INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE MILLS:

AN ANNOTATED GUIDE TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN TEXTILE FACTORY LITERATURE

by

JUDITH A. RANTA

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1999

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9924840

UMI Microform 9924840
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction and Conclusion ©1999

JUDITH ALICE RANTA

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 23, 1999
Date

David S. Reynolds, Chair of Examining Committee

4.23.1999
Date

Joan Richardson, Executive Officer

William P. Kelly

Barbara Welter
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE MILLS:

AN ANNOTATED GUIDE TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY

AMERICAN TEXTILE FACTORY LITERATURE

by

Judith A. Ranta

Adviser: Professor David S. Reynolds

Fundamentally a literary and historical recovery project, this dissertation collects and synopsizes 457 little-known texts by and about American textile factory workers published from 1787 to 1900. The synopses offer the fullest representation yet available of nineteenth-century mill workers' lives. The first major employer of women and children, the textile industry was also the first-mechanized and the largest nineteenth-century industry, producing as well a rich literary outpouring. The annotated texts include novels, short fiction, poetry, drama, narratives, and children's literature. Texts are drawn from workers' periodicals, newspapers, mainstream publishers' monographs and magazines, story papers, dime novels, pulp publications, and Sunday school tracts. Since mill workers wrote some thirty-six percent of the texts and women authored nearly half, the bibliography offers representations of neglected working-class and female subjectivity.

The critical introduction considers the dissertation's roots in feminist recovery work; in studies of popular and working-class literature by such scholars as Martha

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vicinus, Paul Lauter, David S. Reynolds, and Jane Tompkins (especially her concept of the "cultural work" of nineteenth-century popular and women's fiction); and in materialist-feminist criticism. Chapter discussions address the material and social conditions shaping the creation and reception of factory literature. The conventions of factory writing are identified, along with particularly important features and texts.

Primary material is arranged in fourteen chapters according to the writings' cultural work. The literature addresses many women's issues, including changing women's roles, women's work, sexual self-governance, sexual harassment, unwanted pregnancy, same-sex love, heterosexual love and marriage, motherhood, abortion, and rape and other violence against women. Writers tackle such social problems as workers' oppression, class bias, poverty, and child labor. The meaning of the machine and industrialization are also major concerns. Struggles between labor and capital are explored by both labor sympathizers and conservatives. Synopses include ample quotations, thus providing samples of this inaccessible literature. The conclusion connects the primary writings to other kinds of popular writing, including Sunday school literature and Indian captivity and slave narratives. Although industrialism was ignored for the most part by canonical writers, factory literature's influences upon the work of Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, and Dreiser are briefly discussed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PREFACE

In the words of Harriet Farley, a mill worker turned writer and editor, the factory women working at their looms weaving cloth were also weaving in their minds "bright webs of thought" ("Editorial." *Lowell Offering* 5 [1845]: 23). They shared these "bright webs" when they met in their evening Improvement Circles for reading, writing, and discussion. Some of the writings made their way onto the pages of such workers' magazines as the *Lowell Offering* and *The Olive Leaf, and Factory Girl's Repository.* Besides the workers' periodicals, the nineteenth century witnessed a rich literary outpouring in response to industrialization. Writers produced poetry, songs, stories, novels, drama, narratives, and children's literature.

More than any other nineteenth-century American industries, it seems, the textile industry prompted a large body of imaginative literature, the subject of this annotated bibliography. Cotton textile manufacture was the first American industry to be "fully mechanized" (Kulik and Penn xxv). For much of the nineteenth century, it was the largest American industry, employing a majority of women and children among its workforce. People's fears and hopes regarding the new industrial order were expressed in a range of publications, from those issued by prominent publishers to more ephemeral forms. One special feature of this annotated bibliography is its attention to previously neglected and undervalued kinds of texts, such as broadside ballads, labor periodicals, story papers, dime novels, and children's literature. Since this was the kind of literature often read by working women and children, it reveals some of society's expectations of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

these groups.

Of the 457 texts annotated in this dissertation, some thirty-six percent (36%) were probably or definitely written by mill workers. Although some of the writers were former mill workers, many were currently employed by the mills. The importance of workers' writings must be recognized, not only for the rare glimpses they offer into workers' subjectivity but for the mere fact of their existence. Well into the nineteenth century, the typical factory work schedule for men, women, *and* children was twelve to fourteen hours a day, six days a week. Therefore, writing time had to be wrested from scant leisure moments, after days spent in noisy, stifling, dangerous mills. The workers' writings are testaments to human resourcefulness and creativity.

More than canonical writers, the unknown and popular writers of factory literature explored the human side of industrialism. These "humbler" writers employed the range of literary genres to respond to the new industrial workplace. Though long out-of-print and quite inaccessible, for the most part, their texts represent more fully the impact of industrialism upon individuals, families, and communities. The factory writers introduced new subjects and techniques that were developed by later, more well-known writers, such as Herman Melville, Louisa May Alcott, and such realist and naturalist authors as Stephen Crane and Theodore Dreiser.

Since nearly half of the factory literature was written by women, it has suffered from the neglect too often associated with women's writing. The influence of factory women's experience and writing in the birth of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement has not been sufficiently appreciated. The example of factory women's labor,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

communities, activism, and writing must have given crucial impetus to the development of the women's rights movement. Thus, considering the cultural significance of the literature, a major aim of this bibliography is to enhance its availability.

The annotated texts span the period of 1787 to 1900. The initial date marks the publication of the earliest known text. Factories themselves apparently predate 1787. According to one scholar, a partially mechanized mill, The American Manufactory of Philadelphia, operated with some spinning machinery from 1775 to 1787 (Bagnall 63). Other early and partially mechanized factories opened in Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787 and in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. Developing slowly in the first decades, the textile industry underwent great expansion after 1830. By 1845, there were some 56,000 men and 76,000 women employed in textile mills. These figures include children under sixteen, who comprised two-fifths of the workforce. The reach of the industry and the number of workers only grew as the nineteenth century progressed. While in the North, many textile workers were native-born or immigrant whites, Southern workers included both whites and African Americans. Most of the recovered literature represents the experience of Northern white workers, although one workers' periodical, the *Lowell Offering*, published writings by an ostensibly Native American worker, Betsey Chamberlain.

The literary response to the textile industry was as steady as it was varied. Of the 457 annotated texts, forty-nine percent (49%) are fiction, and forty percent (40%) are poetry. Of the fiction, sixty titles are adult novels or other full-length fiction, and seven texts are novella-length fiction. One hundred thirty-three texts are adult short fiction,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

including tales, short stories, allegories, dream visions, dialogues, and serial stories. Children's literature, mostly fiction, comprises some twenty-three texts. The 185 annotated poems include 149 ballads, eighty-one percent (81%) of the total poetry. The remaining forty-nine entries annotate periodicals, drama, crime pamphlets, and narratives and other journalistic pieces.

Drawn from English-language publications, all texts are ostensibly set in the United States and/or written by Americans. As suggested above, the annotated writings appeared in a range of media, including newspapers, magazines, labor and story papers, mainstream publishers' monographs, pulp publications, and Sunday school tracts, permitting a multifaceted representation of textile mill work and workers. It is important to remember that the annotated texts constitute a portion--albeit a large one--of nineteenth-century textile factory literature. There are undoubtedly more writings, especially in periodicals and non-English publications, yet to be examined by scholars.

Entries for annotated literary texts include as many as possible of the following elements: bibliographic citation (with the author's actual name, if known, in brackets following the pen name); text length; brief author identification, including dates, birthplace (following "b."), and other names ("m." indicating married name; "pseud." indicating pseudonym); genre and formal features; setting; synopsis; and noteworthy features of content, such as whether the text constitutes a "first" or attention to important issues (e.g., women's rights, race, and historical events). For poems and fiction drawn from periodicals, the place of publication is often indicated in the citation following the periodical title. This distinguishes the title from other periodicals with the same title. In

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

addition, places of publication, especially when they are mill towns, can elucidate aspects of texts' content. Annotations for periodicals include bibliographic citation; brief identification of the editor and/or publisher; frequency; editorial slant; identification of writers (e.g., all women, all factory workers, etc.); geographical focus; intended audience; and important features of content.

Most annotations include information on text availability. Library holdings for rare materials held by five or fewer U.S. libraries are indicated. If texts have been reprinted, whether in paper or microform, this is indicated, and full citations for microform series appear in the list of "Works Cited." In cases of multiple microform reprints for a single title, the most widely available reprint is cited. The entries for individual stories and poems from factory periodicals refer readers to the periodical entries (in the chapter "Offerings and Voices") for text availability.

Since access to so much of the literature is difficult, synopses include ample quotations, thereby conveying some of the flavor and essence of the writings. Quoted passages have been chosen for their relevance to textile mill work and workers, as well as for their pertinence to current scholarly interests. Quotations are rendered verbatim with variant spelling and usage preserved. A parenthetical citation documents all quotations between it and the preceding parenthetical citation. In entries for poems, if the text is more than two pages in length, parenthetical citations refer to page numbers rather than line numbers.

The annotations are preceded by a critical introduction. First, this introduction considers the dissertation's critical roots in feminist recovery work; in studies of popular

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and working-class literature by such scholars as Martha Vicinus, Paul Lauter, David Reynolds, and Jane Tompkins (especially her concept of the "cultural work" of nineteenth-century popular and women's fiction); and in materialist-feminist criticism. Chapter discussions follow, addressing the material and social conditions influencing the creation and reception of the factory literature. The introduction also considers the texts' cultural work to influence public opinion and behavior on a range of issues, from violence against women to strikes. The conventions of factory writing are identified, along with particularly important or memorable passages and texts.

Annotated entries are organized into fourteen topical chapters, according to themes that bring out some major emphasis of the texts' cultural work. Within chapters, entries are arranged alphabetically by author or, when the author's name is lacking, by title. The annotations are followed by a conclusion, subtitled "Piecing the Threads." The conclusion discusses some of the significant ways in which factory writing shares in the wider culture of its times. Several popular forms influencing and influenced by factory writing are discussed, including sermons and Sunday school fiction, Indian captivity narratives, and slave narratives. Some of the correspondences between factory writings and canonical nineteenth-century texts are examined. Common concerns are discussed, even though factory literature, in its treatment of industrialism, differs from canonical nineteenth-century literature, which neglects to engage the industrial workplace and labor issues. The conclusion comments briefly upon the work of Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, and Dreiser. Although factory writing has been marginalized from serious study, the conclusion shows that it is an integral component of nineteenth-century

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American culture.

The conclusion is followed by four appendices, a list of "Works Cited," and an annotation index. Appendix I lists the titles of annotated texts chronologically, indicating author, literary genre (in brackets), and annotation entry number. This appendix facilitates study of the historical development of the literature and of patterns, such as the great outpouring of factory workers' writings in the 1840s. Readers interested in specific literary genres should turn first to this appendix.

Appendix II reproduces a rare document compiled and published by Harriet Hanson Robinson, a nineteenth-century factory worker and writer. As a mill girl in Lowell, Massachusetts, Robinson contributed to the *Lowell Offering*, the famous 1840s factory women's magazine. Years later, she recorded her reminiscences and compiled the only known list of the names and pseudonyms of the *Lowell Offering* writers. Since most *Offering* writings were published either anonymously or pseudonymously, "Names and *Noms de Plume* of the Writers in *The Lowell Offering*" provides a valuable key to the identities of the writers, some of whom may have written for other workers' periodicals using the same pseudonyms.

Appendix III lists and, in some cases, briefly annotates significant nineteenth-century nonfiction texts by and about textile mill workers. Included are workers' autobiographies and biographies, anthologies of workers' writings, and other texts illuminating workers' experiences. Appendix IV furnishes a list of factory titles unavailable for examination when the annotated bibliography was compiled. These include extremely rare or missing texts. They are recorded here in the event that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

researchers wish to make use of them. The list of "Works Cited" is divided into two sections: pre-twentieth-century and twentieth-century titles. The list includes literary and historical sources, including citations for microform series and other texts cited in the annotations.

Providing author, title, and subject access to the annotations, the annotation index is keyed to annotation entry numbers, not page numbers. The index traces authors' names, including pseudonyms and actual names, when known; all titles, including periodical titles; subject terms; geographic names; and literary genre terms for less-common genres. Indexing pen names allows one to see that workers may have written for different periodicals. Subject terms are assigned as they relate to factory workers. Geographic names are assigned for the texts' settings, usually cities and towns. If the author indicates the state but not the specific town or city, the state name is indexed. Index terms, however, are not assigned for any larger regions than states. Genre terms are assigned for less-common genres that readers would locate with difficulty in the chronological appendix, such as dream visions and drama.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the staffs of many libraries, especially the New York Public Library, where I was privileged to read a number of the rare texts in paper. I also received kind assistance at the libraries of the City University of New York, Columbia University, New York University, American Antiquarian Society, Brown University, New-York Historical Society, the Center for Lowell History, American Textile History Museum, Lowell National Historical Park, Yale University, Boston Public Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard University, New Hampshire Historical Society, University of New Hampshire-Manchester, Manchester Historic Association, Immigrant City Archives (Lawrence, Massachusetts), Paterson (New Jersey) Public Library, Rhode Island Historical Society, and Dartmouth College.

Grateful thanks are also extended to the faculty of the City University of New York, especially David S. Reynolds, Steven F. Kruger, Barbara Welter, William P. Kelly, Jane Tompkins, Joan Richardson, Mary V. Jackson, and Rachel Brownstein. My gratitude goes out to the family and friends who have generously offered encouragement and friendship along the way, including Patricia Haag, Brenda Goleburn, Cheryl Priest, Nancy Dier, Carol Rackmales, Heidi Gottman, Patricia Schmidt, Viola Prentice, and David Ziller. Love and special thanks are due to Marc Flingou without whom it would not have been possible.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Abstract iv

Preface vi

Acknowledgments xiv

Table of Contents xv

Critical Introduction 1

1. Women Leaving Home: Work, Independence, Women's Rights 63

2. Minds among the Spindles: Workers' Education and Writing 121

3. Offerings and Voices: Periodicals of Women's Work 141

4. Only a Factory Worker: Representing Class 166

5. Means of Escape: Romances and Mysteries 205

6. Blighted and Deceived: Dangerous Desires and Women's Wrongs 257

7. Scenes of Factory Village Life 307

VOLUME II

8. Working Children 346

9. Wondrous Machines: Responses to Technology 380

10. Occupational Hazards: Stress, Disease, Accidents, Fires 397

11. Laborers' Remonstrances: Speaking Out against Oppression 439

12. Strikes and Other Organized Protest 483

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

13. Anti-Strike Fiction 509

14. Charity and Reform 529

Conclusion: Piecing the Threads 571

Appendix I: Annual Chronology of Factory Literature by Title, with Author, Genre, and Entry Number 596

Appendix II: Names and *Noms de Plume* of the Writers in *The Lowell Offering*. Compiled and Corrected by Harriet Hanson Robinson, September, 1902 611

Appendix III: Nonfiction Texts by and about Nineteenth-Century Textile Factory Workers 613

Appendix IV: Titles Unavailable for Examination 616

Works Cited 617

Annotation Index 652

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

This dissertation traces its critical roots to several sources, including the recovery work of feminist historians and literary scholars, Martha Vicinus's and Paul Lauter's studies of working-class writing, David S. Reynolds's archival work and examination of "high" and "low" literary culture's interdependence, and Jane Tompkins's concept of cultural work. Fundamentally a work of literary and historical recovery, the annotated bibliography of 457 primary texts has been made possible by the recovery work in women's literature and history undertaken by feminist scholars since the 1970s. The efforts of such literary scholars as Ellen Moers, Barbara Christian, Nina Baym, and many others, to identify and evaluate countless "lost" and forgotten women's writings have provided models of research and criticism. Again and again, feminist scholars have shown that women writers of many eras and cultures have produced interesting, important work that has been wrongly neglected and even suppressed. It has become impossible to imagine that additional unknown and interesting women writers do not await rediscovery.

The work of several men scholars has also expanded the scope of possibility. In his article, "Working-Class Women's Literature--An Introduction to Study" (1980), Paul Lauter uncovers a range of sources relating to literature by and about American working-class women. With its extensive bibliographic appendices, Lauter's article confirms the existence of a vital tradition of working-class women's writing previously ignored, for the most part, by scholars. Acknowledging with Lauter the undeserved neglect of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

working-class experience and literature, in this annotated bibliography I have aimed at comprehensiveness rather than selectivity. In other words, this bibliography includes all the literary texts relating to nineteenth-century textile factory work and workers that could be found. This dissertation, moreover, like Lauter's introductory work, points beyond itself, suggesting the presence of many more undiscovered titles and authors.

David S. Reynolds's work, particularly *Beneath the American Renaissance* (1988), illuminating a vast, mostly unknown body of nineteenth-century popular literature, has served as another model of scholarship. Drawing upon extensive archival research, in *Beneath the American Renaissance* Reynolds shows how popular writings contributed to the texts of canonical nineteenth-century writers. Examining nineteenth-century popular literature's subversiveness and indeterminacy, he corrects critics' prior false notions of this literature's simple-mindedness and sentimentality. While this dissertation shares with Reynolds's work an effort to reconsider important areas of nineteenth-century popular writing, the factory literature cannot be as readily linked to canonical literature. By and large, canonical nineteenth-century American writers ignored industrialism, labor issues, and class conflict, as has been observed by scholars including George Mayberry (2-6, 10).

This is not to suggest that factory writing was uninfluential, but its influence upon canonical American writing was mostly a delayed--and fragmentary--one. In their treatment of working-class life and such social problems as poverty and violence, factory writers introduced new subjects and techniques that were developed by later realist and naturalist authors, such as Stephen Crane and Theodore Dreiser. Nonetheless, canonical

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writers by and large ignored industrialism and the industrial workplace. Concern with economic issues, especially from labor's point-of-view, has seemed even to disqualify texts from the possibility of canonicity.

For the most part, factory writing remains a separate stream in American literature, although it certainly influenced women's roles and writing, as well as the development of realism. Nonetheless, as "literature," factory writing is quite distinct from canonical literature. Since much of it was written by working-class writers and/or for working-class readers, it shares many of the qualities of working-class literature, as defined by such scholars as Martha Vicinus and Paul Lauter. In her major study of nineteenth-century British working-class literature, *The Industrial Muse* (1974), Vicinus identifies some of the qualities of this writing. She considers how the literature "functioned" in the lives of working-class people, including the ways in which it explored the class system, inspired and organized working people "to fight for social and political equality," and strove to promote "recognition of the positive qualities of working people" (1-2).

Building upon Vicinus's work, Paul Lauter stresses the importance of "[u]nderstanding the *instrumental* character of working-class art" (18). Given the "communal quality" of its creation and reception, Lauter sees working-class art as functioning to achieve specific ends within a specific community (17). It lacks "high" art's aims of transcendence and timelessness (18). While working-class literature may not be as time- and earthbound as Lauter contends, its "instrumental character" is undeniable. Artists' individuality and aesthetic concerns are always subordinated to a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purpose. In the fight for oppressed workers' dignity and fair treatment, writing becomes an important weapon. This is not to suggest that factory writing lacks beauty, because there is much in it that is moving and beautiful--but with kinds of beauty heretofore little explored by scholars. Still, factory writers do not strive to achieve literary effects so much as to influence people's thinking and behavior or to entertain.

Unlike the high culture's increasing rejection of didacticism and sensation, factory literature is often unabashedly didactic, moralistic, and sensational. The circumstances of its publication have also contributed to twentieth-century neglect of factory writing. Whereas "high" literature often appeared in established publishers' journals and monographs, factory writing was often published in such ephemeral, "low" forms as broadside ballads, workers' papers, children's literature, tracts, and dime novels. Although more readily available to poor, working people in its time, cheap literature was also less likely to be preserved and hence studied by scholars.

The dissertation is also shaped by some of the tenets of materialist-feminist criticism, as well as by the concept of cultural work developed by Jane Tompkins. Materialist-feminist critics tend to focus more than other feminist critics upon the material conditions of writing, textual content, publication, and reception (see Newton and Rosenfelt xix and *passim*). Accordingly, this dissertation attempts to relate texts to the conditions of workers' lives. A focus upon material conditions raises many intriguing questions. For instance, much of women factory workers' writing was produced in cramped, overcrowded corporation boardinghouses. Did the boardinghouse impose its shape upon the small, contained, even "boxlike" tales of the mill girls' magazines? Or,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

might the women have been sometimes attempting to write their way out of the confinement? Through a materialist-feminist lens, one might find both containment and flight represented in factory women's writing.

Often as much concerned with class, ethnicity, or race as with gender, materialist-feminist critics are less willing to bypass men's writing and experience. After all, a text by a working-class male writer may sometimes speak more to a working-class woman's experience and needs than a text by an upper-class female writer. Considering men's contributions, as well as the many anonymously published texts, this dissertation recovers literature by women, men, and anonymous authors. In its concern with factory children, this dissertation addresses the representation of factory boys, as well as girls, in literature.

In the way that Vicinus and Lauter identify working-class literature's functional or instrumental quality, Jane Tompkins looks at nineteenth-century women's sentimental novels and other popular literature in terms of its cultural work. In *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* (1985), Tompkins relocates such hugely popular sentimental novels as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851) and Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1851) in the cultural context that produced them. She argues that such didactic texts, scorned by modern critics "as merely sensational or propagandistic" (xi), performed important cultural work on behalf of millions of Americans by "providing [them] with a means of ordering the world they inhabited" (xiii). Rejecting the elitism that ignores literary texts "simply *because* they are popular" (xiv), Tompkins examines the ways in which such texts helped their readers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

make sense of the social, political, and economic circumstances in which they lived.

Tompkins's concept of cultural work has informed this dissertation in several important ways, foremost in my effort to approach factory writing open-mindedly and sympathetically. Chapter divisions and arrangement are also influenced by considerations of the cultural work undertaken in various kinds of texts. Writers work at solving a range of socio-economic and political problems. A host of women's issues are addressed in the literature, including changing women's roles, women's work, sexual self-governance, sexual harassment, unwanted pregnancy, same-sex love, heterosexual love and marriage, motherhood, abortion, and rape and other violence against women. Writers also tackle such social problems as workers' oppression, class bias, poverty, and child labor. Writers explore the values surrounding work, attempting to reconcile religious/spiritual values and work, democracy and work, gender and work, and family and work. The meaning and ramifications of industrialization and the machine are major concerns, as well. Struggles between labor and capital are explored by both labor sympathizers and conservatives often striving to shape public opinion and behavior.

Such issues are examined further in the ensuing chapter discussions, in which the factory literature is placed within the context of contemporary material and social conditions, considering how it often endeavored to influence readers and to solve problems. Like the efforts of such scholars as Tompkins, Reynolds, Vicinus, and Lauter to bring attention to unknown or unfairly denigrated literature, this critical introduction highlights the pioneering efforts of some factory writers. Along with considering the conventions of various kinds of factory writing, it also calls attention to particularly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

memorable texts.

