

## The Brahmins Encounter the *Nouveaux Riches*: An Analysis of their Mingling in the Public Lives of the Boston Elite

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### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BOSTON'S BRAHMIN CASTE

Statistical evidence clearly points to the gradual concentration of wealth into the upper stratum of Boston's social structure from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Allan Kulikoff's evidence, which is based upon James Henretta's data and Kulikoff's own research, reveals that the percentages of wealth possessed by the city's richest people steadily increased during the years between 1687 and 1830.<sup>1</sup> In four sample years during this period—1687, 1771, 1790, and 1830—the wealthiest tenth of the city's taxpayers held 46.60%, 63.46%, 64.70%, and 65.14% of the city's total wealth. Meanwhile, as might be expected, the city's poorest population suffered a gradual decline in their share of wealth. The corresponding percentages for the poorest 30% of the taxpayers are 2.48%, 0.10%, 0.03%, and 0.00%.<sup>2</sup> Edward Pessen finds that the bifurcation of Boston citizens into the rich and the poor continued through the Jacksonian Era, which has been known to date as the "Era of the Common Man." Pessen concludes, in his comparative study of Boston and New York, that the "greater an individual's wealth, the more likely was it both to endure

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and to increase over the course of time.’’<sup>3</sup> The rich are shown to be much less affected by the boom and bust of the economic cycle than the poor.

The concentration of wealth in the upper stratum consolidated the basis for the formation of what Frederic Jaher called the ‘‘urban establishment’’ in the city of Boston.<sup>4</sup> By shifting their entrepreneurial energy and wealth from business to cultural and educational activities, Boston’s rich citizens transformed themselves from an economic elite into an urban bourgeois. This privileged class, also labelled the Yankee ‘‘aristocracy,’’ obtained an ascendancy over Bostonians’ political, economic and cultural activities. This Boston upper class, for which Oliver Wendell Holmes coined the term ‘‘Brahmin caste of New England,’’ maintained its hegemonic role and position throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

One may argue that the establishment of the upper class was a phenomenon unique to Boston; it would, therefore, be misleading to generalize American experiences based upon the Boston case. It may be that the Boston upper class had many unique characteristics. The formation of distinct upper classes was, however, by no means a development unique to the Hub of New England. We may refer to Jaher’s comparative study to confirm this point. In this study, he compares America’s five major cities—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Charleston, and Boston—and points to the existence of a solid upper stratum in the social structure of these five cities.<sup>6</sup> Given Jaher’s analysis, it can be concluded that upper-class formation was not a local Boston phenomenon, but one that was integral to the process of urbanization that the major cities of the Northeast underwent during the nineteenth century.

#### DEMARCATING THE UPPER CLASS

The confirmation of the existence of the upper class leads us to a more intriguing but difficult task regarding American social structure. Supposing that America is a three-class society with a clearly definable upper class at the top, and with considerable fluidity and mobility between classes, we need now to focus on the area which seems to have escaped the attention of recent historians: the area of interaction between the upper and middle classes. Thanks to recent middle-class studies, the mechanism of middle-class formation, and its divergence

from the artisanal basis of the “pre-class” colonial societies, have been largely explored.<sup>7</sup> Our task now rests in analyzing, with the close scrutiny and empiricity that have been shown in these studies, the interaction of middle-class families with their upper-class counterparts.

In the specific case of Boston, we need to examine how much access outsiders had to the Brahmin caste, and what kinds of access were available, if any. In other words, locating and defining the border between the upper and middle classes is the central issue of the proposed analysis. Admittedly, this is not an easy task, particularly in the limited space of this article, but it is still possible to show the contour of needed analyses. The obvious first step is to specify the process by which materially and socially successful middle-class Bostonians climbed the social ladder from middle- to upper-class ranks. There were, in fact, a great number of people who made such a move in the second half of the nineteenth century—a period of unprecedented economic growth. These people, having newly and rapidly acquired an enormous amount of money, attained an economic status which was comparable, or even superior to that of the old upper-class families. These rising people of new wealth, once their wealth had guaranteed comfortable living standards, wished for social success. Journalistic and literary sources of the time, although they often ridiculed these newcomers, reflected the specific process of the newcomers’ social climbing.<sup>8</sup> Evidence from these sources suggests that there were several necessary steps that newcomers had to take in their rise to the upper class. These steps can be, by and large, separated into the following seven areas:

