon Hackney, Populism to Progressivism in Alabama (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 107, 112–16.
46. The highest figure (M.D.) for any single three-year period, 1879 to 1940 inclusive, fell in the middle of this decade (1894/96); the nineties still rank below the thirties, however, in terms of the total amount of variation and the length of the phase of disequilibrium.
47. To a considerable extent, the shift from Farmers’ Review to Wallaces’ Farmer was responsible for the high degree of disequilibrium in the period 1893/95 to 1894/96. Because of the discontinuity in this instance, we analyzed Farmers’ Review for 1895–96 and compared these figures with the data from Wallaces’ Farmer. In both journals there was evidence that a cycle of heightened antitrust opinion was taking place, but there were substantial differences between the two papers. In part the differences stemmed from the Farmers’ Review policy of printing a large number of small news items which were almost always neutral toward big business; even if the neutral-ambivalent items were ignored, however, the contrast between the two journals was extreme (the percentage of unfavorable items was thirty-five points higher in Wallaces’ Farmer). The editor of Farmers’ Review had apparently become rather heavily involved in businesses which were not related to agriculture, and I had the impression that in the early nineties he was increasingly out of touch with farm opinion. In retrospect I can see that it would have been wise to have shifted journals before 1895. By contrast, Henry Wallace was an avowed antimonopolist who said (in 1895) that he had left his previous job with the Iowa Homestead because the paper’s business manager had objected to Wallace’s policy of maintain-

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ing the publication’s “position as the leading western exponent of anti-monopoly principles. Failing in this . . . ,” Wallace moved to a paper “over the editorial policy of which he [had] full control” (Wallaces’ Farmer, March 1, 1895, p. 2).

49. Ibid., July 31, 1896, p. 6. The only things that would apparently not be sucked in were “the beef trust, the coal trust, the Standard Oil trust and one or two others.”

51. Ibid., July 16, 1897, p. 2.
52. Ibid., July 3, 1896, p. 3.
53. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1899, p. 4.
54. Ibid. In 1899 there were an unusual number of comments on the social aspects of big business, with 17% of the items mentioning this subject; see table 4-4. In 1900 this dimension of the trust movement did not arouse any discussion, but it came up again in 1901 and in every year thereafter, until 1911.

56. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1899, p. 4.
57. Ibid., Jan. 20, 1899, p. 42.
59. Ibid., July 3, 1896, p. 3. In the years 1893–1901, political technique was the third-ranked negative aspect of big business; it attracted more criticism than anything except prices and the expansion (or existence) of the trusts.

60. Ibid., p. 6.
62. In 1895, 17% of the items in Wallaces’ Farmer mentioned political facets of the corporation and half of these were negative; in 1896, 35% of the items touched on this subject and 92% of the articles were unfavorable. During the following year, political functions came up in only 8% of the items, but by 1899 the figure was back up to 48% (with 88% of the selections unfavorable).

63. The second half of this statement is based on figures not presented in table 4-4; these data indicate that during the years 1893–1901, 5% of the items appeared in response to some form of political activity at the national level, while 7% could be traced to state governments.

64. One could mount an argument against both my evidence and my conclusion on this point. First, the information under “Leading sources” does not go back to an original or primary source; if an article appeared as a result of a meeting of the livestock association, we scored the category “Meetings and conventions,” even though the discussion at this particular gathering might in part have been prompted by a political campaign. Furthermore, if one adds together all of the various forms of political activities—national, state, and local—for all branches of government, this category would rank higher than “Meetings and conventions” as a source of items. Together, political actions accounted for 14% (up from 10% for the years 1879–92) of the items for which a source could be identified; the comparable figure for the “Meetings and conventions” category was 12%. So it goes.

65. They were the leading negative characteristic of the giant firm from 1879 through the end of the First World War in the eyes of the midwestern farmer.

66. Revenue per ton-mile was .898 cents in 1892 and only .750 cents in 1901 (Historical Statistics, p. 431); Wallaces’ Farmer, June 21, 1895, p. 12.
68. The existence or expansion of the firm was the second-ranking characteristic (table 4-4) in the midwestern paper and was also in second place among the negative characteristics.

69. Ibid., July 10, 1896, p. 4; Jan. 10, 1896, p. 3.
70. Ibid., July 7, 1899, p. 561.
71. The sources for my income and price data (in each case for corn and hogs) are listed in note 96, chapter 3; the index numbers (1918 = 100) are as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross income in current dollars</th>
<th>Gross income in constant dollars</th>
<th>Mean index of corn and hog prices</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross income in current dollars</th>
<th>Gross income in constant dollars</th>
<th>Mean index of corn and hog prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1898</td>
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<td>1897</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72. For current dollar income and favorable attitudes, $r = .54$; for unfavorable opinions, $r = -.56$. For constant dollar income and favorable attitudes, $r = .61$; for unfavorable attitudes, $r = -.51$. For prices against favorable opinions, $r = .60$; for negative opinions, $r = -.56$.

73. The leading favorable aspect was corporate prices, but for reasons advanced in the previous chapter (note 48), I have ignored those figures and focused attention on the second-ranking characteristic, that is, the manner in which business enhanced the general wealth.


75. During the years 1893–1901, *Engineering News'* comments on prices were favorable by a margin of three to one.

76. In the period 1893–96, the engineering journal made no negative remarks about corporate management, and the financial affairs of big business were looked upon with favor (here the margin was four to one).

77. In 1894 only 5% of the items in our sample discussed labor relations. This was the peak period of concern for this issue during the entire decade. In the following year labor relations was not mentioned once.

78. *Engineering News*, July 5, 1894, pp. 1, 12. On p. 22 of the same issue another article analyzed the strike in language that was uncharacteristically strong for this journal: “That the war now being waged against the public—for so has the 'strike' developed—was ill-conceived, criminal of execution and certain of ignominious failure is easily apparent. The genuine cause of the whole uprising—it is rank rebellion against law and order—has long since been lost sight of. It has developed into a determination as to whether owners or employees are to be masters of a property, and to such a struggle there can be but one outcome.”

79. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1900, p. 10.

80. In terms of the total amount of fluctuation and the duration of the phase of disequilibrium, the depression years rank below the periods 1885/87 through 1890/92 and 1933/35 through 1938/40.


82. On occasion, international bodies aroused comment; during the years 1893–1901, these included the International Railway Commerce Congress, the Paris Exposition, and the International Association for Testing Materials.

