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A social, economic, and intellectual history of Fall River, Massachusetts

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
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Thesis

A SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
OF FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS

Submitted by

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(A. B., Brown University, 1951)

In partial fulfillment of requirement for
the degree of Master of Education

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INTRODUCTION

Problem. This is a study of the history of Fall River. It touches briefly on the early period of settlement. This history is mainly concerned with the economic, social, and, to a lesser extent, intellectual growth of Fall River.

Generally, there is no consistent attempt made to use a year-by-year organization. While an effort has been made to veer away from this much used "historical form," it should be pointed out that a study of this type falls logically into broad historical periods.

Significance of this Study. Most city histories are cut and dried. They begin at the "beginning," name names, describe the deeds of the "patriots," list the names of mayors and other important city officials, and end with a ringing statement written by the President of the Chamber of Commerce extolling the virtues of his fair city.

This work is interested in the economic growth of Fall River, and in the social problems that the city has had to face and to solve in its development. The study will try to come to some conclusions concerning the effect economic developments have had on the social

growth of the people of Fall River. Then, too, the study will attempt to draw some conclusions about the intellectual history of the city. Thus, the significance of this study stems from the fact that there is a need for an economic and social interpretation of the history of Fall River.

Fall River is representative of the great transformation that took place in so many cities along the Atlantic seaboard during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Industrialism, immigration, urbanization, atomization, unionism, economic concentration, expansion, depression are the vocabulary of this study. That is to say, these terms are the fibers which have made the economic and social fabric of the one time "Manchester of America."

The significant point is that the economic and social problems of Fall River were not unlike those of similar cities in America and Europe during the period of transformation. How Fall River differed, if it differed, will be ascertained.

It must be kept in mind that the very nature of this work means that the interpretation will be subjective and selective. However, at all times the interpretation will be based on historical facts. It

is hoped that this work will be informative and helpful to the readers.

Organization. This study has been organized into three eras, the beginnings to 1800, 1800 to 1900, and the first 50 years of the 20th Century.

A word of explanation is necessary. The first part is brief simply because the study is concerned only incidentally with the early conditions. It does have a definite place in this work because some perspective is necessary. The middle period covers 100 years, of which the last 30 are extremely important. The third part considers the growth of the city in the troubled 20th Century. As may be surmised, the emphasis of this work is on the second and third parts.

CHAPTER I

EARLY PERIOD

At its peak, Fall River had over 100 mills and 130,000 people. Little did the earliest explorers ever expect such a manufacturing metropolis to develop. The first explorers of the region which is now Fall River were Norwegian, Portuguese, and English.¹ Today Fall River is populated by many nationalities quite in keeping with the spirit of America.

It is always interesting to review the early history of places, and the following is a brief account of the early history of Fall River. Since Fall River was not founded until 1803, and then only as a town, there is not too much in the way of material before that time. That is to say, there is little of interest in the form of material of an economic, social, and intellectual nature. The economic and social history of Fall River really began to send out shoots after the great fire of 1843. Consequently, the first chapter is concerned with interesting early conditions and the really important historical incidents.

1. Samuel Eliot Morison, Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1940.

A controversy still continues concerning the veracity of the story that Leif Ericson landed on the shores of Mount Hope Bay around 1000. Arthur Phillips states the following:¹

"My theory of Norse visits to Narragansett Bay has been and doubtless will further be criticized, due to a fair question as to whether the proof is sufficient. I am writing of ancient times before written histories were numerous."

At any rate Phillips presents a fairly logical reasoning for his belief that Leif Ericson and a band of his followers did land in the region which is now Fall River. In 1831, a skeleton in armor was unearthed. Some authorities maintain that the skeleton was the remains of one of the Norsemen. Others hold that the skeleton was the remains of an Indian, who had made an armor breastplate in the style of the early Pilgrims. On this point, Goodwin states:²

"Still the debatable accoutrements" structure was ahead of Indian art, and an analysis by Berzelius shows their composition to be nearly identical with the old Norse armor, to which their shape also bears close resemblance."

1. Arthur Sherman Phillips, The Phillips History of Fall River, Vol. 1, Dover Press, Fall River, 1945, p. 5.

2. John A. Goodwin, The Pilgrim Republic, Ticknor and Company, 1888, Boston, p. 141.

About 1007, another Norseman is supposed to have settled for a short time in the region of Mount Hope Bay. In fact, some authorities maintain that the markings on the "Dighton Rock" can be attributed to Ericson and Thorfinn. However, Professor Delabarre points out that since the words "Miguel Cortereal" appear on the rock, and thus the inscriptions are probably his responsibility.¹ Others say that many of the inscriptions are not legible enough to give ample proof that Miguel Cortereal was the sole inscriber of the rock.

One point is quite certain, however, and that is that Miguel Cortereal set out from Lisbon in search of his brother Gaspar in 1502. Miguel never returned home, and it is generally assumed that he passed away before the visit of Joseph Verazzano in 1524 to the region of Narragansett and Mount Hope Bays.

Verazzano wrote the following impressions about the Indians.²

"...that they exceeded the Europeans in size, were of very fair complexion, some inclined to a more white and others to a tawny color; that their faces were sharp and their hair long and

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 9.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

black, and evidenced by its adornments the exercise of great care; that their eyes were black and keen, their demeanor gentle and attractive, with nothing to suggest bodies other than that of such good proportion as belong to well-formed men; that the women were graceful, handsome, and attractive in dress and manners, but with no clothing other than the ornamental deer skins, though some wore rich lynx skins over their arms, various ornaments on their heads, with braided hair hanging to their breasts; that the married people wore ornaments in their ears, hanging down in oriental fashion."

Region of Fall River. The land area on which Fall River is now situated was at one time part of the Plymouth Colony. The territory which the Plymouth Colony encompassed was originally exclusively controlled by the Pokonoket nation of Indians. The tribal organization of the Pokonoket nation was made up of twelve Indian tribes, of which the Wampanoags were the chief tribe. The Wampanoags inhabited most of the territory to the west of Fall River. The Pocassets were next to the Wampanoags in power, and they controlled those lands that included Fall River, Berkley, Freetown, and touched on the lands of the present Westport and Tiverton.

The following statements give a representative picture of what the earliest colonists thought about the Indians who inhabited the land area which comprised the new Plymouth Colony:¹

Roger Williams said, "God was pleased to give me a painful patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy smoke-holes, in order that I might gain their tongue."

William Morrell, a minister, reported that the Indians "Conceal their designs and never display their intents till they conclude their end by might or fraud."

Two Pilgrims reported the conditions of Massasoit's wigwam impossible because with "bad lodging, barbarous singing, lice and fleas within doors and mosquitoes without, we could hardly sleep."

It is plain that the early colonist did not have much regard for the living conditions of the Indians. Fortunately for the first settlers, the Indians were not on the warpath. With the exception of small skirmishes the colonists and the Indians lived in relative peace.

However, in June of 1675 the Indians began a conflict with the settlers, King Philip's War. King Philip was the head of the Wampanoags. The territory which later became Fall River did not have any fighting, but the adjacent towns of Tiverton, Rehoboth, and Swansea did. As for Philip, there remains some disagreement as to his title of King and to his courage. In view of the

1. Ibid., p. 12.

fact that Philip did not attempt to save his wife and child and that he was running away when he was finally shot by one of his followers, one might very easily draw the conclusion that he was neither a king nor a courageous man. He did have good qualities, for he maintained fairly good relations with the white people, who, unfortunately, mistreated the Indians from time to time. At any rate, the War finally came to an end in 1676; much praise for the ultimate defeat of King Philip went to Colonel Benjamin Church, who proved himself a resourceful and courageous leader.

As for the economic, social, and intellectual influence of the Indian civilization, one is quite correct to suggest it was very minor. It is so easy to forget that Indians held sway along the Atlantic seacoast, but every time one is about to forget the fact an Indian name or an Anglicized version of an Indian name or word stares him in the face. Many people fail to appreciate the fact that there is much about Fall River reminding one that the Indians were once here. For example, the Mount Hope Bay is nothing more than the Anglicized Indian word Mon-top or Mont-haup, meaning "The Head". Quequechan is the Indian expression for "It leaps", meaning falling water, or

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quick running water. Thus, one has the derivation of the name Fall River.¹ Shortly, the significance of the Quequechan River will be presented.

Many of today's young generation usually have the Hollywood concept of Indians, namely, that they were all in the "wild" west, and in order to subdue them, a combination of fire water and the U. S. Cavalry was needed. The early settlers were therefore fortunate that the Indians did not make a concerted effort to dislodge them from their "beachhead". At any rate, the white people surely had a profound effect on the Indians. Western civilization was a vastly superior plain to that of the Indian. On the other hand, other than keeping many of the Indian names and a few of the Indian practices, which are usually reserved for the Boy Scouts, the early white people were not influenced to any significant extent economically, socially, or intellectually. This is not to convey the idea that the Indian wars and influences did not affect the mode of life of the frontier people, but rather that the Indian culture only sporadically penetrated the Western culture.

1. Massachusetts Tercentury (Compiled by the Tercentenary Committee of Fall River, Munroe Press, Fall River, Massachusetts, 1930), pp. 15-16.

Thus, in closing this brief survey of the early conditions, one can come to the general conclusion that along the east coast, the legacy of the Indian civilization is to be found in the Indian names, legends, scattered Indian reservations, and Indian handiwork.

CHAPTER II

FALL RIVER 1676-1800

Brief survey of Fall River between 1676-1800. This is just a brief survey of the period between the end of King Philip's War and the incorporation of Fall River as a town. Economically, socially, and intellectually this period is not too important. This statement does not intend to discount the importance of the "beginnings", for the origin of "things" are of prime importance. The point is that this paper is concerned more with 19th and 20th century Fall River. None the less, a brief account of the highlights in this period of 125 years is important for perspective.

Few Settlers. Generally, it is agreed that there were few settlers in the territory which now makes up Fall River before 1675. Supposedly, in July of 1656 a tract of land was sold to a John Barnes of Plymouth Colony, part of which comprised the site of the present Fall River.¹ The purchase took the name of the Freeman's Purchase. It is interesting to note that the buyers paid the Indians well, at least in relative terms. The

1. Frank W. Hutt, History of Bristol County, Vol. I (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, 1924), pp. 305-306.

payment was essentially as follows:¹

"Twenty coats, two rugs, two iron pots, two kettles, one little kettle, eight pairs of shoes, one dozen hatchets, six pairs of stockings, one small kettle, one dozen hose."

It is important to keep in mind that the Pilgrims were not Puritans. On this point, Goodwin states:²

"The Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of our New England, were not Puritans. They were never called by that name, either by themselves or their contemporaries. They were Separatists, slightly called Brownists, and in time became known as Independents or Congregationalists. As Separatists they were oppressed and maligned by the Puritans. They did not restrict voting or office-holding to their church-members. They heartily welcomed to their little State all men of other sects, or of no sects, who adhered to the essential of Christianity and were ready to conform to the local laws and customs."

Freeman's Purchase. Thus, the Freeman's Purchase was accomplished by men of the Plymouth Colony, who were definitely not Puritans. Of course, the above account is a little too enthusiastic and the last phrase makes up for what went before. That is, they were heartily welcomed if they were ready to conform to their local laws. Generally, there tended to be within each religious community a demand for conformity and an oppression of the diverse minority religious groups. In

1. Henry M. Fenner, History of Fall River, Prepared under the direction of a Committee of Prominent Citizens appointed by Mayor John Coughlin, Smiley Publishing Company, New York, 1906.

2. John A. Goodwin, op. cit., p. 1.

fact, as proud as Rhode Island is of Roger Williams and his concept of religious freedom, he did not take kindly to the influx of the banished Quakers of Massachusetts.¹ Thus, in the Colonial Period there tended to be an element of religious intolerance of varying degrees in each community.

