

MARXIAN AND WEBERIAN THEORY AS EXPLANATIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF  
INDUSTRIALIZATION ON TOWN DEVELOPMENT:

A CASE STUDY - DENISON, TEXAS

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While a great deal of historical literature has concentrated on the effects of industrialization on town development, most of the accounts relate to the introduction of industrialization into an established town. This study attempts to analyze, in sociological terms, the effects of industrialization (in this case, the emergence of the railroad) on the social structure of Denison, Texas, which was created by industrialization. It is a way to examine town building based on the combination of elements found in Marxian and Weberian theory. This perspective can explain town development without the usual economic bias as evident in most contemporary urban theory.

This study proceeds on the assumption that the social order of a newly formed community is not based solely on economic factors. While economic considerations were important for the town of the study, social stability of the town was maintained by other “non-economic” elements. The study suggests the method by which a synthetic theory based on Marx and Weber can be constructed. The thrust is not the creation of new theory, rather it attempts to combine existing “classical” theories to present a balanced and, to an extent, “objective” explanation of community development. Adding the social aspects of Weber’s theory to Marx’s theory results in a theory that limits the economic bias associated with pure Marxian theory.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of Purpose

While a great deal of historical literature has concentrated on the effects of industrialization on town development, most of the accounts relate to the introduction of industrialization into an established town (Spratt, 1955; Hine, 1980; Doyle, 1978). This study attempts to analyze, in sociological terms, the effects of industrialization (in this case, the emergence of the railroad) on the social structure of a town created by industrialization. As stated by T.R. Fehrenbach in *Lone Star*, settlers in the American West carried social and cultural patterns created and refined west of the Appalachians. Although the traditional social patterns were not forged in an industrial-based society, the population adapted to technological advancement without destroying the basic structure of familiar and familial social patterns (1968).

#### General Overview

The railroad industry led to vast economic and social changes in Texas in the late nineteenth century. D.W. Meinig describes this impact:

The impact of this national penetration was felt most directly in North Texas. The whole area was suddenly transformed from a periphery into a threshold. The inflow of new settlers was not large, but the inflow of capital and business . . . quickened the pace and shaped the patterns of economic development (1969:75).

The United States censuses of 1870 and 1880 clearly demonstrate the economic impact of the railroad to Texas. Overall production of marketable crops between 1870 and 1880 reveal an enormous increase in production, which most historians attribute to the emergence of the railroad. In 1870, farmers in Texas produced crops valued at \$94,668.00 (1872:254). However,

in 1880, the value of crops rose nearly seventeen fold. The Agricultural Compendium for 1880 shows the value of marketable crops as \$1,581,376.00 (1822:134).

The national railroad system entered Texas in 1872 at the newly founded town of Denison. Historical accounts record that approximately one hundred people were present to celebrate the arrival of the first train in Denison. This marked the beginning of a town that would emerge as the most important town, in economic terms, in the entire northern portion of Texas prior to 1900 (Donald, 1946; Lucas and Hall, 1936; Maguire, 1991; Masterson, 1952). The Missouri, Kansas, & Texas Railroad (MKT) was the economic life-blood of the entire north Texas region. The MKT formed the nexus of the national economy and Texas cotton. The MKT poured a vast amount of capital into Denison in the form of business improvements (an ice factory for the shipping of beef, a cotton compress, a flour mill, a lumber mill, etc), which advanced the economy of the entire county (Maguire, 1991; Masterson, 1952; Hall, 1991). While the economic impact of the railroad was epochal, this expansive growth had the potential to create major social problems. According to Don Doyle in *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, community development is dependent not only on economic structures, but also on social structures. In order for a town to survive, its social structure must remain stable (1978).

Grayson County, in north-central Texas, contained no evidence of industrial advancement in 1870. During this time Sherman was the only town of any importance in the region. The MKT approached the Sherman City Council with an offer to build their line into the town, which would make the town the southern terminus of the railroad. The Sherman City Council, waiting for a branch line from Galveston, declined the offer. The refusal of Sherman prompted the MKT's officers to purchase land adjacent to Sherman for a southern terminal. By 1871, the

MKT's officers had secured title to the necessary land, and construction began on terminal facilities.

Denison, established as a collection point for the untapped wealth of Texas, could not survive indefinitely based solely on the railroad.<sup>1</sup> For the town to serve the railroad effectively, it had to develop a stable and permanent population. Social stability in Grayson County prior to 1872 was an inherent characteristic of the region. The mechanism that ensured social coherence and stability, prior to the entrance of the MKT, is revealed through a history of Grayson County. Grayson County was organized one year after Texas acquired statehood (in 1846). In the county resembled most other rural counties in Texas in the mid-nineteenth century, as it was characterized by subsistence level farming. The farmers in the county, who produced agricultural surpluses, disposed of them in a barter system. The lackluster economic condition served to limit the population. In 1850, Grayson County had only 2,008 citizens (Department of the Interior, 1892:41).

In order for the county to advance, a statewide system of transportation had to be created. The transportation situation in the entire state was appalling. William Ransom Hogan stated shipments were pulled by bull trains (oxen), which covered no more than ten to fifteen miles per day. The journey to Jefferson – 160 miles distant -- took two weeks in “dry weather; if caught in foul weather, this paced slowed or completely halted for several days” (Hogan, 1969:53).<sup>2</sup>

While the construction of a system of transportation and roads required planning and governmental debate, the creation of the social order was spontaneous. As early as 1822, settlers began crossing the Sabine River from Louisiana and moved west into what would become

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the importance of social factors in town building see Don Harrison Doyle, (1978), *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70*.

<sup>2</sup> Shipments that were slotted for Galveston had to go from Jefferson to New Orleans via a combination of river barge and wagon train and then back to Galveston.

Grayson County. Regardless of the origins of the settlers, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Virginia, the bulk was solidly Protestant. By 1853, Cumberland Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were well represented in Grayson County (Lucas and Hall, 1936; Maguire, 1991). These first settlers shared religious beliefs, tilled the soil, and usually came from the same area in their home states. The self-generated community that sprang up mirrored Tönnies concept of *gemeinschaft*, a community based on shared experience. In these types of communities, individualism was repressed in favor of the good of the entire community. Hence, these communities were able, because of strong communal bonds, to limit the effects of outside society and the negative social effects of industrialization. While clinging to their conservative traditions, they resisted the ill consequences of a move toward interlinked, industrial society, which they viewed with skepticism.

Certain associations played a crucial role in reinforcing and affirming the bonds of community. The most significant institution was the church. As Hine asserts, “religion bore the community’s value and morals; the people came together to worship as equals, regardless of economic condition” (Hine, 1980:114-116). Mattie Lucas and Mita Hall detailed the importance of the church to the people of Grayson County in their study of Denison. Even before the erection of church buildings, services were held in private homes, and in public buildings on the town square. Lucas and Hall stated, “the worship of God was essential in the lives of the builders of our county . . . .” (1936:76). In addition to administering religion to the local populace, the preachers of Grayson County ascended the pulpit to extol the virtues of libraries, schools, temperance, and clean living.

Prior to 1870, as Grayson County worked out its economic and social design, the rush to commercialize agriculture in the county was limited. At this time, the economy and the social

structure were closely linked. Subsistence farming was not only the viable source of income, but the way of life for the population. In 1870, farmers produced 577,540 bushels of corn, but only 2,885 bales of cotton<sup>3</sup> (Department of the Interior, 1872, 3:254-255). The 1870s were promising in that they represented commercialized agriculture and all this entailed, and an end to hand-to-mouth farming techniques. The industrial revolution, in the form of steel rails, erupted in Grayson County on Christmas Eve in 1872.

The arrival of the railroad signaled the linking of agriculture to a strong national economy and the introduction of farming for profit. Grayson County's farmer's lives were irrevocably changed overnight. As John Stricklin Spratt commented, "Texans found themselves swept into the maelstrom of economic change caused by conflicting counter-currents of economic self-sufficiency and dependent commercialization" (1955:3-4). The new economy represented not only a change of traditional farming method, which emphasized bountiful harvests, but changed the way people interacted. The farmers' fate was no longer under their control -- Wall Street and businessmen in the Northeast determined who would survive and defined the terms of this survival. By changing the economic mode of production, industrialization threatened the social structure of the town.

### Problem Statement

This study attempts to explain the nexus between industrialization and social stability. The ability to withstand social disruption has been discussed by theorists from Ferdinand Tönnies to Ronald Inglehart and Wayne Baker. Tönnies utilizes the term *Gemeinschaft* to describe these early communities; these types of communities were based on common bonds

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<sup>3</sup> High cotton production signals presence of commercial agriculture because it is a cash crop only. Corn production numbers relate to subsistence farming because it is a food crop and perishable, except when produced in quantity as a cash crop.

such as religion, language, and customs (Tönnies, 1957). Inglehart and Baker extended Tönnies' work by arguing that common bonds reinforce a community's ability to resist the deleterious effects of vast economic change caused by industrialization (Inglehart and Baker, 2000).

The majority of contemporary theory that deals with the impact of industrialization on social structure follows a Marxian model. Many contemporary theorists argue the economic transformation of society caused by industrialization leads to social disruption and class conflict (Hogan, 1946; Marx, 1992; Orum, 1995; Spratt, 1955). However, another school of thought exists that argues against the traditional view of industrialization as socially disruptive (Blumer, 1990, 1973; Coser, 1957; Cottrell, 1955; Doyle, 1978; Hine, 1980; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Logan and Molotch, 1987). This other current of social thought argues that industrialization does not necessarily lead to social structure disruption and class strife. Leading theorists in this vein, such as Herbert Blumer, Inglehart and Baker, and Doyle, assert that the introduction of industrialization into small, emerging towns serves to reinforce class solidarity.

In *Small Towns and Small Towners*, Bert Swanson discusses the importance of values (1979). According to Swanson, community values constrain and limit the influence of the three main spheres delineated by Weber in *Economy and Society* (1978). Swanson argues, in effect, that the Marxian tendency to demonstrate a linear linkage between the economy and the social structure is much too simplistic. Swanson's argument, similar to Weber's contention, maintains that the interaction, which produces the social structure, occurs through the integration of the political, social, and economic spheres. In other words, the economic structure is not the determining factor in social structure development. The social, political, and economic structures of society are embedded in the superstructure, which is constructed by community values. Figure 1 graphically demonstrates this point.



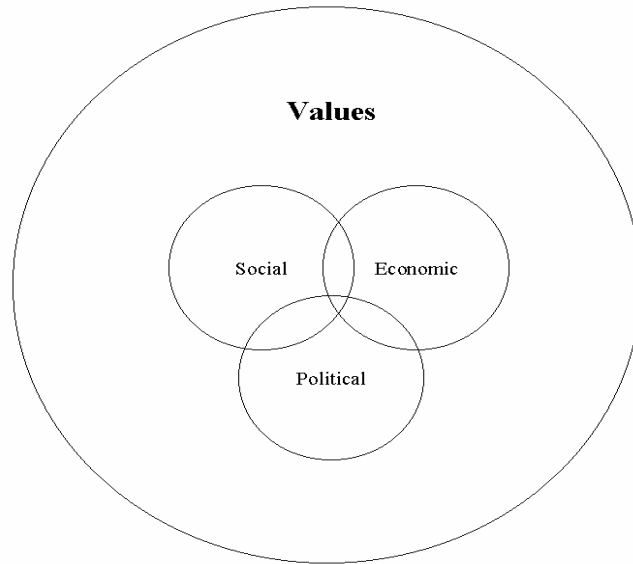


Figure 1. Intersection of Communal Spheres of Action

The method in which the population constructed and maintained its social structure, in the midst of capacious economic growth, can be analyzed according to the economic and social theories of Marx and Weber. A composite theory, including elements from each perspective, has more explanatory power than either a pure Marxian or a pure Weberian exegesis. While Marx's theory concentrates on the economic impact of industrialization at the expense of all other factors, Weber argues that the economic effect is only one aspect of the influence that industrialization had on town building. Weber asserts, "economic activity is . . . a social relationship in so far as the participants direct their conduct . . . for the purpose of satisfying wants . . . ." (As cited in Freund, 1968:151-152). Weber further argues that the economic structure created the opportunity for individuals to acquire wants, and these wants were commonly extra-economic in nature. Weber views the economy as a vehicle that allowed for social development, rather than the engine that drove social development. In other words, Weber disconnects the economic sphere and the social sphere of society. In contrast to Marxian theory, which draws a direct connection between the economy and social change, Weber argues that

several, distinct spheres exist that co-mingle to affect social change. While Marx contends that society can be seen as a causal chain that leads from economic conditions to social conditions, Weber asserts that reducing society to a causal chain missed important interactions between the separate factors that lead to social change. Freund argues that although Weber agrees with Marx's contention that a relationship exists between economic activity and other human activity, he emphatically rejects the Marxian tendency to "reduce all cultural phenomena to an economic substratum" (Freund, 153).

### Rationale

While the economic effects of industrialization have been analyzed and re-analyzed by traditional theorists, analysis concerning the social impact of industrialization beyond simply stating that industrialization functions to disrupt the social structure is sparse. This dissertation will utilize a Marxian analysis, suffused with the social concerns of Weber, to explain the interaction between industrialization and social stability. Marx would view the social development of Denison as a reflection of economic change. Weber would argue that the transformation from an agriculturally based community to a commercially driven society allowed for changes to occur within the social structure. He would further argue that the force that drove social change rested in the social institutions constructed by the community. The utilization of a composite theory will provide a socially and economically balanced analysis of the effects of industrialization on town building.

### Research Questions

The theories of both Marx and Weber tend to predict the form and occurrence of social

conflict. By utilizing a Weberian-Marxist approach in analyzing Denison, the predictive aspects of both theories should reveal the sources of, and factors that contribute to, social conflict and stability. By utilizing a composite theory, this study attempts to locate, describe, and analyze the social and economic factors that led to the ability of Denison to survive cultural destruction. The questions to be answered include:

1. What were the sources of conflict?
2. What were the factors that led to social stability?
3. What elements in Denison's social structure mediated the ill effects of industrialization and led to social endurance?

#### Outline of the Dissertation

The construction of a composite theory is the emphasis of this study. In order to analyze the interrelated effects of social interaction and economic activity, neither pure Marxian theory nor pure Weberian theory has the ability to explain fully social stability in a town created by industrialization. To that end, Chapter 2 reviews the original works produced by Karl Marx and Max Weber. The balance of the chapter discusses the connections between Marx and Weber, contemporary critiques of the classical works, recent attempts to reconcile Marxian and Weberian theory, and finally discusses the applicability of Marxian and Weberian theory to Denison, Texas. Chapter 3 describes the data collected to examine the importance of social institutions in community building. Because of a dearth of primary materials, such as Grayson County Commissioners' Court minutes, the study suffers from relying on newspaper reports, which can be inaccurate or biased.<sup>4</sup> The second half of Chapter 3 deals with techniques involved

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<sup>4</sup> The Grayson County Commissioners Court minutes for the years from 1870 to 1930 were destroyed by a fire that consumed the Grayson County Courthouse in late 1930. It has been argued that newspapers of developing towns suffer from a bias created by what is termed as town boosting. See Don Harrison Doyle, (1978), *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70*.

in analyzing the data. Chapter 4 presents a discussion of the findings based on the results of the content analysis conducted in Chapter 3. The final chapter summarizes the findings of the study, theoretical implications based on the blending of Marxian and Weberian theory, and offers suggestions for future theoretical research in the area of community building based on the fusing of seemingly divergent theories.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Overview

Although numerous theories attempt to explain the factors that affect town building, (Gottdiener, 1994; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Molotch, 1988; Spratt, 1955) these theories directly relate to the works of two of the classical theorists, Karl Marx and Max Weber (Collins, 1994; Giddens, 1971; Morrison, 1995). As Anthony Giddens argues, modern sociological thought can benefit from an examination of the “classical writers who established the principal frames of reference of modern sociology” (1971:vii). While Marx and Weber’s theories can be applied to community development, the theories seem diametrically opposed when related to the importance of the role of the economy on social development. While Marx argued “the dominance of [the economy] becomes so great in capitalistic society that it shapes all other social relations,” Weber’s theory ameliorated this economic bias (Marx, 1992:133-136; Tucker 1978). Weber asserts, “the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich himself economically . . . . The social and the economic order are not identical” (Weber 1978, 2:926; 1946:181). Despite the obvious difference of view regarding the economic and social aspects of community development, recent theorists have attempted to reconcile the different perspectives (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

#### Classical Marxian Theoretical Literature

In *Capital* (1992), *The Communist Manifesto* (1963) and, to a lesser degree, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1978), Marx outlines his argument concerning

the effects of industrialization on society. Marx contends that industrialization leads to changes in the economic structure, and that the social structure is merely a reflection of the economic milieu. Marx argues periodic crises of overproduction occur, which throw society into barbarism. Marx argues that society has neither the power to resist economic change nor the ability to limit the social effects of economic change. During these periods, industrialization becomes “too powerful to control [and] disorder is spread throughout . . . society” (Marx, 1963:33). Marx further suggests that class conflict increases and becomes entrenched as industrialization proceeds. As stated in the *Communist Manifesto*, as capitalism proceeds, class antagonisms increase. Moreover, by “incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production [the bourgeoisie have changed] the totality of social relations” (Marx, 1963:29).<sup>4</sup>

Both the *Manifesto* and *Capital* depend in large part on the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. In the *Manuscripts*, Marx forges the foundation for the two later works, *The Manifesto* and *Capital*. In the *Manuscripts* Marx develops the ideas of a two-class system and objectification. These three works represent Marx’s most important thoughts on societal development. The *Manuscripts* contains “the fundamentals of the Marxist interpretation of history . . . including the notion of the proletarian revolution and future communism as the goal of the historical process” (Tucker, 1978:66). This work represents the nucleus of Marx’s theory of societal development. While the *Manifesto* and *Capital* demonstrate a fleshing out of Marx’s basic theory, the *Manuscripts* seems to be Marx’s first attempt at constructing a holistic view of social (read economic) history. In the *Manuscripts* Marx deals with the philosophical notion of self-estrangement, or what Marx terms alienation. According to Tucker, the *Manuscripts* represents Marx’s view that history, specifically the history of capitalism, can be seen as a “story of man’s alienation in his life as producer. . .” (Tucker, 66). The notion of alienation is

constructed around Marx's analysis of the bifurcation of society, which results from the accumulation of private property and estranged labor. Estranged labor includes objectification, which is a continuous theme in Marx's writing. Marx seems to extend the concept of objectification to alienation, a term that is defined as man's estrangement from nature, himself, his product, and other men. While alienation of labor is unique, Marx explains the concept of alienation by attaching it to the issue of private property. As explained by Marx, "Private property, [is] the material, summary expression of alienated labour . . . ." (Tucker, 81). In Marx's discussion of the relationship between estranged (alienated) labor, he concludes that the only way for the worker, and by extension society, to break out of servitude to the owners is to destroy private property. The concept of the destruction of private property is a theme that runs throughout the *Manifesto*.

Written in 1848, *The Communist Manifesto* forms the basis for Marx's later work and figures as a condensed version of Marx's view on the division of society based on economic factors. *Capital* is an elaboration of the *Manifesto*, in which Marx fully explicates his theory of industrialism/capitalism's effects on society.

The *Manifesto* serves as both a treatise that was to lead the workers out of bondage, and as an explication of Marx's ideas on the power of private property. Marx asserts that the only way for the proletariat to "raise itself [is by] disrupting the whole superstructure comprising the strata which make up . . . society" (Marx, 1963:40). Marx posits that the superstructure of society is generated by class struggle, and the only way to eliminate class struggle is by the "abolition of bourgeois property" (43). Marx defines bourgeois property as capital and further argues that capital, produced by wage labor, is a social force. Consequently, capital shapes and influences social order. Marx's aim is to create a revolution against society as it exists. The purpose of the

Communist Party “can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order” (68).

While the *Manifesto* details the condition of the proletariat, the power of private property, and concepts such as objectification and social revolution, it does not fully describe Marx’s view of society as a whole. In *Capital*, Marx completely analyzes the concepts introduced in the *Manuscripts* (excluding alienation); in the *Manifesto*; and his full analysis of society.

The first section of *Capital* introduces the idea of Commodity, which underpins Marx’s concepts of labor power, use-value, exchange-value, objectification of labor, and, ultimately, his entire theory of the economic nature of society. The goal of producing commodities is set by the owners and attained by the workers. The struggle between owners and workers is based on increases in production. Because owners desire profit, the workers become merely the means to an end, which is profit accumulation. The process of accumulation serves to dehumanize the worker. In Marx’s terms, the worker loses his species-being (the quality that separates man from all other animals; the thing that enables man to be conscious of his existence). Marx defines species-being in an essay written in 1843 as “the human essence; not merely consciousness but man being conscious of his relationship to mankind” (Tucker, 33n; 34). Essentially, commodities (their exchange and use values, their production, their distribution, etc.) are responsible for the struggle between the owners and workers. Marx argues, “The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles” (Marx, 1963:25). Social struggle, as analyzed by Marx in *Capital*, is merely a reflection of the contradictions that are inherent in capitalistic societies. The overall thrust of *Capital* is that the social order is merely a reflection of the economic condition.



*Capital* is the culmination, in a theoretical sense, of the major aspects contained in the *Manuscripts* and the *Manifesto*. While the earlier works contain the major aspects of Marx's overall theory, they are not fully explained. Marx, in a space of twenty years, developed his complete theory of society, and the *Manuscripts* and the *Manifesto* represent the seminal ideas of his theory, which would later become the basis for an entire school of sociological thought. In the words of Engels, who originally edited *Capital*, "The theories of Marx, even at this moment, exercise a powerful influence upon the socialist movement which is spreading in the ranks of the 'cultured' people . . . ." (International Publishers, 1992:16).

#### Classical Weberian Theoretical Literature

As opposed to Marx, Weber argues that while the economic effects of industrialization may create class problems, the social structure will adapt to the changes to limit class conflict (Tucker, 1978; Morrison, 1995). Ken Morrison states, "Weber argued against Marx's contention that class conflict was an inevitable outcome of economic forces in society" (1995:233). While Weber agrees that cause and effect play a part in social construction and behavior, he rejects Marx's view that human behavior is dependent solely on cause and effect. The major departure between Marx and Weber centers around the concept of what drives society. Marx argues that class interests are "assigned by structural determinants in society derived from the social relation of production" (Morrison, 1995:235). Weber emphatically rejects Marx's contention, because Marx's argument assumes that class interests are historically given. In *Economy and Society*, Weber argues that one cannot determine individual actors' direction of action, and because of this fact, class interests cannot possibly be historically given.

In his two most important works, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1998) and *Economy and Society* (1978), Weber establishes his view of society and provides a critique of Marxist informed theory. Weber views the Marxist position as an “untenable monocausal theory, [declaring that] Marx had made the mistake . . . [of] raising a segmental perspective to paramount importance and reducing the multiplicity of causal factors to a single-factor theorem” (Weber, 1946:46-7). The *Protestant Ethic* is Weber’s attempt to connect religious development to the rationalization of modern society. In this work, Weber contrasts tradition-based capitalism (or more correctly, mercantilism) with the new and improved rational-based capitalism. Although the Protestant ethic emerged out of the Protestant religion, it evolved over time and lost its religious connotation. As time passed, the ethic became nothing more than a work ethic, which prized hard work in and of itself. This ethic had as its goal the accumulation of wealth. Weber argues that this ethic was contained and only represented in the Protestant sects.

Although *The Protestant Ethic and Economy* can be viewed as Weber’s most significant works, “The Social Psychology of the World Religions” (1946) further connects Weber’s views on religion and the economy. This work fully explicates the concept of the economic ethic, which Weber presented first, in 1904, in *The Protestant Ethic*. Weber argued in “The Social Psychology,” “The religious determination of life-conduct, however, is also one - note this - only one, of the determinants of the economic ethic” (Weber, 1946:268; **emphasis added**). This seems to qualify *The Protestant Ethic* in which Weber argued that the conversion from a traditional economy to a rational economy occurs mainly due to religion. In *The Protestant Ethic*, Weber focuses on uncovering the origin of the process that selects certain groups for economic survival (Weber, 1998:55). In contrast to *The Protestant Ethic*, “The Social Psychology” opposes viewing

religion as a cause of economic survival. “The Social Psychology” was published eighteen years after *The Protestant Ethic*, thus Weber may have written the essay as a reconsideration of the connection between religion and the economy.

While *The Protestant Ethic* and “The Social Psychology” focused on specific aspects of community development, the first chapter of *Economy and Society* is Weber’s attempt to amplify the structural-functional view of sociology. His definition directly conflicts with Marx’s views regarding society. Weber defines sociology as

the science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences . . . . Action is “social” insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and thereby oriented in its course (1978:4).

Defined in these terms, social action implies that the course of society is determined by the interaction of groups. The members of the group reach consensus, through interaction, regarding the structure of their society (or specific community). Weber contends that society’s structure is determined by social action and not, as argued by Marx, economic action.

In further contrast to Marx, Weber critiques Marx’s economy-based explanation of society by stating that action is social “insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior . . . .” (1978:4). This claim implies that the individual is not, as Marx would argue, tied to action directed and dictated by the economic structure, but rather by individually based motives and impulses. This claim is directed at Marx’s contention that social action is dictated by economic conditions.

As a further criticism of Marx, Weber defines the concept of social relationship in direct opposition to Marx’s view about the influence of the economic condition on the social condition. The term social relationship, according to Weber, connotes the behavior of a plurality of actors. In order to be social the relationship must be based on a minimum of mutual orientation. Weber

contends that the action of the relationship can vary widely, including conflict, loyalty, and economic exchange. It seems that Weber firmly separates social and economic conditions. It may even suggest that the social condition directs the economic condition. This is the first instance of Weber's direct argument against the Marxist view of all social change stemming from changes in the economic structure.

While *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* represents the starting point for Weber's religious explanations of social development, it fomented the precisely detailed concept of social structure found in *Economy and Society*. Weber's view of social construction differs radically from Marx's view because Weber's work adds multi-dimensionality to the entire field of sociology. Weber's works should not be viewed as a substitute for Marx's works, but rather as complimentary elements that expand the explanatory power and breadth of Marx's works. As stated by Gerth and Mills in their translation, Weber's work should be viewed as "an attempt to 'round out' Marx's economic materialism by a political and military materialism" (Weber, 1946:47). Weber's work "un-reduces" Marx's theory by adding other factors to Marx's unidimensional theory. While Weber argues that the economic structure is important in overall social development, the economy, in and of itself, is not sufficient to explain fully social development and change. Morrison claims Weber argues against viewing "economic forces as the sole determinant of history and society, and [believes] other causal factors were important in social development" (1995:216).

### Connections Between Marxian and Weber Theory

Irrespective of the significant disagreement between Marx and Weber concerning the way in which industrialization affects changes in the social structure, points of convergence

appear between the two perspectives. Both perspectives agree that the economy plays a role in social development. However, they differ in the amount of emphasis placed on the economic aspects of community building. Weber does not completely reject economic analysis as a way to view society<sup>5</sup>; however, he abnegates the Marxian contention that the economic aspect of society is the most important aspect.

In order to construct a composite theory that departs from traditional unidimensional social theory, the original works of Marx and Weber must be examined for fundamental concepts that deal with the interaction between industrialization and social structure. Contemporary theories tend to be one-sided because the theorists who develop them adhere to either a structural-functional perspective (based on Weber's works) or to a conflict based theory (based on Marx's works). Upon close examination, Marx's *Capital* and Weber's *Economy and Society* complement each other, as *Economy* extends the concepts contained in *Capital*, in that Weber is able to expand the economic explanation of societal change by attaching non-economic factors to Marx's original theory (Gerth and Mills, 1946; Collins, 1994; Morrison, 1995). Weber constructs a multidimensional perspective that combines economic, religious, political, and other social components to form a balanced approach to social development.

### Critical Analysis of Marxian and Weberian Theory

Numerous twentieth century studies have pursued the Marxian/Weberian debate over the importance of economic forces in relation to social structure change. Several contemporary theorists support Weber's emphasis on extra-economic factors that influence the social system.

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<sup>5</sup> Weber's last work, *General Economic History*, deals specifically with the importance of the economy in relation to social structure and social development.

Daniel Bell extends Weber's assertion concerning the effects of non-economic factors on social development, by contending that any meaningful discussion of a society has to try to identify deeper, persistent elements, which are the shaping forces of the society. These are in three realms: values, culture, and social structure (1976:192). Bell argues against the traditional view of capitalism by arguing that capitalism is "in the cultural sense . . . a mentality or spirit rather than just an economic mode of organization" (285). He concurs with Weber's contention that modern capitalism cannot be analyzed according solely to economic principles; rather, modern capitalism requires a certain type of individual character. Capitalism requires an "elective affinity between character and material interests" (288). Bell does not argue against the effects of the economic system, per se; instead, he stresses the importance of the social structure over the social force of economic elements. Much of Bell's argument is based on *The Protestant Ethic* (Weber, 1998). The ethic produced by Western religion impinges on every aspect of society, and the economic system can be viewed as a rational conduct.

*The Protestant Ethic* also influenced Talcott Parsons' criticism of Marx's belief that economic factors are not the ultimate determinant of social life. Parsons viewed society as consisting of "ideas [as] the ultimate ends of action. These ideas are not mere reflections of external reality. They are hence in some sense nonscientific or even metaphysical" (Parsons, 1991:119; emphasis added). This is a significant break with Parsons' economic studies undertaken at Heidelberg, which were largely influenced by Marx's works.

*The Early Essays* (1991) is Parsons' exposition of his view of society as a blend of social and economic aspects. Parsons argues in "Society" that the social and economic aspects of society cannot be analyzed as separate, distinct components of the social system. In another essay, "The Place of Ultimate Values in Sociological Thought," Parsons emphasizes his view of

society as the interaction of non-economic factors. This is in direct opposition to Marx's argument that the economic condition affects changes in the social structure. While Marx argues that men conduct themselves according to cost-benefit analysis, Parsons argues that society, composed of individuals, does not occur according to costs and benefits because this would imply explaining society in terms of ends. In this essay Parsons argues that human behavior, and by extension social structure, can be explained in terms of "causes and conditions, not of ends" (1991:231).

While the majority of Parsons' criticism of Marx was based on the concepts contained in *The Protestant Ethic* (Weber, 1998), recent theorists have criticized Marx based on faulty assumptions. Recent urban theorists do not assume that society is driven by economic structure, rather they see the economy as socially driven. In *Urban Fortunes*, Logan and Molotch focus on "how markets work as social phenomena." Further, they argue that markets are not necessarily economic in character. They assert, "For us, the fundamental attributes . . . of land and buildings . . . are the social contexts through which they are used" (1987:1). Logan and Molotch argue against the common Marxian focus on economic factors and corporate capitalists and argue that urban sociologists should focus on "how human activism [acts] as a force in cities" (11).

Lewis Coser, who defends the Weberian cause, argues against Marxian theory based on the theory's restrictive nature. Coser argues against Marx's charge that class conflict is socially destructive. According to Coser, social conflict is necessary to prevent "ossification of the social system . . . [which can] progressively [impoverish] creativity" (1957:198). Creativity, argues Coser, allows for social change as a response to technical advancement. Social conflict stimulates changes in the economic and technical realm. This argument suggests that interaction between social elements and economic forces exists; however, he argues against the Marxian

beliefs that the economy necessarily dominates the social structure and the notion that social conflict has negative effects on society as a whole.

### Industrialization and Social Change

While Bell, Parsons, Logan and Molotch, and Coser argue against the monocausal aspect of Marx's economic theory, other critics focus on problems that Marx's work exhibits when dealing with basic connections between the economy, society, and industrialization. Herbert Blumer, who has been called the foremost critic of the Marxian explanation of social change, argues against the basis upon which the Marxian explanations were built. Blumer argues against the traditional Marxian approach to industrial analysis by asserting that this type of study becomes futile because it presupposes that the social structure is thoroughly disrupted by industrialization and it inexorably links industrialization to social change (1990).

While Marx links industrialization to the economy, Blumer emphasizes that the effects of industrialization are not necessarily economic in nature. In other words, industrialization does not filter through the economic structure to result in changes in the social structure. Further, Blumer maintains that viewing "industrialization [as] the cause of determinate changes in traditional orders is meaningless and futile . . . . The industrializing process is neutral and indifferent to the different ways in which [the social order responds]" (1990:102). Blumer argues industrialization is an agent of social change in that it allows for social change, because it offers opportunities for change. Industrialization does not dictate the type of change that will occur. This view maintains that industrialization has an indirect effect on social structure. Blumer asserts that industrialization allows for changes in the social structure, however, these changes are not necessarily negative or disruptive. He asserts, "Industrialization provides the occasion



and sets that stage for changes in the traditional order; it does not determine or explain what takes place in the traditional order” (1990:102).

Further, Blumer argues against viewing industrialization as undermining the social structure and he states, “it is a grave error to believe that [social] disintegration is the only important way in which the traditional order responds to industrialization.” Changes in social patterns may occur due to causes that are not “intrinsic parts of industrialization” (1990:96). The incorporation of industrial concepts into society results in changes in society that are unrelated to the process of industrialization. As asserted by Blumer, industrialization does not create change.

In the Blumerian tradition, William Cottrell discusses the way in which technological advancement leads to changes in the traditional ways in which people interact with each other and their environment (1955). Cottrell argues that industrialization allows humans to advance beyond their current status. While he argues that the social effects of industrialization are economic, industrialization, in and of itself, does not necessarily change society directly. Industrialization, according to Cottrell, creates new opportunities for social change.

While Logan and Molotch argue against traditional Marxian interpretation of the effects of industrialization on social structure, they argue against the assumptions contained within conflict theory as a school. It seems that conflict theory, as espoused by Marx, assumes that increases in population, created by industrialization, foment social problems. Logan and Molotch contend that industrially-driven population increases do not create problems, rather they may serve to exacerbate existing problems (94). Again, this argument lends support to Blumer and Cottrell’s idea that industrialization simply provides an opportunity for change. Industrialization does not directly create problems, it simply creates an atmosphere conducive to social change. They claim in the end that “the future is made, not predicted” (296). In other

words, social structure and communities are created by the populace and not dictated or decided by the economic structure.

### Synthesis of Marxian and Weberian Theory

While traditional urban theory asserts economic change necessarily disrupts the social order and has profound effects on the cultural patterns of entire regions, Ronald Inglehart and Wayne Baker argue that industrialization may actually lead to value entrenchment (2000). They argue that society was shaped by cultural factors, which tend to generate enduring effects that influence further development, and reject the traditional argument that economic development has been seen traditionally as the harbinger of pervasive cultural change.

In contrast to Marx's argument that cultural change is economically dependent, which is associated with shifts away from absolute values, they argue that "cultural values are an enduring and autonomous influence on society" (2000:19). However, they argue that the economic structure provides the ability for cultural change, in that it changes numerous traditional social relationships. Changes in attitudes toward authority, gender roles, and occupational specialization, among others, lead to "unforeseen social changes" (21). They maintain that communities allow "economic development . . . to push societies in a . . . direction" that does not completely alter their cultural structure (49). In other words, they argue that society adjusts elements of the social structure to meet the requirements of the new economic structure.

Inglehart and Baker commingle Marxian and Weberian theory by arguing:

Economic development tends to bring pervasive cultural changes, but the fact that a society was historically shaped by Protestantism . . . leaves a cultural heritage with enduring effects that influence subsequent development (49).

While they argue, contrary to Blumer, that industrialization transforms society in a “predictable direction,” they soften their Marxian claims by stating that the path of transformation is not determined by industrialization. They state that industrialization “is probabilistic, not deterministic,” and further, “the process and path [of change] are not inevitable” (49). The argument that the path is not determined by industrialization is a break from the deterministic character of Marx’s theory. The conclusion seems to be that cultural heritage, in which religion is a crucial element, in effect insulates a community from the full, negative effect of industrialization.

#### Marxian and Weberian Theories Applied to Denison, Texas

When applied to Denison, Marx’s theory, while explaining the pace of economic development, fails to explain the relative unity seen in the social aspects of the town; the young town’s social development continuously confounded its critics. The hectic pace of the economic boom was not reflected in the social patterns of the town. As evident in the *Denison Daily News*, the geometric increase in population did not significantly disrupt community building efforts, instead, the newcomers were smoothly assimilated by the founding population. According to the *Denison Daily News*, the effects of polarization between old and new residents were negligible.

Any purely economic theory will fall short of explaining the way in which Denison was able to survive the boom and decline of industrialization. Weber’s theory concentrates on the way populations construct stable social systems through interaction. While Weber recognizes the importance of including economic indicators in urban analysis, his theory focuses on social components of community development. Weber’s discussion of the significance of religious influence in town building is directly applicable to Denison’s history of development from a

parcel of prairie to a major economic center in the mid-1880s. While Marx's theory can reveal how industrialization in a town can change the town in economic terms, Weber's theory needs to be included to reveal how the populace deals with economic change and reinforces social structure. Although Weber argues against the rationalization of society, which occurs due to industrialization, rationalization does not necessarily turn people into automatons controlled by the economy.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

#### Data

The data collected for this study came from three main sources: 1) town newspapers, 2) county tax rolls, and 3) the United States Census. Data for this study covered the period from 1872 to 1890. The newspapers, *Denison Daily News*, *The Denison News*, *Denison Weekly Times*, and the *Sunday Gazetteer* provided indicators of general town activity. The county tax rolls furnished information concerning the state of the town's economic situation. Agricultural production statistics were gathered from the United States Census for the years 1870, 1880, and 1890.

The town newspapers were used to analyze the latent content of the tax roll information. Further, by examining the front page of the newspapers, from 1872 to 1890, a pattern of change emerged. While the first issues of *Denison Daily News*, *The Denison News*, *Denison Weekly Times*, and the *Sunday Gazetteer* concentrated on the importance of the railroad, reports dedicated to the railroad occupied fewer front page inches in later years. The shift of focus from economic news to cultural news seemed to occur at mid-year in 1873.

The majority of newspaper information was collected from the *Denison Daily News*. While *The Denison News* was not the only newspaper in Denison it was the most complete in terms of existing issues. *The Denison News* was a vital source in that it was the first newspaper that reported on the actual emergence of Denison as a town. The December 27 issue reported on the arrival of the first train in Denison on December 24, 1872. *The Denison News*, however, was too incomplete after its first year of publication to provide threaded discussions of town activities. The issues of *The Denison News* were much more extensive than any other news

source. Completeness of *The Denison News* was invaluable in that changes in the type of reports were much easier to track in this source.

The single paper of the *Weekly Times* provided a prime example of town boosting. It included advertisements for land in the Denison area and a complete train schedule. This issue was significant in that it indicated the overall goal of the town's newspaper editors to entice settlers to locate in Grayson County, and particularly in land adjacent to Denison. Further, it acted as verification of the social focus of the majority of front page reports found in *The Denison News* after 1873.

The *Sunday Gazetteer* seemed to be dedicated to reporting news from across the country. Most reports included information on crop prices and cotton volume from St. Louis. Although the majority of the surface data included in the *Gazetteer* related to national news, it was an effective indicator of the attempt to symbolically attach Denison to the rest of the nation. As pointed out by Doyle, Fehrenbach, and Logan and Molotch, the development of a sense of connectedness was a necessary ingredient to town survival (Doyle, 1978; Fehrenbach, 1968; Logan and Molotch, 1987). While the number of issues of the *Sunday Gazetteer* was not abundant, the issues that exist demonstrated characteristics that provided Denisonians with a sense of attachment to the nation.

The tax rolls for the year 1870 established the economic situation in the county two years prior to Denison's founding. The tax rolls for 1870 and 1871 demonstrated a slowly expanding economy in a county characterized by subsistence-type farming. The real property assessment in 1871 was \$1,702,641 (Grayson County Tax Rolls, 1871). While the tax assessments for Grayson County indicated different rates of increases, the years that indicated massive increases occurred after Denison's organization. In 1873, one year after Denison was founded, the real property

assessment ballooned to \$4,681,165 (Grayson County Tax Rolls, 1873). Although the tax assessments after 1873 indicate a flattening, increases in the economy were continuous. The largest increase in the assessment after 1880 was between 1883 and 1884; property values rose from \$7,125,410 to \$8,491,540. By 1890 the assessed value for real property had increased to \$12,247,950 (Grayson County Tax Rolls, 1883-4, 1890). While the newspapers extolled the social benefits of Denison, the tax rolls for Grayson County were indispensable for determining the economic effect of industrialization. As stated by Doyle, the economic condition of frontier towns was as important to survival as social development. Once the economic situation in Denison stabilized, the editors concentrated on social modification.

The census data collected confirmed the assertion that the town survived based on a stable economy and social equilibrium. Although the censuses consulted dealt with agricultural production, the censuses were utilized to demonstrate that Denison was secure in terms of population. According to the Texas Almanac, Denison's population in 1880 stood at 3,975 and increased to 10,958 by 1890<sup>6</sup> (Texas Almanac, 2001). In 1870 the population of Grayson County stood at 14,387. In the census of 1880 the population of Grayson County reached 38,108 (Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1892). By 1890 the population began to visibly stabilize at 53,211<sup>7</sup> (Texas Almanac, 1993). The increase in population translated to the acquisition of more property. In the census of 1870 Grayson County contained 826 farms, producing 2,885 bales of cotton. In 1880 the number of farms increased dramatically to 3,779. In 1890, while the number of farms increased slightly, from 3,779 to 4,343 farms, cotton production increased significantly from 19,166 bales produced in 1880 to 28,669 bales in 1890. Moreover, the average

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<sup>6</sup> The population data for 1880 and 1890 represent the population within the city limits and do not represent the population of the outlying areas.