83. Ibid., July 5, 1894, p. 5.

84. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

85. These remarks were in a letter from an anonymous civil engineer in Chicago. The editor of *Engineering News* disagreed with the letter writer and said that an engineering education provided "a good foundation on which to build an experience in the railway service which may or may not lead to the highest positions, according to the abilities that a man develops in handling men." The editor's remarks were especially revealing insofar as the only factor that he assumed would influence success was individual ability, an assumption about achievement and individualism that was widely held in nineteenth-century America; on the other hand, the particular ability he specified was that of "handling men," and this acceptance of the primacy of collective orientation seems not to have become normative in most other sectors of the middle
cultures until well into the twentieth century. Both items are in *Engineering News*, Jan. 4, 1900, p. 10.

86. Since I was unable to find any direct estimates of income in engineering for the years before 1929, I used the figures in *Historical Statistics*, pp. 91–92, on the average annual earnings of clerical workers in manufacturing and on steam railroads. I adjusted these figures upward, basing my multiplier on the relationship between these estimates and the 1929 figures (p. 97) on the median base monthly salary rate for engineers. For the period 1929–40, I used the latter data exclusively and estimated the income for the years not included by assuming a linear rate of change. The current dollar figures were converted to constant dollars in the manner outlined in chapter 3, note 96. The results of these calculations (in constant dollars), expressed as index numbers (1940 = 100), are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87. For current dollar income against favorable attitudes, 1890–1901, r = .64; for constant dollars, r = .54; when I used the index numbers (which were rounded off), r = .50. None of the correlations between income and negative evaluations produced significant results. This was neither surprising nor disappointing because the important shifts that took place in the respective percentages were due more to changes in the real number of favorable than of unfavorable opinions. Between 1893–94 and 1895–96, for example, the number of negative items increased from 6 to 9, while the number of positive articles dropped from 23 to 8.

88. The number of positive comments on management declined in the mid-nineties, but critical remarks did not in this case supplant the engineer's praise.

89. For a discussion of the increasing importance of urban projects in the main patterns of economic development in America, see Alan D. Anderson, "Urbanization and American Economic Development, 1900–1930: Patterns of Demand in Baltimore and the Nation" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1973).

90. Hence, the third leading characteristic of the large firm (table 4-3) became miscellaneous political activities, and the percentage of the items mentioning the political functions of the firm increased slightly. In 1901 (by one of our measures, a peak year for negative comments) all of the critical articles touched in some way upon politics. *Engineering News*, Jan. 3, 1901, pp. 1, 9, 12–13; July 4, 1901, pp. 8–9. Local passenger transportation had been the third-ranking industry in the years 1887–92; see table 3-1.

91. Steffens published his first such article—"Tweed Days in St. Louis"—in *McClure's Magazine* in October 1902; his several muckraking articles on this subject were gathered into a book, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: Peter Smith, 1948), that first appeared in 1904. The quotation is from *Engineering News*, Jan. 5, 1893, p. 13. See also July 7, 1898, for an appraisal of "the supercilious and insulting tone adopted, in the negotiations with the Rapid Transit Commission, by the young multi-millionaire and the sage dealer in puts and calls who control the destinies of the Manhattan Company."


93. The efficiency of the large corporation was tied with products and services as the leading favorable characteristic, 1893–96, and was the second-ranking favorable aspect, 1897–1901.

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95. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1900, p. 8; see also Jan. 7, 1897, pp. 8, 11-13; and July 4, 1901, p. 1.
103. During the years 1893-96 the Pullman Co. ranked fourth among the firms receiving the most attention.
104. Ibid., July 5, 1894, p. 1.
105. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1895, p. 3; July 4, 1895, p. 5.
106. I correlated the data on attitudes with three separate indices of income: hourly real wages, daily real earnings in all manufacturing (both from Albert Rees, *Real Wages in Manufacturing, 1890–1914* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960], p. 120), and average annual real earnings of employed wage-earners in all industries (from Paul H. Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890–1926* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930], p. 391). In this case none of the coefficients of correlation were significant, whereas they had been for the period 1880–92 (see note 124 in chapter 3).
107. Again, let me remind the reader that the list of leading characteristics in table 4-5 is based on all of the references to big business, regardless of their evaluative content; here I am discussing only the negative characteristics (in rank order).
108. This latter characteristic appears in our data as comments on the existence or expansion of the large company. This was the leading overall characteristic in these same years, as table 4-5 illustrates.
109. See, for example, any of the following: *National Labor Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1900, pp. 4, 8; Feb. 1, 1900, pp. 1, 4, 5; April 5, 1900, p. 8; July 5, 1900, pp. 4, 5; Jan. 10, 1901, pp. 1, 2.
110. For some exceptions, see ibid., Jan. 4, 1894, p. 5; Jan 3, 1895, p. 1; and Jan. 2, 1896, p. 5. Failure to talk about mechanization is not necessarily related to a sense of powerlessness; see, for instance, John Higham, “Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History,” *Journal of American History* 61 (June 1974): 19-23. In the case of the skilled worker, however, the problem of mechanization was so acute, and his willingness to discuss lesser problems so evident, that his omission of this issue can not, I think, be satisfactorily explained without reference to the craftsman’s failure to find any solution to his dilemma.
111. There is also the possibility that opposition to these kinds of changes might not have seemed legitimate to some workers, but I am suspicious of this explanation, if only because the workers seemed to approve of other actions—in strikes, for example—which were by general standards equally unacceptable.
113. Charles Tilly has made a similar point in a number of recent publications that probe the relationship between collective violence and political suppression; as Tilly concludes, the absence of collective violence does not necessarily indicate the presence of consensus or social harmony. See, for example, David Snyder and Charles Tilly, “Hardship and Collective Violence in France, 1830–1960,” *American Sociological Review* 37 (October 1972): 520-32; and

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114. Because of the importance of this combine, we did a month-by-month content analysis of the National Labor Tribune’s image of big business for the years 1900, 1901, and 1902. *National Labor Tribune*, April 5, 1900, p. 1.

115. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1900, p. 4.
117. Ibid., March 7, 1901, p. 4; and April 4, 1901, p. 4.
118. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1901, p. 4.

119. Strictly speaking, these two groups of workers overlapped, and if my central assumption about the relationship between attitudes and publications is correct, then the AFL data includes the information from the National Labor Tribune. The Amalgamated Association was, for instance, a member of the AFL. There is, however, no way to separate the two sets of information, and as a matter of convenience I have discussed the results as if they were drawn from two separate bodies of skilled workers.

120. In this instance there was so little neutral or favorable data that the aspects under “Leading characteristics” in table 4-6 are the same as the leading negative aspects.


122. Ibid., 2, no. 11 (January 1896): 201–4; 1, no. 1 (March 1894): 7.

123. The importance of the American Tobacco Company can in part be traced to the fact that the Federation’s president, Samuel Gompers, headed the Cigar Makers’ International Union. The Rockefeller mining firm was the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining Co.