The placement of the first chapter, "Women Leaving Home: Work, Independence, Women's Rights," at this dissertation's opening underscores the importance of women's factory experience. The burgeoning textile industry enabled, for the first time in United States history, the entry of large numbers of women into the public sphere of work. Many of the annotated texts chronicle the ambivalence and exhilaration of women's departure from home. The depth of factory women's ties to home and family is suggested alongside the pleasures of self-discovery, independence, and women's communities. Some of the writers address as well the compatibility of femininity and independent wage-earning. Representing the first women to work in the public sphere, these texts also include some literary "firsts."

Half of this chapter's fifty-one texts are periodical tales and poems written by the early factory women of the 1830s and 1840s. Writers explore the meaning of women's pioneering departure from home, sometimes striving to justify a perceived dereliction of home duties and to ensure continued opportunities for wage-earning. The more prosperous heroines leave home seeking independence and greater cultural and educational opportunities. Emma Hale, the eponymous heroine of Eliza Jane Cate's story (entry 10), travels to work in Lowell, Massachusetts, wishing to be only "self-dependent" (9). Factory heroines' decisions to seek more independent lives and support themselves anticipate such choices in literature by and about middle-class women, such as Christy Devon's "Declaration of Independence" at the beginning of Louisa May Alcott's *Work: A Story of Experience* (1872) and Laura Stanley's decision to support herself in Lillie

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Devereaux Blake's *Fettered for Life* (1874).[1]

Stark economic need drives other factory heroines into the mills. Poor heroines work to support themselves and sometimes family members. A few heroines, such as the *Lowell Offering's* Susan Miller (entry 1) and the "aged indigent woman" (entry 48), become their families' breadwinners, constituting the earliest known women breadwinners in American literature. Financial exigencies, however, do not entirely prevent these women from enjoying the independence and cultural advantages of factory life. Their morally dubious pleasure is offset by their maintenance of close economic and emotional ties to home.

This chapter's texts include some significant "firsts" in United States women's writing. Since British and American women writers played a major role in founding and shaping factory literature, as has been argued by Susan Zlotnick and others, it is not surprising that they experimented with a range of new subjects and techniques. Thus, the first known American novel featuring an industrial laborer as the protagonist is Sarah Savage's *The Factory Girl* (1814). Working in a cotton-spinning mill, the heroine, Mary Burnam, serves as the family breadwinner, supporting her grandmother and great aunt and, later, a family of young cousins. Far ahead of her time, Savage perceived the new working woman's significance and raised some of the crucial issues surrounding her emergence.

1

Christy Devon tells her aunt, "'. . . there's going to be a new Declaration of Independence. . . . I'm going to take care of myself . . . travel away into the world and seek my fortune'" ([5]), and Laura Stanley declares, "'I . . . have come to the city to earn my own living. . . . (26).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The *Lowell Offering's* staunchest feminist, the co-editor Harriot F. Curtis, contributed a story that is the first known treatment in American fiction of a woman's leaving a marriage. In the *Lowell Offering* story, "Woman's Influence" by Grace [Harriot F. Curtis] (1843; entry 23), the narrator rejects as unrealistic and even destructive the popular belief that women can--and ought to--exert an unobtrusive "influence" to change those around them. After failing to reform her intemperate husband, the heroine, Clara Huntley, walks away from her marriage, leaving her child with relatives. She establishes an independent life, staying for a while with the Shakers and then moving to Lowell, Massachusetts, to support herself working in the mills. Curtis's story precedes by many decades Kate Chopin's treatment of a straying wife in *The Awakening* (1899).

Men writers of factory literature were not averse to representing women in new roles. In Zachariah A. Mudge's *Carrie Prince* (1870?), the heroine and two other young women leave the mills to run their own dressmaking and millinery business. Enjoying great success, these women are among the earliest known businesswomen in American literature. Whether creating new roles for female characters or exploring the implications of women's entry into the business world, this chapter's writers respond to industrialization and the new wage-earning woman. At times, the factory-girl authors, hoping to promote women's opportunities for independence, culture, wage-earning, and bonding with other women, write to justify and enable women's continuing participation in the public workplace.

The nineteen texts of chapter two, "Minds among the Spindles: Workers'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Education and Writing," explore the meaning of workers' education and writing. All but one of these texts concern the more literate Yankee workers of the 1840s mills, constituting some of the earliest known representations of working-class and poor people's desires for education. In some writings, workers extol their educational opportunities, while in others they deplore the limitations that working conditions and class bias place upon their aspirations. To these proud descendents of Revolutionary patriots, the right to an education belonged to all citizens of a democracy. Moreover, these writers assert education's power to fortify workers against class bias and misogyny. For worker-writers fighting against oppression, literature often serves more of an instrumental than an aesthetic purpose.

In industrialism's early years, the large mill towns, with such cultural and educational advantages as lyceums, libraries, night schools, workers' improvement circles, and magazines, offered unprecedented opportunities to poor rural women and men. In some texts, factory worker-writers offer thanks for these advantages, thereby demonstrating their republican worth as intelligent laborers possessing both skillful hands and minds. Such writings as Harriot F. Curtis's "A Pic-Nic Party" (entry 56) and Betsey Chamberlain's "A Vision of Truth" (entry 67) convey education and writing's profound value for factory women. These allegorical pieces express gratitude for the Improvement Circles and periodicals that workers themselves sustained in their scant leisure time outside the mills.

Stories such as Eliza Jane Cate's "Kate Kimball" (entry 58) represent the struggles and sacrifices workers willingly endure for further education. The heroine,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kate, carefully saves her mill wages and sits up sewing at night, so that she might afford the tuition and time to attend an academy. Sometimes struggle and sacrifice cannot earn a worker an education. Another story by a factory woman, Maria's "Rosa,--Or, Judge Not the Motive" (entry 63), poignantly represents the plight of a poor, young, female nonconformist and intellectual. Seeking educational and cultural opportunities unavailable in her rural village, Rosa Fontaine moves to a mill town. There she finds that the demands of earning a living prevent her from obtaining the education she so greatly desires. Her intellectual desires alienate her from her family and co-workers, increasing her distress. Realizing that she must defer her hopes to the afterlife, Rosa movingly expresses her class anger at the disparity in rich and poor women's educational opportunities.

"Rosa--Or, Judge Not the Motive" may well be the first treatment in American fiction of the aspirations and struggles of a working-class female intellectual and nonconformist. The story furnishes another example of innovation and experimentation in factory-girl writings, and, like many other texts written by factory women, it acknowledges the problems of women workers. A character like Rosa Fontaine is almost unknown until the twentieth-century publication of Anzia Yezierska's *Bread Givers* (1925) and Agnes Smedley's *Daughter of Earth* (1929). Female intellectuals of the middle and upper classes have received somewhat more literary treatment. For instance, Eliza Wharton, the heroine of Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797), like Rosa Fontaine is a sensitive and intelligent woman whose compelling desires are frustrated by cultural limitations. These heroines anticipate the treatment of Zenobia in Nathaniel

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and Edna Pontellier in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899). In these texts, the surrounding society fails to answer the desires of gifted women; only in death can they find any peace.

In such texts as "Rosa--Or, Judge Not the Motive," factory women fight as well against their societal typecasting as loose, vulgar, ignorant beings. The factory-girl speaker of the ballad, "Lowell . . . A Parody" (entry 62) by Lydia Sarah Hall, asserts the power of factory women's writings to dispel bias and slander against them. As poor and oppressed people, mill worker-writers lacked the luxury to view writing in purely, or even principally, aesthetic terms. With important battles to fight, working-class writers seize upon writing's instrumentality, adding another weapon to their arsenal.

In labor-reform periodicals such as *The Factory Journal* (see entry 60) and the *Voice of Industry* (see entries 53, 68), working-class writers aim to rouse, educate, and inspire their fellow workers and citizens. "Purse-proud aristocrats" are soundly denounced and such reforms as the ten-hour day advanced. As the century progressed, working-class writers continue to fight for their rights in labor papers, but workers' education virtually disappears as a literary subject. The lack of attention to workers' education in post-1860 factory literature betokens the corporations' scaling-back of educational and cultural opportunities for workers, as the Yankee workforce was replaced with poorer and less literate immigrants.

The pre-1860 period, specifically the 1840s, was also the heyday of factory women's periodicals, as demonstrated by chapter three, "Offerings and Voices: Periodicals of Women's Work." Of the eighteen periodicals annotated, thirteen are 1840s

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

textile workers' periodicals, mostly by and for women workers. The genre of textile women's magazines seems to disappear after 1850. Just as workers' education waned in the second half of the nineteenth century, so periodicals devoted solely to working-class women and to textile workers seemingly vanish after the demise of *The New England Offering* in 1850.

The 1840s women's periodicals include some important "firsts." Beginning publication in October 1840, the *Lowell Offering* is quite likely the first magazine in the United States, and perhaps in the world, written entirely by women. Apparently the earliest American mill workers' magazine, the *Offering* was also the longest-running, publishing from 1840 to 1845 and reappearing as *The New England Offering* from 1847 to 1850. The novelty of their labor in the new industrial workplace seems to have prompted women workers to attempt other innovations, such as writing and publishing. Soon after the appearance of the *Lowell Offering*, another Lowell, Massachusetts, workers' magazine, *The Operatives' Magazine*, began publication. By July 1841, the *Magazine* was entirely written, owned, edited, and published by women. With their November 1843 issue, the *Lowell Offering*, too, was fully conducted by women.

From the beginning, both factory women's periodicals evoked widely divergent reactions. Their fresh, realistic writings about factory work and women earned them the praise of such public figures as Charles Dickens, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Harriet Martineau. From other quarters, the magazines were as strongly denounced for *unrealistic* representations of the mills and a betrayal of working-class interests. Into the twentieth century, the latter view has prevailed. Many twentieth-century scholars have

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

echoed Philip S. Foner's characterization of the periodicals as "espous[ing] the escapist outlook of the genteel factory operative" (*Factory Girls* 58). Scholars have contended that the magazines present only a falsely "rosy picture" of factory life (e.g., see Cronin 188).

These views reflect a persistent misreading of the periodicals, deriving perhaps from class bias and misogyny. In the case of the *Lowell Offering*, while many of its writings do reflect a favorable view of mill life, a number of other nonfiction and literary writings paint a bleaker picture, sometimes challenging mill abuses (e.g., see the fervent advocacy of a reduction in working hours in F., H. [Harriet Farley]. "Editorial" 3 [1843]: 214). *Lowell Offering* fiction includes six stories in which the heroine, or another important factory-girl character, dies of working and living conditions in Lowell, including one harrowing account of death in a mill fire (W., J. S. [Jane S. Welch]. "The Mother and Daughter"; entry 336). Some of its poetry and editorials and other nonfiction writings challenge factory conditions, speak out on social evils such as class bias and slavery, and express feminist sentiments. *The Operatives' Magazine* also published material exploring problems of class bias and illness and death caused by factory work.

The misreadings, condescension, and contempt accorded to factory women's periodicals seem rooted in class bias and misogyny. Unlike an individually authored novel or poetry volume, a collectively written periodical confronts readers with the dubious prospect of a group of working-class female writers. Like many other aspects of working-class culture, workers' writing often partakes of collective creation. While the periodicals' collectivity may evoke class bias in some readers, for the writers--especially

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the women, it seems--the group nature of their activity was something to be cherished. Accordingly, the factory-girl author, Harriet Hanson Robinson, commented years later, "It was not so much individual as collective thought and aspiration, that made the Lowell *Offering* possible" (*Massachusetts* 203). Similarly, in a letter published in another workers' periodical, the *Voice of Industry*, a woman worker, Martha Hallingworth of Freeport, Pennsylvania, rues the departure of its women writers: "I would like to know what has become of the girls that used to write for the *Voice* when it was published at Lowell. I do not feel so much at liberty in writing as when the girls wrote for the *Voice*" (3.40 [14 Apr. 1848]). Hallingworth conveys the inspiration and strength that working-class women writers derived from collective efforts. Nonetheless, periodical writers usually published pseudonymously or anonymously.

Several twentieth-century scholars have contended that workers withdrew support from the *Lowell Offering*, founding and sustaining more radical periodicals, such as *The Factory Girl*, the *Voice of Industry*, and *The Wampanoag* (see Foner, *Factory Girls* 74; Josephson 202; Adickes 284). In fact, these periodicals were not founded or edited by factory women, except for the *Voice of Industry* which women co-edited (with men) at intervals from 1845 to 1847. Moreover, a reading of numerous editorials in mill workers' magazines ranging from conservative to radical reveals that they all faced financial difficulties much of the time. Factory workers did not or could not support the periodicals published for them, which is perhaps not surprising considering that the price of a one-year subscription amounted to as much as a week's pay.

Despite their sometimes-precarious existence and wavering support, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

periodicals would not have survived at all, of course, if many people had not enjoyed writing for and reading them. They demonstrate the active role that the working class and poor played in the advance of industrialism, responding richly to industrialization and at times fighting for improved working and living conditions. Although periodicals devoted solely to working-class women and to textile workers seem to disappear after 1850, textile mill workers--both women and men--continued to write for later general labor papers, such as *The Journal of United Labor* and *The Labor Standard.* The periodicals offer priceless representations of early industrial work and workers, precursors of later nineteenth-century realist and naturalist writings. The distortions and misreadings of workers' periodicals forcefully demonstrate the need for a fresh appraisal of this literature, one that fully recognizes its complexity.

Nineteenth-century workers were perhaps even more aware of class bias than we are today with our pervasive ideology of American "classlessness." The texts in the fourth chapter, "Only a Factory Worker: Representing Class," explore many facets of class, mostly through workers' eyes. "Only a factory girl (or mill hand, etc.)" is a phrase that echoes through the literature, suggesting the class divisions exacerbated by industrialism. Reducing the factory woman's value to the point where she deems herself "only a mill girl" facilitates her exploitation by those who would profit from her cheap labor, social abasement, and sexual vulnerability. In the literature by and about them, mill workers struggle to shore up a sense of personal worth. Another important function of these writings is to defend laborers against the class bias and scorn directed their way by the middle and upper classes. Again, working-class writing is seen to serve more of an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instrumental than belletristic purpose.

Nearly two-thirds of this chapter's texts are short fiction and poetry published in 1840s factory women's periodicals. Most of the texts explore the dynamics of class among women. Middle-class women's class bias seemed to trouble factory women more than men's scorn with its greater potential to harm them. Mill women may have felt more comfortable exploring their class anger in the context of other women. On the other hand, they may have written more about women's class bias, because middle-class women's scorn and persecution actually pained them more than men's did.

A typical fictional treatment of class among women is Harriet Farley's *Lowell Offering* story, "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. 1.--The Sister" (entry 89). Olivia, a middle-class character, expresses a "foolish contempt of the factory operative" (21). The factory-girl heroine, Hannah, strives to continue working in the mills, upholding her honor in the face of Olivia's scorn. The story's conclusion represents a not-uncommon factory woman's literary wish-fulfillment fantasy. The power of Hannah's self-sacrificing love and labor eventually wins over Olivia, who comes to regret deeply her cruel bias. The middle-class woman's repentance vindicates the mistreated factory woman.

Another version of the factory woman's class-based wish-fulfillment fantasy is what might be called the "turning-the-tables" story. In these stories, the wealthy woman who scorns vulgar factory girls suffers a financial fall that lands her in the mills to earn her living. Accordingly, in another *Lowell Offering* story, Ethelinda's "Prejudice against Labor" (entry 103), a middle-class character, Caroline, harbors an "aristocratic prejudice"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

against factory workers. The tables turn on her, however, when her father loses all his property in speculations, and she is obliged to enter the mills herself. Thus, Martha Croly, the virtuous, orphaned factory heroine, is finally vindicated and recognized as "the Factory Pearl" (144). In such writings, factory authors reverse some of the damage caused by class bias, balancing the scales more evenly.

Factory work and workers' unappreciated value is a subject for many mill writers. In ballads by several factory women authors, labor itself imparts blessings to workers. Cate's speaker in "The Toiler's Lament" (entry 98) rejoices in her simple mill work, magnanimously extending sympathy to those who reject labor's "blessings" (20). Similarly, the speaker of Clara's "Our Mill at Laureldale" (entry 99) relishes the contentment enjoyed by herself and her female co-workers, a satisfaction superior to any known by "city 'belles'" (74). In Mary's ballad, "Song of the Factory Girl," the speaker suggests that her humble station actually brings her benefits denied to the powerful and wealthy (entry 112). She contends that the lowly factory girl enjoys an inner freedom and virtue no one can take from her. Thus, Mary and the other factory poets revise the social standing of the mill worker, transforming a plight that many people regarded as unfortunate, even pathetic, into one of honor and privilege.

The class bias and misunderstanding plaguing women of different classes also disturbs relations among factory women. Although some mill characters contend that among workers there is no aristocracy but "an aristocracy of worth" (entry 101), in other texts workers judge one another according to society's class-based standards. Factory women are ranked according to how closely they approximate the refinement and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gentility of middle-class ladies. Some worker-characters possess "good blood," which cannot be hidden (see entry 132). One such character is Fanny Crosby, the heroine of Harriet Farley's story, "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. III.--The Daughter" (entry 90). As the illegitimate daughter of a judge's son and a domestic turned factory operative, Fanny possesses at least some "good blood." She therefore exceeds in intelligence and sensibility her "ignorant, weak-minded" mother, whom she joins working in the mills (88).

Another refined factory woman is Juliette Fearing, the heroine of Harriette Baker's *Juliette; or, Now and Forever* (entry 95). In her boardinghouse, Juliette is tormented by vulgar factory women who resent her beauty, culture, and religious piety. In its approval of the ladylike heroines and disapproval of "vulgar" factory women, Farley's and Baker's fiction tends to reinforce class bias. Although such texts seem to perpetuate class bias, at least they bring this taboo issue into the light, a subject little addressed in canonical nineteenth-century American literature. Other factory authors not only expose the problem of class bias but direct their writing towards fighting it, often by validating the unrecognized worth of poor laborers.

Further revisions of factory life may be found in the love stories and mysteries of chapter five, "Means of Escape: Romances and Mysteries." While this literature's escape element is undeniable, of course it is too simple, if not condescending, to regard it only as escape reading. Although many plots enact a flight from the factory, the mill's shadow is cast over the ensuing narrative. The circumstances of the flight often confer a meaning and moment upon the factory that it previously lacked. For instance, in the love stories in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which the mill owner's son marries the lowly mill girl, the factory becomes the site of the heroine's encounter with her glamorous destiny as a rich lady (e.g., see entry 148). This section examines some of the ways in which romances and mysteries revise the factory, considering what such texts suggest about the subjectivity and desires of their working-class writers and readers. Moreover, the authors' frank appeals to working-class readers make these texts a rich source for studying working-class culture.

Our understanding of cheap literature has been greatly enriched by such recent studies as Michael Denning's *Mechanics' Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* and Janice Radway's *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*. Shedding light on a large body of nineteenth-century United States dime fiction, Denning has pointed out the inadequacy of regarding cheap fiction only or primarily as escape literature (see 65-67). In the dime novels, Denning also finds something akin to revisions of the socio-economic order, what he terms "enactments of social conflicts and cleavages" (77). While Radway's book addresses twentieth-century women's romance fiction, some of her conclusions might apply as well to this study, because the twentieth-century romances developed out of just such nineteenth-century romance fiction as is discussed here. Radway notes the "ambiguous" and "polysemic" character of the romance. While for many romance readers, this fiction enables a conservative escape from daily problems, such reading also has an "incipiently oppositional" character, because it registers women's dissatisfaction (Radway 209). Regarding cheap literature only as escape reading thereby prevents us from understanding its other important qualities and functions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Denning's and Radway's pioneering work notwithstanding, the world of nineteenth-century working-class women's and men's pulp and romance literature remains very much a submerged continent. Not only are the texts themselves quite physically inaccessible, but the literary content is often hedged in with unfamiliar cultural assumptions and values. Chapter five's love and mystery literature includes thirty-nine texts, thirty-seven of which are short periodical fiction and pulp or dime novels. Unlike writing discussed earlier, this cheap literature more evenly spans the nineteenth century from 1840 to 1900. Dime and other cheap fiction was not a genre that died away, in the way that the 1840s stories of workers seeking education and the textile mill women's periodicals disappeared. Still, twelve of the short stories appeared in the early factory workers' periodicals. Of the two non-fictional texts, one is a ballad and the other a melodrama.

In twenty-nine texts, the romance theme predominates, and in the remaining ten texts, mysteries and crime comprise the center of interest. The preponderance of the romance plot reflects women's greater numbers in the textile industry and their preference for love stories. While the texts may be divided into the two categories of romances and mysteries, there is considerable blurring between the genres, with many texts exhibiting elements of both. For instance, in Erwin L. Coolidge's *The Fortunes of a Factory Girl* (entry 131), the main plot follows the romance of the factory heroine, Maggie, and wealthy Reuell Morse, while subplots involve other characters in attempted murder, abduction, and suicide. The love and crime narratives share such features as a profusion of sensational incidents, extreme emotions, intrigue, amazing coincidences,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clairvoyance and other extrasensory powers, crime, abductions, mistaken identity (particularly of factory-girl heroines), and changes of fortune. Along the way, the texts also reflect a close acquaintance with the workplaces, scenes, and street culture of their settings, often mill towns such as Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Biddeford, Maine, suggesting that the authors catered to a working-class readership.[2]

In the nineteenth century, women's romance fiction as we know it today was just taking shape, so early romances encompass a range of disparate elements. Usually, the plot is devoted to the heterosexual love interest of a factory-girl heroine. Occasionally, the protagonist is a working-class man (see entries 132, 144). The lovers almost always hail from greatly disparate class backgrounds. The poor working girl's suitor is wealthy, often a mill owner's son or even the mill owner himself.

In several ways, the romances may be seen to revise the factory and workers' plight. In such stories as Laura Jean Libbey's working-girl romances, the ostensibly unfeeling mill magnate proves himself a kind, caring gentleman, rescuing and marrying the poor heroine (see entries 128, 149-50, 153). In so doing, the authors advance a critique, however indirect, of mill owners' heartlessness, suggesting that they ought to

---

2

Working-class appreciation of cheap literature is represented in Dorothy Richardson's account of her box factory labor in "The Long Day: The Story of a New York Working Girl" (1905). In chapter six, Richardson's female co-workers discuss their enjoyment of such pulp romances as "Little Rosebud's Lover" (by Laura Jean Libbey) and "Woven on Fate's Loom" (75-80). Earlier representations of mill girls' story-paper reading appear in Beverley E. Warner's strike novel, *Troubled Waters* (1885; entry 426) and in Evelyn H. Raymond's girls' novel, *Reels and Spindles* (1900; entry 444). In *Troubled Waters*, Ellen Croft, a sixteen-year-old factory girl, embarks on a course of dissipation beginning with "story-papers" and "street-walking" (25) and ending with her seduction and death. Raymond's genteel young heroine, Amy Kaye, helps the local mill girls renounce some of their bad habits, including reading "cheap novels" (203) and "story papers" (327).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

behave differently and care more about their workers' welfare. Often as events unfold, the heroine suddenly discovers that she is actually highborn, perhaps the heiress to a great fortune herself. While demonstrating that this particular heroine is worthy of a wealthy man's attentions, such mistaken identity also implies that any poor working woman might harbor unknown, hidden worth.