<sup>7</sup> The 1890 population data signaled a plateau of county growth. Every year after 1890 the population increases were relatively small when compared to the growth seen in the years between 1870 and 1890. The largest increase in population after 1890 was between 1910 and 1920; from 65,996 to 74,165. (*Texas Almanac*, 1993)

farm size in 1870 was between twenty and fifty acres, by 1880 the amount of acreage on the average farm increased to 104 acres (Ninth Census of the United States, 1872 and Report on the Production of Agriculture as Returned as the Tenth Census Embracing General Statistics, 1883). In 1890 average acreage per farm increased to approximately 300 (Report of the Statistics of Agriculture at the Eleventh Census, 1892). Moreover, the agricultural data of the 1870, 1880, and 1890 censuses denote occupational homogeneity within Denison, which relates more to the social aspects of town building than economic stability. When coupled with tax roll data, the census information pointed to the link between Denison's survival and agriculture. Population growth, by itself, does not indicate town survivability. Population growth, in this study, is of minor significance. Rather, it is an examination of the ability of the town to construct a stable social structure amidst expansive economic growth. In other words, the focus is on economic growth and not population growth. Agricultural production is of more concern than mere population expansion.

#### Definition of Terms

In this study, industrialization is defined as the increased mechanization of society; the railroad is the representation of industrialization. Social stability is defined as the ability of a community to limit the ill effects of industrialization, while at the same time increasing communal solidarity in order to ensure survival of the community as a whole. Industrialization, as used in this study, is neutral, neither infusing the social structure with negative effects nor improving social structure. It seems that social values, norms, and mores may reduce the negative effects traditionally associated with industrialization. Marxian theory is the driving



force behind the analysis that blames industrialization for social disruption. Weber's theory, conversely, focuses on the ability of society to affect changes in the economic structure.

## Data Analysis

### *Sampling of Data Sources*

In order to analyze the information contained in the newspapers, a sampling procedure was developed to limit the amount of information that needed to be collected and analyzed. Instead of searching the entire paper, which contained on average eight pages, the search was confined to the front page of each paper. Further, in order to obtain a general overview of the type of article trends, a sample of no more than twelve papers were selected per year. The selection process included counting the issues for each month between 1872 and 1890. After the overall number was established a random number was generated by computer to determine the issue to be selected. This was done for every month except for May, June, and July of 1873, which were defined as the months in which changes in the article content changed. For these months eight papers were chosen from May and the first half of June and seven papers were chosen from the last half of June and July.

Through research it became obvious that the content of the articles distinctly changed at mid-year 1873. In the May issues, railroad news and financial conditions in Denison seemed to be tapering off, replaced by articles on social activities sponsored by the town and full-length sermons. Issue selection after July 1873 reverted to one paper per month. A total of 225 front pages of the newspapers were analyzed for this study.

A similar sampling procedure was implemented for tax roll data. The tax rolls for 1870 and 1871 provided a baseline from which to measure the actual rate of growth between pre-

Denison and post-Denison Grayson County. Tax rolls were then chosen at five-year intervals after 1871. After a meteoric rise between 1871 and 1875, the pace of economic development began to stabilize. Although the assessments for 1876 through 1890 still revealed growth, the rate was lower than the years 1871 and 1875. The “Real Property Assessment Recapitulation” pages for the tax rolls contained the data collected for this study, as it totaled overall economic increase.

The United States Census data for 1870, 1880, and 1890 were chosen to emphasize the economic impact of the emergence of Denison. The Grayson County breakouts for 1870 and 1880 were illustrative of Denison’s importance to the region.

The decision was made to examine only the front page of the newspapers. The impetus for examining only the front page came from Wayne Danielson and Dominc Lasorsa’s article “Perceptions of Social Change: 100 Years of Front-Page Content in the New York Times and The Los Angeles Times.” This article was an attempt to demonstrate the “increasing importance of the executive branch of government” and “the ascendance of experts . . . in American society” (Roberts, 1997:103). While the assertion that newspapers are biased is unchallenged, the bias may reflect the attitudes not only of the elite in a society, but the bias of the other members of the society. In the case of Denison, the people and the leaders came from similar backgrounds so it can be assumed that the views of the leaders were not too far removed from the concerns of the ordinary citizen.

Further, the choice of tax roll and census data was driven by the date of Denison’s emergence. Assessment information focused on the economic change between 1871 and 1872. Detailed tax information was ignored in favor of an overall summary of the county’s economic situation. To focus on the report of each taxpayer would have complicated the study and would

have been outside the scope of the study. So far as the census is concerned, the information provided in the census that was of major concern was related to the transition from cereal crops (namely corn) to cash crops (cotton). While the change from food crops to cash crops necessarily increased the economy of the town, this shift in agriculture necessitated a change in the social structure of the populace. While not completely random, the data were collected in an effort to emphasize the changes that occurred in Grayson County starting in December of 1872 with the founding of Denison.

#### *Rationale of Content Analysis*

Content analysis was the technique chosen to analyze quantitatively the data taken from the sources described above. Content analysis allows for inferences to be made from raw economic data and to reveal patterns in written documents. Due to its versatility in analyzing both numbers and the written word, content analysis seems to be the most appropriate method to analyze the data collected. Ole Holsti argues that content analysis is appropriate in studies when “data accessibility is a problem and the investigator’s data are limited to documentary evidence” (1969:15).

Content analysis is of particular relevance in this study because of the type of data collected. In order to demonstrate a shift in the attitudes of the editors, comparison between article types (social and economic) must be presented. As stated by Holsti, “content analysis is concerned with comparison, the type of comparison being dictated by the investigator’s theory” (1969:5). By comparing the frequencies of certain word combinations and phrases, a shift in attention becomes obvious. This shift may not relate directly to a shift in attitudes among the general public in Denison, but it draws a parallel between town development and the importance

of social aspects as described by Max Weber. Kent Lindkvist asserts that content analysis is meaningless unless data is linked to theoretical questions (1981:34). The shift in article types is interpreted as a change in focus from economic elements to social factors. The shift demonstrates Denison's editors' attempts to limit the ill effects of industrialization by changing the types of articles on the front page of the town's newspapers.

### *Techniques of Analysis*

In order to quantify the information contained on the front page of the various newspapers, a coding of words was developed. Economically related words and phrases were compiled from each issue chosen and broken down into several categories (Tables A1 - A5). Socially related words were also compiled from the front page of the same issue and also broken down into several categories (Tables B1-B5).

The economic characteristic of each word included in the tables in Appendix A was determined by latent analysis. For the word to be included in the analysis, an inference had to be made as to the meaning of the word. It was determined that each economic word or phrase referred to the economic situation of the town. Further, the majority of the words or phrases appeared in articles that either proclaimed or boosted the economic importance of Denison.

The same technique was used in determining the social characteristic of the words and phrases include in the tables in Appendix B. Each social word or phrase was chosen based on the type of article presented on the front page. The majority of the social words and phrases came from articles that either downplayed the negative effects of the railroad or focused on the educational, communal, or moral attributes of the town.

### *Time Frame*

As this study focuses on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad and its presence in North Texas, the earliest data date from 1872. The time period covered by the data ranges from 1872 to 1890. The date 1890 represents the end of the MKT's dominance in the region. By the mid-1880s several other nationally connected railroads entered the region, which allowed local farmers to choose shipping companies (Lucas and Hall, 1936). The introduction of other rail lines into the area forced the MKT to compete for local business. Denison's early survival, in economic terms, was tied directly to the MKT. Once other lines arrived in or ran through Grayson County, however, the economic dominance of the MKT began to fade. By 1885 businesses not directly connected with the MKT began to enter Denison to provide services to the growing town (i.e. dry-goods merchants, lumber mills, cotton cooperatives, etc.) (Lucas and Hall, 1936; Maguire, 1956). Further, once economic activity and population growth of the early 1870s began to stabilize, city leaders focused on the social problems caused by the MKT, such as increased incidences of crime, prostitution, gambling, intemperance, and general social decay (Maguire, 1956; Doyle, 1978; *Denison Daily News*).

### Limitations

In order to analyze the influence that the railroad had on the social structure of the town it was necessary to measure the level of industrialization represented by the railroad. While the *Denison Daily News*, *The Denison News*, and other eyewitness accounts were obviously biased accounts of economic activity, the reports found in the newspapers could not be totally discounted. During this period of town building in the western United States (towns west of the Mississippi), town boosting was widespread. According to Doyle newspapers in the West could

not objectively assess towns. Newspapers, which were usually owned by town leaders, tended to downplay the turmoil created by the “constant influx of uprooted newcomers, the clash of unfamiliar cultures, and the early difficulty of defining status and leadership in an unformed social structure” (Doyle, 1978:3). Social disorder threatened the promotion of the economic features of early western towns.

The effects of boosterism did not necessarily invalidate information concerning the economic nature of Denison, however, newspaper reports represent the best qualities of the town. In this study, other sources of data (such as tax rolls and census data) are utilized to add confidence to newspaper accounts.

The major limitation of this study is that the newspaper issues are incomplete. Corroboration by the county’s other major newspaper, The Sherman Patriot, would have limited this problem. A courthouse fire in 1930, however, destroyed every Patriot issue prior to that date. The Grayson County Commissioners’ Court minutes, which may have shed light on the concerns of the public, were also destroyed by the courthouse fire.

A final problem that limited the scope of data collection related to the census data. While the United States census for the period covered provided county-level data, the effect of the railroad on the city had to be extrapolated from the data presented. The extrapolation was made from the monumental increase in number of farms, acres farmed, and from the massive increase in tax assessments. While the deduction seems appropriate, no records exist that specifically point to Denison’s founding as the factor that created the increases.

Further, the increases noted in the tax and census data may have been influenced by factors outside the scope of this study. However, the focus of this study was based on front page articles, and the tax and census data were used to merely highlight changes in the economic

condition and were not crucial sources of data. While inconsistent, newspaper content that covered the period examined was sufficient to make supportable inferences.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

#### Research Question

Myriad secondary sources that deal with the issue of town building, including historical as well as sociological literature, argue against analyzing town development in purely economic terms (Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Spratt, 1955; Doyle, 1978). These same sources imply, however, that evaluating town building in purely social terms tends to discount the importance of economic issues that affect changes within the social structure of new towns. This study examines town development from a theory that includes both the economic focus of Marxian theory and the social aspects found in Weberian theory. This study proceeds on the assumption that it is practical to combine both Marx and Weber's theories. Further, a composite theory contains more explanatory power than either pure Marxian or pure Weberian theory. The research question is, therefore, does this composite theory fully explain the way in which Denison developed between 1872 and 1890? In other words, did the actual social developments that occurred in Denison mirror the patterns predicted by a composite theory?

#### Town Building Theory

While traditional theories, specifically those of Marx and Weber, regarding town development tend to focus on either the economic or social aspects of town building, there seems to be no balanced theory that attempts to combine Marx and Weber in social terms. While Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan proposed radicalizing Weber by focusing on the economic aspects of Weber's theory, their overall argument is flawed in that they cite Weber's General Economic History for support. In General Economic History Weber's overall thrust reveals his



leanings towards acceptance of cause-and-effect as espoused by Marx. General Economic History is not exposition on the effects of the economy on society. Rather, this work is a detailed account of the progression of society from feudalism to capitalism. Burrell and Morgan argue that Economic History is Weber's acceptance of the importance of economic forces over all other factors in social development. Weber's line of study argues against this assertion. "Weber emphasizes, economic history is not identical with the history of culture . . . . Economic history represents merely a foundation for the investigations in other areas of culture . . . ." (Weber, 1995:lxxix). Nevertheless, Burrell and Morgan's proposal of radicalizing Weber adds dimension to the field by combining seemingly diametrically opposed views of social development. Their work, although reinterpreting Weber in economic terms, offers a model of how to construct a composite theory.

The New Urban Sociology, as developed by Mark Gottdiener, is the newest attempt to construct a theory that takes into account not only economic forces, but the social or non-economic forces detailed by Weber and other structural-functionalists. Gottdiener's theory asserts that town building involves symbolic (non-economic) aspects as well as physical aspects, however, this new school of thought does not outline a composite theory that merges the symbolic and physical environments. Gottdiener states, "aspects of the new urban sociology emphasize a greater attention to political economy. But this is not all there is to the new approach. People live in a symbolic world that is meaningful to them" (1994:15; emphasis added). Even though the new urban sociology places importance on the social aspect of theoretical development, the theory is based on political economy as developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The new urban sociology adds social aspects to the theory to, in effect, cover all the bases. It does not appear that the social elements of the theory developed by

Gottdiener represent core elements of the theory. Conversely, the social elements of town building are integral to the core of the theory developed in this study.

Composite-based theoretical development related to town building is lacking in the discipline of sociology, specifically the field of urban sociology. This study is an attempt to fashion a composite theory from economic elements of Karl Marx's theory and social factors of Max Weber's theory to explain the way in which a town on the railroad frontier developed and survived despite industrial disruption. Marx's economic thrust is necessary to describe the importance of economic growth to newly formed towns. Weber's concentration on the effects of social structure (religion, politics, legal system, and communal activity) serves to reduce the forcefulness of Marx's argument that a growing economy necessarily introduces conflict. Weber argues that Marx discounts the human element, which, in Weber's estimation, exerts a powerful force in shaping society. Weber's theory can be utilized to analyze town's that are economically stable, as was Denison by 1875. Marx asserts that society cannot resist economic forces; Weber contends that society produces, and is not controlled by, the economy. This composite theory, in which Weber's concepts mitigate Marx's focus on the social power of the economy, will be, for convenience, titled Weberian-Marxist Theory.

The Weberian-Marxist approach asserts that urban growth involves the development of the economic foundations of urban areas, as well as the non-economic or social structure of this new development. Urban settlements originate from the development of economic structure. Economic structures could be based on the development of transportation industries, extractive industries, or farming. Once the economic structure has stabilized, the social organization is shaped principally by non-economic elements. These elements can include social activities and behaviors not directly linked to economic development. Traditional approaches to urban

development tend to analyze development based on single theoretical perspectives. In other words, there seems to be no attempt to merge the theories of different schools of thought. The theory constructed here utilizes Weberian theory to extend Marx's original economically-based theory.

## Findings

While the tax rolls and census data make plain the importance of the railroad to Denison's economic survival, they do not explicitly deal with the social effects of the emergence of the railroad. Newspapers were the primary source utilized to reveal the social response to industrial development. Content analysis, applied to the front page of the papers, enabled inferences to be made about the citizens' efforts to limit the potential socially destructive forces introduced by this form of industrialization. The newspapers of Denison printed full sermons, notices of town socials, church meetings, church and voluntary association memberships, and proclamations of the beneficial lifestyle in Denison. The manifest data, however, did not suggest that the town's citizens were actively attempting to alter the social development of the town. It became evident, however, that the social structure of the town was of critical importance once an overall analysis of the front page of the newspapers was conducted. While a microscopic evaluation of the actual text found on the front page revealed more news than warnings about industrialization's maladaptive effects, the overarching shift in the type of the articles indicated mounting concern regarding the development of the social climate of the town. The shift in overall article type, and not the actual number of article types, was the most significant element of the analysis. (The analysis of this shift is graphically revealed by the charts contained in Appendices A and B.)

Analysis of the tables and charts revealed a significant element not emphasized in the literature covering the subject of town development and industrialization. The data indicate that the social factors and economic factors, while working in combination to affect changes in society, may not interact with social structure simultaneously. Literature on town development indicates that economic forces and social components act in a counter-balancing manner. The analysis of Denison, however, indicates that this view may not be accurate. According to the data collected, social development requires a catalyst in order to function to full effect. As stated by Weber, communal action emerges in response to the transparency of the connections between the economy and the social structure. When the economy exerts pressure on the social structure, the structure, in effect, pushes back (Weber, 1946:183-184). The catalyst in Denison's situation was the emergence of the railroad.

From reports found in the *Denison Daily News* the populace was fully behind the new industry. There were, however, concerns about the undesirable elements attracted by the railroad. In the first six months of Denison's existence there were a total of 93 instances of social words and phrases in the *Denison Daily News* and *The Denison News*, as compared to 1,369 instances of economic words and phrases during the same time period. Economic word counts outnumbered social word counts by 14 to 1 (Table A1 and Table B1). Although economic word count outnumbered social word count, socially connected words were not absent during the first year of Denison's growth.

In fact, an overall decline in economic word counts started at mid-year 1873. The counts decrease from a total of 1,820 to 477 in 1880. Over the same time period, social word counts increased from a total of 255 to 728 (Tables A1, A3, B1, and B3). In the early 1880s when cotton prices were high, an increase in economic word count and a decrease in social word count

occurred. After cotton prices began to level and fall slightly in the mid to late 1880s, economic word counts decreased while social word counts increased (Tables A3, A4, and Tables B3, B4). The fluctuating article types mirrored the concerns of the area's farmers. Crop price fluctuations tended to pique the farmers' interest in the economic condition. Once crop prices stabilized, the population of the region was much more receptive to social development.

While decline in economic word counts appeared after mid-year 1873 as a general theme, instances of words relating to cattle and cattle prices declined to such an extent that this category was removed after Table A1. Cattle related words were replaced by cotton related words in Table A2. Although cotton harvests were minimal in 1870, the newspapers encouraged farmers in the area to move toward this cash crop. The United States' census of 1880 indicates that cotton production increased in Grayson County from 2,885 bales in 1870 to 19,339 bales in 1879 (United States Department of the Interior, 1883:242). The introduction of cotton into Grayson County translated to an increase in economically related words and phrases that continued until 1890. Further, the introduction of cotton manifested itself in increased railroad related word counts. Moreover, the establishment of cotton by 1880 led to declines in articles related to corn and wheat. Although the corn and wheat crops remained strong in Grayson and surrounding counties, they declined dramatically from the front page of the area's newspapers. Due to the low counts of corn and wheat on the front page these two categories were removed after Table A2.

While cotton is considered in this study as an economic indicator, Doyle and Spratt argue that the move away from subsistence crops (such as corn and wheat) toward cash crops (namely cotton) should be viewed as a social change (Doyle, 1978; Spratt, 1955:3-4). According to Doyle and Spratt, the transformation from subsistence-level farming to commercial-level farming required a change in traditional patterns of agricultural life. After 1880, bountiful harvests

became liabilities. Forced to deal with the invisible hand of the economy, the farmer had to modify his interpretation of the relationship between farming and the economy. As stated by Spratt, “Suddenly, Texans found themselves swept into a maelstrom of economic change caused by the conflicting countercurrents of economic self-sufficiency [based on subsistence crops] and dependent commercialization [characterized by the expansion of cotton]” (1955:3).

A final adjustment made to the tables occurred between Table B2 and B3. In 1878 the Farmers’ Alliance replaced The Grange as a category. While The Grange lingered until the late 1870s, mentions of the Farmers’ Alliance eclipsed articles covering The Grange by 1880.

Nevertheless, the general thrust of the word count analysis demonstrates the need for both Marxian type analysis and Weberian social analysis. Marxian theory, tempered by Weber’s concepts, enables analysis of the social effects of changes in the economy. Neither single theory adequately explains the word count comparisons. A composite theory, however, enables analysis of the influence of fluctuating economic and social forces on a society as a whole. While Weber’s works tend to limit the effect of economic forces, he argues that equilibrium should occur between economic influences and the effects of other non-economic factors (Weber, 1946). Weber’s concept that changes in the economic realm result in changes in the social configuration reveals his assertion that all spheres of society must work in conjunction for society to remain stable. A pure Marxian analysis fails to explain the fluctuations of article types. Weber’s theory serves to fill the holes in Marxian theory in relation to article type shifts.

### Chapter Summary

The creation of a theory that combines economic analysis and social analysis was crucial to fully explain the way in which Denison, Texas, maintained economic growth while stabilizing

its social structure. In this case a composite theory, involving Marx's focus on the effects of the economy and Weber's concentration on the effects of social structures on town growth, was created. Articles on the front page of Denison's newspapers revealed the importance of both economic and social factors in town development. While Marx's theories explained the emergence of the railroad and its importance to economic stabilization, the importance of social development required the theories of Weber.

While anomalies existed in the pattern of word count declines, the overall theme contained in the newspapers demonstrated the effort of the town's leaders to support and cultivate social harmony within a booming economy. This study assumes, in the absence of critical sources, that the newspapers acted as a barometer of the community's concerns. Although town boosterism was a universal theme throughout the railroad frontier, the major shifts among article types cannot be dismissed without qualification.

Based on word counts and the shifts in article types, Denison's pattern of development, in economic and social terms, reflects aspects of both Marx and Weber's theories. The article types that appeared on the front pages until mid-year 1873 follow Marx's argument regarding the power and all-encompassing influence of the economic structure. Marx claimed that the economy overrides religious fervor, tears "away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation. [By revolutionizing the] instruments of production, the economy [run by the bourgeoisie] is able to change the whole relations of society" (Tucker, 1978:475-476).

The shift in article types after May of 1873 evince Weber's argument that economic struggle is not the central dynamic of social development (Weber, 1946:49). According to Morrison, Weber "gave the widest latitude to the role played by the various social spheres and

the influence these spheres had on historical change” (1995:225). The relevance of socially related articles is supported by Weber’s contention that the “economic sphere was not the sole determinant of the class structure of society” (233).

Any full analysis of town development must take into account the social factors, as well as the economic elements, that lead to town survival. The newspapers used in this study present empirical manifestations of both Weber and Marx’s theories. The information contained on the front page of the *Denison Daily News* and *The Denison News* was analyzed in a way that operationalized the theories of Marx and Weber. The major transition in the tenor of the content of the articles, from an economic focus to a more socially relevant focus, demonstrates Doyle’s notion that town development is a social, as well as an economic, undertaking.



## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to construct a composite theory, combining the social aspects of Weberian theory with the economic focus demonstrated in Marxian theory. It is argued in this study that a composite theory contains more explanatory power than either pure Weberian or Marxian theory. It is further argued that the front pages of the Denison newspapers are manifestations of the concepts contained in Weber's social theories and Marx's economic theories. To this end, the front pages of the *Denison Daily News* and *The Denison News* were analyzed, in accordance with techniques of content analysis, to test the argument that a composite theory serves to explain the development of Denison.

The front pages of the *Denison Daily News* and *The Denison News* for the years between 1872 and 1890 were analyzed using content analysis. The manifest data, in the form of economic and social words and phrases, were entered into tables and totaled and graphed (Appendix A & B, 70-145). Inferences based on the tables and graphs were made concerning Denison's establishment and its continued survival. The data clearly demonstrate a marked shift in article types by mid-year (May) 1873. It was inferred that this shift, from a focus on economic words to a focus on social words, represented a shift in the attitudes of the community as a whole. In the absence of other corroborating primary material it was assumed that this shift mirrored the attitudes of the ordinary citizen of Denison. The data revealed an overall trend of declining economic words and increasing social words, which formed the basis for the conclusions reached (For a graphical display of the overall shift see Appendix C).

The founding of towns requires a structure of support; Marxian theory would argue that this support took the form of the railroad in Denison. According to Marx, the economy determined the social structure. The newspapers, however, reported social events, church meetings, voluntary association minutes, and it printed full sermons on the front page. The presence of these articles contradicts Marx's assertion that the economy is solely responsible for town development. In order to explain the newspapers' attempt to foster social stability, Weber's theories regarding the non-economic factors of town building are critical to this investigation. The newspaper articles demonstrate what Weber terms communal action. Weber states in *Economy and Society*, "A social relationship will be called 'communal' if and so far as the orientation of social action . . . is based on a subjective feeling of the parties" (1978:40). While Weber states that the economic sphere is important in social development, he asserts that economic interaction can be viewed as social action. He argues, "The economic activity of an individual can be considered social action . . . if it takes account of the behavior of someone else . . . . Production [may be seen as social if it is] oriented to the future wants of other people" (1978:22).

The duality of economic factors and social elements found in the emergence of towns do not necessarily occur simultaneously, as demonstrated in the analysis of the front page articles. As argued by Blumer, "While the concept of economic growth may have a fixed character in relation to economic variables, it clearly does not have such a generic character in relation to social variables" (1990:18). As indicated by the front page articles, the first six months of Denison's existence were dedicated to establishing the economic structure. Although economically relevant articles did not completely disappear from the front page, social articles became more prominent.

The crucial point necessary for a full understanding of what occurred in Denison between 1872 and 1890 is found in the shift of article types. The analysis performed demonstrates a distinct shift in the focus of the community. Prior to May of 1873 the community leaders attempted to attract businesses by publicizing the benefits of railroad and its connections to northern markets, which reportedly paid higher prices for all types of crops, especially cotton. As soon as it was obvious that Denison would survive economically, the leaders needed to ensure social stability. Denison's leaders realized that in order for Denison to remain a viable town, a sense of place and togetherness had to be created. As stated by Logan and Molotch, developing a sense of place is a necessary ingredient for city survival (1987). The cultural makeup of Denison has been likened to a cultural stew (Lucas and Hall, 1936; Maguire, 1991; Masterson, 1952; Meinig, 1969). In order to limit cultural disruptions, caused by the clash of cultures, Denison leaders focused on establishing a sense of community. It can be inferred from the articles that appeared after May of 1873, that the Denison editors were attempting to divert attention away from differences and towards a sense of togetherness. The town parties advertised in *The Denison Daily News* were open invitations to all of the citizens. Full-length sermons were aimed at strengthening the moral character of the citizens by railing against the evils of alcohol, prostitution, and gambling. Churches reported on meetings of The Friends of Temperance that occurred bi-annually. Taken as a whole it becomes clear that the editors were attempting to force the creation of a stable community. While the economic reports on cotton crops still appeared on the front page, they occupied fewer inches than reports from visitors on the good moral character and pleasant disposition of Denisonians.

## Theoretical Implications

This study attempts to forge a composite theory that contains aspects of economic development, as delineated by Marx, and the force of non-economic spheres, as presented by Weber. Incorporation of elements of Marxian and Weberian theory allows for a more complete examination of Denison's development. Weberian-Marxist theory proceeds on the contention that Weber's social theory extends the explanatory power of Marx's unidimensional, economically focused theory.

While other theorists such as Burrell and Morgan combine Marxist and Weberian theory, their composite theory focuses on the economic aspects of Weber. The theory created herein differs in that Weber's social elements need to be added to Marx's theory. In effect, this study proposes to socialize Marx. While combining Marx and Weber is not revolutionary, the way in which they are blended in this study represents a new direction of study. In theoretical terms, this study delineates an original theory.

## Future Research

While this study examines a limited time frame, it suggests new directions for further study. Denison is not unique in that it emerged along with other towns that were considered, collectively, as railroad frontier towns. It is precisely for this reason that this study can lead to further research. Other studies, particularly historical studies, have commented on the characteristics of towns along this line of settlement, however, Marxian and Weberian theory have heretofore been utilized primarily to analyze entire cultures or societies. This study argues that Marxian and Weberian theory can be used to analyze relatively small areas and short time periods.

While this study demonstrates the connections between town development and Marxian and Weberian analyses, a more comprehensive study is required to flesh out the findings presented here. Although this study examines one town's development from birth to approximately twenty years, further research could expand the time period to test the composite theory. This study marks the beginning of the path to a larger scale study. While studies of this sort have looked at societies as a whole, research drawing from this study could include an examination of the development of Western settlement patterns. Using this theory as a basis for larger, more encompassing studies may add weight to the conclusions reached.

The conclusions reached are theoretical in scope and thus merely advance a new way to analyze town development. While content analysis seemed to be the appropriate method to analyze the data, other methods may be needed if the study were to be expanded to include several towns over a longer time period. Time series analysis may prove useful for a study of towns over a longer time period than covered in the present study. As stated by Charles Ostrom, time series analysis has two significant advantages when dealing with studies that cover long periods of time and involve multiple cases. "The great advantage of time series regression analysis is [that it informs] us about the particular mechanism which describes the evolution [of cases] through time . . . ." Further, it allows for "empirical support for the specification" of causality of elements (1990:5). Time series analysis would benefit this study by empirically testing the effects that the types of articles had on the population, and could possibly reveal the mechanism that led to the shift in article types.

This study is not a self-contained study, in that it does not propose to test exhaustively the theory over a wide range of towns and time periods. The purpose of this study is to introduce a

new method of examining town development. In the final analysis, more exhaustive studies are needed to test thoroughly the composite theory constructed in this study.

APPENDIX A  
ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICALLY RELATED WORDS FROM  
NEWSPAPER FRONT PAGES

TABLE A1

Instances of Economic Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* and *Denison News* from December of 1872 to December of 1873 (# of words)

Economic Words	Month/Year												Row Total	
	12/1872	1/1873	2/1873	3/1873	4/1873	5/1873	6/1873	7/1873	8/1873	9/1873	10/1873	11/1873		12/1873
railroad	30	28	20	20	21	13	10	9	8	12	9	7	5	192
railroad company	18	15	9	15	8	5	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	79
M.K. & T. Railroad	34	29	24	20	9	10	4	2	1	1	0	0	2	136
business(es)	25	26	22	22	24	20	13	11	7	9	5	3	2	189
real estate	9	12	10	11	8	2	8	4	2	3	1	1	0	71
cattle	18	12	11	6	4	3	8	2	2	1	1	2	2	72
cattle prices	25	21	20	15	13	10	8	14	7	6	3	1	2	145
wheat	10	8	12	14	11	10	13	7	6	6	4	3	4	108
wheat prices	15	16	13	10	10	8	3	13	12	3	2	1	1	107
farmers co-op	18	18	21	20	14	8	7	2	2	0	1	0	0	111
corn	13	11	10	12	10	9	4	1	6	0	1	1	1	79
corn prices	36	30	35	32	27	20	15	18	13	7	7	8	9	257
land	17	15	14	14	17	12	10	9	3	7	5	2	2	127
land prices	20	25	23	24	18	12	9	3	4	4	1	2	2	147
Column Totals	288	266	244	235	194	142	114	97	74	59	42	32	33	1820



Instances of Railroad Related Words

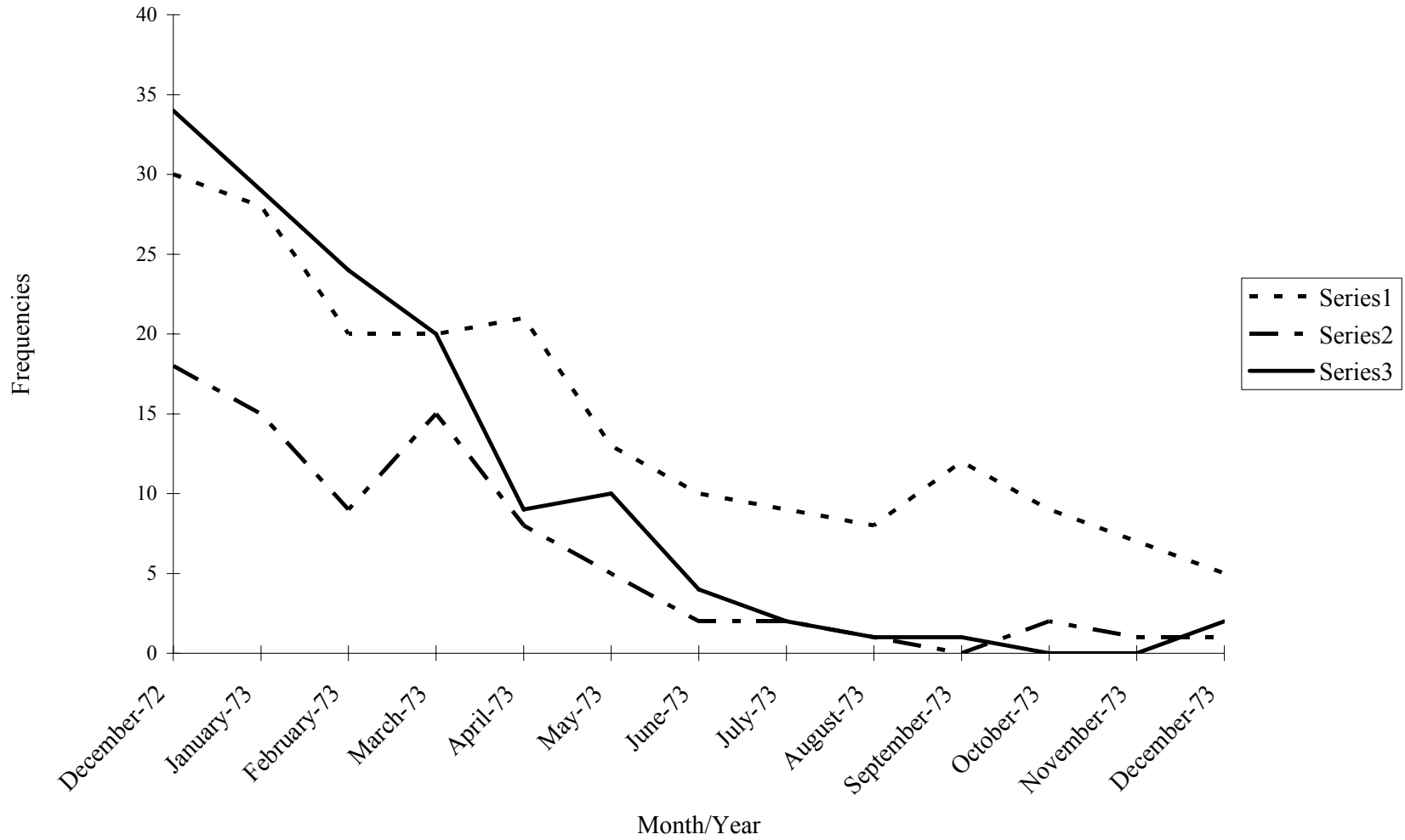


FIGURE A1.1

Series 1 = "railroad"

Series 2 = "railroad company"

Series 3 = "M.K. & T. Railroad"

Instances of Business Related Words

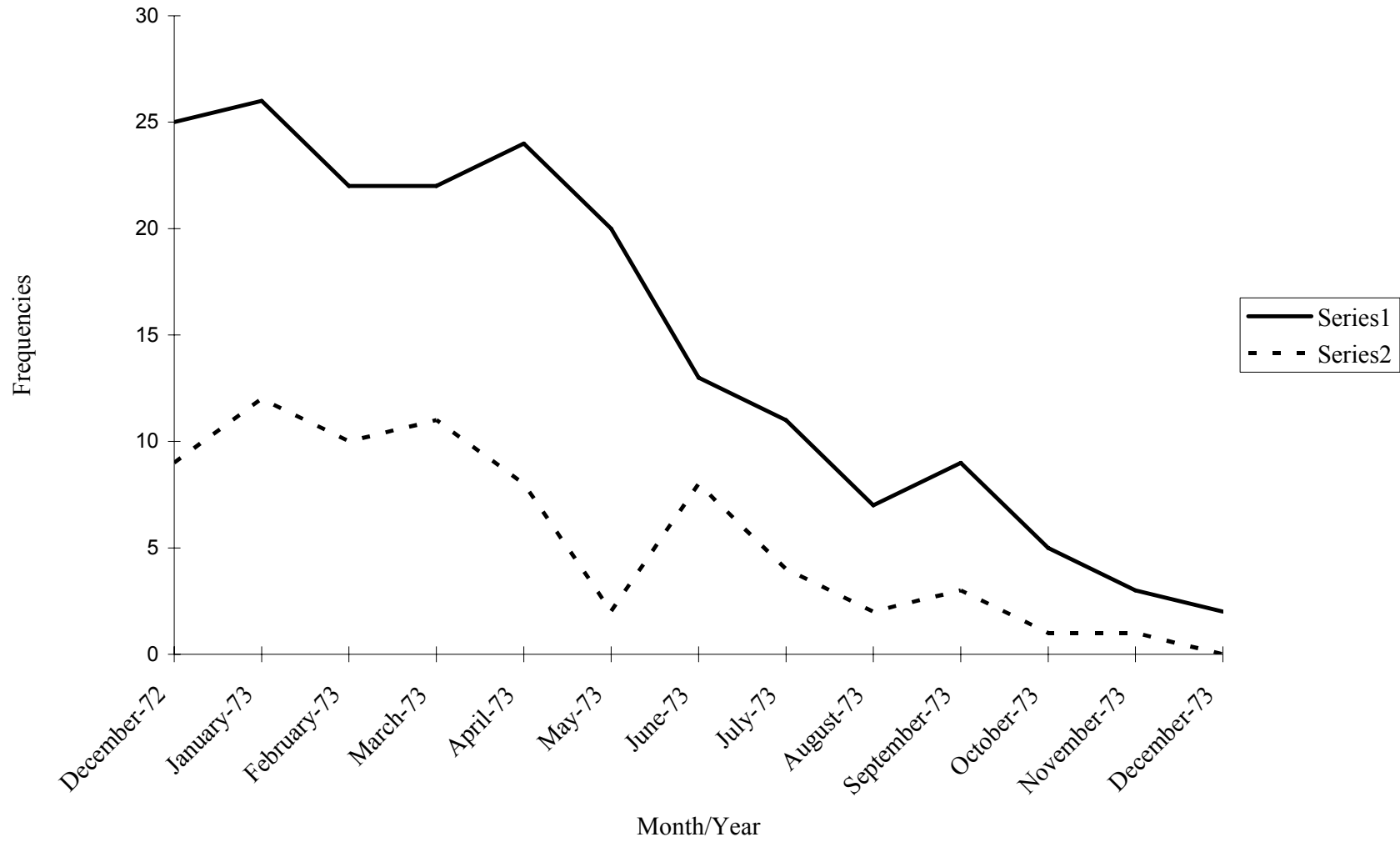


FIGURE A1.2

Series 1 = "business(es)"

Series 2 = "real estate"

### Instances of Cattle Related Words

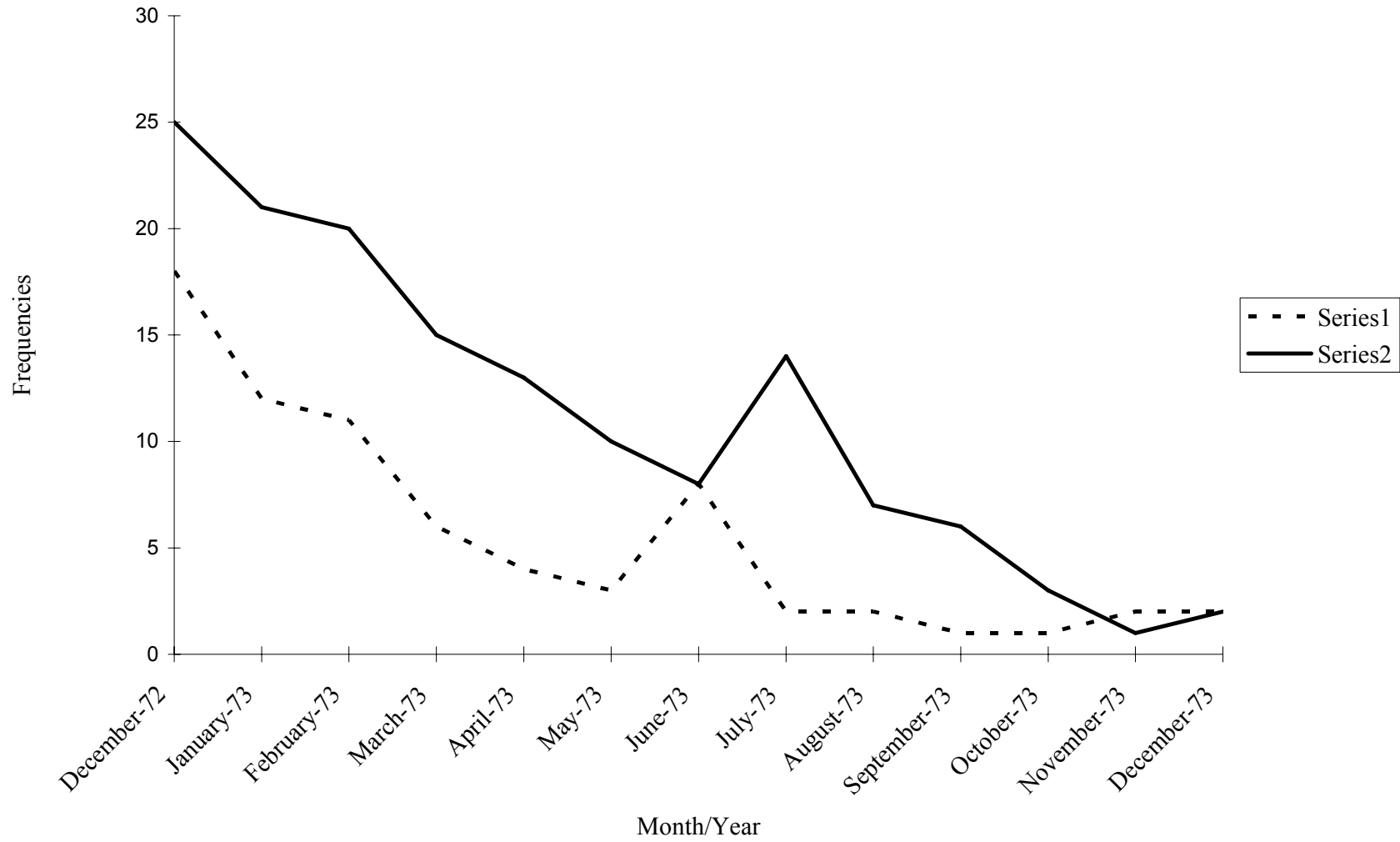


FIGURE A1.3

Series 1 = "cattle"

