Lake Effects

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NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. In the 104-year period covered by this study, there were 52 municipal elections, 26 during the Merchant Regime alone, 11 more during the Populist Regime, 10 Corporate Regime elections, and another 5 during the decade when the Realty Regime made policy.


4. After 1933, regime formation took a dramatic new turn. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal introduced the federal government as a participant in local policy making. The four pre–New Deal regimes that are the subject of this book, in contrast, were purely local in character.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. A valuable survey of the merchant era is Michael J. McTighe, A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), esp. pp. 57–72. McTighe identifies the merchants’ policy making efforts as “public culture,” the outgrowth of their struggle to reconcile the moral demands of Protestantism and the small businessman’s mid-nineteenth century boosterism, the eternal struggle between God and Mammon. The merchants, McTighe concludes, would have it both ways. The seeds of New England Protestant culture, the tendrils of which sprouted in merchant era Cleveland, are explained in David Hackett Fischer, Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 13–206; and Daniel Boorstin’s, The Americans: The National Experience (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 113–168, which remains the most engaging account of boosterism.


5. Economic development policy follows the economic base concept devised by geographers: “the reason for both the existence and growth of a city lies in the goods and services it produces and sells beyond its borders.” Those industries producing such goods are called basic industries (economists label them export industries), which are the objects of economic development policy. Economic base is explained in all urban geography texts; among the most widely available are: Maurice Yates and Barry Garner, The North American City, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), pp. 74–76; Truman A. Hartshorn, Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980), pp. 41–42; Paul L. Knox, Urbanization: An Introduction to Urban Geography (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1994), pp. 37–41.


8. Harry N. Scheiber, Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Econ-
9. Miller and Wheeler, p. 51
20. Land use patterns from the 1850s to the turn of the century are ably discussed in Chapman, *Cleveland: Village to Metropolis*, see esp. pp. 97–116; the chronology can be traced in City of Cleveland, Division of Engineering, Annexations to the City of Cleveland (for use with wall map) (1954), n.p.; City of Cleveland, Division of Engineering, Annexations to the City of Cleveland, Annexations to the City of Cleveland Wall Map (1954); “City Attained Greatness by Annexations,” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 13
August 1920; “Fifty Villages Fringe Cleveland Proper, but Annexation Has Lagged,” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 31 December 1927.

25. The local real estate industry was deftly explained by Mayor Charles A. Otis in City of Cleveland, Annual Report, “The Annual Message of Mayor Charles A. Otis” (1873), pp. 17–21.
27. The Panic of 1873 marked the beginning of the end of the Merchant Regime. David Hackett Fischer’s The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 156–179 argues that the Panic of 1873 was a temporary downward blip in an otherwise stable era of prices, and Bryan J. L. Berry, Long Range Rhythms in Economic Development and Political Behavior (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 5 [fig. 3] and p. 76 [fig. 43] interprets the Panic of 1873 as the beginning of a downward Kuznets Cycle embedded within a downward Kondratief Wave which began in 1864–65. However severe, the local effects were politically damaging to the Merchant Regime, even if short-lived economically; see esp., City of Cleveland, Annual Report, “The Inaugural Address of Mayor Rensselear Russell Herrick” (1878), pp. 56–57; City of Cleveland, Annual Report, Mayor’s Message, 1873–1878; Annual Report, Report of the Comptroller, 1873–1878.
34. Teaford, The Unheralded Triumph, pp. 163–166.
Notes to Chapter 1

38. City of Cleveland, Division of Public Health, “Births and Deaths Recorded in the City of Cleveland, 1836–1980.”
41. Ibid.
42. “Births and Deaths Recorded in the City of Cleveland.”
43. See Methodological Note 1.
44. McTighe, A Measure of Success, pp. 8, 73–75.
45. U.S., Manuscript Census, 1870 (Microfilm) reveals that virtually every worker in Cleveland’s industrial wards was laid off for periods of as little as two weeks and as long as two months. Skilled workers experienced the shortest periods of downtime, while unskilled workers could expect longer layoffs.
49. McTighe, A Measure of Success, pp. 73–96.
50. Ibid.
53. Measure of Success, pp. 76–79.
54. Ibid., pp. 90–96.
59. Ibid., pp. 22–24.
60. Ibid.
61. Methodological Note 2.
62. Ibid.
63. Methodological Note 3.
64. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1870–1880; City of Cleveland, Council Proceed-ings, 1870–1880.
65. Ibid.
68. Trattner, From Poor Law to Welfare State, pp. 77–107; Michael J. McTighe, “Lead-ing Men, True Women, Protestant Churches, and the Shape of Antebellum Benevo-
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NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


