Bread and Roses: The Proletarianisation of Women Workers in New England Textile Mills, 1827-1848

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The New England cotton textile industry is "the story of the industrialization of America."[1] It was the first industry to use extensively the factory system, labor-saving machinery, and large productive units producing standardized staple goods. The manufacturers introduced the corporate form, and the industry formed the locus of the creation of the first American industrial proletariat, arising in a dialectic process with the creation of this new class of industrial capitalists.[2] Significantly, this first industrial workforce was primarily a workforce of women. The questions that I am confronting are to what extent did these women workers become a proletariat; and to what extent did this dialectic process that created capitalists and workers begin during the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. How did these women react to change? How did the capitalists react to change?

This paper is concerned with the workers in the "Waltham-Lowell" system. The original investors in the first mills were Boston capitalists, who had made their fortunes in mercantile trades. They did not want to replicate in their "model New England-republican" factories the system they observed in Great Britain, with its overt developing "proletariat," overt exploitation and horrendous environmental conditions. Thus, they set out to employ in their mills a labor force that was about 90% women in a system designed to be both republican and scientific. Men were employed in supervisory jobs and as mechanics. A small number of young girls were employed at changing spindles, but only worked intermittently through the day. The actual spinning and weaving was done by women, primarily aged 16 to 25, farm girls from the commercializing farms of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts.[3] They were American born, often with experience in the "putting-out" or domestic spinning and weaving industries, and generally came from families which had been in the United States for several generations. Often they were educated through grade school, and many later became school teachers.[4]

The "working girls of Lowell" were very conscious that they were "Daughters of the American Revolution," republican to their very core. In the mill towns they lived in boarding houses run by respectable widows, leased from the corporations. It was considered a model system for its day.[5] The model factory system became famous and the lives of these "Lowell girls" became an international event, in large

part due to the women's literary efforts which included magazines and a well-subscribed atheneum, all the attributes of the New England notion of "town." The women working in the mills organized in the "Lowell-Waltham" system were also important sources of funds for missionary work and for anti-slavery work.

The rest of the Lowell girls' story is that they supposedly moved out of factory work and into the "better" job of school teaching. Like many other groups of working women they are reputed to have worked for a brief length of time, motivated by "pin money." Evidence indicates, however, that many of the operatives were important sources of cash to their families.[6] As the story goes, they were eventually replaced by Irish women "better suited" to factory life. This paper suggests an alternative explanation for why work suited and designed for respectable farm girls in the 1820's became "fit" only for Irish women whose expectations of the workplace were quite different from those of these "Daughters of the American Revolution."

The Lowell-Waltham system underwent a three-stage twenty-year process, in which the employers sought to maintain or increase profitability by first lengthening the working day (1820s), then reducing wages (1830s), and finally, by increasing the number of looms tended (1840s). Each of these capitalist efforts was met by increased and increasingly sophisticated resistance by the women mill workers. By the late 1840s it was no longer possible to maintain the Lowell system mills as respectable and republican havens since this paternalism had been met with "working-class" activity on the part of "respectable women." Consequently, new forms of social control were instituted and a new workforce sought or created.[7]

The controversy over the attempts to lengthen the working day are exemplified by the following. Life in the mill towns was on a very tight schedule unlike much of rural American society at that time. The first turnout—previously a walkout by unorganized workers—in a mill run on the "Waltham system," and therefore, the first strike in which women participated virtually alone, occurred at the Coheco Company in Dover, New Hampshire in 1828. At this company, established in 1823, the terms of employment to which all operatives had to subscribe were somewhat harsher than in Lowell, particularly the one that read:

> We, the subscribers . . . agree to work for such wages per week, and prices by the job, as the Company may see fit to pay, and be subject to the fines, as well as entitled to the premiums paid by the company.[8]

For some years the privilege of exacting fines was not exercised, but late in December of 1828, a new set of rules was published, including:

> Second: The bell to call the people to their work will be rung five minutes and tolled five minutes: at the last stroke the entrance will be closed and a fee of 12½ cents exacted of anyone for whom it may be opened.
>
> Sixth: all those that faithfully perform their duty, have prevented as far as possible the waste and destruction of the company's property, and wish to leave their employ may, by giving fourteen days notice of their intention, receive a certificate that they are regularly discharged at their own request.[9]