1. Home ownership in the city’s choicest residential districts, such as Beacon Hill, the Back Bay, and Jamaica Plain.
2. Ownership of summer houses in reputable resorts such as Newport and Nahant.
3. Children’s enrollment in prominent private schools in suburbia.
4. Membership in select churches and social clubs.
5. Social interaction with old-rich families at teas, dances, receptions, and dinners during the winter season of Boston society.
6. Female family members’ acceptance to the Sewing Circles.
7. Membership at the Assemblies (Boston’s most prestigious and exclusive cotillion, held four times annually).

These points are presented not as the only conditions for attaining upper-class status—surely there were others. But these points clarify, it can be argued, the basic material and institutional qualifications by

which people inside and outside Boston's elite circles weighed their relative ranks and positions. The seven points are arranged in the order of the ease with which they could be achieved. The first two qualifications, purchases of winter/summer residences, could be obtained once a family had enough money. Neither the family's social position nor its lineage was questioned. The points numbered from three to five—involvement in private schools, churches, clubs, and social events—were the ones that a new family generally sought after they had built residences within desirable neighborhoods and districts. In meeting conditions three to five, a family of new wealth needed social reputation and prestige. The family could acquire these through acquaintance and friendship with old families. Memberships at the sewing circles and the Assemblies, the last two points, were the ones that neither great wealth, social prestige, nor the combination of both, could buy. Only families with distinguished lineage, in addition to wealth and social status, had the right to claim membership at these two most exclusive institutions of Boston.<sup>9</sup> A master of a new-rich family, therefore, could not hope to be admitted to these institutions during his lifetime, even if he could hope that his descendants would be.

Once a middle-class family met any one of the seven conditions (they were usually met in the order of listing), it initiated that family's rise from middle-class status. As the family met the conditions one by one, it can be assumed, they moved closer and closer to the core of the upper class. In demarcating the upper class, given this hypothesized path of social climbing, it appears inappropriate to try to draw a single and definite line as the border between the two classes. All we can say is that families meeting four conditions were perhaps higher in status and prestige than families meeting only one, and that families satisfying all seven conditions similarly outclassed families meeting only four. All that can be done in the real world of human perceptions is to measure relative positions between families: some families can be seen, by a set of criteria, as positioned above or below others, or located closer to the center or fringe of the upper-class world. For this reason, the necessary method for substantiating the process of social climbing by middle-class families can be provided by setting up multiple empirically verifiable criteria, and grading families by the number of criteria they met.

Social climbing in nineteenth-century Boston was made possible, as shown above, by meeting and obtaining qualifications in the three

fields of lineage, prestige, and wealth. The validity of this view has been established in primary and secondary literature on nineteenth-century Boston's upper class.<sup>10</sup> Our task now is, then, to prepare criteria for judging distinction in these three fields. In a previous work, I have proposed nine such criteria.<sup>11</sup> Without reiterating details of this proposal, I will summarize its essential points below.