125. Ibid., 4, no. 5 (July 1897): 97.
126. Ibid., 1, no. 1 (March 1894): 4, 13.

127. The correlations between unfavorable attitudes and hourly real wages ($r = -.79$) or daily real earnings ($r = -.79$) in all manufacturing are significant; the income figures are from Rees, Real Wages in Manufacturing, 1890–1914, p. 120. It is suggestive of the Federation’s major sources of strength, however, that the highest coefficients are for unfavorable attitudes ($r = -.88$) and for favorable opinions ($r = +.54$) against average hourly earnings in the unionized building trades; these figures on earnings are in Historical Statistics, p. 91.

128. The third leading source, “Other publications,” lagged far behind the first two, but the information collected in this category slightly qualifies my conclusion. The American Federationist drew ideas from a number of different papers—including the *New York Journal*, the *Denver Times*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*—which were not directly affiliated with organized labor.

129. For specific references to wages, see any of the following: *American Federationist* 7, no. 1 (January 1900): 14, 18, 19, 21; 7, no. 7 (July 1900): 211, 219; 8, no. 1 (January 1901): 21; 8, no. 7 (July 1901): 271, 274.


133. Ibid., 8, no. 7 (July 1901): 245–47.

134. I calculated the aggregate, weighted percentages in figure 4-9 (and in all of the subsequent figures presenting aggregate data) in the following manner. First, I combined the southern and midwestern farm series by using the means of the annual percentages; I did the

The results of these calculations were time series representing the shifting attitudes about big business among laborers, farmers, and professional men. As a final step in the process of aggregation, I figured the weighted means of the annual percentages in these three sets of time series. The weighting was based on the respective sizes of the three occupational groups (that is, farmers, skilled laborers, and professionals) in the total American population, as determined by the census. Between census years, I assumed that a regular rate of change took place. *Historical Statistics*, pp. 74-78; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteen Census, Population. Comparative Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940* (Washington, D.C., 1943), pp. 104, 111, 187. The rounded off figures (in thousands) for the three groups studied were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Skilled laborers</th>
<th>Professionals</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Skilled laborers</th>
<th>Professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>4,301</td>
<td>1,396</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>6,442</td>
<td>5,482</td>
<td>2,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>5,382</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>6,032</td>
<td>6,246</td>
<td>3,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>5,763</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>5,362</td>
<td>6,203</td>
<td>3,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>6,163</td>
<td>4,315</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

135. For comments on the consensus school, see chapter 1.


5. THE PROGRESSIVE CYCLE, 1902-1914


NOTES TO PAGES 112-117


5. See the references in chapter 1, note 66.


7. Here and in all subsequent references to stability and equilibrium, see the Appendix for the relevant data.


10. Ibid., July 7, 1906, p. 5; Jan. 7, 1905, pp. 7–8; July 1, 1905, p. 6.

11. The category “Federal executive action” ranks second among the leading sources of items on big business. When all of the various divisions of political activity (i.e., state as well as federal action; legislative as well as executive and judicial behavior) are added together, they account for 20% of the items (1902–14) in which we could identify a source. The comparable figure for 1880–92 is 13%, and for 1893–1901 it is only 8%.

12. “Other publications” was the category ranked third.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., July 4, 1912, p. 22.


20. See table 5-1.


22. Ibid., July 7, 1906, pp. 7–8. The case involved the murder of architect Stanford White by Henry Thaw, the son of a wealthy Pennsylvania family.


24. Ibid., July 4, 1903, p. 9; see also p. 27.

25. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1906, p. 24; July 1, 1905, p. 6; see also July 7, 1906, p. 10.


27. See the note on “Leading solutions” in table 5-1 for data on the years 1880–1901. During the period 1880–92, 14% of the items mentioned some type of solution or response in favorable terms; in the years 1893–1901, the figure was 15% in the progressive era, 26%.


29. Ibid., July 7, 1906, p. 5. See also Jan. 2, 1904, p. 43; July 2, 1904, p. 7; Jan. 7, 1905, pp. 7–8; July 6, 1907, p. 9; Jan. 2, 1909, p. 7; July 2, 1910, pp. 7, 9; July 1, 1911, p. 6; Jan. 6, 1912, pp. 9, 14, 26, 34; Jan. 2, 1913, p. 11; July 3, 1913, p. 31; July 2, 1914, p. 18.

30. Ibid., July 2, 1910, p. 9.

31. Ibid., July 1, 1905, p. 6; Jan. 2, 1913, pp. 12, 32.

32. The midwestern farmer saw the corporation’s tendency to enhance the general wealth as its most positive attribute during the period 1902–8; during the period 1909–14, this aspect ranked second, behind the way big business enhanced the individual’s opportunities.

33. In one year, 1903, the percentages of unfavorable and of favorable attitudes were approximately equal (35% and 33% respectively).

**NOTES TO PAGES 118-126**

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34. There was substantially more continuity in the editorials than in the other parts of the paper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unfavorable items</th>
<th>Unfavorable editorials</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unfavorable items</th>
<th>Unfavorable editorials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. In the years 1902–14, all political activities combined accounted for 23% of the items for which we could determine a source; the comparable figure for 1893–1901 was 14%, and for 1879–92, 10%. In the progressive era, the federal executive and legislative branches were the most important stimulants to discourse, but the farmers were less open to the influence of presidential personalities than was the Congregational clergy.

37. Ibid., July 13, 1906, p. 851. See also July 21, 1905, p. 891; July 28, 1905, p. 913; July 13, 1906, pp. 871, 890; Jan. 10, 1908, p. 29. In the latter issue, the editor of Walaces' Farmer said that "the old ways of doing business will not be tolerated longer by the American people... We have adopted a new standard of morals, or rather have a clear conception of the everlasting principles of righteousness... When it is once settled that the Roosevelt policies are here to stay and will be continued, if not by a republican then by a democrat, there will be no cloud on the financial sky."

38. Our figures thus understate the impact of politics to the extent that letters to the editor, the leading source of items in the years 1902–14, were themselves inspired by political activity. Frequently this was the case; see, for example, the letter from John G. Osborn, of Rock Island County in Illinois, July 6, 1906, p. 857. Osborn discussed the meat inspection law and its probable impact upon public health and upon the packing industry, but in our procedure for recording data, the source of the item was scored under "Letter."

39. For an exception see Walaces' Farmer, July 15, 1904, p. 902.
42. See section IV, chapter 4. Before 1899 and after 1915, the farmer hardly ever mentioned the social dimension of the large firm; between these two dates, however, 6% of the items in Walaces' Farmer touched upon this aspect of the corporation. Compared to the percentage mentioning the economic functions, this is not a very impressive figure, but it is nonetheless a distinctive feature of the progressive years.
47. Ibid., July 3, 1903, p. 921.
49. Ibid., Jan. 20, 1905, pp. 72, 78.
50. Ibid., July 13, 1906, p. 871.
51. The efforts to strengthen the ICC were a central concern of Walaces' Farmer in 1904, 1905, and 1906; see the editor’s reflections on this and other measures in the issue of July 6, 1906, p. 851. See also Jan. 21, 1910, p. 82; July 29, 1910, p. 1023. The paper appears to have

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concentrated more of its attention on this single issue than some of its readers felt was justified; see Jan. 20, 1905, p. 66.