This new enforcement of "industrial time" exacerbated a schedule in which work began several hours before dawn, and often ran past dark.[10] The fine proposed amounted to over a third of a day's wages, exclusive of the compulsory board. This was added to other new forms of control which arose with the transfer from the "putting out" system to factory work. These included rules against talking during working hours, the ban against forming any "combination," and most particularly, the requirement that the women give two weeks' notice, which was not matched with any corresponding agreement of notice of layoff or termination. The threat of being blacklisted was also implicit in the lack of a certificate of honorable discharge. The contemporary press editorialized at great length against this form of control through blacklisting when it was instituted at the Coheco Company.[11]

The following Friday, between three and four hundred women workers turned out, and burned several casks of gunpowder in the street. The management responded "by advertising for several hundred 'better-behaved women.'" The threat to their image of respectability observed, all who had not been dismissed and black-

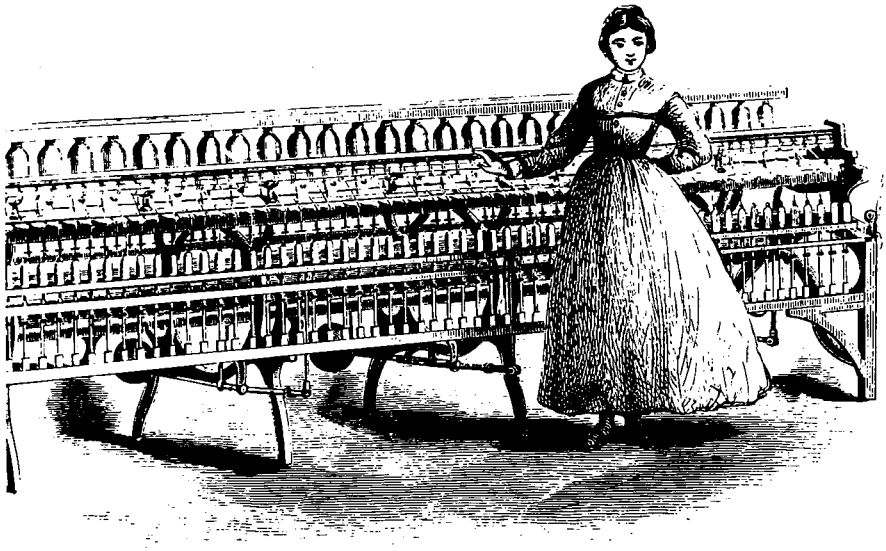

Illustration from the collection of the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, North Andover.

listed returned to work on Monday morning. Hannah Josephson states "that the suddenness with which this outbreak took place is indicative of the long suppressed resentment many of the operatives must have felt at the loss of their independence."[12] This turn-out was still a pre-capitalist form of response to the breaking of the informal contract of the "moral economy."[13] We cannot be sure, but it seems to indicate that the women were beginning to be aware of the loss of independence that had resulted from the change from independent home-work into "disciplined" factory labor. The loss of control over their own work processes was particularly apparent when applied to the time and pace of work, which was shifting to the machine, and therefore, to the owners.

The women workers had very little control over the conditions under which their employment was terminated. Evidence of the unilateral and arbitrary nature of the discharges comes from company records of the period. For example,

> out of 107 discharges at the Hamilton Company in 1826-27, only 31 came after proper notice had been given by the girls on one side or the management on the other, while all the rest were due to accusations by overseers of misconduct, mutiny, disobedience to orders, impudence, levity, dissatisfaction with wages, non-performance of duty, lying, misrepresentation, captiousness, or hysteria.[14]

Without a certificate of honorable discharge no employment was possible in any other mills controlled by the Boston merchants. A black list was circulated to every factory agent and kept constantly up to date. In 1829 "the Hamilton Company sent out a black list with the names of 17 girls guilty perhaps of mutiny, disobedience to orders, dissatisfaction with wages or impudence to overseer."[15]

In 1834, we also see resistance to a method of lengthening the working day. The agents extended the working day without similarly extending the pay by changing the clocks backwards towards the end of the day.[16] A "turnout in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1834, of girls who had 'worked till 8 for pay til 7:30' won the agent's promise that the foremen's watch would be regulated in conformity with solar time."[17] How well this particular promise was kept is not known, but the complaint against the device appears in later strike resolutions.