The first inhabitants and purchasers of Fall River were "Mayflower" descendants. They came for reasons of religious freedom and the opportunity of developing a livelihood.²

Freetown. In 1683, the purchasers incorporated their settlement as the town of Freetown. The northern section of Fall River was part of the original purchase. To the purchasers, Freetown had many advantages. It was bounded on the west by a salt water river and bay, the Taunton River and the Mount Hope Bay, and to the east by the fresh water ponds, the North and South Watuppa. To the South, it was bounded by the Quequechan River. It should be pointed out that the Quequechan River was in many ways the key to the development of Fall River. In a later chapter, some interesting considerations will be mentioned pertaining to the relationship of the

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 12

2. Frank W. Hutt, op. cit., pp. 305-306.

economic development of Fall River and the river. Incidentally, over a period of years there were boundary disputes between the neighboring towns and Fall River and between Rhode Island and Fall River. A detailed account of the boundary dispute is unnecessary, but at one time this was a major source of discussion and argument.¹

Fall River's advantages for growth. From the above, it can be surmised that Fall River might eventually become an important town. This is what some of the early settlers believed and, of course, they based their conviction on the realities of geography. The period of early settlement of Fall River was that of wooden ships, windmills, and dependence on water power. The great transformation that was in the offing had not come to Europe and was not to come for about 150 years. In fact, the "Glorious Revolution" had not occurred, when Matthew Boomer is supposed to have settled and built the first house in Fall River. Thomas Durfee was also one of the earliest settlers in Fall River, and his son, Colonel Joseph Durfee, wrote a short account of his personal experiences in Fall River:²

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 20.

2. Arthur S. Phillips, The Phillips History of Fall River, Vol. II, p. 116.

"He says that the Bordens were the owners of the Fall River stream; that at that time much of the city was a wilderness and a feeding place for goats; that the Bordens and Durfees were principal owners of the land included in the Pocasset Purchase, including all of the land on Main Street for more than a mile; that Thomas and Joseph Borden owned the south side of Fall River stream and Stephen Borden owned the north side; that Thomas Borden owned the saw mill and grist mill standing where the old saw and grist mill stood near the Iron Works; that Joseph Borden, brother of Thomas owned a fulling mill near the location of the Pocasset Mill; that Stephen Borden owned the north side of the stream where there stood two saw mills; that the stream was very small but the falls were so high that there was little need for dams or an artificial pond. That near where Main Street now crosses the stream, there was a small foot bridge which afforded the only means of crossing stream, except that the stream could be forded; that there was formerly a small dam near where the Troy Mill stands and that water flowed over it the greater part of the year; that when the water supply lessened the mill owners on the stream hoisted the gates and let the water down. It was quite usual for the water to be so low and the river so narrow at the head of the stream that it could be easily stepped across and it was often not more than six inches deep."

Before this time, however, Benjamin Church of King Philip's War fame, and his brother built what in all probability was the first saw mill on the Quequechan River in 1691. Finally, in the early 1700's Benjamin Church made it possible for Joseph and Richard Borden to gain control of the entire river by selling his half control to them. Thus, they might reasonably be called by a late 19th century term, Fall River's first monopolist.

The Reverend Orin Fowler states as follows:¹

"In 1703, Colonel Church had moved to Fall River and improved the water-power, by erecting a saw-mill, grist-mill and fulling-mill. His dwelling-house stood between the present residence of Colonel Richard Borden and that of his brother Jefferson and remained till within forty years. He continued at Fall River but a few years; and Sept. 18th 1714, sold the above named twenty-six and a half shares to Richard Borden of Tiverton, and Joseph Borden of Freetown, sons of John; and thus the lands on both sides of the river, with all the water-power, came into the possession of the Borden family, John Borden having previously purchased that on the north side west of Main Street."

Slow progress. The 18th century with the exception of the Revolutionary era found Fall River progressing at a very slow pace. As already pointed out, most of the early settlers were descendants of the "Mayflower". It is interesting to note that proportionately there were many Quakers among the first settlers of Fall River. A plausible explanation is that the Puritans, the Pilgrims, and some of Roger Williams' followers were not at all enthusiastic about Quaker tenets. Of these, the Puritans were the more autocratic, and at that time the Pilgrims ran a close second. In fact, it was a state law for each town to have a minister, and a Congregational minister at that. At any rate, since Fall River was on the

1. Reverend Orin Fowler, History of Fall River, (Almy and Milne, Printers, Fall River, 1862), p. 60.

periphery of Boston and was adjacent to Rhode Island, in all probability these Quakers sought a more amiable environment. None the less, the law was in effect in Fall River and throughout the entire Commonwealth. It was not finally taken off the books until 1833.

The social, economic, and intellectual growth of Fall River before the 19th century was quite modest. The mode of life by today's standards was primitive. Most labor was devoted to farming, which was in keeping with early agrarian America.

Colonial Period. Most of the manufacturing was done at home. In fact the word manufacturing is not used correctly here, for the manufacturing of the Colonial Period was much different from what it is today. Before and during this Colonial Period, most products came from the family home and were used for local consumption. The practice of mercantilism was in vogue during this period, and as a consequence most New England towns produced goods for local consumption and not for export. In England, the production of woolens, cloth, etc. in the home was called the "putting-out-system". Therefore, it might be applied to the home production of the early settlers of Fall River. For example, the shoemaker, cabinetmaker, and other

artisans would visit families once or twice a year in order to take care of their needs. Women and children were responsible for the making of the family's clothes; in fact, the old spinning wheel was an indispensable implement. In a sense, "working hands" best describes the Colonial Period in Fall River. Consequently, families averaged between twelve and fourteen children. This period was before the advent of modern medical science when the infant mortality rate was very high and also before the development of "overemployment", which in turn created unemployment.

As for the education of the young, there is very little material available. One thing is certain, the three R's were taught to the children. It was customary to have the local minister teach the children. This practice continued for a number of years in Fall River as in other small New England towns. There were few teachers and still fewer schools. Generally, the people of the period believed the school of practical things was more important, and most children went out into the world at the early age of fourteen or less. However, this was consistent with the times.

Communications. In the Colonial Period, communications were still not much further advanced on land

than in the period of Charlemagne. Of course, there were improvements in sailing techniques and construction of ships and carriages. The early settlers of Fall River travelled about the same speed on land as did their forbears. Fall River people built their own boats and by using the Taunton River were able to go to surrounding towns such as Boston and Providence.

War for Independence. As already mentioned, Fall River was, in a sense, on the outer edge of Colonial politics. This semi-isolation promoted a Tory attitude, for when the citizens heard of the Boston Tea party they were disturbed and critical of the action.¹

Once the facts and revolutionary propaganda had been heard, the citizens of Fall River, which in point of fact was still Freetown, rallied to the cause for Independence. On July 15, 1776, the citizens solemnly declared:²

"We are ready with our lives and our fortunes to support the General Congress in declaring the United American colonies free and independent of Great Britain. (We appeal) to ye Supreme Governor of the world for our sincerity in the declration."

1. Henry M. Fenner, compiler, History of Fall River, Massachusetts (Compiled for the Cotton Centennial under direction of the Historical Committee of the Merchants Association, Fall River Merchants Association), 1911, p. 14.

2. Frank W. Hutt, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 316.

The only danger to Fall River was the chance that the English would carry on hit and run raids. Since Fall River was close to the important port of Newport, it is not surprising to discover that the English did raid Fall River in May of 1778. Supposedly, the skirmish took place on the site of the City Hall.

The "Battle of Fall River" was a very minor affair, but many of Fall River's loyal citizens, especially the Daughters of the American Revolution, think otherwise.

Little drastic change. Altogether, Fall River had not changed drastically from the time the first white man sailed up the Mount Hope Bay to 1800. To be sure, the Indian civilization had been pushed back into the wilderness, and the early settlers of Fall River were contributing something to the development of the "American Mind". The development of modern industrialism had a slow start. Then in the 19th century, the tide waters overflowed their banks, and industrialism, atomization, urbanization, and materialism began to inundate the land of the Quequechan.

CHAPTER III

EARLY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

Preliminary considerations. In considering the great changes that took place in Fall River's growth during the 19th century, it is necessary to contemplate important factors such as the number of people, the growth of the population, the means by which they maintained their livelihood, the source of the people's wealth, and their conditions of life. The following comment by Dietz is quite appropriate here:¹

"The idea of using money to make more money can be applied only in a society where there is an expansion of the market, and that expansion was given by opening of new continents, as at a later date, but by the increased wants and needs of townsmen and courtiers."

Textile industry. The majority of the people of Fall River were engaged in the textile industry. Thus, they were a part of an economy which guaranteed a good living during periods when the markets for textile goods expanded, but in periods of market contraction they were faced with a depression, not only economically but socially and intellectually.

1. Frederick C. Dietz, A Political and Social History of England, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 131.

The town of Fall River. In 1803, Fall River became a town, and a year later the name was changed to Troy. Finally, in 1834 the townspeople changed the name back to Fall River, and in 1854 the people saw their town become a city. One might surmise that during this period progress was not very great. The point is the townsmen were laying the foundation for the "Manchester of America".

First Cotton Mill. In 1811, the first cotton mill was built at the Globe Village. This was the beginning. The following enthusiastic account is ample proof that the early captains of industry had reason to be confident that 1811 was only the beginning:¹

"In the union of hydraulic power and navigable waters, it Fall River is perhaps without a parallel upon the American continent. Its hydraulic power is derived from a small stream - Fall River - whence the name of the city which has its source, or is in reality the outflow of a chain of ponds lying two miles east of the bay, covering an area of some 3500 acres, and having a length of about eight miles, and an average breadth of three quarters of a mile. They are mostly supplied by perennial springs, through receiving the outlets of several other sheets of water. The extent of country drained is comparatively small - not over 20,000 acres, and the quantity of power therefore is to be attributed

1. Frederick M. Peck and Henry H. Earl, Fall River and Its Industries, New York, Atlantic Publishing and Engraving Company, 1877, pp. 6-7.

to the springs alluded to, and to the great and rapid fall of the river, which in less than half a mile is more than 132 feet. Within this distance there are no less than eight falls, each occupied by mills - the height of fall at each mill being as follows:

Table 1. The Height of Each Fall of Each Mill on the Quequechan River

Dam to Troy.....	2	feet	6	inches
Troy C. & W. Manufactory.....	15	"	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
Pocasaset Mill.....	21	"	8	"
Quequechan Mill.....	21	"	0	"
Watuppa.....	15	"	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
F. R. Print.....	10	"	0	"
F.R. Manufactory.....	14	"	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
Annawan Manufacturing Company.....	14	"	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
F. R. Iron Works Company.....	13	"	11	"
	<u>129</u>	feet	<u>1</u>	inches

The whole of this fall occurs in a distance of 2300 feet. In one case the falls are only 136 feet apart, and this distance occurs between the two greater falls. The flow of the river is one hundred and twenty-one and a half cubic feet per second, or 9,841,500,000 imperial gallons in a year of three hundred days of ten hours each. The remarkable advantages of this river as a mill stream have increased by building a dam at the outlet of the ponds, which gives the water an additional fall of two feet; and its lower banks are entirely built up with large manufacturing establishments, which so rapidly succeed each other as scarcely to leave space between some of the buildings sufficient for light and air. The river for almost its entire length runs upon granite. Differing therefor from most other water-powers, this one allows the entire space between the banks to be occupied, and most of the water-wheels connected with the older factories are placed directly in the bed of the river. Moreover, while the river affords an almost uniform and constant

supply of water, it is never yet subject to excess, and an injury in consequence of a freshet has never yet been known. The river is perfectly controllable, and thus it is that the mills were built directly across the river, the wheels placed in the bed of the river, and yet from an excess of water no damage was to be apprehended. In later years, however, most of the breast wheels employed in these older mills have been supplanted by the modern appliances of turbine wheels and steam power."

Of course, the captains did not have the above statistics, but they realized that the small stream was the basis for the development of an industrial center.

The Industrial Revolution. Little emphasis needs to be placed on the effect that recent technology has upon all aspects of life. The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Whitney, Cartwright, and a host of others had revolutionary effects on the manufacture of textiles. The cotton mill promoters of Fall River were able to capitalize on these inventions. England, at first, controlled the manufacture of textile machinery, but this monopoly was short lived.¹ The Industrial Revolution, which did not reach its peak until the late 19th century, had world wide ramifications. The founders of America's cotton capitol were men of bound-

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 117.

less energy and vision. They stand out picturesquely when compared with the inheritors of their toil and sweat. The following descriptions give an interesting picture of the average "starter":¹

"Oliver Chase, the originator and agent of the Troy mill, had been brought up as a carpenter and wheelwright, and could often be seen in his early days with his broad-axe on his shoulders, around among the farmers repairing their carts and farming utensils, an active, restless nature with a keen eye for business, and not disposed to settle down in one place or occupation. He was progressive, energetic, and always ready to look into and entertain new projects. When, therefore, attention was invited to the comparatively new enterprise of cotton-yarn spinning by power, he was at once an interested observer, and soon was induced to embark personally in the business at Dighton. With the experience of manufacturing thus acquired, he came to Fall River, and of the entire list of stockholders in the Troy was the only one having a practical acquaintance with the industry.