54. See the data on the mean deviation in the Appendix.


58. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1912, pp. 34–36. See also July 6, 1911, p. 26, which discusses “The Duty of Electrical Engineers Toward the Public”; the article concludes that “the public service corporations are the natural outcome of the demand of the civilized world for efficient and rapid transportation and intercommunication.” The engineer’s role was to stand between these corporations and the public, to ensure that the public did not go too far in its efforts to control the companies, and to help provide the sort of regulation that would prevent the corporations from becoming “despots.”

59. *National Labor Tribune*, Jan. 7, 1904, p. 1; Jan. 4, 1906, p. 1. The panic of 1907 provided a good test of his faith on this point, and he appears to have concluded: “If the iron and steel industry were not controlled by a few men, it is probable it would have been demoralized by this time. As it is, production is being adjusted to consumption, and the accumulation of heavy unsold stocks has been, and is still being, prevented. In the end, recovery from the depression will be much more rapid on this account” (ibid., Jan. 2, 1908, p. 1).

60. *Southern Cultivator*, July 1, 1906, p. 27.

61. Ibid., July 1, 1909, pp. 28–29.


63. All of these figures are based on data from Frederick Strauss and Louis H. Bean, *Gross Farm Income and Indices of Farm Production and Prices in the United States, 1869–1937* (Washington, D.C., 1940), pp. 64–65. See note 96 in chapter 3 for an explanation of the conversion from current to constant dollars. I used the following income data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross income (millions of current dollars)</th>
<th>Gross income (millions of constant dollars)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross income (millions of current dollars)</th>
<th>Gross income (millions of constant dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64. *Southern Cultivator*, Jan. 1, 1903, pp. 1–2, 12–13; July 15, 1903, pp. 8–9.

65. For unfavorable attitudes against gross income in constant dollars, $r = -.53$.


67. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1913, p. 22.


69. Ibid., July 1, 1914, p. 14; Jan. 15, 1914, p. 22.


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73. The coefficient of correlation between the data on income and the percentage of unfavorable attitudes was -.69. I am hesitant to make greater use of this figure because the same coefficient falls below the level of significance when the income data is converted into constant dollars. I used the following estimates of annual income for engineers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1426</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>1432</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>1562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1545</td>
<td>1486</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1682</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1469</td>
<td>1454</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>1489</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>1547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1494</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


75. Ibid., July 3, 1902, p. 8.


77. For the changes in rates see *Historical Statistics*, p. 432.

78. The index numbers (1918 = 100) for midwestern farm income were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current dollars</th>
<th>Constant dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79. If one adds together all forms of political behavior, politics would rank third in table 5-4 as a source of items. But the federal government attracted no more attention than did the state governments, and even the colorful T. R. was unable to break down the restraints imposed by the engineer's professional ideology.


81. Ibid., July 3, 1902, pp. 21–24; July 2, 1903, pp. 23–24.

82. Efficiency was seen as the leading favorable and unfavorable aspect in the years 1902–8; it was the second ranking aspect (in both categories) in the period from 1909 through 1914. Layton, in *Revolt of the Engineers*, emphasizes, more than I do, the impact of the reform impulse upon the profession. While Layton and I both find a cycle of reform sentiment, we disagree over the breadth and depth of the movement's support.


84. Ibid., July 5, 1906, pp. 17–18.

85. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1903, pp. 5–7.


87. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1911, pp. 12, 18; see also July 6, 1911, pp. 16–17.


89. *National Labor Tribune*, Jan. 2, 1902, pp. 1, 2, 4, 8; July 3, 1902, pp. 1, 4, 5, 8.

91. Ibid., July 2, 1908, pp. 1, 4.
93. Ibid., July 1, 1909, pp. 4; Jan. 6, 1910, p. 4; July 7, 1910, p. 4.
94. Ibid., Jan. 12, 1911, pp. 1, 5, 8.
95. Ibid., Jan. 12, 1911, pp. 1; Jan. 4, 1912, p. 4.
97. American Federationist 17, no. 1 (January 1910): 35–37, 40–43; 17, no. 7 (July 1910): 615.
98. Ibid., 17, no. 7 (July 1910): 629; 19, no. 1 (January 1912): 70.
102. American Federationist 18, no. 7 (July 1911): 551; 20, no. 7 (July 1913): 553; 21, no. 7 (July 1914): 579.
103. Ibid., 21, no. 7 (July 1914): 559–60.
106. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1910, pp. 2; July 2, 1910, pp. 1, 4; Jan. 28, 1911, p. 3.
107. The fluctuations in the level of unfavorable opinions in 1911 and in 1914 inflate the M.D. (see Appendix) and place my conclusion about stability on shaky ground. To some considerable extent, I am looking ahead to the war years and the twenties (see chapters 6 and 7) and basing my conclusion on 1) the limited changes which took place in the specific characteristics (see Table 5–7, above) stressed by Solidarity; 2) the low M.D. for these years; and 3) the fact that the changes in 1911 and in 1914 had a random quality which defied explanation (by the author, at least) and did not seem to constitute a trend.
113. Other words in the pejorative category included conspiracy, kings, magnate, master, monsters, oligarchy, potentate, ring, robbers, and syndicate.

6. WAR AND THE CORPORATE CULTURE, 1915–1919


9. The index numbers (1918 = 100) for gross farm income from corn and hogs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Millions of current dollars</th>
<th>Millions of constant dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>79.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For an explanation of the sources of the data and the calculations, see note 96 in chapter 3.


11. The following account of economic mobilization is based upon Soule, *Prosperity Decade*, pp. 7–45 and, to a much greater extent, upon Cuff's excellent study of *The War Industries Board*.


15. In 1913–14 only 9% of the references to prices and none of the remarks about products and services were negative.

16. These were three of the four leading favorable characteristics of the large company.


18. Ibid., p. 34.

19. This coefficient is for attitudes against gross income in constant dollars; the income figures for the war period are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Millions of constant dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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20. Those who do not remember details such as Frank Robinson’s batting average in 1966 (.316) can look back to section VII in chapter 5.

21. The coefficients are \(-.64\) for unfavorable opinions against average annual real earnings of employed wage-earners in all industries; Douglas, *Real Wages*, p. 391. For unfavorable attitudes against average hourly earnings in the building trades (union), \(r = -.89\); *Historical Statistics*, p. 91.