5. Ibid., pp. 135–147.


10. Ibid., pp. 79–95; Visible Hand, pp. 13–65.


24. Farley served two terms as mayor of Cleveland, 1883–1883 and 1899–1900.


28. Ibid.


31. Whipple, p. 348; Gardner (1886), p. x; Farley (1884), p. xii.

32. Farley (1884), p. xiii.

33. Farley (1883), p. x.

34. Ibid.


36. Ibid.


**NOTES TO CHAPTER 3**

1. See Methodological Note 1.


4. See Methodological Note 5.


6. See Methodological Note 5.
11. See Methodological Note 1.
13. See Methodological Note 1.
18. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
24. Whipple, p. 345.
27. Methodological Note 1.
30. Otis (1873), pp. 20–21.
31. Methodological Note 1; City of Cleveland, City Council Proceedings, 16 April 1877; Herrick (1878), pp. 56–57.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.; Herrick (1878), pp. 56–57; Herrick (1880), pp. 22–25; Herrick (1881),
Notes to Chapter 4

p.16.
35. Otis (1873), pp. 19–21.
38. Otis (1873), pp. 20–21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

3. See chapters 2 and 3.
6. For the gas industry, see City of Cleveland, “Citizens Gas Light Company,” Ordinance, 6 April 1854; *Ordinances* (1872), pp. 149–150; (1890), pp. 145–155; *Annual Report*,”Annual Message of Mayor George W. Gardner,”” (1886), n.p.
11. Ibid.
Notes to Chapter 4

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 329.
18. Special Ordinances (1890), pp. 669–888 contains the text of the grants made to 17 of the city’s street railways between 1869 and 1900.
21. City of Cleveland, City Charter (1852).
22. Goldfield and Brownell, p. 263; Monkkonen, pp. 80–81; Special Ordinances, p. 329.
26. Ibid.
28. See the full citation in note 23.
29. Howe, Street Railway Question, p. 15.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 16.
32. Howe, Street Railway Question, pp. 11–16.
33. Ibid., p. 11.
34. Ibid., p. 6.
35. Whipple, p. 362.
36. Ibid.; Council Proceedings (5 February 1900); Whipple, pp. 360–361.
38. Ibid.
39. Municipal Association of Cleveland, Concerning the Republican and Democratic Candidates for Mayor at the City Election, Bulletin No. 11 (3 April 1899); Howe, Confessions, pp. 85–86.
41. Ibid.
42. A century after the fall of the Populist Regime, in yet another era of fiscal constraint, contracting is again in vogue but is known by the more modern euphemisms “privatization” and “outsourcing,” which appear to be old garbage in new pails.
44. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, “Annual Message of Mayor R. R. Herrick”
45. Melosi, pp. 45–46.
46. Mayor B. D. Babcock (1887), p. xii.
47. Bulletin No. 11, pp. 32–33; Whipple, p. 347.
49. Melosi, pp. 113–159; on the volume of horse manure and urine, see Teaford, p. 231, a statistic confirmed by the Republican National Committee, an organization whose authority on the substances in question is unassailable.
50. Melosi, pp. 113–159.
51. Ibid., p. 113.
55. Bulletin No. 11, p. 33; Whipple, p. 348.
59. Ibid.; school board demographics are taken from the Cleveland City Directory (1885).
61. Ibid.
62. Cleveland City Directory (1892–1893).
67. Methodological Note 1.
68. The criticism was acknowledged in official publications, for example: City of Cleveland, Annual Report, "The Annual Report of the Police Commissioners (1873), pp. 328–33; "The Annual Message of Mayor W. G. Rose" (1876), p. 36; Council Proceedings (16 April 1877); Annual Report (1880), pp. 393–393; "The Annual Message of Mayor G.
W. Gardner (1885), pp. xxx–xxxix; “Annual Report of the Department of Charities and Corrections” (1893–1899). The 1894 Charities and Corrections report shows that the number of families served increased from 1,841 in 1891 to 6,011 in the 1894 recession year but that the amount spent per family decreased from $13.18 to $8.15.

69. See Methodological Note 1; Whipple, “Cleveland in Crisis,” pp. 337–343. In 2003, the city of Cleveland had 9,400 employees serving a population of approximately 490,000, or a ratio of 1 to 52. Plain Dealer, 10 September 2003.