Andrew Robeson, of New Bedford, was the pioneer of calico printing in Fall River.... He was a tall, robust man, with a large powerful frame, black hair, quick movement, and withal an ardent lover of the horse. Retaining his domicile in New Bedford, it was his daily custom to drive over to his business avocations, making the journey of fourteen miles upon a notoriously heavy road, frequently in a fraction over an hour. Upon one occasion, hearing that his factory was on fire, he forced the speed of favorite roadster to its extreme achievement, and reached the scene of conflagration in an hour, but the good horse fell dead in his tracks at the end of his route."

1. Frederick M. Peck and Henry H. Earl, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

Stimulus of the War of 1812. Conditions were ripe for men like Chase and Robeson to develop Fall River's cotton industry, for the War of 1812 necessitated the development of domestic industries. By the end of the War, the owners of new infant industries and those which developed after the war demanded protection from foreign competition.¹ Thus, the combination of new techniques, the impetus given to the development of domestic industries, and the evolution of the principle of protective tariff provided the people of Fall River with fertile soil for the cultivation of cotton mills.

The growers needed implements for growing their crops. The most important was capital, which might be called the growers' fertilizer. Without it, nothing would grow, too much of it would cause a "glut", and too little of it would create a famine. The growers had to have a sixth sense and good fortune to bring in a good harvest. Fall River was destined to be almost a place of feast or famine, for the growers were subject to the "natural laws of economics". Also the growers from time to time had to uproot a variety

1. Homer Carey Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the American People 1492-1865, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 466, 515.

of weeds which grew around their cotton "plants". These weeds came in the form of labor and social discontent, which were nourished by the rapid growth of industrialism, urbanization, and difficult working conditions. Generally, the growers tried to remedy these conditions, which were the by-products of industrialism. Since most of the growers were men of integrity, honest efforts were made to solve these problems. Unfortunately, at times they had blind spots and were thus unable to see some of the weeds of maladjustment. It would be a grave injustice to suggest that the growers were solely responsible for the unhealthy conditions. As already pointed out, these conditions were by-products of industrialism.

Rise of the Common Man. It can be little wonder that the mill workers developed a community of interest. The 19th century saw the gradual emergence of the "common man"; he demanded certain rights and considerations, and consequently the workers of Fall River joined with their fellow workers throughout the country in the movement known as liberalism. This movement was in fact a democratic revolution which affected almost all the countries of the western world. This democratic revolu-

tion had been building up for many years and in America had its first manifestation in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency. Along with beginnings of political enfranchisement of the masses went the beginnings of social and economic emancipation. When it is remembered that the direct election of senators did not come until 1916 and the so-called Magna Carta of labor, the Wagner Act, until 1936, one might suggest that there was no revolution or at least that the revolution took over 100 years and thus was so gradual that it should not be considered a revolution. Actually, the democratic revolution had cycles with each generation facing serious social and economic maladjustments. This democratic revolution had many components, each related to a particular area. Consequently, there was a revolution in political, social, and economic democracy, and it proceeded in an evolutionary pattern; at times the pace was very lethargic and at all times quite uneven. In many countries, the tragedy of totalitarianism occurred, and in no country was the course without violent storms. The captain of the ship was the government, which was made up of the people. Some of them tried to take control of the helm to the exclusion of the rest of the people, who from time to time warned the vested controllers of

the helm that there were shoals, treacherous rocks, and storm warnings along the course.

When those at the helm failed to heed the warnings of the others, an undercurrent developed which rapidly swallowed the vested controllers of the helm; and that enabled others from the crew to rechart the course. The new skippers having once themselves issued warnings to the old helmsmen were more receptive to new distress signals, but they too made the mistake of not heeding advice when the ship sailed into new waters. They likewise were placed aside by the rest of the crew and were replaced by new skippers. Occasionally, the crew selected helmsmen who proved incompetent or only average when sailing conditions demanded helmsmen of vision, courage, resourcefulness, and superior qualities. Fortunately for the crew there were some with outstanding ability; and the crew had the good judgment to select them as helmsmen in the more violent passages. Well might the crew have uttered the words of Longfellow during the passage of the ship through turbulent waters:¹

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

1. Christopher Morley, Ed. and Louella D. Everett, Associate Editor, Familiar Quotations, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1937, p. 435.

One might ask the question, how did Fall River fit into the picture? While it is true, Fall River in the first half of the 19th century was comparatively small, none the less, the people of the town were members of the crew of the ship, United States, and were doing their tasks which would contribute to a successful voyage. They had a small compartment on the ship and their own officers. These officers planned the work for the people, but when they failed to recognize legitimate complaints of the Fall River crew, they were, like the skippers of the ship, washed overboard by the tidal wave of democracy.

Conditions of work. Since a misconception might develop, it must be vigorously stated that in discussing historical trends and events one must be on guard. Conditions which may appear to a later generation as being grossly unjust, deplorable, and at times almost brutal were in point of fact not considered to be so at the particular time the conditions existed. Peck states:¹

"The hours of labor began at 5 A. M., or as soon as light, and work continued till 8 A. M., when half an hour was allowed for breakfast. Another half-hour was given at 12 M., for dinner; and work then resumed till dark or till half-past

1. Frederick M. Peck and Henry Earl, op. cit., p. 28.

7 P. M., in winter. Supper came after that. The male help were treated to New England rum at 11 A. M., and considerable excitement was created in 1827, when one of the mill foremen, recently deceased, refused to carry it around among his help, saying 'he was hired to oversee the carding-room, not to distribute liquor.'

The superintendent of a mill in 1830 received \$2 per day, which was thought to be an enormous price. Five shillings (83 cents) and a dollar per day were considered good wages. Doffer-boys had 25 cents a day, and overseers of rooms \$1.25 per day. Very much the same machines were used then as now, though of course vastly improved in these later days."

The work day was fourteen hours, and altogether counting portal to portal time and the hour spent for breakfast and dinner, the typical mill worker devoted between 15 and 17 hours out of 24 hours to his work. Generally, these hours applied to women and children. With such a heavy work load, it is surprising that the workers did not combine to demand an immediate curtailment of the working day. They did not, mostly because they were not in a position to do so. Also they were closer to the owners of the mills than at a later time; most of the owners were likewise putting in a long day's work. The country-club set was unknown in the early industrial development of Fall River.¹

"The proprietors of the Satinet Factory were remarkable for their affiliation with their help,

1. Frederick M. Peck and Henry Earl, op. cit., p. 33.

with whom they were ever on terms of easy intimacy, always seeming to regard them as their equals in the social scale.

In the long Saturday evenings of the winter months many were the gatherings around the old stove in the finishing-rooms, when the Messrs. Eddy were present and joined with their work-people in discussing the topics of the day. To this encouragement and kind companionship on the part of the principals is attributable, perhaps, the fact that so many of the employees have risen in subsequent years to honorable positions in life."

The reasons for the lack of a concerted effort to reduce the working hours and improve working conditions are too many to mention here. However, the movement of the rise of the "common man" was only beginning to be developed, and most workers acquiesced in the "nature of things" in the early years of the 19th century. All this adds up to the necessity of interpreting history in relative terms; to do otherwise, is to color 19th century history with a 20th century perspective.

As the new awakening spread, the mill workers of Fall River began to develop a more cohesive community of interest. This democratic revolution was the counter-force to the new industrialism. Thus, in the next chapter there will be a consideration of the form this democratic revolution took in the sphere of the social and economic emancipation of the workers of Fall River, the cotton plantation of the North.

CHAPTER IV

FALL RIVER AND ITS WORKERS

Population growth. The growth of Fall River, ~~in~~ ~~fact~~ of any town, depended upon a growing population. As already pointed out, there was nothing startling about the city's early increase in the number of inhabitants. In fact, well might the townsmen have been discouraged over the slow pace of growth. Fowler states:¹

"In 1820, ten respectable citizens, six of whom still reside here, had occasion to prepare a statement of facts touching the condition of this place, to be used abroad; in which they announce that 'the village contains fifty dwelling houses, two large cotton factories, several stores, one large schoolhouse, several grain and saw mills, several shops for various kinds of Mechanics, and about five hundred inhabitants.' It appears, also, from the census of this town, taken by order of government, that the increase from 1810 to 1820 was only 298 souls.... The population of the town of Fall River in 1840, was 6,738, of which about 6,200 are in the village and its immediate vicinity. In 1830, the population of the town was 4,159; in 1820, 1,594; in 1810, 1,296.

In the following table, it can be clearly seen that the rapid, indeed, almost staggering growth in population came during the last half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century.

1. Reverend Orin Fowler, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

Table 2.¹ Population Figures for Fall River between 1810 and 1875

Year	Population
1810.....	1,296
1820.....	1,594
1830.....	4,159
1845.....	10,290
1850.....	11,170
1855.....	12,680
1860.....	13,240
1865.....	17,525
1870.....	27,191
1875.....	45,160

Table 3.² Population Figures for Fall River between 1880 and 1920

Year	Population
1880.....	47,883
1885.....	56,863
1890.....	74,832
1900.....	87,906
1905.....	107,623
1905.....	106,620
1910.....	118,613
.....	119,295*
1915.....	125,011
1920.....	124,843
.....	120,845*

* United States Census

1. Henry M. Fenner, *op. cit.* 146.

2. City Document No. 64 and City Document No. 74, R. H. Pittman, Fall River, 1911 and 1921, p. 260 and p. 232.

With such a rapid urbanization of Fall River, there can be little surprise that the city, like other manufacturing centers of approximately the same size had "municipal problems"; namely, those problems which accompany modern urbanization. Some of them were the housing problem, the social problem, the water problem, the sanitation problem, the street problem, the health problem, and the labor problem.

Period of Upheaval. The years of the most rapid urbanization might in a sense be called a "period of upheaval". Factories were mushrooming, immigration was transforming the composition of the American population, and tenement houses were being thrown up. The exact cause of this great ferment is not yet known; possibly a partial explanation is to be found in the fact that many investigators look for single rather than the multiple causes. At any rate, it is popular to say that the Industrial Revolution was responsible for this phenomenon of urbanization; generally, this answer is plausible and quite correct. However, occasionally, a few writers do not place sufficient emphasis on some of the more lasting undercurrents of the Industrial Revolution. That is, they write volumes

about material progress and only incidentally mention the more permanent religious and social progress.

Industrialism and the workers. Thus the mill workers of the 19th century became the victims of too rapid industrialism and too much emphasis of materialism. The mill owners emphasized material considerations as the first order of life. To them the factories, spindles and machinery were the most important considerations. They did not place sufficient emphasis on human feelings. This is not to suggest that the mill owners were malicious, but rather that the captains of Fall River's mills were keeping in step with the temper of the 19th century. How else could they have acted? As already indicated, the "starters" of the first mills and the workers enjoyed a certain camaraderie, simply because the workers and "starters" actually turned their hands to making the factory a success.

Trend toward specialization. As the number of mills increased rapidly and as urbanization proceeded apace, the workers' sons and grandsons and the "starters" sons and grandsons grew apart; circumstances beyond the control of mill owners and workers made friendly gatherings between these two groups increasingly more diffi-

cult. To name two such circumstances: The ratio of workers to operatives was becoming larger with each passing year; the processes and techniques of manufacturing textiles became more and more complex and specialized.¹ Thus, fewer and fewer workers could turn their hands to some other phase in the manufacture of textiles, because with specialization they gradually lost contact with the other steps involved in the production of cloth. Hence, the old phrase "he's a jack of all trades" gradually changed to "he's a jack of a particular part of one trade"; consequently, a rather unfortunate trend began.