23. Ibid., 23, no. 7 (July 1916): 581. For a different view of this company and of Rockefeller, Jr., see ibid., 22, no. 1 (January 1915): 42–43; and 22, no. 7 (July 1915): 514–15, where it was said that in Colorado “the richest man in the world [i.e., John D. Rockefeller, Jr.] was concerned in the policies and conditions that took from other men industrial and political rights and freedom, and even their lives.” This article was a response to the investigations of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, which was probing the coal miners’ strike. On the commission and this strike, see Graham Adams, Jr., *Age of Industrial Violence, 1910–15* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), especially pp. 146–75.

24. *American Federationist* 22, no. 1 (January 1915): 42–43; see also the editorial on “Sycophancy and Callousness,” in 22, no. 7 (July 1915): 515–17. The respective figures on the percentage of unfavorable items were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Editorials</th>
<th>Entire journal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


26. The gross income data are in note 9 in this chapter. The percentage of the items favoring some solution or response was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


28. Ibid., Jan. 12, 1917, p. 44.


30. I might also have included the Congregational ministers in this section, since prosperity dampened conflicts in society and gave the clergyman fewer opportunities to reflect upon the less favorable aspects of the concentration movement. But in fact the minister had been losing interest in this subject before the war. In 1915 his anxiety about the trusts continued to decline, in spite of the fact that the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations was still pumping out headlines drawing attention to the worst examples of corporate labor relations. Despite this publicity about an aspect of big business which had long aroused his interest, the minister looked on the giant corporation with increasing favor and saw less need to propose solutions to the trust problem. It would appear that the war influenced his attitudes, but that the struggle was not for him primarily an economic phenomenon.

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34. When we added together all forms of political activity, they accounted for 20% of the items on which we could identify a source for the years 1902–14; during the war period, this figure dropped to 12%.

35. Only 18% of the items mentioned the political activities of the corporation (table 6–3), compared with 27% in the years 1909–14.

36. This change does not show up in table 6–4, under the mean percentage (35) of the items mentioning political aspects because the figures for 1917–19 were so high (44%, 50%, and 50%). In 1915, *Wallaces' Farmer* had nonetheless found an opportunity to attack “the great firms that are engaged in the manufacture of war material” (Jan. 1, 1915, p. 5). In the following year, the paper was concerned about the possibility of railroad rate increases, but during the debate on this subject the journal did not once condemn the roads for their techniques of influencing politics or for their political power—two negative themes that had been very prominent in previous years. The paper observed that the companies “have their regular force of attorneys, clerks and statisticians. They are on the job all the time, and constantly preparing evidence to show that railroads are not getting as much money for hauling live stock as they should.” No longer was the paper attacking the “oily-tongued lobbyists,” and the techniques employed by the corporation were seen as a proper model for farm organizations to imitate. See ibid., Jan. 28, 1916, p. 117; July 28, 1916, p. 1012; Jan. 12, 1917, pp. 45, 54.


38. Ibid., June 13, 1917, p. 984.

39. Ibid., p. 985.


41. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1918, p. 4.


43. Ibid., July 12, 1918, p. 1033. See also July 5, 1918, p. 1001.

44. Ibid., July 26, 1918, p. 1081.

45. Southern Cultivator, Jan. 1, 1918, pp. 10, 29.


47. Ibid., 25, no. 1 (January 1918): 41–49.

48. See ibid., 25, no. 7 (July 1918): 594–95. During the years 1915–19, only 6% of the items on big business were inspired by some form of political activity, compared to 10% during the progressive era.


52. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1919, p. 2; July 5, 1919, pp. 1, 2.

53. Ibid., July 5, 1919, pp. 1, 3.

54. Ibid., p. 2.


57. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1918, pp. 1–2, 4–5.

58. Ibid., pp. 25–29.
59. Ibid., pp. 40–42.
60. Ibid., July 4, 1918, pp. 23–25. For example, see the favorable comments on the government's shipbuilding program in ibid., Jan. 3, 1918, pp. 3–4, 12–23; July 4, 1918, pp. 5–12; Jan. 2, 1919, pp. 7–13. On the other hand, the engineer was critical of the “inexperienced heads” of the railroad administration; ibid., July 4, 1918, pp. 3–4.
61. See table 5 in chapter 7.
63. The existence or expansion of the giant corporation had been among the top three subjects of discussion during the following years: engineers, 1880–92; clergy, 1880–92, 1909–14; southern farmers, 1887–92, 1896–1901; midwestern farmers, 1879–1901; laborers who read the National Labor Tribune, 1880–86, 1897–1901; AFL members, 1894–1914.
64. Engineering News, Jan. 3, 1918, pp. 3–4; see also July 4, 1918, pp. 5–12.
65. Ibid., July 4, 1918, pp. 23–25.
66. Ibid., pp. 45–46. The so-called Gary Dinners were a means of bringing together the industry’s leaders so that they could agree to stabilize the market by holding prices at a mutually acceptable level.
70. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1917, p. 4. This item called for a brand of “class consciousness which will result in organizations strong enough to prevent the evils and abuses.” The local farmers’ clubs were seen as a means of “laying the foundation for a real class consciousness through which the farmers of the younger generation can make their influence felt.”
71. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1916, p. 8; Jan. 28, 1916, pp. 116, 135–36, 141; July 11, 1919, p. 1353. The midwestern farmer’s interest in private collective responses to big business had increased during the progressive period and it increased again during the war; see tables 5–2 and 6–4.
74. Southern Cultivator, July 5, 1919, p. 28.
76. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1919, p. 28. Republic was praised for (among other things) giving “three sets of prizes . . . to Americans, Italians and Negroes” (July 15, 1919, p. 2).
77. For an exception, see note 70, chapter 6.
80. See table 5–8. The percentage of pejoratives for the several groups were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farmers, Midwest</th>
<th>Laborers, AFL</th>
<th>Congregational clergy</th>
<th>Engineers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE, 1920–1929

1. American Federationist 26, no. 7 (July 1919): 620–21. I have included events of 1919 in this chapter because the postwar crisis extended into the twenties and had its major impact on middle-culture opinions at that time. In this instance my choice of a January-July sample obviously affected my results, at least insofar as the data for 1919 were concerned.


4. Ibid., June 30, 1920, p. 1856.

5. Ibid., July 1, 1921, p. 925.

6. Ibid., July 9, 1920, p. 1714.


10. Solidarity, July 3, 1920, p. 2; July 2, 1921, p. 2.

11. Engineering News, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 1. The editor noted with satisfaction that “the vast majority of the workers believe in improving the present order of society rather than in upsetting it and experimenting with a soviet regime.”