Despite the presence of this standard plot, readers need to maintain an openness to the unexpected. Owing perhaps to the early romance's protean nature, many variations on the standard plot can be found. For instance in Ann's story, "The Temptation," the wealthy rake is reformed by his intended factory-girl victim's virtue. As in other romances, their eventual marriage places the poor heroine in great wealth and comfort (entry 125). "A Scene of Real Life" is one of two tales in which a seduced maiden escapes punishment, eventually marrying her seducer and living thereafter comfortably (entries 155, 186). Several other stories reverse the usual happy ending, problematizing the romance tendency to view men's love as the solution to women's problems (entries 130, 134, 139, 142, 145, 151).

Over the course of the century, romance heroines become generally more outwardly helpless and even smaller physically. This change becomes apparent when one contrasts earlier and later nineteenth-century texts. For instance, in Hannah's "The Wedding Dress" (1841; entry 141), the determined heroine creates the circumstances for her own marriage, but in Libbey's "Ionie, the Pride of the Mill" (1888; entry 148), the dimunitive heroine cannot even walk up the mill stairs without being rescued by the mill owner's son. The reduction of the working-class romance heroine may result from

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

worsening class divisions and hostilities as the nineteenth century progressed.

Class conflict is also represented in the mystery fiction, two texts of which are detective stories and the other eight city-mysteries fiction. In this literature, social criticism is commonly expressed in the unmasking of hypocritical oppressors, a common city-mysteries device first described by David S. Reynolds (*Beneath the American Renaissance* 82-87). Thus, in Bradbury's *Mysteries of Lowell* (1844; entry 129), the wealthy mill owner, Owen Glendower, "assume[s] the garb of religion" as a cover for his licentiousness and sexual harassment of female employees (18). Bradbury unmasks Glendower's secret corruption, exacting punishment at the end when he is poisoned by his seduced and discarded maid. Like a host of other city-mysteries writers, Bradbury voices working-class fear and anger at the all-too-common occurrence of wealthy men's sexual and other exploitativeness. The unmasking device remained popular in working-class fiction, as can be seen in dime novelist George W. Goode's exposure of brutal mill overseers and corrupt aristocrats (entries 136-38).

By such means as the unmasking device of mystery fiction and the romance transformation of the aloof mill magnate into a gallant, loving gentleman, the mystery and romance literature revises the social order. Employing the magic formulae that are the special province of the poor and powerless, such literature invests working-class characters with wondrous abilities and effects amazing rags-to-riches transformations in their lives. These texts offer a fruitful source for studying working-class culture, reflecting street life and vernacular and such folkloric motifs as disguises, crossdressing, and enigmatic or haglike characters. By such means, the factory and mill town are trans-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

formed from places of poverty and drudgery into sites of romance and intrigue, where workers' unmet desires are fulfilled.

A genre closely related to city-mysteries fiction with its sensationalism and seduction subplots is the equally sensational factory-girl seduction literature of chapter six, "Blighted and Deceived: Dangerous Desires and Women's Wrongs." In both the city-mysteries and seduction texts, upper-class men usually figure as the villains, persecuting poor, often female, characters. The heroines of seduction literature frequently fall prey to either mill management or clergymen. These writings link the women's vulnerability to weakness and to their inordinate, female, lower-class desire. Male desire, described by one narrator as "fiendish lusts" (entry 184), correspondingly causes its share of trouble but in different ways.

Chapter six's texts probe the intertwining of sex, misogyny, and violence in factory women's lives. Not considered "ladies," working-class women are represented in the literature as more desirous and sexually active than middle- and upper-class women. Victimized as much by predatory men as by their own weakness and desire, "blighted and deceived" factory heroines undergo sexual harassment, seduction, rape, botched abortions, murder, and suicide. Writers explore the furtive pleasures and sometimes-terrible costs of sensuality. As poor women less sheltered either by bourgeois men's protection or by middle-class literary proprieties, some texts' factory heroines suffer terrible physical violation and brutality at the hands of callous men. For all of its flaws and crudity, at least the sensational seduction literature brings attention to sexuality and to the violence endured by so many women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This chapter's thirty-eight texts reflect more generic variety than previous chapters' contents. While sixteen of the texts are fiction, including pulp and other novels and tales, some of this fiction borders on nonfiction, with plots drawn from actual occurrences. Accordingly, the eight nonfiction texts, comprised of such true crime genres as narratives and trial and crime pamphlets, are often partly fictionalized, reflecting again a blurring between fiction and "real life." Other texts include one melodrama and one playbill. The remaining titles are poetry, mostly ballads, six of which were published as broadsides. In general, the texts reflect a preponderance of the cheap genres more accessible to the poor, such as pulp novels, crime pamphlets, and broadside ballads. Like the cheap literature of chapter five, this chapter's writings offer many glimpses into nineteenth-century working-class life.

As noted above, the seduction plot, a seeming anachronism, dominates this literature. As Cathy N. Davidson and other scholars have noted, the use of the seduction plot in American "women's fiction" declined by the early nineteenth century (Davidson, "Sentimental Novel" 787). While it may have faded from middle-class women's fiction, the seduction plot was a staple of factory-girl literature, especially from 1830 to 1860. Worsening class divisions seem to have forced a division in writing by and about women, with bodily and sexual concerns increasingly relegated to working-class and poor women.

That she is female and poor, to some writers and readers, lends her desires a dangerous, destabilizing quality. As the boardinghouse keeper remarks in the novel, *The Factory Girl* by a Friend (entry 178), "'Factory girls are always wanting, and without

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

caution their pockets are soon emptied'" (39). Mary, the heroine, eager to escape mill drudgery and attracted to the stir of the ballroom, comes dangerously close to destruction. Maria Danton, the heroine of Daniel Wise's story, "The Widow's Daughter" (entry 199), allows love for dress to become "the ruling passion of her heart" (199). As a consequence, her neglect of her mother leads not only to her mother's gruesome death but, shortly after, her own. Another heroine, Sarah Maria Cornell, a young woman eventually seduced and killed either by suicide or murder, begins her downward course with "an extreme fondness for gaiety and dress" (7). Soon after, she becomes "negligent of her needle" (8), losing work's stabilizing potential for keeping working-class women out of trouble (entry 165).

Given the incidence of seduction, this literature treats sexuality and sexual mores and practices more openly than canonical literature usually does. Nonetheless, although sexuality is addressed in such texts as *Ellen Merton, the Belle of Lowell* (entry 173) and Sparks's *Flora Montgomerie, the Factory Girl* (entry 194), it nearly always reflects only a patriarchal point-of-view, in which women's bodies are subjugated by an intrusive male gaze. Often narrators and characters presume as well that seduced factory-girl characters must have been "deceived." Not only are women represented as easily misled, but writers also avoid any suggestion that women might actually enjoy sex.

In the seduction literature, inhumane treatment of working-class women takes several forms. One is the assumption in such texts as J. A. B.'s *Mary Bean: The Factory Girl* (entry 164) and John G. Saxe's "The Times" (entry 191) that work in the factory's public sphere makes women available for sexual exploitation. Several of the pulp novels

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reflect the assumption that, since the plight of poor and working-class women verges upon prostitution, they deserve no better fate. In *Ellen Merton, the Belle of Lowell* (entry 173), that narrator explains that many of the weak and "unfortunate" Lowell factory women become prostitutes: "Too many of the unfortunate frail ones, in all our large cities, have gone forth from those haunts of Industry to the haunts of Infamy" (4). Likewise, *The G'hals of Boston* by George Thompson includes several sensational sketches of the seduction and entry into prostitution of Lowell factory women.

Misogynistic violence carried to the extremes of rape, botched abortion, mutilation, and murder is represented in such texts as Ingalls's *Capital Trial of Dr. Lindsey A. Ingalls, of Lowell, Mass., for a Rape Committed on the Person of Elvira C. Mitchell* (entry 183), Carroll's *The Manchester Tragedy* (entry 166), and "Lines Written on the Death of Sarah M. Cornell" (entry 185). The rape trial pamphlet is remarkable for the fact that Mitchell, a sixteen-year-old mill worker, found the courage and strength to bring rape charges against Ingalls, an older man and a physician, and testify against him. Her boardinghouse keeper and mates also testify, providing evidence supporting Mitchell. In another text, women's expressions of outrage and care for one another also offer a feminist corrective to female victimization. For instance, in Mary Carr Clarke's play, *Sarah Maria Cornell, or the Fall River Murder* (entry 167), when a Methodist divine, Brother Jenks, tries to force himself sexually upon Phebe, a young farm woman, she fights him off, crying out, "Nay, lay still, or I will put my scissors into your heart. What does an old goat like you fancy, that a true born New England girl has not courage to defend her honor?--Ha, ha, ha!" (25).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Meanwhile, Mr. Averio, a cruel and lecherous minister, carries off the factory heroine, Sarah. Disgraced by the resulting pregnancy, Sarah is comforted by her boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. Patton, who refuses to turn her out, even though it was common practice to evict erring women from the boardinghouses. Instead, Mrs. Patton "takes her in her arms and soothes her," telling her that "you are not the first of your sex, by numbers, who has been deceived, nor you won't be the last: so cheer up; my door will never close on you for this error" (33). In such scenes, women writers and characters resist misogyny and victimization. Clarke's play and the rape trial pamphlet challenge twentieth-century assumptions about the submissiveness of nineteenth-century women.

In chapter seven's texts, which also contain many representations of working-class culture from workers' point-of-view, resistance takes the form of environmental protest or, simply, laborers' insistence on their right to culture. The forty-nine texts of "Scenes of Factory Village Life" offer representations of workers' culture and industrial scenes. Many texts interrogate industrialization's meaning and effects, including environmental damage. They also represent the mill towns' evolving social life. The texts' often "realistic" snapshots of life in these new kinds of communities--factory towns and villages--no doubt influenced the later frank depictions of urban life by such realists and naturalists as Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, and Upton Sinclair.

In the chapter title, the term "factory village" is used loosely. The chapter includes representations of social life in both the small mill villages and the large factory towns, although there were some important differences between these two major kinds of early industrial communities (see Kulik, *The New England Mill Village* xxvii-xxviii).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Centering around one or two mills, the smaller mill villages often relied upon the labor of whole families, who lived in corporation-owned cottages. At least in the century's first half, child labor was much more common in the mill villages than in the larger mill towns. Prior to about 1860, the "Waltham system" of labor and housing prevailed in the large factory towns, such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and Manchester, New Hampshire. In these towns, thousands of workers, mostly young, single adults and usually female, were employed by many different corporations. They occupied rooms in the brick rows of corporation boardinghouses. In the later nineteenth century, as the Waltham-style mill cities were flooded with poor immigrant families, they tended to deteriorate into blighted, urban versions of the mill village. Conditions in small mill villages also declined with the influx of cheap immigrant labor.

Recognizing the common features of mill village and city social life and community fluctuations as native labor gave way to immigration, this chapter includes representations of industrialization and social life in the evolving nineteenth-century mill village and town. Accordingly, the texts span the decades from 1820 to 1900. Writers' concerns include industrialization, environmentalism, work and community life, temperance, evangelical religion, social life, recreation, family life, struggles with poverty, and immigration. Texts comprise a variety of genres, including broadside ballads and other kinds of poetry, short fiction, novels, songs, and children's fiction.

As rivers were redirected to provide water power to the mills, familiar scenes were altered, sometimes in destructive ways deplored by poets. To A. R. A., the industrial harnessing of the Merrimack River constitutes its desecration and enslavement

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(entry 200). Similarly, Theodore Russell mourns the passing of the Merrimack's wild beauty and its servility to industry (entry 240). In one of the most moving expressions of environmental loss, La Vista's speaker views Lowell, Massachusetts, from the Merrimack's banks and meditates on the changes brought about by industrialization (entry 227). In the din of the mills and railroads, the speaker notes that he or she is no longer able to hear the birds or "the beautiful sound / That sung in the grass of the meadow ground" (34-35). Both A. R. A.'s and La Vista's poems anticipate Henry David Thoreau's wry observations of the Merrimack River's mills in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849).

Industrialization's impact upon social life is also gauged by this chapters' writers. A number of texts represent workers' recreation and amusements, showing some of the ways workers created opportunities for culture and relaxation amid the demands of the industrial workplace. Other writers investigate traditional religion's place in the mill village and town. The factory's tendency to draw people away from religious piety is explored in several texts, including Rose Terry Cooke's short story, "The Deacon's Week" (209) and Lydia Sigourney's poem, "The Lonely Church" (241). In the poem "Lowell at Sunset," Lucy Larcom's speaker urges workers to remain close to God (228). Evangelical Christianity, a potent force in many actual mill towns, is coupled with temperance reform in Mary A. Denison's novel, *The Mill Agent* (entry 213). Guilford Coit, the saintly and sober mill agent, quietly but powerfully enacts a "great revival"in his godless mill village (352). Religious writers thus strive to reconcile the factory with traditional religious piety and practice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A number of this chapter's texts chronicle the social dislocations and suffering accompanying industrial changes. The mill town's poor families struggle with such problems as mental illness (entry 202), deprivation and hunger (entry 223), homelessness (entry 207), and unemployment (entries 237-38). Poor working families and individuals strive to determine their social place and role in the rapidly changing community. In the juvenile story, "Mary Harding's Easter" by Dorothy E. Nelson, the young Yankee heroine, Mary, suffers from depression and loneliness following the death of her only remaining family member (entry 235). Toiling in the "grim, prison-like" mills (125), Mary experiences additional stress from an influx of "foreign" French-Canadian working women. Despite Mary's forbidding demeanor, the other mill women reach out to comfort her, affirming traditional social values. Nelson's story represents human alienation in the industrial community, as well as the strains caused by immigration and the need to preserve women's traditional community values.

One of the nineteenth century's most urgent social problems was child labor. Throughout the century, the textile industry relied on the labor of many thousands of children aged seven to sixteen. From its seventeenth-century beginnings, American textile manufacture was considered primarily women's and children's work, especially suited to the poor. In the mechanized mills of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, children worked alongside adults, despite the machinery's hazards. It is hard to know how many early-nineteenth-century children toiled in the mills, since child workers were not counted in United States censuses until 1870 (Abbott, "A Study" 15). In 1832, Seth Luther, a labor activist, wrote that of the 57,000 people employed in textile

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

manufactures, about two-fifths, or 31,044, were under sixteen years of age, and 6,000 were younger than twelve (21). The 1870 census found 114,628 children employed in all manufacturing industries. The figures reach a nineteenth-century high in 1880, with 181,921 children employed in manufactures (Abbott, *Women* 82).

Just as there are few historical studies of American child labor, literary scholars have given little attention to working children in literature. The authors of several studies of children's literature have argued that nineteenth-century British and American children's literature mostly ignored factory work and social problems (see Cutt 41; MacLeod 93, 96; Hunt 175). Nonetheless, more than fifty texts annotated in this dissertation represent child labor in textile mills (not to mention the many British texts listed below in the list of "Works Cited"). Of these, eleven children's novels and stories in the eighth chapter, "Working Children," feature child workers as protagonists or significant characters. Chapter eight's twenty-eight texts span the decades from the 1820s to the 1890s, with more published (eighteen, to be exact) after 1860. The material is divided almost evenly between fiction and nonfiction. Of the thirteen fictional texts, nine are children's religious tractate fiction. Fifteen poems, including twelve ballads, comprise the remaining texts.

Like other factory writing, American child labor literature developed in close conjunction with British factory writing. In late-eighteenth-century England and the United States, the Sunday school was founded for the education of textile mill children. Accordingly, much nineteenth-century literature representing factory children was published in Sunday school tractate fiction. In their appeals to working children, these

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

texts offer many realistic representations of mill children's experiences and hardships, thus presaging the development of later nineteenth-century American realism and naturalism. Their realism is strongly overlaid with evangelical Christianity. Just as the small heroes and heroines shoulder adult responsibilities, often supporting not only themselves but their helpless parents, so they carry a large share of sanctity. In many religious texts, the factory child's Christlike purity and suffering lead to the spiritual regeneration of others. Mill children's suffering often serves a related function in labor-paper protest writings, underscoring the adult corruption of the brutal factory system.

Although in all factory writing a cross-fertilization occurred between England and the United States, this interchange was especially important for children's literature. Given England's earlier industrialization, British writers' treatment of child labor seems to have preceded and influenced American child labor literature. In her study of nineteenth-century American children's literature, Anne S. MacLeod notes the difficulty of distinguishing between American and British texts, since American children's literature is "so closely modeled on its English predecessors" (47).

English authors produced the earliest known literary protests against child mill labor, influencing American protest writing. In 1816, "Sally Brown, the Cotton Spinner," a balladic "tale" about an English factory child, appeared in *Tales of the Poor; or, Infant Sufferings*, published anonymously in New York. This tale paints a grim picture of child factory labor, presenting it as a worse fate than slavery. In 1825, another early English treatment of child labor was published anonymously in Boston. *The Little Manufacturer, or The History of Sarah Wright* represents the spiritual dangers of girls'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

factory work. The English texts no doubt influenced such American protests against child labor as James Kirke Paulding's "The Man Machine" (1826; entry 265) and *Old Crag; or, The Alison Family* by a Minister (1854; entry 264). These writers' exposure and condemnation of child labor abuses no doubt contributed to the arduous reform efforts that slowly improved child workers' plight.

Although much American child labor literature appears in Sunday school texts, this does not necessarily mean that it lacks realistic features. Indeed, in her study of English evangelical children's literature, Margaret N. Cutt maintains that the nineteenth-century tract tale presented its child readers with "a wider range of realism than would be approved today" (184). American authors, too, often represent the hardships of young workers' lives quite frankly. Thus, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *Up Hill; or, Life in the Factory* (1865; entry 266) does not withhold scenes of the drunken rampages of young Kate Bradley's father. The boys working as mule spinners in *Walter Martin; or, The Factory, the School, and the Camp* (entry 273) suffer "kicks and abusive language" from their bosses (38). Religious authors sometimes extend their critiques of child labor abuses to the mill managers and public officials who neglect the Christian injunction to love their fellow human beings. Thus, when a miserable fourteen-year-old factory girl commits suicide in *Old Crag,* the narrator attributes it "to the cruel discipline of merciless and avaricious men" (151).

Nonetheless, in chapter eight's religious texts, Christian conversion is usually presented as the sole solution to workers' problems. Thus, in Harriette Baker's *The Factory Boy* (1867; entry 249), Johnny Talbot, the eight-year-old hero, is relieved of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hunger and overwork when he practices Christian charity and prays. Johnny, like most of this chapter's mill children, assumes an adult role, helping support his family. Likewise, the factory child sometimes serves as a spiritual guide to adults. The Romantic notion of the child as the bearer of spiritual instruction to other children and adults can be seen in the fictional children of many nineteenth-century didactic texts, most notably in Little Eva of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (see Cutt 185). The suffering, saintly mill child appears in Mrs. F. M. Rowe's children's story, "Too Hot for Church" (1860; entry 269). Fatally injured in the machinery, "Mary Mills, the poor factory girl" teaches her middle-class neighbors "how even the humblest of God's creatures can glorify him in their lives." After her death, she becomes one of their "holiest memories" (736).

The innocent, suffering mill child figures in labor-paper protest writings as well. His or her condition powerfully signifies the injustice of the factory system, underscoring the urgent need for reform. For instance, in E. R. Place's ballad, "The Story of a Household" (entry 267), published in the *Labor Standard* of Fall River, Massachusetts, a major textile mill town, some poor parents are forced to send their small daughter, Jane, to work in the mills. Witnessing another girl's loss of an arm to the machinery, Jane toils in "ever-haunting fear" (50). Becoming pale and thin, one day she collapses "in a swoon" and not long after dies (56). In a "monody" with Biblical echoes, Place's speaker berates the unfeeling rich responsible for Jane's "martyrdom of toil" (43). Striving to penetrate the indifference of "ye haughty ones, and high," the poem's speaker invokes the "wailings of the children," as if mill children's suffering possessed special

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

redemptive power.

The dangers of mill work and machinery are further represented in chapter ten's writings on occupational hazards, as well as in the protest writings of chapters eleven and twelve. Textile mill machinery, however, was not always viewed unfavorably, even by worker-writers and labor activists. Chapter nine, "Wondrous Machines: Responses to Technology," includes several broadside versions of the popular factory women's folk song, "The Song of the Factory Girl." These ballads convey admiration for mill technology and for workers' skill and productivity. Most of chapter nine's nineteen texts, however, were not composed by workers. This chapter includes the earliest recovered factory texts, published from 1787 to 1819. Glorifying technology, many of these poems were written by manufacturers and mill managers. Industrialization is represented as a patriotic endeavor, with poor women and children constituting a readily available source of cheap labor. Some authors attempt as well to reconcile technology with traditional religious and moral values.

More than two-thirds of chapter nine's texts are poems, including five ballads and ten long or pamphlet poems in heroic couplets. In American writing, the most sustained poetic treatment of the factory came from the pens of lesser, popular, or unknown poets. For the most part, canonical American poets ignored the factory, although a few of their works provide brief glimpses of the new industrial workplace.[3] In the factory literature,

---

[3] See William Cullen Bryant, "A Meditation on Rhode Island Coal" stanza 14, and "The Song of the Sower" stanza 5; Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The World-Soul" and "Monadnoc"; Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself" sect. 15, and "A Song for Occupations" sect. 5; and Emily Dickinson, poem 112 "[Where bells no more affright the morn--]."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

technology received its fullest treatment in verse, as if only poetry's rhythmic, patterned language could convey machinery's intricate and powerful workings. The earliest American factory texts are poems, or at least those are the texts that have been preserved and are thus more readily recoverable. It is probably no accident as well that the earliest preserved poems are ones that glorify technology and the new factory system of labor. The early pro-factory poetry, much of which was written by manufacturers and mill managers, employs the heroic couplet, the meter of rationally educated men of the Enlightenment.

The first known American factory poem, "[Wond'rous machine!]" (entry 294), a celebration of mill technology written in heroic couplets, was published anonymously in a Philadelphia periodical, *The American Museum*, in 1787. Inspired by viewing the silk mills at Derby, England, the speaker extols technology as an expression of God's power manifested in human ingenuity. In deistic terms, the speaker likens the workings of silk machinery to the planets' machine-like motions, with God as the prime mover behind all mechanisms. The poet thus demonstrates that the American people might integrate industrialization with religious worship.

The first major American poem on industrialization is David Humphreys's *A Poem on Industry* (1794; entry 285). Revised and republished in 1804 as *A Poem on the Industry of the United States* (entry 286), from which extracts were later issued as broadsides, Humphreys's poetic efforts seem to have enjoyed some popular success. Renowned as an aide to George Washington and a Revolutionary hero, Humphreys also established the first successful American woolen factory in 1806. While he claimed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"patriotic purposes" for his industrial poetry (*A Poem on Industry* iii), his writings seem also to have quickened his determination to become a manufacturer. Like the speaker in "[Wond'rous machine!]," Humphreys's speaker finds factory machinery "ingenious" and "wondrous" (14). The factory confers other benefits as well, providing the poor with employment and delivering them from hunger, cold, and the moral dangers of idleness. Humphreys's poems embody the most potent rationalizations for exploiting the labor of women, children, the aged, and the poor in factories, rationalizations that would reverberate in public and literary discourse well into the nineteenth century.