Trade Unionism. A few workers understood the language of their particular skill but were unable to understand the language of even their fellow workers who were engaged in another skill. There can be little wonder that the first labor unions followed along craft lines. Also, in view of the fact that there was a lack of understanding between working specialists, there should be no surprise that from time to time genuine misunderstanding arose between the workers and owners. The following is interesting because it points up the

1. Frederick M. Peck and Henry H. Earl, op. cit., pp. 98-111.

fact that labor was developing a cohesiveness never before known. Possibly, that is the reason the author is somewhat disturbed; none the less, he does make an interesting observation.¹

"The operatives employed in Fall River are mostly foreigners, but the American, French, and Irish elements are well disposed as a rule, and give little trouble except when led by the English (Lancashire) operators, who, having come from the most discontented districts of England, have brought their peculiar ideas and machinery of their home style of agitation along with them. This system is not relished by the other operatives, but so potent has been the influence of the active element that it has sometimes held the others in awe, and in times gone by has even been so powerful that if one of the trades-union men went into a mill and held up his hand, all the operatives at once, quitting their machines, left the mill, and went outside to find out why it was that they left work. But it is hoped that the day of this style of terrorism and despotism has gone by, and that the compulsory system of school education, now in force in Massachusetts for factory children, will put them in a position to control their own notions, rights, and interests."

Thus it was that the workers not only of Fall River, but throughout the industrialized part of the United States, were compelled to form a more cohesive community of interest. For them, their emancipation from social and economic maladjustment lay in one course, namely, trade-unionism. Of course, trade-unionism had its start

1. Henry H. Earl, A Centennial History of Fall River, Massachusetts, From 1656 to 1876, Prepared by a committee under the direction of Henry H. Earl, Atlantic Publishing and Engraving Company, New York, 1877.

in England. However, if there had never been an England, trade-unionism would still have developed. Hayes states in part:¹

"It is one of the Clic's curious paradoxes that in the closing era of the nineteenth century, when individual men were being reduced to the status of automatons in a mechanized universe and to family relationship with lower animals and chunks of carbon, the masses of mankind attained to a self-consciousness and a social importance without previous parallel, unless it were in those medieval times which good moderns were taught to contemn...."

"The trade union movement was a kind of working-class thermometer of industrialization. It developed originally, as one might expect, in England in the early part of the century, and presently spread with machine manufacture, to Belgium, France, Germany, and other Continental countries...."

"The prevailing trade-unionism of the '70's and early '80's was a craft unionism, confined mainly to skilled workmen in particular trades, notably building, engineering, coal mining, cotton manufacture, etc.... It was utilitarian and opportunist, and what philosophy it had was untinged by ideas of class conflict."

Early unions in Fall River. While this is a somewhat lengthy passage, its content is quite pertinent to this particular consideration of the emancipation of the cotton mill workers of Fall River. As Hayes indicates, trade-unionism first appeared on the scene in Europe. Since it was not a European or a national phenomenon

1. Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900, Harpers and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1941, pp. 165-168.

but rather an industrial phenomenon, trade-unionism in the textile industry began around the 1850's in Fall River. Edward Phillips states:¹

"Unions of workers in the textile industry of Fall River existed as early as 1850. One of the characteristics of unionization is the uniting of workers performing the same kinds of tasks. This was true in the textile industry. The unions were organized in accordance with the type of work being performed. In a plant manufacturing cotton cloth there are five major operations involved in turning out the finished product. In each operation there are gradations of skills necessary. The skilled operatives perform tasks that are quite similar within their respective fields. The less skilled or unskilled perform a number of heterogeneous tasks in preparing the product for the skilled operatives. This situation perhaps, is one of the reasons for early unionization in the textile industry being built on a craft basis. The skilled workers were oriented in the direction of unity by the fact that they performed similar tasks, understood each other's problems, were more closely associated and, in general spoke the same "language". Thus, when in distress or when desirous of advancing themselves, it was a natural tendency, for them to think and act in terms of the particular work they were performing.

Apparently, the mule spinners were the first to organize in the textile industry, though they were eventually displaced by the ring spinners. Lahne states:¹

1. Edward L. Phillips, Collective Bargaining and Craft Unions, an historical and analytical study of a strike for collective bargaining rights by craft unions in the textile industry of Fall River, Fall River, Loom Fixers Union, 1950, p. 2.

2. Herbert J. Lahne, The Cotton Mill Worker, Farrar Rhinehart, Incorporated, New York, 1944, p. 176.

"The mule spinners were locally organized in Fall River before 1850, but after an unsuccessful strike against a wage cut in that year the unions were broken up by blacklisting.... The blacklisting temporarily killed the union in Fall River, but scattered among the other unorganized New England centers, men who were imbued with ideas of unionization. It was not until 1858 that the Fall River mule spinners succeeded in reorganizing their own unions and formed an association of New England locals."

"Reviving in 1866, the Mule Spinners' Union began a vigorous fight for shorter hours both through union action and through legislation.... A strike over hours in 1868 destroyed the union everywhere except in Fall River, but in 1870 a wage strike broke the Fall River organization.... By this time [1873] the mule spinners in other cities had also revived their locals. Though the mule spinners temporarily succeeded in staying the wage cuts, a long strike and lockout which was lost in 1875 broke up all the unions except the Fall River mule spinners. The end of this conflict saw the first large-scale use of the "yellow-dog" contract by employers." [That is, as a condition of obtaining employment, the worker agrees that he will not join a union, even if it is to his advantage.]

Fall River a center for textile Trade-Unionism.

These excerpts illustrate quite conclusively that Fall River was a most important center in the development of trade-unionism in the textile industry. It is interesting to note that the craft unions represented a majority in the industry, simply because the textile industry requires the employment of more unskilled and semi-skilled workers than it does of the highly skilled. On this point, Lahne

makes a pertinent observation:¹

"The narrow scope of union organization has always characterized labor in the cotton manufacturing industry. Perhaps earlier than in any other field, the work of the cotton mill became largely that of the semiskilled machine tending, with only a small proportion of the operatives occupying posts that required more nominal apprenticeship and skill."

Under these circumstances, it is surprising to learn that the crafts in the cotton industry did not join with the unskilled textile workers, but rather were the aristocracy of trade-unionism.

As the Fall River textile workers progressed toward a more definite and cohesive community of interest, their colleagues were doing likewise in other parts of the country as attested by the attempt of the infant American Federation of Labor to unify the individual craft unions in the textile industry. Quite in keeping with the continuity of history, the craft unions were in a sense styled somewhat along the lines of the old guilds, which were torn asunder by industrialism. The crafts adhered to the practice of safeguarding their individuality. From time to time, the craft unions joined different labor groups, when doing so seemed feasible and expedient. However, since the craft unions

1. Herbert H. Lahne, op. cit., p. 175.

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regarded autonomy highly, they frequently seceded from the particular labor group they had previously joined.

In 1895, the craft unions deemed a central committee was desirable, and subsequently, they organized the Textile Council. The purpose of this council was to streamline the activities of the various craft groups into a comprehensive unit so as to expedite the business of dealing with the employers.

In 1896, the American Federation of Labor organized the International Union of Textile Workers, but not strictly on craft lines.¹ Hence, most craft unions refused to join, and in 1900 they organized the American Federation of Textile Operatives. In 1901, the United Textile Workers of America was founded. It evolved a merger of the International Union of Textile Workers and the American Federation of Textile Operatives and became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. James Tansey of Fall River became the President of the United Textile Workers of America.

The merger was short lived, however; the craft unions having so long enjoyed the heady wine of autonomy were unable to accept the necessary policy direction of a limited nature from a central authority. Here is an

1. Edward L. Phillips, op. cit., p. 4.

excellent example of particularism or localism, an American tradition. Thus in 1916, many craft unions completely severed their ties with the United Textile Workers of America and formed the National Amalgamation of Textile Operatives, subsequently in 1920, the American Federation of Textile Workers.¹ That is, the new organization of craft unions adopted its old name. Another attempt was made to form an all textile federation, the Federated Textile Unions of America, only to peter out in 1926.

To complete this brief account of the workers' progress toward an organization that would be able to present to the mill owners their problems and what their community of interest really was, some mention should be made about the Weavers' Union, the strongest craft union. The Weavers' Union during the late 1920's and early 1930's had a relaxation of its policy of restricting its membership solely to the weavers; by ignoring the rules of the Union, a number of unskilled workers were allowed to join. The reasons for this new attitude were numerous. Phillips states the major reasons as follows:²

1. Herbert H. Lahne, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

2. Edward L. Phillips, op. cit., p. 5.

"(1) The Weavers' Union was the largest of the craft unions and had a larger percentage of "liberals" who believed in organizing the unskilled workers; (2) although no concerted effort had been made by any other unions such as the United Textile to organize the unskilled workers it was believed to be a future certainty. Thus by taking in the unskilled workers the Weavers Union felt that it would be lessening the danger to its own position which might arise when and if the attempt should be made to organize the textile industry on an industrial basis."

By the Weavers' action, the American Federation of Textile Operatives was torn asunder because the other craft unions comprising it opposed the intrusion of the unskilled workers in a skilled workers' union. Hence, all that was needed was another period of stress to bring the American Federation of Textile Operatives to virtual collapse; this period came with severity in 1929, the year of the crash and the beginning of the "Great Depression". Lahne states:¹

"Meanwhile the depression which began in 1929 started cotton mill unionism on the slide to new low figures in membership. The A. F. T. O., whose membership had dropped below 5,000 by 1930, probably went under the following year."

Then, the United Textile Workers of America (A. F. L.) in 1934 launched a drive in Fall River to recruit members, which all but finished the once large American Federation of Textile Operatives. Finally, in 1942, the

1. Herbert H. Lahne, op. cit., p. 236.

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Textile Workers Union secured bargaining rights in practically all of the mills in Fall River, and this practically signaled the death knell of the American Federation of Textile Operatives. Thus, the action of the Weavers' Union in the late 1920's and early 1930's was prophetic.

It is interesting to note that the United Textile Workers of America did not "come to life" in Fall River until the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. Even though the American Federation of Textile Operatives was very much weakened, indeed almost a paper organization as already indicated, some of the crafts did not withdraw from it. This was in keeping with the craft's policy of individuality. For a short time, July 1942 to October 1943, a few of the more important craft unions joined the United Textile Workers. The Textile Workers Union of America came to the fore when the opposing faction of labor could not agree on the question of craft or industrial organization. The "liberals" of the United Textile Workers of America agitated for the admission of the unskilled workers, which would, of course, transform the union from a craft to an industrial union. The conservatives would have nothing to do with this policy, and as a consequence the

A. F. L. reached an impasse which finally ended in a rupture; that is, three textile unions and the United Mine Workers (A. F. L.) formed the Committee for Industrial Organization; hence, the Textile Workers Union of America had its beginning.

To be sure, Fall River was a focal point for all this unionization activity, and consequently Fall River contributed important "native sons" to this new organization. M. S. Bishop and Edward F. Doolan were most prominent as high ranking officials of the new union. In 1941 and 1942, the union was assured of success simply because rights were recognized by seven out of nine corporations in Fall River. To quote Phillips:¹

"Today it [Textile Workers Union of America] controls the union situation except for the independent Loomfixers, Slashers Tenders, Knot Tiers, and the A. F. L. Weavers. In regard to the latter there were a number of weavers who joined the Textile Workers Union of America, but the Weavers' Progressive Association, which is the official title of the Weavers' Union, retained most of them."

Fall River Central Labor Union. In conclusion, it should be pointed out that there was a "governing-body" in Fall River for the American Federation of Labor, the Fall River Central Labor Union, whose membership was on a voluntary basis. By 1943, the Weavers Progressive

1. Edward L. Phillips, op. cit., p. 7.

Association was the only craft union to have a membership in the Fall River Central Labor Union. Thus, it will be ascertained that the principle of individuality or autonomy, the basic tenet of craft-unionism, generally had an adverse effect on almost every attempt by the craft unions to organize a more cohesive organization. On the other hand, the principle of localism or individuality reduced the possibilities of a labor oligarchy. That is to say, the chances of having a handful of national union officials dictate by fiat was considerably less in those craft unions that adhered to the time honored principle of individuality. Unfortunately, industrialism is such an impersonal mechanism that often individuality is drowned out by the whirl of factory machinery.

By 1943, the textile industry was definitely organized on an industrial basis with the exception of a few craft unions that clung tenaciously to their independence. The prediction of the Weavers' Union had become a reality.

Fall River Strike of 1875. In the continual process of overcoming social and economic maladjustments, the mill workers were encouraged by considerable public support as attested by the far-sighted labor and social

legislation passed by the Massachusetts Legislature. Possibly, the enlightened representatives, senators, and governors of the Commonwealth understood the sincerity of a workingman's introduction to his account of the Fall River Strike of 1875. In many ways, this introduction was a testament of faith, not only in the democratic process but also in the social responsibility of both mill workers and owners. Of course, all along the road of social and economic emancipation for the working man, there were small bands of highwaymen, some from the workers' ranks and some from the owners' swivel chairs, that committed deeds of a most repugnant and undemocratic nature.