First, two criteria are available for evaluating lineage. As nineteenth-century Bostonians highly valued lineage that could be traced back to established colonial families, superiority in lineage can be measured by searching for the links between the nineteenth-century Bostonian elite and colonial families of repute. These links can be established, for our purpose, by examining whether the family names of the nineteenth-century elite can be found in the two lists of the colonial Massachusetts elite formulated by the genealogist William Cutter.<sup>12</sup> One list contains 709 headings as the seventeenth-century elite, and the other includes 716 headings as the eighteenth-century elite. Second, three criteria can be suggested for defining prestige. The first is the list of 129 families viewed in 1848 by Abner Forbes, a reputed Boston socialite of the time, as members of "the Boston aristocracy."<sup>13</sup> The second is the list of 55 families viewed by Robert Dalzell, a historian of the Boston elite, as members of the "Boston Associates," whom Dalzell identifies as Boston's quintessential ante-bellum elite.<sup>14</sup> The third is the list of the 829 families appearing in the Boston Social Register of 1894, a document which, historians have generally agreed, serves as a compact but reliable index for high social standing.<sup>15</sup> Third, four criteria are available for identifying people of great wealth. These are the names of Boston's wealthiest 84 families in 1833, of Boston's wealthiest 180 families in 1848, of Boston's 172 millionaires in 1892, and of Boston's 220 millionaires in 1902.<sup>16</sup>

By collating the family names of nineteenth-century Bostonians with the headings on the above nine lists, the men and women of the Boston upper class can be identified. Those who meet most of the nine criteria (meaning those whose family names appear on most of the lists) can be assumed to be those members of the elite holding the highest status and greatest power, while those who meet a fewer number of criteria can be suggested as members of less repute and distinction. Families meeting all the criteria are, more specifically, those who distinguished themselves in all three fields of lineage, prestige, and economic power. Families meeting only a few of the criteria are, on the other hand, those

who excelled in only one, or two, of the three fields.

With this set of nine criteria, it is also possible to separate the new elite from the old. Those who meet at least one of the criteria on lineage, or those on prestige and wealth for the period before 1850 can be seen as the old elite, while those who satisfy only the criteria for the period after 1850—listings as members of the 1894 Social Register, 1892 millionaires, or 1902 millionaires—can be viewed as the new elite. The Appletons, who meet all nine criteria, can be seen as holding excellent positions in lineage, prestige, and wealth, and as having maintained these positions from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century. The Jordans, who meet only three criteria for the period after 1850, can be viewed as a family who were mediocre in lineage, but established in the economic and social elite after the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

By drawing on the above set of nine criteria, we can categorize Boston's nineteenth-century elite into three groups. As mentioned above, families meeting at least one of the criteria that cover the period prior to 1850 can be viewed as the old elite. This group can be further divided, for convenience, into the "essential old elite," who meet seven or more criteria (also abbreviated as "EOE"), and the "marginal old elite," who meet six or less criteria ("MOE"). Those who meet at least one of the post-1850 criteria, and none of the pre-1850 ones can be called the "new elite" ("NE"). The nine lists can identify 32 EOE's, 1177 MOE's, and 402 NE's.<sup>18</sup>

By sampling people from the area where upper-class families and upwardly mobile middle-class ones mingled, and applying the above defined classification system, we can explore the extent to which people of the two classes interacted with each other. In so doing, we can examine the extent to which Boston's upper class was open or closed to outsiders.

#### MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE DEMARCATION LINE

Did Boston's upper-class men and women from different social backgrounds associate with one another? Did the upper class, collectively speaking, interact with men and women rising from the middle class? These were the questions persistently asked by gossips and local journalists. The common wisdom was that the Boston upper class consisted of the most snobbish people of the country. Americans both in-

side and outside of the Hub have long associated the Boston elite with parochialism and coldness toward outsiders.<sup>19</sup> If families defined as EOE, MOE, and NE had had very limited institutional and personal bases for interacting with middle-class people, this popular tradition might be proven valid. A scrutiny of these elite Bostonians' lives, however, demonstrates that the opposite was in fact the case.

In my previous work, I have demonstrated the great extent to which Bostonians of the upper and middle classes interacted mutually in their social and private lives.<sup>20</sup> In this article, I will focus on the aspect which was not examined in my last work: i.e., their public lives. My samples are 841 male and female residents of the Back Bay, the most fashionable neighborhood of Boston during the turn-of-the-century years. All of these 841 people are listed in the first and second editions of *Who's Who in New England*, published in 1909 and 1916.<sup>21</sup> From this source it is possible to identify these people's affiliations with numerous public institutions, which can be categorized into seven genres: medicine, law, liberal arts, politics, history, art and architecture, and business. By looking into the samples' enrollment in these institutions, we can examine the extent to which men and women of different social backgrounds—meaning EOE, MOE, NE, and “middle-class” families (“Ms”), who are not identified as the elite by the method introduced in the last section—were linked by the bonds of institutional membership. The results of these statistical analyses are shown by number in Table 1, and by percentage in Chart 1.