Two long poems published shortly after Humphreys's also extol the factory's benefits. Written in heroic couplets, both poems represent the interests of manufacturers. "The Manufacturer's Pocket-Piece; or the Cotton-Mill Moralized" (1816; entry 282) by Walton Felch offers a moral interpretation of the factory, showing how mill machinery's workings illustrate moral principles. Thus, Felch demonstrates the factory's moral value to an American public anxious to comprehend industrialization's repercussions. Felch's poem also constitutes an interesting extended use of textile machinery as poetic metaphor. The second poem, the anonymously published "Domestic Industry: A Poem" (1819; entry 279), relates a dialogue between a farmer and a manufacturer. The manufacturer, who clearly has the upper hand, makes a plea for the patriotic development of American industry, using many of the arguments advanced by Humphreys to show how industrialization benefits the nation. Factories, the manufacturer contends, bring prosperity not only to the poor but to the entire populace.

Several later poems, ballads published in broadsides, poetry volumes, or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

periodicals, express wonder at mill machinery's intricate precision and pride in workers' skill and productivity. This poetry, like most factory verse by lower-class and women writers, tends to utilize the older folk form of the ballad. In the various versions of "The Song of the Factory Girl" (entries 276, 280-81), the factory-woman speaker admires men's inventions:

> It is a wonder how that man
>
> Could such machinery make ;
>
> A thousand wheels in union
>
> Without the least mistake.

While she may feel compelled to flatter "ingenious" men, the factory-woman speaker does not fail to commend the skill of her sister operatives as well, who produce "Six thousand yards from day to day, / . . . carded well and spun and wove." Like the early poets of industry, Emily Wetherbee, a Lawrence, Massachusetts, schoolteacher writing at the century's end, admires the "tall and stately" mills of her native city (entry 291). As her speaker describes, the factories shed a "wondrous radiance" (88). Invoking the Protestant work ethic, Wetherbee's speaker extols the "comfort, strength, and health" conferred by labor (89).

Nonetheless, in her verse praising Lawrence's mills, Wetherbee fails to mention that this city was the site some forty years earlier of the antebellum era's worst industrial accident, the collapse and burning of the Pemberton Mill in which hundreds were killed or injured. While industrialism undoubtedly bestowed some social benefits, it imposed at least as much hardship on people, particularly on mill operatives. A number of literary

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writings represent the heavy cost paid by workers. Chapter ten, "Occupational Hazards: Stress, Disease, Accidents, Fires," considers the principal sources of workplace danger. Of the chapter's forty-five texts, all but three address workers' deaths, suggesting thereby the textile industry's great dangers.

Poetry, mostly in the form of ballads, comprises three-quarters of chapter ten's texts. Of the twenty-three ballads, twelve were published in broadsides. Sold for pennies on the street, broadside ballads, like all ballads, typically relate love stories, workers' songs, news events, or occurrences of crimes, "tragedies and disasters" (Laws 23). This chapter's broadside ballads on the Pemberton Mill Disaster and other industrial calamities thus treat common balladic subjects. In addition to poetry, chapter ten includes ten short stories, one novel, and one autobiographical narrative.

Two stories represent the stresses of harsh mill discipline. Nearly twenty years before Rebecca Harding Davis's early realistic fiction, George Pike's "The Factory Girl. An Owre True Tale" frankly depicts mill abuses (1842; entry 330). As the subtitle suggests, some writers deemed conventional literature inadequate to convey the new, "too-true" subject matter of the industrial workplace. In Pike's tale, a young factory woman, berated and "struck to the floor" by her overseer for tardiness (93), sickens and dies. The narrator charges such heartless mill managers with murder. In a similar story, Hal Norton's "Jane Hayes," published in an 1886 labor paper, the young heroine, Jane, works in a woolen mill to support herself and her ailing mother (entry 324a). When her mother's condition worsens, Jane misses work. After several absences, she is discharged from the factory. Grieving over her mother's death and unable to find work, Jane soon

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dies herself and is buried beside her mother in the Potter's Field. Such stories represent the brutality of mill discipline, calling attention to the prevalence of women's suffering at the hands of ruthless male bosses. Furthermore, these texts suggest that female suffering delivers an especially powerful indictment against the unjust factory system.

Even though in chapter ten's texts women nearly always constitute the victims of occupational stress and calamities, the earliest recovered text depicts a man's death in a mill accident. J. H.'s 1827 broadside verse, "A Poem; on the Distressing and Afflictive Death of the Rev. Josiah M. Muspratt" (entry 311), focuses more on the spiritual meaning of Muspratt's death than on the accident itself. Like suffering factory women, Muspratt is regarded as a sacrificial victim. Whereas women are often represented as the prey of heartless mill owners and bosses, J. H.'s speaker views Muspratt as the victim of erring factory operatives, subordinates for whose conversion he was striving. In the literature, the prevalence of female victimization also suggests that it was less acceptable to represent men's persecution at the hands of other, perhaps more powerful, men.

Factory women's writings, too, focus on working women's suffering. Several such stories appear in the pages of the *Lowell Offering* and *The Operatives' Magazine*, factory women's magazines that have too often been misread by twentieth-century scholars. Despite their stories about characters who die of mill working and living conditions, one scholar has claimed that the magazines "rigidly excluded criticism of factory conditions or management policies and resolutely presented cheerful expressions to the public" (Kasson 95). Similar views have been expressed by other scholars, one of whom writes that the *Lowell Offering* presents "a rosy picture of factory life" (Cronin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

188).

The presence in the *Lowell Offering* and *The Operatives' Magazine* of factory heroines dying of disease and other mill hazards again demonstrates the need for more complex and sympathetic scholarship on factory literature. In such *Lowell Offering* stories as Josephine L. Baker's "The Factory Girl (entry 297) and Hannah Johnson's "The Dying Sister's Gift" (entry 326), the heroines die of disease after working several years in the mills.[4] Heroines' deaths also occur in such *Operatives' Magazine* stories as A. G. A.'s "The Orphan" (entry 295) and Ella's "The Sister" (entry 308). One *Lowell Offering* story in particular challenges the standard view of the magazine as "timid and genteel" (Foner, *Factory Girls* 58). In Jane S. Welch's "The Mother and Daughter" (entry 336), due to overseers' incompetence or indifference, the heroine and other factory women die in a mill fire.

Given the early textile mills' highly combustible contents and the lack of safety precautions, devastating fires were not uncommon. Many of chapter ten's texts address the loss of life caused by fires and other destruction at the Pemberton Mill, Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1860, and the Granite Mill, Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1874. While in about half the texts, no blame is assigned, in the others, anger is expressed about human selfishness in general (entries 296, 309) or toward the builders, owners, and stockholders (entries 312, 318, 324-26). Lamenting workers' deaths, the numerous

---

[4] Three more *Lowell Offering* stories representing the deaths of heroines or other significant characters from unhealthy mill conditions are: "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. III.--The Daughter" by Harriet Farley (entry 90); "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. IV.--The Betrothed" by Harriet Farley (entry 3); and "An O'er True Tale" by E.A.E. (entry 172).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ballads and other poems evince features of elegiac and consolatory verse. Poems' speakers assure readers of victims' and mourners' rewards in the next life (entries 300-02, 306, 309-10, 315, 319-21, 329). In heaven, loved ones will meet again, and poor workers will wear "shining robes" (333).

By and large, canonical writers failed to address such horrendous industrial accidents as the Pemberton Mill Disaster. Again, as this chapter's writings attest, the humbler writers responded to industrialization when the greater writers failed to. Their writings on occupational hazards not only memorialize the victims but also celebrate working-class resilience and spirit. Several of the Pemberton Mill poems describe workers' miraculous escapes from the ruins. One such account, the escape of Olive Bridges, was so cherished that it survived into the 1930s in a folk song:

> A girl from Calais City, Maine,
> Miss Olive Bridges was her name,
> Seized the elevator's hoisting chain,
> And safely down five stories came. (Entry 315)

This amazing escape--achieved by a woman no less--serves as a reminder that human spirit and creativity cannot be contained by satanic mills.

In words as well as actions, workers strove to alter oppressive conditions. Chapter eleven, "Laborers' Remonstrances," conveys workers' voices speaking out against injustice. While chapter twelve treats workers' organized protests including strikes, chapter eleven assembles voices raised, as they pierce through the societal denial and deceit obscuring laborers' oppression. This chapter considers the qualities of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

protesting voice in factory writing and the various means by which it registers wrongs. Of the chapter's fifty-one texts, nearly half were written by workers or other ostensibly working-class authors, thus constituting a representation especially close to mill experience. At least thirteen texts convey factory women's voices, embodying a strong concentration of angry, remonstrating female voices. Correspondingly, twenty-nine texts appear in the beloved working-class genre, the ballad. Poetry, more than fiction and other prose forms, seems to have been viewed as the most effective genre for solemn protests and jeremiads. Chapter eleven's other texts include two pamphlet poems and fourteen fictional works.

While this chapter's earliest recovered texts appeared in the 1830s, of the entire nineteenth century, the 1840s, with twenty-nine texts, mostly ballads published in workers' periodicals, comprises the period of the strongest, most forthright workers' protest writings. Evangelical fervor and memories of the Revolution added momentum to early Yankee protests writings. Over the course of the century, writers drew upon a range of literary techniques to fortify their messages. Besides the direct, didactic protest voice, writers' strategies include use of the dream vision, fantasy, and various kinds of humor and satire. As writers attempt to shed light on injustice, poetic and prose texts become instruments to open people's minds and move their hearts. The instrumental quality of working-class writing emerges in writers' sense of purposive expression.

In an era when women's voices were generally suppressed, the protesting female voice was especially unwelcome. Nonetheless, at the risk of censure, women did raise literary voices of dissent. To support their protests, women writers appropriate various

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kinds of authority, including that of nature, experience, dreams, and religion. Among chapter eleven's writings, at least sixteen texts embody female protests against labor's wrongs. In "Factory Thoughts," a ballad by "Mary" published in a workers' periodical, the *Voice of Industry* (entry 368), the speaker describes looking down from the mill's "prison walls" at the river turning the factory's wheels (1). Appropriating natural authority, Mary's speaker joins her labor protest to some early environmentalist expression. She regrets that the beautiful river, an "Emblem of Purity and Truth" (13), has been diverted "to add to the miser's gold" (7). Now, instead of conferring health and joy, the river contributes to destroying the lives of workers, "sap[ping] the life-blood from young veins, / And fill[ing] the funeral Urn!" (15-16). Recognizing human rootedness in nature, Mary acknowledges the confluence of the river, a vein of the earth, with mill workers' "veins." Since nature is often gendered female (e.g., "Mother Earth"), Mary can easily link the river's desecration to the destruction of young workers, many of whom were women.

Although some twentieth-century scholars have claimed otherwise, protest writings did appear in the factory women's periodical, the *Lowell Offering*. A long ballad by Harriet Farley, "Factory Blossoms for Queen Victoria" (entry 350), includes some pointed criticism of British imperialism and the plight of poor English laborers, thus demonstrating again that *Lowell Offering* writers did not ignore social problems. Farley's speaker claims the authority of experience, derived from the marginality of a "factory girl [who] may say / What others leave unsaid" (3). Betsey Chamberlain, another *Lowell Offering* writer, appropriates the authority of dreams. In "Sabbath

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Morning," a brief prose piece (entry 382), Chamberlain's speaker longs to leave the "busy city" and return home to worship "Nature's God" (207). Weeping and falling asleep, in a dream she revisits the waters of her "own loved Winipisiogee" (208). In her dream flight and sadness upon awakening, the speaker protests against her alienation from nature, a protest that deepens when one considers that Chamberlain was probably Native American, as Harriet H. Robinson writes (*Loom and Spindle* 86). "Sabbath Morning" is one of several prose dream visions and other writings that Chamberlain contributed to the *Lowell Offering*.

Religion, specifically evangelical Protestant Christianity, was another and crucial source of authority for protesting factory women and other working-class writers. Studying what she calls "labor evangelicalism" in *Religion and the Working Class in Antebellum America*, Jama Lazerow argues that "the men and women who mounted the labor protest of early-nineteenth-century America adapted evangelical Protestantism to their own purposes, that in fact the labor movement was also a religious movement" (25-26). Chapter eleven's 1840s protest writings are full of religious fervor. In 1843, the *Lowell Offering's* feisty co-editor, Harriot F. Curtis, contributed a brief religious prose protest, "The Laborer's Remonstrance" (entry 342). Appropriating a stern, masculine, Old Testament voice of authority, Curtis's laborer, Jonathan, warns the wealthy "non-producer" to "[s]ee that the cries of the laborer ascend not into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, on account of oppression." Due to his superior virtue as an honest laborer, Jonathan claims the moral and religious authority to challenge this "worthy father in Israel."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Moreover, the Revolutionary rhetoric of freedom and rights also fueled nineteenth-century labor protest writings, especially in the early decades, when the memories of the War for Independence were still fresh. One of the earliest and most sustained protest writings is Thomas Man's pamphlet poem, *Picture of a Factory Village* (1833; entry 367). Man's speaker deplores the factory's departure from Revolutionary ideals of freedom and equality, as well as the ignorance and suffering it brings:

> For Liberty our fathers' [sic] fought,
> Which with their blood, they dearly bought,
> The Fact'ry system sets at naught.
> A slave at morn, a slave at eve,
> It doth my inmost feelings grieve;
> The blood runs chilly from my heart,
> To see fair Liberty depart;
> . . . . . .
> Hark! don't you hear the fact'ry bell?
> Of wit and learning 'tis the knell. ([7]-8)

Man strives to awaken minds and hearts to the factory system's dangers for the young republic, so recently founded upon ideals of freedom and justice. Like writings by other lesser-known or unknown factory authors, Man's poem serves more of a utilitarian, political purpose than an aesthetic one (for which he lacked the gifts, admittedly). Such protest writings kept Revolutionary ideals alive and inspired workers to organize and fight for their rights.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Revolutionary and Christian evangelical rhetoric also contribute to the literature of labor organizing and strikes, especially the early texts from the 1830s and 1840s. Of the twenty-eight texts in chapter twelve, "Strikes and Other Organized Protest," twenty-four are poetry, including twenty-one ballads. Just as poetry proved an especially effective medium for the "remonstrances" of chapter eleven, chapter twelve's worker-writers and labor organizers found poetry a powerful genre for rousing and unifying workers. Women's contributions to this literature are also considerable. Thirteen texts, or nearly half of the chapter's contents, were composed by factory women or other working-class women, attesting to women's strong participation in the nineteenth-century labor movement. No doubt women's strike activities and literature, some of which preceded the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, contributed to the emergence and vigor of nineteenth-century feminism.

This chapter's early strike literature was published not long after the earliest known textile workers' "turnouts," as strikes were called. Protesting against wage reductions, both men and women workers struck in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1821 and in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1824 (Kulik, "Pawtucket"; Levine, Bruce, 335). The first known all-women's strike occurred in Dover, New Hampshire, in December, 1828, conducted by three to four hundred cotton-mill women (Andrews and Bliss 23). Women's strike poems from the 1830s comprise chapter twelve's earliest recovered strike literature. In these verses, composed for recitation during turnout processions, the Revolutionary rhetoric of rights and freedom figures prominently.

Strike poetry was often disseminated publicly, either orally or published in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

broadsides and painted or placarded on doors and fences. Several historians have discussed the importance of poetry to workers' protests.[5] In *History of Women in Trade Unions*, Andrews and Bliss contend that, during the 1834 Dover, New Hampshire, strike of eight hundred cotton-mill women, prose seemed inadequate to voice defiance and protest, and so poetry was composed and recited. Poetry was considered "'equally stirring and equally essential in the properly conducted strike of the day'" (Andrews and Bliss 25).

During strike processions, reciting poetry fortified workers' sense of collective strength and resolve to hold firm in the face of hardship. Lacking funds, poor, striking workers and their families often suffered from cold, hunger, and consequent disease. They were also subject to such corporation reprisals as eviction from housing and black listing. Since labor poetry was chanted rhythmically in unison, it reinforced strikers' collective strength, harmony, and unity. While increasing workers' sense of power and comradeship, strike poetry also enabled them to assert their dignity and independence as citizens of a free republic. Thus, they rejected class oppression, expressing scorn for those who would consider them "slaves" without rights.

Chapter twelve's earliest strike poem was recited during the first known turnout of Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women in February, 1834. Two thousand women struck to protest against a wage reduction (Andrews and Bliss 27-29). Contemporary newspaper accounts of strikers' meetings include the following eight-line verse with its stirring Revolutionary rhetoric (Andrews and Bliss 28):

5

See Andrews and Bliss 25; Abbott, *Women* 131; McNeill 89, 103-04; and Fairfield 47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Let oppression shrug her shoulders,

And a haughty tyrant frown,

And little upstart Ignorance

In mockery look down.

Yet I value not the feeble threats

Of Tories in disguise,

While the flag of Independence

Oe'r [sic] our noble nation flies. (Entry 401)

This verse and another one recited in the 1836 Lowell women's strike (entry 406) derive from a poem published anonymously in Boston in 1833, "The Factory Girl" (entry 395). In this poem, the factory-girl speaker proclaims her love of liberty and resolve not to become "a slave" in the mills. Invoking yet-unfaded Revolutionary memories, the speaker expresses her determination to promote its democratic ideals. Revolutionary rhetoric continues to appear in strike literature of the 1840s and 1850s (see entries 392, 408, 411-13). Later in the century, Civil War ideals supplant those of the Revolution in such strike poetry as "A Striker's Song" (1885; entry 410). The poem's speaker decries laborers' poverty in "this great land where heroes daring, / Shed their blood to free the slave" (35-36).

Activist writers drew inspiration not only from the Revolutionary and Civil War heritages but also from the vibrant well of evangelical Protestantism. Since Jesus was a poor carpenter's son, the Father was regarded as the God particularly of laborers and the poor. Thus, for many nineteenth-century labor poets, labor's causes are God's causes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Several women's poems in the radical antebellum labor paper, the *Voice of Industry*, express a sense of holy purpose. In "Stanzas" by "Almira" of Lowell, Massachusetts (1846; entry 391), the speaker urges her "sisters" to support the Ten Hour Movement, because their "Great and glorious . . . cause" has been "Commanded by our Maker's laws" (11-12). God's laws dictate that the women have sufficient time "To cultivate [their] mental powers" (15). Likewise, in 1888, the speaker of Frank L. Fisher's poem, "Labor's Demand" (396), expresses assurance that workers will eventually attain justice because "right divine" is on their side (62).

Besides the numerous poems representing workers' organized protest, this chapter includes four fictional texts treating labor activism. All these texts, moreover, depict women labor leaders. The earliest title, Martha W. Tyler's novel, *A Book without a Title: or Thrilling Events in the Life of Mira Dana* (1855; entry 411), represents a strike that is not only the first known fictional dramatization of a strike but also a strike led and conducted by women. Tyler's strike scenes match many of the details of the 1834 Lowell, Massachusetts, turnout, as described in several contemporary sources including the *Lowell Journal* (qtd. in Andrews and Bliss 27-28). Since Tyler presents her novel as autobiographical, it is quite likely that she actually participated in the Lowell strike, adding another dimension of interest to the text.[6]

Tyler's representations of the women's turnout incorporate several conventions of antebellum women's strike literature. These include the use of Revolutionary liberty

---

6

Virtually nothing is known of Tyler's life, so it is not possible to gauge the autobiographical veracity of *A Book without a Title*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rhetoric and the glorification of spirited and heroic female strikers (24-25). In earlier strike ballads, the activist woman is described as having an "eloquent pleading eye" (entry 392) or a flashing eye (entry 400). Likewise, Tyler's female strikers manifest eyes "gleaming with triumphant merriment" (25). In these texts, women's eyes speak as much as, or more than, their voices. Given the general suppression of female voices, writers may be reflecting the cultural presumption that women express, or ought to express, more through their eyes than with their voices.

Two later nineteenth-century fictional texts also depict women labor leaders. Lilius Stanton, the heroine of Alice Woodbridge's labor-paper story, "The Last Chance" (1888; entry 415), helps organize her mill co-workers--both women and men--to win higher wages and a shorter workday. Eventually, she fills a leadership position as "the first Master Workman" (in Knights of Labor parlance) of the workers' organization. Published one year later, Linn Boyd Porter's[7] novel, *Speaking of Ellen* (entry 407), includes an unusually full portrait of a mill woman as a labor leader. More than earlier heroines, Porter's Ellen Eastman speaks decisively and sometimes expansively, leading her striking male and female co-workers and even confronting men when necessary. As the century progressed, the strengthening of activist women's voices in fiction probably reflects an increased acceptance, at least in progressive circles, of women's participation in the labor movement.

From other quarters, of course, forceful objections arose to the labor movement.

---

7 Unfortunately, Porter is another author about whom little is known, not even his or her gender.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is a measure of late-nineteenth-century labor's strength that a literary backlash developed. Many of the final two chapters' conservative texts react, often with dismay, to labor unrest, illuminating some of the ongoing power struggles between labor and capital. Chapter thirteen, "Anti-Strike Fiction," conveys the dangers of strikes and other workers' activism. Mostly novels published after 1870, the texts represent strikes as un-American, a perilous import brought in by unruly, intemperate German, Irish, and British immigrants. The writers reverse many of the premises of working-class factory literature. For instance, in the anti-strike literature, textile mill workers become overwhelmingly male; labor leaders are always men; working-class women oppose strikes; labor unions create class bias and working-class suffering; and the corporations are shown to be hurt much more by labor unrest than workers are harmed by poor conditions. Generally wary of laborers and the poor, this fiction, nonetheless, is not always devoid of sympathy for their plight.

All of chapter thirteen's eleven texts are fictional, including nine novels and two tales. Most of the texts--eight, to be exact--were published after 1880, and nearly all the writers were men. Whereas much of earlier chapters' protest writing appears in ballads, the novel was the genre preferred by the conservative, anti-strike writers. This raises questions about the inherent nature of the novel. While some scholars, building upon Mikhail Bakhtin's work, have viewed the novel as the plastic, innovative form favored by iconclastic writers and disenfranchised, nonprivileged readers,[8] in the factory

---

8

See especially Davidson, *Revolution and the Word* [vii]-ix, although, of course, she focuses on the first half of the nineteenth century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literature, the novel often serves the interests of capitalists and conservatives. More often than not, poetry voices dissent. The conservatism of chapter fourteen's many reform novels further underscores the novel's conservatism in factory literature, especially novels issued by mainstream publishers. Dime, pulp, and labor-paper fiction, as has been argued above, is more apt to embody subversive elements.

Early on, writers used fiction to counter workers' unrest. In August, 1835, one of the so-called "children's strikes" took place in Paterson, New Jersey.[9] Two thousand workers, including perhaps fifteen hundred children aged eight to eighteen, struck, demanding a reduction in their thirteen-hour workday (Andrews and Bliss 31; Gish 33-34). At the same time, two tales were published anonymously in the *Paterson Intelligencer*. "The Rich and the Poor" (entry 423) represents the dangers of higher wages for workers, while arguing that "the rich and the poor have but one and the same interest," namely that of the rich. Likewise, "Wages.--A Fairy Tale" (entry 425) illustrates the peril of higher wages leading to job loss. One working-class character learns "how dangerous it [is] to meddle with things he [does] not understand." Curiously, although the main children's strike grievance was excessive working hours, the *Intelligencer* stories focus on discouraging higher wages. The tales' author may have feared that workers' protests would extend to demanding higher wages. Employers probably dreaded raising wages more than reducing hours. In any event, the two stories are calculated to curb labor activism and preserve the economic *status quo*.