The workingman's introduction is in a sense an example of a belief in change by evolution and not revolution. This workingman's introduction is diametrically opposed to Marxian theory. The workingman and his colleagues repudiated Marx. As Hayes pointed out, trade-unionism "was utilitarian and opportunist, and what philosophy it had was untinged by ideas of class conflict."¹

The introduction is as follows:²

1. Carlton J. B. Hayes, op. cit., p. 166.

2. John Smith, History of the Fall River Strike, by a Workingman, revised and corrected by John Smith, Fall River, Clark and Company, Printers, 1875. pp. 3-4.

"In issuing this work to the public the writer may perhaps be charged with trying to set class against class, but such neither is nor ever was my intention. I am one of those who believe that a strike ought to be the very last resource, and in all cases where it can be avoided by mutual concessions or outside interference by the friends of both parties, it certainly ought not to take place. As is well known, the employers and employees are not only the sufferers but in many cases the small tradesman is a greater sufferer than either of the above parties who seem to be more particularly interested. The storekeeper must keep up his stock and pay his help. Rent and taxes come heavy upon him, and if the public who are his customers do not earn money, it is not expected that they can pay for the purchases. Live they must, and the storekeeper must give them credit, consequently the longer the strike lasts, the worse position the tradesman finds himself in; therefore, I argue that it is to the interest of the whole of the inhabitants of either city or town to prevent a strike wherever it is possible to do so. I have endeavored to give a fair and impartial account of each question that comes under my notice, and if I have failed to do so, the will must be taken for the deed. I hope my readers will prove themselves lenient critics, as this is my first attempt at writing a book, and had it not been for my friend Mr. John Smith, Secretary of the Weavers' Union, I should have long ago retired from the labor in despair. I have, however, with his kind assistance, completed my work, and such as it is now give it to the public. [signed: A Workingman].

This workingman in 1875 found it necessary to take the last resource, namely, to strike. The events leading up to the strike of 1875 were complex. The mill workers agreed to a 10 per cent cut in wages because of the depressed state the cotton industry was in during the closing months of 1874. Shortly after this wage reduc-

tion, the manufacturers of Fall River pleaded they could not operate on the low market price of their goods, pay the mill workers, the present salary, and also pay the stockholders a dividend. The owners' second call for a 10 per cent reduction was accepted by many of the mill workers; however, the female weavers refused to agree to the new demands. In fact, they "took this second reduction as an attempt to reduce them to the verge of pauperism. They called a meeting of female weavers, January 16, at Temple Hall refusing to admit any males."¹

Finally, a strike was decided upon; as a start only three mills were to close. This had a salutary effect, for had there been a complete shutdown of all the mills, the union would have faced certain defeat and then the entire city would have undergone much hardship. The main reason for the union's lack of strength in case of an all out strike, during the 1870's especially, was that the union did not have the necessary financial resources. By closing down only three mills in the Fall River Strike of 1875, the other mill workers were able to support those on strike.

1. John Smith, op. cit., p. 9.

Generally, the press was sympathetic toward the operatives. The strike had repercussions throughout southern New England as attested by the following account:¹

"Delegates were sent out and public meetings were held at Roxbury, Lowell, Lawrence, Great Falls, Suncook, New Market, Taftsville, Newburyport, Onleyville, Lonsdale, Berkley, Ashton, Pawtucket, New Bedford, and many other places. Resolutions were passed to support and assist Fall River operatives in their endeavor to obtain their rights, as it was generally believed that Fall River was the pioneer in the great work of bringing labor to its proper position, viz: on an equality with capital."

The union was agitating for higher pay; it should be noted that the panic of 1873 still pervaded the industrial atmosphere in 1875. As indicated, the owners contended it was impossible to operate at a profit unless wages were cut. On the other hand, the operatives held that further wage cuts would create untold hardship. As a workingman explained:²

"How many men are there in this city who have a wife and three children to support upon ten dollars and eighty cents per week. Forty-three dollars and twenty cents per month. They have to pay eight or ten dollars per month for rent, coal ten dollars per ton, beef twenty-five to twenty-eight cents per pound, butter forty-two cents per pound, and everything in proportion. We think when a man has paid for coal, rent, and provisions out of this amount, he will not

1. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

have much left for shoes and clothing, let alone being able to provide for sickness, death, etc."

When in February, the owners refused to consider the wage increase asked by the operatives, the majority of workers voted for a work stoppage in the Stafford, Chase, and Sagamore Mills to commence on February 15th and 16th. A certain Judge Laphan became the presiding officer at the Weavers' meetings about this time. He was warm in his praise of the operatives because of their fair and peaceful attitude. He maintained the employers were in a position to pay the 27 cents, for they were from the start of the strike in a very strong position.

Finally, an agreement was reached between the operatives and owners, by which the operatives would again return to the mills on March 18th and the owners would renew the 10 per cent cut, which had precipitated the strike on April 1, 1875.

Fall River Weavers' Resolution. In a resolution, the Weavers of Fall River declared in part:¹

"...We therefore in return, pledge ourselves that we will not be unmindful of our brethren and sisters in other places who are struggling against the domination of capital, but will put forth the emancipation of the down-trodden and oppressed labor."

1. Ibid., p. 25.

Thus, the mill workers of Fall River in the strike of 1875 were doing their share in bringing about the gradual emancipation of the textile factory workers. The workers were opposed to the theory of class conflict as indicated previously. Rather they believed in the democratic process regardless of how long it took to have it operate effectively. That is to say, the workers believed in the democratic process in dealing with the owners, and also in the democratic process within the union itself as attested by the statement "...and the help had no right to ask for any person to be discharged from their work because they did not subscribe to the strike fund."¹ Unfortunately, there were exceptions to the rule; and therefore, occasionally unscrupulous men gained control of the unions and used them for their own benefit. It is noteworthy that in the resolution of the Weavers of Fall River in 1875, there is a call for an arbitration board:

"How much better it would be for the employers and employed to meet amicably together giving evidence before an Arbitration Committee, each party cheerfully accepting their decision, than it is to see the bitterness that must in all cases be introduced wherever a strike takes place."

1. Ibid, p. 21.

Here was a seed for a National Labor Relations Board; how much before their time were the Weavers of Fall River, for not until 1933 was a National Labor Relations Board formed on the federal level. Indeed, the Weavers of Fall River suggested in 1875 the idea of tying wages to the price of cotton and cloth.¹

"Suppose cotton to be at its present price of $14\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound, and cloth 6 c. per yard, let the weavers' wages be twenty-seven cents per cut, should cloth come down and cotton in proportion there would be no alteration of wages, but if cloth should fall, and there be no corresponding reduction in the price of cotton, then the wages would be reduced, and vice versa if cloth should go up and cotton not do so, then the wages of the operatives would go up in accordance with the standard."

In a sense, this idea was embryonic to the practice of capital and labor in the last few years to include in the contract a so-called "elevator clause or escalator clause," which tied the workers' wages to prices and to the cost of living index. Labor unions should be indebted to the vision and good judgment of the Weavers of Fall River.

Misunderstanding between employer and employee. In the continual desire of men everywhere to improve their lot, the example of the cotton mill workers of Fall River is quite enlightening. These wage earners were aware

1. Ibid, p. 26.

that Industrialism had changed the old economic, social, and intellectual structure. As previously mentioned, the employers and employed grew further apart with the rapid growth of industrialism. In the following anecdote, J. T. Lincoln shows that misunderstanding between workers and owners was responsible for some of the labor unrest and some of the owners' unfortunate policies.¹

"The boy, hesitating at first, but encouraged by his employer's interest, said, 'I have wanted to tell you sir, for a long time, how my ideas about rich men have changed since I left the mill. The men I worked with there were Socialists, and they said rich men had no hearts. I had never known a rich man, and when I came here I was afraid every time I made a mistake that I should get a beating. The first time I was sent to your private office you spoke kindly to me, and I went home that night and told my mother that rich men were sometimes just as kind as the poor.'"

This is a true story, and what a fearful condition it illustrates--a working boy astonished that his employer could be kind! The solution of the labor problem lies in simpler means than we imagine; we fret and fume about this enactment of Law, while the real solution lies beyond the scope of each man's life--a fuller understanding of the lives of those we meet and talk with and pass each day. There exists a deplorable ignorance on the part of the smug and comfortable concerning the lives of those who toil, and a similar ignorance obtains among the workers concerning those who employ them."

1. Jonathan Thayer Lincoln, A City of the Dinner-Pail, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1909, pp. 48-50.

Thus, the emphasis in the next chapter will be on the mill owners and Fall River's industrial and financial growth, decline, and survival in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

CHAPTER V

FALL RIVER AND ITS INDUSTRY

Effect of Industrialism. The almost phenomenal growth in the textile mills had much to do with various economic and social maladjustments in Fall River. What is surprising is the fact that the dislocations wrought by industrialism were not more extensive and serious. As is well known, people are tremendously adaptable; thus, they were able to absorb many of the shocks of industrialism. That is to say, the workers and the mill owners were able to improvise and adjust fairly rapidly to the new industrial atmosphere. Unfortunately, some traditions and institutions, which are a vital part of a former age became "obsolete" in a later age.

This was the case during the last half of the 19th century. The workers found that it was considerably harder for them to change conditions of labor than it was for the captains of industry to manipulate and change the business structure to the temper of the new industrialism.

After the Civil War, the national government was quite sympathetic to business; also, during the 1880's, the Supreme Court by its decisions did much to promote

the growth of corporations. The most important declaration of the high tribunal was that a corporation was a "person", and consequently it had to receive the same protection under the Fourteenth Amendment as any other person. This decision came out of the case of Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company (1886).¹ Thus, the mill owners of Fall River, and other men of industry and finance, benefitted greatly by the Court's decisions and the sympathetic attitude of the national government to the rise of industries and with it the emergence of an industrial oligarchy.

Before the entrepreneurs had government subsidies and "gifts" of taxpayers' money, the business environment was considerably less complex, and the industrial pioneers placed reliance on individuality and ingenuity. Their generation was made up of "rugged individualists". The grandsons of these starters were almost fanatical in their devotion to "rugged individualism" - with government support. At any rate, there should be a brief consideration of the evolution of Fall River as an industrial city. Already a few comments have been made about the first cotton mill and the "typical" captain

1. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of the American People 1865-1940, New York, Macmillan Company, 1941, p. 249.

of industry of the first quarter of the 19th century, the seeds of Fall River's textile mill plantation. To complete this picture, the following paragraph is quite appropriate, for it explains the form and the course of Fall River's industrial progress to about 1845:¹

"The first thirty years of Fall River's industrial history has thus been presented as a local example of the general transition that was occurring in the New England economy. In this instance, influenced by a unique combination of geographic conditions, the new economy evolved within the geographic orbit of the old. Aided by these same conditions the local capitalists and technicians, activated by the general economic trends and stimulated by the nearby example of Blackstone, were able to take the initiative in developing the favorable water power site that was at hand. Here lay the basis for the tradition of resident ownership, control, and management which characterized Fall River's industry at least until the end of the century. By 1845, these local entrepreneurs had developed a closely knit factory town in which the cotton manufacturing was supported by a cloth printing industry, an iron industry, and the beginnings of the textile machine industry. Although still of secondary importance, a firm basis had been created for the rapid growth that was to accompany the changing conditions of the succeeding thirty years and was to make Fall River the leading textile center in New England."

Single Industry city. Similarly applicable is the following comment of Wolfbein for by becoming the leading textile city of New England and eventually of the United States, Fall River paid a very heavy price. As will be

1. Thomas Russell Smith, The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts, King's Crown Press, New York, 1944, p. 39.

seen, Fall River by becoming a single industry city placed itself in a very unstable position.

Wolfbein states:¹

"The inventions of Kay, Hargreave, Cartwright, Crompton and Watt followed in quick succession and set the stage whereby the destinies of large areas throughout the world became inexorably linked with that of the cotton textile industry."