14. American Federationist 28, no. 1 (January 1921): 47–48; Engineering News, Jan. 5, 1922, pp. 2, 14, 16–17. One solution to the engineer’s problem was to control entry to the profession through licensing, see ibid., July 6, 1922, pp. 8–11. Congregationalist, July 7, 1921, p. 16. The author of the letter quoted above was apparently a minister; he also said: “A few years ago, when Mr. Charles Mellen became president of the New Haven Railroad, the publicity agent of that road said to me, ‘Mr. Mellen speaks in millions and the directors are coming to think in millions.’ That is to say, speaking in large terms tends to lead men to act in a large way. In like manner the habit of speaking in small terms [e.g., about ministers’ salaries] would tend to show the smallness of that which is spoken of.” David Burner, “1919: Prelude to Normalcy,” in John Braeman et al., eds., Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century America: The 1920’s (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), pp. 3–31, also stresses the high degree of conflict and tension in the immediate postwar period.


18. See section VI, chapter 6.

19. The means for the annual percentages of unfavorable items in American Federationist, 1907–14 and 1920–29, were 54% and 57%, respectively.

20. The annual percentages for pejorative nouns were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. An exception is provided by petroleum refining in general and the Standard Oil Co. in particular; both were subjects of substantial concern before the war. The shift from the old to

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the new industries is particularly clear when one compares the data for 1902–8 (table 5–6) with those for 1920–29.

22. This issue actually began to emerge in the prewar years, but it was 1921–22 before job opportunities became, from the union point of view, the leading question associated with large enterprise. The precise timing of the transition is concealed because I lumped the figures together for a five-year period, but from that time on the corporation’s influence on job opportunities remained one of the three leading characteristics of big business.


27. The company unions became a major theme in 1924 and remained important in the years that followed. See ibid., no. 7 (July 1924): 590–91, for the reference to "scab" unions.

28. While the yellow dog contract was discussed frequently after 1925, the AFL seems to have been more worried about company unions.


31. Ibid., 33, no. 1 (January 1926): 111–13; 33, no. 7 (July 1926): 858–61; 878; 34, no. 7 (July 1927): 794–96.


33. While the coefficients of correlation between income and attitudes suggested a significant relationship during the war years, this was no longer true in the twenties. None of the coefficients approached the level of significance for the period 1920–29.


36. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1922, p. 12.

37. As this happened, the farmer lost interest in responses or solutions to the situations associated with big business; the percentage of the items in *Wallaces' Farmer* which favored some solution were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. The data on the mean deviation (see Appendix) indicate that the entire decade, including the immediate postwar years, was a period characterized by a relatively high degree of equilibrium. The index numbers (1918 = 100) for gross farm income (constant dollars) from corn and hogs were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Corn</th>
<th>Hogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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41. Ibid., July 23, 1920, p. 1807.

42. On the cooperatives, see McConnell, *Decline of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 56-62; Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Twentieth-Century Populism: Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1951), pp. 238-52, 255-320. This shift in emphasis is reflected in the data (table 7-2) on leading solutions or responses. In the twenties, 33% of the items mentioning a response favored private collective action (e.g., cooperatives), as compared with 24% in the years 1915-19 and 16% in the years 1902-14.

43. Translated into Parsonian pattern variables, this mode of thinking involved a shift in values from: 1) self- to collective-orientation; 2) particularism to universalism; 3) diffuseness to specificity; and, 4) eventually, affectivity to affective neutrality. See section IV, chapter I, and Parsons, *The Social System* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 59-67.

44. For a contrary view of the degree of change, see M. A. Straus and L. J. Houghton, “Achievement, Affiliation and Cooperation Values as Clues to Trends in American Rural Sociology, 1924-1958,” *Rural Sociology* 25 (1960): 394-403. If I had studied only the “Boys’ Corner” in *Wallaces’ Farmer*, my results would probably have been similar to those of Straus and Houghton, who analyzed the *National 4-H Club News*.


47. As one article pointed out, a particular church in Illinois included in its congregation “not only college people, but railroad men, business men of all classes, working people, and every element of the population” (ibid., July 3, 1919, p. 23). See also July 1, 1920, p. 29.

48. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1921, p. 10. Labor relations became one of the three leading aspects of the large firm for the first time since the tumultuous nineties. See table 7-2.

49. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1921, p. 10 (italics mine); See also July 5, 1923, p. 8-9.

50. Ibid., July 6, 1922, pp. 14-16; Jan. 1, 1925, p. 17. Two subjects of substantial interest were Julius Rosenwald of Sears, who was a Jew, and Henry Ford, who was a blatant anti-Semite. Of the former, *Congregationalist* said on one occasion: “Though he is a Jew, he is famous for financing Negro Y.M.C.A.’s and Negro schools in the South, most of which are Christian” (ibid., Jan. 3, 1924, p. 8). Under the heading “Mr. Ford Explains,” the paper discussed, without adverse comment, Ford’s claim that the Jews controlled much of the world’s gold and thus had too much power (ibid., Jan. 5, 1922, p. 6).


52. Ibid., July 6, 1922, pp. 2-3; July 3, 1924, p. 23; Jan. 1, 1925, p. 10. In rank order, the three leading favorable aspects of the large firm were: “Management or ownership”; “Enhances the general wealth”; and “Products or services.”

53. As measured by the mean deviation, the years 1918/20-1921/23 ranked second and the years 1925/27-1927/29 ranked fourth in terms of the degree of disequilibrium which existed between 1880 and 1940. See also Carter, *Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel*, pp. 66ff.


60. Ibid., July 1, 1920, p. 19; July 15, 1920, pp. 2, 4; Jan. 1, 1921, p. 7; July 1, 1921, pp. 3-4.


62. Ibid., July 15, 1920, p. 8. Compare the data on leading solutions in table 7-4 with the same information in table 6-3. See also ibid., Jan. 1, 1921, p. 7.

63. For gross income (current dollars) against unfavorable opinions, \( r = -0.51 \); against neutral attitudes, \( r = 0.58 \). The same figures for income in constant dollars are \(-0.60\) and \(0.38\), respectively.


65. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1924, p. 2.

66. Ibid., July 1, 1923, p. 2; Jan. 1, 1925, p. 13.


68. Ibid., July 1, 1921, p. 5; July 1, 1923, p. 5; Jan. 1, 1924, p. 15; Jan. 1, 1929, p. 4.

Before 1915, private collective responses to big business had been favored only 7% of the time; the comparable figure in table 7-4 is 29%.

69. Ibid., July 1, 1922, p. 14; Jan. 1, 1923, p. 5; July 1, 1928, pp. 3, 5. See also Jan. 1, 1924, p. 10; and Jan. 1, 1925, p. 15. There were a few instances during the twenties in which material was so favorable to a particular business and its products that there was a strong possibility that we scored a concealed advertisement. See, for example, the article on “A General Purpose Tractor,” in ibid., July 1, 1926, pp. 6–7; and a similar item on p. 9.