Series 2 = "cattle prices"

Instances of Wheat Related Words

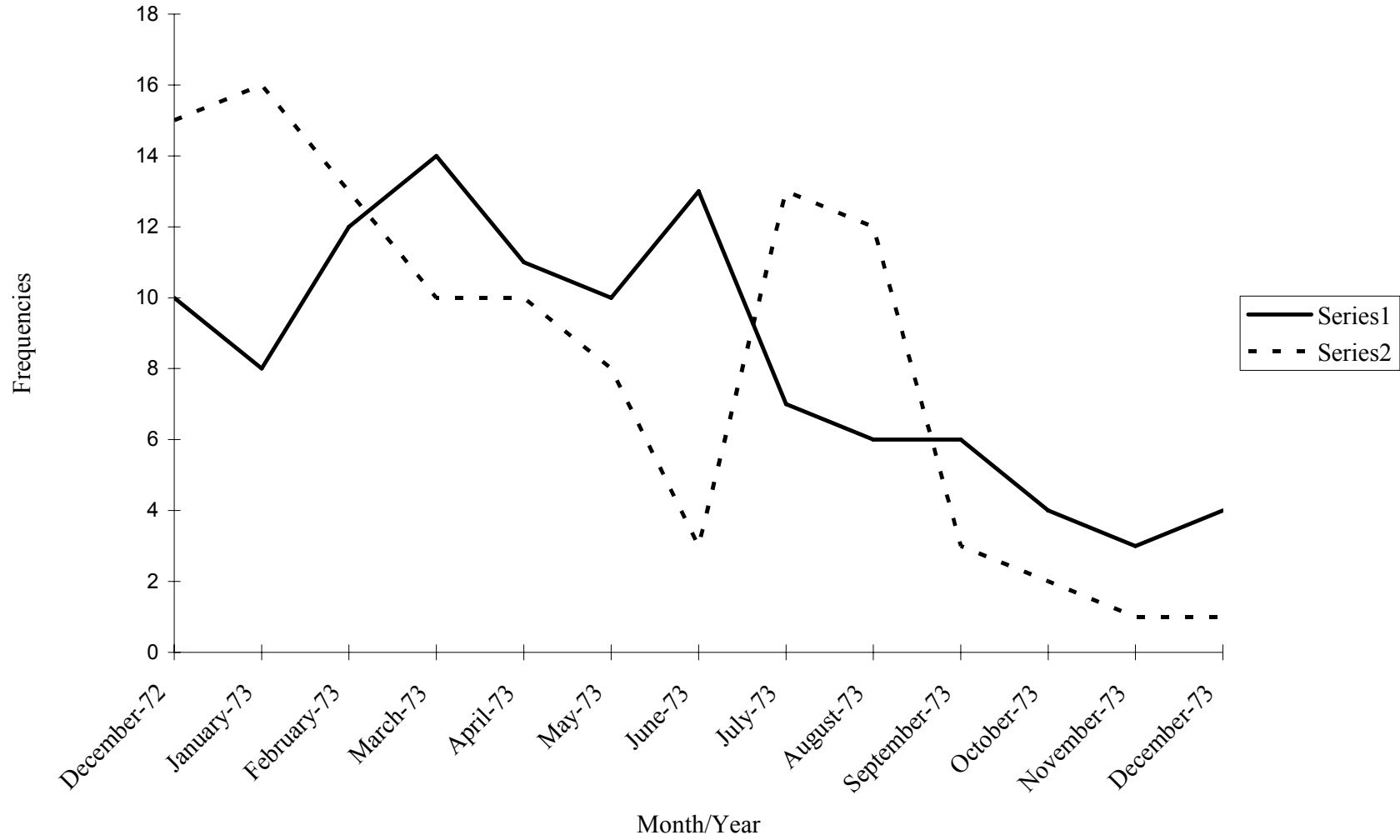


FIGURE A1.4

Series 1 = "wheat"

Series 2 = "wheat prices"

Instances of "Farmers' Co-Op"

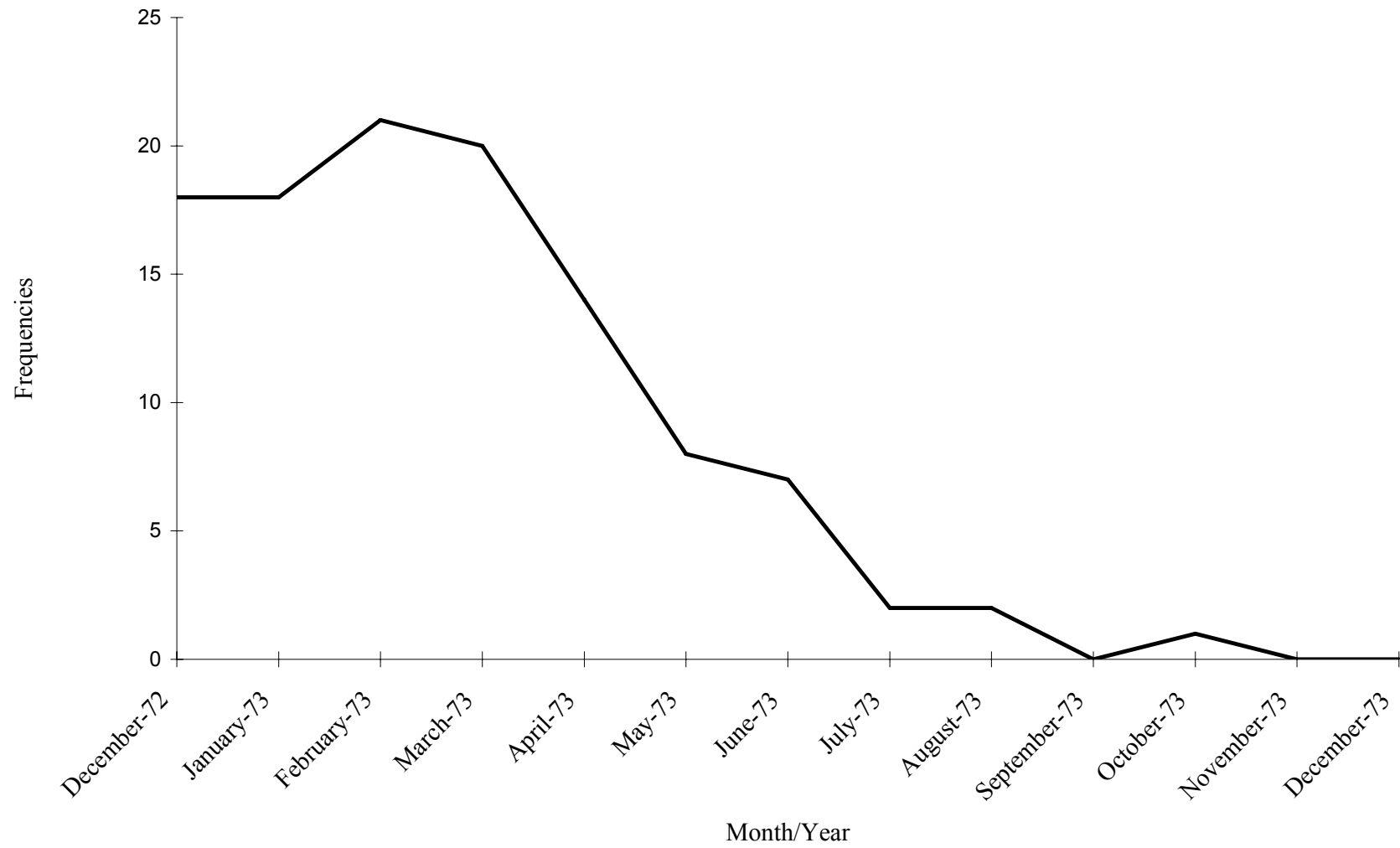


FIGURE A1.5

Instances of Corn Related Words

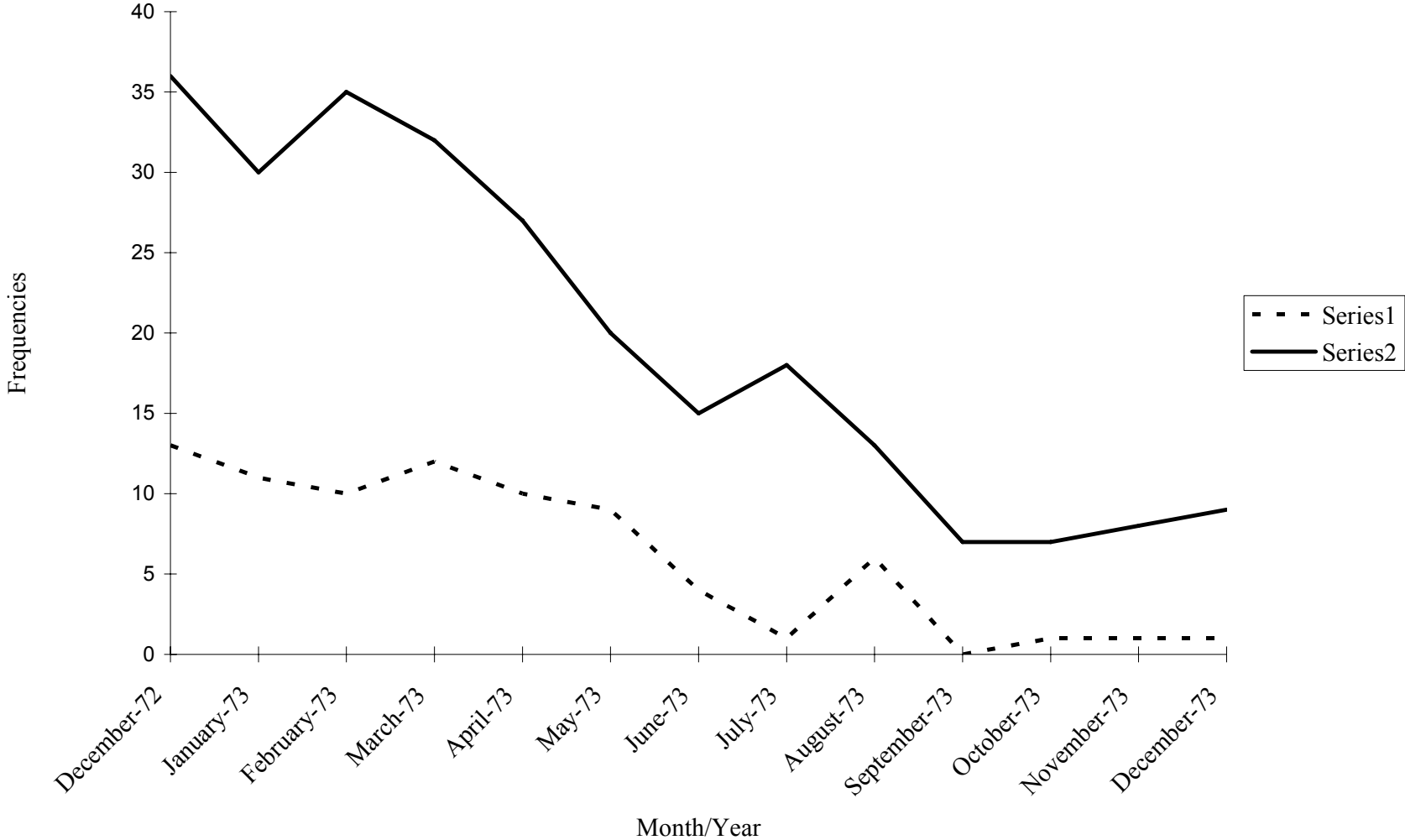


FIGURE A1.6

Series 1 = "corn"

Series 2 = "corn prices"

Instances of Land Related Words

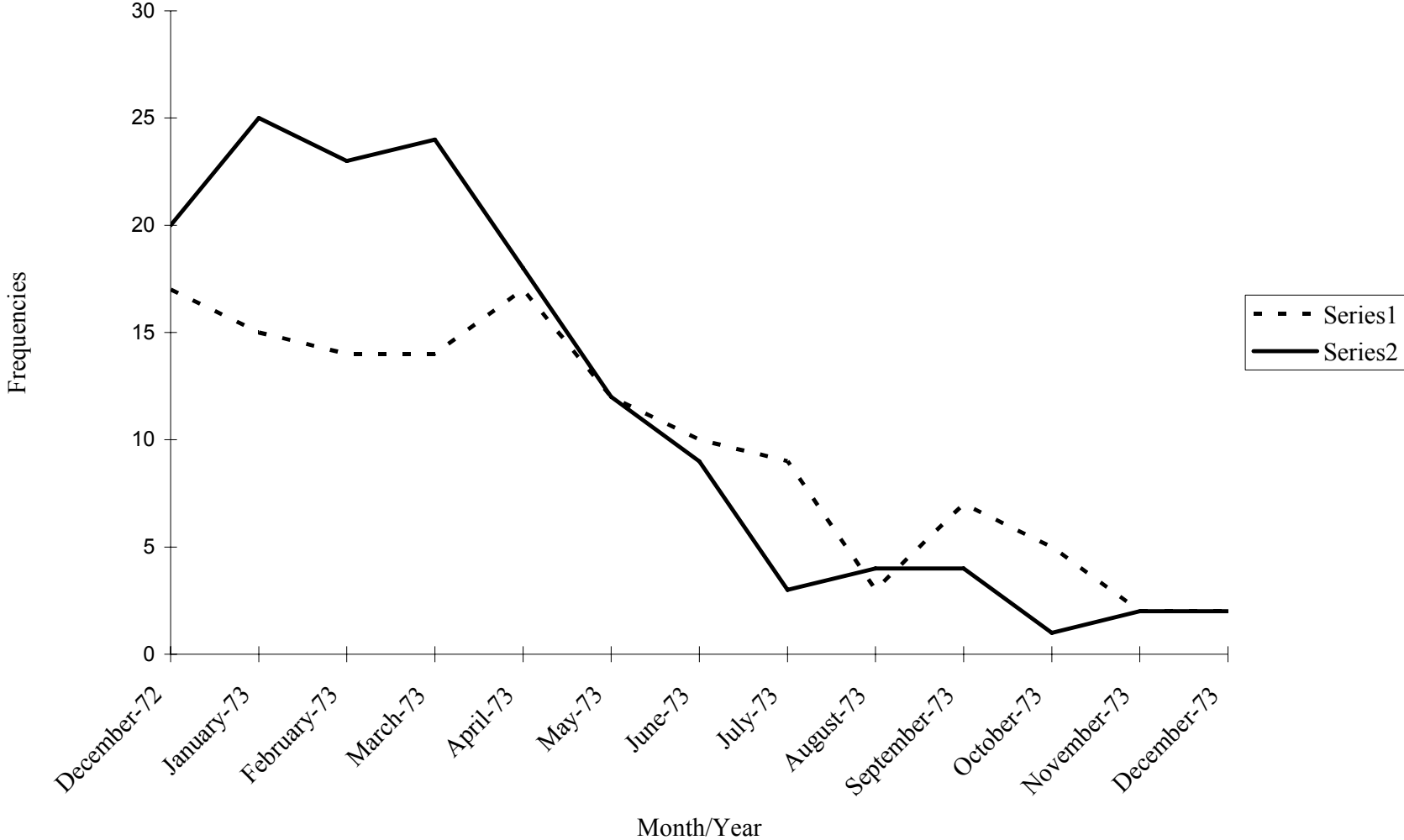


FIGURE A1.7

Series 1 = "land"

Series 2 = "land prices"

TABLE A2

Instances of Economic Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1875 to December 1875 (# of words)

Economic Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1875	2/1875	3/1875	4/1875	5/1875	6/1875	7/1875	8/1875	9/1875	10/1875	11/1875	12/1875	
railroad	4	4	2	3	1	1	8	9	5	8	11	4	60
railroad company	2	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	2	4	6	2	33
M.K. & T. Railroad	3	3	2	2	3	4	9	10	6	7	11	5	65
business(es)	1	1	0	0	1	2	2	5	1	4	6	3	26
real estate	3	2	0	0	3	2	1	0	2	5	3	1	22
cotton	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	8	7	10	9	7	46
cotton gin	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	6	14
bales of cotton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6
cotton prices	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	8
wheat	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	8
wheat prices	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
farmers co-op	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	6
corn	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	3	13
corn prices	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	6
land	3	3	1	0	0	1	2	5	2	3	1	1	22
land prices	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	5
Column Totals	23	18	10	7	14	16	31	49	27	49	61	38	343



Instances of Railroad Related Words

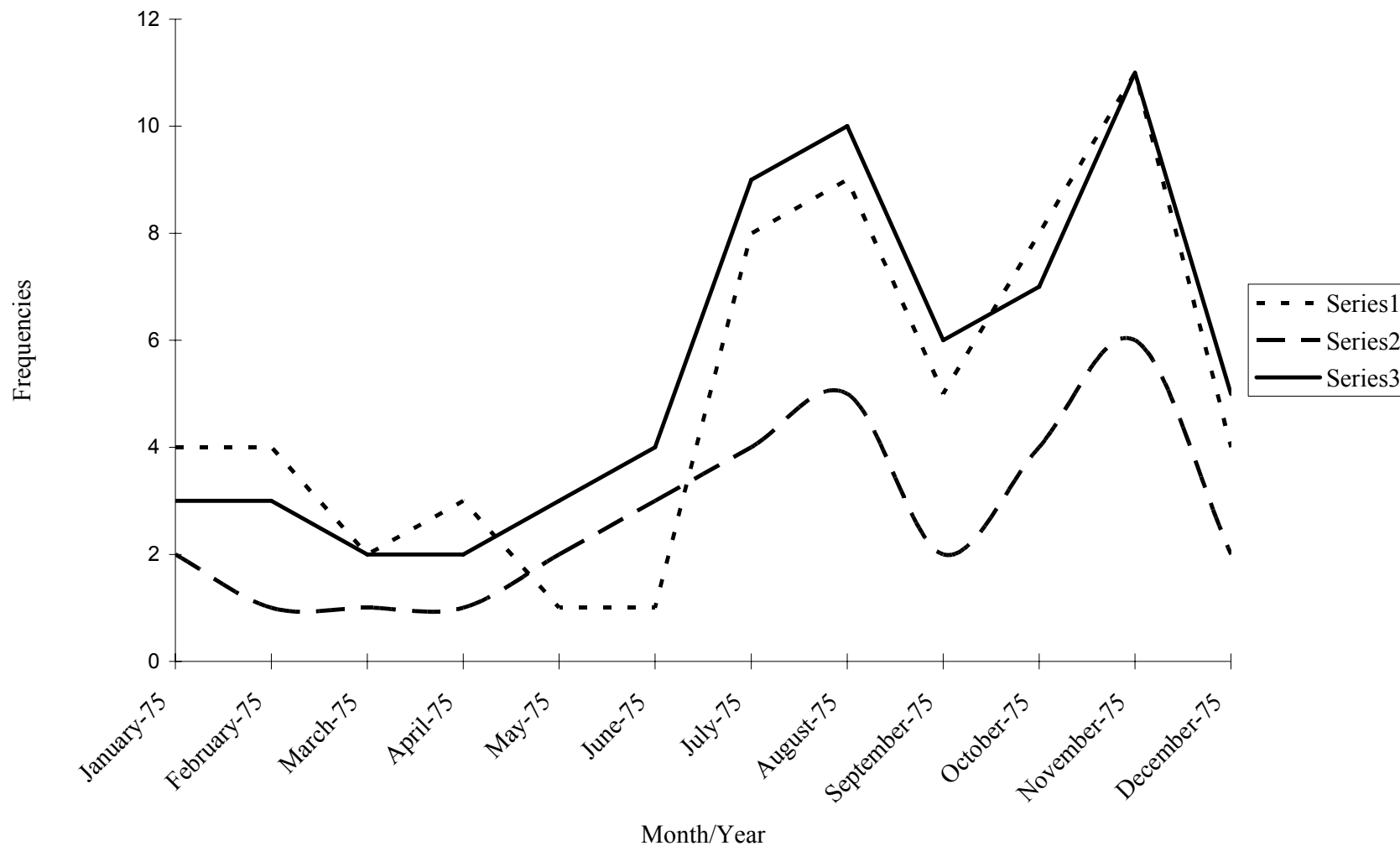


FIGURE A2.1

Series 1 = "railroad"

Series 2 = "railroad company"

Series 3 = "M.K. & T. Railroad"

### Instances of Business Related Words

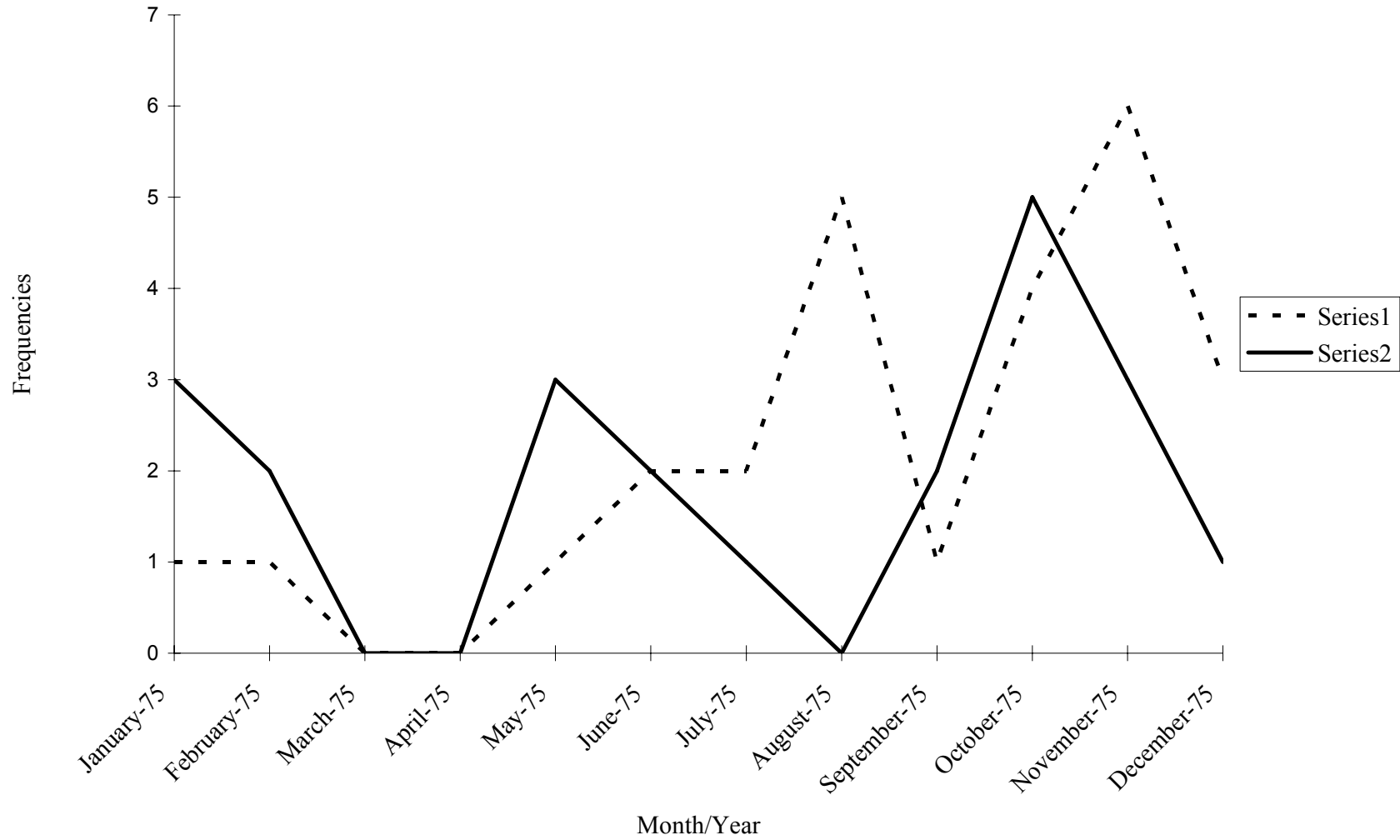


FIGURE A2.2

Series 1 = "business(es)"

Series 2 = "real estate"

Instances of Cotton Related Words

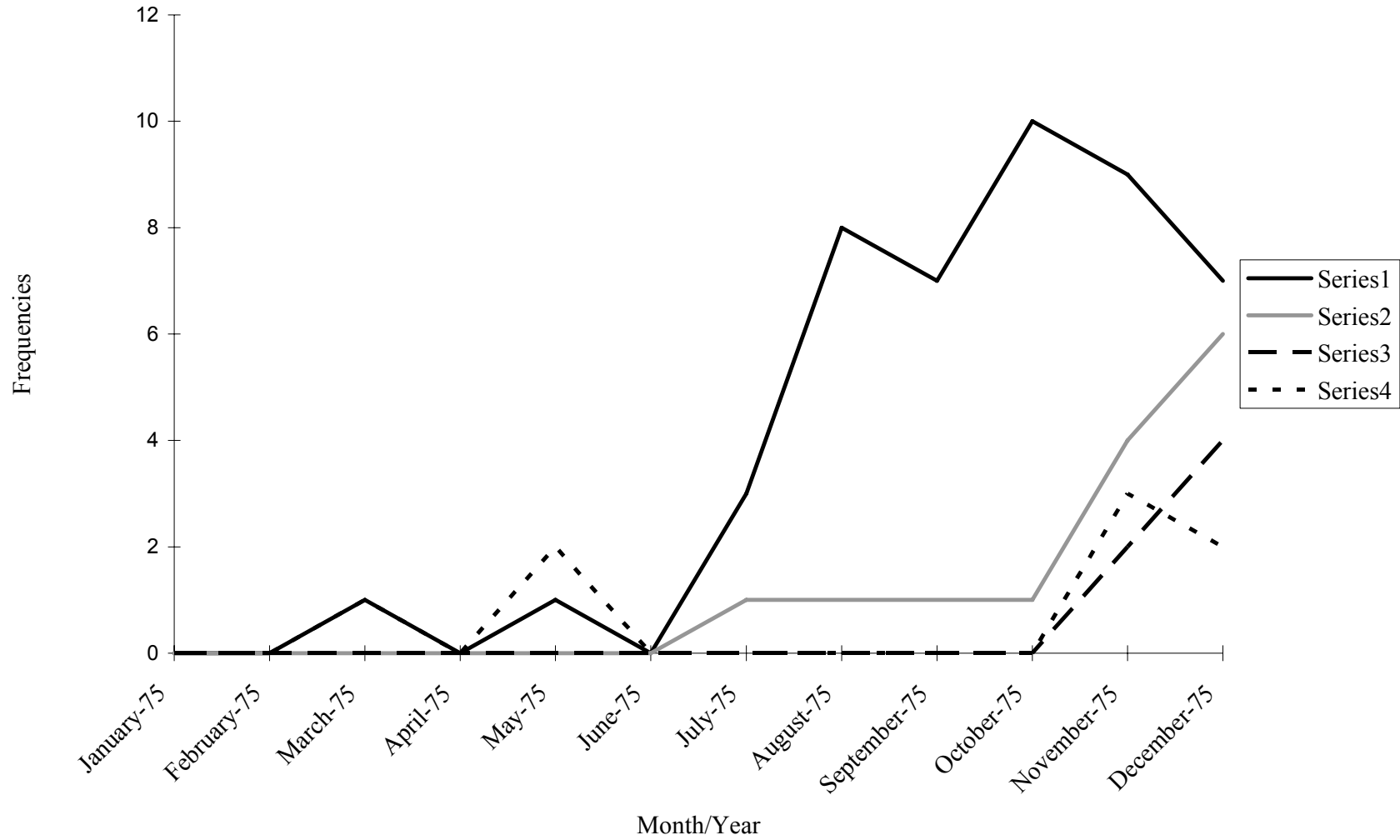


FIGURE A2.3

Series 1 = "cotton"

Series 2 = "cotton gin"

Series 3 = "bales of cotton"

Series 4 = "cotton prices"

Instances of Wheat Related Words

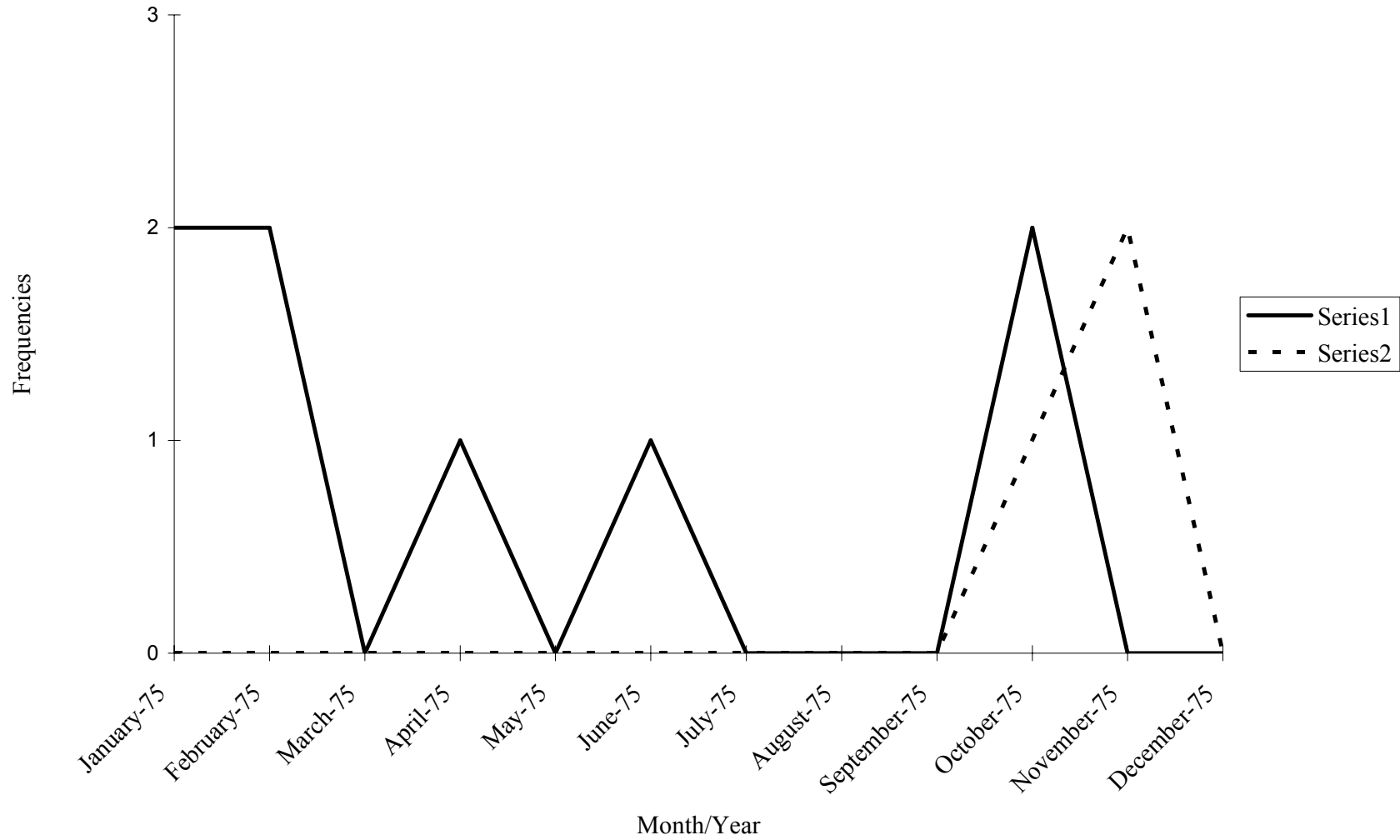


FIGURE A2.4

Series 1 = "wheat"

Series 2 = "wheat prices"

Instances of "Farmers' Co-Op"

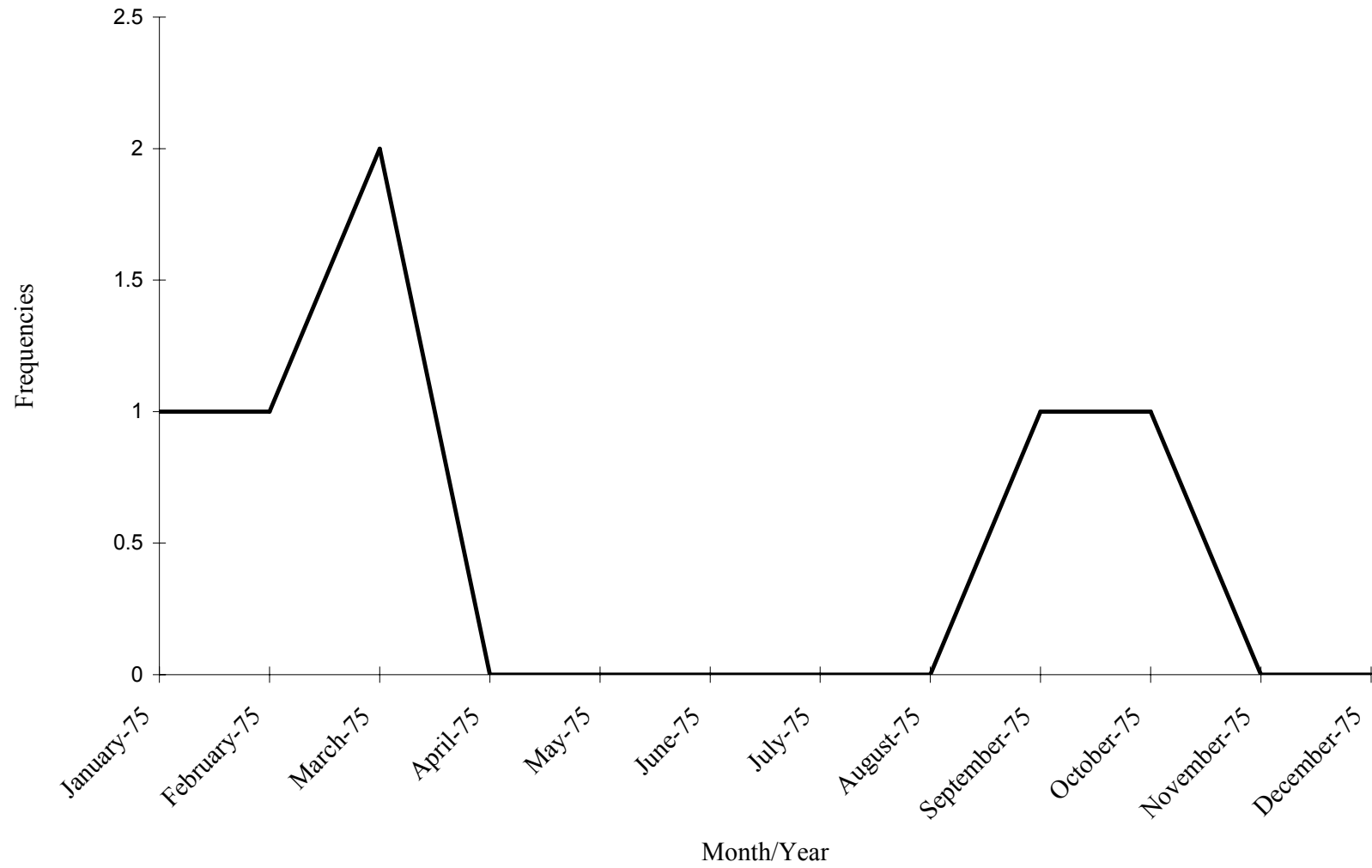


FIGURE A2.5

Instances of Corn Related Words

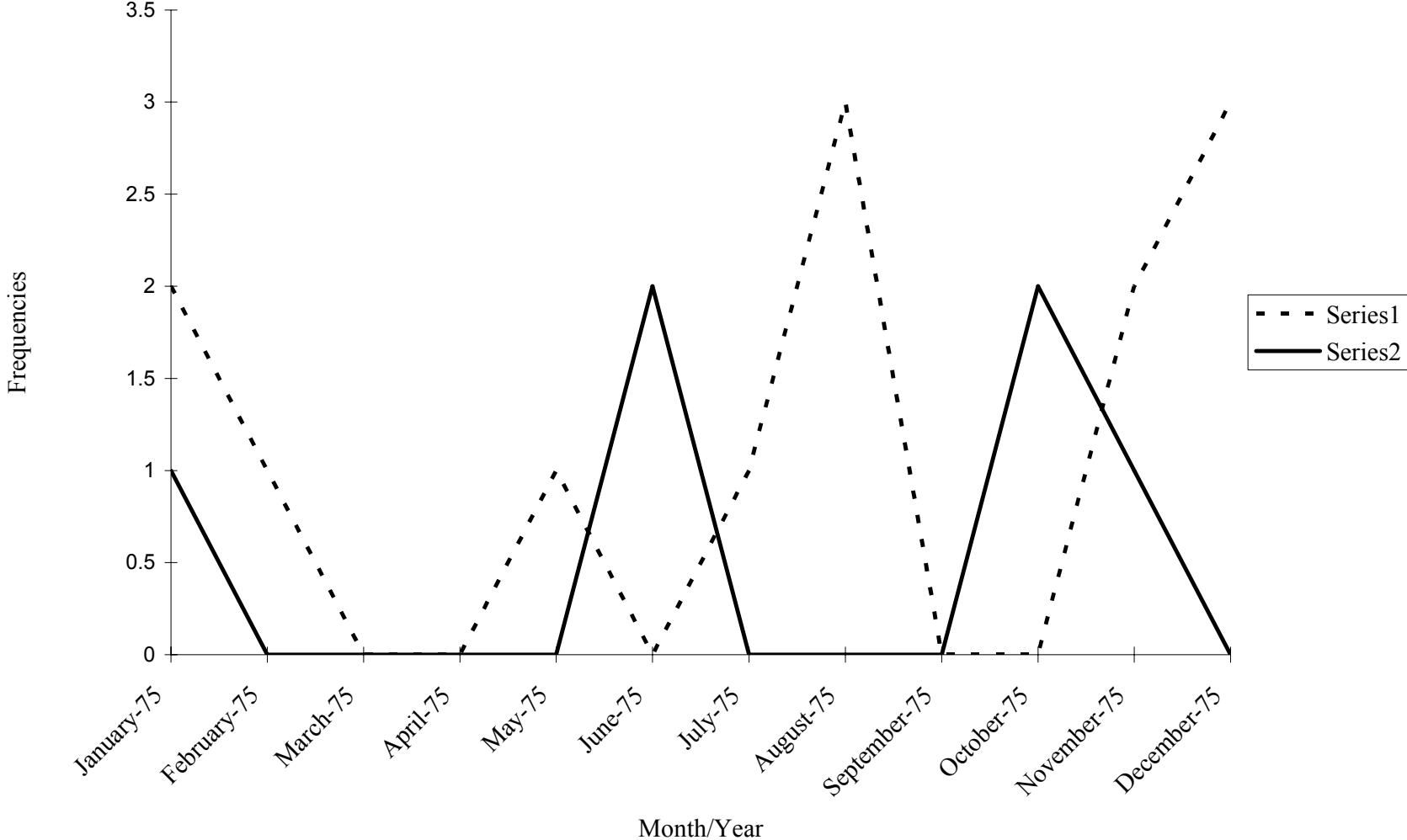


FIGURE A2.6

Series 1 = "corn"

Series 2 = "corn prices"

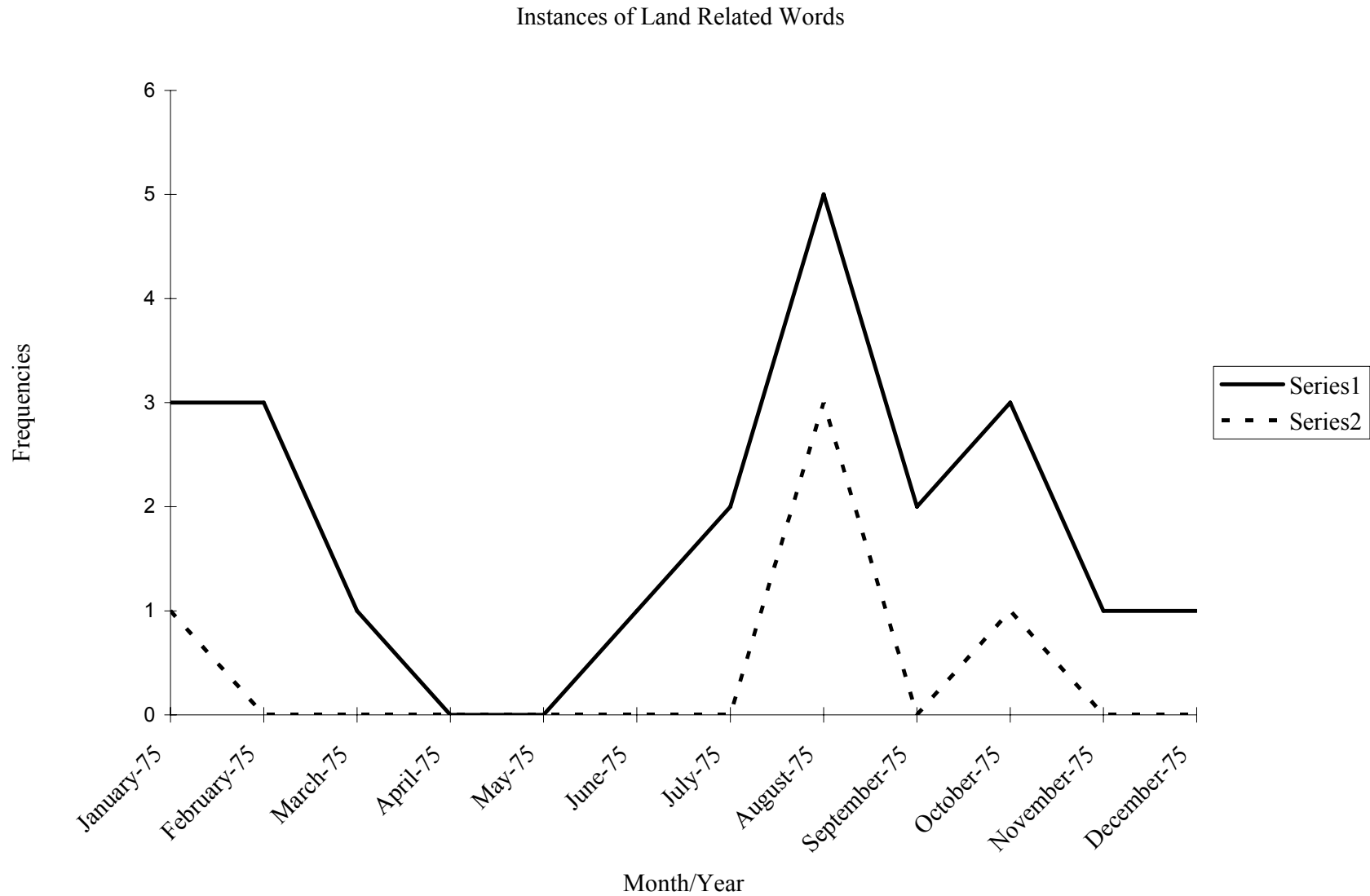


FIGURE A2.7

Series 1 = "land"

