NOTES

RAILROADED: INTRODUCTION, BY RICHARD WHITE, PP 5–11


5 Most American historians have relegated the study of corporations to the subfield of business history. Business historians have thrived on the neglect of their colleagues and created an impressive body of literature that should be better integrated into the larger narratives of American and Canadian history.
9 I would like to thank Woody Powell for this formulation.
13 Roy, Socializing Capital, 4.
14 David Howard Bain, Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad (New York: Viking, 1999), 711.

WHAT IS THIS RAILROAD TO DO FOR US?, BY WILLIAM DEVERELL, PP 12–15

The title is adapted from Henry George’s 1868 essay on the impact of the transcontinental: “What is the railroad to do for us?—this railroad that we have looked for, hoped for, prayed for so long?”. George, “What the Railroad Will Bring Us,” The Overland Monthly, 1 no. 4 (Oct. 1868).

Caption sources: “Etc.”, Overland Monthly, 1 no. 7 (July 1888), 99–100; White, Railroaded, Appendix, 524 (Chart B: Fruit and Sugar as Proportions of Eastbound Freight).
2 A. N. Towne to Hubert Howe Bancroft, Oct. 9, 1886; Collins P. Huntington Archive, The Hispanic Society of America: my thanks to Shelley Bennett for bringing this letter to my attention.
3 Ibid. An early sentence spoke of “the great work,” “the great struggle,” and “the great enterprise” in one breathless, long clause: the tone throughout is of self-congratulatory grandeur.
4 It isn’t surprising that this assessment came in the pages of Bancroft’s evaluation of Towne himself; see Bancroft, History of the Life of Alban N. Towne: A Character Study (San Francisco: The History Company, 1891), 197.

CAPITALISM, COUNTERFACTUALS, AND THE NATIONAL STATE: REFLECTIONS ON RICHARD WHITE’S RAILROADED, BY DANIEL CARPENTER, PP 16–27

2 The economist Milton Friedman, recipient of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, was a proponent of the free-market philosophy and of “monetarism.”
3 Charles Crocker, Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, and Mark Hopkins, board members of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, collectively were known as the Associates.
4 In Voltaire’s satirical novella, Candide, the tutor Dr. Pangloss is a caricature of optimism who espouses the philosophy that the world he lives in is “the best of all possible worlds.”
5 I refer here to Max Weber, the German social theorist whose writings on “bureaucracy” defined a model of social, governmental, and economic organization. In Weber’s perception, bureaucracy was a mode not only of government but a mode of humans ruling over one another in the economic, social, cultural, religious, and political spheres. Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft [Economy and Society], 2 vols. (Berlin: University of California Press, 1978), 956–1003.

7 As White explains, "Arbitraries were fictitious miles added to long runs or runs made under difficult conditions; they were the wage equivalent of constructive mileage—imaginary miles added to the actual haul of branch lines to increase their share of the revenue." (242–43)

8 The story of this Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad executive is one of many vignettes of "railroad lives" in the book. In White's account, Mahl is "within the moral universe of the corporation, an honest man." (272)

9 The Sept. 2, 1885, massacre of Chinese immigrants at Rock Springs, Wyoming, by white miners resulted from labor disputes and racial tensions and initiated a surge of anti-Chinese violence.


11 In simple models of "retrospective voting," voters look at the performance of the economy—as personally or locally experienced or as generally measured—and vote up or down upon the incumbent in office (or his or her party).

12 We see this, for instance, in Michael Holt's narrative of how the crisis of the late 1880s reverberated in odd and unpredictable ways through the complex of state party systems; Holt, The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Coming of the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

13 We can think of the importance of organization for these movements by looking squarely at the limits of agrarian organization in the United States. For all of the collective voice of the agrarian movement, farmers did not establish a strong presence in the legislative process in Washington until 1920, under the auspices of the American Farm Bureau Federation. And the Farm Bureau was built off of the husk not of the Populist movement, but of the administrative structure of the national state, none other than the U.S. Department of Agriculture and its extension agent system.