9

The first known children's strike occurred in Paterson, New Jersey, in July-August, 1828, and included some five hundred children (Gish 31).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the novels published after 1870, conservatism often takes the form of reversals or revisions of working-class factory writing and culture. As labor leaders and even as workers, working-class women and children tend to get erased. Several of the novelists, predominantly men themselves, assume that textile workers are all or mostly men (entries 416-17, 420, 426). This may be traced, in part, to men's rising numbers in the textile industry. As the nineteenth century progressed, men steadily eclipsed women in the mills. In 1860, women and girls comprised sixty-two percent of cotton mill operatives, while thirty-eight percent were men and boys. By 1900, forty-nine percent were women and fifty-one percent men (Abbott, *Women* 102). Nonetheless, women's erasure in the conservative late-nineteenth-century fiction far exceeds their still-sizable numbers in the workforce. This erasure is, therefore, less a reflection of reality than an expression of class-biased misogyny.

In the conservative novels generally, all workers, but especially women and children, are pushed into the background, while mill owners and other middle-class characters claim the center of interest (entries 420-22, 424). Well-intentioned and kindly, mill owners enjoy the authors' sympathies (entries 416-17). Working men always serve as the leaders of strikes and other protests (entries 416-17, 419-22), while working-class women characters, when they have any presence at all, exert a conservative force, discouraging the men from striking (entries 416-17, 426). The suppression of women's labor activism in this literature suggests that conservatives found it quite threatening.

The novels' representations of men strike leaders and men's labor organizations are not without their own problems, however. Male labor leaders and activists are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

depicted variously as drunken, reckless, villainous, and sexually immoral (entries 416, 418-19, 421). When difficulties arise, they are apt to desert their followers, leaving behind seduced women. Labor organizations' recklessness frequently results in wanton destruction of property and injury to mill owners and their families (entries 417-18, 420, 424). For instance, in Mary E. Bennett's tractate novel, *Asaph's Ten Thousand* (entry 418), labor activists set a fire that leaves the mill owner's son "crippled" for life (298). Bennett and the other conservative writers fail to mention workers' crippling mill injuries, which were of course infinitely more common. Just as women's work and labor activism are revised and even erased, the conservative fiction often denies workers' hardships and the considerable hazards of the workplace.

This fiction, nonetheless, is not airtight and dogmatic in its conservatism. Some of both chapter thirteen's and chapter fourteen's texts acknowledge poor workers' problems. Bennett's novel is one of several in chapter thirteen that briefly but sympathetically represent workers' health and housing problems, as well as their cultural deprivation (see entries 418, 421-22, 424, 426). While acknowledging problems, however, these texts deny that labor activism offers any kind of solution. Labor organizing and strikes only worsen workers' plight; any improvements result from workers' Christian piety or mill owners' altruism.

The entries in the final chapter, "Charity and Reform," embody some of the same mix of fear, condescension, and empathy, with the addition of reform efforts in some texts. Like chapter thirteen, chapter fourteen's twenty-four texts consist entirely of fiction, mostly novels published after 1870. The stories often feature as the protagonist a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mill owner's close relative--a son, wife, or daughter--who challenges "business as usual," diverting profits toward helping the workers. Although suspicious for the most part of workers' self-organization and labor activism, the texts still offer some critique of exploitative capitalism. Christian charity and profit-sharing are often proposed as solutions to workers' poverty. Several shorter fictional texts offer workers' utopian visions of reform.

This chapter's texts often object quite strongly to workers' oppression and laissez-faire capitalism (see entries 429, 431, 448, 450). Some of the strongest objections are voiced in the five brief fictional texts written by factory workers or other ostensibly working-class authors. Half of this chapter's writers are women, mostly middle-class women whose marginalization from the man's world of business and commerce no doubt fueled their critiques of industrialism. Several of the middle-class women's novels address the troubled relations between poor, working-class women and women of higher classes (see entries 439, 443-44, 446, 449). Cultivating friendships with factory girls, the heroines strive to bridge the widening gulf between rich and poor women.

In their stance of paternalism and condescension, however, these heroines and even the novels themselves generally fail to meet real working-class needs for justice and dignity. In many of this chapter's novels, middle-class charity and philanthropy in effect neutralize and eradicate workers' organizations and labor activities, leaving workers with little substantive improvement in their lives. For instance, in the fiction in which idealistic members of the mill-owning class institute profit-sharing plans, workers usually receive only a tiny portion of the profits (see entries 427, 429-30, 433-35, 438, 440, 449).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While middle-class protagonists express satisfaction with their reforms, the texts often neglect workers' point-of-view.

The earliest reform schemes, however, are found in 1840s workers' writings. At a time when the typical mill workday was twelve to fourteen hours long and people were fighting for the ten-hour day, surprisingly two 1840s texts promote the eight-hour day. As early as 1841, the *Lowell Offering* published a reformist dream vision by Betsey Chamberlain, whom Harriet H. Robinson characterized as one of "the most original" of the *Lowell Offering* writers, interested in "certain utopian schemes of right living" (*Loom and Spindle* 86). In "A New Society" (entry 445), Chamberlain's heroine, a weary factory girl, dreams of a future society in which men and women enjoy equal pay and educational opportunities. Other advantages include an eight-hour workday. Although the eight-hour day was not an entirely new idea in Lowell, Massachusetts, where Chamberlain lived and worked,[10] it certainly was not common currency. After all, the ten-hour day for women and children was not enacted in Massachusetts until 1874. Chamberlain's advocacy of the eight-hour day and other reforms exemplifies workers' creativity and foresight.

In another dream vision, "The Employer's Family Devotion," published in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1844, the narrator enters the sleep of Mr. E., the employer (entry 432). The dreaming Mr. E. visits a factory village where profit-sharing is practiced and the eight-hour workday observed. Not only is this piece an early advocacy of the eight-

---

10

In Lowell, the eight-hour workday had been promoted in lectures to women workers as early as 1834 by Charles Douglas, the editor of the *New England Artisan* (*New England Artisan* 3.12 [22 March 1834]; Josephson 255).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hour day, but its promotion of profit-sharing is rare for this era. Another fictional utopia, "The Happy Village" by "A Traveller" was published in 1848 in the Albany, New York, *Mechanic's Advocate* (entry 447). Visiting the Happy Village, the narrator admires this mill town's order and peace, as well as the workers' intellectual cultivation and temperance, all of which derive, he learns, from the practice of the ten-hour system. In their reform and utopian schemes, worker-writers contribute to shaping the new industrial order. Although industrialists often ignored workers' views, this did not always prevent them from formulating and expressing them.

Middle-class women were another group usually disregarded by powerful men. Nonetheless, they, too, wrote fiction proposing a range of industrial reforms. Many of chapter fourteen's reform novels were written by women. In striving to expose oppressive conditions and to further reform efforts, these women writers were engaging in the kind of reformist cultural work, to use Jane Tompkins's term, that Harriet Beecher Stowe undertook in her anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (see Tompkins 122-46). Although the industrial reform novels often denounce capitalism's ravages and advocate change, they share some of the conservatism of chapter thirteen's novels. By subordinating working-class characters' interests and needs to those of middle- and upper-class characters, these novels tend to reinforce the unjust class system.

In 1871, the woman's industrial reform novel emerges with the publication of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Silent Partner* (entry 443) and Virginia F. Townsend's *The Mills of Tuxbury* (entry 446). The two texts set the pattern for a series of subsequent women's novels and stories (entries 428, 430, 444, 449, 450). Both Phelps's heroine,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perley Kelso, and Townsend's heroine, Marjorie Carruthers, are young women connected to New England mill-owning families. Both heroines enjoy a life of thoughtless ease, until one day, riding in their luxurious carriages, they cross paths with a poor, struggling young factory woman, with whom they cultivate a friendship. As the heroines awaken out of their sheltered, pampered existence, they decide to devote their lives to charitable work among the poor millhands.

Of the two novels, Phelps's represents factory workers' lives more fully. In her rendering of the angry, broken speech and battered pride of her working-class co-heroine, Sip Garth, as well as her portraits of other working-class characters, Phelps exposes and probes more aspects of factory workers' experience. Nonetheless, Perley Kelso's altruism effectually circumvents a workers' strike. Like the conservative novelists of chapter thirteen, Phelps, Townsend, and the other middle-class reform novelists often posit middle-class philanthropy and workers' Christian piety as the solutions to workers' problems (see entries 428-29, 431, 435).

Other notable features of this chapter's texts include fictional representations of women factory owners and managers (entries 441, 443, 449), as well as two sympathetic portrayals of women labor leaders (entries 438, 440). In this chapter's only juvenile text, Oliver Optic's story, *The Do-Somethings* (1862; entry 442), charitable work among poor millhands is presented as a suitable and edifying activity for middle-class children. As in this chapter's adult fiction, middle-class charity as the solution to the problems of the poor was thus implanted early in young minds. One novel, Caroline A. Mason's *A Woman of Yesterday* (1900; entry 437), transcends philanthropy to represent a utopian

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

community. Mason's text offers this chapter's most fully realized and far-reaching reform scheme. The heroine, Anna Mallison, joins a Christian socialist community, Fraternia, located in North Carolina and led by the charismatic John Gregory, with whom she falls in love. Hers is a doomed love, much like that of Zenobia for Hollingsworth in Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance* (1852). Mason's novel generally reflects the influence of Hawthorne's utopian romance, although her text specifies more of the community's economic life. Fraternia is partly supported by a cotton factory run on Christian socialist principles. In her representation of Fraternia's ideal working conditions, Mason reforms unjust nineteenth-century labor practices.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER ONE

WOMEN LEAVING HOME: WORK, INDEPENDENCE, WOMEN'S RIGHTS

1. A., F. G. "Susan Miller." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 161-71.

SYNOPSIS: This short story by an unknown factory-girl writer recounts the experience of a worker, Susan Miller. She grows up as the oldest daughter in a poor family with an intemperate, violent father. His death from delirium tremens leaves the family farm "deeply mortgaged." Susan wants to become the "stay and support" for her mother and younger siblings, "what *he* had not been for many years" (161). Very close to her mother, Susan also relies on God for strength. She informs Deacon Rand, "her father's principal creditor" (162), of her intention to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories to repay her father's debt. The Deacon opposes her plan because of the temptations of factory life and the work's physical hazards:

> I do not think it right for a young girl like you, to put herself in the way of all sorts of temptation. You have no idea of the wickedness and corruption which exist in that town of Lowell. . . . You have not thought how hard it will seem to be boxed up fourteen hours in a day, among a parcel of clattering looms, or whirling spindles, whose constant din is of itself enough to drive a girl out of her wits; and then you will have no fresh air to breathe, and as likely come home in a year or two with a consumption. . . . I have heard a great many stories about girls who had their hands torn off by the machinery, or mangled so that they could never

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

use them again . . . (164-65)

Determined to go to Lowell, Susan responds that she knows of many virtuous women in Lowell and that with caution she can avoid illness and injury. The Deacon offers her a position in domestic service at his house for "four and six-pence a week." Although she and the Deacon's son, Henry, have been courting, she does not think that Henry's feelings should "influence her plans and resolutions" (166). She feels that it would not be proper for her to live in the Deacon's house. At Henry's lack of warmth and seeming indifference to her plans, Susan feels "utter desolation." She resolves "that her future life should be wholly devoted to her kindred" (167). Though worried, Mrs. Miller does not oppose Susan's plans. Upon Susan's arrival in Lowell, the narrator carefully describes the inconveniences of the boardinghouse and the physical stress of factory work. After working two years, Susan is able to pay off the mortgage, with the help of two sisters who join her in the mills. Upon hearing that Henry has married, Susan feels "really disquieted" but soon recovers (170). Eventually, she returns home to live with her mother and siblings. Enjoying the Deacon's approval, Susan is content to remain an old maid: "People begin to think she will be an old maid, and she thinks herself that it will be so. The old Deacon still calls her a good child, and prays every night and morning for the factory girls" (171).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 172-82.

2. Adelia [Harriet Farley]. "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. II.--The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mother." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 58-61.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: At this tale's opening, the narrator explains that "[m]aternal affection," the "strongest of woman's passions," can be seen in all of its facets in factory life. Although the wealthy might express maternal love more ostentatiously, the "mother in the mills" expresses hers with more "purity and strength" (58). The narrator once labored in the mills near a widow working for the support of her young son. Her life was so dedicated to him that when he fell ill and died, she languished herself. One evening the narrator leaves a festive party to offer a listening ear to the bereaved mother, who relates her story. She had been left a widow in poverty. To save money for her child's future, she decided she must leave him and seek work in the factories. While she was away, her son became seriously ill. When she returned to see him, he did not recognize her, and she painfully listened "to his faint reproaches of [her] neglect" (60). At length, his reason returned, and he was able to recognize his mother, just before he died. She held him in her arms when he died, as she tells the narrator: "I pressed my lips to his pallid brow, and bathed with tears his cold, pale face; and, gently as in those infant days he had ever gone to rest, he sank into his last long sleep" (61).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

3. Adelia [Harriet Farley]. "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. IV.--The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Betrothed." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 109-14.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: At the story's outset, the heroine, Serena Lowe, is betrothed to John Newton, a young man studying for the ministry. With nothing to occupy her at home and wanting to save money toward her marriage, Serena goes off to work in the Lowell factories. As the years pass, she and John fall out of love, but each is reluctant to admit this to the other. When he is finally ready to marry, John writes to her, painting an inviting picture of their life together in a parsonage: "They tell me that your factories unfit a woman for domestic life; but, unless you have a very poor memory, you will be an excellent housekeeper. Your duties will be light; and, in your leisure hours, I wish you to devote yourself to study" (112). To Serena, these are not the words of a man in love, and she resolves to break off their engagement. She realizes that while John has gained from his studies "the light of intellect," imparting "a new and superior beauty" to him, she herself has become "but 'a sad sallow shrunken old maid'" (111). Years of waiting and hard labor in the mills have left her "very ignorant" and diminished her femininity: "[T]hese years stole the bloom from her cheek, and sharpened the lineaments of her form" (110-11, 113). Serena tells John that she feels "worn, both mind and body" (113). For John's sake more than her own, she makes the great sacrifice of breaking off her engagement. Soon after, she leaves the factory in an attempt to regain her health: "Serena left the mill, and went home, that she might see if the breezes from the hills, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fragrance from the meadows, would not impart some buoyancy to her frame, and freshness to her heart." Serena's body and spirit have been too severely damaged, however, and she soon dies. Meanwhile, John marries a beautiful, sweet, and refined young woman, one who has never worked in a factory. John Newton and his bride, visiting Serena's hometown, view her "new-made grave" (114).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

4. Arthur, Timothy Shay. "The Factory Girl." *Illustrated Temperance Tales.* Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1850. 13-34.

AUTHOR: Arthur (1809-85; b. Newburgh, New York), reared in humble circumstances, became a prolific writer of moralistic fiction.

SYNOPSIS: At the opening of this tale, the farm and fortunes of Mr. Bacon are declining due to his intemperance. He has mortgaged his farm to a tavern keeper, Mr. Dyer. When Dyer tries to take possession of the farm, Mr. Bacon cannot raise the three hundred dollars needed to pay off the mortgage. His favorite child, beautiful nineteen-year-old Mary, goes to a neighbor and true friend of the family, Mr. Green, and tells him that if he will lend her the three hundred dollars, she will go to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories and repay him in two years. Mr. Green makes her sign an agreement to go to Lowell, which he uses as leverage to influence Mr. Bacon to give up drinking. Guilt-stricken that his intemperance has forced his daughter into a factory, Mr. Bacon immediately gives up drinking. Mary works bravely and cheerfully in Lowell, paying back $187.50 to Mr. Green. When he and his son Henry notice that she is becoming thin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and pale, they decide to forgive the remainder of the debt. Henry is so impressed with Mary's virtue, purity, and devotion to her family that he falls in love with her. One year after Mary leaves the mills, she becomes the wife of Henry Green, a lawyer, and thereafter lives among some of the most refined and intelligent people in Boston.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

5. B., H. N. G., Mrs. "[Waken toilers!]" *The Socialist* (New York, NY) 1.10 (17 June 1876).

SYNOPSIS: The author read this ballad at a convention of the Boston Eight Hour League. The poem's speaker calls for leisure, wealth, justice, and freedom for laborers, including working women:

> Woman shall not wait forever
> At the doors of Senate halls.
> Equal rights for sex demanding,
> If for *justice* she but calls;--
> Justice for the working woman,
> Time and wages to explore
> Social evils, and their causes,--
> Herald it the wide world o'er!

The poem's speaker vows that workers will continue to strike until oppression ends.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. B., J. L. "An Incident." *The Factory Girl's Garland* 1.15 (20 July 1844).

SYNOPSIS: The narrator relates an occurrence in Lowell, Massachusetts, several years ago. While visiting the Lowell factories, she observed two young women working at the spinning frames. The overseer explains that the young sisters are "two of the best girls in my room." They are Irish immigrants, working to support their mother and three younger siblings. Their drunken, dissipated father died six months earlier. He was so abusive in his "drunken fits" that he destroyed his wife's health and crippled his son with bruises. The young women's little sister comes into the mill to tell them that their mother is dying. The narrator observes that their toil will be "more cheerless," now that they will no longer be thinking of their mother's support. The following Sabbath, the narrator attends the mother's funeral, "one of the most solemn I ever witnessed." She leaves silently blessing the "two girls, and their orphaned brothers and sisters."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

7. B., S. G. [Sarah G. Bagley]. "Tales of Factory Life, No. 2. The Orphan Sisters." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 263-66.

AUTHOR: Sarah George Bagley (b. 1806 in Candia, New Hampshire) began working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills in 1837. By 1845, she had become an outspoken critic of the factory system, leaving mill work to serve as a leader in the Ten Hour Movement and the first president of the Female Labor Reform Association, holding that position from December 1844 until January 1847. Her activism included testifying before the Massachusetts legislature on the evils of long working hours. In 1846 she became the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first United States female telegraph operator. After working briefly in the Lowell mills again in 1848, Bagley apparently left the mills. No traces have been found of her subsequent activities or death (for further information, see Wright, "Sarah G. Bagley").

SYNOPSIS: This tale recounts the experience of Catherine B. and her sister, whose parents undergo "actual misfortune" placing them in difficult financial straits. It becomes necessary for the sisters to "support themselves at an early age." The girls request their parents' permission to work in Lowell, Massachusetts, and "seek their fortune, as they termed such an adventure." With their parents' consent, the sisters leave their home in the White Mountains for the City of Spindles. In Lowell, they find "confusion in all its forms" (263). After they have worked for one year, their parents die, leaving a little brother and sister for them to support. The sisters "board their little brother in a good family in the neighborhood, and take their sister with them to Lowell" (264). The little sister attends school, until she is old enough to work. The boy "is able to earn his living six months in the year," while his sisters pay his board. They inform the narrator that they have learned "practical benevolence" by caring for their young siblings. They have been able as well to save money: "The sisters have of late been able to lay by a small sum for themselves--thereby evincing the utility of perseverance in well-doing" (266). They enjoy many blessings, including the imminent marriage of Catherine.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 70-73.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8. Carey, Patrick. "The Toilers of Men." Air: *"O'Donnell Aboo." The Labor Leaf* (Detroit, MI) 2.34 (30 June 1886).

SYNOPSIS: In forty lines, the ballad's speaker declares that the cause of labor is gaining in strength and urgency, as it travels through all the workplaces, including "the swift clicking loom" (4). As "God's noblest handiwork," the workers deserve respect and justice (10). In the final stanza, the speaker praises the courageous women textile workers of Cohoes, New York, who are fighting for their rights:

> The lilies of toil, Cohoes' fairest daughters,
> Have buckled the armour of strife on their breast;
> Fair as the maidens by Babylon's waters;
> Honor their safeguard, and virtue their crest;
> True when the order came,
> Careless of love or blame;
> Principle called; she ne'er wooed them again.
> Braved they each scoff and jeer,
> Braved they each threat and sneer,
> To link their just cause with the toilers of men. (31-40)

The Labor Leaf was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 158-59.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9. Cate, Eliza Jane. "The Factories of Lowell, and the Factory Girls." By the Author of "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life," Manchester, N.H. *The New England Offering* (May-June 1848): 26-28, 54-58.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: Cate's narrator indicates that her story will explore the value and significance of the "factory girls." To her, they are much more than "merely automata, moving to and fro as their shuttles move." Rather, the "thousands upon thousands of young girls" are "a sublime sight." Their factory experience has almost mystical significance: "Do you not see passing off from [the factory girls], in every possible direction, the mystic wires of sympathetic influence, of spiritual intercourse with the companions that are near and the friends that are afar? And through them are borne hopes of every degree of buoyancy" (26). Cate's didactic story then turns to contrasting two young women from the same hometown, who, for very different reasons, go off to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Caroline Walker is the daughter of wealthy Captain Walker, a hardhearted, penurious man who employs people binding shoes for "a pittance" (27). Although the Walkers are rich in material goods, they lack love and happiness. As a result, Caroline grows up to be vain and irritable. Angry that her father will not buy her the clothes she wants, she one day "seat[s] herself with triumph in the stagecoach, and r[ides] off to the factories of Lowell" (28). Alice Means, on the other hand, who sometimes binds shoes for Captain Walker, is the child of parents "so poor;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that forever they must be working, and yet earning nothing but their 'daily bread.'" Nonetheless, their home is rich in love, and Alice enjoys a special closeness to nature and God: "[J]oy and gladness and thanksgiving went to and fro between herself and her flowers; herself, her flowers and heaven" (54). Wanting to help her impoverished and ailing parents, Alice leaves home to work in the mills. In Lowell, Caroline toils to buy clothes, hoping to create "a sensation" and attract men (55). In so behaving, the narrator comments, such factory girls are "negligent of their duty to their parents and to society." Mill girls should wear "modest apparel" and struggle against temptation. Caroline's faults include anger and "reckless gayety." In contrast, exemplary eighteen-year-old Alice is "gentle, thoughtful and diligent as a matron" (56). Her friends appreciate her cheerfulness and kindness, and the mill overseers grant her many favors. After one year, Caroline and Alice visit their hometown. Alice has befriended Caroline, intending to work at reforming her: "Alice means to have her with her next year; to work with her, and room with her, and be with her always. If she does, Caroline will come back another girl" (57). Caroline has come to love Alice. Although it is a shame that a nice young woman like Alice must work in the factory, she can best help herself and her parents with her mill wages. The story ends with the narrator's wish that "God bless us" (58).
TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