The results are characterized by two distinctive patterns. On the one hand, the existence of institutions without middle-class members implies that the Boston upper class retained some degree of exclusiveness toward outsiders. Of the 66 institutions on the table, as many as 14 institutions fall into this category. Most of these institutions are well-known in secondary literature as “Brahmin” institutions, in which the old elite held tight control over administration. The Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for instance, excluded newcomers from the roll of trustees and directors until the early twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> Business institutions, such as the National Shawmut Bank, the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and the Suffolk Savings Bank, are also known as Brahmin institutions in which the old elite dominated the banks' management.<sup>23</sup> These findings suggest that a closed upper class did exist in Boston, where men and women of prominent lineage seem to have avoided encounters

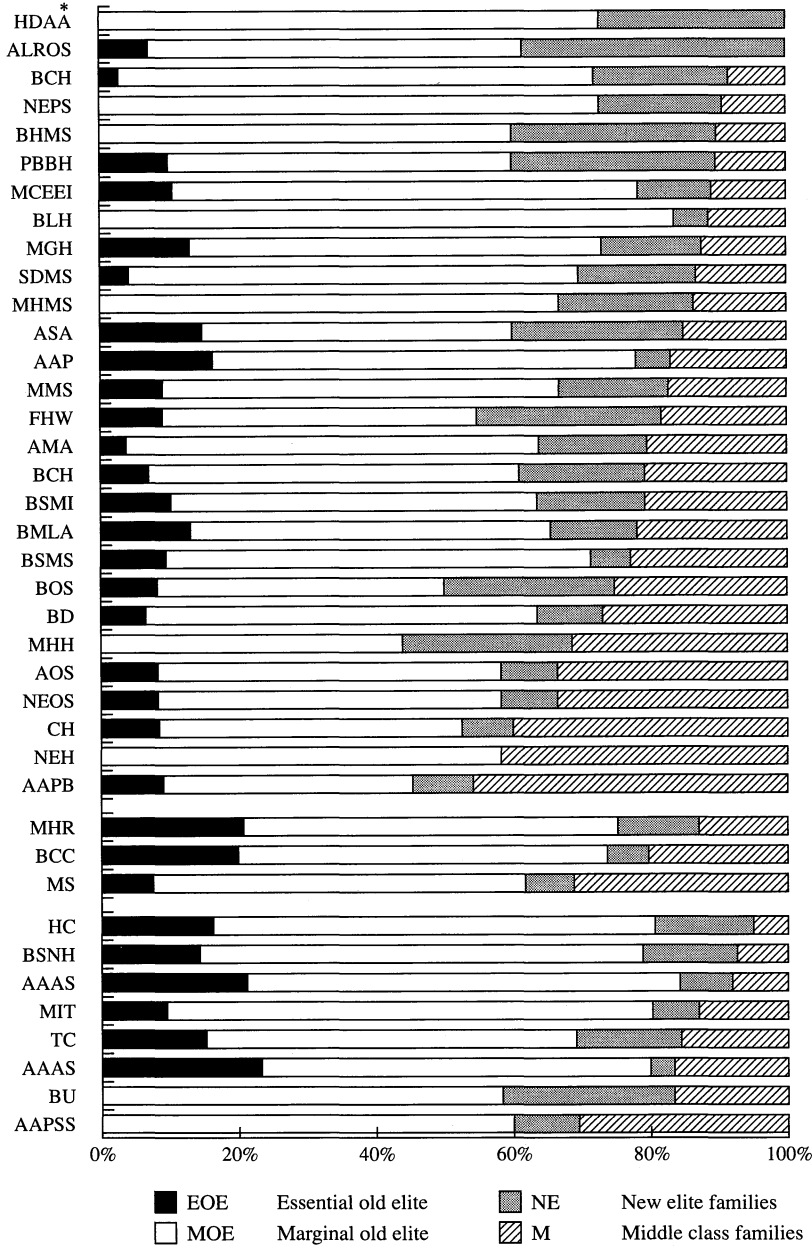
Table 1-1  
The Mingling of the Boston Elite with Middle-Class People in Public Spheres