In a short publication by the Fall River Trade and Industry Association (1912), there is further verification that Fall River had an extensive economic concentration in the textile industry:²

"The city of Fall River, has been developed almost exclusively along the lines of textile manufactures. It has, of course, other industries, but they as a rule are supplemental, or kindred industries; and what are not so are as yet unimportant, in comparison with the number and value of mills engaged in the production of cotton goods in all their varieties of manufactures.... Indeed, so intensely devoted have they [the people of Fall River] been to this one enterprise, that they neglected to develop other enterprises for which their location is equally as well adapted, until the city's prosperity and growth have brought some citizens to the belief that it is possible for a community to attain such size and importance as to make it essential and for the best interests of all, to encourage the cultivation and development of a variety of industries in order to obviate a possible condition of complete dependence and helplessness in case of prolonged depression in the one important industry."

1. Seymour Louis Wolfbein, The Decline of a Cotton Textile City, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, p. 17.

2. Fall River Trade and Industry Association, Fall River, Massachusetts, A City of Opportunity, Fall River, F. R. Acornley and Company, 1912, p. 57.

From the above, it will be ascertained that the leading business men of Fall River in 1912 were aware that the city needed to diversify its industry. However, cotton manufacturing was fixed on Fall River simply for the fact that it had been a very profitable investment for the stockholders; surely, they would scorn investing in new and untried industrial enterprises. Furthermore, many of Fall River's citizens would have considered investing in other industries as an act of "disloyalty" to the city, for the mark of a really loyal citizen was to hold stock in the city's mills. In order to have prevented economic concentration, diversification of the city's industry should have started concurrently with the growth of the textile industry. Unfortunately, Fall River's entrepreneurs failed to bring other industries into the city. As a consequence, diversification was forced upon them by the disaster of a shattering depression. The depression of 1929 almost shattered all the window panes in the scores of mills throughout the city. The truth is that as the depression rolled on month after month, mills became more and more macabre in appearance. The sheer brick and granite walls of the mills with thousands of small piercing holes and large gaping holes

in the almost countless panes of glass was mute testimony to the fact that the once proud "Manchester of America" had become a skeleton. Mill upon mill closed, liquidated, or went into bankruptcy in those agonizing years of the depression, and became the gravestones marking the demise of Fall River's cotton manufacturing supremacy. The following tables show the growth and the decline in the number of mills up to 1940. The important point is what the situation was in 1940. To read closely is to understand why Fall River had become a skeleton of its former self with respect to the production of cotton cloth.¹

"It has been generally conceded that the capacity of the cotton mill is best decided by the number of spindles which the mill is operating. For many years the valuation of cotton mills was determined, for taxation and other purposes, by multiplying the number of spindles by the average cost per spindle, that of course, varying with the fineness of the yarns which were manufactured.

The attached table gives the number of spindles in Fall River since 1854. Where years are omitted, the increase or decrease has been gradual between the years which are stated."

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., P. 134.

Table 4. The Number of Spindles in
Fall River since 1854.
1 & 2.

Year	Number of Spindles
1854	117,636
1862	192,620
1865	265,328
1866	403,624
1868	537,416
1870	544,606
1871	788,138
1872	1,094,702
1873	1,212,694
1874	1,258,508
1875	1,269,048
1880	1,390,830
1885	1,742,884
1890	2,164,664
1895	2,833,691
1900	3,042,472
1905	3,254,094
1910	3,931,464
1911	3,899,092
1912	3,959,040
1915	3,795,324
1920	3,802,012
1921	3,805,012
1922	3,796,332
1923	3,759,186
1924	3,844,858
1925	3,645,400
1930	2,678,556
1931	2,115,804
1932	1,952,196
1933	1,866,648
1934	1,876,304
1935	1,827,656
1939	968,248
1939	962,976

1. Arthur S. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135
2. Frederick M. Peck and Henry H. Earl, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-118.

Table 5. Cotton Mills in Fall River 1917-1940*¹

1917	Approximate Time of Closings and Liquidations	Still Operating in 1940
1. Algonquin Printing Co.	Changed hands in 1939	1. Algonquin Printing Co.
2. American Linen Co.	Discontinued	
3. American Printing Co.	Discontinued Nov. 1934 and sold to Firestone Rubber Co. Oct. 1937	
4. American Thread Co.		2. American Thread Co.
5. Ancona Mills, The	Closed 1927	
6. Annawan Mills		3. Annawan Mills
7. Arkwright Mills		4. Arkwright Corporation
8. Barnaby Mfg. Co.	Closed 1917	
9. Barnard Mfg. Co.	Bankruptcy in April 1939	
10. Border City Mills		5. Border City Mfg. Co. 6. Bourne Mills
11. Bourne Mills		
12. Chase Mills	To Arkwright in 1938	
13. Charlton Mills	Sold in 1938	
14. Conanicut Mills	Closed in 1926	
15. Cornell Mills	Closed in 1930	
16. Davis Mills	Sold in 1931 and liquidated	
17. Davol Mills	Liquidated in May 1935	
18. Durfee Mills	Liquidated in Sept. 1935	
19. Estes Mills	Closed 1933 by Maplewood Spec. Mills	
20. Fall River Bleachery	Liquidated in May 1938	
21. Flint Mills	Liquidated in 1930	
22. Globe Yarn Mills	Sold in 1920 to Connecticut Mills	
23. Granite Mills	Sold to Pepperell	7. Pepperell Mfg. Co.

1. Arthur S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 135.

Table 5. (Continued)

1917	Approximate Time of Closings and Liquidations	Still Operating in 1940
24. Hargreaves Mills	Sold in 1922	
25. King Philip Mills	Sold in 1930 to	8. Berkshire Fine Spinning Association
26. Laurel Lake Mills	Closed 1931	
27. Lincoln Mfg. Co.	Liquidated in 1930	
28. Luther Mfg. Co.		9. Luther Mfg. Company
29. Massasoit Mfg. Co.	Sold in 1938 to	10. Massasoit Mfg. Corp.
30. Mechanics Mills	Merged with Weetamoe in 1926	
31. Merchants Mfg. Co.	Closed, burned Jan. 1934	
32. Narragansett Mills	Closed	
33. Osborn Mills	Closed, burned 1940	
34. Parker Mills	Sold to Berkshire in 1931	
35. Pilgrim Mills		11. Pilgrim Mills
36. Pocasset Mfg. Co.	Closed 1926 and burned 1928	
37. Richard Borden Mfg. Co.		12. Richard Borden Mfg. Co.
38. Sagamore Mfg. Co.		13. Sagamore Mfg. Co.
39. Sanford Mills	Sold to Firestone Cotton Mills	
40. Seconnet Mills	Sold to	14. Howard Arthur Mills
41. Shove Mills	Closed in 1932	
42. Stafford Mills	Closed in 1929	
43. Stevens Mfg. Co.		15. Stevens Mfg. Co.
44. Tecumseh Mills	Sold to Davol Mills in 1924	
45. Troy Cotton & Woolen Mfy.	Closed in 1929	
46. Union Cotton Mfg. Co.	Closed in 1929	
47. Wampanoag Mills	Closed in 1929	
48. Weetamoe Mills	Closed in 1929, burned 1940	
49. Shawmut Mills		16. Shawmut Mills 17. Foster Spin- ning Co. (built in 1919)

*Schedule Prepared by the Fall River Chamber of Commerce

The tables describe clearly the decline of Fall River's cotton industry, especially the print cloth industry. As already briefly commented upon, the seed bed for the economic collapse of Fall River's textile industry is to be found in the 1870's. The following attests to this fact:¹

"The number of spindles in Fall River mills doubled between 1855 and 1865 and quadrupled during the following decade. The basis for this historic spurt was the changed competitive position in steam and water power which, as has been shown, crystallized during the 1850's. The timing was due to the general conditions affecting the textile industry rather than to local influences. The local advantages which functioned during the 1865-75 boom were present during the late 1850's, but there was lacking the stimulating influence of the Civil War and the post-war boom."

Concentration in print cloth. To make matters more precarious as future events later proved, the textile "tycoons" concentrated in the manufacture of print cloth almost to the exclusion of other textile products. In 1875, out of every eight workers seven worked in the cotton mills; however, the significant point is the number engaged in print cloth manufacturing. To show how the textile leaders of Fall River committed a grave economic error the following suffices:²

1. Thomas R. Smith, op. cit., p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

"Twenty-six of the thirty-three corporations [1875] listed this [print cloth] as their only product, and on a spindleage basis the specialization was even more complete."

Climatic conditions. Of course, there were many other factors influencing the mill owners' decision to make Fall River a one industry city. As Earl points out, climatic conditions in Fall River were conducive to cotton cloth manufacture. That is, Fall River's proximity to the sea and fresh water pond in addition to its relatively high humidity were all favorable to the manufacture of cotton cloth.¹

The average relative humidity was approximately 62.3 in Fall River. However, many mill owners in Fall River, before the advent of mechanical humidifiers, induced higher humidity in their mills, especially in the weave rooms, by forcing steam right into the rooms. This practice brought forth in 1882 a strong protest by the operatives. The following statement verifies this point.²

"....concerning the use of hot steam in weave rooms, where windows were kept closed in order that warp and filling might be kept damp. The heat was said to be insufferable in summer and some of the operatives regretted that their

1. Henry H. Earl, op. cit., p. 95

2. Thomas R. Smith, op. cit., p. 43.

mills were not supplied with the new devise that was in operation in Granite Mill #2, where, it was said, the pipes throughout the room, in summer, emitted jets of cold vapor which not only dampened the warp and made the work go smoothly but kept the room cool".

Little wonder the operatives demanded adjustments and reforms to correct such harmful practices. Such conditions were rapidly improved as new techniques and technological improvements were developed.

Change of mill locations. Not only were new technological improvements important for correcting poor working conditions but also they were instrumental in creating a small "revolution" in the pattern of mill locations. Formerly, mills were located right on a river or a pond, but with the introduction of the steam and turbine engine there was no compulsion for building a mill directly beside a river, for there was no longer a need for hydraulic power. Surely, water was indispensable, but steam and other forms of power were gradually replacing the old water wheel. The new procedure for locating mills was to find land for the tenements and mills rather than to find water power sites. As for the tenements, they were usually built and owned by the corporations, at least that was the case in 1875 when 21 out of 32 corporations controlled more than 12,000 tenements.¹

1. Henry H. Earl, op. cit., p. 112.

Tenement villages. The building of tenements adjacent to the mills created many "villages" within Fall River; the Globe Village, Mechanicsville, and the Flint Village became veritable beehives of workers. The tenements were their homes, but unfortunately the rapid urbanization had brought in its wake housing problems, health problems, the problem of providing adequate school facilities for the workers' children, and many other problems all kindred to industrial urbanization and its offspring atomization. On this phase of Fall River's development, Carol Aronocivi has made an extensive study.¹ A few passages from her work are worthy of considerations. All that can be said about the dreary housing problem in Fall River is that it was unfortunate that the men who built the tenements could not have realized they were laying the foundation for a very serious social and economic problem. But that is to pre-judge the mill owners simply for the fact that the workers had to live very close to the mills. The days of the automobile were yet to come. Had the workers been able to live three or four miles from the mills,

1. Carol Aronovici, Housing Conditions in Fall River, Report prepared for the Associated Charities Housing Committee, Published by the Charities Housing Committee, p. 26, Undated.

the tenement problem would not have developed.

Aronovici states:¹

"Immigration is the most momentous social factor in determining many of the social and economic problems which face the economist and social worker, the employers and employees in this country.... The congestion of population and the overtaxing of housing and educational facilities endanger health and hamper the maintenance of a normal American standard of home-making."

"The housing problem in industrial cities such as Fall River, Providence, Waterbury, etc. is preeminently a problem of immigration, a problem of adjustment between the facilities for home-making and the demand for such facilities."

"To have a housing problem is, therefore, not an indication of hopeless social maladjustment, but rather an indication of industrial progress. The insufficient accommodation for the increasing population is due to the characteristic American tendency to confine foresight to industry and to leave the private welfare of the individual worker and his family to the mercy of kindly but helpless reformers and charitable agencies whose problems become more and more complicated as the demand for labor increases and skill becomes less and less a qualification for industrial production. That the efficiency of the workers, whether in skilled trades or not, depends upon the conditions under which these workers are living is a principle realized by only the select among the employers. The mass of them still interpret their interest in terms of low wages and complete indifference to the welfare of the worker as such."

"The cotton and woolen mill cities have been especially characterized by this attitude on the part of the employers and the lesson which some of the recent strikes have taught us should not be soon forgotten."

1. Carol Aronovici, op. cit. p. 26.

"In Fall River the housing problem is most emphatically a tenement house problem, in the New York sense of that term, since the average number of tenements or apartments per building was bound to be 4.2 or more than the lowest number designated by law either in New York City or in Fall River."