10. Cate, Eliza Jane. "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England: Emma Hale." By a Factory Girl. *The New World.* Extra series 51, 2.27 (February 1843): 7-24.
AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: Emma Hale, this short story's heroine, grows up on a small farm in Boscawen, New Hampshire. While not rich, her parents give her loving care and an excellent education. Along with being "the most thorough scholar" among the hometown ladies, she is also gentle and affectionate, "a universal favorite" who constantly thanks God for her blessings (7). Her parents suddenly die, and Emma's home passes into the possession of her uncle, an educated but coarse and worldly man with a wife and two children. Wishing to be only "self-dependent," Emma goes to work in a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory (9). She meets with cold, callous treatment in the boardinghouse and mill, but gradually through her virtuous influence she is able to alter the people around her to be more kindly, religious, and virtuous themselves. Emma develops an intense closeness to another worker, Alice, with whom she shares a room and bed. When the overseer, Mr. Adams, proposes to her, Emma refuses him, incurring the jealousy of several factory women, who spread rumors that she is a "disreputable character" (17). Emma bears all this trouble meekly, but emotional pain and factory work bring on a severe illness which soon renders her unable to work. She returns to Boscawen to be cared for by a friend. When she almost dies, Emma's relatives repent of their ill treatment and seek her forgiveness. After recovering, Emma marries the handsome and loving Edward Marshall, a lawyer. Several of her women friends also enter happy marriages. Emma does not forget her Lowell friends, and the story ends with the narrator's expression of hope that Emma will maintain her faith in God and her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

principles. This story includes a close depiction of boardinghouse life, including the observation that in Emma's boardinghouse there are both men and women boarders (12).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

11. Cate, Eliza Jane. "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England: Helen Gould." By a Factory Girl. *The New World.* Extra ser. 51, 2.27 (Feb. 1843): 24-30.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: Orphaned Helen Gould, the heroine of this short story, goes to work in a factory and live with her uncle, the agent of a mill in Amoskeag, New Hampshire. In letters to her hometown friend Jane, Helen describes her experiences, including her observations of child factory workers and her admiration for factory women and acquaintance with their temptations and trials. She finds much to appreciate in the spirited, if uncouth, country women who come to the mills, as she writes to Jane:

> . . . some girls come here whose only associates have been their wild and daring brothers, whose only occupation--aside from attending school two or three months in the year--helping their mothers to make butter, cheese, cloth, maple sugar, puddings, and pies; perhaps assisting their fathers in planting, and in making hay; and whose only amusements, dancing to the music of the spinning-wheel; singing to the measures of the loom, swinging by the limbs of trees, roaming over hills and mountains, through

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> fields, pastures, and woods, regardless alike of time, space, and fatigue. They have great strength, physical and mental. They have much vivacity of intellect, and native grace of manner, but these want *shape* and *direction.* (27)

Helen becomes engaged to a fellow Sabbath school teacher, Herbert Graham. When her widowed factory friend dies, Helen becomes the guardian of her young daughter. The story concludes with the marriages of Helen and of several girlfriends. Helen's husband purchases the Gould estate, completing the happiness of one who has been "so kind to the widow and the fatherless" (30). Jane will marry Helen's cousin Henry, who is going to take charge of a factory. The story's noteworthy features include a fuller depiction of child labor than in other factory-girl authors' writings.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

12. Cate, Eliza Jane. "The Old Mill at Amoskeag." By the author of "Susy L___'s Diary." *Peterson's Magazine* 49-50 (June-September 1866): 395-402, 36-42, 103-10, 175-81.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: This is a long short story, autobiographically based. The heroine, Effie Bell, is the daughter of Captain Bell, the owner of a small factory, a store, and a few acres in a New England village. Since black-eyed Effie has a magical quickness and charm, her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family calls her by such nicknames as "The Ineffable," "Witch," and "Queer Thing" (396). In 1840, Captain Bell begins running into financial trouble. Orson, one of her father's employees, falls in love with the teenaged Effie. She does not love him and cannot tolerate his mooning over her. For this reason and because of the family's impending financial crisis, Effie leaves to work in the mills at Amoskeag (now Manchester), New Hampshire. Many "good girls" are going into the mills (399). In the Old Mill where they make "sheetings," Effie works in the "lower room" as a weaver with nine other "girls" (400-401). One of the women tends a flower bed outside the window. Each factory girl is working to help family or to save for marriage. The mill setting overlooking the Merrimack River is described in loving detail. The buildings are gone now, but the narrator would "give so much" to return to the "little, peaceful, respectable, aristocratic old mill" (402). The women are all friends and help each other with their work. Soon Effie becomes the best weaver in the room, earning the most money and saving it for her family. She attends church and Sabbath school. Effie and the cross but handsome overseer, Mr. Brown, are falling in love with each other, but each is resisting it. When Effie returns to her hometown, some of the neighbors snub her because she has worked in a factory. She shrugs it off, because she knows that her mill experience has "left no stain anywhere, on body or soul" (105). At the story's end, Effie marries Mr. Brown, now an agent at Amoskeag, and they live together thereafter happily. The story is a nostalgic expression of regret for the disappearance of the old textile mills with their slower and more humane ways.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

13. Clementine. "Cure for Discontent." *The Operatives' Magazine* 2 (May 1841): 29-30.

SYNOPSIS: The heroines of this short story, published in a factory women's periodical, are two young sisters, Ellen and Jane C. When Ellen was about sixteen and Jane somewhat older, their father died. Needing to earn their living, the sisters entered the factories: "[A]s an operative's employment was the most lucrative in which they could engage, they directed their steps to this city [presumably Lowell, Massachusetts]" (30). Unhappy about working in the mills, Ellen tells Jane, "O! that I was not obliged to work in the factory" (29). The more mature and pious Jane is thinking instead of all the reasons she has "for gratitude to God." She urges her sister to be more grateful: "[A]s we know it our duty to labor where we can best obtain a subsistence without being dependant on others, I think we ought to remember with gratitude, the mercies we enjoy, instead of repining because we do not possess such things as our heavenly Father does not see fit to give us" (30). Ellen comes to believe, as does Jane, that "the path of duty is the path of peace." Ellen becomes cheerful, finding "peace and happiness in religion." She comes to regard her stint in the mills as "some of the most pleasant hours of her life" (30).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

14. Cummings, Ariel Ivers. *The Factory Girl; or Gardez la Coeur.* Lowell: J. E. Short, 1847. 167 pp.

AUTHOR: Cummings (1823-63) is identified on the title page as an "M.D."

SYNOPSIS: The author dedicates his novel to factory women: "To the intelligent and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

highly respectable class of Female Operatives, in New England." At sixteen, the heroine, Calliste Barton, is beautiful, noble, pure, and pious. She is preparing to leave her New Hampshire home in "a humble cottage" (25) for the factories of "L--, the City of Spindles" (presumably Lowell, Massachusetts). She bids goodbye to her fiancé, Marcus Hartwell, who is studying to become a physician. Calliste will work in the mills "for a laudable purpose," i.e., to finance her brother Edwin's college education (14). Once in the factory town, Calliste boards with "a respectable family" (21). She forms a close friendship with another boarder and factory girl, Louisa Elliot. In her spare time, Calliste enjoys reading and "enlightening her mind" (54). Unknown to Louisa and Calliste, two wealthy young men are plotting their seduction. Since they are virtuous women, Calliste and Louisa avoid the temptations of the ballroom and the dancing school. Their virtue saves them from the two rakes' advances. Meanwhile, when Marcus's family pressures him to marry an heiress, he remains loyal to his first love, Calliste. After receiving his sister's support for several years, Edwin Barton graduates from college. As he prepares for the ministry, Calliste again supports his studies with her factory wages. She spends some of her spare time writing for the *Lowell Offering* (94). Now an M.D., Marcus opens his office in a small New Hampshire town. While inheriting an estate, he faithfully awaits his marriage to Calliste. When Calliste brings Louisa home to visit in New Hampshire, Louisa and Edwin become betrothed. Edwin has completed his theological studies, thanks to "the labors of a *Factory Girl*" (120). The narrator argues that virtuous factory girls are well suited to become physicians' and ministers' wives. Calliste and Louisa return to work in the "City of Spindles." To those who exploit factory girls for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gain, the narrator delivers a stinging tirade: "Horrid mockery of the equal rights of humanity! Vile lordlings! who would fain compromise the rights of fellow-beings to pamper pride! . . . But *here*, shame on the vile being who would fain raise an aristocracy to curse the land! The wrongs of *Factory Girls* shall not always sleep forgotten" (135). Soon Louisa and Edwin are married, and Calliste leaves the mills for good. In the spring Calliste and Marcus marry and move to a rural New Hampshire home. The humble, virtuous Calliste becomes a model wife and mother. In the "Conclusion," the narrator affirms the novel's basis in "*real life*" (163). She or he offers advice to parents and manufacturers, also advising factory women to guard their hearts and "[r]esist temptation" (164). They should cultivate "[i]ntellectual and moral worth" (165). The narrator hopes to "have afforded interest and instruction" to readers (166). The novel ends with a blessing and farewell to the reader. Features of the text include many passages of poetry and much moralizing by the narrator on human experience and human nature, particularly pertaining to factory women. At several points, the narrator strongly denounces aristocratic prejudice against factory operatives.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *History of Women.*

15. Denison, Charles Wheeler. "The Factory Girl." *The American Village and Other Poems*. Boston: Henry B. Skinner, 1845. 124-25.

AUTHOR: Denison (1809-81; b. Connecticut) was a clergyman.

SYNOPSIS: In this twenty-eight-line ballad, the speaker recounts a visit to a factory. There he beholds the modest factory girl toiling majestically at her loom: "An empress of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the subject loom, / Of marshalled threads the queen" (3-4). He commends the women's minds (as manifested in their "offering" [12]), souls, compassionate hearts, and religious devotion. In the last stanza, the speaker urges readers to observe and admire the factory girl: "Go, watch her by her loom, / And learn how much the soul has done, / Within the factory room" (26-28). This poem was reprinted in the *Lowell Offering* 5 (June 1845), inside the front cover, with an author's note expressing his "admiration of intelligent American women."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

16. Enea. "Incidents in the Life of an Operative." *The Operatives' Magazine* 2 (May 1841): 27-28.

SYNOPSIS: Published in a factory women's periodical, this short story recounts the experience of Lucy W. When the story opens, Lucy is receiving her father's blessing: "May a kind heavenly Father watch over and keep you, while you are free from the restraints of home." She is leaving her parents' Vermont home for the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Her reason for seeking work is that, although her home "is the abode of plenty, yet Lucy having heard of the compensation received in manufactories, longs to call such 'wages' her own." She experiences tears and doubts during her departure. On the stagecoach journey, she sees "beauties she never saw before." After working for five years, Lucy returns home, "an altered, if not a better being." She is grateful for the advantages enjoyed in Lowell: "The privileges of Lowell had been sanctified to her." She has experienced a calling to the religious life, to "bear the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

blessings of the gospel to the wilds of the west." Although her parents are reluctant to part from her, Lucy travels west. For several years, she lives in "a retired village in the west" (27). Working as the village schoolteacher, Lucy becomes worn and ill. She soon dies. All that remains of her is her grave and her memory "in the hearts of many, who were guided by her counsels to the Lamb of God" (28).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

17. "Evening before Pay-Day." *Ware Offering, and Factory Girls' Garland* 1.1 (January 1848).

AUTHOR: The text was pirated from Lucinda's [Harriet Farley's] "The Evening before Pay-Day" (*Lowell Offering* 1 [1841]: 239-49).

SYNOPSIS: Although this short story is labeled as having been written "*For the Ware Offering*," in fact it is a fragment of a story published in the *Lowell Offering*. The *Ware Offering* editor intended to publish the story serially. The two texts are virtually identical, with minor typographical changes. For a synopsis of the story, see the entry below for Lucinda's "The Evening before Pay-Day."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

18. "Extracts from a Journal." *The New England Offering* 1 (September 1847): 40-47.

SYNOPSIS: This prose text consists of extracts from a journal that the narrator kept, as she explains, at her parents' request. She recounts her first impressions as she moves from rural New Hampshire to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. She

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

describes the boardinghouse and the boarders' personalities, including their feelings about life in Lowell:

> Lowell seemed to me, as I was whirled in the stage among the "corporations," like a brick forest. Shall I ever like it? Hannah says I shall, but Betsy knows I shall not. One says these tears will be the last I shall shed on account of leaving home--the others tell me that I may weep more bitterly at some future time, for coming to this horrible place. One tells me to have my portrait taken now, and contrast it in a few years with the skeleton I shall then be--the other bids me wait until I am older and handsomer, and have got the *tan off*! (41)

The lively Lowell streets and the work done in the various departments of the mills are described. After considering all the alternatives, she decides to become a weaver:

> I went into all the rooms. The carding-room first, but that is more dark and dirty than the others. Then the spinning-room, and this I liked best of all. The frames are so neat and pretty, and the noise so much less than in the weaving-room. Then I went into the weaving-room, and this I liked, all but the clatter which frightened me almost out of my senses. But there were more girls here, and they and their work looked very nice and clean. Then I went into the dressing-room, where they size or starch the "beams," or warp up the cloth, and where they draw the threads through the harness. This room is kept always warm in order to dry the "sizing." I tried to get a place to "draw in," it seemed to be so pretty work, but was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> unsuccessful. I am almost glad of it, the room seems to be so much closer than the others. I could not have work in the spinning-room either, but I was promised a place as a weaver. (43-44)

Before beginning work, she signs the "regulation paper." Other events of her first week include visiting the Museum and the Mechanics' Hall with its library and cabinet. The boarders' Sabbath activities are related. The text reflects many features of life in Lowell, particularly the boardinghouses, meals, and leisure activities.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Boston Public Library.

19. F. "Disasters Overcome." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 289-97.

SYNOPSIS: At this short story's opening, two young women from well-to-do families, Sophia Marsh and Amy Winslow, are conversing in "Mr. Marsh's elegant sitting-room" about fashions and the recent failure of Mr. Graves. Albert enters with a copy of the *Offering*. Amy recalls the "horrid clatter" that rang in her ears after visiting the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills (289). They discuss, with grudging admiration, the factory girls and the *Lowell Offering*. The conversation turns to discussing Caroline Herbert, the only young woman in town who works in the mills and is "a lovely specimen of angelic humanity" (291). Suddenly Caroline arrives in the stagecoach, and Amy counts her trunks and bandboxes. Caroline and her mother, arms linked, talk and walk in the garden. Caroline's family had once been prosperous, but now she is obliged to work, which she doesn't mind, because it has removed the "rust" from her mind and taught her reliance on God (293). Soon after, the Marsh and Winslow families suffer severe

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

financial reverses. Sophia welcomes the change from idleness: "We can now be of some service in the world; and this I prefer to being a passive recipient of the highest earthly favors" (294). Mr. Marsh and Mr. Graves rent a farm on the banks of the Merrimack River. After a struggle, her parents allow Sophia to work in the Lowell mills. She joins the other factory women in attending the interesting Lyceum. Caroline is beloved by the factory girls, especially one fifteen-year-old orphan. The narrator ends the story expressing gratitude for the blessings that come from God, "most emphatically a Shield, a Refuge and a Father." In a letter to Sophia in Lowell, her mother writes: "May your Heavenly Father watch over you, and bring you safely to the arms of your mother" (297).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

20. "The Factory Girl's New-Year Song." Tune: "Auld Lang Syne." First line: "While Fact'ry wheels roll slow or whirl." [United States: n.p., 1840-49].

SYNOPSIS: In this ninety-six-line broadside ballad, the poem's speaker urges factory girls to think about their mortality while working at their looms and spindles. They ought to consider the garment they will wear to meet their Maker, whether it will be a robe of "that heaven-wrought and blood-washed white, / Of Jesus' Righteousness" (39-40) or of sin. The speaker urges factory girls to repent and prepare to meet their Redeemer in heaven. The poet employs the processes of textile manufacture in an extended metaphor, conveying a religious message.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

21. Farley, Harriet. "Roxy and Dorcas: Or, All Faith and No Faith." By the Author of "Abby's Year in Lowell." *The New England Offering* April 1848-March 1849: 13+.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: A long serial story in twelve chapters, "Roxy and Dorcas" features a contrasting pair of heroines. Both aged eighteen and poor, Roxy and Dorcas leave their country homes to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Despite these similarities, they are actually quite different. "Roxy had been taken from the 'poor-house,' when a little girl, into the family of a great farmer," where she had been "maid of all work" (13). Happy and cheerful, she worked as a bound girl until her indenture ended. Traveling to Lowell, Roxy "seem[s] as light-hearted as though she were going to her marriage." On the stagecoach, she meets Dorcas, who is "poorly clad" and "fearful" (14). Sharing a boardinghouse bed, Roxy comforts the frightened Dorcas: "Roxy lay down by her side and put an arm protectingly over her" (39). Since Roxy is cheerful, the other factory women and her overseer warm to her, but they avoid the sullen Dorcas. While Roxy is contented with mill conditions, Dorcas is angry about the poor pay and long hours, exclaiming, "Four-and-sixpence! and what is that to pay for being imprisoned fourteen or fifteen hours a day?" (68). Because she is angry and suspicious, the overseer dislikes her. Roxy is Dorcas's "constant shield and companion," helping her in her troubles (94). When both young women are disappointed in their first loves, Roxy regains her cheerfulness, but Dorcas becomes cynical about love. When a wage

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reduction is announced, Dorcas becomes the leader of an angry "combination" that draws up a list of resolutions. They accuse the manufacturers of trying "to degrade [them] to the level of the southern slave." Roxy refuses to sign the document, thinking it "too bitter" (40). She cannot believe that mill management "cherishe[s] such fiendish designs in their hearts." She does not believe that they wish to reduce the operatives to slaves. While she concedes that the employers may be selfish, Roxy believes that the operatives are also selfish, since "they worked from no philanthropic motive." She does not believe that the factory women "would abide by their own resolutions." Due to her views, Roxy "soon f[inds] herself shunned, maligned, and detested as though she were a monster" (41). Some women spread rumors that she is being bribed by her overseer. As Roxy predicted, the girls do not stand by their resolutions. Dorcas leaves Lowell but soon returns. The narrator asks, "Which was right, Roxy or Dorcas?" (42). In summer, a terrible disease, a "malignant and very fatal fever," develops among the Lowell operatives and other citizens (61). While Dorcas and many other factory women leave town, Roxy stays to nurse the sick. Caring for "those who had abused and maligned her," Roxy herself becomes ill (62). In the final chapter, on her deathbed Roxy is surrounded by those who love her, the boarders, the boardinghouse keeper, and her overseer. When Dorcas arrives to bid her goodbye, Roxy tells her, "Love everybody." Her faint last word is "*Father*" (63).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

22. "Female Industry." *The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry* 1.1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(February 1848): 13.

SYNOPSIS: This anonymous thirty-two-line ballad praises the vitality and independence of several kinds of women laborers. Textile mill women are noted for their productivity and patience: "They lay their fair hands on the lagging loom-- / And quickly the shuttle is seen to fly;-- / 'Mid the noise and din of the crowded room" (5-7). The speaker also commends milliners, tailoresses, seamstresses, and all laboring women who compose "Bright gems" of writing in their leisure time (12). The healthy, modest working woman is superior to such fashionably idle characters as the "languishing maid" and the "strutting fop, with his glass and cane" (17, 21). Their scorn for the working woman cannot hurt her. In the final stanza, the speaker wishes health and prosperity to the *"Daughters of Industry"* (32).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

23. Grace [Harriot F. Curtis]. "Woman's Influence." *Lowell Offering* 3 (1843): 217-25.

AUTHOR: The pseudonym "Grace" was also used by Harriet Lees, but "Woman's Influence" can be attributed to Harriot F. Curtis. Several paragraphs from "Woman's Influence" are reprinted as an essay with the same title in Curtis's *S.S.S. Philosophy* (65-68). Harriot F. Curtis (1813-89; b. Kellyvale [now Lowell], Vermont; originally "Harriet") worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. A founding member of the first factory women's Improvement Circle in Lowell, Curtis became a principal writer, editor, and business manager for the *Lowell Offering*.

SYNOPSIS: This short story includes a very early fictional treatment of a woman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

leaving a marriage. The narrator rejects as unrealistic and even destructive the popular belief that women can exercise a quiet, unobtrusive "influence" to effect change in those around them. After failing to reform her husband of his intemperance, the heroine, Clara Huntley, a charming, volatile, and willful woman, walks away from her marriage, leaving her baby with relatives. Clara establishes an independent life, staying for a time with the Shakers and then moving to Lowell, Massachusetts, to support herself working in the factories. After working some time in the mills, Clara, whose health has already been weakened by the emotional stress of her marriage, becomes so debilitated that she begins to hope for death: "As it was, her untold grief wore upon her nature, and the loss of her physical strength was attributed to the unhealthy employment of the mills. But she patiently toiled on, in hopes of death" (225). One day, Clara and Ernest meet again accidentally and are reunited. Ernest is now a sober Washingtonian. The narrator suggests that both parties had been at fault in their marital problems. The story ends with a question: "Even their errors had made them wiser. But were they happy in the wisdom of their own weakness?" (225).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

24. Heywood, Henry W. "The Song of the Factory Girl." (May be sung to the tune of "Rory O'More.") First line: "Let us list to the song of the factory girl." Claremont, NH: Eagle Press--Young & Walker, 1848.

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this twenty-eight-line broadside ballad finds much to praise in factory women's situation. She or he extols their lightheartedness: "Tho' her task it be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hard, yet her heart it is light; / And she sings at her 'loom,' from the morn till the night" (3-4). The factory girl enjoys good health, ample pay, independence, social pleasures, and lack of care. Factory women express their gaiety by singing while they work: "Who's a merrier heart, or more musical tongue? / O, then list to her 'yarn,' as she 'spins' it along, / And confess, that there's joy in the factory girl's song" (26-28). Moreover, factory women make desirable wives.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Center for Lowell History.

25. Hilbourne, Charlotte S., Mrs. *Effie and I; or, Seven Years in a Cotton Mill. A Story of the Spindle City*. Cambridge, MA: Printed by Allen and Farnham, 1863. 276 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Rosa Lynd, the heroine of this ostensibly autobiographical novel, narrates her experiences in the Spindle City, hoping to enlighten those who view the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills as "living tombs . . . slave-palaces" (5). To Rosa, Lowell is "an asylum for the oppressed, a home for the homeless, and a broad highway leading to wealth and honor" (6). Rosa grew up in a rural cottage with her parents and eight siblings. After her family is devastated by disease, death, and the desertion of the father, Rosa goes to work in the mills to support herself and help her sisters. She brings the last dress her deceased mother wore, so as to have her mother's presence with her. Upon arriving in Lowell, Rosa obtains work as a weaver and boardinghouse lodgings. This boardinghouse has cramped quarters, poor food, and a Green Mountain boy and a gray-haired man among its residents. Soon, she finds lodging in a better boardinghouse, "a home for young ladies" (49). Although the text reflects a generally positive view of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

factory life, it does describe some of mill work's hazards, as when Rosa first learns to weave: "If I sought refuge from the flying shuttles on the other side, then the swift revolving of the whizzing clogs and heavy belts would draw . . . my garments into their fearful embrace. Or the belts would break loose from the heavy drums, and, like the fiery fangs of the flying dragon, clutch me fearfully in their angry grasp" (49). Growing accustomed to mill work, Rosa uses her wages to buy herself clothes and save "quite a little sum," besides what she sends to her sisters (55). Inured to the mill's noise, Rosa manages to read some and compose poems while she works. When Effie Lee, a poor orphan, moves into Rosa's boardinghouse, they quickly become "inseparable companions" (115), working together in the weave-room. They befriend another boarder, the smart and lively woman's rights advocate, Kate Stanton. After working one year, Effie marries and moves away. Soon Rosa also marries and leaves the mills. Rosa learns that Effie's intemperate husband has mistreated and abandoned her and their infant. The narrator relates the histories of some of Rosa's former Lowell friends, showing that the humble life of industrious, unassuming factory girls is far preferable to the dissipated pleasure-seeking of by city belles. When Rosa's two young children die and her husband neglects and deserts her, Kate Stanton urges her to return to Lowell, commenting about her husband, "I think he's a perfect Behemoth, and how in the world you could exchange good old No. 10 [i.e., the boardinghouse] for only the cipher (0) is more than I can imagine" (244). The story ends with Rosa's happy return to the Spindle City, to No. 10 and the mills. The text includes many poems, elegiac and religious, presumably written by Hilbourne.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

26. L., L. E., [of] Salmon Falls, N.H. "Emma Weston, or the Mother's Prayer." *The New England Offering* (1850): 32-34.

AUTHOR: The author was apparently a female mill worker in Salmon Falls, New Hampshire.