70. Municipal Association, Bulletin No. 11, pp. 5–17.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. The individualist/collectivist distinction is made in Harold Perkin Origins of Modern English Society (London: Routledge, 1969), pp. 221–229. Perkin traces individualism to preindustrial society, and so too does Ira Katznelson, Marxism and the City (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 10–11. Katznelson further notes that collective identities, such as that manifested by professionals, were the product of the nineteenth century industrial city. In these renderings, the individualistic entrepreneur, paradoxically, was at odds with the city he had done much to create.


9. Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Serving Cleveland since 1848.


11. Ibid.


14. CCC, Minutes, 20 December 1899.


16. The various Bulletins of the organization make this point clear, particularly the famous Bulletin No.11 denouncing the McKisson administration.

entrepreneur, owner of street rail companies and a steel mill, who was accustomed to working with professionals in his business enterprises. It was natural that he would govern with them. Johnson was part of the Corporate Regime, not the Populist Regime. The mantra of his administration was honesty and efficiency, something decidedly lacking in the Populist Regime which preceded him.

18. 75 Years, pp. 7–14; Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, pp. 184–185.

19. The tax reform label may be a misnomer because implied in the concept of reform is improvement by removal of abuses. Some abuses were removed during the Corporate Regime, but in the main what was achieved under the rubric of tax reform in the Corporate and Realty eras was tax burden shifting from the several varieties of capital to the home owner.


22. Ibid.


28. The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce did not reject municipal ownership until 1914. The Chamber was divided on the issue until the streetcar crisis of the Johnson administration and Mayor Baker's drive for a municipal light plant forced the organization to choose between regulation and public ownership. The Chamber, however, agreed with Johnson, Howe, and Baker that the transit and utilities companies should be taxed more heavily than they were. Early in the Corporate Regime, when the chamber was dominated by entrepreneurs such as Samuel Mather, municipal ownership was given a fair hearing largely because English entrepreneur Joseph Chamberlain had been successful with it when he was mayor of Birmingham.

29. Several bridge schemes and minor buildings in the Group Plan were repeatedly rejected by home owning voters during the Corporate Regime.

30. Even now, forty years after its publication, the flow of American society in the
Notes to Chapter 5

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32. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.’s previously cited Scale and Scope explains the merger movement by industry as does his The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), while the local manifestations of the merger movement can be traced in the company histories found in David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski (eds.), The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1987). Lawyer Frederick H. Goff helped effect the mergers of local companies into multilocational corporations, and as president of Cleveland Trust bank he managed the estates of local entrepreneurs.  


35. Occupational data was gathered from the U.S. Census and sorted in Standard Industrial Classifications for the years 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 in a time line series, hereinafter cited as Occupational Time Line Series. U.S. Census (1880), I, Population, Table XXVI, 872; U.S. Census (1890), II, Population, Table 117, 628–629; U.S. Census (1900), II, Population, Table 94, 558; U.S. Census (1910), III, Population, Table VIII, 548–550; U.S. Census (1920), IV, Population, Table 19, 150–166; U.S. Census (1930), IV, Population, Table 3, 1240–1248.  

36. Ibid.  

37. Ibid.  

38. See note 33 above.  


40. Encyclopedia, p. 133.  

41. Ibid., p. 1042.  


44. Ibid.  

45. CCC, AR (1895), p. 61, 111; (1903), pp. 5–6.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 6


3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.


24. Ibid.


28. See Methodological Note 1.

29. See chapter 5.


31. Ibid.

32. CCC, Municipal Art and Architecture Committee, “Minutes” (16 January 1911); (12 June 1912).


40. Ibid., pp. 8–13.

41. CMPS, Board of Park Commissioners, *Annual Report* (1929), map; *Cleveland Press* (4 July 1930).

42. Ibid.


44. The anti-regionalism of the Realty Regime is explained in chapter 12.


46. Pontiac Improvement Company vs. Cleveland Metropolitan Park District, 104 Ohio St. 447, 135, NE 635, 23 ALR 866.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 7


7. The role of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce can be traced in the annual reports and weekly minutes of its committees: see Committee on City Plan (originally Committee on Municipal Art and Architecture), *Annual Reports* (1899–1929); see also City of Cleveland, Board of Supervision of Public Buildings and Grounds, *The Group Plan of the Buildings of the City of Cleveland: Report Made to the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, and to the Hon. Board of Public Service by Daniel Burnham, John M. Carrere, Arnold Brunner, Board of Supervision* (New York: Cheltenham Press, August, 1903); City of Cleveland, City Planning Commission, *Annual Reports* (1913–1929); City Planning Commission, “Minutes” (1 July 1913–30 December 1920); City Planning Commission, “The Cleveland Mall Forty Years After” (1 September 1936).