70. Ibid., July 1, 1925, p. 11; see also Jan. 1, 1924, p. 15.

71. Ibid., July 1, 1927, p. 4.

72. For the data on equilibrium, see the Appendix.

73. Eliminating the neutral-ambivalent items makes a brief postwar cycle of anticorporate sentiment stand out more clearly; the annual percentages of unfavorable items are, in this case, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


75. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1919, pp. 18–20; July 3, 1919, pp. 17–18; Jan. 1, 1920, pp. 12–14. In 1919, *Engineering News* concluded: “Government operation has proved an expensive experiment and will cost the country upward of two billions of dollars before the books are closed and accounts settled. It has, however, demonstrated and settled these facts—the inefficiency of the Government operation and the doom of Government ownership of public utilities.”


77. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1920, p. 7; Jan. 6, 1921, pp. 1, 7–9, 33–36.

78. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1922, p. 4. For a more tolerant view of organized labor, see the response to the preliminary report of the Industrial Conference: “The plain fact is that the public has long been uneasy about the power of great employers; it is becoming uneasy about the power of great labor organizations. The community must be assured against domination by either” (ibid., Jan. 1, 1920, pp. 49–50).


80. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable remarks about management was 9 to 1 in the years 1925–29.

81. Ibid., July 5, 1928, pp. 15–16, 34.

82. Ibid., pp. 17–19.

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84. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1920, p. 2; and July 3, 1920, p. 2.
85. Ibid., p. 4; Jan. 1, 1921, p. 1.
86. In a previous publication, I said that “Solidarity was insulated by its ideology from the type of cultural change which influenced the American Federationist; the series on pejorative words in *Solidarity* clearly reflects this difference.” See “AFL's Concept of Big Business,” *The Journal of American History* 57 (March 1971): 862. I had in mind the prewar era, but on reflection, I think this statement is misleading insofar as the entire period from 1910 through 1930 is concerned.

87. The mean percentage of pejoratives used in *Solidarity* was 41% for the years 1910–14, 35% for the war period, and only 26% for 1920–30.
89. Ibid., July 4, 1928, p. 2.
90. Ibid., July 1, 1925, p. 3; Jan. 6, 1926, pp. 2, 3.
91. See the data on equilibrium in the Appendix.
92. Ibid., July 2, 1921, p. 4.
94. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1923, p. 2.
95. Ibid., July 1, 1925, p. 4.
97. While normally I have avoided analysis of fluctuations in one year, the decline in unfavorable viewpoints in 1930 prompts me to break this rule. The key here is the panic of 1929 and the resulting depression. In this case the situation was so serious that the radical worker could merely note without comment that the prices of stocks were continuing to fall; he was no longer compelled to offer an evaluation because the problems were so obvious. *Solidarity*, July 1, 1930, p. 2.
98. See note 20 in this chapter for the figures from the AFL. The percentages of pejoratives used by the other groups were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congregational clergy</th>
<th>Engineers</th>
<th>Farmers, midwestern</th>
<th>Congregational clergy</th>
<th>Engineers</th>
<th>Farmers, midwestern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


8. TOWARD A STABLE EQUILIBRIUM, 1930–1940


3. This statement is qualified by the fact that my study ends with 1940. I do not have the content analysis data that would enable me to extend my generalizations beyond that date. See also Paul A. Carter, Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920–1940 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971), pp. 141–79; and Robert Moats Miller, American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919–1939 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. 63–112, 203–54, 274–87. My data indicate that Carter and Miller could have emphasized the reaction to big business more than they did.

4. Normally, I enumerated the leading negative characteristics in rank order, but in this instance I have described the second-ranking aspect first.


6. The “Leading characteristics” in table 8–1 include neutral and favorable, as well as negative, evaluations. Here, I am dealing only with the leading unfavorable characteristics.

7. Congregationalist, July 5, 1934, pp. 271–72. This article also said: “We have therefore a curious alliance between Mr. Eugene Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation with Mr. William Z. Foster of the Communist Party. They are both gunning for the skin of Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal. They may get it. And then what?”


10. Ibid., 130, no. 1 (January 1938): 14, 26, 32.


13. We included accounts of movies and radio broadcasts in this category, and during the thirties they provided some interesting items. One of these was the Paramount production of The President Vanishes, which showed “the big bosses of American industry to be the vultures they are” and illustrated “the tie-up between big business and war” (ibid., Jan. 3, 1935, p. 18). In this chapter I have tried to avoid confusion by using the title Congregationalist to identify both that journal and its successor, Advance (1934–40).


17. Even when one discounts the data on the grounds that the Congregational minister was most likely to be a Republican, FDR’s lack of influence seems significant. The federal executive branch of the government accounted for only 3% of the items on which we could identify a source. All political activity accounted for 8% of the articles scored, as compared to 20% in the years 1902–14.


21. The index numbers (1918 = 100) for gross farm income (constant dollars) from corn and hogs were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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24. Ibid., pp. 21–22.


27. In one year, 1937, the percentage of the items mentioning the corporation’s political aspects was at its all-time high (83%) for the period 1879–1940. I am, however, inclined to discount the importance of this figure, in part because most of these items were neutral and not—on the basis of their content—apparently very important. One exception might be the quotation from an AAA official who said that corporations were being helped by the government: “But if I understand the temper of the farmers correctly, they are in no mood to let legalistic barriers and finespun interpretations keep them from having equality with large corporations in meeting nationwide problems of production and prices” (Ibid., Jan. 2, 1937, pp. 9, 29).


30. The midwestern farm journals did not use any pejorative nouns in the years 1930–40. Alexander Legge was the only business leader mentioned more than once.


33. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1933, pp. 5, 9; July 1, 1933, p. 4. The price of cotton was 17 cents a pound in 1929 and only 6 cents in 1932. Gross income (from cotton and cottonseed, in millions of constant dollars) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income (constant dollars)</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


34. *Southern Cultivator*, Jan. 1, 1932, p. 7; July 1, 1933, pp. 3, 9, 11.

35. Ibid., July 1, 1931, p. 8; July 1, 1933, p. 4.

36. See, for example, ibid., July 1, 1932, p. 2.

37. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1934, pp. 3, 8; see also *Progressive Farmer* 53, no. 7 (July 1938): 4.