SYNOPSIS: Emma Weston, this short story's heroine, is the eldest daughter of a poor widow. With difficulty, her mother has long supported herself and her four daughters. Though they cannot afford many books, their mother teaches them to revere Nature and God: "[S]he taught them to read lessons of love, humility, purity and wisdom in . . . all the works of Nature . . . and to look up through these . . . to their maker and their God" (32). Emma decides to work in the factory to support herself and help her mother. On the night before her departure, she bids farewell to the garden, tree, stream, and her father's grave, half wishing that "she could lie down, in that chosen spot, by her father's side." Returning home, she overhears her mother praying for her. In gratitude, Emma forms "resolutions of future goodness and purity, which should repay the deep devotion of that mother's love." The next day, Emma leaves for the factory. She enjoys the journey, as "her pure and unbiassed soul drink[s] in streams of bliss from the rich and varied loveliness of a New England landscape." Becoming a self-reliant factory girl, Emma has now "no wise hand to direct her choice, or guide her steps" (33). In the story's last sentence, the narrator indicates that Emma's future will be unfolded in a later issue of the periodical: "O! Ye who read the future destinies of men, tell us what shall be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the fate of the gentle Emma" (34). Although the story ends with "*(To be concluded.)*," the continuation was apparently either never published or not preserved.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

27. Larcom, Lucy. *An Idyl of Work*. Boston: J. R. Osgood and Co., 1875. 183 pp.

AUTHOR: Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering*. Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet. She also worked as a teacher and editor.

SYNOPSIS: Set in Lowell, Massachusetts, in the 1840s, this is a long narrative poem about the factory women's experiences. The meter is mostly blank verse, although several ballads and hymns are inserted in the text. The poem recounts the experience of five young friends living in the same boardinghouse and working in the mills. Throughout the text, women's friendship and mutual support are extolled, but only as they occur among cultured, refined factory women like the heroines. "[I]ll-bred, hoydenish" (30) factory girls are viewed as incapable of such exalted friendship. Instead, the coarser women engage in gossip, backbiting, and shopping for trinkets and finery. The heroines--Esther Hale, Eleanor Gray, Minta Summerfield, Ruth Woodburn, and Isabel--work to help their families and/or to earn tuition money. For most of these factory women, the narrator contends, mill work is temporary, the "Means to one end" (34). Through their experiences, the women learn to take themselves seriously.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"[S]tudious thought" and "books," the narrator maintains, contribute to making the "true" woman (103). The heroines cherish their independence and intellectual freedom (136). Moreover, reading is so important to the admirable factory women that they violate the corporation rules to read at work (129). After some painful romantic entanglements, the women learn that the wrong kind of dependence on a man is "weakness" (97). The exemplary heroine, Esther Hale, contends that the single life can be as fulfilling for a woman as for a man (94). The text reflects many common aspects of 1840s factory women's experience. In one episode, a seduced woman drowns herself in the canal (58). Another day, some fervent Methodist women hold a prayer meeting in the weave-room (71). The problem of child labor is treated. When questioned whether she finds her work tiring, a thirteen-year-old bobbin girl answers: "When I first / Learned to doff bobbins, I just thought it play. / But when you do the same thing twenty times,-- / A hundred times a day,--it is so dull" (49; see also 78). Other labor problems are addressed at several points in the text. Acknowledging the problems of exploitation, the heroines nonetheless disapprove of strikes. It would be preferable for aggrieved women to leave the mills altogether, as Ruth Woodburn explains:

> . . . . . Why should we,
> Battling oppression, tyrants be ourselves,
> Forcing mere brief concession to our wish?
> Are not employers human as employed?
> Are not our interests common? If they grind
> And cheat as brethren should not, let us go

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Back to the music of the spinning-wheel,

And clothe ourselves at hand-looms of our own,

As did our grandmothers. The very name

Of 'strike' has so unwomanly a sound[.] (118-19)

Class bias is addressed when the heroines debate the troublesome uses of the terms "lady," "woman," and "girl" (14-15, 20-21). Industrial work's dehumanizing potential is considered by one character, who questions "how to save / Mind from machinery's clutches" (142). By the narrative's end, the women move on from mill work to the next stage of life. For some this is marriage, but others pursue such careers as missionary work, teaching, or writing. At the end, the narrator expresses regret that mill life has deteriorated so much since the 1840s. As working and living conditions have declined, so has the quality of the workforce. An increase in class stratification and class bias has accompanied the decline. The text includes many interesting uses of textile imagery to describe a variety of scenes and experiences.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted by Greenwood Press and in *American Poetry*.

28. Larcom, Lucy. "Weaving." *The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom*. Household ed. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884. 93-95.

AUTHOR: Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering*. Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She also worked as a teacher and editor.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad in thirteen six-line stanzas relates the soliloquy of a factory woman working at her loom. Published in the chapter of Civil War poems, "War-Memories," "Weaving" conveys antislavery and antiwar views. The unnamed weaver is working to support herself and her mother. Although she enjoys her work, she is troubled by thoughts of Southern slave women suffering to produce the cotton she weaves:

> My sisters toil, with foreheads black;
> And water with their blood this root,
> Whereof we gather bounteous fruit.
> . . . . . .
> And how much of your wrong is mine,
> Dark women slaving at the South?
> . . . . . .
> The beam unwinds, but every thread
> With blood of strangled souls is red. (94)

The speaker finds that her work connects her as well to the agony of Civil War soldiers. The poem affirms the relatedness of all women, each of whom is her "sister's keeper" (95). Metaphors of textile production are utilized in interesting ways to express religious, abolition, and antiwar sentiments.

29. Larcom, Lucy. "Workmates." *The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom.* Household ed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884. 229-31.

AUTHOR: Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering*. Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet. She also worked as a teacher and editor.

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker relates her memories of a close friendship with another woman textile mill worker. In thirteen six-line stanzas, the ballad's speaker remembers spinning "Side by side . . . 'Mid the whirring of the wheels" (7-8). Toiling to earn their daily bread, the two women find in each other a respite from loneliness. Their work connects them to all of the Creation:

> And we touched the flying spindles,
>
> As if so we struck a note
>
> Unto which the whole world kindles;
>
> Tidal harmonies, that float
>
> Into chords on earth unheard--
>
> Mystic chant of Work and Word.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Firm our little thread spun we
>
> For the web of Destiny.

Just as it is good that the two learned through work to participate in "God's grand purpose" (230), so it is fortuitous that they enjoyed this friendship in "girlish working-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

days" (231). Though they are now physically separated, nothing--not even death--can break the bond of their mutual love.

30. Lee, Day Kellogg. *Merrimack; or, Life at the Loom, A Tale*. New York: Redfield, 1854. 353 pp.

AUTHOR: Lee (1816-69; b. New York), was a Universalist minister and writer for young people.

SYNOPSIS: *Merrimack* is a young adult novel narrated in first-person voice by the heroine, Mercy Winthrop. At the outset, she is nine years old and living in Salem, Massachusetts. She is a sea captain's daughter, with two brothers, Jesse and Walter. After her father is lost at sea, her mother supports the family with her needle. To contribute to the family's support, Mercy, now aged twelve, goes out to service. After her mother's death, the orphaned heroine continues to do housework for wages. At the age of thirteen or fourteen, she goes to the city of Merrimack (seemingly based upon Lowell, Massachusetts) to work weaving in a factory. She develops friendships with other factory girls, pursues a course of self-improvement through reading and attending Lyceum lectures, and attends church. She falls in love with a mechanic, Neal Derby, who, after inheriting a small fortune, deserts her for the rich Arabella Puffit. When Mercy's brother Walter is falsely accused of arson, Mercy works on his behalf and falls in love with the lawyer defending him. The lawyer, George Milbank, is a reformed thief who grew up poor. The story ends with several marriages, including Mercy's to George Milbank. Their little son and George's mother live with them, as well as Bessie

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Plympton, an African-American neighbor from Salem. The narrator recommends factory work as valuable experience for women that helps them acquire independence and develop their abilities. The author seems well acquainted with the experiences of factory girls and the literature about them. Other texts, such as broadsides and factory stories, are echoed in his novel. His writing expresses sympathy for factory girls and awareness of all their trials and temptations.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

31. Lucinda [Harriet Farley]. "The Evening before Pay-Day." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 239-49.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: The short story's heroine is a Lowell factory girl, Rosina Alden, a sensitive and intelligent young woman. The setting is the boardinghouse, where a group of the factory women is discussing how to spend their pay. Another serious young woman, Dorcas Tilton, enjoys staying home and reading religious tracts. In contrast to reserved Rosina and Dorcas, the other boarders relish lively chatter and buying fancy clothes to show off in church. They call Rosina "miserly," because she wears an old mended dress and shoes with holes (242). What the vain, frivolous factory women do not realize is that Rosina is supporting her widowed mother, a sister dying from consumption, and two small brothers. In Lowell, Rosina has kept her family life secret. Thus, the meaning of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

payday is very different for her than it is for the trifling factory women.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 162-72.

32. Lura. "Myra, the Factory Girl." *The Operatives' Magazine* 2 (July-August 1842): 69-71, 81-87.

SYNOPSIS: This story was published in a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women's periodical. Myra, an orphan and the adopted daughter of Mrs. M., is a sensitive girl who, when scolded, threatens to leave home for the mills. As she tells her mother, she wants to have her own money to spend as she likes. Mrs. M. and Myra reside in the family of Esq. Rockliffe, Myra's guardian. A discussion ensues, in which Myra, Mrs. M., and a neighbor, Miss R., consider the disadvantages and advantages of being a factory girl. Miss R. expresses all the popular objections to women's factory work, and Myra attempts to refute them. Myra insists that women leave home for the factory with good intentions, hoping to increase their usefulness and happiness. When Miss R. contends that teaching is a better profession, Myra agrees that it is better but only in theory. In fact, the district schoolroom is an inferior workplace due to community indifference. Teachers' problems include insufficient preparation, poor compensation (women earning one dollar per week), and apathetic students. Myra prefers to go to the mills, where she "can demand pay" and earn the means for further education (70). When Miss R. suggests that she try instead to obtain a domestic position in a genteel family, Myra replies that she is already trained in domestic work and is not looking for another home. Instead, she seeks

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

advantages she cannot find at home. The main reason she wants to work in the factory is to have freedom and time to think. Miss R. reminds Myra that it might be difficult to maintain a good reputation in a factory town, since so many of the operatives are depraved and corrupt. According to Myra, this argument has been promoted by those opposed to factories, thereby impeding American women's access to one of their most profitable sources of employment. After revealing to her mother and Miss R. that she is planning to become a factory girl--although she says she will not go away without their consent--Myra removes to her room and cries. Mrs. M. is not entirely opposed to Myra's entering the factory, since she tends to agree with her on factory work's merits, and she knows how greatly Myra desires the knowledge she cannot obtain at home. As several months pass, Myra still wants to enter the mills, although she is afraid to sever ties with her friends and go out in the world alone. Deciding to wait for a sign from God, Myra suffers from her restless desires for improvement and independence. She feels that she is not needed at home and is something of a burden to others supporting her. She longs for but fears her future independence. Although she admits that many people would accuse her of a falsehood, the narrator contends that numerous young women go to the factory hoping like Myra to gain more education. Finally, after one year of fear and vacillation, Myra begins to carry out her plan of factory work. The narrator claims good intentions in writing the story and concludes it. An after word follows, also written by "Lura." She explains that she has written Myra's story after a friend suggested the need for "a faithful transcript of factory life" (86). Lura knows it is needed, since there is still prejudice against the operative. Both supporters and critics of factories have distorted the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

operative's experience. Mill work has enabled many women to obtain education, "the freedom of the mind from the chains of ignorance bound on by the hand of poverty" (87). People complain that too much factory writing paints the mills as "a paradise." Lura recommends that writers treat honestly the merits and demerits of mill life.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

33. Morgan, Emily Malbone (1862-1937). *Madonnas of the Smoke: or Our "Mary's Meadow."* New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1893. 38 pp.

SYNOPSIS: In an introductory note, Morgan explains that the story has been written to encourage Fresh Air Fund contributions. If poor urban children are given opportunities for more contact with Nature, they will become closer to God. She hopes that people will become "Madonnas of the Smoke" by enabling city children to visit the country. The story concerns a group of young working women in "a large manufacturing city" who form a club ([11]). Pooling their funds, they rent a room for meetings. The city comprises two separate and antagonistic communities of rich and poor, who would each benefit from more knowledge of the other: "[T]he people of the city by the black river and the people of the city of green lawns and stately houses never met each other. If they had, life would have been broader and grander for each" (14). The poor people's lives are overshadowed by "noise and smoke" (13). The narrator describes the city's air and water pollution. Longing "for more opportunities of self-improvement," the working women plan to invite speakers to their club meetings (15). They begin to take walks together just "to get a whiff of fresh air after the day's work" (19). Finding a beautiful

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meadow on the other side of the river, one of the young women, Alice Atwater, arranges with the owner, Mr. Welcome, to rent it for summertime meetings. Admiring one of Raphael's Madonnas, they name themselves "the Madonna Club" (24). Mr. Welcome adds swings, a hammock, and a small cabin to the meadow. He refuses more payment, which the women offer because they are a "modern working girls' club, . . . self-governing, self-supporting, and co-operative" (27). In the heat of the summer when illness and death stalk the crowded city, the women begin taking some of the poor children to their meadow, naming it "Mary's Meadow" after the first child who visits. Mr. Welcome enjoys the sound of the children's and young women's laughter. Imitating the Madonnas, some of the city's great ladies begin to work among the poor in "the city of narrow ways and blackened pavements," learning something of "self-sacrifice, and even joy" from the people there (35). In helping the poor children, the Madonnas give them gifts of health and happiness, thereby serving Christ.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

34. Mudge, Zachariah Atwell. *Carrie Prince; or, An Aged Pastor's Counsel, and Its Fruits.* [Bound with] *Gracie Goodwin: or, Love Lightens Labor.* New York: John W. Lovell, [c. 1870?]. 88 pp.

AUTHOR: Mudge (1813-88; b. Maine; pseud. "Mrs. Lovechild") was a Methodist clergyman of Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: This children's novel in the series *The Rustic Library* is set during the Civil War, presumably in New England. The heroine, Carrie Prince, is a young orphan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

supporting herself. She has always had to work hard, with little time to attend school: "[S]he had never known anything except poverty and constant and severe work" (6). From childhood, Carrie has relied upon the advice of her hometown pastor, Father Bliss. She leaves her rural village, seeking work in a woolen mill in a nearby manufacturing town. Carrie's faith in the Savior "stir[s] her to tireless activity" and helps her endure trouble patiently (11). In the mean and shabby factory boardinghouse, Carrie suffers from teasing by "trifling girl[s]," who work just to be able to buy themselves clothes (11). She finds solace in the Bible given her by her mother. Carrie and a new boarder, Gracie Goodwin, become "loving companions" (17). With Gracie and another mill woman, Carrie leaves the factory and enters into a very successful dressmaking and millinery business. Seeking to be useful in helping others and to follow the path of duty, as Father Bliss has taught her, Carrie donates her services to helping the Soldiers' Aid Society. She also assists a poor, orphaned factory girl supporting herself and her four-year-old brother. For a time, Carrie returns to her native village to care for Father Bliss, who is dying. After obtaining more education, she becomes a schoolteacher and then a missionary to "the heathen" (87). She marries a fellow missionary.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Dartmouth College, Michigan State University, Bowling Green State University, and Mount Union College.

35. Mudge, Zachariah Atwell. *Gracie Goodwin: or, Love Lightens Labor*. New York: John W. Lovell, [c. 1870?]. 96 pp.

AUTHOR: Mudge (1813-88; b. Maine; pseud. "Mrs. Lovechild") was a Methodist

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clergyman of Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: This children's novel in the series *The Rustic Library* is set during the Civil War, presumably in New England. The heroine, seventeen-year-old Gracie Goodwin, lives on a little farm in the town of Mountain Side with her widowed mother and two brothers. When her older brother leaves home to fight in the War, Gracie decides to seek employment in a nearby town to help support her mother and younger brother. She obtains work in a woolen mill at six to seven dollars per week and moves into a factory boardinghouse. To meet these challenges, Gracie relies upon her sense of duty and the strength she gets from reading the Bible and prayer. The woolen mill is generally an unpleasant place, with "repulsive odors, and . . . oily, uninviting rooms" (24). Gracie works in a "'picking and marking' room" (25), which is more salutary than the rest of the mill, being light and airy with flowers in the windows. The factory is making army blankets. Gracie's job is marking "U.S." on blankets with a needle and yarn. Since so many of the factory women are "rude and thoughtless," Gracie finds the boardinghouse inhospitable (27). She befriends a sensitive younger boarder, Carrie Prince, a destitute orphan, with whom she attends Sunday school and public worship. Wanting more quiet and privacy, Gracie, Carrie, and another factory woman rent rooms together. The three women open a millinery and dressmaking business in the factory section of town. Since the mill girls give them plenty of work, the business thrives. Gracie earns enough money to pay off a debt on her mother's farm. For several months, she serves as an army nurse in Virginia. Gracie succeeds in all her endeavors, because her "heart of love . . . made labor light" (82). Her cheerfulness, industry, self-reliance, and usefulness make her "a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

genuine live Yankee girl" (94). At the end of the novel, the narrator suggests that Gracie will marry Melville Loring, a judge's son.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Michigan State University, Bowling Green State University, and Mount Union College.

36. Nature's Child. "Sweet Home." *The Album, Or, Ladies' Common-Place Book* (Lowell, MA) 1 (1832): 28.

SYNOPSIS: This sixteen-line ballad on homesickness was published at a time when the majority of Lowell's population was women mill workers. The ballad's speaker expresses the factory girl's common experience of homesickness. Having moved to Lowell from a quiet, rural town in the north, the speaker encounters the bewildering "bustle of Merrimac street" (9). Since the townspeople are "strangers" (11), the speaker realizes that she or he is "a stranger and far from home" (16).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History and American Antiquarian Society.

37. Neal, Alice B. "The New England Factory Girl: A Sketch of Everyday Life." By Mrs. Joseph C. Neal. *Graham's Magazine* (1848): 287-92, 343-49.

AUTHOR: Neal (1827-63; maiden name, Emily Bradley; b. New York; m. Haven) wrote popular fiction for children and adults, under such pseudonyms as "Alice B. Lee," "Alice B. Neal," "Alice B. Haven," and "Cousin Alice" (Baym 243).

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story, Mary Gordon, a virtuous and industrious

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fifteen-year-old, has grown up on a farm with parents who are struggling financially. Her offer to finance her brother James's college education by working in a factory in Lowell, Massachusetts, is reluctantly accepted by her parents. When Mary first sees the "dark-brick walls" of the factory buildings, she thinks, "How prison-like they seemed!" (291). Working in the mills, she soon becomes ill from the "confinement and the noise." Though at times her head aches and she is very tired, Mary eventually adjusts to mill work. In order to save as much money as possible for James, Mary refrains from buying unnecessary clothing. Consequently, some of the factory women tease her, calling her "a little Methodist" and "sneer[ing] at her plain economical dress" (292). Other factory women appreciate her for her "gentleness and purity." Mary excels at her work and sends her brother money. While she works at Lowell, her little sister falls ill and dies just after Mary arrives home to see her. Hearing of Mary's sacrifice for her brother, her hometown minister, Mr. Loring, falls in love with her. After working in the factory three or four years and earning enough money not only to put her brother through college but also to pay her own tuition at one of the "female schools," Mary graduates as valedictorian (346). She then spends two years caring for her ailing mother, before marrying Mr. Loring. The narrator ends the story by addressing readers who may be young ladies living in luxurious circumstances. She reminds them that misfortune can overtake them, too, and, if so, they should *"remember that honest labor elevates rather than degrades"* (349).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals* and in Haven's *The Gossips of Rivertown* (in *Wright American Fiction*).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

38. "New Song of the Factory Girl." (May be sung to the tune of "Rory O'More.") First line: "Let us list to the song of the factory girl." [New England?: n.p., 184-?].

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this twenty-eight-line broadside ballad finds much to praise in the situation of the factory woman. She or he extols their lightheartedness: "Tho' her task it be hard, yet her heart it is light; / And she sings at her 'loom,' from the morn till the night" (3-4). She enjoys good health, ample pay, independence, social pleasures, and lack of care. Factory women express their gaiety by singing while they work: "[T]here's joy in the factory girl's song" (28). Moreover, factory women make desirable wives. This is the same poem as that by Heywood above, but this broadside includes an engraving of a young woman.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

39. Orianna [Hannah Johnson (m. Noyes)]. "The Widow's Son." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 246-50.

SYNOPSIS: The narrator meets an interesting woman in the mills, Mrs. Jones, and writes this short story about her. The narrator admires Mrs. Jones for her "deep devotion, . . . uniform cheerfulness, and . . . perseverance in the accomplishment of a cherished object." Reared in a comfortable home, she married and had a son (246). After a time, the family suffered serious financial losses, and Mr. Jones died. Mrs. Jones turned her attention to the education of her son, Samuel, then aged ten. By doing needlework, she was able to keep her son in school. To enable him to go to college and enter the ministry, she

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

decided to leave him to become a mill worker. In Lowell, Massachusetts, she assumed her maiden name, Lucy Cambridge. At that time, Lucy could send her son sufficient money, since "wages were not then reduced to the present low standard" (248). Lucy becomes the narrator's roommate and intimate friend. One day, a young man visits Lucy, and they are seen embracing. Her housemates gossip, as if there were some impropriety. The young man turns out to be her son, Samuel Jones. He tries to persuade his mother to leave the mill, but she refuses. Later when he obtains a "pastoral charge" in Ohio, however, Lucy leaves with him.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

40. S., W. J. [Jane S. Welch?]. "Factory Labor." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 199-200.

AUTHOR: Welch was a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker.