Series 2 = "land prices"

TABLE A3

Instances of Economic Words and Phrases in the Denison Daily News from January 1880 to December 1880

Economic Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1880	2/1880	3/1880	4/1880	5/1880	6/1880	7/1880	8/1880	9/1880	10/1880	11/1880	12/1880	
railroad	2	1	1	2	4	2	4	6	8	10	8	1	49
railroad company	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	6
M.K. & T. Railroad	2	1	2	1	5	2	4	3	6	10	12	6	54
business(es)	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	6	7	4	21
real estate	5	3	6	4	2	1	3	2	4	8	6	3	47
cotton	8	4	2	4	6	2	5	5	10	14	11	8	79
cotton gin	2	4	2	1	5	3	2	2	8	12	9	2	52
bales of cotton	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	11	1	22
cotton prices	0	0	0	2	4	0	3	2	8	15	10	1	45
farmers co-op	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	5	3	4	8	9	36
land	2	1	0	3	5	7	4	9	8	2	0	3	44
land prices	1	2	1	0	0	4	7	1	0	0	4	2	22
Column Totals	29	18	15	18	31	23	33	37	56	89	86	42	477



Instances of Railroad Related Words

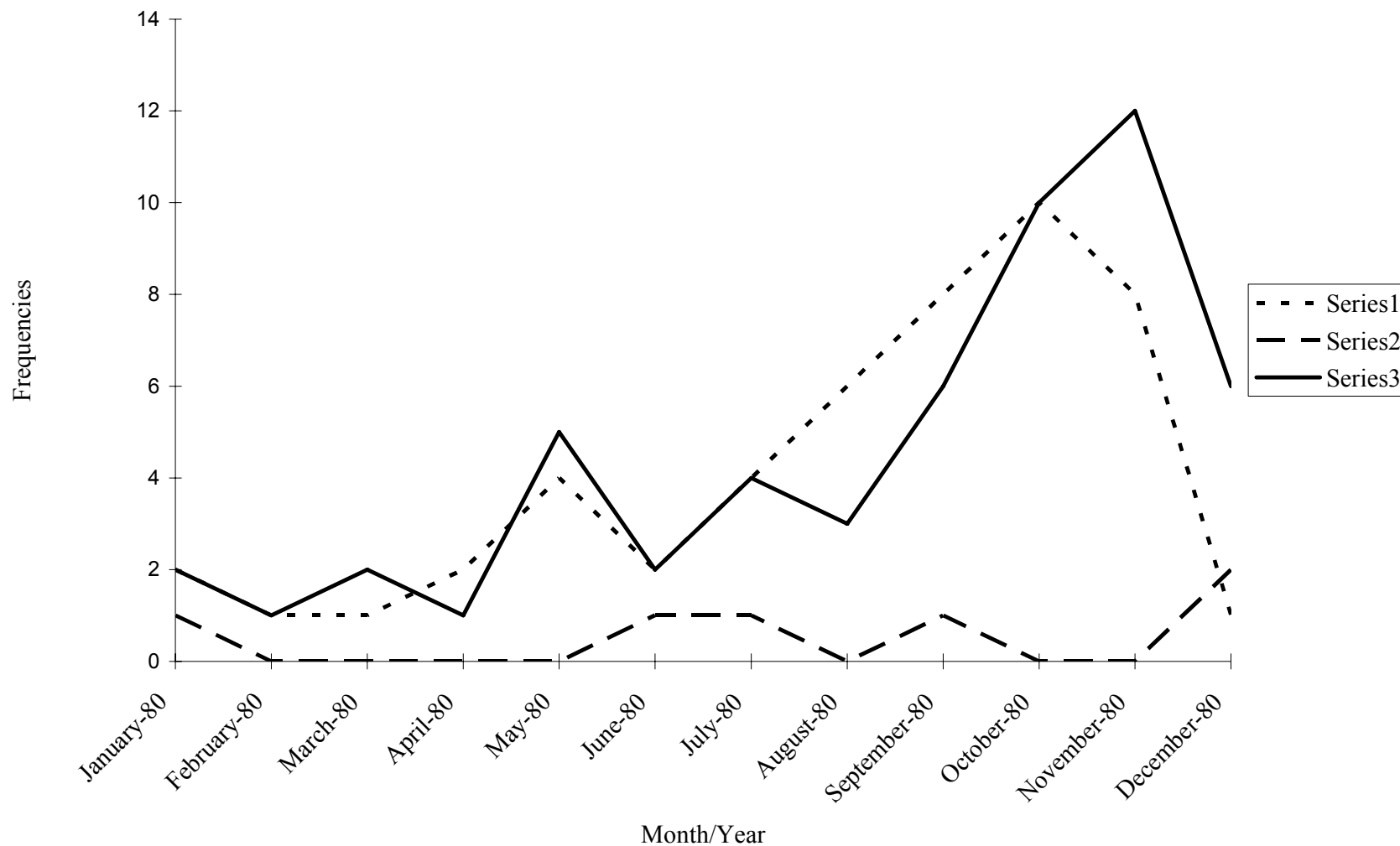


FIGURE A3.1

Series 1 = "railroad"

Series 2 = "railroad company"

Series 3 = "M.K. & T. Railroad"

Instances of Business Related Words

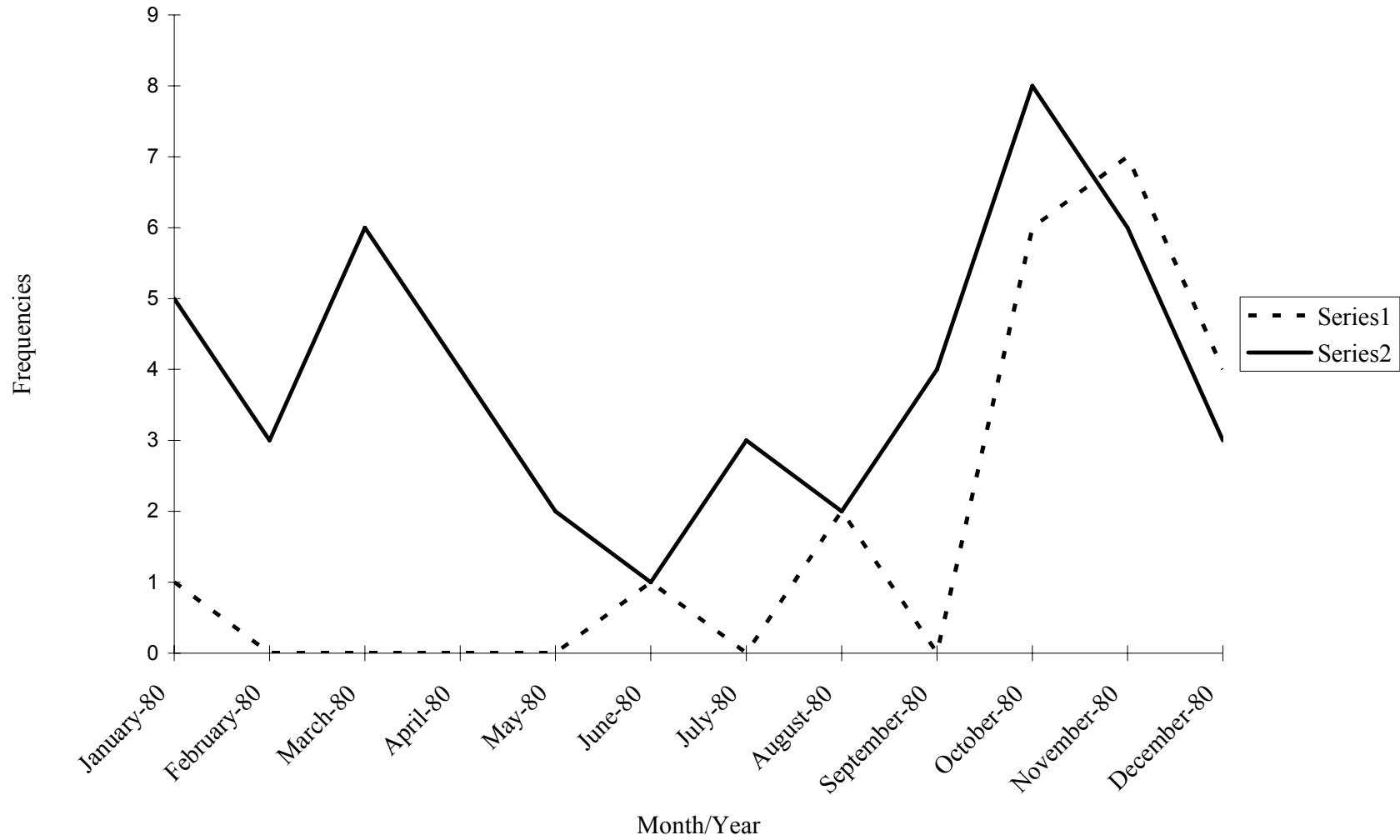


FIGURE A3.2

Series 1 = "business(es)"

Series 2 = "real estate"

Instances of Cotton Related Words

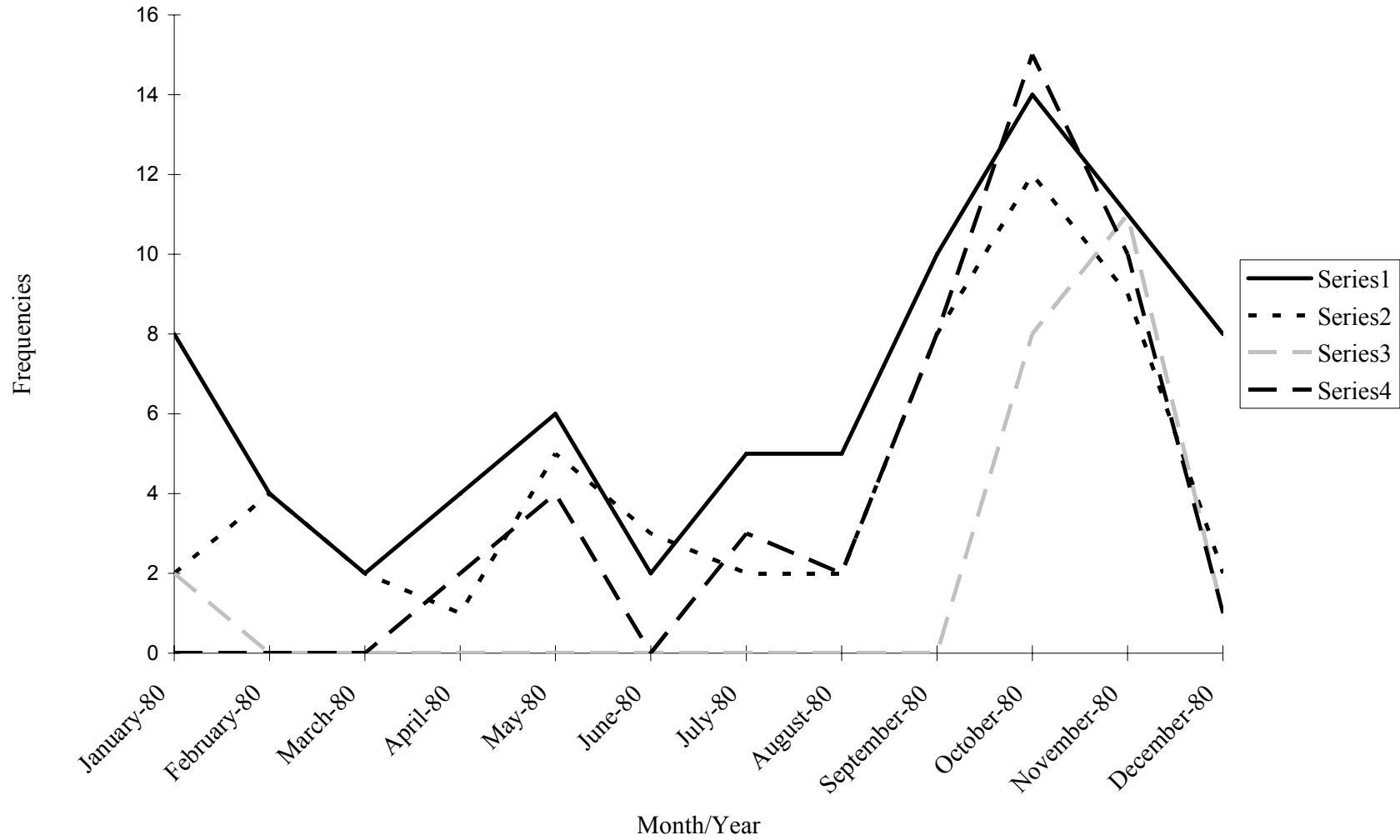


FIGURE A3.3

Series 1 = "cotton"

Series 2 = "cotton gin"

Series 3 = "bales of cotton"

Series 4 = "cotton prices"

Instances of "Farmers' Co-Op"

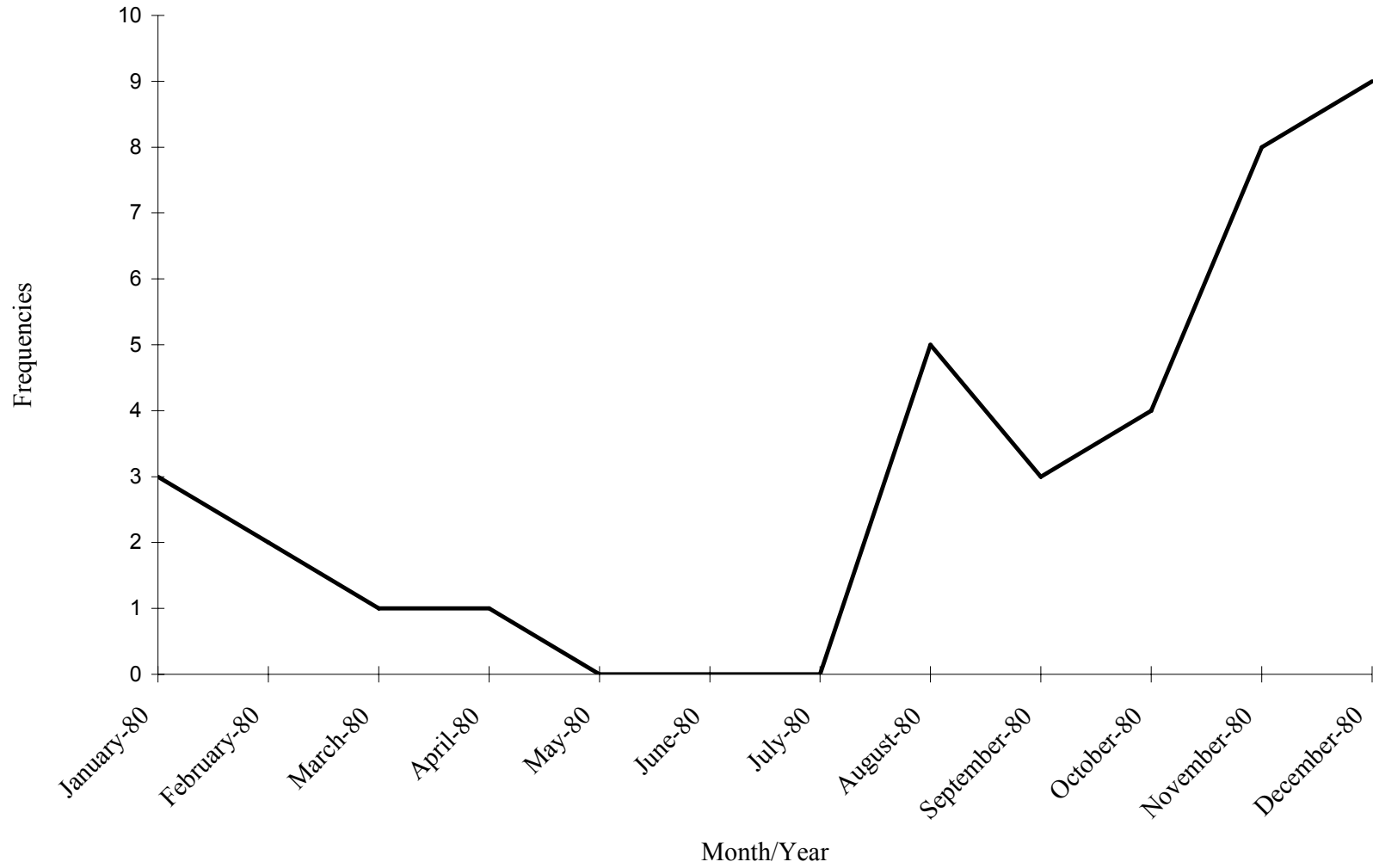


FIGURE A3.4

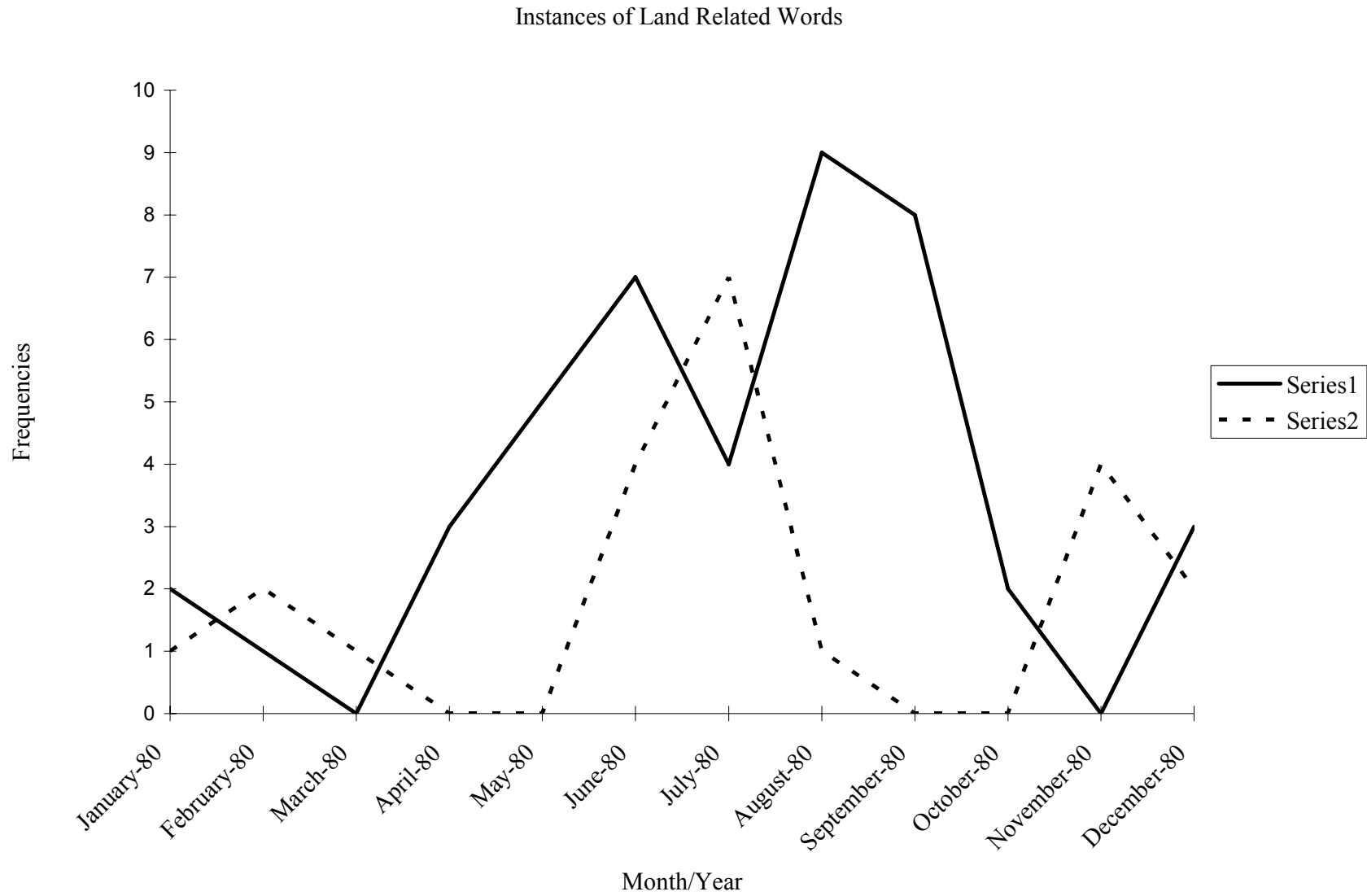


FIGURE A3.5

Series 1 = "land"

Series 2 = "land prices"

TABLE A4

Instances of Economic Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1885 to December 1885 (# of words)

Economic Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1885	2/1885	3/1885	4/1885	5/1885	6/1885	7/1885	8/1885	9/1885	10/1885	11/1885	12/1885	
railroad	3	2	0	1	3	2	2	3	5	7	4	0	32
railroad company	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	2	1	1	0	10
M.K. & T. Railroad	3	2	1	0	3	1	2	4	2	6	9	1	34
business(es)	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	1	2	9
real estate	1	1	1	5	1	0	2	0	4	2	1	0	18
cotton	0	0	0	5	2	3	7	4	3	15	12	2	53
cotton gin	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	6	17
bales of cotton	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	9	13	0	29
cotton prices	0	0	0	4	6	0	2	1	9	17	14	0	53
farmers co-op	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	12	10	4	31
land	1	0	0	2	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	11
land prices	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	1	3	11
Column Totals	10	8	2	18	16	15	19	26	31	75	70	18	308

### Instances of Railroad Related Words

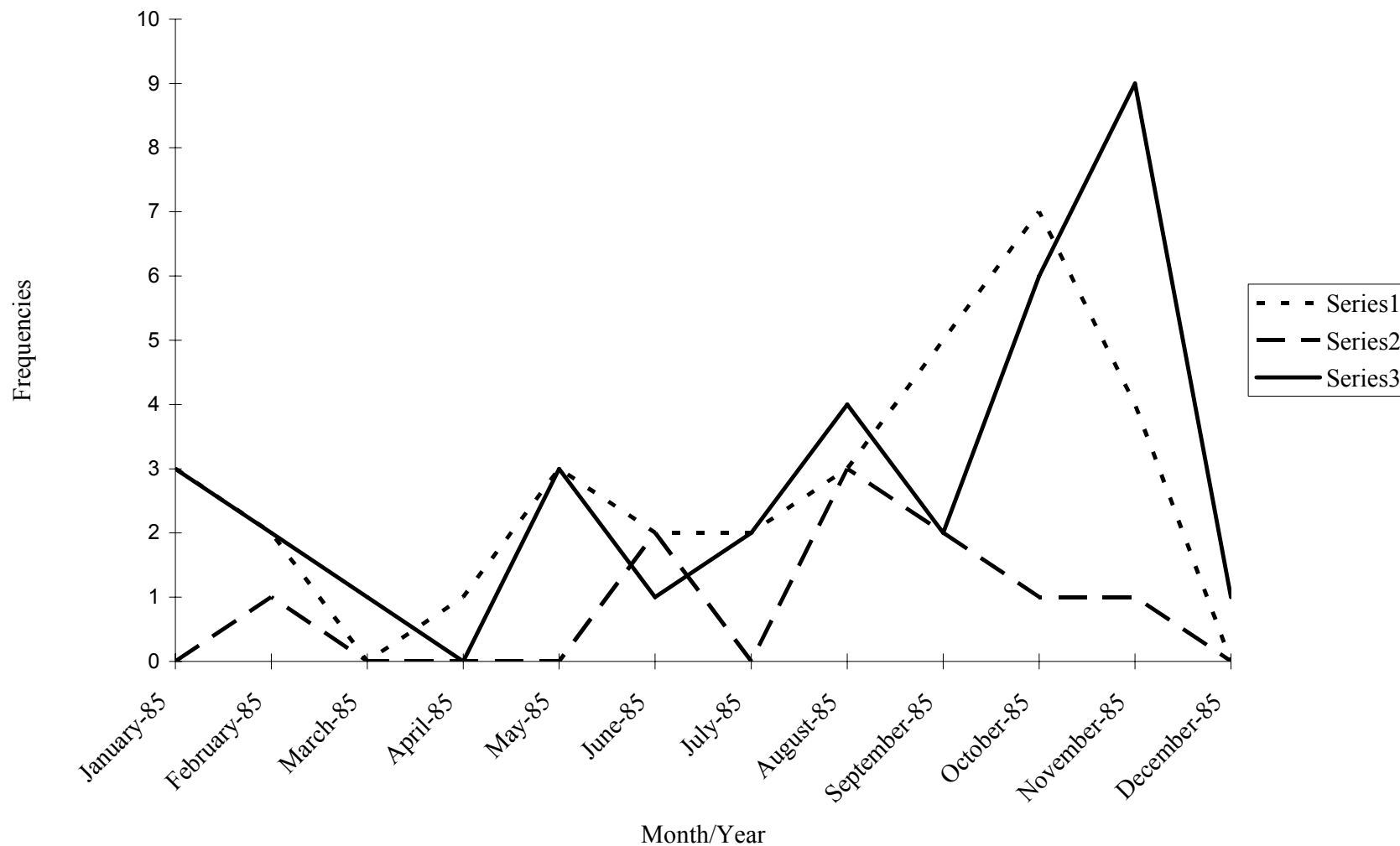


FIGURE A4.1

Series 1 = "railroad"

Series 2 = "railroad company"

Series 3 = "M.K. & T. Railroad"

Instaces of Business Related Words

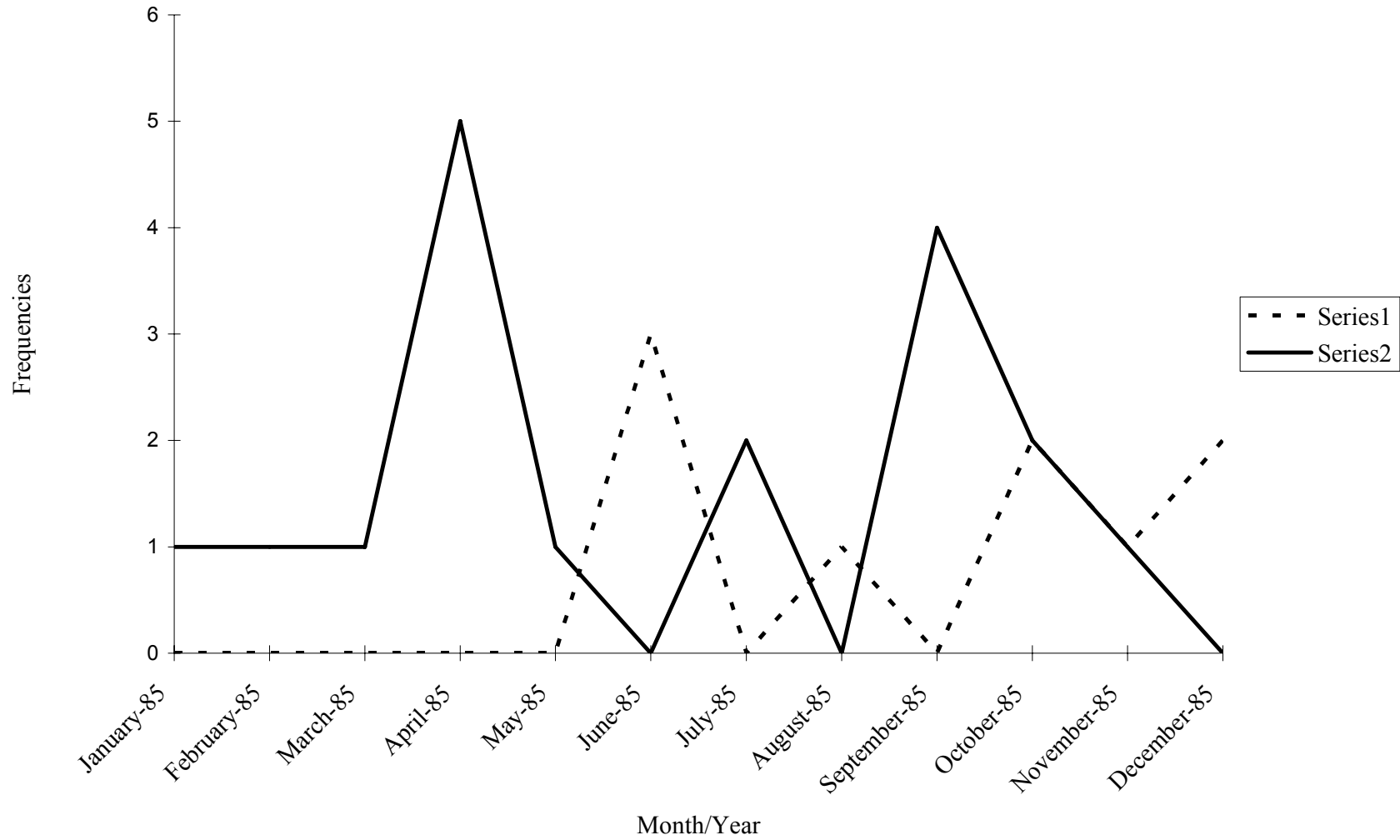


FIGURE A4.2

Series 1 = "business(es)"

Series 2 = "real estate"



Instances of Cotton Related Words

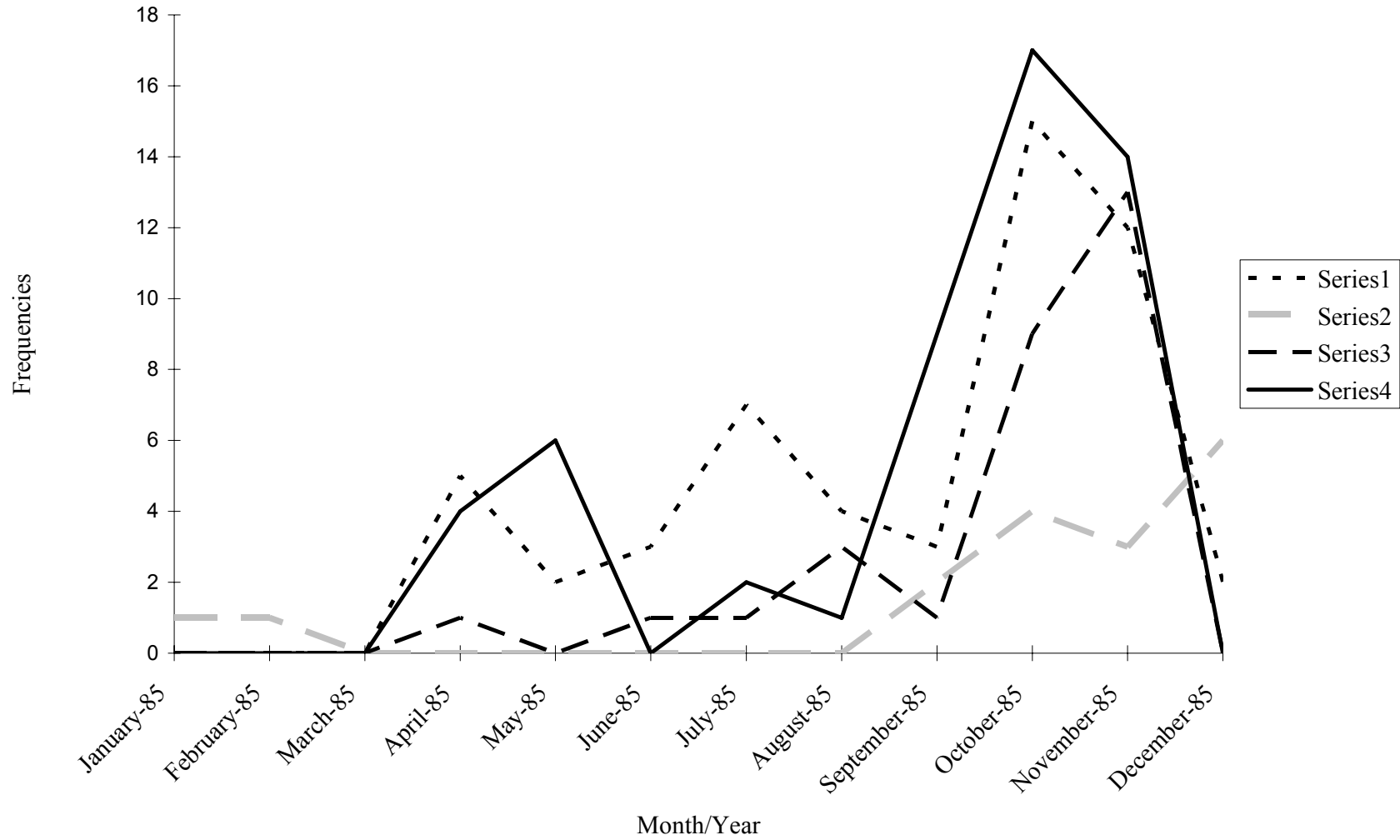


FIGURE A4.3

Series 1 = "cotton"

Series 2 = "cotton gin"

Series 3 = "bales of cotton"

Series 4 = "cotton prices"

Instances of "Farmers' Co-Op"

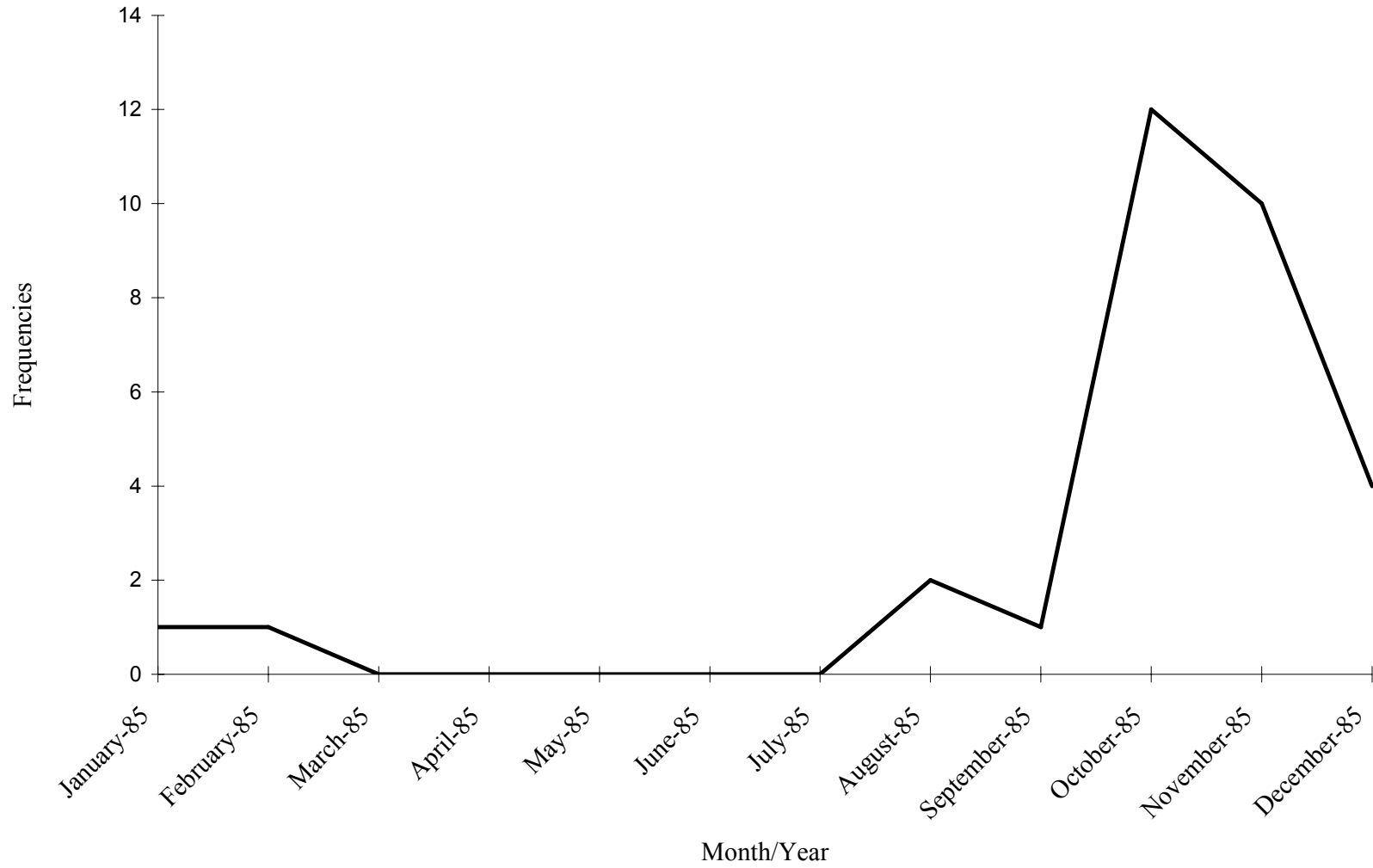


FIGURE A4.4

Instances of Land Related Words

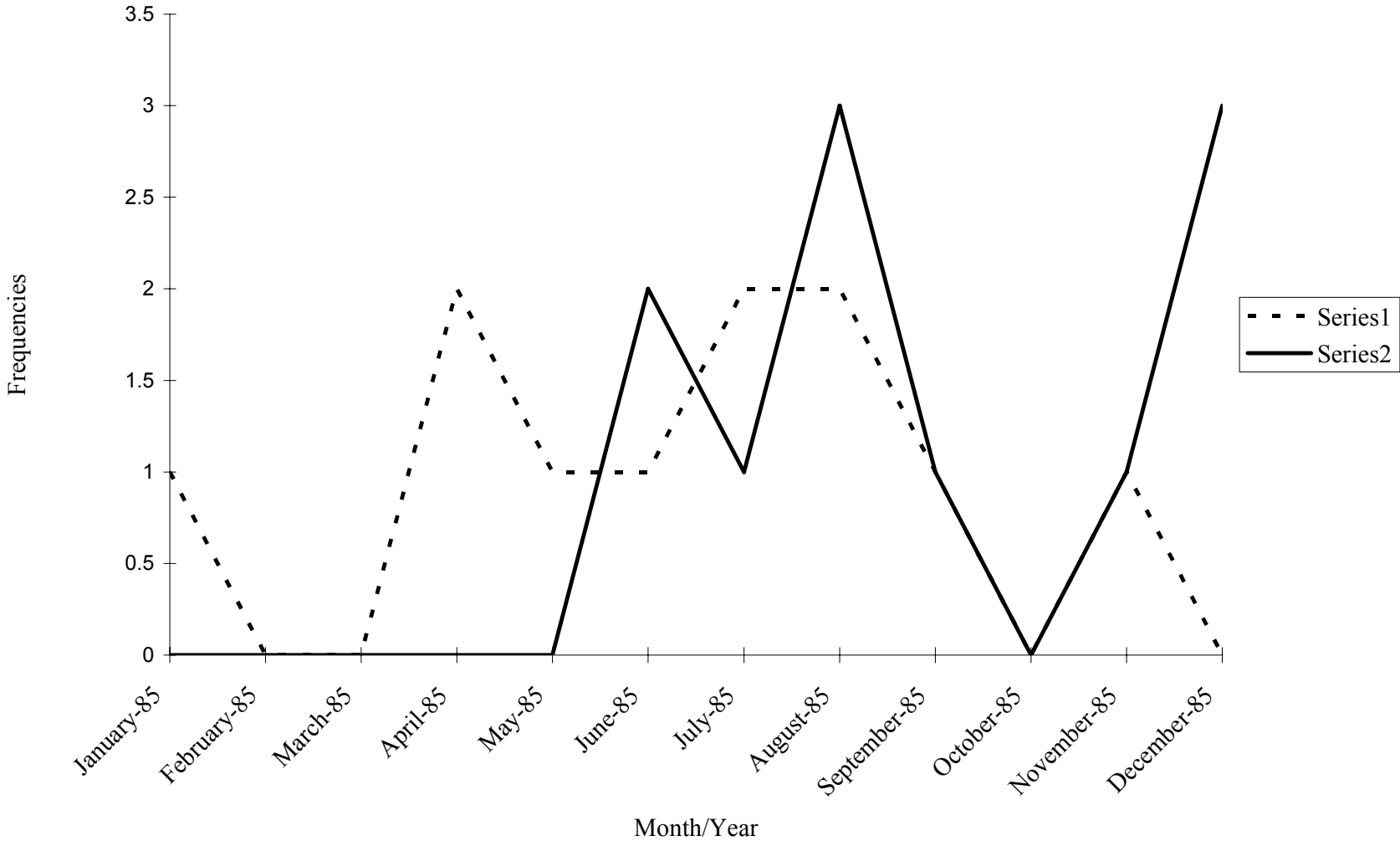


FIGURE A4.5

Series 1 = "land"

