

A. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE NAM-ACT DATABASE

Selection and description of the sample

The relational database used in this study (referred to in the text as *NAM-ACT database*) consists of three tables: one contains NAM members, another their contacts among Congressmen, and a third contacts with other persons with social or political influence (governors, newspaper editors, et cetera.) The NAM members in the table do not constitute a random sample of the membership; rather, the aim was to examine those members who were particularly active in the NAM's projects between 1902 and 1913.

The sample is culled from the preserved correspondence of the National Association of Manufacturers between 1902 and 1913, now preserved in digital format. The correspondence is preserved because it was subpoenaed for an investigation into the NAM's lobbying activities that the U.S. Congress conducted in 1913 as a result of revelations made by Martin M. Mulhall, the NAM's political operative, in the *New York Sun*, and was then printed for the use of the investigating committee. The collection is fairly extensive (over 4,000 printed pages). Unfortunately, not all the correspondence was included in the print: the committee considered its mandate to extend only to the investigation of lobbying, and thus did not print all the material relating to e.g. strikebreaking. Thus, there are two types of potential flaws in the correspondence as a source of a membership sample: one, there are clearly gaps in the correspondence, and two, it is systematically selected for content that shows political activism. The first does not seem a serious problem, as there is no reason to assume that it is anything but random. The second skews the sample, of course, but toward active members; while it is of course possible that some members were very active but never acted on anything relating to politics, this seems very unlikely.

I constructed the database as follows. First, I gathered all name and company information from the correspondence and inserted this into the database. Next, I checked the

resulting list against published lists of NAM members; if a person cannot be connected to a company that appears neither in the 1906 nor the 1917 *American Trade Index* (a NAM publication that lists all members), that person was either dropped or moved to the appropriate auxiliary table (“congressmen” or “other contacts”). For the remaining NAM members, I assigned an activity rating as follows

- 1:** appears in the correspondence or contacted by an NAM official or member; no actual evidence of activity
- 2:** at least one contact from this company that shows active interest; e.g. writes NAM regarding some matter of substance, reports having written a congressman, testifies at a hearing
- 3:** appears in the correspondence at least twice in an active role

The activity rating is based on a company, not an individual—that is, if there are three different instances of contact between NAM and a particular company, that company will be marked as an active member even if the contact is with different individuals. A company only appears in the final sample once, however; the person associated with that company is either the person who most often appears in the correspondence or the highest-ranking official at the company to have contact with the NAM.

The reference group of “active members” mentioned in the body of this dissertation refers to a group of 107 members with an activity rating of at least three and with duplicate companies removed (the names and companies of these members are listed in appendix B.) On a few occasions where a larger sample was more useful, such as the construction of the map in Figure 3.1, I have used the broader sample of members whose activity rating is at least two. These are clear from the text, however.

This is of course not an entirely unambiguous and systematic method of constructing the sample, since to some extent it depends on my subjective judgment of what constitutes

an active role as well as on which letters happen to have made it to the printed correspondence. One could, of course, have concentrated on e.g. the board of directors (or before incorporation in 1905, the executive committee). Such a method would have introduced other problems, however. First, while sitting on the board of directors certainly indicates some level of interest in the Association's work, not all directors appear to have been particularly active, whereas there are many members who are very active but never sit on the board. Second, using the board of directors would have skewed the geographical distribution of the active membership, because membership on the executive committee as well as later on the board of directors was chosen from the twelve states with the greatest membership (one person each per state) plus a handful of members-at-large.¹ Thus, smaller-membership states would by definition not appear in the sample, nor would one get any sense of which states supplied the greatest number of active members, if this was different from the greatest number of members overall. In researching the members' political contacts, the contacts of members who were active but did not sit on the board would not have appeared. Alternatively, one might have selected a random sample from the complete membership list. Here, however, there is no way of knowing why a randomly selected member joined or remained a member; it may well have been solely for the translation services or to receive the membership directory, neither of which necessarily indicates agreement with any part of the association's policies. Since I am particularly interested in what drove particular businessmen to actively participate in the NAM's work, and what their characteristics and contacts can tell us about their potential political efficacy, I have found it more useful to focus on members whom I can document as being active.