In 1834 an attempt to unify workers' action was begun in factories in several different textile centers. This action arose in response to the interrelated ownership of the mills. The corporations controlling the factories in various locations acted together, in wage cuts as well as group blacklists. In early 1834, the first corporation instituted a 15% wage cut, ostensibly because of a rise in the cost of raw cotton and fall in the price of cotton goods. The wage cuts started in Lowell itself, and so did worker resistance. On February 20, the Boston *Transcript* reported the events in Lowell in some detail, using a tone of dignified regret at such "goings-on":

> We learn that extraordinary excitement was occasioned at Lowell, last week, by an announcement that the wages paid in some of the departments would be reduced 15 percent on the 1st. of March. The reduction principally affected the female operatives, and they held several meetings, or caucuses, at which a young woman presided, who took an active part in persuading her associates to give notice that they should quit the mills, and to induce them to "make a run" on the Lowell Bank and the Savings Bank, which they did.
>
> On Friday morning, the young woman referred to was *dismissed,* by the Agent . . . and on leaving the office . . . waved her calash in the air, as a signal to the others, who were watching from the windows, when they immediately "struck" and assembled about her, in despite of the overseers.
>
> The number soon increased to nearly 800. A procession was formed, and they marched about the town, to the amusement of a mob of idlers and boys, and, we are sorry to add, not altogether to the credit of Yankee girls . . . We are told that one of the leaders mounted a stump and made a flaming Mary Wollstonecraft speech on the rights of women and the iniquities of the *"monied*

aristocracy" which produced a powerful effect on her auditors, and they determined to "have their way if they died for it."[18]

The women's resolution also responded to the owner's pleas of assistance in staving off the effects of depressed prices. The response used an ironic turnabout of the "lady" ideal.

> The oppressing hand of avarice would enslave us; and to gain their object, they very gravely tell us of the pressure of the time; this we are already sensible of, and deplore it. If any are in of assistance, the Ladies will be compassionate, and assist them; but we prefer to have the disposing of our charities in our own hands . . . .[19]

The women continued to withdraw their savings from the company bank for a strike fund—the press described it as a "bank run." We must remember that this occasion was the *first* time a woman had spoken or demonstrated for anything in this town. These activities were certainly not "to the credit of Yankee girls." The women workers had no alternative employment and after several days, most returned to work. The leaders were blacklisted, and the few who could be supported at home, returned there.

The following week the strike spread to Dover, New Hampshire, over the wage cut and the institution of a yellow-dog contract, which asked all future employees to sign a statement that they were not members of any labor organization and would not so join, bound by their employment contract. The women struck and shut down the mill for a week, chose a committee to communicate their decisions to the operatives of the mills at Great Falls, Newmarket, and Lowell, and pooled their funds to help women return home if they so chose. Significantly, they also voted to have the proceedings published in the local newspapers, in response to a controversy raging about their behavior. Unfriendly newspapers had referred to them as a "riotous combination" and the women as "otherwise respectable," while the *Dover Gazette* had complimented them on their "propriety and decorum."[20]

From the perspective of labor historians, we can draw several conclusions from the demonstrations of 1834. They were clearly more sophisticated than the spontaneous turn-out of 1828. The tactics used reflected some planning and forethought, particularly the attempts to develop a fund of money to tide the strikers over through the strike. The tactics begin to reflect a sense of the importance of public opinion and the power of the press, and the advantages of having the local community on the side of the workers rather than the mill owners.[21] We also see the beginning of the transformation of the capitalists, who respond to the needs of capital accumulation, at the risk of the loss of their paternalistic image.

In October 1836, the most famous of all the Lowell strikes took place. It lasted for several weeks and involved perhaps several thousand women workers. It took place in response to what amounted to a 5% wage cut that resulted from an increase in the price of board, the cut was automatically deducted from the workers' pay-packets. Demonstrations also took place in two other Waltham-Lowell cities—Dover, New Hampshire and Chicopee, Massachusetts. Lowell, itself, then as now, had captured the public imagination, and most attention was focused on the strike there.