Series 2 = "land prices"

TABLE A5

Instances of Economic Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1890 to December 1890

Economic Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1890	2/1890	3/1890	4/1890	5/1890	6/1890	7/1890	8/1890	9/1890	10/1890	11/1890	12/1890	
railroad	4	3	2	2	4	1	1	5	2	4	3	2	33
railroad company	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	5
M.K. & T. Railroad	5	4	4	2	4	6	5	8	3	6	9	6	62
business(es)	1	0	2	1	0	3	4	1	3	2	1	0	18
real estate	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	5	1	3	1	22
cotton	7	5	8	3	4	5	7	4	3	6	8	3	63
cotton gin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
bales of cotton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	10	11	8	41
cotton prices	3	6	7	8	4	6	7	3	9	5	3	4	65
farmers co-op	1	1	3	2	5	2	2	4	3	6	8	3	40
land	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	19
land prices	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	1	4	1	2	16
Column Totals	25	22	29	23	23	30	31	36	38	49	49	31	386

Instances of Railroad Related Words

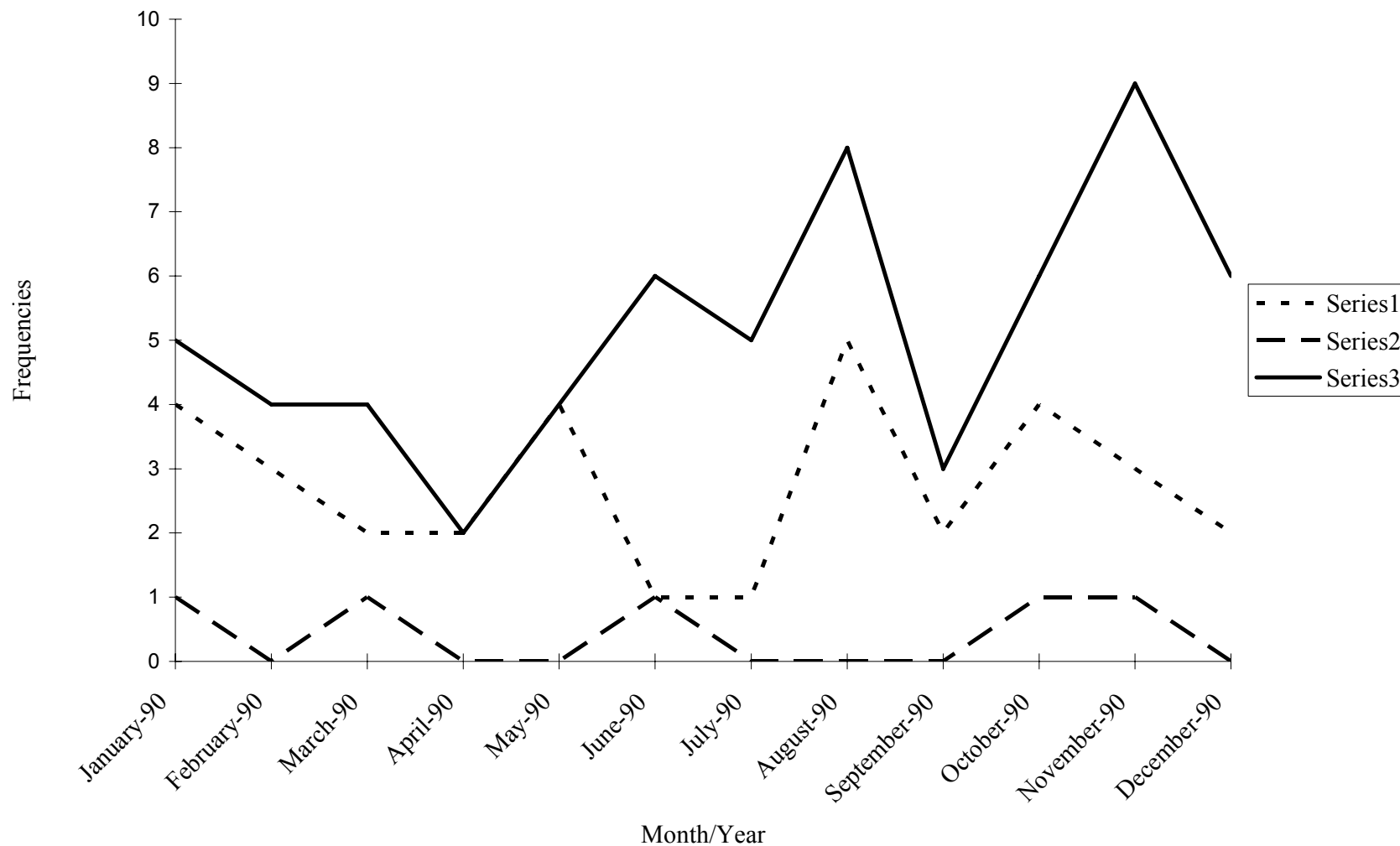


FIGURE A5.1

Series 1 = "railroad"

Series 2 = "railroad company"

Series 3 = "M.K. & T. Railroad"

Instances of Business Related Words

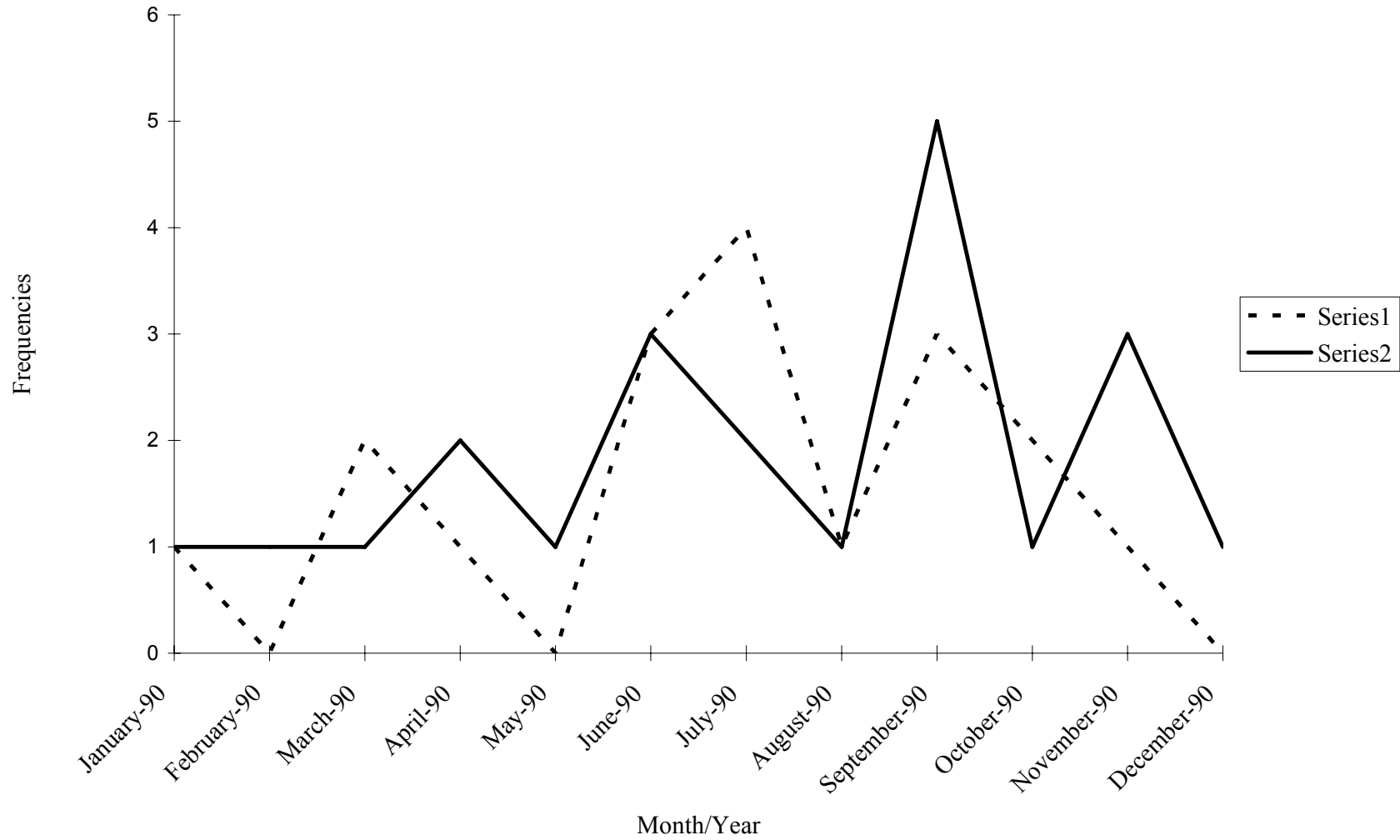


FIGURE A5.2

Series 1 = "business(es)"

Series 2 = "real estate"

Instances of Cotton Related Words

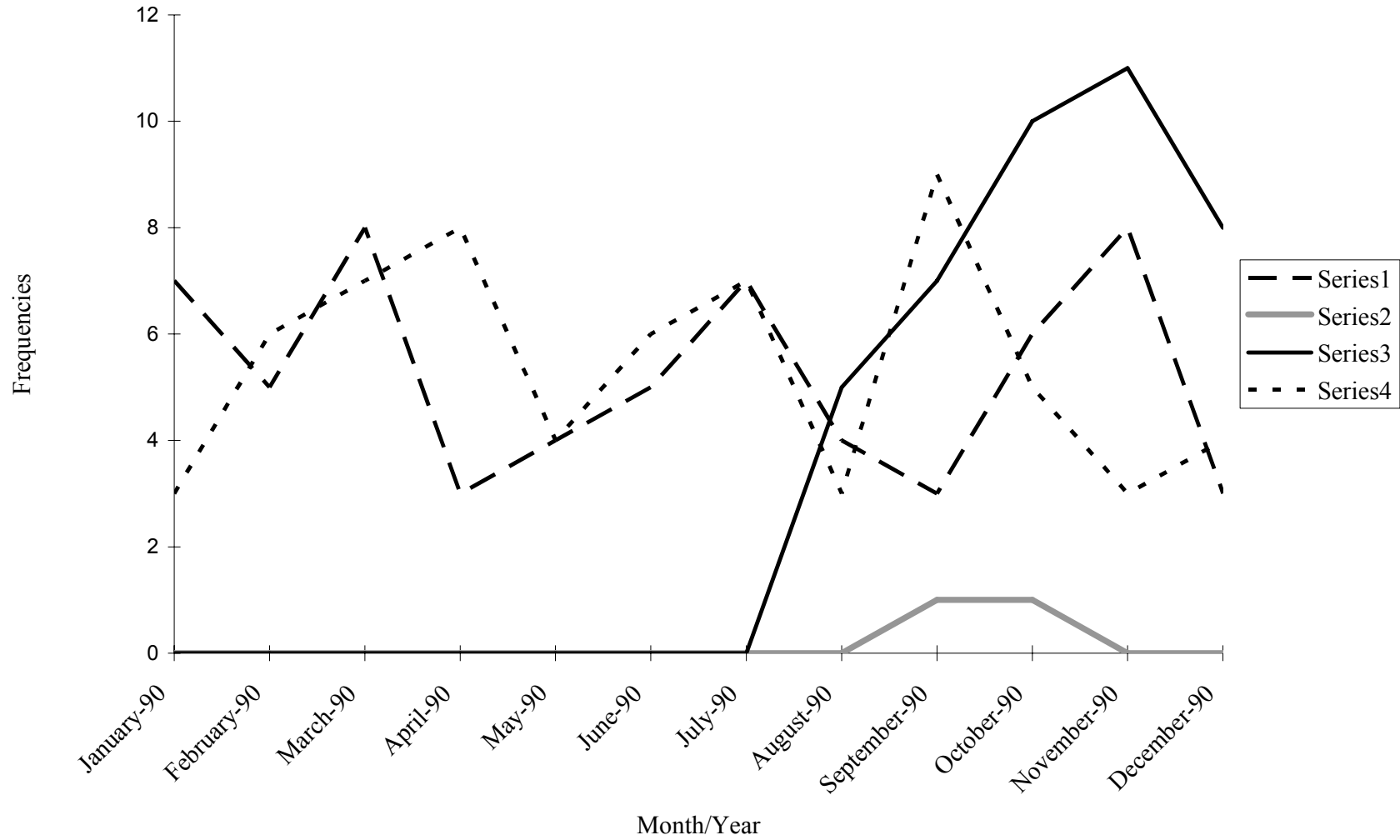


FIGURE A5.3

Series 1 = "cotton"

Series 2 = "cotton gin"

Series 3 = "bales of cotton"

Series 4 = "cotton prices"

Instances of "Farmers' Co-Op"

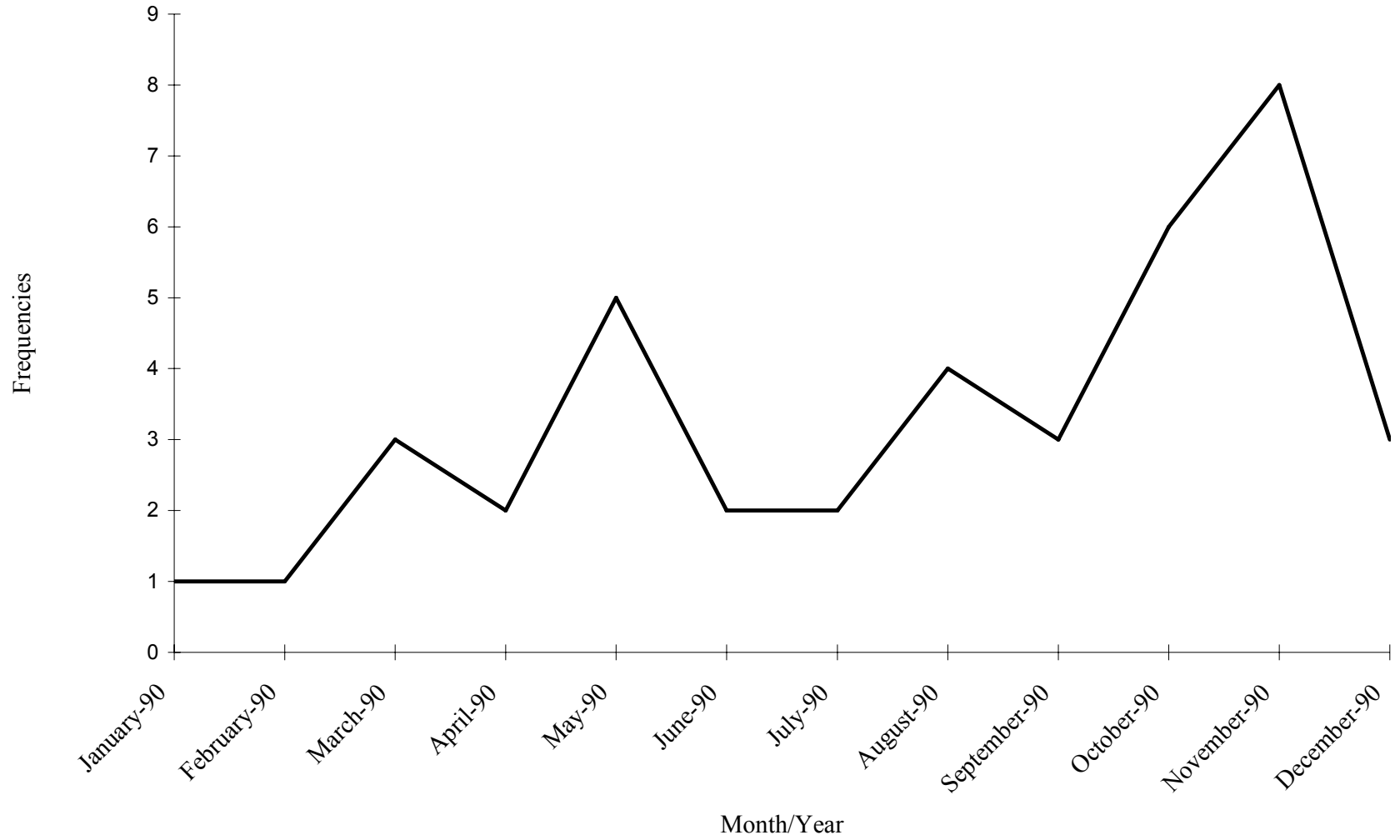


FIGURE A5.4



Instances of Land Related Words

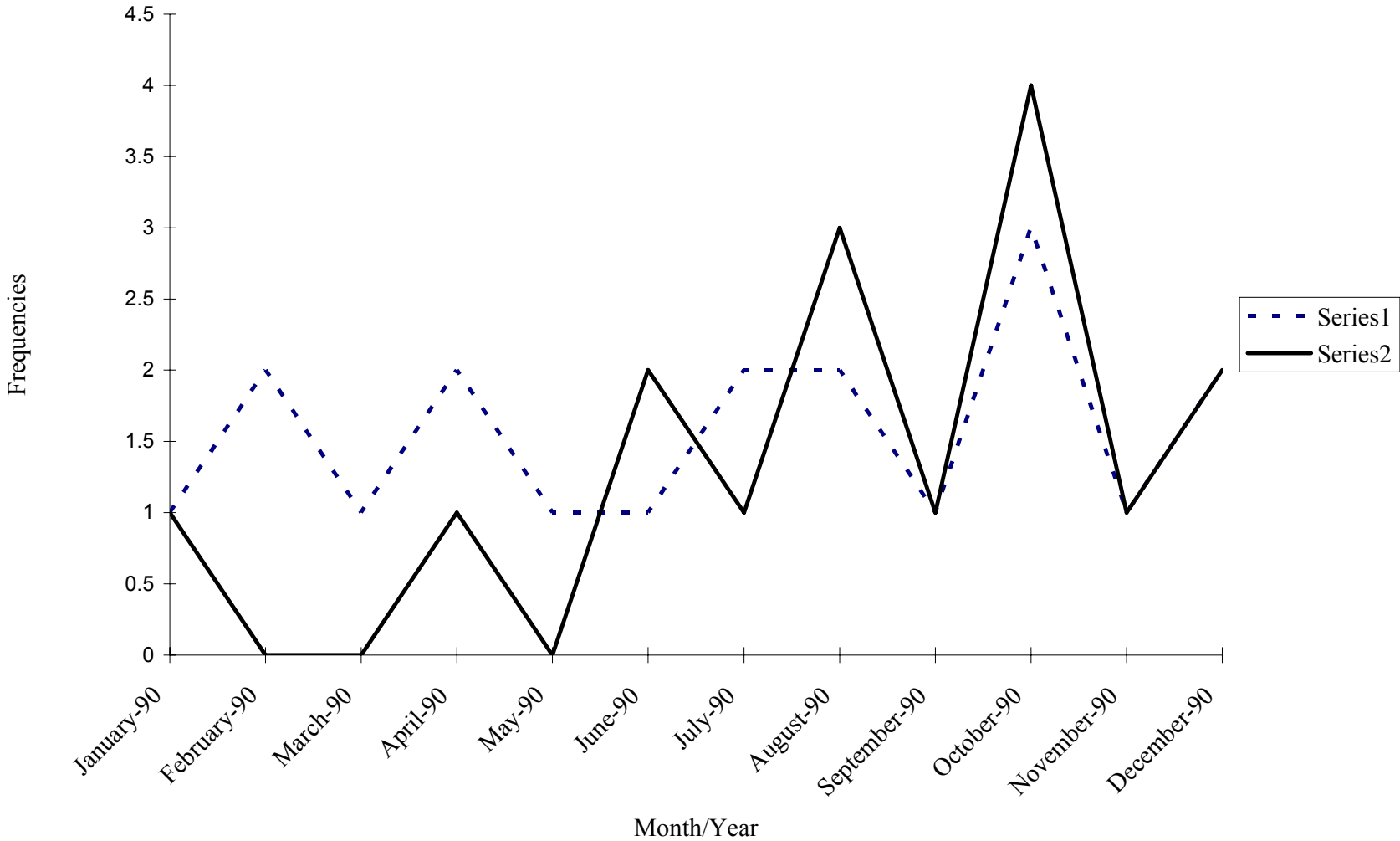


FIGURE A5.5

Series 1 = "land"

Series 2 = "land prices"

## APPENDIX B

### ANALYSIS OF SOCIALLY RELATED WORDS FROM NEWSPAPER FRONT PAGES

TABLE B1

Instances of Social Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* and the *Denison News* from December 1872 to December 1873 (# of words)

Social Word(s)	Month/Year													Row Totals
	12/1872	1/1873	2/1873	3/1873	4/1873	5/1873	6/1873	7/1873	8/1873	9/1873	10/1873	11/1873	12/1873	
Church	0	0	0	0	1	3	7	2	1	2	2	1	1	20
Morals	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	3	1	4	1	1	17
Gambling	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	4	1	2	1	1	17
Prostitution	3	1	1	0	0	5	2	4	3	1	2	1	2	25
Temperance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alcohol	4	2	1	2	1	6	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	22
Crime	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
Ordinances	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	0	0	14
Lodge	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	8
The Grange	4	1	2	1	2	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	15
Education	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	2	3	3	1	1	0	19
Public Library	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Schools	0	0	0	3	1	2	2	1	0	3	0	0	1	13
Community	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	2	1	1	1	11
Town Parties	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	2	1	1	0	2	14
Denison	4	2	3	2	3	1	3	4	2	1	5	8	10	48
"Gateway City"	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	7
Column Totals	18	7	12	12	18	26	27	27	28	18	22	18	22	255

### Instances of Church Related Words

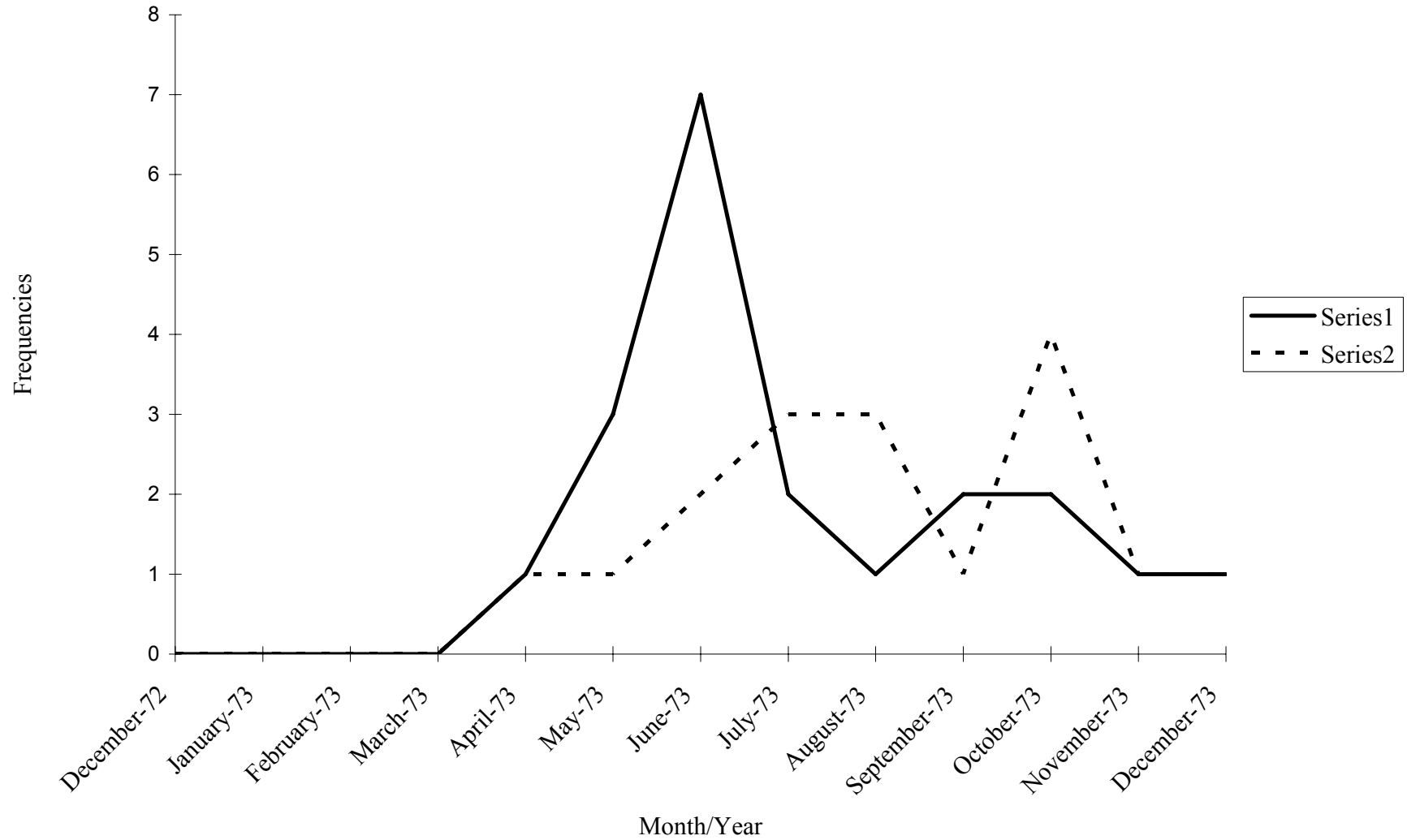


FIGURE B1.1

Series 1 = "church"

Series 2 = "morals"

Instances of Social Decay Related Words

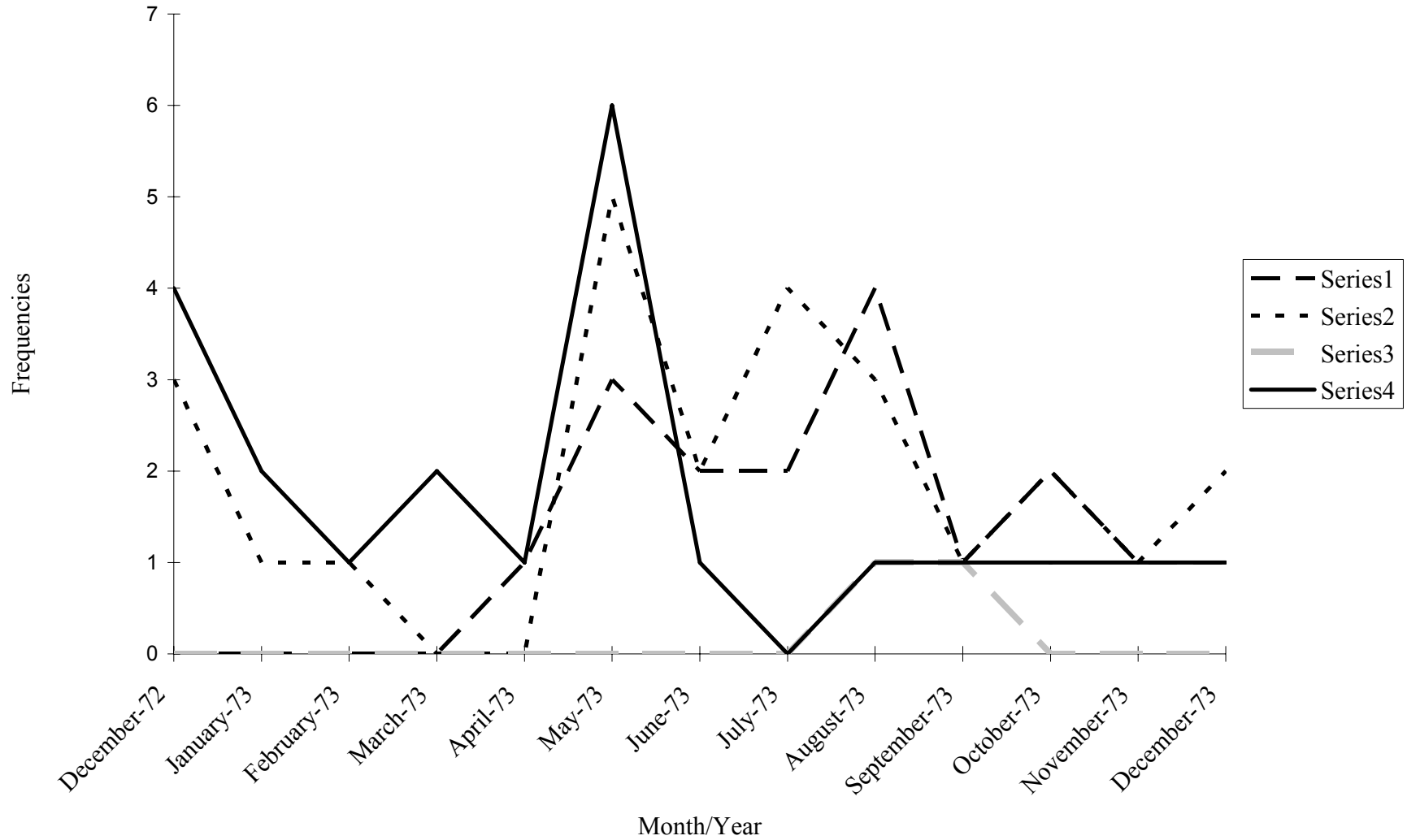


FIGURE B1.2

Series 1 = "gambling"

Series 2 = "prostitution"

Series 3 = "temperance"

Series 4 = "alcohol"

Instances of Crime Related Words

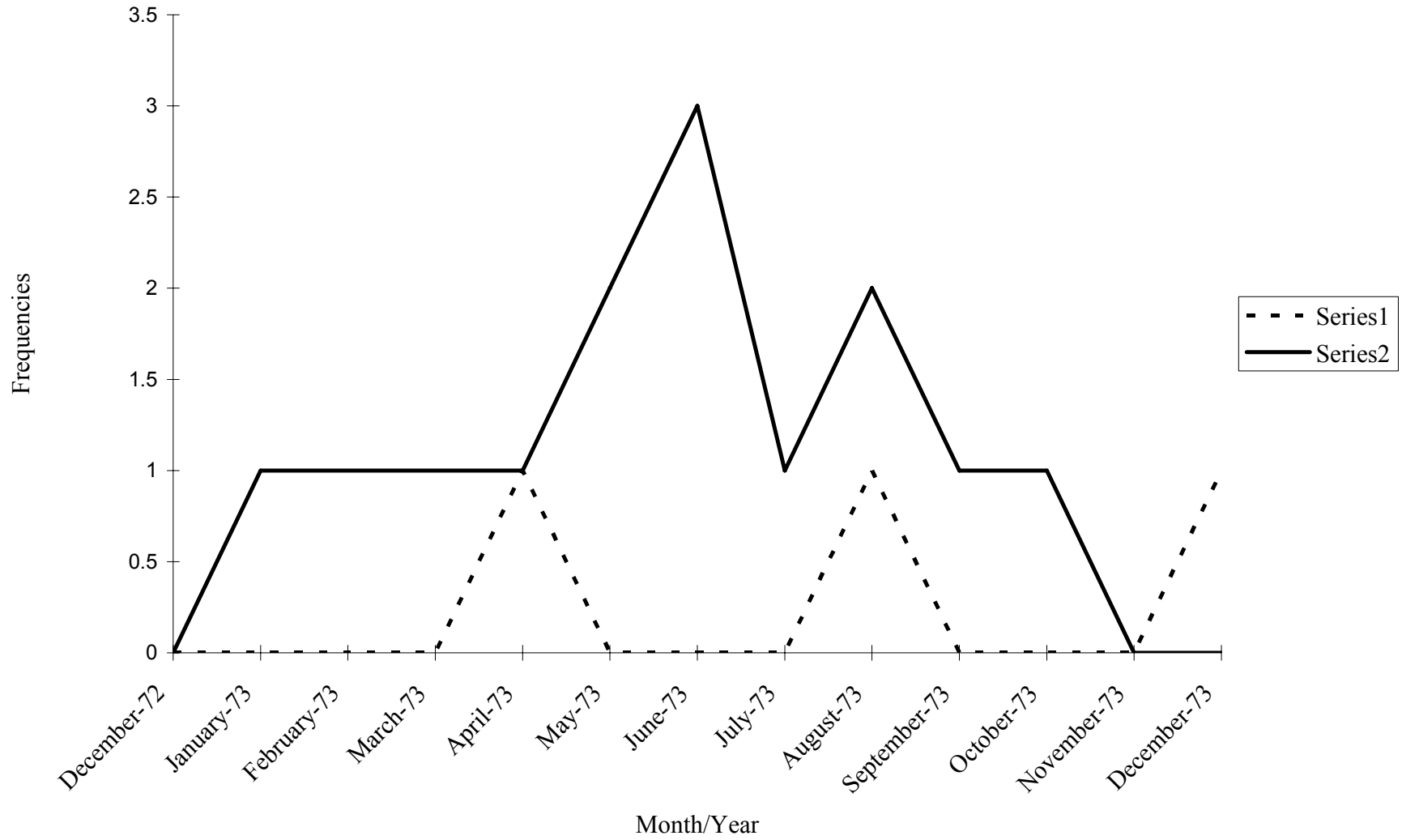


FIGURE B1.3 Series 1 = "crime" Series 2 = "ordinances"

### Instances of Agrarian Association Related Words

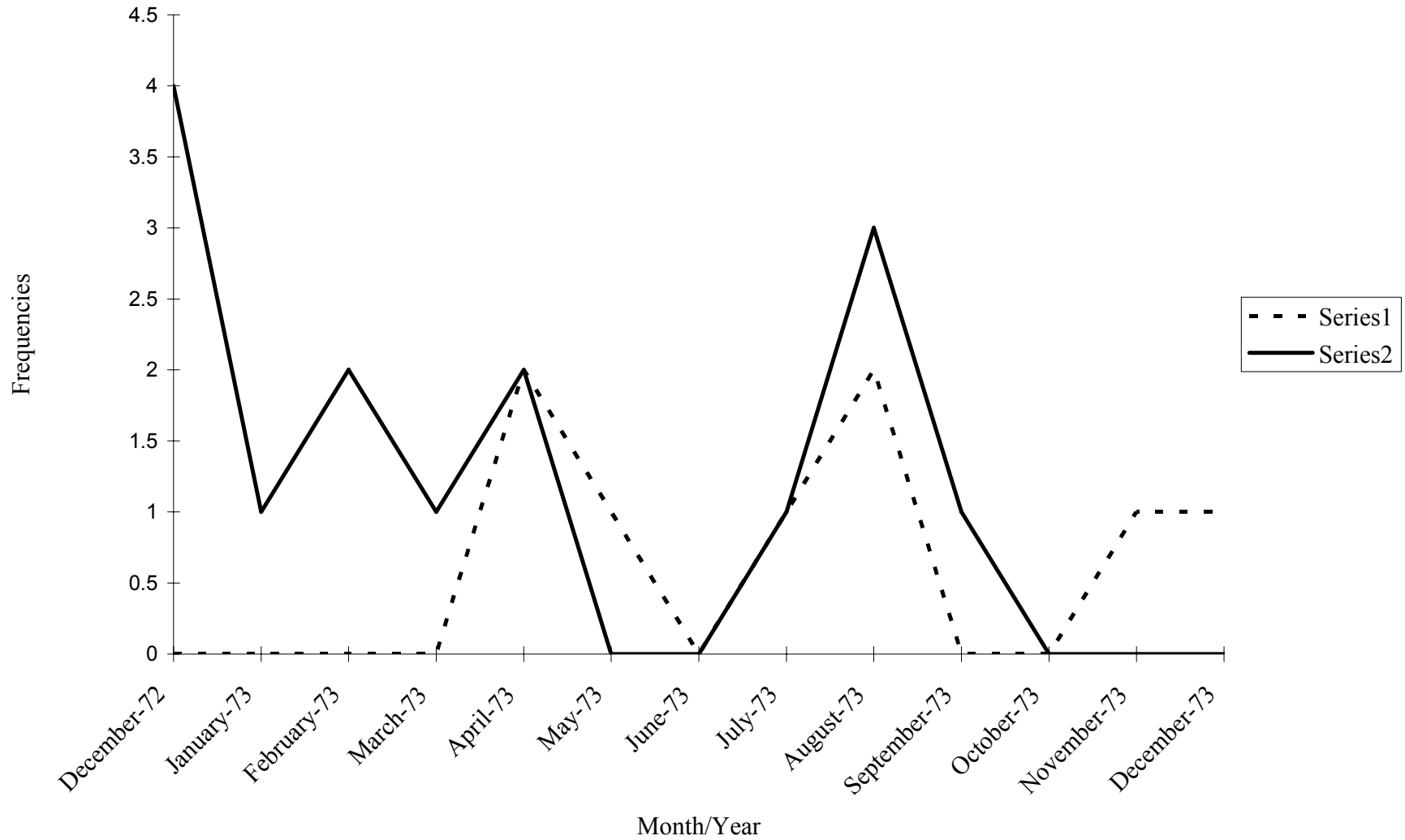


FIGURE B1.4

Series 1 = "lodge"

Series 2 = "the Grange"

Instances of Education Related Words

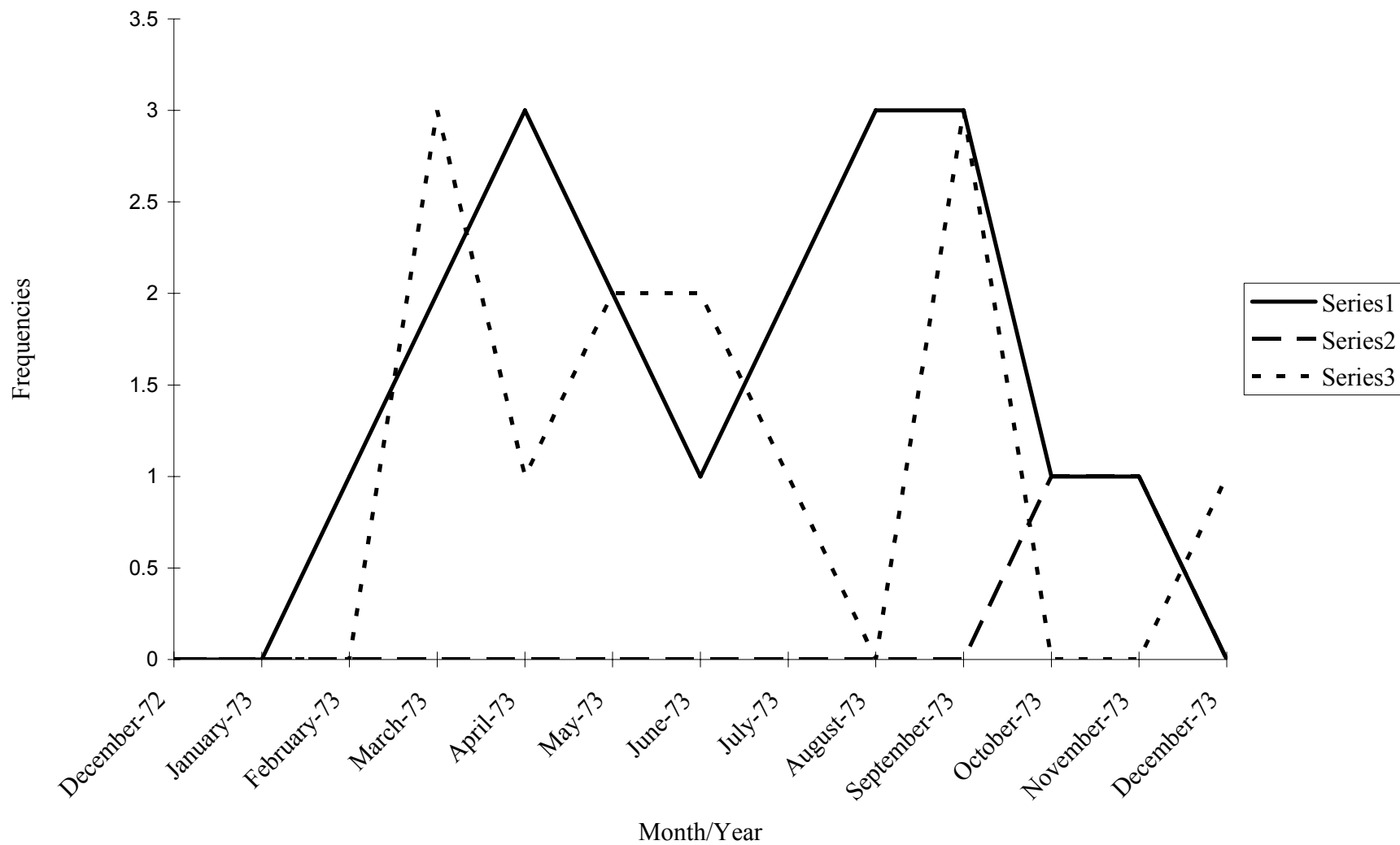


FIGURE B1.5

Series 1 = "education"