15 Richard Bensel, Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America,
NOTES

17 Why did popular politics take on the patina of legitimacy that it had by late century, with Huntington himself and others trying to drum up petitions? The petitions were manufactured and manufactured, as we know. They were fictions. But the fictions had to be credible in order to be effective.
18 In Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad (1886), the court’s headnotes referred to the Fourteenth Amendment and granted rights and protections to corporations as “artificial persons.” In Texas and Pacific Railway Company v. Interstate Commerce Commission (Import Rate Case, 1891), the court reversed an earlier decision in which differences in foreign and domestic traffic rates were ruled unlawful. The Granger cases of the 1870s involving railroad regulations established that government can regulate private business in the public interest.
20 The mathematical idea I have in mind comes from the critical importance of weak convergence theorems (such as the central limit theorem) to all statistical testing (e.g., the reference of a test statistic to a reference distribution such as the t-distribution or the chi-squared distribution, but really any test of “significance” or assignment of “confidence intervals”). See Patrick Billingsley, Convergence of Probability Measures (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 1995). Sections 1 and 2, and 236–44, and Billingsley, Probability and Measure, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 1992). Sections 3 and 4.
22 www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory.

RAILROADED, OR JUST RAILROADING? THE MUNDANE MADNESS OF MANAGEMENT, BY STEVEN W. USSELMAN, PP 25–38

3 The ceremony of the Golden Spike on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah Territory, united the 1,774 miles of railroad built by the crews of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads.
4 During the 1877–78 Congressional session, Texas representative John H. Reagan, an antimonopolist and chairman of the commerce committee, introduced a bill for the regulation of interstate commerce. The bill to federally regulate the railroads was opposed, White writes, by “virtually all railroad men.” (356)
8 Usselman, Regulating Railroad Innovation, 339–71.
9 The notion, commonly used to describe congressional politics during the Gilded Age, derives from the practice of politicians throwing barbecues for favored constituents on the eve of elections; see Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, vol. III, The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1860–1920 (New York, 1930), 23.

TAKING COUNTERFACTUAL HISTORY SERIOUSLY, BY NAOMI R. LAMOREAUX, PP 39–50

3 White suggests, for example, that investors bought railroad bonds because they could earn a much higher rate of return than from alternative securities. He also suggests that bankers helped railroads sell bonds by playing the role of intermediaries, though how bankers built confidence is not completely clear because he portrays them as lying as well. On both points, see White, Railroaded, 378–81.
5 For the first two, see Albert Fishlow, American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-Bellum Economy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), chap. 4. For the second two, see Lloyd J. Mercer, “Building Ahead of Demand: Some Evidence for the Land Grant Railroads,” Journal of Economic History 34 (June 1974): 492–500. Mercer also posed a fifth test—which the social return was positive when the private return was negative—but this test is really a measure of whether a government subsidy was justified.

California History • VOLUME 89 / NUMBER 1 / 2011

7 The following exposition is based on Jeremy Atack and Peter Passell, A New Economic View of American History, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 164–73.

8 Although railroad freight rates bounced around and depended locally on the extent of competition, even in the West the trend was downward—faster than the contemporaneous fall in agricultural prices. See Robert Higgs, "Railroad Rates and the Populist Uprising," Agricultural History 44 (July 1970): 291–98.


10 This evidence is not ideal because the railroads set rates that discriminated against short hauls, but there is no better data in the book.


14 The Homestead Act granted settlers up to 160 acres of public land for free if they lived on and farmed the land for five years. This act and subsequent measures that restricted farm sizes applied only to the public domain. The railroads could divide the land in their grants into any size plots they wished. If farm sizes on railroad lands were similar to those on the alternate sections, then the government restrictions were of little importance.

A GREAT STORY, BUT NOT A GOOD ONE, BY ERIC RAUCHWAY, PP 51–60


5 For the modernity of the reformers, see Elizabeth Sanders, Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).


7 Ibid., 42–52.

8 In his novel The Octopus: A Story of California (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), Frank Norris portrays the railroad as an octopus holding the state in the strangehold of economic and political tentacles. Regarding its origins, Richard Maxwell Brown has written that "although the political cartoons of G. Frederick Keller were apparently responsible for popularizing (and perhaps originating) the Southern Pacific's image as an octopus, a book predating Frank Norris's Octopus was John R. Robinson, The Octopus: A History of the Construction, Conspiracies, Extortions, Robberies, and Villainous Acts of the Central Pacific, Southern Pacific of Kentucky, Union Pacific, and Other Subsidized Railroads (San Francisco: n.p., 1894)."


9 Rauchway, Blessed Among Nations, 32.

10 Daniel Lindley, Ambrose Bierce Takes on the Railroad (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 81 and 85.