Besides newspaper accounts and company record books, we have the memoirs of Lucy Larcom and Harriet Hanson Robinson who were working as spindle girls in the Lowell mills at the time, and whose mothers each operated a boarding house in Lowell.[22] The most graphic descriptions of the strike are contained in Robinson's *Loom and Spindle*, particularly her recollections of the turn-out itself, which she in effect led from the spinning rooms. Upon assembly in the factory yard, the women formed a Factory Girls' Association, which eventually grew to a membership of 2,500, and which passed resolutions indicating that they wished to speak for all the strikers, and that communications between the firm and the workers should go through the Association. They also communicated with the Third Annual Convention of the National Trades Union, which was meeting in Philadelphia.[23]

The corporation's response to the strike is interesting. Although, the women returned to work when their funds ran out, without a restoration of the wage reduction, Harriet Hanson Robinson's mother was "turned out" of her boarding house job because she was unable to control Harriet's (then age 11) participation in the strike. Hundreds were blacklisted, and Robinson remembers, "it is hardly necessary to say that so far as results were concerned this strike did no good."[24] The turnouts at Dover and Chicopee proved equally unsuccessful.

We begin to see in the 1840's a new phase of the intensification of labor. The form it takes is a further division of labor by quality of fabric and by task which enables the use of machinery capable of greater and greater speed. The "speed up" was enhanced through the requirement that the workers supervise more than one loom or other machines. One source on that period in Lowell is a monograph published in 1845 by the Reverend William Scoresby, of sermons he delivered when he returned to his congregation near the Lancashire mills. He had been given a tour of Lowell by "his dear friends, Mr. Lowell and Mr. Appleton (major owners)." He reprints in full a letter from a "Lowell Factory Girl"—in order to show the heights to which women's wages rose in the United States. She described a process of decreasing piece-rates, increasing speed of the loom, and tending additional looms.

> In May, 1842, the last month before the reduction of wages, I tended two looms, running at the rate of 140 beats of the late per minute. In twenty-four days I earned 14 dollars and 52 cents. In the next month, June, when speed and prices had both been reduced, I tended four looms, at a speed of 100, and earned in 24 days, 13 dollars 52 cents . . . . In January 1843, the speed was raised to about 118, and the price reduced still lower. I earned in that month, in 24 days on three looms, 14 dollars 60 cents . . . . In June 1843, I still tended three looms, and in 24 days earned 15 dollars 40 cents, and in June 1844, I received 16 dollars 92 cents in payment for 24 days' work.[25]

This wage is not only considerably above the average, as even the Reverend notes, but records a seventy-one percent increase in output for the two years, rewarded by a sixteen percent increase in wages, inclusive of board. In some mills the increase in work, and the fall in piece work rates meant that many worked much harder at the end of 1845 than in 1842 and yet earned less pay.[28] The working hours were fifteen minutes a day longer in 1841 than they had been in 1829, about 12½ hours per day, six days per week, varying from season to season. Only half-an-hour was allowed for meals. In contrast, the British textile worker, whose miserable condition was

so often cited by the Boston Associates, had by the 1840s won a work week of 69 hours, 6 hours less than in Lowell.[26]

What motivated the capitalists to give up the trappings of their noble experiment? The Boston Associates had continued wage-cuts and piece-rate cuts from 1834 on, in times of boom and bust in the cotton textile industry. In good years, the surplus was used to build new corporations and establish new mill towns. Dividends were maintained at high rates of return until the 1840s. Returns on investments in cotton and cotton manufacturing began to drop in the 1840s. The Boston Associates used several strategies to deal with this problem, including wage cuts, speedups and doubling. But returns on investments remained low. Vera Shlakman's evidence suggests that most of the operating profits had been paid out in the form of dividends, leaving little or no depreciation reserves for repairs, new equipment or machinery replacement.[27] This theory of concealed and planned obsolescense is consistent with the later history of the Boston Associates and their cotton textile mill towns.[28]

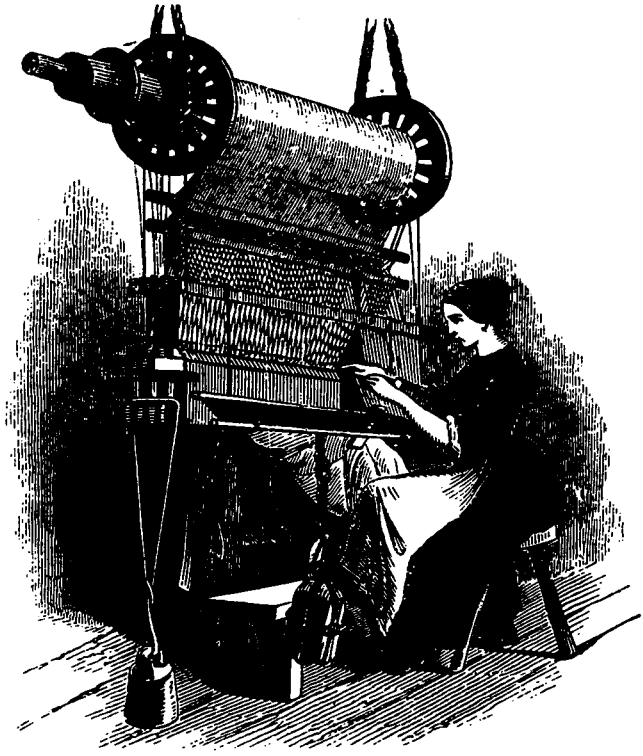

Illustration from the collection of the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, North Andover.