The two other tables—congressional and other contacts—are constructed partly on the basis of the correspondence and partly on the basis of information located in other sources. They list both information about the persons being contacted and information about the type and topic of contact (personal or letter, eight-hour law or election, et cetera.)

¹See "Constitution of 1905" and "Constitution of 1908," reproduced in Steigerwalt, *The NAM*, Appendix D and E, 188–202.

Sources

For the sample of 107 active members, I have gathered demographic and company information as described in the body of the dissertation, particularly chapter 4. Most of this information comes from local histories and biographical compendia. Writing such histories was something of a fad in the early twentieth century, and they were usually written in a boosterish spirit, describing industrial enterprises and locally notable personages in some detail, so this type of material was quite useful. In addition, I have used stories and obituaries in newspapers and the trade press as well as compendia like *Who's Who*. I have also made some use of census returns; these were mainly useful for the demographic information on national background and father's occupation (unfortunately, none of the census returns for the relevant manufacturing censuses have been preserved). Also, many of the men in the sample testified at Congressional hearings, whether as part of the lobby investigation, against labor bills, or in other contexts such as tariff hearings. These have often been useful sources of basic company information. The information on whether a corporation was publicly traded or privately held is based on that company's appearance in either *The Manual of Statistics* or on information reported in the *Capital Changes Reporter* (when in doubt, a company has been assumed to *not* be publicly traded.) The first is a precursor to publications like *Standard and Poor's* and *Moody's*, which I consulted to some extent but which mostly begin listing industrials fairly late (a firm is not marked as "public" in my sample unless it was public before the First World War.)

The research has been made possible on this national scale largely because so much material of this type is now digitized, meaning not only that one can avoid traveling to dozens of local archives but also that one can perform searches by company or individual name, thus locating information in sources that do not list companies or individuals alphabetically or in any other systematic manner.

Additional note on NCF data

The main source I have used for quantitative data on the businessmen involved in the National Civic Federation is the dissertation by Gordon M. Jensen, which has as appendices tables on the industries of NCF companies; the size of firms represented (by capitalization); the position in the business occupied by the person active in NCF (president, treasurer, and so on); and the geographical origin of NCF's business members.² Jensen classifies the NCF's business members into "more" and "less" active, the former counting 241 and the latter 230 men, for a total of 471 active members who were involved in the Federation's work beyond merely contributing financially. Jensen explains the definitions of "more" and "less" active as follows:

The first group includes officers of the National Civic Federation and its departments, members of the executive committees of the National Civic Federation and its departments, members of working sub-committees of the departments, and officers and members of the executive committees of the two most active local branches of the National Civic Federation, the New York Civic Federation and the New England Civic Federation. The second group includes members of departments, members of the Advisory Council established in 1908, and members of the Chicago, Cleveland and St. Louis branches.³

It appears that Jensen's definition of business members includes not only members in the "employer" category of the NCF's three broad member categories of labor, employer, and the public, but also encompasses businessmen who served as members of the public, as many did. I have not, however, found an explicit statement either way on this by Jensen.

Except for the construction of the map (3.2 on page 132), I have used data referring to the "more active" category in order to improve compatibility with the NAM data I have gathered, which after all focuses on quite active members.

For the demographic comparison, I compiled a list of all the businessmen who sat on the NCF's executive committee as employer representatives between 1903 and 1910 for

²Jensen, "NCF," 377–384.

³Jensen, "NCF," fn 32, 344.

more than one year (n=24).⁴ This period both matches roughly the period from which the NAM sample is drawn and represents a time when the NCF's focus on the trade agreement and practical labor issues was still fairly strong (after 1910 or so, the Federation's concern with labor became much more explicitly focused on directly combating Socialism through funding speakers et cetera). I then located as much demographic data as possible for these men in the same way as for the NAM businessmen. The list of these men is reproduced in Appendix B.

⁴The source for the membership of the executive committee was the *National Civic Federation Review*; specifically, issues for April 1903, July 1904, November 1905, July/August 1906, March/April 1907, February 1908, November 1909, and March 1910 were consulted.

