

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The great merger movement in American business, 1895-1904

Between 1895 and 1904 a great wave of mergers swept through the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy. More than 1,800 firms disappeared into horizontal combinations, at least a third of which controlled more than 70 percent of the markets in which they operated. In *The Great Merger Movement in American Business*, Naomi Lamoreaux explores the causes of the mergers, concluding that there was nothing natural or inevitable about turn-of-the-century combinations.

With the aid of a formal model, Lamoreaux demonstrates that the merger wave was the product of a particular historical combination of circumstances: the development of capital-intensive production techniques; a spurt of rapid growth in a number of heavy industries in the late 1880s and early 1890s; and the panic and depression of 1893. Together, this sequence of events produced an episode of abnormally severe price competition that manufacturers finally turned to consolidation to alleviate.

Despite her conclusion that the mergers were not inevitable, Lamoreaux does not accept the opposing view that they were necessarily a threat to competition. She shows that most of the consolidations formed at the turn of the century were less efficient than the new rivals that appeared almost immediately, and that as a result the combines quickly lost their positions of market dominance. Moreover, in those few cases where consolidations proved to be more efficient, the nation was better off for their formation. Exceptions to these generalizations occurred, however, in a few industries where the new giant firms succeeded in erecting barriers to future competition. There, Lamoreaux argues, was where antitrust policy had a significant role to play. Unfortunately, the peculiar division of power and authority that characterizes our federal system of government prevented an effective policy from emerging. Limits on the national government's ability to regulate the activities of state-chartered corporations handicapped the enforcement of antitrust policy against those firms large enough to erect barriers to entry by purely internal means. Ironically, antitrust policy proved much more effective against small firms in relatively competitive industries than against large firms in oligopolistic ones.

Naomi Lamoreaux is Assistant Professor of History at Brown University. She received her Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The great merger movement in American business, 1895–1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Brown University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

www.cup.cam.ac.uk

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA

www.cup.org

10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

© Cambridge University Press 1985

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1985

Reprinted 1987, 1989

First paperback edition 1988

Reprinted 1999

Printed in the United States of America

Typeset in Sabon

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Lamoreaux, Naomi R.

The great merger movement in American business,
1895-1904

Bibliography: p.

1. Consolidation and merger of corporation - United
States - History. I. Title.

HD2785.L36 1984 338.8'3'0973 84-16983

ISBN 0 521 35765 9 paperback

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*To Marguerite, Sol,
David, Nathan, Asher, Adley,
Sara, and Dara*

Contents

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Acknowledgments | <i>page</i> ix |
| List of tables and figures | xi |
| 1. Introduction | I |
| 2. Product differentiation, mass production, and the urge to merge: competitive strategies and collusion in the late nineteenth century | 14 |
| 3. High fixed costs and rapid expansion: a model of price warfare and two examples | 46 |
| 4. Quantitative and qualitative evidence on the great merger movement | 87 |
| 5. What changed? The impact of consolidations on competitive behavior | 118 |
| 6. The great merger movement and antitrust policy | 159 |
| 7. Conclusion | 187 |
| Bibliographical essay | 195 |
| Index | 203 |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904

Naomi R. Lamoreaux

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Many scholars have contributed to the preparation of this book with their careful readings and helpful suggestions. I would especially like to thank Louis Galambos, Robert E. Gallman, Mark Lawrence Kornbluh, David Lamoreaux, James T. Patterson, and Peter Temin for their close scrutiny of the entire manuscript—some of them more than once. At the risk of overlooking some important contributors, I would also like to express my appreciation to Alan D. Anderson, Shannon Brown, Carl F. Christ, Heywood Fleisig, Robert Forster, Mary Gluck, Rhett Jones, Jacob Klerman, Peter Lindert, Charles W. McCurdy, William G. McLoughlin, Alan Olmstead, Glenn Porter, David G. Raboy, Barbara Rosen, Richard Robinson, Steven Sass, John L. Thomas, Christopher L. Tomlins, David Underdown, and members of the Johns Hopkins University Economic History Seminar, the Smithsonian Institution's Washington Area Seminar in Economic History and the History of Technology, and Brown University's Social History Workshop, Second Year Graduate Workshop, and Junior Honors Seminar. Ralph L. Nelson was kind enough to supply me with the complete list of consolidations he compiled for his study *Merger Movements in American Industry*. I am also grateful for the help of Florence Bartoshesky and Marjorie A. Kierstead of the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the Harvard University Business School's Baker Library, T. Gedosch, Jerry N. Hess, and Lane Moore of the National Archives and Record Service, Janet Draper of Brown University's Rockefeller Library, and numerous librarians at Brown, Johns Hopkins, the Library of Congress, the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, and Cornell University. Finally, thanks to Paul Wilson for his help with the econometrics computer package Shazam.

Tables and figures

Tables

| | | |
|-----|--|---------------|
| 1.1 | Number of consolidations formed per year in the manufacturing sector | <i>page 2</i> |
| 1.2 | Market shares of consolidations | 3 |
| 2.1 | Size classification of Eastern newsprint mills, 1892 and 1900 | 43 |
| 3.1 | Production of wire and cut nails | 64 |
| 3.2 | Changes in the numbers and capacities of wire-nail firms | 65 |
| 3.3 | Trends in per-unit and total gross profits in the wire-nail industry | 72 |
| 3.4 | Production of Bessemer steel rails | 77 |
| 4.1 | Difference-of-means test using proxies for high fixed costs and rapid growth | 90 |
| 4.2 | Difference-of-means test: additional variables | 92 |
| 4.3 | Logit estimation 1 (maximum-likelihood method) | 95 |
| 4.4 | Logit estimation 2 (maximum-likelihood method) | 96 |
| 4.5 | Results of discriminant analysis | 113 |
| 5.1 | Changes in numbers and capacities of independent Eastern newsprint firms | 128 |
| 5.2 | Changes in numbers and capacities of independent tin-plate firms | 150 |
| 5.3 | Changes in numbers and capacities of independent wire-rod firms | 151 |
| 6.1 | Rates of return by size of firm and concentration ratio | 185 |

Figures

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 2.1 | Transactions in no. 1 foundry pig iron, Pittsburgh market, by weeks, 1891-4 | 20 |
|-----|---|----|

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-35765-4 - The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904
Naomi R. Lamoreaux
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| xii | Tables and figures | |
| 2.2 | Transactions in Bessemer pig iron, Pittsburgh market, by weeks, 1891-4 | 21 |
| 3.1 | Cost and revenue curves for the firm | 48 |
| 3.2 | Cost and revenue curves for the industry | 49 |
| 3.3 | Cost and revenue curves for a firm with high fixed costs | 51 |
| 3.4 | Real price of 8-d wire nails, by months, 1890-9 | 66 |
| 3.5 | Margin between price of wire nails and cost of raw materials, by months, 1891-8 | 68 |
| 3.6 | Nominal and real prices of steel rails, 1890-9 | 79 |
| 5.1 | Dominant-firm strategy | 120 |
| 5.2 | Cost curves for an independent firm | 122 |
| 5.3 | Effect of a decline in demand on the dominant-firm strategy | 125 |
| 5.4 | Prices of tin plate and wire nails, by months, 1901-8 | 137 |
| 5.5 | Price ratios for steel outputs and inputs, 1891-1910 | 148 |