Names of Institutions	EOE	MOE	NE	M	total
<b>Medical Institutions</b>					
Harvard Dental Alumni Association	0	8	3	0	11
American Laryngological Rhinological Otological Society	1	7	5	0	13
Boston Children's Hospital	1	25	7	3	36
New England Pediatric Society	0	8	2	1	11
Boston Homoeopathic Medical Society	0	6	3	1	10
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital	1	5	3	1	10
Massachusetts Charitable Eye & Ear Infirmary	3	19	3	3	28
Boston Lying-in Hospital	0	15	1	2	18
Massachusetts General Hospital	11	49	12	10	82
Suffolk District Medical Society	1	15	4	3	23
Massachusetts Homoeopathic Medical Society	0	10	3	2	15
American Surgical Association	3	9	5	3	20
Association of American Physicians	3	11	1	3	18
Massachusetts Medical Society	15	95	27	28	165
Free Hospital for Women	1	5	3	2	11
American Medical Association	5	75	20	25	125
Boston City Hospital	5	37	13	14	69
Boston Society for Medical Improvement	5	26	8	10	49
Boston Medical Library Association	3	12	3	5	23
Boston Society of Medical Sciences	3	19	2	7	31
Boston Obstetrical Society	1	5	3	3	12
Boston Dispensary	2	17	3	8	30
Massachusetts Homoeopathic Hospital	0	7	4	5	16
American Ophthalmological Society	1	6	1	4	12
New England Ophthalmological Society	1	6	1	4	12
Carney Hospital	2	10	2	9	23
New England Hospital	0	7	0	5	12
American Association of Pathologists and Bacteriologists	1	4	1	5	11
<b>Political Institutions</b>					
Massachusetts House of Representatives	5	13	3	3	24
Boston Common Council	3	8	1	3	15
Massachusetts Senate	1	7	1	4	13
<b>Liberal Arts Institutions</b>					
Harvard College	10	39	9	3	61
Boston Society of Natural History	2	9	2	1	14
American Academy of Arts and Sciences	8	23	3	3	37
MIT	3	22	2	4	31
Tufts College	2	7	2	2	13
American Association for the Advancement of Science	7	17	1	5	30
Boston University	0	7	3	2	12
American Academy of Political and Social Sciences	0	6	1	3	10

(Source: See Note 21)



Chart1-1  
The Mingling of the Boston Elite (by percentage)



\*These abbreviations refer to the institutions listed in Table 1-1, and follow the same order.