Need for capital. Besides the problem of having to house the mill workers, the owners had the problem of creating capital in order to expand and develop the cotton industry. In conjunction with the raising of mills, banks mushroomed throughout the city. Invariably, the mill officials held the key positions in the banking institutions. While Fall River was able to attract outside labor into the city, for the reason that there were many good investment possibilities, outside capital was unable to overcome "the tradition of local ownership and management which continued to differentiate Fall River mills from those in upper New England."¹ In fact, Fall River's introverted economic and financial practices produced Fall River's so-called "silent poor" of the late 1920's and the 1930's; that is to say, citizens who had almost all their financial resources tied up in the cotton industry lost practically everything in the 1929 crash. As a final consideration of economic concentration, the following illustrates clearly

1. Thomas R. Smith, op. cit., p. 79.

the fact that Fall River's financial and industrial fabric was like a finely spun spider web and almost as frail. Smith states that the "Fall River mills were run for the most part by small groups of men who kept their own counsel and operated the mills as they saw fit."¹

Southern competition. Previously, a brief comment was made concerning Fall River's specialization in print cloth. The captains of industry saw fit to concentrate on the manufacture of print cloth. Up to 1890, conditions were favorable for expansion in this product, but after that time Fall River's many advantages were unable to offset the sudden rise of determined competitors in the manufacture of print cloth, namely, the Southern mills. Thus, it was that the fruit of Fall River's looms was in a sense producing a harvest of economic ills; as Southern competition increased in the print cloth industry, Fall River suffered more and more because with higher standards of labor, work, wages, and living conditions, the mill owners found they were in a losing competitive battle. The following comment gives a clear picture on this point:²

1. Ibid., p. 127.

2. Ibid., p. 81.

"In 1875, Fall River was unquestionably the leading textile manufacturing center in the country. Half a century later with spindleage and population tripled it stood at the apex of its development and on the brink of an historic industrial and municipal collapse. The record levels of production, employment, wages, and profits of the early 1920's were quickly followed by the collapse of the city's major industry, the rapidity of which revealed the fundamental weakness of Fall River's competitive position."

Higher wages. One of the vital aspects of Fall River's competitive situation is to be found in the differentials existing between Fall River and the South with respect to labor union. Smith states that "organized labor in Fall River was a force tending to raise wages, to reduce work load, and to sponsor the passage of labor legislation."¹ The fact of the matter is that Fall River was unable to compete with the South partly because Massachusetts had enacted labor legislation of an open-minded and farsighted character whereas the South had an extremely hostile attitude toward the rise of labor. A careful study will give many of the answers as to why southern mill owners were so strongly opposed to unionization. Had there been higher standards of working conditions and more public support for labor in the South, the wage differentials between Fall River and the South would have been such that the Fall River mill owners would not have

1. Ibid., p. 96.

found it necessary to move South because of excessive union demands. In time, however, once labor has been able to acclimate itself to the Southern climate and has had a period of clear weather in terms of pro-labor legislation, both Federal and State, then many of the transplanted Fall River mill owners will be facing similar demands of labor as they had faced previously in Fall River. It should be pointed out, however, that in a study such as this there is little room for considering the minutia with respect to conditions of labor and management. However, it would be quite naive to leave the impression that as far as labor and management are concerned, the background is all black and white. The truth is that there is and has been the tyranny of "bossism" in both groups; once one or the other is out of balance, the solution is to be found in the use of the democratic processes, not only between the two groups but within each group. At any rate, with respect to labor's position in the South, Harris states as follows:¹

"Yet at the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, the North was at a great disadvantage because unionization had gone so much further there than in the South. For example, whereas

1. Seymour E. Harris, The Economics of New England, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 171.

only about 20 per cent of the cotton mill workers are unionized in the South, they are predominantly unionized in the North and the unions are much stronger."

...."Trade unionism makes a difference because, among other reasons, wages are generally high in union shops".

...."The Taft-Hartley Act has had the effect of freezing New England in its currently unfavorable unionization position. By guaranteeing employers freedom of speech, by changing rules of evidence, by outlawing the closed shop and by introducing numerous other changes, the authors of the Taft-Hartley Act have substantially retarded unionization in the South where the largest advances remain to be made."

Mr. Harris draws a rather unpleasant picture of some of the practices that the mill owners indulge in to discourage unionization, according to his sources the mill owners rely on armaments, the kidnapping of the organizers, the closing down of the mills, the publishing of "hate sheets and community control", and the appealing"to prejudice through letters to the employers."¹

Need for remedial measures. How refreshing it is to turn back and read the workingman's introduction, and about the camaraderie of workers and early mill owners. The observations of Harris may possibly be colored by a particular frame of reference. The fact

1. Ibid., pp. 88.

remains that Fall River will continue to lose mills one after another as long as cost differentials and inequality of working conditions exist between Fall River and the South.

For Fall River to regain or, at least, hold on to its present cotton mills, there will have to be either an improvement of labor conditions in the South or a reduction in the demands of labor in Fall River. These are not by any stretch of the imagination the only factors influencing Fall River's economic position; they are very important, however.

Inevitability of collapse. At any rate, just prior to the World War the effects of Southern competition began to hit Fall River quite hard. Between 1907-1910 eight new mills were constructed, and were about the last to be built; in many ways they became the monuments of a once proud textile city. The eventual collapse of Fall River's textile industry was inevitable, for the corrective measures such as diversification of industry even within the cotton industry was not forthcoming during the years of constructing the foundation of Fall River's industry. The final collapse came after World War I with a suddenness and a shocking finality; it has taken years for Fall River to recover from the collapse

of the 1920's; and today for various reasons many of the mills that withstood the crash or new corporations that came into being because of the policy of liquidation and the stimulus of World War II textile contracts of the government, are closing and moving South.

Stimulus of World War I. To be sure, during the prosperity of the World War I period, there were many indications that all was not well with Fall River's textile industry. Smith states that "an even more striking indication of the weakness of the underlying veneer of high profits and capacity production was the lack of expansion in the city's industry."¹ Since Fall River's other industries were supplemental to cotton manufacturing, it is not surprising they also succumbed. In 1939, 815 persons were employed in the dyeing and finishing industry, as compared with 2,700 so employed in 1924. It is clear that the collapse in the supplemental industries in Fall River was very extensive.²

Survival. None the less, Fall River survived the tempest. Years of hard work and readjustment were needed to effect the city's recovery. Fall River today

1. Thomas R. Smith, op. cit., p. 123.

2. Ibid., p. 123.

is still the most important textile city in New England but is no longer a single industry town. Still, over half the city's labor force is engaged in cotton manufacturing; however, diversification is the rule within the textile industry of the city today. The following excerpts are indicative of Fall River's policy of industrial diversification:¹

"Like other industrial cities Fall River has had good years and difficult ones. Recognizing the need for diversification of local industry, between 1931 and 1941, the Fall River citizenry and municipal government performed what has been referred to as a 'miracle in industrial readjustment.' They filled with other industries those mills which had been emptied by a declining trend in their local textile operations. The needle trades moved into many Fall River locations so today the city boasts that a man, woman, or child can be clothed from head to toe in Fall River products. Dresses, men's shirts and shorts, pajamas, lingerie, sportswear, suits, overcoats, jackets, work trousers are made in Fall River. Men's felt and straw hats, bedspreads and curtains are produced there, too. Plastic products such as garment bags, food container covers, cosmetic bags are products of Fall River's needle workers also. More than half of Fall River's approximately 27,000 industrial workers are women."

"While the textile and needle trades predominate in the city's industries, during the past 20 years there has been an influx of other types of manufacturing. Rubber and plastic products Firestone, electrical equipment, bronze and other metal castings, wire and cable products, corrugated boxes are among Fall River's present-day output."

1. The Patriot. "Fall River - City of Looms and Needles", April 1952, pp. 12-14. (Published by John Hancock).

Prospects for the future. The prospects for Fall River are generally on the positive side. Of course, in order to continue the rejuvenation of Fall River, aggressive and farsighted leadership in all facets of the city's life is absolutely indispensable. On the improvement of the city's economic position, the following comments from the report of the Fall River Planning Board are noteworthy:¹

"During recent years, due to war conditions, Fall River's industry has experienced a considerable increase in activity. Since the war, Fall River has shared in the increase in national output to supply the pent up demand for consumer goods. Our problem now is to place the expanded industry on such a sound basis of economical operation that it will continue to expand even when abnormal factors no longer apply."

"....Fall River must begin now to reduce all unnecessary production costs in order to meet this competition."

As to the city's financial position, the report gives an encouraging word:²

"The City of Fall River is in excellent financial condition. It had on October 1, 1947 a per capita net debt of only \$10.98, which amounts to 1.09% of its total valuation. Under these circumstances, the city can well afford to make a considerable capital investment in its future development."

1. Fall River Master Plan Vol. 1. "Industry and Transportation", The Fall River Planning Board, September 1947, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 25.

Thus, Fall River has a hopeful future. It has been ascertained that Fall River at the present time has adequate financial and economic resources. The next chapter will deal with Fall River's spiritual and intellectual resources, which are indispensable to a city's vitality.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTELLECTUAL GROWTH OF FALL RIVER

Importance of religious and intellectual growth.

Emphasis has been placed on the major threads that make up the working clothes of Fall River, namely the mill workers and owners. In the manufacture of cloth, cotton and other raw materials are needed. That is, without natural resources, there would be no finished product. Likewise an aggregate of peoples are the "raw materials" which make up a city. More is needed however; certain "elements" are necessary to enable a city to have a heart and a soul. Without them there is no life. Two of these crucial elements are religious and cultural in character; they give a city its spiritual and intellectual vitality.

Fall River as a city of diversity. Fall River has had an interesting intellectual and spiritual growth. The keynote of this growth can best be described as unusual. In the first place, Fall River's diverse population has contributed to a cosmopolitan religious and intellectual growth. As J. T. Lincoln writes:¹

1. Jonathan T. Lincoln, op. cit., p. 3.

"There are cities in America nearly if not quite as cosmopolitan in population as Fall River, - the City of the Dinner-Pail, I like to call it, - but none in which the people of many lands are so intimately associated in their daily lives; for the industry of this manufacturing community is not diversified, there is no opportunity for the people of different ancestry to follow this or that occupation - they must all make cotton cloth or perish; and so it is that the children of Shem, Ham, and Japheth live and toil side by side."

The following table shows to some extent the cosmopolitan composition of Fall River's population. It is interesting to note that in 1930, 65 per cent of Fall River's population was native American, of which the predominant nationalities were French, English, Polish, Irish, Portuguese, and Italian.¹ To be exact, this table represents the breakdown of Fall River's "foreign" population; that is, those persons who were not born or have not been naturalized in the United States.

Table 6. Foreign Born of Fall River, 1930*

Country	Number	Country	Number
Switzerland	1	Austria	120
France	110	Russia	1094
Germany	77	Lithuania	23
Poland	2015	Latvia	7
Czechoslovakia	15	Finland	13

* U. S. Census 1930

1. Fall River Directory, Sampson and Murdock Company Boston, 1931, p. 52.

Table 6.. (continued)

Country	Number	Country	Number
Roumania	28	England	5636
Greece	148	Scotland	423
Italy	148	Wales	46
Portugal	5264	North Ireland	205
Armenia	6	Irish Free State	821
Palestine and	525	Norway	21
Syria		Sweden	62
Turkey	16	Netherlands	2
Newfoundland	17	Belgium	17
Azores	4390	All others	268
		Total	32,978

By 1951, one-third of Fall River's total population was "French Canadian"; the influx of the French began immediately after the Civil War. The census figures of 1950 and 1952 are interesting for purposes of comparison. According to the Federal census of 1950, the population of Fall River was 111,754, a decrease of 3515 persons in 20 years. Such a small decrease during the most difficult years of Fall River's history may indicate that some citizens were confident of the city's future progress, but more probably indicate labor immobility. By 1952, 17 per cent of the population of Fall River was native born.¹ Generally, the composition of the foreign born population in 1952 was similar to that of 1930.

1. Polk's Fall River Directory, Vol. 1952 LXXXII
R. L. Polk and Company, Boston, 1952, p. 69.

At any rate these figures show that Fall River, like the United States, was and is a city of diversity.