The mill operative responded to these new conditions with a sustained political effort: the ten hour day movement. Petitions to the Massachusetts General Court (state legislature) were sent from the mill towns in 1842, 1843 and again in 1844. The legislature agreed to hear the petitioners but postponed the meeting until the 1845 session. During the interim the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association was formed to organize evidence and testimony for the hearing, and circulated a new petition in February of 1845 which was signed by over 2,000 operatives. The Massachusetts General Court assigned the Committee on Manufactures to hold the hearings on the ten-hour day petitions, and rechristened it "The Special Committee to Investigate Labor Conditions," making it the first American governmental investigating committee to inquire into labor questions. William Schouler, one of the representatives from Lowell and proprietor of the *Lowell Courier*, who had not previously served on the Manufactures committee, was added to the committee and appointed chairman. On February 6, 1845, Mr. Schouler sent the petitioners an official notice:

> To J.Q.A. Thayer, S.G. Bagley and others: A petition relative to a reduction of the hours of labor has been referred to the Committee on Manufactures, of which I am Chairman. By a resolution passed by the House, instructing said Committee to send for such persons and papers as be necessary to make an investigation of the claims of said petitioners to an interference in their behalf. I would inform you that as the greater part of the petitioners are females, it will be necessary for them to make the defense, we shall be under the necessity of laying it aside.[29]

Significantly, Miss Bagley was one of the addressees, and six of the eight operative witnesses were women.

> Any hope the legislators might have had that conventional ideals of propriety or fear of losing their jobs would deter the women from testifying was rudely dispelled. When the hearings opened in February 13, 1845, Miss Bagley and her associates were present—self-possessed and articulate.[30]

Eliza Hemingway, who earned unusually high pay as an experienced woolens weaver, made from $16 to $23 a month in addition to her board. However, she reported that "over 150 persons worked in one room, where 293 small lamps and 61 large ones burned mornings and evenings during the winter months," making the air foul; sometimes as many as thirty women were sick in one day from the fumes. The women had been keeping scientific charts and diaries. A Miss Judith Payne had lost the accumulated time of one year out of seven worked in the mill through illness; although she was a highly skilled worker she averaged only $2.93 a week above her board. A third female operative testified that she earned only $1.62½ after board. Sarah Bagley's testimony also spoke to her history of work-induced illness. In response to questions about the women's use of their leisure time, Miss Bagley explained that "she kept school in her room in the evening for girls who wished to make up deficiencies in their education." One witness for the employers said that the operatives enjoyed the best of health because "they rose early, went to bed early, and had 'three meals regular.' " Another witness stated that wages would be cut if hours were reduced.[31]

When confronted with this conflicting testimony the committee decided to visit Lowell, where they were impressed by the grass, trees, and flowers. Schouler's report concluded that the legislature should not interfere with the right to contract, the setting of wages, and noted the superiority of the Commonwealth and its industry.[32] The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association called upon the voters of Lowell to defeat Schouler at the next election. His defeat *was* attributed to the influence of the operatives, a firm show of community support since the female operatives did not have the right to vote.[32] The association actively participated in coalitions with labor and other social organizations throughout New England and the East. In 1846 some members organized a pledge to resist the reduction of piece-rates which resulted in the cancellation of the cut.[33] But the ten hour day movement did not succeed in Massachusetts at that time. The operatives' switch to legislation and coalitions does indicate, nevertheless, the first recognition of a "sense of class": many sides of the struggle are perceived, links are established with other groups of working people, and capitalists are confronted in the political arena.