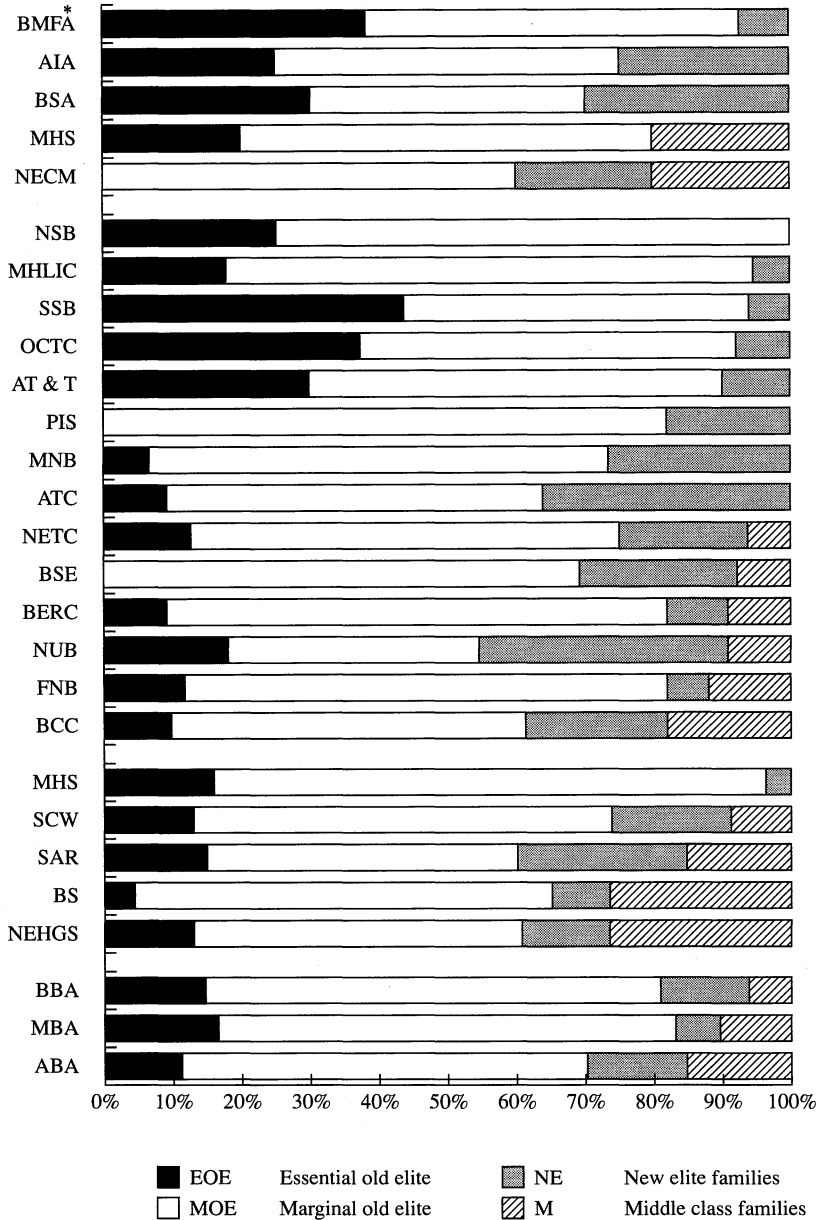
Table 1-2  
The Mingling of the Boston Elite with Middle-Class People in Public Spheres

Names of Institutions	EOE	MOE	NE	M	total
<b>Art and Architectural Institutions</b>					
Boston Museum of Fine Arts	5	7	1	0	13
American Institute of Architects	3	6	3	0	12
Boston Society of Architects	3	4	3	0	10
Massachusetts Horticultural Society	2	6	0	2	10
New England Conservatory of Music	0	6	2	2	10
<b>Business Institutions</b>					
National Shawmut Bank	3	9	0	0	12
Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company	3	13	1	0	17
Suffolk Savings Bank	7	8	1	0	16
Old Colony Trust Company	9	13	2	0	24
AT & T	3	6	1	0	10
Provident Institute for Savings	0	18	4	0	22
Merchants' National Bank	1	10	4	0	15
American Trust Company	1	6	4	0	11
New England Trust Co.	2	10	3	1	16
Boston Stock Exchange	0	9	3	1	13
Boston Elevated Railway Company	1	8	1	1	11
National Union Bank	2	4	4	1	11
First National Bank	2	12	1	2	17
Boston Chamber of Commerce	6	32	13	11	62
<b>Historical Institutions</b>					
Massachusetts Historical Society	4	20	1	0	25
Society of Colonial Wars	3	14	4	2	23
Sons of the American Revolution	3	9	5	3	20
Bostonian Society	1	14	2	6	23
New England Historic Genealogical Society	3	11	3	6	23
<b>Legal Institutions</b>					
Boston Bar Association	10	45	9	4	68
Massachusetts Bar Association	5	20	2	3	30
American Bar Association	3	16	4	4	27

(Source: See Note 21)

in the public sphere with people of inferior status. The old families may have examined carefully newcomers' social and economic backgrounds, and may have turned down newcomers on these bases. In this sense, it is appropriate to argue that a real snobbish Brahmin caste existed.