Series 2 = "public library"

Series 3 = "schools"



### Instances of Communal Activity Related Words

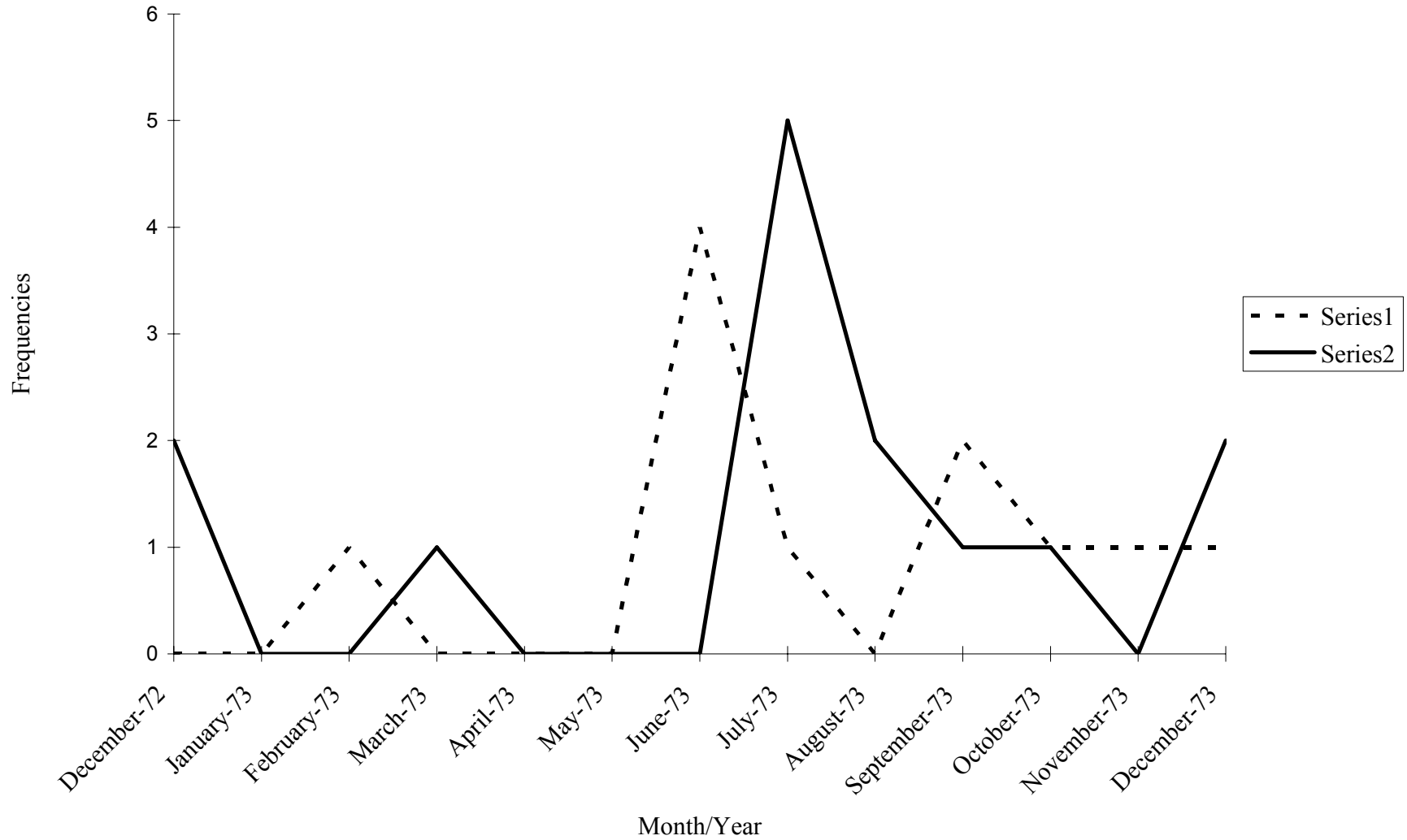


FIGURE B1.6

Series 1 = "community"

Series 2 = "town parties"

### Instances of Town Related Words

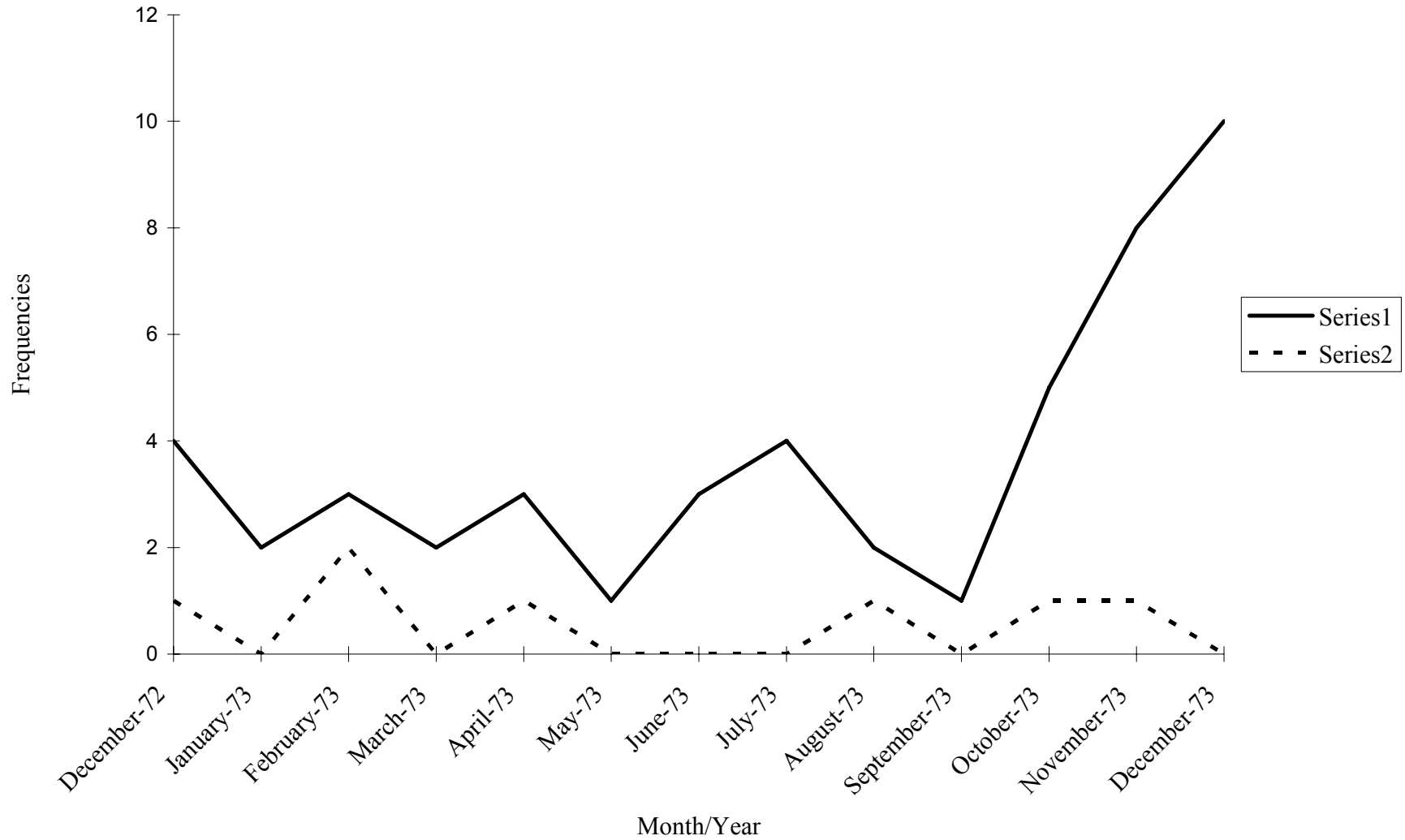


FIGURE B1.7

Series 1 = "Denison"

Series 2 = "Gateway City"

TABLE B2

Instances of Social Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1875 to December 1875 (# of words)

Social Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1875	2/1875	3/1875	4/1875	5/1875	6/1875	7/1875	8/1875	9/1875	10/1875	11/1875	12/1875	
Church	4	7	3	5	6	4	4	3	5	7	6	4	58
Morals	3	4	8	3	4	5	3	6	4	2	3	3	48
Gambling	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	5	2	3	2	25
Prostitution	2	1	1	1	2	5	2	4	3	3	4	1	29
Temperance	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	4	2	1	1	22
Alcohol	2	1	2	3	4	2	3	6	4	3	2	2	34
Crime	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	9
Ordinances	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	8
Lodge	2	1	1	0	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	4	19
The Grange	3	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	22
Education	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	5	7	33
Public Library	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	7	24
Schools	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	4	6	5	7	35
Community	1	2	1	2	6	4	2	4	6	6	2	2	38
Town Parties	1	0	0	3	2	1	5	5	3	2	1	5	28
Denison	4	5	7	3	4	3	2	2	6	7	5	10	58
"Gateway City"	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	4	6	5	4	1	32
Column Totals	33	32	32	38	43	40	41	43	60	52	48	60	522

Instances of Church Related Words

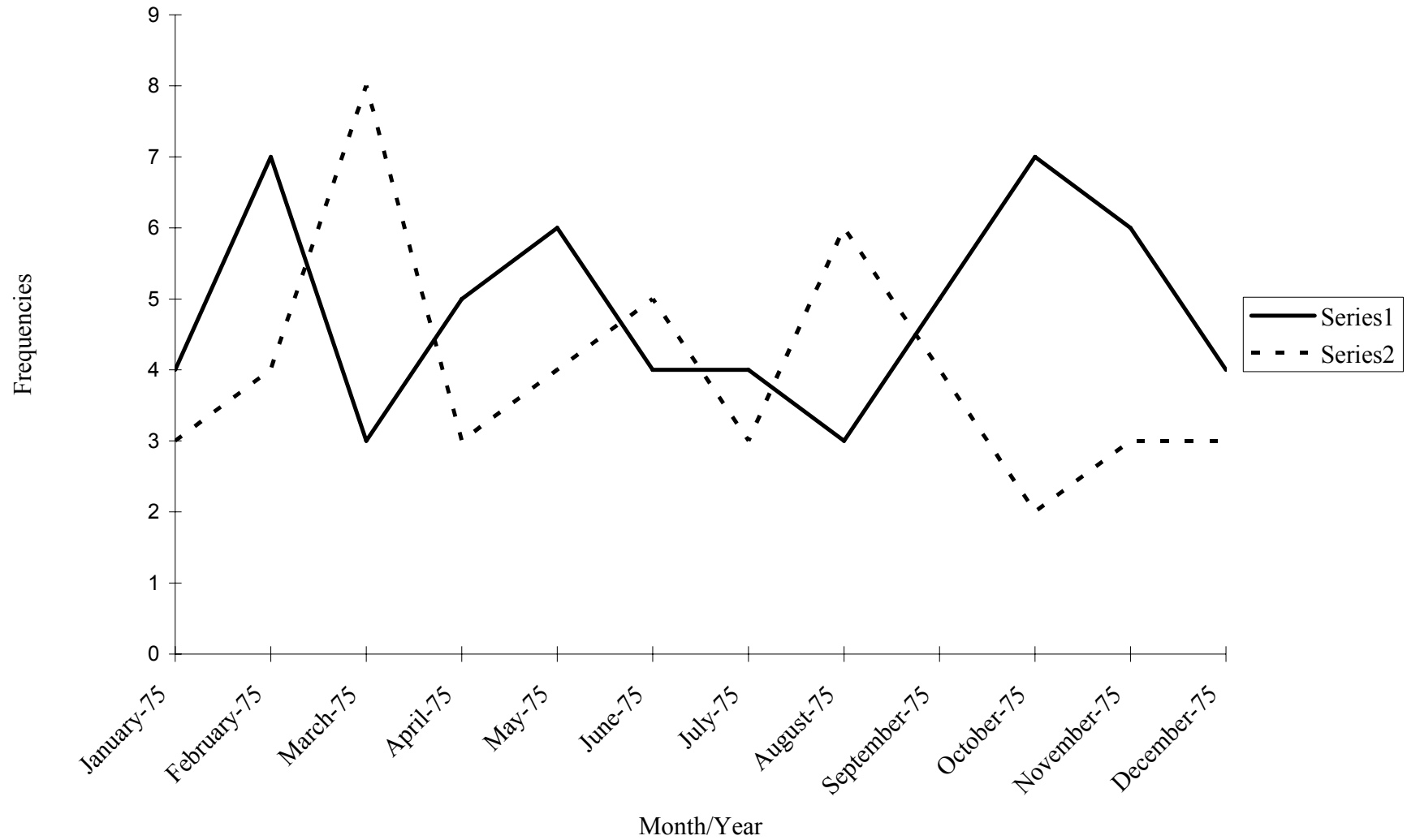


FIGURE B2.1

Series 1 = "church"

Series 2 = "morals"

Instances of Social Decay Related Words

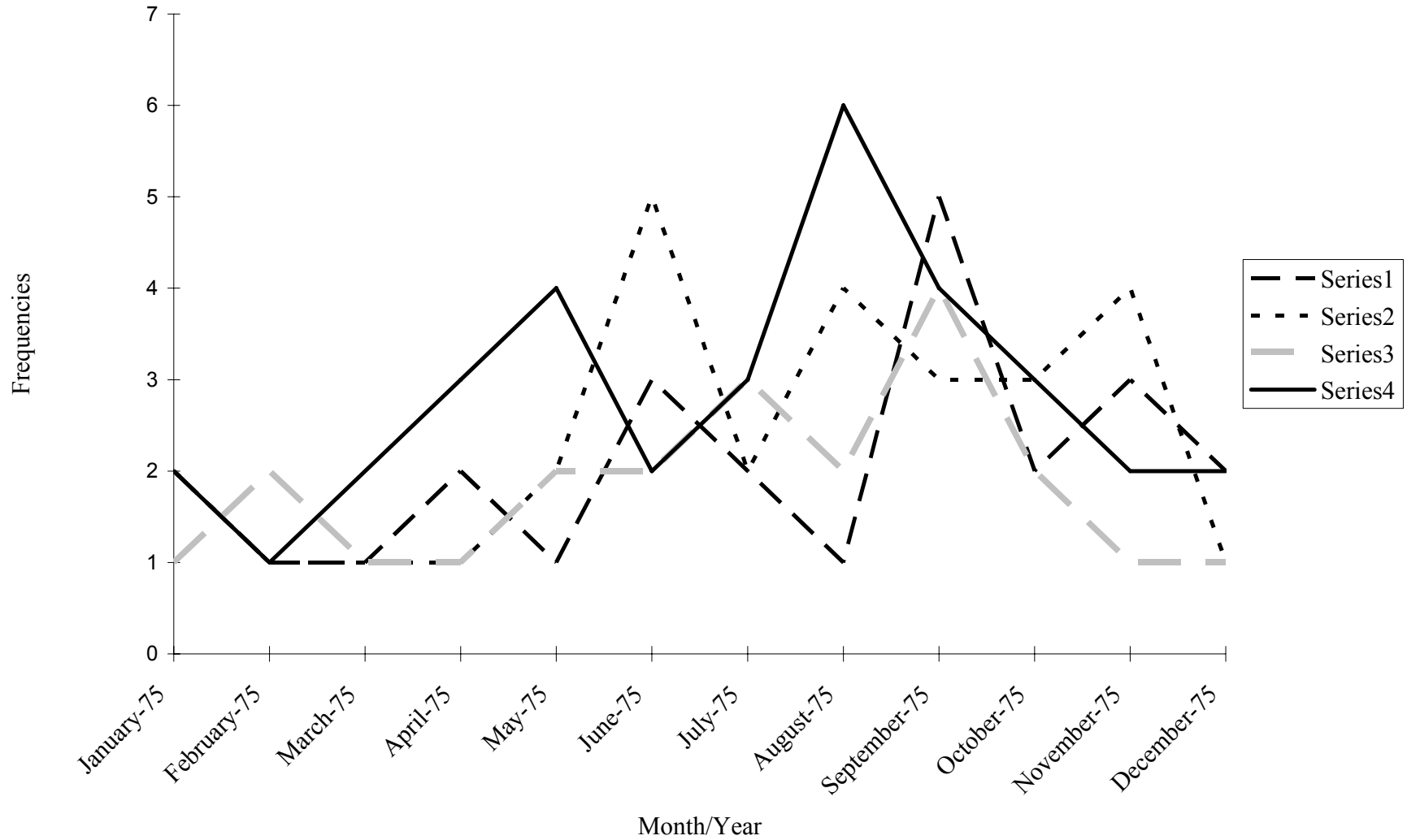


FIGURE B2.2

Series 1 = "gambling"

Series 2 = "prostitution"

Series 3 = "temperance"

Series 4 = "alcohol"

### Instances of Crime Related Words

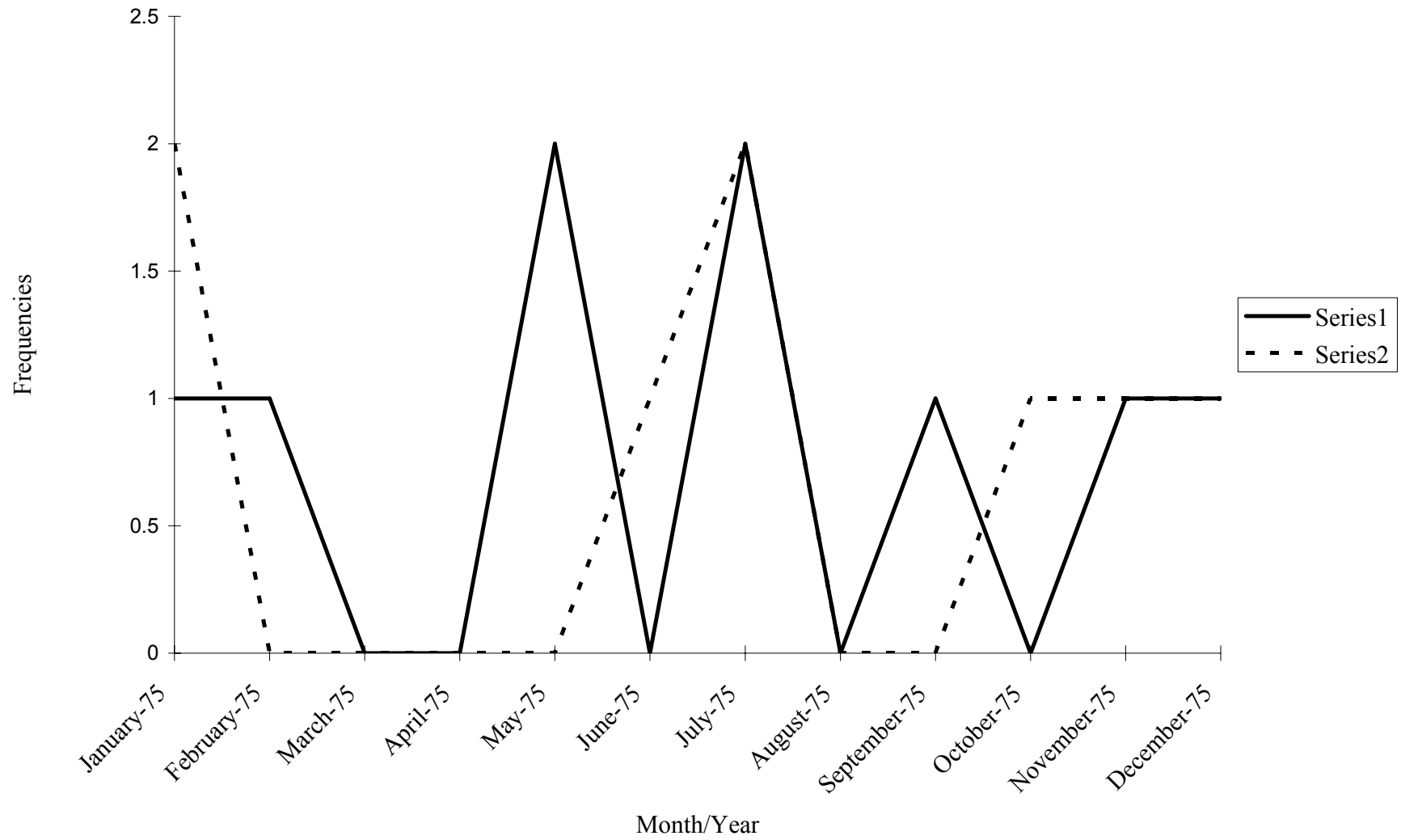


FIGURE B2.3

Series 1 = "crime"

Series 2 = "ordinances"

### Instances of Agrarian Association Words

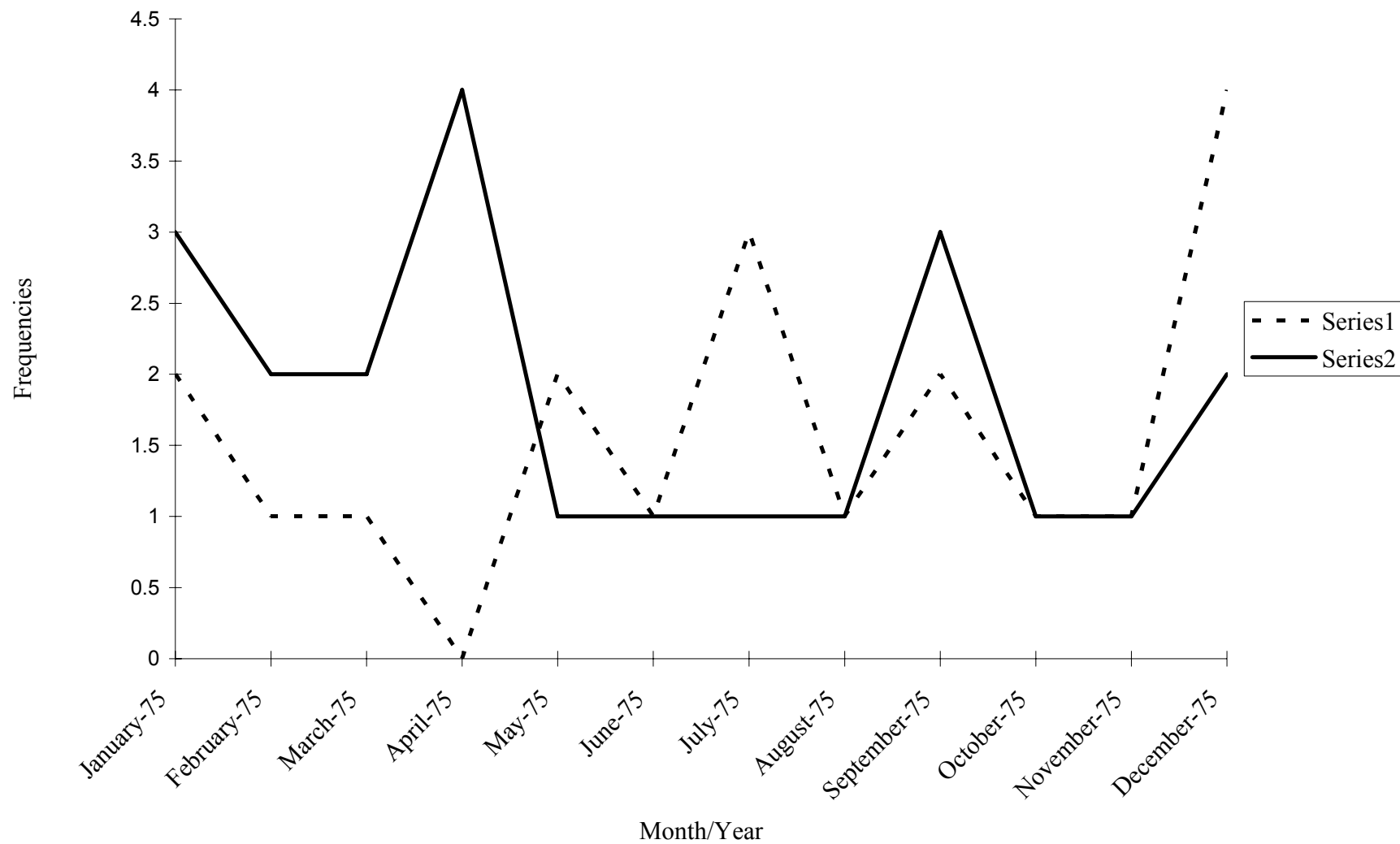


FIGURE B2.4

Series 1 = "Lodge"

Series 2 = "the Grange"

Instances of Education Related Words

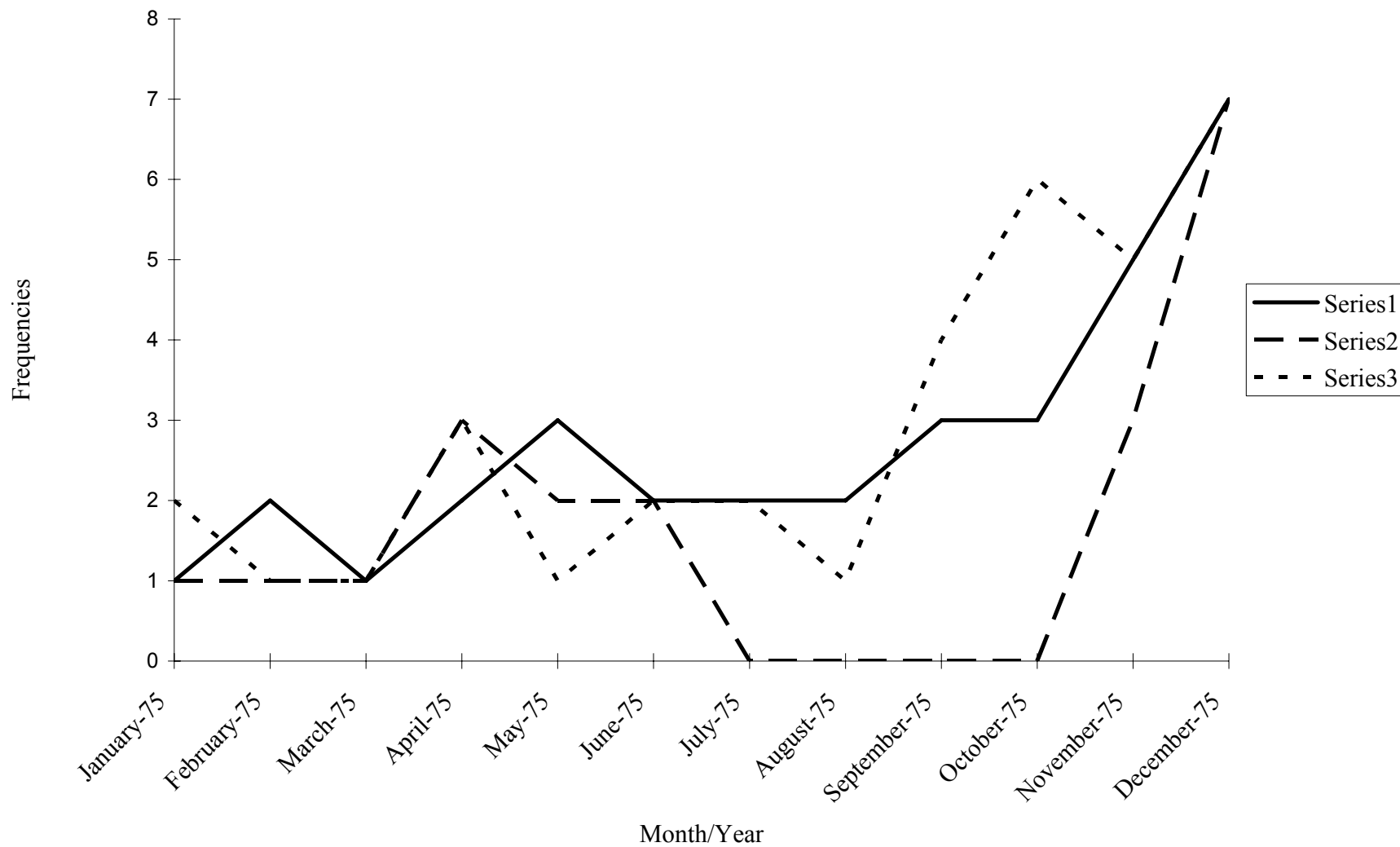


FIGURE B2.5

Series 1 = "education"

Series 2 = "public library"

Series 3 = "schools"



Instances of Communal Activity Related Words

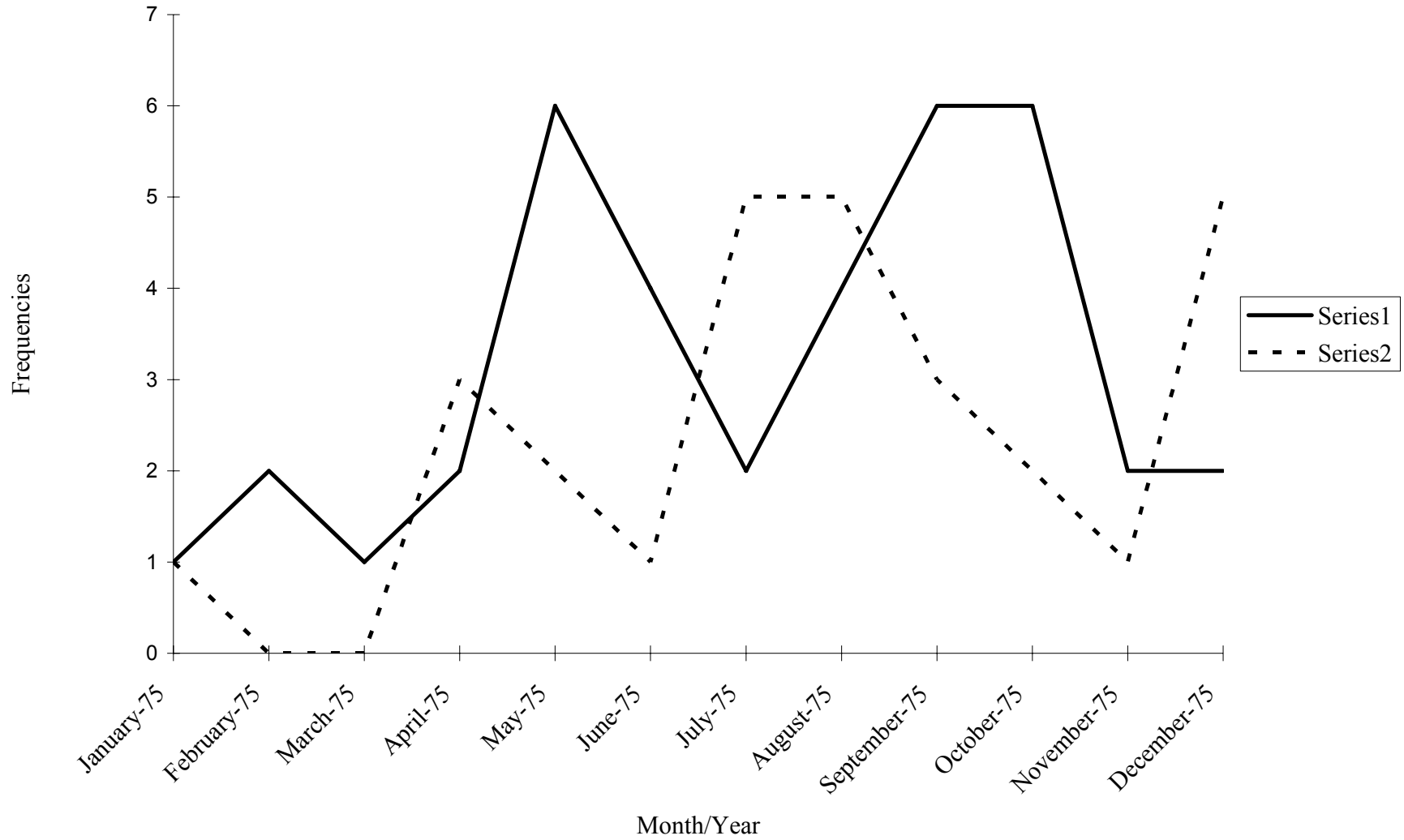


FIGURE B2.6

Series 1 = "community"

Series 2 = "town parties"

Instances of Town Related Words

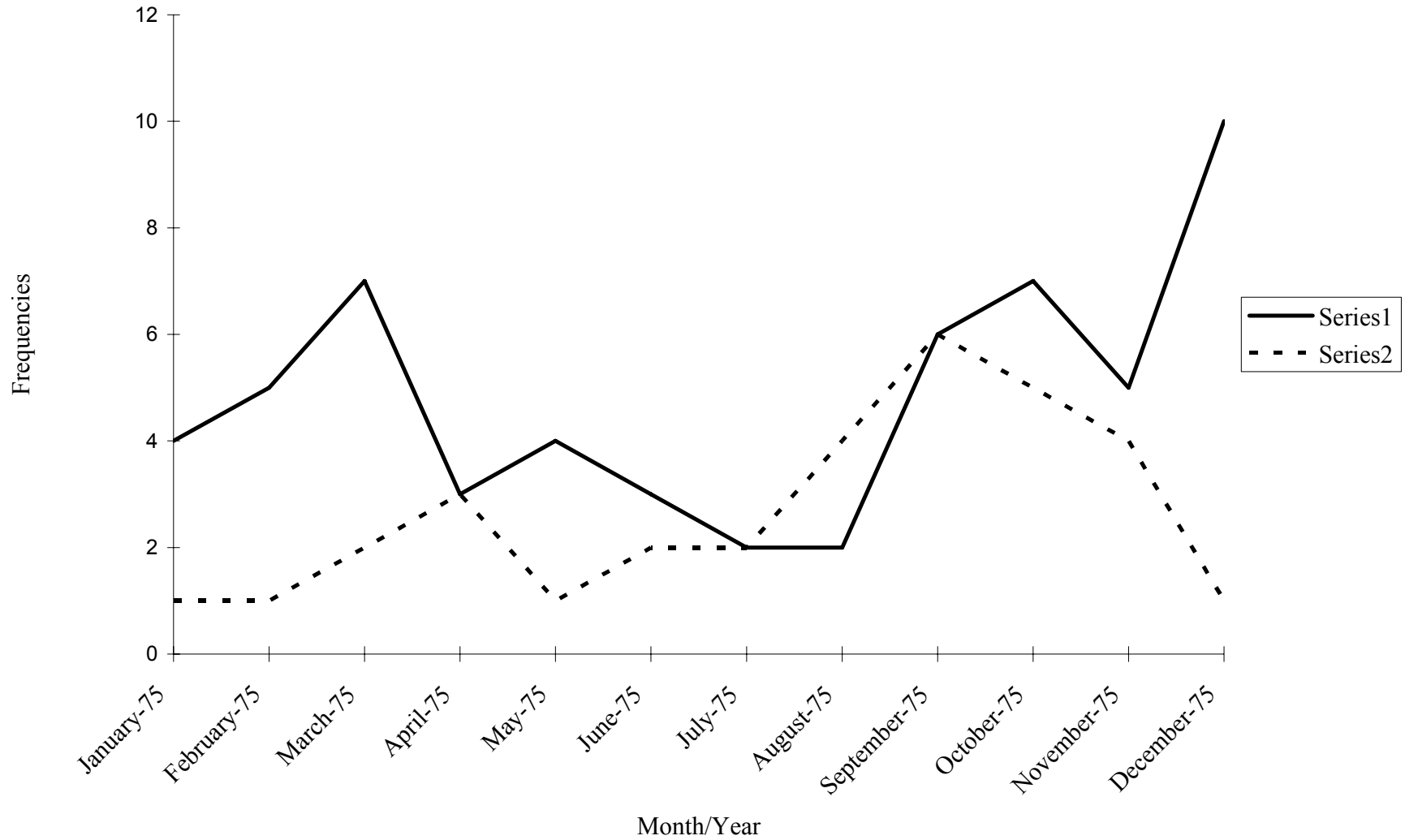


FIGURE B2.7

Series 1 = "Denison"

Series 2 = "Gateway City"

TABLE B3

Instances of Social Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1880 to December 1880 (# of words)

Social Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1880	2/1880	3/1880	4/1880	5/1880	6/1880	7/1880	8/1880	9/1880	10/1880	11/1880	12/1880	
Church	4	6	5	5	3	3	7	6	9	8	10	7	73
Morals	3	5	2	1	4	7	4	5	4	7	9	7	58
Gambling	1	1	3	3	5	4	7	3	5	5	4	6	47
Prostitution	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	2	1	2	2	23
Temperance	3	4	4	5	8	3	4	5	7	7	4	4	58
Alcohol	1	3	3	5	6	4	5	7	5	4	3	4	50
Crime	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	16
Ordinances	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	3	22
Lodge	1	3	3	2	3	3	5	3	2	2	3	5	35
Farmers' Alliance	3	7	6	5	5	4	6	8	7	7	8	6	72
Education	2	2	3	2	4	3	3	4	3	6	4	6	42
Public Library	2	2	2	1	3	4	7	3	3	6	5	7	45
Schools	1	3	3	6	3	3	4	5	5	2	8	7	50
Community	1	1	1	4	6	5	5	3	5	6	4	5	46
Town Parties	1	0	0	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	5	26
Denison	4	4	6	5	5	2	2	2	7	6	5	9	57
Gateway City	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	8
Column Totals	32	47	46	51	65	52	68	62	69	74	77	85	728

Instances of Church Related Words

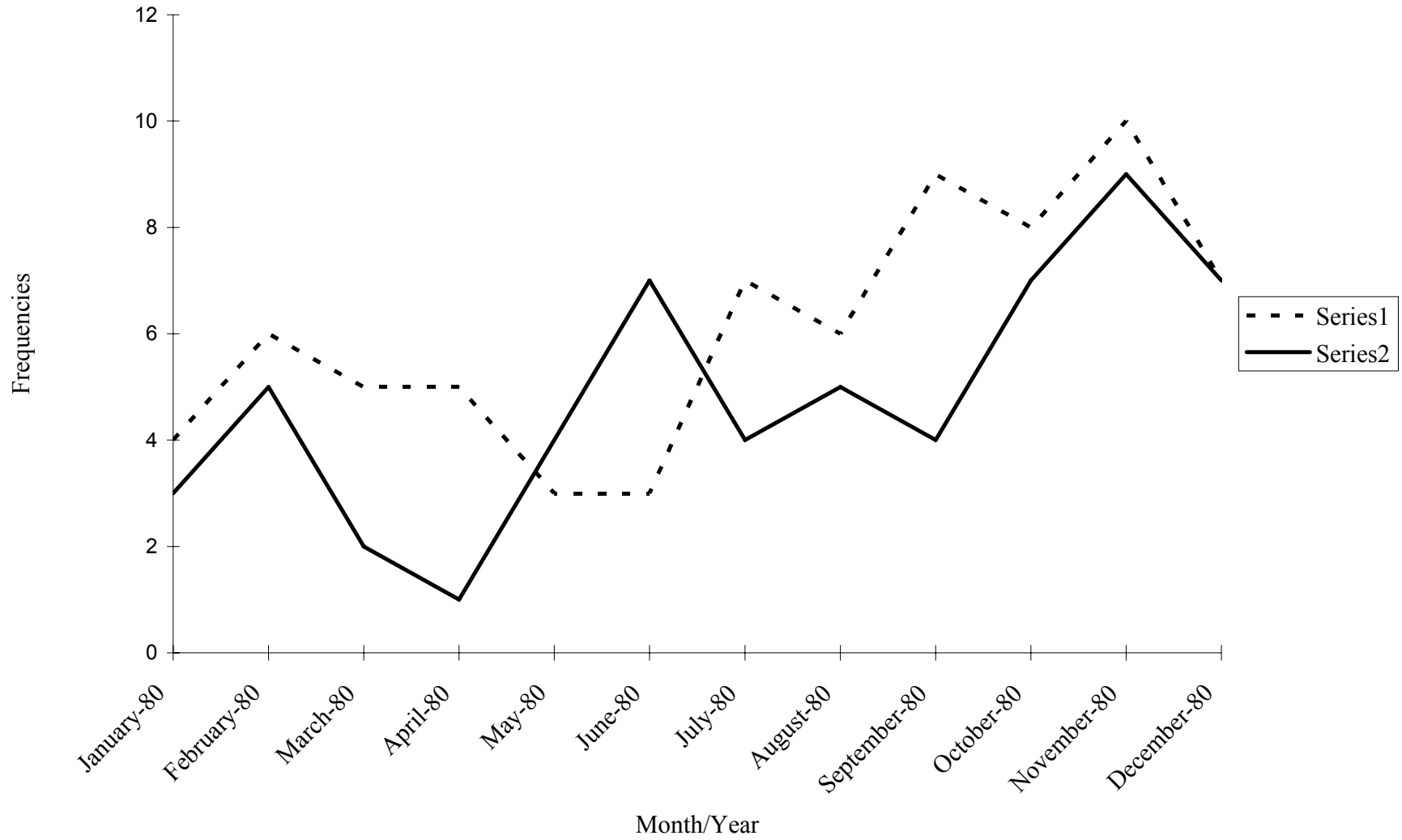


FIGURE B3.1

Series 1 = "church"

Series 2 = "morals"