14. *The Cleveland Mall Forty Years After; Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, The Union Station: On the Lake Front or on the Public Square* (1918).

Notes to Chapter 7

18. Ibid., pp. 197–220.
21. Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, “Minutes,” vol. 2, Committee on City Plan, University Circle Subcommittee (1 August 1918).
23. Subcommittee on University Circle (7 January 1918).
24. Cleveland Plain Dealer, 8 June 1926; *Cleveland Press*, 16 December 1926.
26. Cleveland Plain Dealer, 26 December 1926, 20 April 1959; Cleveland News, 8 January 1930.
27. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz has observed that “at the center of any complexly organized society there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing”; see his *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 124.
29. Geertz, pp. 120–146.
32. Ibid.
33. Gottdiener, p. 17.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 8


5. Ibid.


8. Tyack, p. 136.


10. Catholic school enrollments were half that of the Cleveland Public Schools throughout the period.


13. Ibid., pp. 151–155.


18. The phrase “one best system” is Tyack’s; see above.


20. Ibid.


27. Howe, Confessions, pp. 75–79.

28. Ibid.; Ross, p. 43.


32. CCC, Annual Reports, 1911, pp. 154–159; 1913, pp. 64–67.

33. CCC, Annual Reports, 1919.


37. Ibid.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. The Cleveland Real Estate Board (CREB) published its membership lists in The Realty Record and its successor publication The Cleveland Realtor.
2. CREB publications also listed the officers of what it regarded as “sister organizations.”


4. Ibid.


7. Ibid.


9. See the previously cited City Growth and Values; the same authors’ City Growth Essentials (n.p., n.d.); Stanley L. McMichael, The Romance of Real Estate in Cleveland (n.p., 1919); Robert F. Bingham and Elmore L. Andrews, Financing Real Estate (n.p., 1924).

10. See also John A. Zangerle, Principles of Real Estate Appraisal (n.p., 1924).


15. Cleveland Association of Building Owners and Managers, Bulletin #8, 27 November 1920; THF, Office File, Amos Burt Thompson, “Brief of the Cleveland Association of Building Owners and Managers Submitted to John A. Zangerle,” 29 August 1924.

16. Finance and Industry, 14 June 1919, 27 November 1923; News Leader, 14 November 1921; Robert F. Bingham, “Main Street Cleveland,” The Real Estate Outlook, September, 1922; Cleveland Realtor, 11 June 1923; CABOM Brief.


18. Cleveland Trust Monthly, v. 4, #4, April 1923.

19. O. J. Horn Memorandum; CABOM Brief; Growth and Values, pp. 216–217.


21. Bingham and McMichael’s ideas were fully expressed in Growth and Values.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

25. Cleveland Realtor, 13 January 1930.
32. Cleveland Realtor, 13 December 1926, 17 September 1928; Finance and Industry, 4 February 1928.
33. Growth and Values, p. 345.
34. The Annual Reports (1919–1930) of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce list committee members. The December issues of the Cleveland Realtor (1919–1930) list CREB committee members and city and suburban public officials.
35. CCC, Annual Report, 1926, p. 75.
37. Finance and Industry, 4 February 1928.
38. “Stanley L. McMichael Farewell Address,” Cleveland Realtor, 7 October 1929.
40. “Farewell Address.”
41. CCC, Annual Reports, 1919–1930; Cleveland Realtor, 1919–1930; City of Cleveland, City Planning Commission, “Membership List,” 1923–1930.
45. His self-serving real estate development schemes and the politicalization of his administration doomed the city manager experiment. Hopkins as city manager was the choice of the Republican Party (which he headed) and the Cleveland Real Estate Board. To make his appointment palatable to Democrats, Hopkins agreed to split patronage appointments with W. Burr Gongwer, the county chairman of the Democratic Party. The arrival of Hopkins was a visible, irrefutable symbol that a new regime was in power.
46. Cleveland Realtor, 27 September 1923, 12 November 1923, 14 January 1924.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 26 January 1926.


7. Kondratieff Rhythm or Cycle. Named for Russian born economist Nikolai Kondratieff (1891–1931). The theory refers to trade cycles of long duration. Kondratieff studied American, British, and French wholesale prices and interest rates from the eighteenth century and found that peaks and troughs in economic activity fell at regular intervals. Harvard economists conducted similar work into British wheat prices from the thirteenth century and found cycles lasting fifty-four years. Brian J. L. Berry cited above and David Hackett Fischer cited below are two recent students of the phenomenon.

8. Berry, pp. 46–64.


13. The Cleveland Real Estate Board’s “sell Cleveland” advertising campaign mentioned in the previous chapter was aimed at this residential real estate market segment.