The mask of benign paternalism slipped irrevocably with the institution of the "premium system," which "granted bonuses to overseers and second hands who succeeded in getting more work out of the operatives than they were accustomed to do." The *Voice of Industry* printed a letter calling it "a curse," and Mehitabel Eastman reported to the New England Workingmen's Association:

> It was not easy to get new members, she said. 'We have frequent cause of regret that so many of our sisterhood are afraid of 'the old man' (as the overseer is called) and men dare not move in our cause, from fear of being discharged.'[34]

It is accepted that between 1850 and 1870, the native, "respectable" women were replaced by immigrant workers, primarily Irish and French-Canadian. Economic historians find the cause in the massive transformations of the mill technology requiring a less skilled labor force. I am more inclined to adopt Stephen Marglin's suggestive reasoning that the social forces of the labor process determine the technology adopted during the Industrial Revolution rather than its obverse.[35] This leads to the alternative explanation that the process of capital accumulation and the forces of a developing capitalist economy, forced the Boston Associates to give up their dream of an ideal factory community built and enforced by benign paternalism. This process was reinforced by the realization on the part of both the mill owners and the operatives that factory life and efficiency meant that the women would be workers not "ladies," and the owners would be stockholders interested in their dividends, not in building a replica of the New England ideal of "the city on the hill."

In response, the mill operatives demonstrated an integrated use of political and economic tactics, which grew increasingly sophisticated, developing from spontaneous turn-outs, to strikes organized in several cities in sequence, and culminating in a state-wide political strategy. Interestingly, this mirrors the history of the English Industrial Revolution as portrayed by Thompson and by Marx.[36] The three states in the mill owner's actions follow the classical Marxian model of increasing surplus-value through: (1) lengthening the working day; (2) reducing wages; and (3) instituting a "speed-up" and intensifying the labor process; thereby increasing surplus-labor time, absolute surplus-value, and finally, relative surplus-value.[37]

One important issue which arises is the significance of the fact that most of these workers were women. We may ask to what extent they used notions of "womanhood" to organize their resistance? And to what extent is the fact that they were a group of women useful or detrimental to their task of organizing, given the social circumstances of their times? The study of "social control" and of resistance in the workplace and the community is always a problematic analysis. Social control mechanisms are most successful when the people who are being controlled do so through self-discipline or through the discipline of their families or other organizations. The owners exert this control in the mill, but the women of the Lowell-Waltham System mills, to a large extent, controlled the social sector of their lives, with "female bonding" and socialization in the boarding houses and social clubs. It is a useful speculation that the resistance to the controls within the mill was organized and supported through the social networks that developed within the community as well as the "families" that formed in various mill work-rooms.[38] The beginnings of organized economic and political activity among American working women occurred at the same time as the origins of the Women's Rights Movement. The extent of mutual influence needs further study. Sarah Bagley and Eliza Hemingway gave their testmony to the General Court three years prior to the Seneca Falls Convention, and the "Mary Wollstonecraft" speech precedes the Grimke sisters' public preaching.

This study has indicated the need to know more about the relationship between the dialectic process of the creation of capitalistic production and workers' resistance, and the special circumstances of social organization among women workers. The issues of labor and community have been addressed in several recent works in labor and urban history. These need to be integrated with the feminist analysis. This paper has shown that a factory work force of women used organizing among women to resist extraction of surplus-value. This activity in Lowell-Waltham did not result in a sustained movement among working class women, in part due to the life-cycle nature of women's employment, and in part due to the success of the employers' tactics in separating native and immigrant workers over the issue of "respectability."[39] Perhaps the most important impediment to permanent organization was the fluidity of the American society and economy at this time, which did not create a sustained organization of working class men either. However, the lessons for the development of such a sustained organization among working women are instructive. The women workers of the Lowell-Waltham System consistently developed more sophisticated tactics of response to the changing nature of their employment. These included learning to cooperate within the town and then within the System, often using the "feminine ideal" to their own advantage, and forcing public opinion to focus upon their situation. More importantly, they did not sit idly while their working conditions changed, but participated in the dialectic process, an activity which transformed the mills and transformed their lives.

NOTES

1. Carolyn Ferrar Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture* (Boston, 1931), p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*; Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago 1917, reprinted 1966).

3. Christopher Clark, "The Household Economy, Market Exchange, and the Rise of Capitalism in the Connecticut Valley, 1800-1860," forthcoming in the *Journal of Social*

History, and the New England Farm Center at Hampshire College, have inspired my colleagues in the New England Studies Program to suggest a direct linkage between the displacement of the farm daughters' work with the introduction of large-scale sheep farming in New England, at the same time that the decrease in the "putting-out" system sent the women into the mills.