Chart1-2  
The Mingling of the Boston Elite (by percentage)



\*These abbreviations refer to the institutions listed in Table 1-2, and follow the same order.

The overall pattern that can be read from the data is, however, one of active interaction. The data suggest that the majority of the institutions were open to the middle-class group. Professional institutions in medicine, law, and liberal arts, in particular, are shown to have a large proportion of membership occupied by middle-class people. With two possible exceptions in the medical field, the Harvard Dental Alumni Association and the American Laryngological Rhinological Otological Society, all the professional institutions accepted people from the middle-class group. Even in the fields of business and art and architecture, where exclusionist institutions constitute the majority (8 out of 14 in the former, and 3 out of 5 in the latter), open institutions did exist. If totalled, the membership of the 66 institutions consist of 195 EOE's, 1012 MOE's, 252 NE's, and 248 Ms. This means that each institution, on the average, consists of 3 EOE's (11%), 15 MOE's (59%), 4 NE's (15%) and 4 Ms (15%). These figures confirm a great deal of mingling among the four groups in the Boston elite's public lives.

The above findings show how Boston's elite institutional networks became intertwined with those of middle-class men and women. In the political, business, and professional lives of Bostonians at the turn of the century, the proud children of the East China merchants and cotton textile titans of Lowell and Manchester found themselves gradually surrounded by the professionals and capitalists of a new age. Even if the most conservative old elite despised these strangers by terming them "parvenus" and "upstarts," others were happy and willing to marry their sons and daughters to the children of the *nouveaux riches*, whom they saw as the "princes" and "princesses" of the new wealth. No matter how much animosity descendants of the ante-bellum aristocrats may have entertained toward the newly rising people of wealth and talent, Boston society as a whole could in no way resist the inevitability of the times. As America entered the new century, the economic basis steadily shifted from manufacturing and commerce to service industries, while politics was geared to mass society and culture became increasingly consumer-oriented and popularized. With all these changes, the old Boston hierarchy and the stable social order based upon the old elite's unchallenged hegemony began to crumble. In its stead, a new order emerged, which featured increasing socio-cultural diversity and heterogeneity. As the era of the Brahmins came to close, both the elite and the rising middle-class people found themselves in complex webs of interrelations, realizing that the pros-

perity of Boston rested on their harmonious coexistence.<sup>24</sup>

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd. Ser. 28 (1971), pp. 375-412; James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd. Ser. 22 (1965), pp. 75-92.

<sup>2</sup> Kulikoff, "The Progress," p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Pessen, "Did Fortunes Rise and Fall Mercurially in Antebellum America? The Tale of Two Cities: Boston and New York," *Journal of Social History* 4 (1971), pp. 339-357.

<sup>4</sup> Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Urban Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> Oliver Wendell Holmes, *Elsie Venner: A Romance of Destiny* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891).

<sup>6</sup> In addition to Jaher's comparative and comprehensive study mentioned in note 4, see the following works: Peter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Gabriel Kolko, "Brahmins and Business, 1870-1914: A Hypothesis on the Social Basis of Success in American History," in Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr., eds., *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1973); Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, the following studies: Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> As literary sources of this kind, I have read, in addition to Holmes' work mentioned in note 5, the following novels, all of which contain rich information about Boston newcomers' social climbing: Robert Grant, *The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1880); Grant, *The Chippendales* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909); John Marquand, *The Late George Apley: A Novel in the Form of a Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937). As journalistic sources, I have read many newspapers and magazines of the time, which include the following: *Back Bay Ledger and Beacon Hill Times*; *Boston Daily Advertiser*; *Boston Evening Transcript*; *Boston Globe*; *Boston Post*; *Boston Sunday Herald*; *Boston Sunday Post*; *Fortune*; Julia Ward Howe, "Social Boston: Past and Present," *Harper's Bazar* 43 (February, 1909), pp. 105-110; *Nation*.