B. LIST OF NAMES AND COMPANIES IN NAM-ACT DATABASE

NAM members

name	company	co. size	city	state
N F Thompson	The Tradesman		Birmingham	AL
George H Schuler	Alabama Steel & Wire Co.; Southern Steel	4500	Gadsden	AL
A H Bullard	Bullard Machine Tool Co.	900	Bridgeport	CT
Charles M Jarvis	American Hardware Corp. / P & F Corbin	5100	New Britain	CT
Henry R Towne	Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company	3500	Stamford	CT
S K Smith	Harlan & Hollingsworth Corporation	2000	Wilmington	DE
George R Estabrook	Fisher Governor Co.		Marshalltown	IA
Charles H Smith	Western Wheeled Scraper Company		Aurora	IL
Elliot Durand	Heath & Milligan Manufacturing Co.		Chicago	IL
Charles Norman Fay	Fay-Sholes Co.; Arithmograph co	35	Chicago	IL
Edward Hines	Edward Hines Lumber Co.		Chicago	IL
William A Vawter	Baker-Vawter Co.	200	Chicago	IL
W H French	Barnhardt Brothers & Spindler		Chicago	IL
F E Nulsen	Missouri Malleable Iron Co	1000	East St. Louis	IL
George A Stephens	Moline Plow Company	3000	Moline	IL
C S Brantingham	Emerson-Brantingham Co.	1000	Rockford	IL
Theodore R McFerson	McFerson & Foster	50	Evansville	IN
Frank Van Camp	The Van Camp Packing Co.		Indianapolis	IN
John L Ketcham	Brown-Ketcham Iron Works		Indianapolis	IN
Charles C Hanch	Nordyke & Marmon	600	Indianapolis	IN

continued on next page

continued

name	company	co. size	city	state
Hugh H Hanna	Atlas Engine Works	1400	Indianapolis	IN
David McLean Parry	Parry Manufacturing Co.	2500	Indianapolis	IN
Charles Arthur Carlisle	Studebaker Bros. Manufacturing Company	5000	South Bend	IN
George Henry	J.N. Struck & Bro, Lumber	99	Louisville	KY
F C Nunemacher	Nunemacher Press		Louisville	KY
Henry A Faber	Higgin Manufacturing Co.	275	Newport	KY
George T Coppins	Walworth Manufacturing Company	1100	Boston	MA
Melville H Barker	American Tool and Machine Co.	350	Boston	MA
William M Wood	American Woolen Co.	20000	Boston	MA
Alfred E Cox	Atlantic Works	350	East Boston	MA
George A Draper	Draper Company	2500	Hopedale	MA
John Hopewell	L.C. Chase & co	400	Newton	MA
Charles E Hildreth	Whitcomb-Blaisdell Machine Tool Co.		Worcester	MA
T Wayman	Townsend Grace & Co.		Baltimore	MD
James A Gary	James S. Gary & Son		Baltimore	MD
Thomas S Laughlin	Thomas Laughlin Co.	140	Portland	ME
C W Post	Postum Cereal Company	2500	Battle Creek	MI
B T Skinner	Advance Thresher Company	575	Battle Creek	MI
James Inglis	American Blower Co.		Detroit	MI
John Trix	American Injector Co.	90	Detroit	MI
George H Barbour	Michigan Stove Company	1500	Detroit	MI
Howard B Anthony	McRae & Roberts Co.	250	Detroit	MI
Henry B Joy	Packard Motor Car Co.	1600	Detroit	MI
Otto H L Wernicke	Macey Company	300	Grand Rapids	MI
W E Tallmadge	Excelsior Wrapper Co.	100	Grand Rapids	MI
Charles Axel Smith	C.A. Smith Lumber Co.	1000	Minneapolis	MN