4. Ware, *Passim.*, Hannah Josephson, *The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates* (New York, 1949), Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

5. Ware, *Passim*, Josephson, *passim.*

6. Literary evidence of workers who were sending money home to support younger siblings, paying off the mortgage on the family farm, sending a brother to college, or who were alone in the world, runs through William Scoresby, *American Factories and their Female Operatives* (Boston, 1845) (original copy in the Yale Collection and the Library of Congress), as well as more recent collections, including Benita Eisler, editor, *The Lowell Offering* (Philadelphia and New York, 1977) and Philip S. Foner, editor, *The Factory Girls (*Urbana, 1977). This parallels the analysis of Jean W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly in their paper presented at the Berkshire Women's History Conference, Cambridge, Fall 1974, and in their more recent work, *Women, Work and Family* (New York, 1978). Empirical evidence of the economic value of daughter's domestic production can be derived from Tryon, *op. cit.* and the late Peggy Howard's pioneering work on household "Z-goods."

7. See definitions of social control in the articles in the Special Issue of *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Fall, 1974. Particularly articles by Stephen A. Marglin, "What Do Bosses Do? The origins and functions of Hierarchy in Capitalist Production" and by William Lazonick, "Karl Marx and Enclosures in England."

8. Josephson, p. 230.

9. Andrews, John B. and Bliss, W.D.P. *History of Women in Trade Unions*, Senate 61st. Congress, 2nd. session, Document #645 (Washington, 1911), pp. 23-4.

10. E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, Number 38, pp 56-97.

11. John R. Commons, et. al., *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1926), Volume I, p. 422.

12. Josephson, p. 231.

13. E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, Number 50, pp. 76-136.

14. Josephson, p. 221 and Ware, p. 267.

15. Josephson, p. 222 and Ware, p. 267.

16. For evidence of similar practices in Great Britain, see Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, Chapter 10.

17. Ware, p. 250; Josephson, p. 231.

18. Josephson, p. 232.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 234-35.

21. Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *The American Historical Review*. (June 1973).

22. Lucy Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*, originally published in 1889 (New York, 1961), and Harriet J. Hanson, *Loom and Spindle* (New York, 1898).

23. Josephson, p. 238.

24. Robinson, pp. 84-85.

25. Scoresby, op. cit., pp. 30-31. In the introduction to the 1845 edition in the Library of Congress, the Reverend cites "a very kind and attentive friend Amos Lawrence, Esq. and accompanied by another gentleman who showed (sic) me considerate kindness William Appleton, Esq.," so we may trust that Scoresby's evidence, if biased, was biased in the direction of the mill owners.

26. Josephson, pp. 213-219.

27. Vera Shlakman, "Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts," *Smith College Studies in History*, Vol. XX, Nos. 1-4, October, 1934-July, 1935. 1935.

28. Holly Snyder, "Living on the Corporation: The Textile Industry, Textile Workers, and Aspects of Social Control in Manchester, New Hampshire, 1831-1936," Hampshire College Division III Independent Paper, May 1979 and current studies of other milltowns in New England underway at Hampshire College. Daniel Creamer and Charles W. Coulter, *Labor and the Shut-Down of the Amoskeag Textile Mills* (Philadelphia: WPA National Research Project, Report no. L-5 1939), original in Library of Congress.

29. Josephson, pp. 256-57.

30. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 59.

31. Josephson, p. 258-59.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 260-61; Gutman, *op. cit.*

33. Flexner, p. 58.

34. Josephson, p. 220-221, 275.

35. Marglin, *op. cit.*

36. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1964) and above cited articles; Karl Marx, *Capital* (New York, 1967).

37. For the distinction between necessary labor-time and surplus labor-time see Marx, Vol. I, Parts 3 and 4, passim.

38. I have explored this issue at greater length in the long version of this paper, *op. cit.*, and Thomas Dublin's newly published *Women and Work* (New York, 1980) is relevent.

39. Tamara K. Hareven's accumulated work particularly "Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town, 1900-1924," in *Family and Kin in Urban Communities* and "The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1912-1922: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life," *Labor History* (Vol. 16, #2 Spring 1975) and Thomas Dublin's accumulated work particularly his unpublished paper. Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry" also in the RRPE Special Issue, describes in detail the notion of "divide and conquer," or labor market segmentation as used with ethnic diversity.