<sup>9</sup> A voluminous amount of records about the 95 Sewing Circle, one of Boston's notoriously exclusive sewing circles, is available in the manuscript collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See "95 Sewing Circle, Records, 1895-1961" under the title "Boston-Social Life." Detailed descriptions about the Assemblies can be

found in Cleveland Amory's *The Proper Bostonians* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1947), pp. 263–264.

<sup>10</sup> This point can be confirmed by reading the materials introduced in note 8.

<sup>11</sup> See my article, "The Reorganization of Boston's Upper Class at the Back Bay, 1850–1932," *The American Review* 27 (The Japanese Association for American Studies, 1993), pp. 95–112, 99–100. For an even more detailed discussion of a methodology for classifying Boston elites, see my dissertation, "The Forging of a New Upper Class at Boston's Back Bay, 1850–1941," (Brown University, May 1992), Chapter 2: Defining the Brahmins.

<sup>12</sup> According to Cutter, the seventeenth-century elite consisted of people taking the following positions and/or occupations: "the governors, deputy governors, councillors, the ministers of the gospel, representatives of the general courts, graduates of Harvard College, the members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery company, and the freemen (or voters) of the colony, especially those of the period (when church membership was a qualification) from 1630 to 1662." The eighteenth-century elite, on the other hand, were the people who fell in the following categories: people who were "most numerously represented" in tax lists; people who served as the justice of the peace; and/or people who subscribed Thomas Prince's *Chronological History of New England in the Forms of Annals*.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas L. Wilson, *The Aristocracy of Boston: Who They Are and What They Were: Being a History of the Business and Business Men of Boston for the Last Forty Years* (Boston: n.p., 1848).

<sup>14</sup> Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> *Boston Social Register* for 1894.

<sup>16</sup> Pessen, *Riches*, pp. 331–335; Sidney Ratner, *New Light on the History of Great American Fortunes* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1953).

<sup>17</sup> Rich information about the Appletons can be found in the following sources: Jaher, "Businessman and Gentleman: Nathan and Thomas Gold Appleton—An Exploration in Intergenerational History," *Exploration in Entrepreneurial History*, vol. 4 no. 1 (1966); Louise Hall Tharp, *The Appletons of Beacon Hill* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948); Susan Hale, *Life and Letters of Thomas Gold Appleton* (New York: D. Appleton, 1885). For the Jordans, see Boston Globe, *Memorial Tributes to Eben D. Jordan* (Boston, 1895).

<sup>18</sup> My dissertation contains lists of these elites. See Appendix A, pp. 336–366. In the dissertation I used terms "Brahmin-Core" for "EOE", "Brahmin-Margin" for "MOE", "Newcomer" for "NE", and "Outsider" for "Middle-Class".

<sup>19</sup> Charles Francis Adams, *An Autobiography, 1835–1915* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916); Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918); Van Wyck Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1940); M. Parker, "Boston's Best," *Saturday Evening Post* (March 19, 1927); Amory, *Proper Bostonians*, etc.

<sup>20</sup> See note 11.

<sup>21</sup> Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *Who's Who in New England* (Chicago: A.N. Marquis, 1909 [first edition] and 1916 [second edition]).

<sup>22</sup> Jaher, "The Boston Brahmins in the Age of Industrial Capitalism," in Jaher, ed., *The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values* (New York: Free Press, 1968); Lewis Mumford & Walter Muir Whitehill, *Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969).

<sup>23</sup> Ben Ames Williams, Jr., *Bank of Boston 200: A History of New England Leading Banks, 1784-1984* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed discussion of this aspect of Boston society, see my dissertation, Chapter 6: The Development of Inter-Cohort Ties and Making of a New Upper Class.