continued on next page

continued

name	company	co. size	city	state
Oliver Crosby	American Hoist & Derrick	600	St. Paul	MN
Silas Buck Foot	Foot, Schulze & Co.	600	St. Paul	MN
Homer P Clark	West Publishing Company	600	St. Paul	MN
Charles S Keith	Central Coal & Coke Co.	10000	Kansas City	MO
Robert Henry Stockton	Majestic Manufacturing Co.	390	St. Louis	MO
James Wallace Van Cleave	Buck's Stove and Range	700	St. Louis	MO
Alanson D Brown	Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co.	5500	St. Louis	MO
John A.J. Shultz	Shultz Belting Co.		St. Louis	MO
Augustus A Busch	Anheuser-Busch	6000	St. Louis	MO
Anthony Ittner	Anthony Ittner Brick Co.		St. Louis	MO
Daniel Augustus Tompkins	D.A. Tompkins Co.		Charlotte	NC
Frederick K Copeland	Sullivan Machinery Company	850	Claremont	NH
Edwin B Pike	Pike Manufacturing Company	250	Pike Station	NH
Enos Paullin	Ferracute Machine Company	170	Bridgeton	NJ
Eugene Merz	Heller & Merz; Ultramarine Company	20000	Newark	NJ
Richard C Jenkinson	RC Jenkinson Co.		Newark	NJ
William C Dodd	The National Lock Washer Co.	60	Newark	NJ
John E McIntosh	McIntosh, Seymour & Company	600	Auburn	NY
Edward F Jones	Jones of Binghamton		Binghamton	NY
Benjamin B McFadden	Commercial Envelope and Box Co.		Binghamton	NY
Howard C Seaman	E.W. Bliss Company	1500	Brooklyn	NY
Ogden P Letchworth	Pratt & Letchworth Co.	1800	Buffalo	NY
Lynn F Cornell	Jamestown Lounge Co.	400	Jamestown	NY
Franklin H Kalbfleisch	Franklin H. Kalbfleisch Co.		New York	NY
Francis H Stillman	Watson-Stillman Co.	200	New York	NY
Philip T Dodge	Mergenthaler Linotype Company	1800	New York	NY

continued on next page

continued

name	company	co. size	city	state
Alonzo B See	A. B. See Electric Elevator Co.		New York	NY
Charles U Carpenter	Herring-Hall-Marvin Safe Co.	2000	New York	NY
D H Bates	Willcox & Gibbs Sewing Machine Co.		New York	NY
Otis H Cutler	American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co.		New York	NY
C A Schieren	Charles A. Schieren Co.		New York	NY
Ludwig Nissen	Ludwig Nissen & Co.		New York	NY
William McCarroll	American Leather Co.		Morningside	NY
Joseph Bailey	E. Bailey & Sons, Inc.	300	Patchogue	NY
H H Franklin	H.H. Franklin Manufacturing Co.	1800	Syracuse	NY
William Barker Sr.	William Barker Co.		Troy	NY
J M Manley	Hisey-Wolf Machine Co		Cincinnati	OH
James C Hobart	Triumph Electric Co	250	Cincinnati	OH
P Otto Geier	Cincinnati Milling Machine Co.	1500	Cincinnati	OH
William Barnum Cowles	Long Arm System Co.	130	Cleveland	OH
K D Bishop	Bishop & Babcock Co.	400	Cleveland	OH
J G Battelle	Columbus Iron & Steel Co.	400	Columbus	OH
Joseph A Jeffrey	The Jeffrey Manufacturing Company	1000	Columbus	OH
John Kirby	Dayton Manufacturing Co.	225	Dayton	OH
George D Selby	Selby Shoe Company	1500	Portsmouth	OH
Edward L Buchwalter	American Seeding-Machine Co.	1000	Springfield	OH
Emil E Keller	Westinghouse Machine Co.	2500	East Pittsburgh	PA
Thomas E Durban	Erie City Iron Works	490	Erie	PA
Walter Wood	R.D. Wood & Co.	900	Philadelphia	PA
Thomas Dolan	United Gas Improvement Company		Philadelphia	PA
Thomas J Gillespie	Lockhart Iron and Steel Co.		Pittsburgh	PA
C W Townsend	Chaplin-Fulton Manufacturing Co.	50	Pittsburgh	PA

continued on next page

continued

name	company	co. size	city	state
Daniel C Ripley	United States Glass Co.; Ripley & Co.	2500	Pittsburgh	PA
Arthur L. Humphrey	Westinghouse Air Brake Co.	4000	Wilmerding	PA
A B Farquhar	PA Agricultural Works / A.B. Farquhar Co.	500	York	PA
Frank S Manton	American Ship Windlass Co.	175	Providence	RI
Henry D Sharpe	Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co.	3000	Providence	RI
Hiram S Chamberlain	Roane Iron Co.	1100	Chattanooga	TN
George M Craig	Port Arthur Rice Milling Company		Port Arthur	TX
John Alfred Kimberly	Kimberly & Clark Co.		Neenah	WI
H E Miles	Racine-Sattley Co.	1300	Racine	WI