Instances of Social Decay Related Words

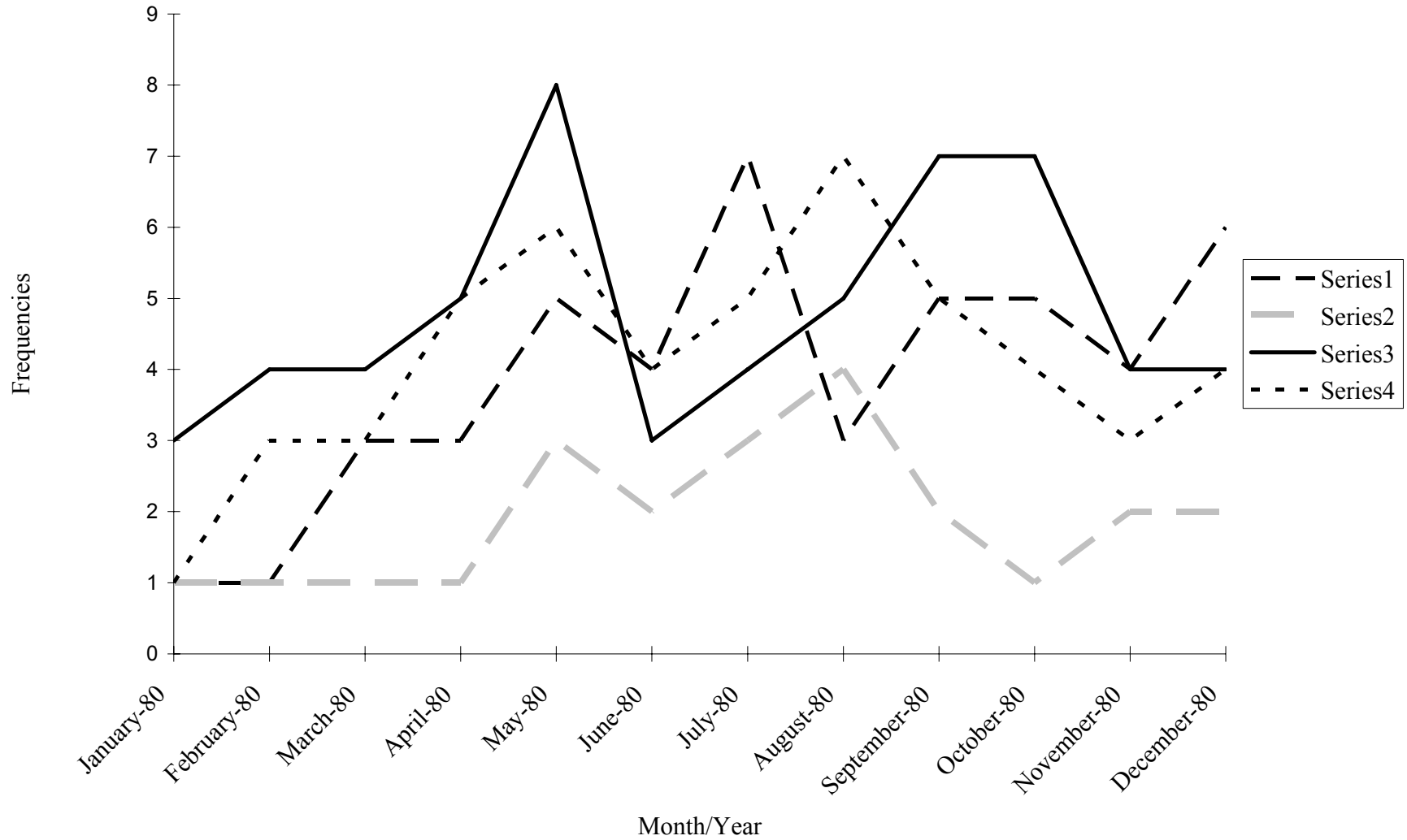


FIGURE B3.2

Series 1 = "gambling"

Series 2 = "prostitution"

Series 3 = "temperance"

Series 4 = "alcohol"

Instances of Crime Related Words

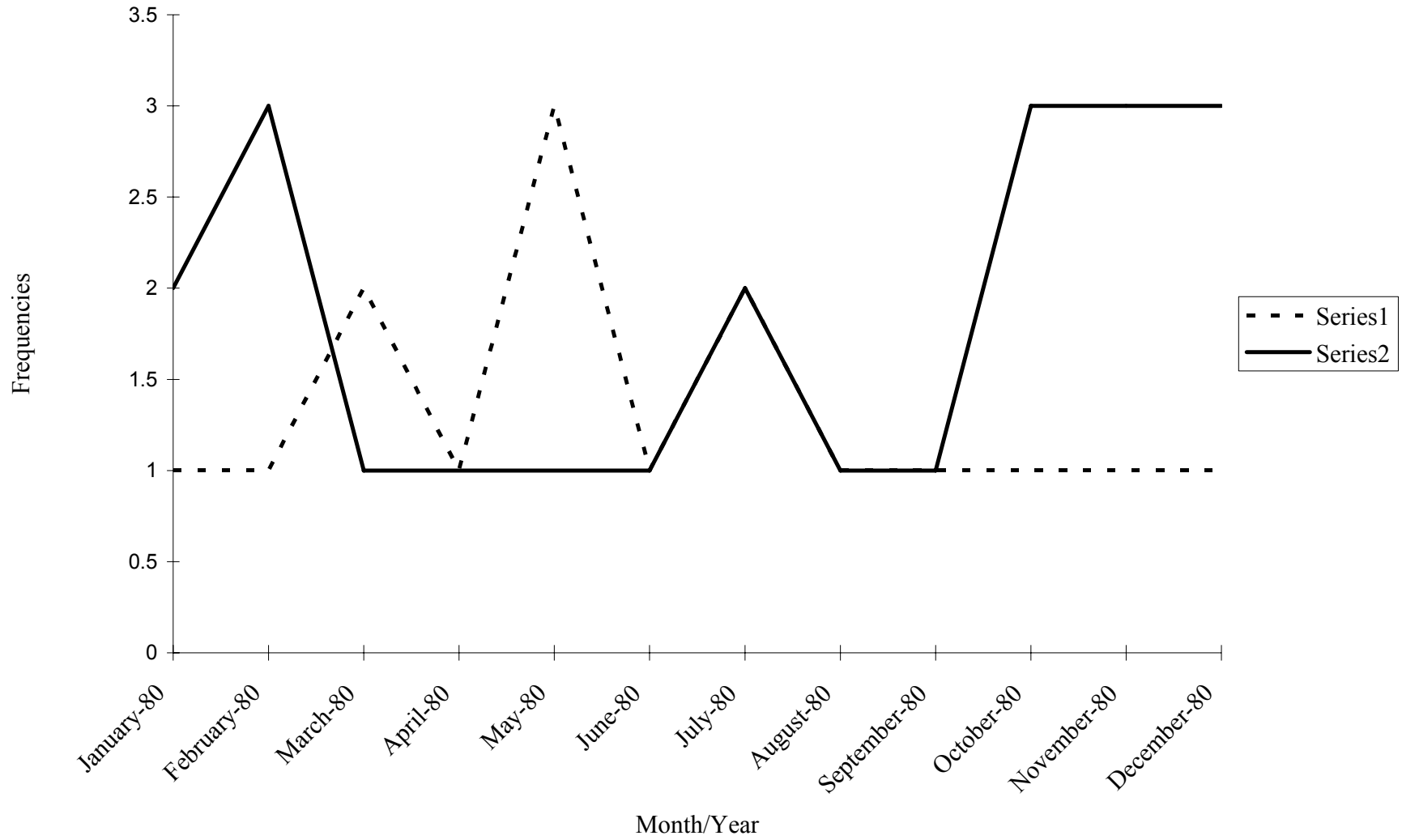


FIGURE B3.3

Series 1 = "crime"

Series 2 = "ordinances"

Instances of Agrarian Association Related Words

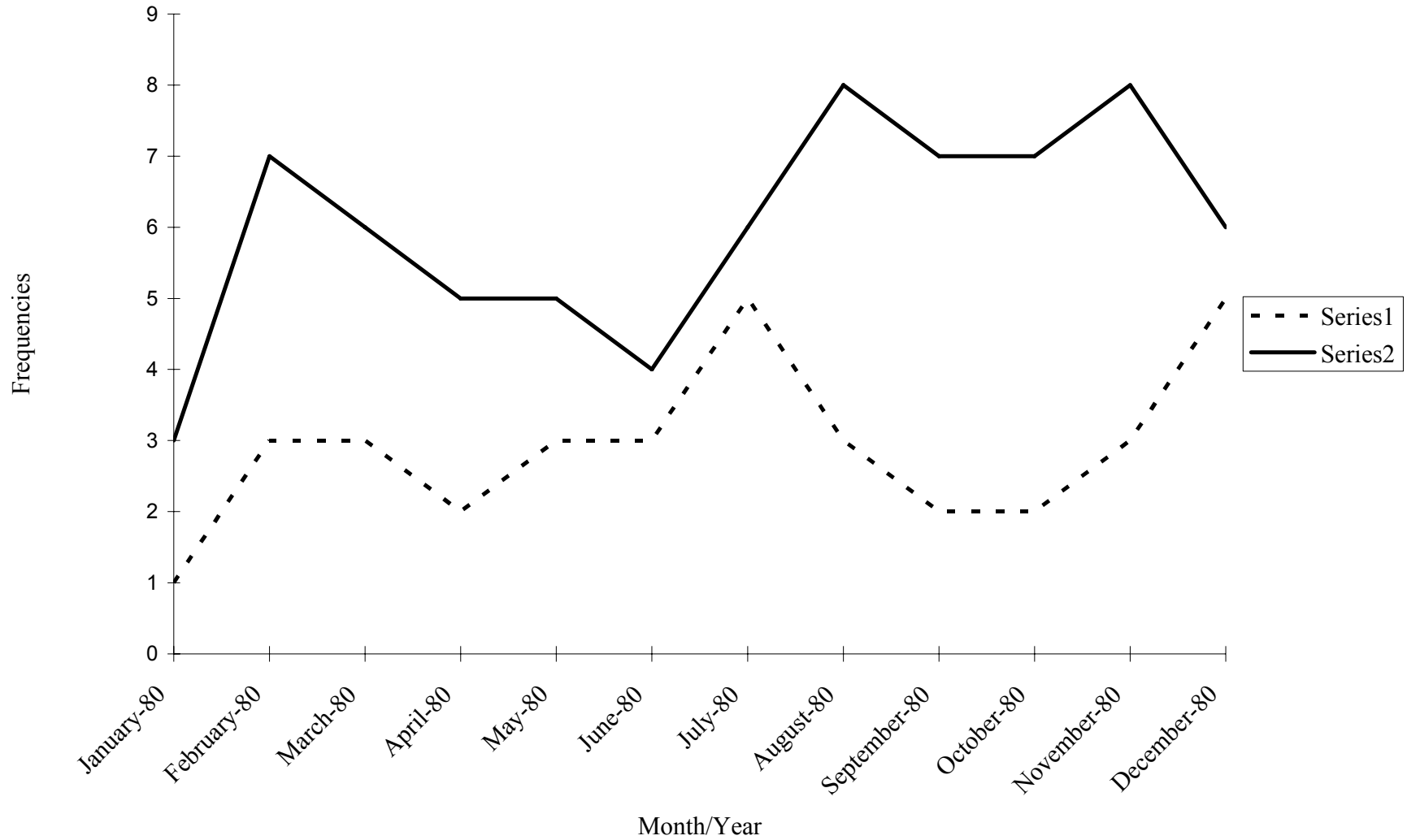


FIGURE B3.4

Series 1 = "Lodge"

Series 2 = "Farmers' Alliance"

Instances of Education Related Words

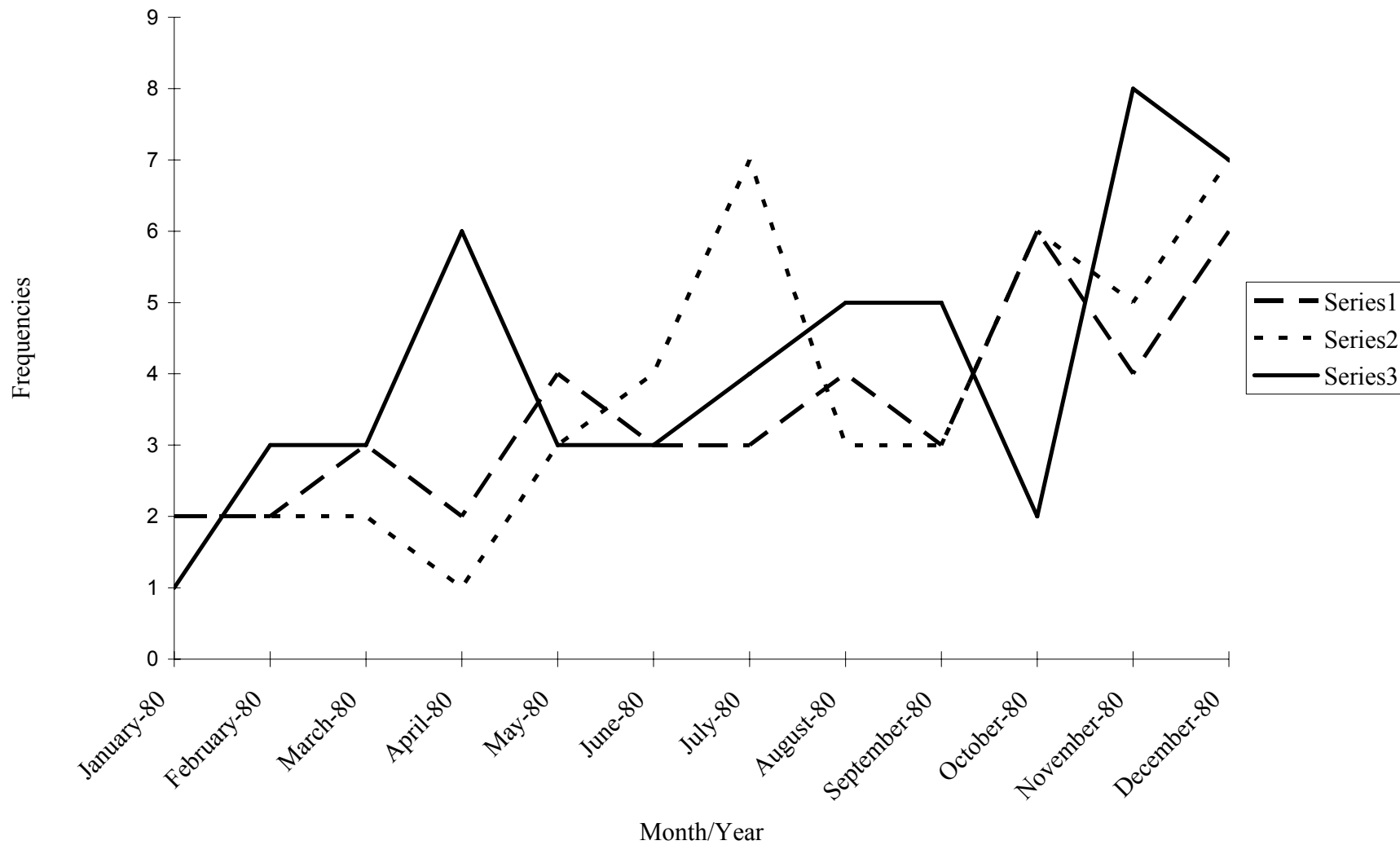


FIGURE B3.5

Series 1 = "education"

Series 2 = "public library"

Series 3 = "schools"



Instacnes of Communal Activity Related Words

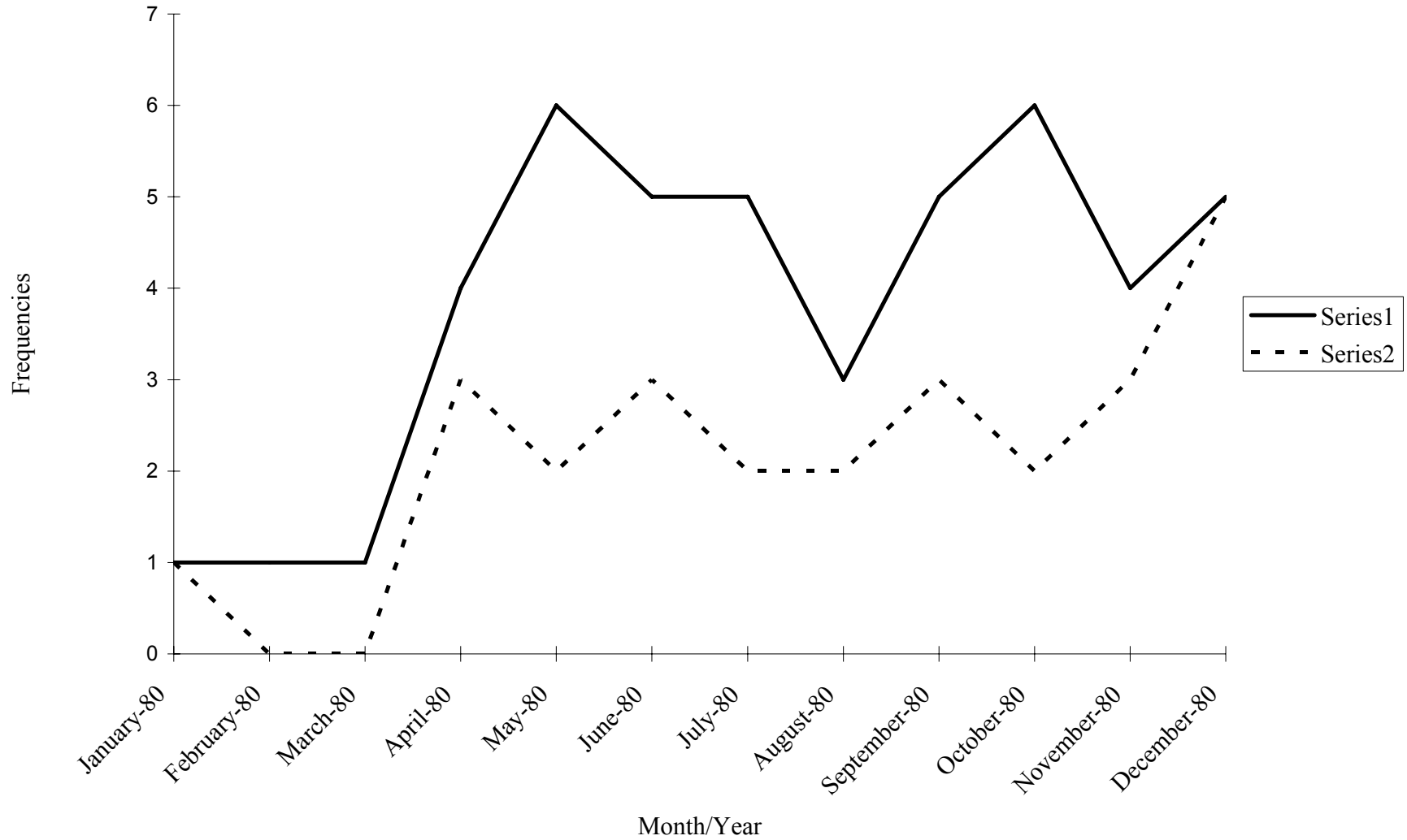


FIGURE B3.6

Series 1 = "community"

Series 2 = "town parties"

Instances of Town Related Words

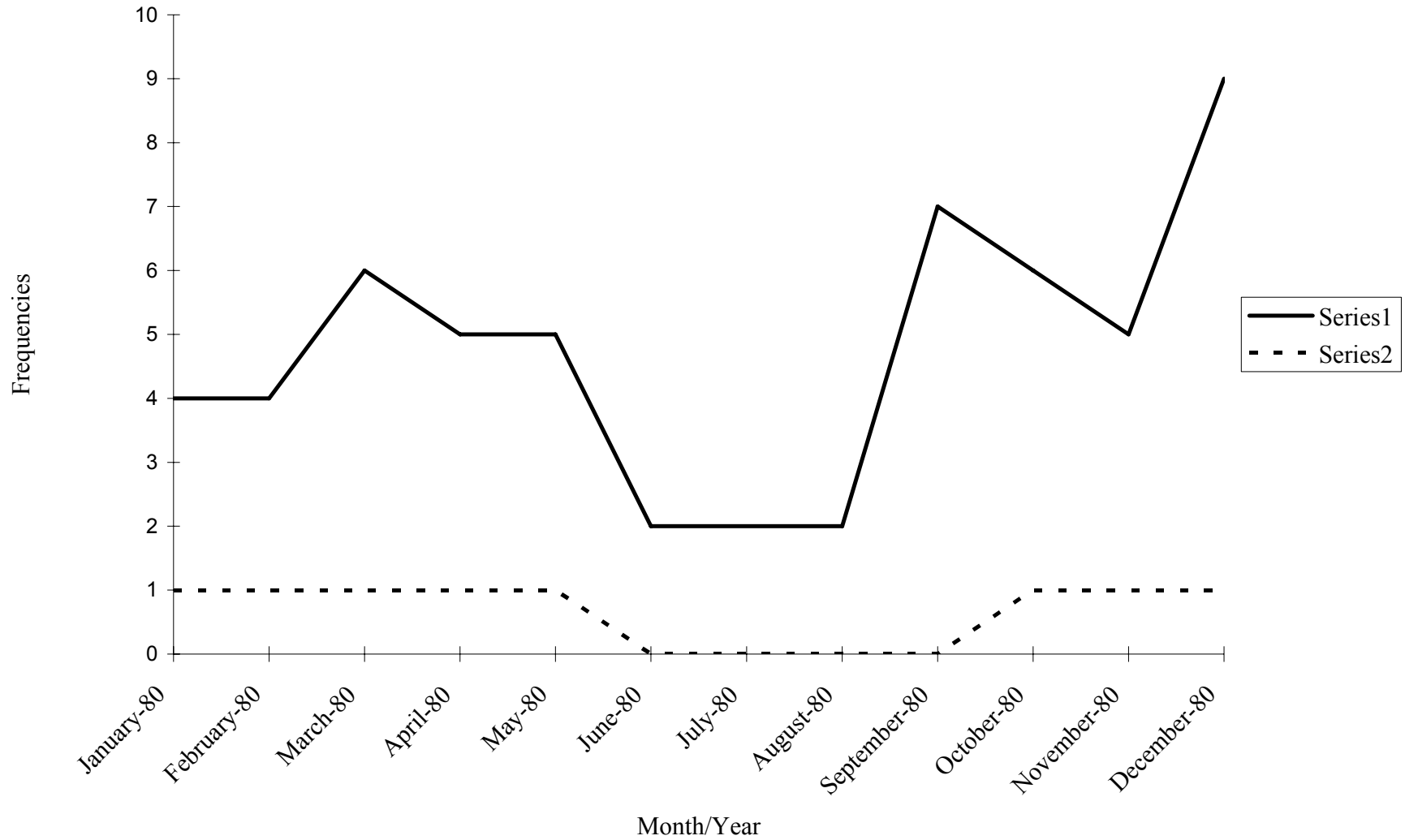


FIGURE B3.7

Series 1 = "Denison"

Series 2 = "Gateway City"

TABLE B4

Instances of Social Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1885 and December 1885

Social Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1885	2/1885	3/1885	4/1885	5/1885	6/1885	7/1885	8/1885	9/1885	10/1885	11/1885	12/1885	
Church	5	5	6	6	8	7	5	4	8	7	8	9	78
Morals	4	4	4	5	4	6	6	4	6	5	7	6	61
Gambling	1	2	2	4	6	4	4	5	4	4	3	7	46
Prostitution	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	3	3	3	4	23
Temperance	4	5	5	3	5	6	5	5	5	6	3	5	57
Alcohol	1	4	5	2	4	6	2	6	3	5	4	3	45
Crime	0	1	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	14
Ordinances	1	1	0	0	0	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	15
Lodge	0	1	1	1	2	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	19
Farmers' Alliance	4	6	5	4	4	6	6	5	6	8	9	8	71
Education	1	1	2	3	3	5	5	6	2	5	6	7	46
Public Library	1	1	1	1	0	2	3	5	2	5	6	6	33
Schools	0	1	1	5	4	1	6	6	7	3	7	6	47
Community	1	0	0	5	3	3	2	4	4	2	5	5	34
Town Parties	1	1	1	4	4	5	3	3	1	3	4	7	37
Denison	3	3	5	4	3	1	3	4	6	4	7	7	50
Gateway City	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Column Totals	29	38	42	51	53	58	58	63	62	63	74	87	678

### Instances of Church Related Words

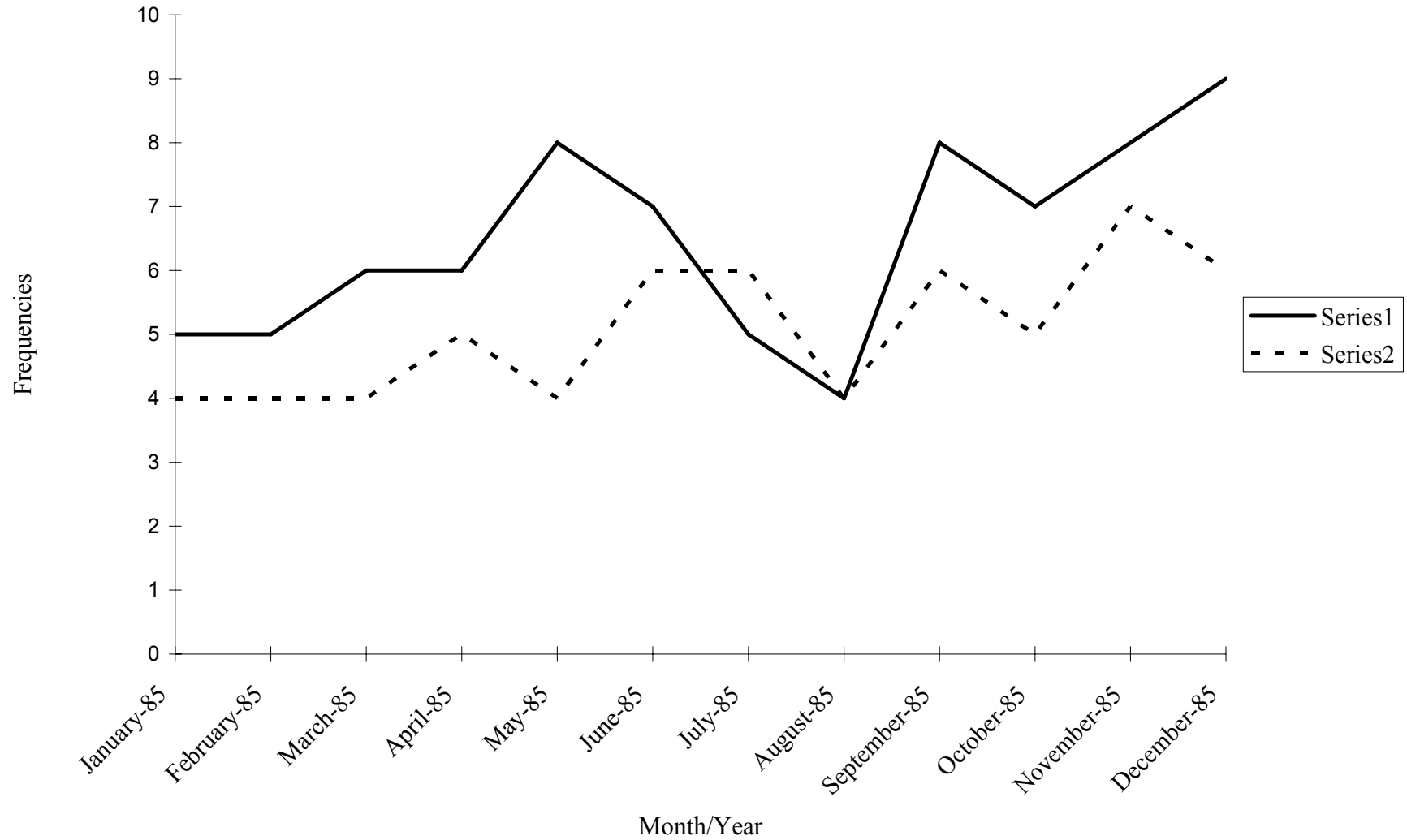


FIGURE B4.1

Series 1 = "church"

Series 2 = "morals"

### Instances of Social Decay Related Words

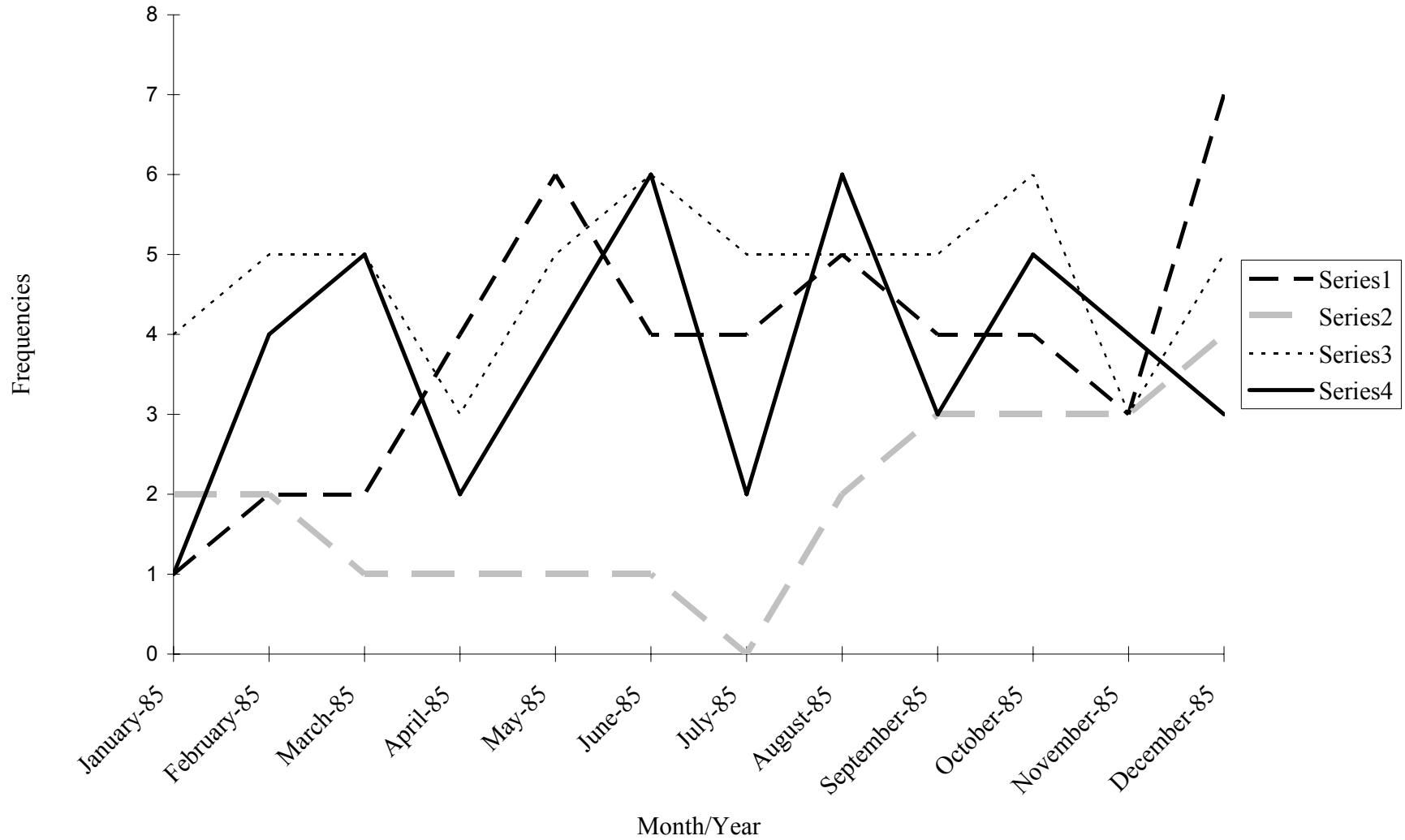


FIGURE B4.2

Series 1 = “gambling”

Series 2 = “prostitution”

Series 3 = “temperance”

Series 4 = “alcohol”

Instances of Crime Related Words

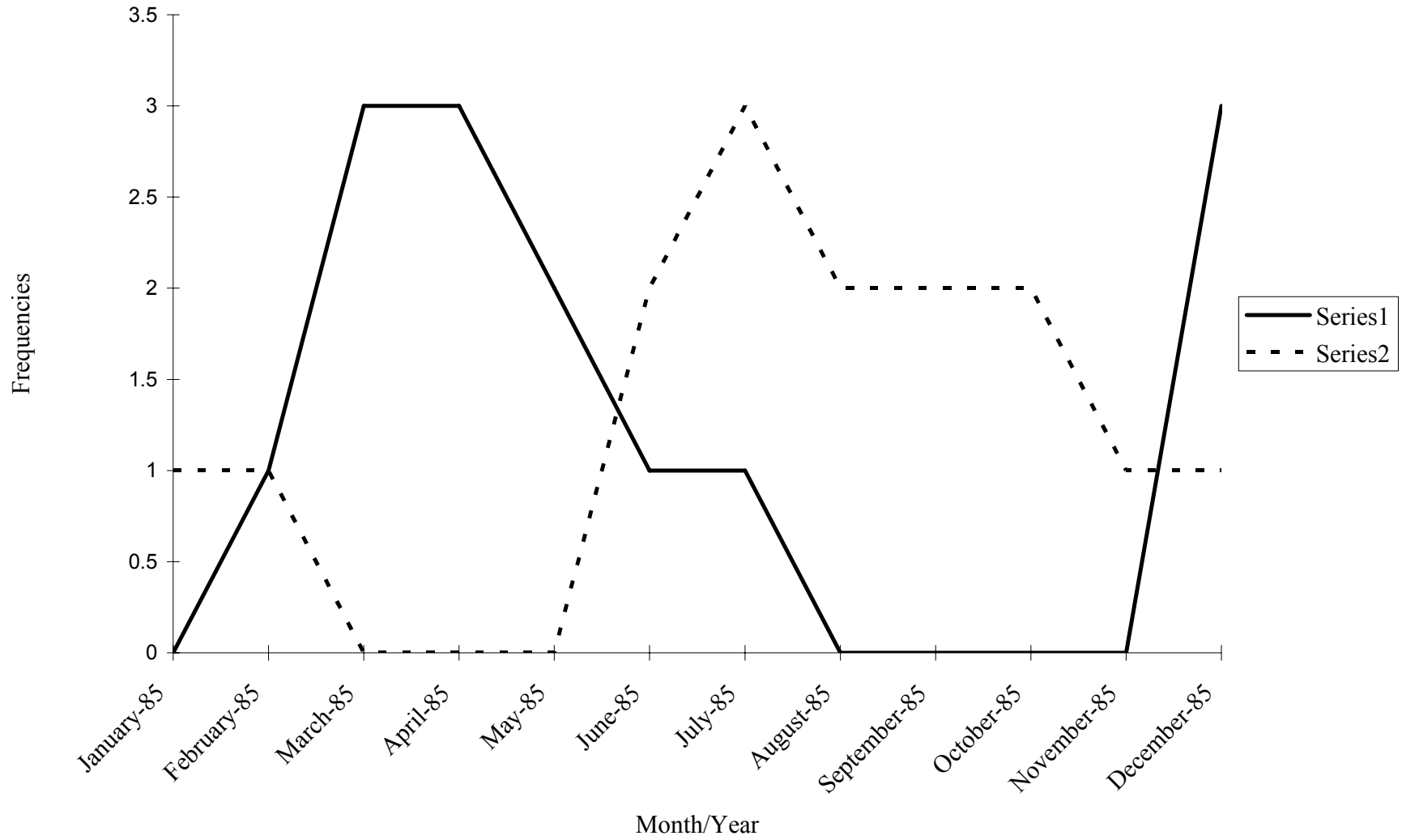


FIGURE B4.3

Series 1 = "crime"

Series 2 = "ordinances"

Instances of Agrarian Association Related Words

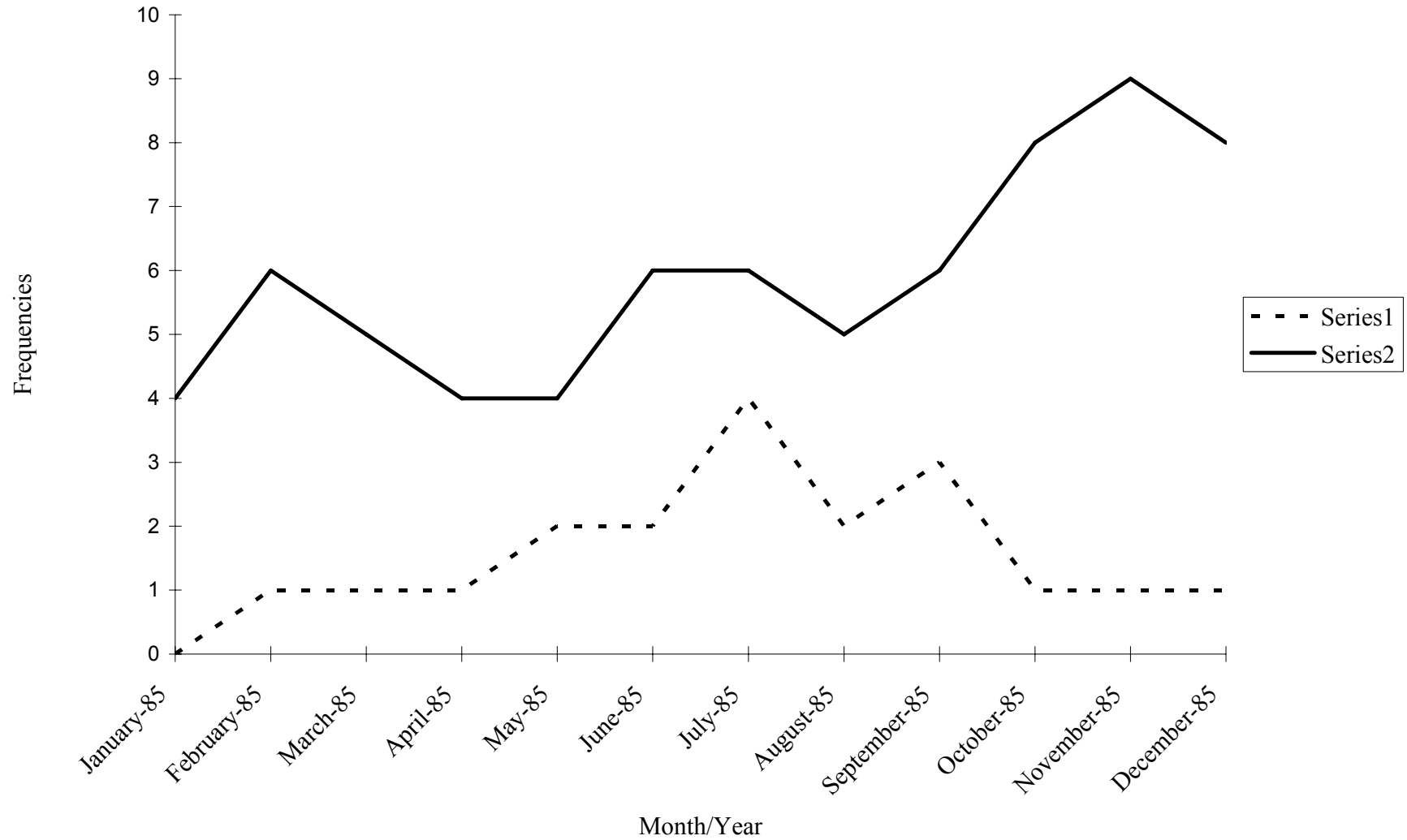


FIGURE B4.4

Series 1 = "Lodge"

Series 2 = "Farmers' Alliance"