38. The southern farm journals did not mention any corporate manager or owner more than once during the years 1930–40.

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39. This shift in the sources of information had, in fact, been taking place gradually over a number of decades. In the years 1879–1901, “Action taken by big business” was not among the top three sources of articles; in 1902–14, it was tied for third place; in the war years, it was tied for second; during the twenties, it was the second ranking source of items.
41. Southern farm income declined sharply after the recession of 1937, and as late as 1940 gross income (in constant dollars) was still far below the level which had been reached in 1936. See note 33, above. *Southern Cultivator*, February 1, 1933, p. 9; July 1, 1933, p. 6; Jan. 1, 1934, pp. 4, 6, 10; July 1, 1934, p. 6. The increasing attention paid to state government shows up under “Leading sources” and “Leading solutions” in table 8–3.
43. Ibid., 38, no. 7 (July 1931): 809–23. This particular article pointed out that “the period from 1922 was marked by the extension of combinations in finance, industry and commerce. Mergers, trusts and holding corporations not only increased rapidly in number, but in their wide control. Certainly the period was not one in which sound economic policies guided those in control of the nation’s activities. What occurred bears much more resemblance to the law of the jungle than to the sane management of business by those responsible for its development.”
44. The three leading negative traits in the “Characteristics of big business” category, 1930–35, were: “Diminishes individual’s opportunities”; “Labor relations”; and “Wages and hours.” In 1936–40, the top three were the same, but “Labor relations” pushed the lack of job opportunities down into second place.
45. *American Federationist* 40, no. 7 (July 1933): 677.
46. Ibid., 42, no. 1 (January 1935): 11–12.
47. Compare the figures in table 8–4 with the same data for 1920–24 (29%) and 1909–14 (27%). Between 1934 and 1940, 55% of the items in *American Federationist* favored some particular response to big business; this figure was higher than it had been (42%) in the years 1921–33, but substantially lower than the percentage (77%) for the progressive years 1902–14.
48. The coefficient of correlation for neutral-ambivalent attitudes (1930–40) against an index of hourly wage rates (in the union building trades) is .51; for unfavorable attitudes against the same index, \( r = -0.47 \). The index is from *Historical Statistics*, p. 93.
50. See section X, chapter 5.
51. See section IV, chapter 6.
53. *Engineering News*, July 2, 1931, p. 30. All of the figures on unemployment are from *Historical Statistics*, p. 73.
55. Ibid., pp. 30–32.
56. This statement is qualified, as are all of the others in the book, by the fact that I am using a two-month sample from the journal. I am only asserting that these particular events did not appear in that sample.
57. This became the leading favorable characteristic of the corporation in the years 1936–40.
58. ASTM was the source of fewer items in the period 1930–40 than it had been in the years 1920–29, but ASTM’s relative position among the various associations was strengthened as the other groups became less influential (and perhaps less active) during the depression. In the thirties, ASTM accounted for over 40% of those articles on big business which were prompted by associational activities (as compared with 25% before 1930).
59. The figures for negative items as a percentage of negative and positive articles are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


63. Ibid., July 1, 1937, p. 8.

64. The means for the annual percentages, 1930–40, are: unfavorable, 28%; neutral-ambivalent, 40%; favorable, 32%.

65. The means for the annual percentages, 1880–89, are: unfavorable 30%; neutral-ambivalent, 43%; favorable, 27%.

66. Reynold M. Wik, *Henry Ford and Grass-Roots America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 180–85. Two of the groups in my sample (engineers and southern farmers) failed to mention any business leader more than once, and the other groups did not agree as to which businessmen were most worthy of their attention. The clergyman focused on Rockefeller and Henry Ford; the midwestern farmer on Alexander Legge; the trade unionist on Ford and Owen Young.

67. The data on pejoratives are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congregational clergy</th>
<th>Engineers</th>
<th>Farmers, Midwest</th>
<th>Laborers, AFL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


69. In support of Schumpeter, one could argue that the depression did in fact arouse intellectual antagonism toward the large firm, but my point here is that intellectual leaders were unable to focus mass discontent on big business as the source of the peoples' difficulties.

1963), pp. 246–49, 257–60, discusses the origins of the antimonopoly policy, but Leuchtenburg
does not consider its relationship to public opinion. See also Paul K. Conkin, The New Deal (New

9. THE MIDDLE CULTURES AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL REVOLUTION

   Berlin based his categories on a line from the Greek poet Archilochus: “The fox knows many
   things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing.”
2. See, for instance, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party,”
in Lewis S. Feuer, ed., Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy: Karl Marx and Friedrich
3. They could, in the Marxian view, either accept this fact or be guilty of having a false sense
   of class consciousness. For an informative discussion of this problem in an English setting, see
4. The quantitative behavioral studies undertaken in political science have pointed to a
   similar conclusion about the variability of class attitudes. See Robert A. Dahl, “The Behavioral
   Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest,” The American
5. Future historians will, I feel certain, use these equations and similar statements of causal
   relationships in more sophisticated ways; one can only hope that when they do so, they will keep
   in mind the limitations of their data and of mine.
6. In this equation (as in the previous one), P stands for political variables, O for organiza­
tional factors, E and S for economic and social variables, respectively.
7. Here I am commenting only on Hofstadter’s original statement of his thesis. As I made
   clear in the previous chapters, I found numerous occasions to use the amended form of
   Hofstadter’s concept, that is, the version expanding status anxiety into “cultural politics.”
8. As this conclusion suggests, one might see here a variant on consensus history. What I have
   described, however, is the making of a consensus, a historical process involving substantial
   conflict and sharp differences of opinion; this, I believe, is not what the consensus school of
   historians had in mind.
9. Other less desirable losses will probably include the humanistic emphasis upon personality
   and place. Throughout this book, I constantly referred to individuals: the farmer, the organized
   laborer, the professional engineer, and the clergyman. But these individuals were as abstract as
   the statistics they illustrated. None of them sweated. They were not men at all as we see them
   about us, work with them, like them—are them. Nor were they residents of a particular place,
   despite the fact that I labeled my farmers as southern and midwestern. The author spent his
   boyhood in the Midwest and can remember the smells and sounds and feel of farm country, but
   this land found no place in his history and should be tallied as part of the price of a behavioral
   approach to the past. I am indebted to Robert J. Brugger and his study, “A Secessionist
   Persuasion: The Mind and Heart of Beverly Tucker, Virginian” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins
   University, 1974), for helping me see these contrasts between behavioral and humanistic history.
    A Socio-Economic Institution (Ann Arbor: The Survey Research Center, Institute for Social
    Research, University of Michigan, 1951).
11. Edward C. Higbee, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age (New York: Twentieth Century
    & Brothers, 1959), pp. 219–31; Fred H. Joiner, “Developments in Union Agreements,” in
    Colston E. Warne et al., eds., Labor in Postwar America (New York: Remsen Press, 1949),

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19. Expressed in the terms used in our three equations, social (S) and organizational (O) factors have, since 1940, continued to exert a more significant influence on attitudes than economic (E) or political (P) variables.

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