19. THF, Office File, “Testimony of Amos Burt Thompson before the Special Joint Taxation Committee,” Columbus, Ohio, 30 January 1917.

20. Jon C. Teaford estimates that the personal property tax in most cities—including Cleveland—brought in no more than 4 or 5 percent of the total; see *Unheralded Triumph*, pp. 293–304.


Notes to Chapter 10


25. THF, Office File, “Testimony of John A. Zangerle before the Joint Tax Committee,” Columbus, Ohio, 20 February 1919.


29. Ibid.


31. “Zangerle Testimony.”


35. Ibid., p. 265.


37. Ibid., p. 282.

38. Dorau, pp. 224–235; CABOM Brief; THF, Horn et al., Memorandum to John A. Zangerle; *Growth and Values*, pp. 216–217.

39. CABOM Brief.

40. Horn Memorandum; *Plain Dealer*, 3 September 1920; *Growth and Values*, pp. 286.

41. Ibid.

42. *Growth and Values*, p. 283.

43. *Cleveland Realtor*, 23 August 1929.

44. Ibid.


47. THF, Office File, “Vote Yes” [pamphlet], November, 1920.


50. *Cleveland Realtor*, 14 January 1924, 24 November 1924.

51. CABOM Brief.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. *Cleveland Realtor*, 30 August 1926.

2. Ibid., 3 May 1926.


6. Ibid., p. 50.


8. *Cleveland Realtor*, 21 April 1924.


11. Ibid., p. 8.


17. Ibid., 13 January 1928.


22. See chapter 6.


25. See chapter 7.


28. The outcome illustrates regime succession. The Plain Dealer, which in 1918 favored the Mall site, switched positions in 1921 without so much as a word of explanation to readers, but its advertising displayed many more column inches purchased by realtors and Public Square and Euclid Avenue retailers than by export-sector corporations: PD, 20 July 1921, 17 September 1921, 22 September 1921, 21 December 1921; Haberman, pp. 43–48.


32. Ibid., 5 February 1914.

33. Ibid., 5 August 1914; “Memorandum of Mayor Newton D. Baker to the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee,” 15 August 1914.

34. Ibid.

35. Planning Committee, Minutes, 8 January 1918, 17 January 1918; Avery, I, p. 473; Growth and Values, p. 306.


38. Growth and Values, pp. 320–323.

39. Plain Dealer, 11 April 1926, 12 November 1926; Cleveland Realtor, 4 September 1927, 17 October 1927, 2 November 1927, 17 August 1928.


42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. 316 (N.D. Ohio 1924); 297 Fed. 307.


47. Ibid.

48. Euclid v. Ambler

49. Ibid.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. City of Cleveland, Division of Engineering and Construction, *Annexations to the City of Cleveland* (1954); Cleveland Chamber of Commerce (CCC), Committee on Annexations, *Annual Report* (1919); Cleveland Plain Dealer, 13 August 1920.


6. See chapter 11.

7. CCC, Committee on Annexations, *Annual Report* (1916); Plain Dealer, 13 August 1920.

8. Cleveland Town Topics, 18 February 1922.


10. Plain Dealer, 13 May 1925.

11. Plain Dealer, 13 May 1925; Regional Planning and Zoning, pp. 3–4.


13. Several times a year the Cleveland Realtor and Finance and Industry published tables showing tax rates and bonded indebtedness by municipality.


15. Ibid.


Notes to Conclusion

23. The exodus was temporarily halted by depression in the 1930s and war in the
1940s, but resumed with a vengeance in the 1950s.
the Century Cleveland” (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1989); John J.
Grabowski, “Social Reform and Philanthropic Order in Cleveland, 1896–1920,” in
David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski (eds.), Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform
(Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1986), pp. 29–49; Edward M. Miggins, “A City
of ‘Uplifting Influences’: From ‘Sweet Charity’ to Modern Social Welfare and Philan-
thropy,” in Thomas F. Campbell and Edward M. Miggins (eds.), The Birth of Modern
26. Ibid.
27. See the account of the tax reform struggle in chapters 5 and 10.
28. The traditional view is expressed in Encyclopedia, pp. 997–998; The Plain Dealer,
10 September 1995.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. For decades, this condition was camouflaged by the appearance of local
forward-linkage industries which created a welcome agglomeration effect in Cleve-
land’s economy. However, in time, the forward-linkage industries would also be merged
into larger, national corporate entities.
2. Jon C. Teaford so argues; see his The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in
America, 1870–1900 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.)
D.C., 2001), table 10, p. 32.