Instances of Education Related Words

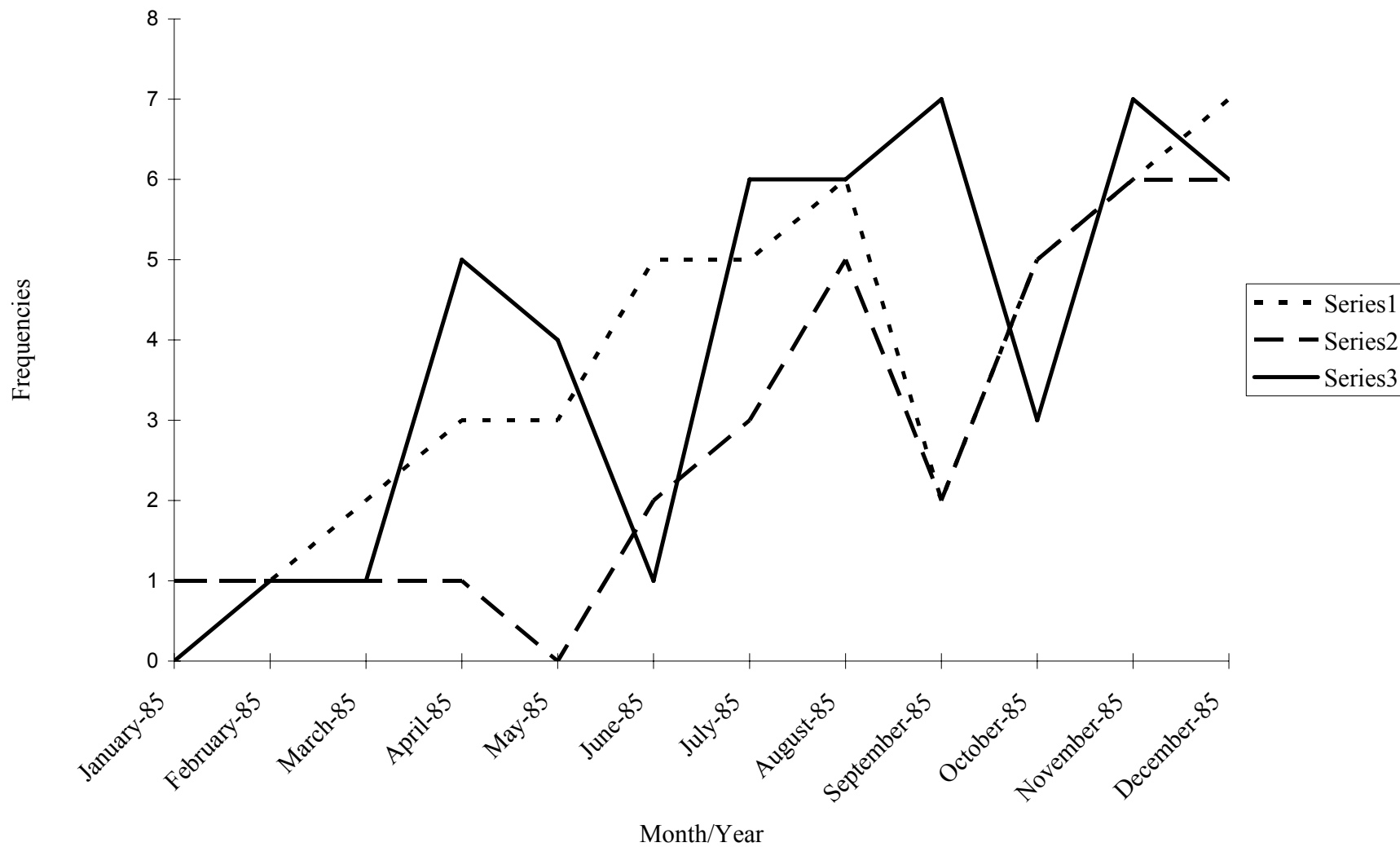


FIGURE B4.5

Series 1 = "education"

Series 2 = "public library"

Series 3 = "schools"



Instances of Communal Activity Related Words

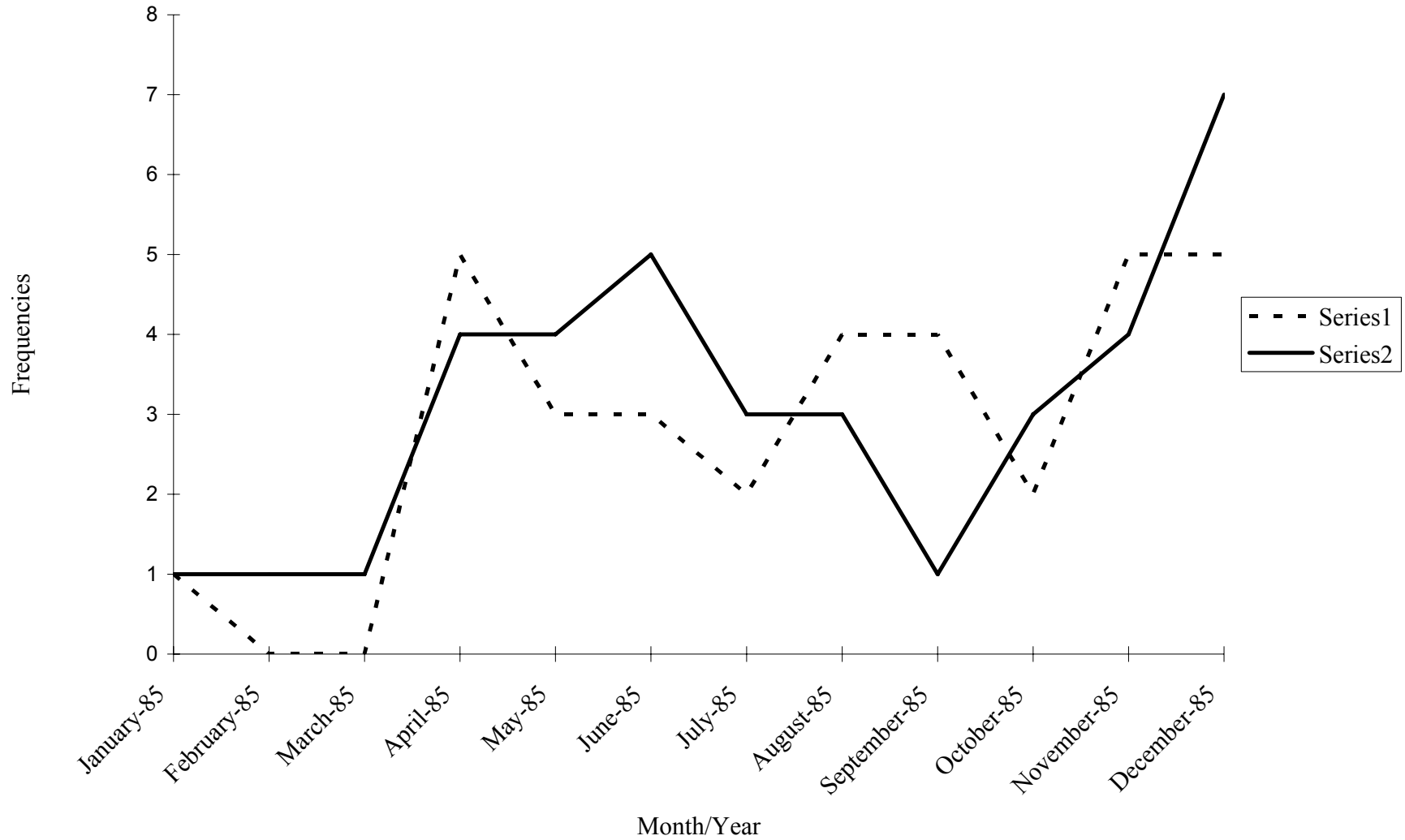


FIGURE B4.6

Series 1 = "community"

Series 2 = "town parties"

### Instances of Town Related Words

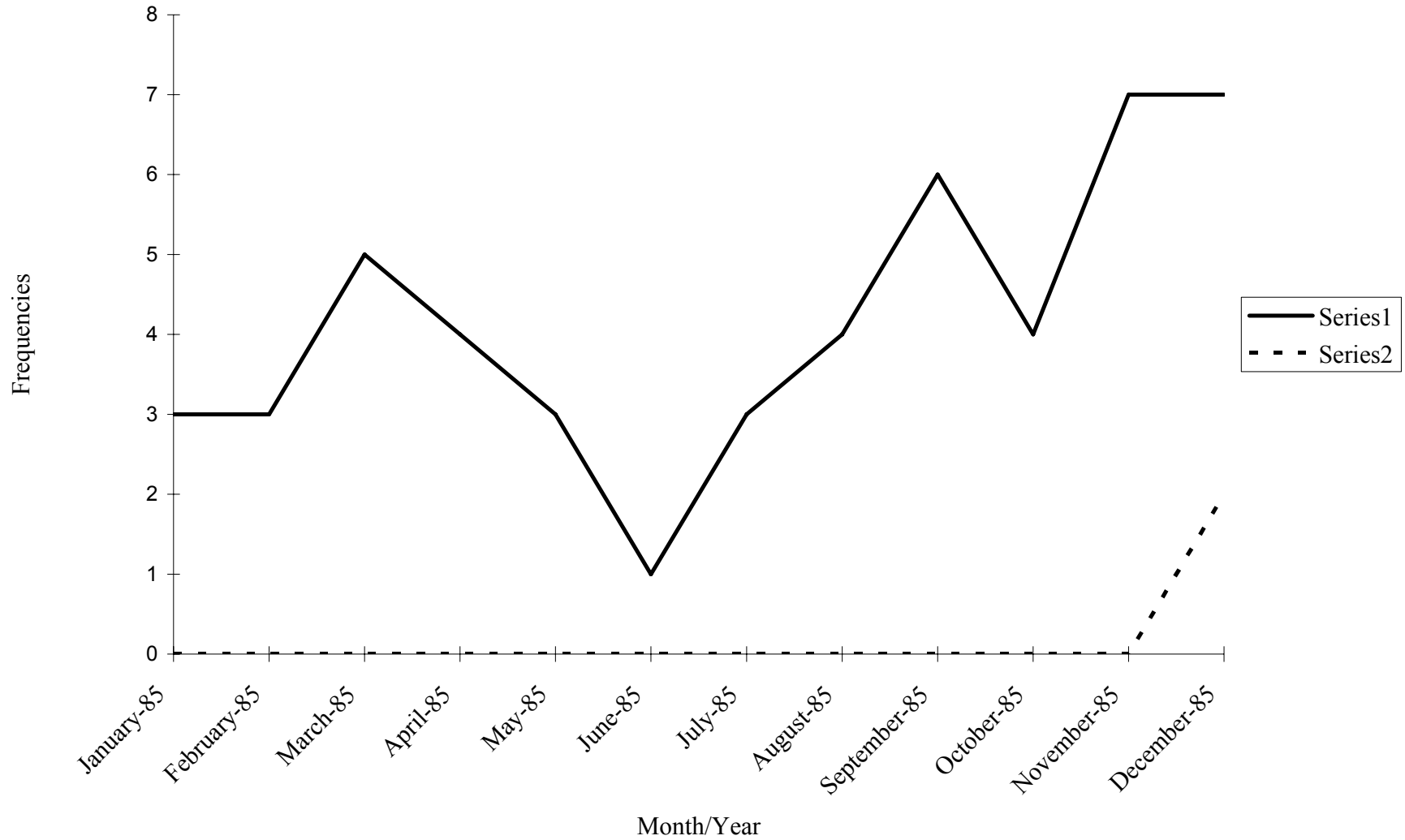


FIGURE B4.7

Series 1 = "Denison"

Series 2 = "Gateway City"

TABLE B5

Instances of Social Words and Phrases in the *Denison Daily News* from January 1890 to December 1890 (# of words)

Social Word(s)	Month/Year												Row Totals
	1/1890	2/1890	3/1890	4/1890	5/1890	6/1890	7/1890	8/1890	9/1890	10/1890	11/1890	12/1890	
Church	4	6	6	7	6	8	6	5	9	9	7	7	80
Morals	3	2	3	5	5	5	7	7	6	5	6	4	58
Gambling	1	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	2	2	3	5	31
Prostitution	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	7
Temperance	3	2	4	5	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	4	40
Alcohol	1	1	3	3	2	4	5	3	2	2	2	2	30
Crime	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	11
Ordinances	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	13
Lodge	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	1	2	2	2	14
Farmers' Alliance	5	6	7	3	5	5	5	7	5	9	10	11	78
Education	2	2	3	5	5	4	2	5	4	3	7	6	48
Public Library	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3	2	2	21
Schools	1	1	1	3	2	2	4	5	5	5	5	4	38
Community	1	1	1	2	1	4	4	6	2	3	3	3	31
Town Parties	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	2	4	15
Denison	1	1	2	2	5	2	1	1	1	5	6	4	31
Gateway City	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	1	12
Column Totals	28	30	38	43	46	48	46	53	50	53	62	61	558

Instances of Church Related Words

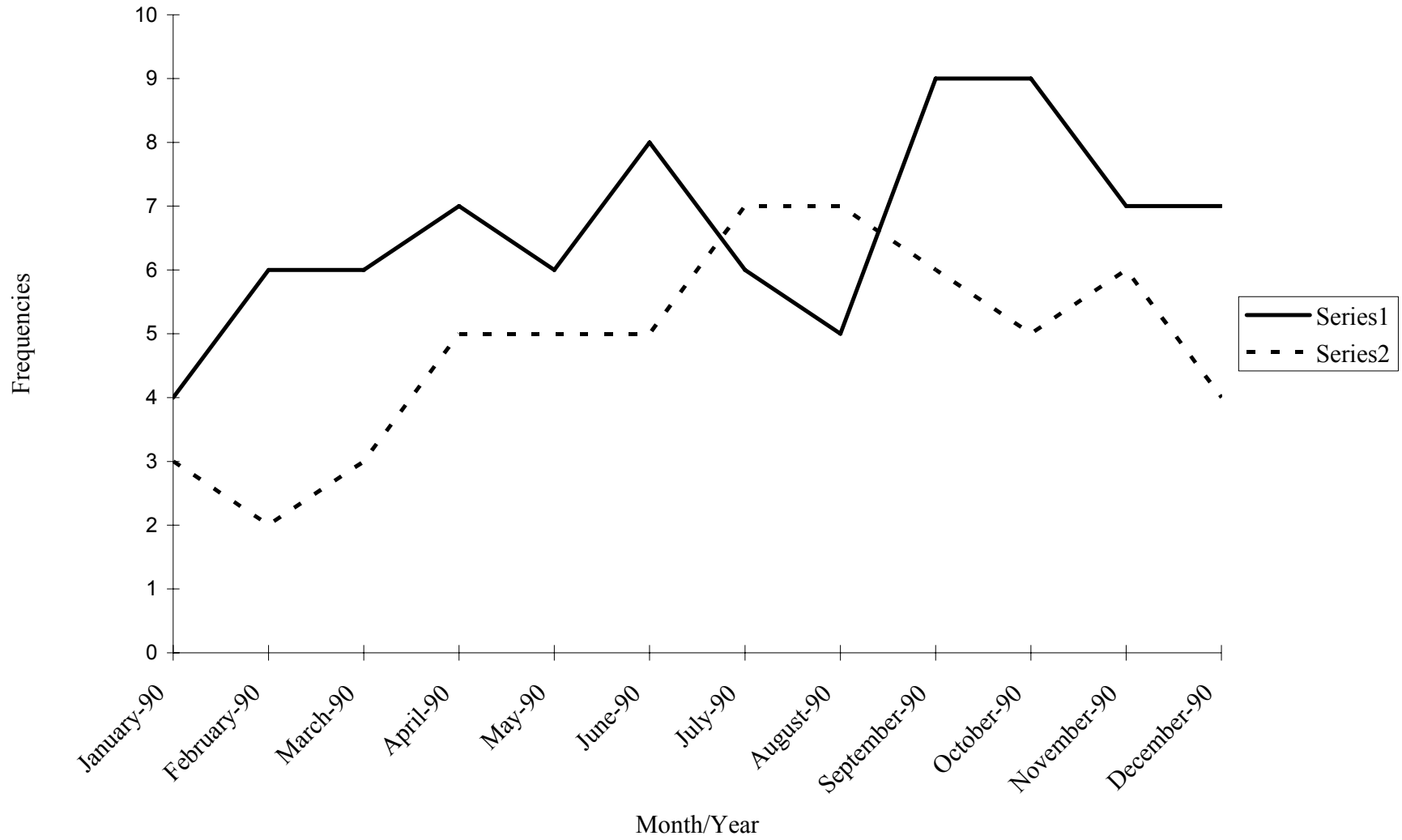


FIGURE B5.1

Series 1 = "church"

Series 2 = "morals"

### Instances of Social Decay Related Words

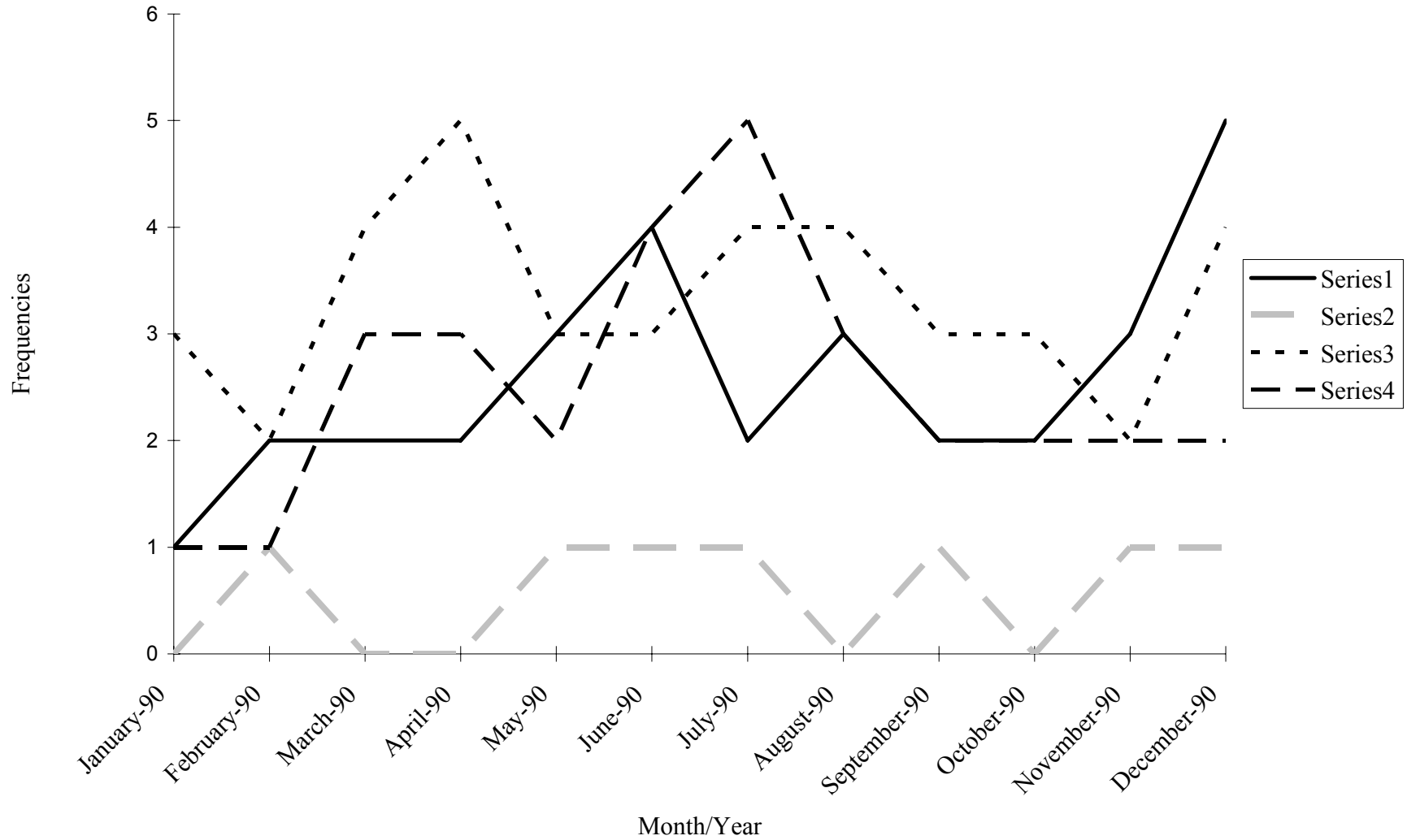


FIGURE B5.2

Series 1 = “gambling”

Series 2 = “prostitution”

Series 3 = “temperance”

Series 4 = “alcohol”

Instances of Crime Related Words

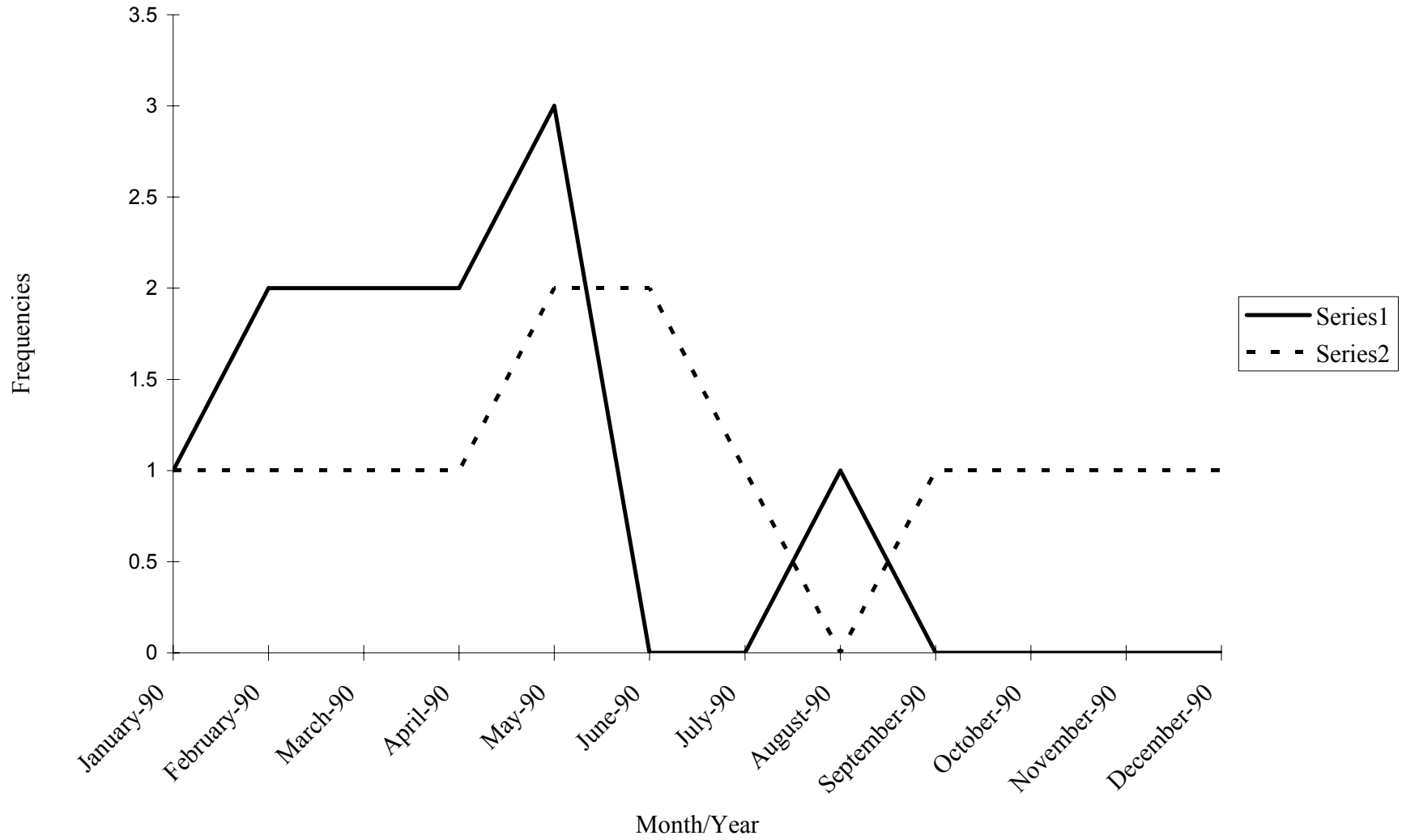


FIGURE B5.3

Series 1 = "crime"

Series 2 = "ordinances"

Instances of Agrarian Association Related Words

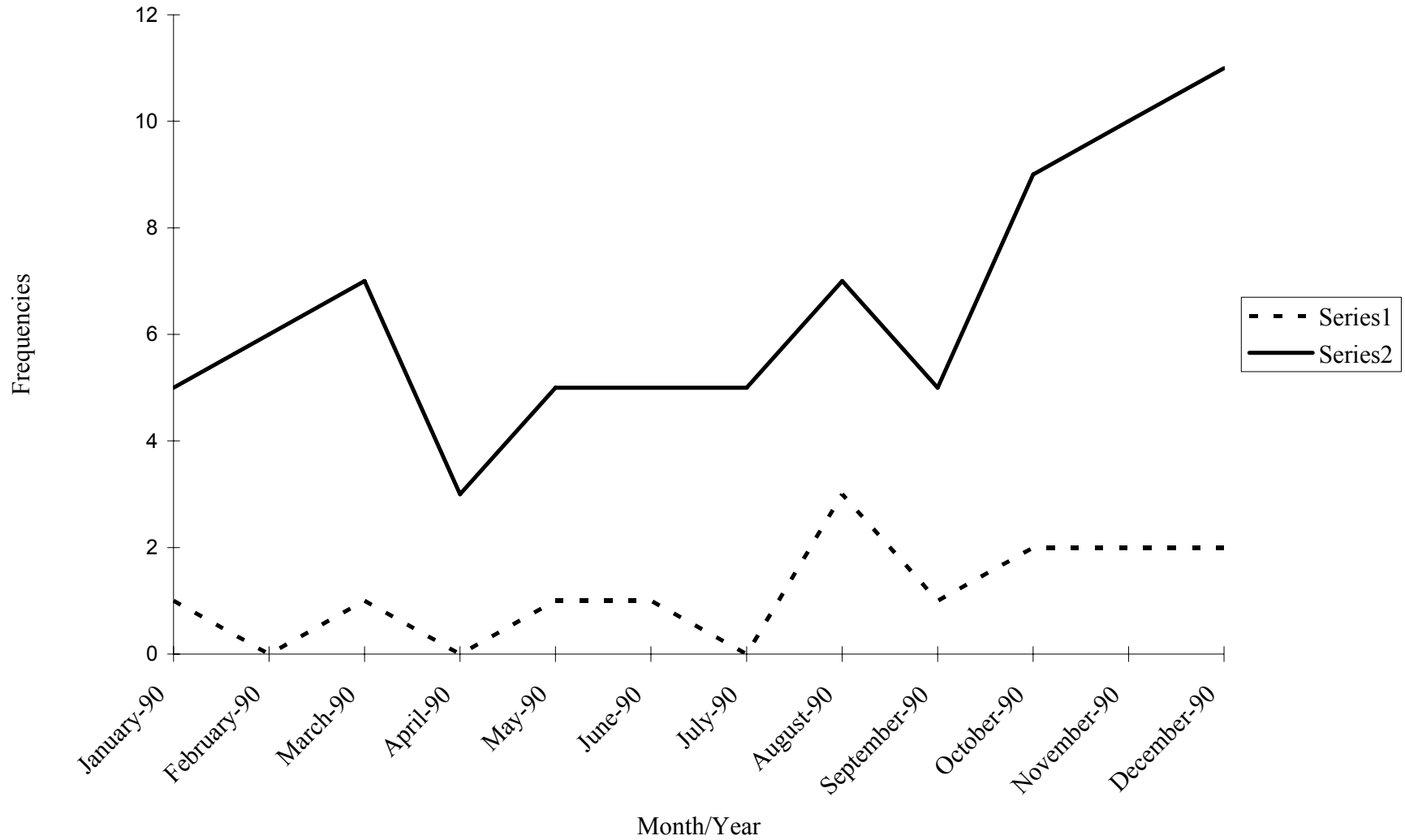


FIGURE B5.4

Series 1 = "Lodge"

Series 2 = "Farmers' Alliance"

Instances of Education Related Words

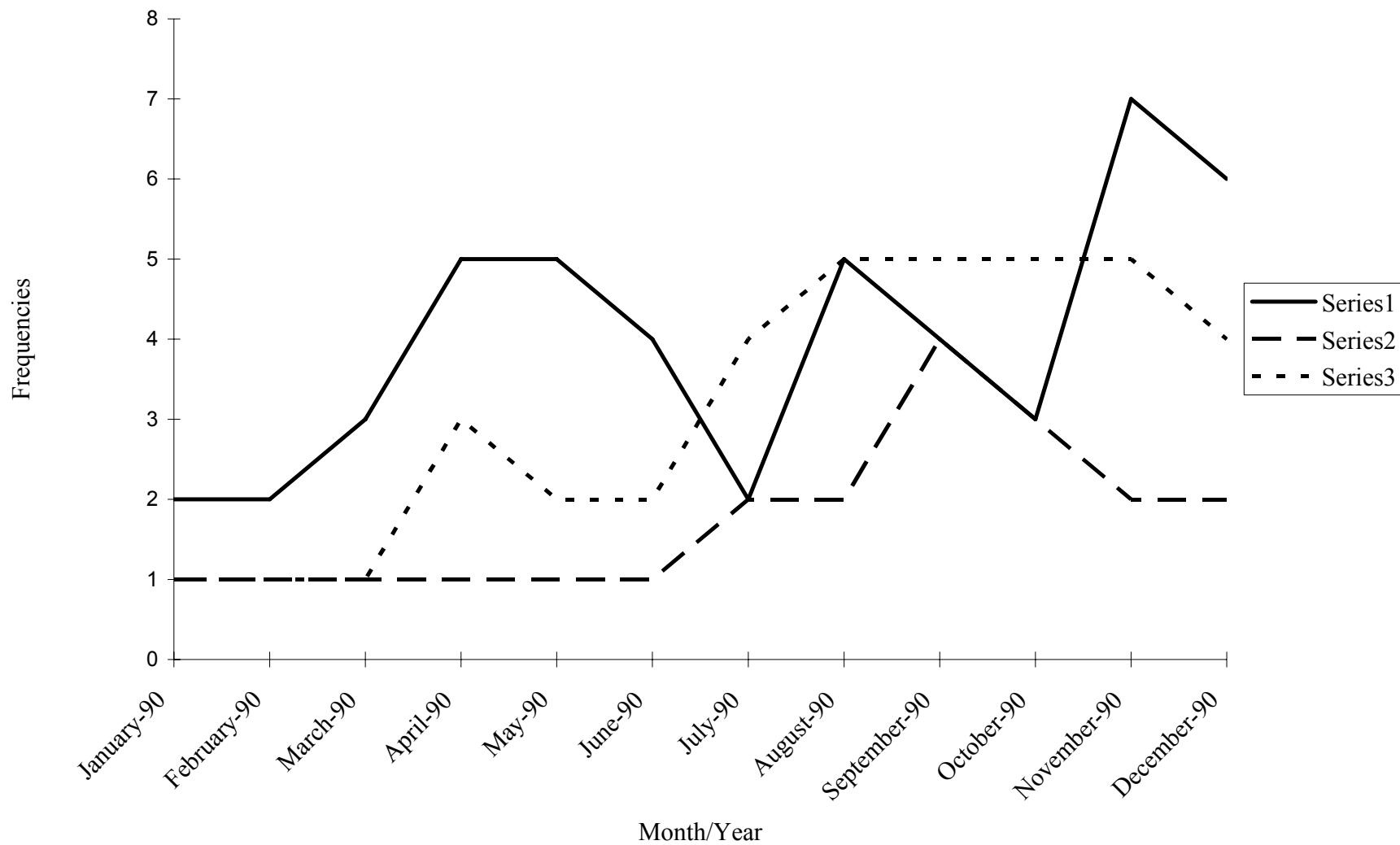


FIGURE B5.5

Series 1 = "education"

Series 2 = "public library"

Series 3 = "schools"



### Instances of Communal Activity Related Words

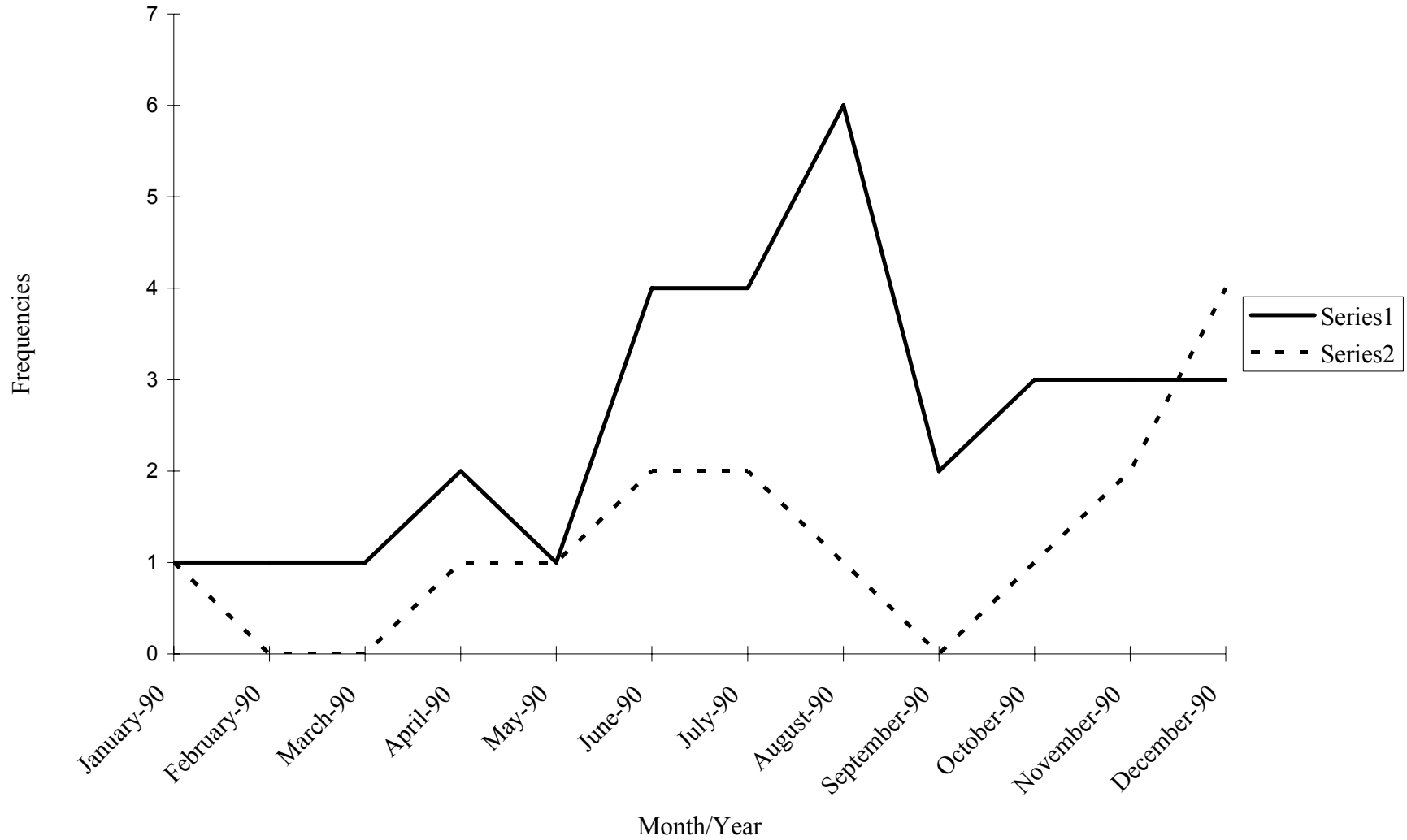


FIGURE B5.6

Series 1 = "community"

Series 2 = "town parties"

Instances of Town Related Words

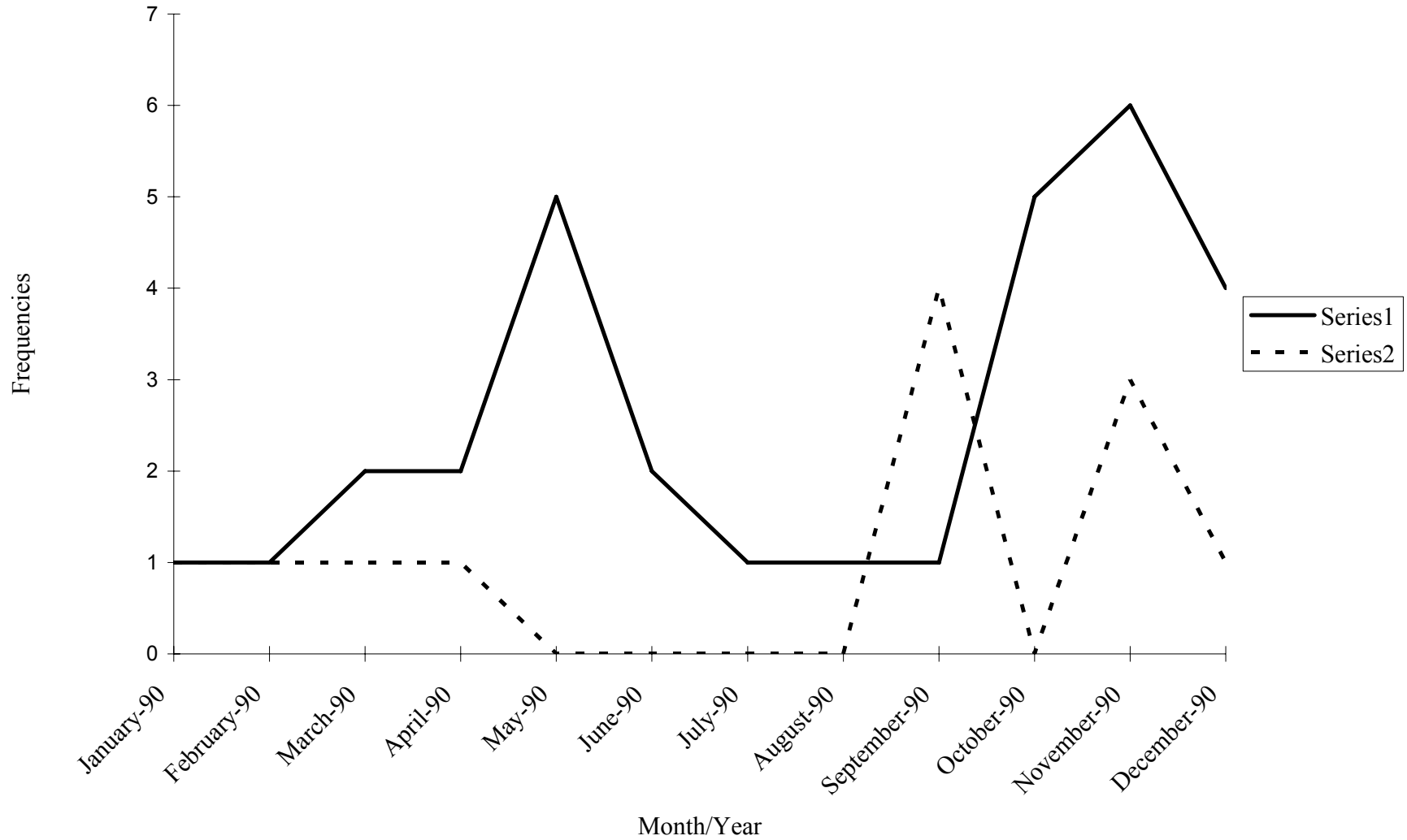


FIGURE B5.7

Series 1 = "Denison"

Series 2 = "Gateway City"

## APPENDIX C

### COMPARISON OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WORDS AND PHRASES BY YEAR

Comparison of Economic and Social Words and Phrases by Year

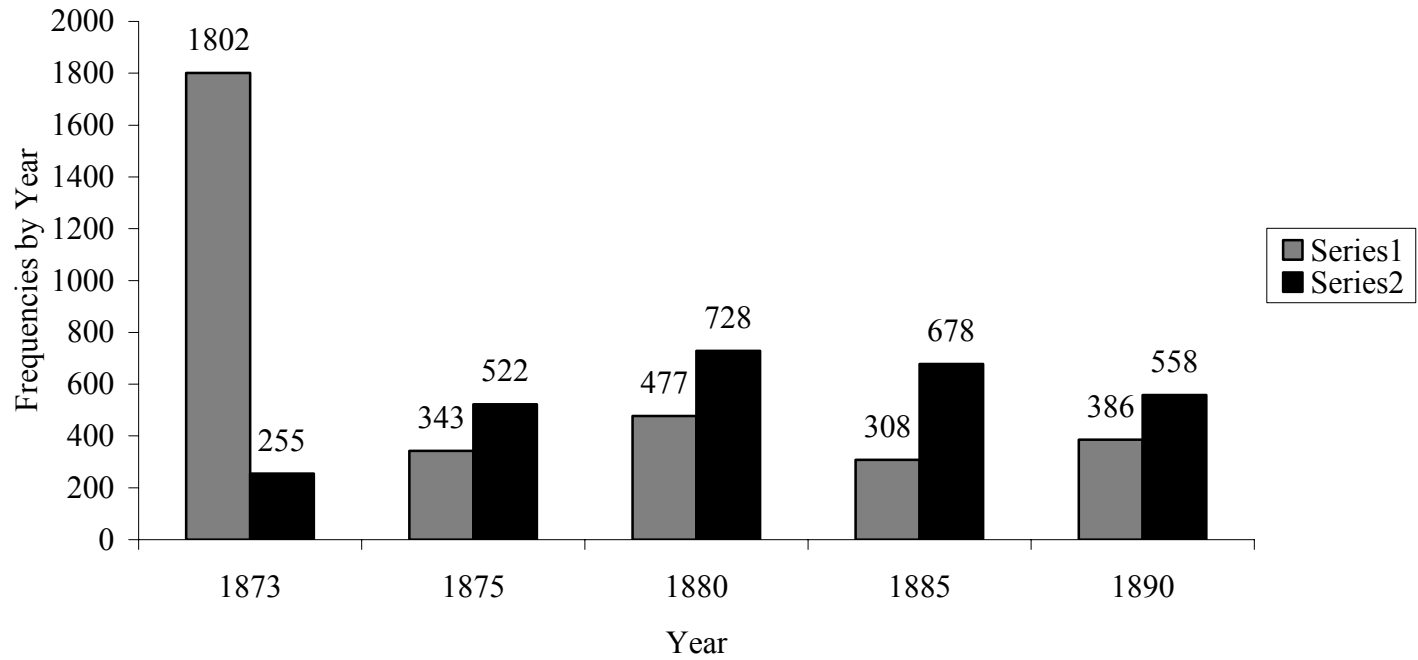


FIGURE C1

Series 1 = Economic words and phrases

Series 2 = Social words and phrases

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