Institutional Diversity. It is not surprising that Fall River has a number of institutions and organizations which reflect the diversity of its population. Recently, one of the local clergy referred to Fall River as one of the most Europeanized cities in the United States; in fact, it was his conviction that Fall River was a noble "experiment." That is to say, he believed Fall River to be a little United Nations. While this analogy can be carried too far, it does have some merit. By way of illustration, a part of Fall River might be called little France, another little England, another little Portugal and so on. If one were to walk the streets where many of the French live, it would be difficult for him to believe he was in a New England city. On entering a "typical" home, one would hear the soothing French language and possibly see one of the family reading L'Independent, the daily French newspaper, and another reading the Fall River Herald News. Thus, it is clear that the traditions of a culture do not vanish or even fade away quickly; rather they persist and with each generation are modified.

The French-Canadians, to be sure, do not have a monopoly on an indigenous community. Rather throughout the city, there are other such communities in varying degrees of cohesiveness, namely the Irish, the Portuguese, the English, the Polish, and many others. To suggest that these communities were divisive in nature would be a grave error. The point is they are America's strength. To be sure, the process of assimilation is working at all times; consequently, each generation becomes "more American" in the H. L. Mencken sense of the term.

Churches. The churches of Fall River also reflect its cosmopolitan character; in 1952, the city had some 80 churches. The largest of the Protestant Churches in Fall River are the Congregational, Baptist, Episcopla, Methodist, and Primitive Methodist. The First Baptist Church dates back to 1781, the First Congregational to 1816, the Methodist to 1827, the Unitarian to 1932, and the Episcopal to 1836.

Before the Civil War, there were no Catholic Churches in Fall River. It is interesting to note, however, that 40 years before the Civil War, Catholic Mass was said in the town. With the great influx of French-Canadians and others to Fall River, the Catholic population of the city grew rapidly. Thus, there was a need for Catholic

Churches; out of this need came such beautiful Churches as Saint Mary's, Saint Patrick's, and Notre Dame. In particular, Notre Dame is the symbol of the French culture in Fall River; it is interesting to note that Cremonini, the well-known Italian artist, spent four years in Fall River painting "The Last Judgment" on the ceiling of Notre Dame Church. This beautiful work is the largest "Cremonini" in the United States. The Church was built, as were all the Churches in Fall River, by means of financial sacrifice of its members.¹

Education. It is not surprising that with such a diversified population Fall River has various educational institutions to fill its needs. In 1952, the city has a school budget of \$3,000,000. This money will pay for the maintenance of the Bradford Matthew Chaloner Durfee High School, which was the gift of Mrs. Mary B. Young in memory of her son, the Diman Vocational High School, the Henry Lord Junior High School, and 32 elementary schools. Quite a different picture from what it was about 1812 when according to a report one school "does not exceed eight by twelve while the school numbered seventeen, making a tight fit when the teacher was added."² In some respects, the schools are per student as cramped for space as they were in 1912. The total

1. Arthur S. Phillips. op. cit., p. 3-50.

2. Henry M. Fenner, op. cit., p. 57.

enrollment in the public schools is 12,500 pupils with 518 teachers; the parochial schools account for 8,010 children.¹

It is interesting to note that around 1857, the state legislature passed a law which made the employment of a child less than 15 years of age unlawful, unless "such child shall have attended school at least one term of eleven weeks next preceding the time of employment. Thus, the advent of the "Factory School" system. By 1877, however, the Factory Schools were replaced by the new "Public Schools"²

Bradford Durfee Textile Institute. Quite properly Fall River should have a Textile Institute. Again a generous gift of land of Mrs. Young made the building of the Institute possible. It was built in 1898, and in 1918 "the school became strictly a state institution and under an agreement, Fall River contributes ten thousand dollars annually."³ At the present time, it is rather usual to find students from other countries enrolled in the Institute. Of the countries contributing

1. Polk's Fall River Directory, op. cit., p. 69.

2. Arthur Sherman Phillips, op. cit., p. 90-91.

3. Ibid., p. 92.

students to the Institute those of the Middle, Near, and Far East are most numerous, namely Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey, India, and China. France is also represented. No doubt in future years, other countries will be added to the list of those which send representatives to the "textile institute of the little United Nations."

Fall River as a city of contrasts. Since Fall River was a "working city, it is a little surprising that it was one of the first cities to establish a high school; ordinarily, one might expect an industrial city to be indifferent to educational pursuits. Such was not the case, for in 1849 a co-educational high school was established. As already mentioned, the B.M.C. Durfee High School succeeded the one established in 1849.

Fall River Public Library. Another example of Fall River as a city of contrasts is to be found in the origin of the Public Library. Again one might not expect that an industrial city would have any place for an intellectual institution such as a library. In 1835, the city of Fall River had its first library; it was private and was called the Fall River Atheneum. Unfortunately, it suffered a great deal of damage in the great fire of 1843. Finally, the present Fall River Public Library was established in 1860. On the surface

one might take this fact as nothing out of the ordinary. However, the Fall River Public Library was one of the earliest in America; in fact, it was established only nine years after the Boston Public Library, the first one in the United States.

The Skeleton in Armor. A skeleton in armor was unearthed in Fall River in 1831. When Henry W. Longfellow heard of this historical incident, he was inspired to write the poem, "The Skeleton in Armor." Many historians are sorry the poem was even written, for in their opinion the controversy about Leif Erickson would never have developed. At any rate, the legend and the poem of the skeleton in armor are a part of Fall River's intellectual growth.

"Speak! Speak! thou fearful guest!
Who, with thy hollow breast
Still in rude armor drest,
Comest to daunt me!
Wrapt not in Eastern balms,
But with thy fleshless palms
Stretched, as if asking alms,
Why does thou haunt me?"

"Then from those cavernous eyes
Pale flashes seemed to rise,
As, when the Northern skies
Gleam in December;
Came a dull voice of woe
From the heart's chamber."

"I was a Viking old!
 My deed, though mainfold,
 No Skald in song has told
 No Saga taught thee!
 Take heed, that in thy verse
 Thou dost the tale rehearse,
 Else dread a dead man's curse;
 For this I sought thee."

The Lizzie Borden Trial. The famous trial of Lizzie Borden received nationwide notoriety. While this trial might not be considered a part of the intellectual progress of Fall River, it does rank high among the "classic" murder trials. In fact, only recently did Agnes DeMille base one of her Broadway productions on the Lizzie Borden murder trial. At any rate, the murders took place on August 4, 1892; though it is not poetry in the true sense of the word, the following lyric is still on the lips of many of Fall River's citizens.¹

"Lizzie Borden took an ax
 And gave her mother forty whacks;
 When she saw what she had done
 She gave her father forty-one!"

Adventures in the musical world. Fall River contributed a "native son" not only to New England but to the world in the personage of Eben Tourjee. He was

1. Edmund Pearson, Trial of Lizzie Borden, Doubleday Doran, and Company, Incorporated, Garden City, 1937, p. 44.

born in Rhode Island in 1834 and came to Fall River in 1850.¹ Immediately, he began to stimulate the musical potentialities of many of Fall River's citizens. In Eben Tourjee's day, entertainment was derived intrinsically, whereas in today's mechanical world most entertainment is of an extrinsic nature. Eben Tourjee in 1867 established the now famous New England Conservatory of Music; he was in a sense the "musical light" of Fall River. Today Fall River has its own symphony orchestra. It evolved from number of small orchestral organizations and was formed in 1925 with 15 members. At the present time, the orchestra has between 45 and 50 members and is supported by the sale of season tickets and small annual dues. A word should be said about the members of the orchestra. They all have a love for music and spend hours of their "spare" time in pursuit of their avocation. Thus, Fall River is fortunate to have these musical citizens contributing to its intellectual life.

Much more could be said about those other citizens who have contributed to the spiritual and intellectual vitality of Fall River. Suffice is to say, each citizen

1. James Buffington, "Some Recollections of an Amateur Musician", (unpublished paper by James Buffington, Fall River, May 24, 1944.)

in some small way has made some sort of contribution to the city's vitality. Each citizen has helped in varying degrees to weave Fall River's social, economic, and intellectual fabric.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Problem. This history has been concerned with the economic, social, and to a lesser extent, the intellectual development of Fall River. Integration of these factors has been a major aspect of the problem. Emphasis has been placed on the integration rather than the mere chronological documentation of significant events.

Concepts employed in the study. The vocabulary of the study has been limited to those words or terms invariably associated with the Industrial Revolution. The words are industrialism, immigration, urbanization, atomization, unionism, economic concentration, expansion, and depression. Each one of these developments has been considered in a greater or lesser degree; it has been ascertained that Fall River's rapid industrial growth coincided with the rapid change of both the economic and social structure. Quite properly the study has emphasized the effect that industrialism had on the development of the city. However, at all time a concerted effort has been made to emphasize other considerations beside industrialism. Something has been said about immigration, expansion, and atomization. Much has been written about the trade-union movement

as it was associated with Fall River, about the folly of economic concentration, and the tragedy of a paralyzing depression. Altogether, these terms have been the "raw materials" of this study.

- Selection of materials. The selection of data or materials has been subjective to some extent. Because the problem has been concerned with the social, economic, and intellectual history of the city, a particular frame of reference has made the consideration of many aspects of the city's history unnecessary. In other words, the first part of the study is brief simply because the study is concerned only incidentally with the early conditions. A detailed account of the early period of Fall River's history was unnecessary; in the selection of materials for the first part, only the highlights of the early period were considered. The situation was quite different for the middle period and final period (parts) of this study. In the first place, the major emphasis of the work was on the second and third parts. At first, it was thought a broad treatment might be the best method of considering the economic and social developments. Finally, however, the economic and social developments were grouped into two chapters. In these chapters, emphasis was placed on the growth of the mill workers sense of

a community of interest and on the growth of the city's textile industry. In gathering materials for these chapters, the main consideration was to find appropriate sources which would help spell out the rise of the common man and the growth of a mill aristocracy and in some places a mill oligarchy.

As for the final chapter, the selection of materials was somewhat curtailed simply because in a study such as this there is no place for the consideration of every intellectual or religious organization. Therefore, in order to gain the flavor of Fall River's intellectual and religious life a few representative institutions were selected for presentation in this study. The entire tone of the consideration of the city's intellectual and religious life is to show how lifeless a cosmopolitan area would be without a strong religious and intellectual vitality.

Delimitation. The delimitation of the study has been determined by the title of the problem. Thus, as indicated, it has been necessary to delimit the study to certain aspects of the city's economic, social, and intellectual growth. The delimitation of the problem determines to some extent the areas of emphasis. This study's major emphasis has been to

consider the history of Fall River from the view of the "new type of history." That is, the history has been concerned with integrating the social, economic, and intellectual developments in Fall River's history. Finally, this work has been interested in the economic growth of Fall River, and in the social problems that the city has had to encounter and to solve in its development. The conclusions concerning the effect economic developments have had on the social growth and the social developments have had on the economic growth are listed in major generalizations.

Major generalizations.

1. The early period of Fall River's history is interesting for its anecdotal character. The Indian civilization still has its traces about the city today in the many Indian names and relics. Before 1800, the area which is now Fall River was not radically different from what it had been before the white man landed.

2. The foundations for Fall River's textile supremacy were laid in the first half of the 19th century. Men of vision and boundless energy were the early captains of industry. They believed Fall River had a future, and they based their conviction on the excellent hydraulic power furnished by the

Quequechan River. When new technology was introduced, thus making dependence on water power no longer necessary, Fall River's entrepreneurs were not quick enough to realize the folly of concentrating on the manufacture of print cloth. It was too late when the mill owners came to grip with the problem of economic concentration; the tragedy of a depression came to Fall River with great force.

3. The mill workers of Fall River in the early industrial history of the city were not well organized. However, the trade-union movement had an auspicious start in Fall River. That is, Fall River was the center for the textile trade-union movement. The movement grew out of a felt need of the mill workers to develop a community of interest. With industrialism the workers and the owners grew apart, and as a consequence labor and management had to develop new methods and organizations for dealing with problems of human relations. By 1940, the labor unions were strongly entrenched in Fall River. The mill worker had become a part of a cohesive community of interest. In fact, it might be said that he had at times lost his individuality. At any rate, the problem of keeping trade-unionism within the scope of the democratic

processes is a continual one and is directly the responsibility of the workers.

4. It can be concluded that the economic developments were the basic fibers of Fall River's growth; they were interwoven with the social fibers. And both were sustained by the intellectual and religious vitality of the city's citizens.

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