SYNOPSIS: In this fictional dialogue, two women, Miss S. and Miss B., discuss factory labor. Miss B. is about to return to mill employment. Miss S. questions her about all the popular objections to factory work. The two women discuss whether mill work is degrading and conducive to ignorance and vice. They agree that, although workers are compelled to answer to a factory bell, they work voluntarily. Miss B. remarks, "However derogatory to our dignity and liberty you may consider factory labor, there is not a tinge of slavery existing in it, unless there be in every kind of labor that is urged upon us by the force of circumstances" (199). They comment on women being thrown together intimately in the boardinghouses, including some vicious ones who corrupt others. On the long hours of labor, Miss B. admits, "It is true that too large a portion of our time is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

confined to labor." Nonetheless, she believes that workers enjoy mental freedom: "A factory girl's work is neither hard nor complicated; she can go on with perfect regularity in her duties, while her mind may be actively employed on any subject" (200).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

41. Savage, Sarah. *The Factory Girl*. By a Lady. Boston: Munroe, Francis & Parker, 1814. 112 pp.

AUTHOR: Sarah Savage (1784-1838), a teacher and writer of Salem, Massachusetts, wrote primarily for children and young adults.

SYNOPSIS: *The Factory Girl* is the first known American novel with an industrial laborer as the protagonist. Mary Burnam, the eighteen-year-old orphaned heroine, lives with her pious grandmother and irascible Aunt Holden in a cottage in Hampton (perhaps in Connecticut). To support herself and her grandmother, Mary goes to work in a cotton-spinning factory: "She was summoned to her occupation the following Monday morning by the factory bell. Her employment, which was reeling cotton, was neither difficult nor laborious, and Mary thought if she had not been a stranger, she should have felt quite happy" (10-11). She distinguishes herself from most of the other workers, who are not "good and serious" people, by her cheerfulness, seriousness, piety, diligence at work, and Bible study. When she refuses to join the other workers at a dance, she suffers their scorn and ridicule. She objects to the expense, explaining to them that people who have little money should give whatever extra they have to the poor. William Raymond, a frivolous young factory worker, becomes attracted to Mary, and after a while Mary

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

returns his interest and they are betrothed. Mary is happy to become instructress at a Sunday school for twenty factory children. After nursing her friend Mrs. Danforth through a fatal illness, Mary falls ill with a fever and is confined to home for four months. In the meantime, William becomes engaged to another factory woman, Lucy Newcome, a thoughtless coquette. Mary returns to factory work, and soon after William marries Lucy and leaves the mill. When Mary's grandmother dies, she quits the factory to devote herself to caring for Aunt Holden and her four grandchildren. She works briefly as a teacher, struggling to support her relatives. George Holden, the children's widowed father, returns after a long absence and assumes their care. Mary marries Mr. Danforth and becomes a devoted second mother to his children. The novel ends with the children giving Mary a gift of a writing desk and Bible. The novel is important for its early treatment of working women. Savage is careful to show that the capitalists are benevolent and that the working class tend to create their own problems through moral failings.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

42. "Song of the Factory Girl." Tune: "Chatham Lived a Merchant." First line: "Come all you pretty factory girls." Great Falls, NH: Sold by J. G. Shorey, 1849.

SYNOPSIS: A broadside ballad in eighteen four-line stanzas, the poem is another version of the folk song "The Song of the Factory Girl." The factory-girl speaker expresses pride in mill workers' skill and productivity. The workers produce "Five thousand yards . . . carded well, and spun, and wove, / And carried to be sold" (33, 35-36). Nevertheless,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

she is determined "to leave the factory" (3), especially since her wages have been reduced:

> And since they've cut my wages down
>
> To ten and six a week,
>
> If I can do no better than this,
>
> My true-love's heart I'll seek. (5-8)

She also feels oppressed by the routine of the mill and the domineering overseers. One day she will leave the factory behind and "settle down / With a handsome little man" (69-70).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

43. "Song of the Factory Girls." *Chicopee Telegraph* (Chicopee, MA) 5.10 (6 March 1850).

SYNOPSIS: This sixty-four-line ballad is reprinted, less one stanza and with other minor changes, from W., J. H. "Song of a Factory Girl" in the *Factory Girl's Album, and Operatives' Advocate* 1.9 (6 June 1846), annotated below. The ballad's speaker proclaims the freedom, health, and happiness of the factory girl. She is "merry and glad and free" (2), as "She tends the loom . . . [and] watches the spindle" (5). At work she maintains ties to her female kin, imagining "her mother near" and thinking "of her sisters dear" (14, 16). The speaker avers that the factory girl is not a slave but rather "a free-born spirit" (40) and a productive worker whose fabrics clothe the world. Her situation is far superior to that of the "slaves of the British looms" (48). In the last stanza, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

speaker asks God to "bless our Yankee Factory Girls! / The girls of our mountains wild!" (57-58). Their songs will be heard across America, from "New-England's clime" to "the surging Oregon" (63-64).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society. Thirty-two lines of this poem were reprinted, with minor changes, in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 66, and in Shlakman 135-36.

44. Susan [Harriet Farley]. "Letters from Susan: Letter First." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 145-48.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: This story is in the form of a letter sent to "Dear Mary." In the letter to her hometown friend, Susan describes her experiences traveling from New Hampshire to work in Lowell, Massachusetts. She characterizes her early Lowell experiences as "my adventures--for it all appears very romantic to me" (145). Her boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. C., warmly welcomes her and helps her get mill work and some new clothes. Susan describes boardinghouse meals, the evening activities of the women boarders, her bed with a "*chum*" in "the long attic" (147), the streets and shops, the factory women's sophisticated dress, and the various church meetings. She rather fears the confinement of the mills: "O, how I dread to be cooped up there, day after day" (147).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Offering 44-50.

45. Susan [Harriet Farley]. "Letters from Susan: Letter Second." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 169-72.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: An epistolary short story. In another letter to her hometown friend, Mary, Susan describes her first days working as a weaver in the mills. The picture painted is mostly positive but with some negative notes, too: "[The mill] looked very pleasant at first, the rooms were so light, spacious, and clean, the girls so pretty and neatly dressed, and the machinery so brightly polished or nicely painted." She describes the work in the various rooms. The carding-room is "where the cotton flies most, and the girls get the dirtiest" (169). She describes the disagreeably warm, scented atmosphere and explains why she chose to become a weaver. She describes some of mill work's health hazards, assuring Mary that she has gotten used to them:

> At first the hours seemed very long, . . . and when I went out at night the sound of the mills was in my ears, as of crickets, frogs, and jewsharps, all mingled together in strange discord. It makes my feet ache and swell to stand so much. . . . The girls . . . all say that when they have worked here a year or two they have to procure shoes a size or two larger than before they came. The right hand, which is the one used in stopping and starting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the loom, becomes larger than the left. (170)

After specifying the hours of labor (i.e., from five o'clock a.m. until seven p.m.), Susan comments that while workers are not "contented," they are nonetheless "cheerful." The work is not disagreeable when one is accustomed to it, she explains: "It is easy to do, and does not require very violent exertion, as much of our farm work does" (171). She describes the difficulties of getting along in the boardinghouse. She claims that mill superintendents have an undeservedly bad reputation: "[T]hey are not the over-bearing tyrants which many suppose them to be" (172).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 51-55.

46. Susan [Harriet Farley]. "Letters from Susan: Letter Third." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 237-40.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: In another fictional letter to her friend Mary, Susan explores some of the positive and negative aspects of summertime work in the mills. She mentions that she finds the warm weather fatiguing and wishes that she could be at home in summer. Since she has only been in Lowell a short time, she cannot go home so soon. She does not enjoy the hot city: "It is now that I begin to dislike these hot brick pavements, and glaring buildings." She finds the mill confinement harder to endure than in other seasons. Since

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

many of the women have gone to their rural homes for the summer, she takes on extra work, tending three looms. Despite her complaints, Susan assures Mary that "these mills are not such dreadful places as you imagine them to be" (237). There are flowers planted around the factories, and the insides are airy and whitewashed. The windows are hung with white curtains and decorated with plants. Sometimes she even finds the mill interior and the machinery beautiful: "I have sometimes stood at one end of a row of green looms, when the girls were gone from between them, and seen the lathes moving back and forth, the harnesses up and down, the white cloth winding over the rollers, through the long perspective; and I have thought it beautiful." Communication between overseers and women workers is "pleasant, yet respectful" (238). She finds it unfair that factory girls' failings are censured more than those of other people. She contends that there is no corporal punishment or withholding of wages in the mills, the only punishment of workers being dismissal from their jobs. Again, she commends the overseers as "very likely intelligent public-spirited men . . . [who] usually marry among the factory girls." Susan describes the boardinghouse keepers, who are often "widows or single women," and their qualities. A good "boarding woman," in her diligence, prudence, and concern for the welfare of her boarders, resembles the exemplary woman described in the last chapter of Proverbs (239). Toward the end of the letter, Susan expresses hope that Mary will not think she has "too high an opinion of our superintendents" (240).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 55-60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

47. Susan [Harriet Farley]. "Letters from Susan: Letter Fourth." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 257-59.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: In the fourth fictional letter to her hometown friend Mary, Susan discusses the subject of whether Mary and some of their friends should enter the mills (257). She relates a number of the reasons why women come to the mills. Some women want to get away from unhappy homes, while others wish to support themselves. Some women have nowhere else to go. One wants to buy herself "pretty gowns and collars and ribbons" (257). Some are fleeing domestic service, while others are saving money toward their marriages. One is bored at home, and another wishes to educate herself. Then she discusses whether Mary and their hometown friends should come to Lowell. Susan advises one woman, whose relatives treat her like "a slave," to come to Lowell. She warns the other women against coming just for a change, because they may also become bored with Lowell: "Many, who are dissatisfied here, have also acquired a dissatisfaction for their homes, so that they cannot be contented any where, and wish they had never seen Lowell" (258). Another young woman, who works hard for her family and earns nothing, Susan advises not to come to Lowell if she can convince her father to give her some wages.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 60-63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

48. "The True Story of 'An Aged Indigent Woman.'" *The Old Ladies' Piece Bag* (Lowell, MA) 1 (1867): 8-11.

SYNOPSIS: A prose portrait of an unnamed seventy-year-old woman in Lowell, who has worked in domestic service and in factories. The narrator describes the aged woman's striking appearance and character. She is a "quaint, original," and proper little person, quite hardworking: "Being poor, she lives by her daily labor in the washing and cleaning line" (8). The narrator describes the woman's early life in England as the daughter of "a common soldier." She married a "non-commissioned officer" and moved with him to Canada. After living happily for some years with their four children, her husband stopped supporting the family and soon lost his eyesight. Hereafter, the woman took over the family's support. She moved them to Lowell, where she and "her well-grown children" worked in the mills (10). Now that she is old, she continues to work as a domestic. The narrator appeals to readers to help provide a home for aged, indigent persons like the old woman, who are "worn out . . . by hard work, spent by unstinted exertion" (10).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History.

49. "Truth through Fiction. No. 1. True Independence." *The Lady's Pearl* (Lowell, MA) 4 (1843): 2.

SYNOPSIS: The story's heroine, Lydia Saunderson, the daughter of a merchant, tells her friend Sarah that she has decided to go to work in a factory. Sarah remarks, "I suppose you will be installed as a regular mantua-maker's apprentice, obliged to go and come at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the ringing of the factory bells." Lydia replies that since they have never known any "confinement" but that of school hours, they "do not appreciate the advantages resulting from regular habits." Not especially eager to obtain these "advantages," Sarah remarks that Lydia's father is quite able and willing to support her. Lydia enumerates her reasons for entering the mills: her younger sisters will learn to do more housework, and she (Lydia) will not be "a constant bill of expense to [her] father." Lydia regrets that she has never "earned a single cent." [The remainder of the story is missing. The microfilm ends at this point.]

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

50. W., J. H. "Song of a Factory Girl." *Factory Girl's Album* 1.9 (6 June 1846).

SYNOPSIS: This seventy-two-line ballad celebrates the gaiety, health, and freedom of the factory girl. She is "merry and glad and free" (2) as "She tends the loom, she watches the spindle" (5). She works to help her family and for her own future, "the joys to come" (11). Her independence and her work make her "more free from care / Than a queen upon her throne" (19-20). Her condition is nothing like that of American slaves or the "slaves of the British looms" (56). She sings at her work, which contributes to clothing the whole world. In the last stanza, the speaker asks God to "bless the Yankee factory girls, / The girls of our mountains wild" (65-66). Their songs will be heard across America, from "New England's clime" to "the surging Oregon" (71-72). Sixty-four lines of this poem were reprinted, with minor changes, as "Song of the Factory Girls" in the *Chicopee Telegraph* 5.10 (6 March 1850), annotated above.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society.

51. "The White Mountain Sisters." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 145-54.

SYNOPSIS: The last page of this short story is missing, so the narrative is incomplete. The heroines are Amanda and Mary Ledyard, the daughters of a farmer in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. In the first few pages of the story, the narrator paints a portrait of White Mountain village life. One day, Mr. Crofoot arrives to tell Mr. Ledyard that he is financially ruined. The Ledyards lose their farm. Amanda and Mary decide that they must go to Lowell, Massachusetts, to work in the factories. After some effort, the sisters eloquently overcome the objections of their parents: "Their parents were then consulted, and though at first decided against their scheme, their objections finally gave way before the eloquence of their daughters" (153). For several years, the sisters alternate periods of mill work with schoolteaching. They are able to save enough money to attend an academy. After years of work, they buy their family a new house. The narrator explains that their frugality has enabled them to accomplish all these things: "[T]hey have been more economical than Lowell factory girls generally are" (154). The sisters finally leave the mills, and the narrator reveals that their story was based upon "confidential communication" with them.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER TWO

MINDS AMONG THE SPINDLES: WORKERS' EDUCATION AND WRITING

52. A. [Harriet Farley?]. "Harriet Greenough." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 295-302.

SYNOPSIS: Harriet Greenough, this tale's heroine, is the daughter of a country farmer who scorns refinement and book learning. Harriet is a "romping" tomboy, preferring outdoor work and play to staying inside with her mother (296): "[F]rom that hour Mrs. Greenough passively allowed her to follow her father and his laborers as she pleased; to rake hay, ride in the cart, husk corn, hunt hens' eggs, jump on the hay, play ball, prisoner, pitch quoits, throw dice, cut and saw wood, and, . . . to run into every amusement which her active temperament demanded." Attending school "when she pleased," Harriet enjoys perpetrating any "roguish act" (297). When she is sixteen, Harriet meets her cousin Jane Wood, returned from working in the mills at Newburyport, Massachusetts. Jane is Harriet's age, but seems ten years older "judging from her superior dignity and intelligence" (298). Harriet is strongly drawn to her gentleness and kindness. After overcoming her parents' objections, Harriet joins Jane in returning to the Newburyport mills. After one year in Newburyport, Harriet is "a totally changed being" (299). She has developed a love for study, devoting all her spare hours and moments to it. With her cousins, she studies botany and astronomy. Now that Harriet has become beautiful, soft, and gentle, two young men evince romantic interest in her. Harriet's father decides to send her to study at an academy for two or three years. There, she becomes more of a lady, studying painting and drawing. The influence of Harriet's refinement leads the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Greenoughs to redecorate their home. Mr. Greenough has even become something of a reader himself.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

53. Ada. "An Acrostic." *Voice of Industry* 1.3 (12 June 1845).

SYNOPSIS: A fifteen-line ballad, the poem expresses hope that the *Voice of Industry*, a labor paper, will promote freedom and union among workers. The first letters of each line form the words *Voice of Industry*. Ada's speaker offers assurance to "oppressed" workers:

> O ppressed sons of honest toil,
>
> F reedom soon shall be your song,
>
> I ts notes of life, hope and gladness
>
> N earer now are borne along;
>
> D eep and loud let them swell--
>
> U nion let the watchword be[.] (6-11)

She urges workers to have faith in God and "rouse" themselves to work for reform.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

54. Adelaide [Lydia Sarah Hall (m. Graffam)]. "My Country's Flag." *Lowell Offering* 1 [1841]: 15-16.

AUTHOR: A factory worker in Lowell, Massachusetts, Hall was an editor and writer for *The Operatives' Magazine* and after its demise contributed poetry to the *Lowell Offering*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She traveled West as a missionary to the Choctaw Indians. She later worked for the United States Treasury Department, serving briefly as acting United States Treasurer (Robinson, *Loom and Spindle* 92-93).

SYNOPSIS: Adelaide's poem, a ballad in fifty-four lines, challenges the presence of "aristocracy" and slavery in our free, democratic United States. The poem's speaker also protests her own painful condition of being enchained in ignorance, the ignorance perhaps of young factory workers deprived of the education reserved for the "favored":

My country's Flag! wave on, wave on,
  Till aristocracy shall cease,
And every eye shall greet the dawn
  Of liberty, the morn of peace!
Till every being on our soil
Shall eat the free reward of toil,
And every chain, and serpent-coil,
  Before thy silken folds shall flee,
  And God's own image stand forth free.

My country's Flag! what varied thoughts
  Betake me, while I gaze on Thee!
What images are interwrought
  With thy auspicious motto--Free!
In contrast with myself, 't is pain,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Because I may not break the chain

Which holds me back from yonder plain,

Where knowledge grows on every tree,

For every favored devotee. (37-54)

The poem was reprinted in *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

55. Annaline. "Ada, the Factory Maid." *Lowell Offering* 3 (1843): 97-100.

SYNOPSIS: Ada Somners, the heroine of this brief tale, is the oldest daughter of "a poor, but respectable mechanic" (98). When her father dies, her mother moves the family to a new manufacturing town and supports them by gardening and working as a seamstress. In time the mother's health fails, and Ada goes to work in the factories though she is "but a child" (99). She wishes for "a finished education," so that she might write like Mrs. Hemans, Hannah More, and Mrs. Sigourney. Unfortunately, she has "neither time nor money," since she is "a factory girl . . . called to labor from early morn till late at eve" (97). Ada devotes her free time to study. Rather than accompanying her factory friends "to scenes of mirth and festivity," she spends evenings at home with her mother and sister, "enriching her mind with 'scholastic lore.'" Her diligence and industriousness in the mill earn for her the esteem of her employer, who proves "a kind and disinterested friend" for many years (99). Though her life has its difficulties, she loves the home she shares with her mother and sister. The story ends ambiguously, with a suggestion of a better future for Ada, involving possibly a love interest. The narrator comments:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Brighter prospects opened to Ada's view, for there was one who had seen her, and in every action learned to appreciate her worth. But I must hasten on, and draw the veil over that scene, and leave her in happiness; for how uncertain are earthly enjoyments, and expectations" (100).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

56. C. [Harriot F. Curtis]. "A Pic-Nic Party." *Lowell Offering* Ser. 1, No. 2 (December 1840): 63-64.

AUTHOR: Harriot F. Curtis (1813-89; b. Kellyvale [now Lowell], Vermont; originally "Harriet") worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. A founding member of the first factory women's Improvement Circle in Lowell, Curtis became a principal writer, editor, and business manager for the *Lowell Offering*.

SYNOPSIS: In this allegorical prose piece, the factory women's Improvement Circle is likened to "a pic-nic party." The women are guided by a gentleman. Each participant is asked to contribute "something for the banquet" (63). At one meeting, the participants enjoy members' writings on intemperance, hope, and the chrysalis. Like too many others, the narrator admits, she has not contributed her share to the banquet. She resolves to compose a contribution, however humble: "And though I cannot furnish the rich viands, and delicious fruits, that many others do, I can at least prepare a loaf of plain bread, which, though it may not be so palatable, may, nevertheless, be not altogether useless, inasmuch as it may serve to give a better relish to the richer provision" (64).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

57. Cate, Eliza Jane. "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England: The Author to the Reader." By a Factory Girl. *The New World.* Extra ser. 51, 2.27 (February 1843): 1.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: In "The Author to the Reader," Cate indicates her intentions in writing the three short stories that make up "Lights and Shadows." Her aims in writing are to portray with "fidelity" New England factory life; to exhibit the operatives' beauties of character; to counsel erring mill girls on the temptations they ought to resist, the vices they must avoid, and the faults in behavior they need to correct in order to be "good and happy"; to counteract prejudices against factory girls, by showing that they are no different from other classes of American women; and to benefit factory girls by teaching them "rules of duty" under the pleasing guise of fiction.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

58. Cate, Eliza Jane. "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England: Kate Kimball." By a Factory Girl. *The New World.* Extra ser. 51, 2.27 (February 1843): 2-7.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire), whose father was a carpenter and mason, as well as a First Lieutenant in the War of 1812, worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: Kate Kimball, the heroine of this short story, grows up poor in a rural New

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hampshire cottage. She is the prettiest, happiest kind of girl, helping out with the family's chores. As much as she loves to be outdoors enjoying Nature, she loves to study her books. While reading a Sabbath-school book about a family similar to her own, she suddenly realizes that her family is very poor and that her father is a drunkard. To assist her parents, Kate decides that on her seventeenth birthday she will go to work in the mills. She moves in with family friends in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and works in a factory there. She rises early and stays up late in order to have time for her studies. After carefully saving her wages, Kate buys some land for her parents. In gratitude for her sacrifices, Mr. Kimball resolves to remain sober. Kate finds out that her frail and sickly cousin George Hanscom is in love with her, but she does not return his passion. Rather than marry him, she returns to Newburyport to work in the factory and earn more money to help her parents. She rises early and stays up late in order to do sewing to pay for her board and to have time for studying. She saves enough money to help her parents and pay her own academy tuition. After falling in love with Mr. Norton, a clergyman, Kate hears that her cousin George has died. While grieving for George, Kate is pleased to see that her parents are now living in prosperity. Kate marries Mr. Norton, who becomes a pastor in a small inland town, and she dedicates herself to becoming a worthy wife and housekeeper.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

59. Dora. "An Acrostic." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 12.

SYNOPSIS: This fourteen-line ballad explores the meaning of the factory women's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

periodical, the *Lowell Offering*. An acrostic, the initial letter of each line spells out "Lowell Offering." The poem's speaker explains that the periodical is a "lowly" offering brought to an "altar" (5, 2). Nonetheless, no one should "spurn" the women's "gift" (6). Though their humble gift will not bring them "fame," it does contain riches (9). It is an offering of the "fruits of heart and mind, / Gathered from the spirit's store" (13-14).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

60. H. "The Journal and Advocate." *The Factory Journal, and Laborer's Advocate* 1.1 (14 April 1843).

SYNOPSIS: This poem, composed in fourteen lines of heroic couplets, explores the meaning and aims of *The Factory Journal*. The *Journal's* publishers and writers plan to support the cause of the oppressed laboring class:

> 'Tis for the laboring class we would contend
> Support their cause, their trampled rights defend.
> Too long, alas! like Israel's tribes of old,
> They've felt the weight of power, sustained by gold;
> The mind and body chained in servile state,
> And made obedient to the haughty great.
> How many thus in vice and ignorance kept,
> Have met the grave, unhonored and unwept[.] (3-10)

In the *Journal's* pages, the poem's speakers, motivated by "Christian love," hope to "improve" the "morals" of the working class (11-12). They urge "Philanthropists" to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

support the periodical (13).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

61. H., E. J. [of] Georgia. "Reminiscences of a Manufacturing Village: Number I. Lucy Lee." *The New England Offering* March 1850: 50-53.

SYNOPSIS: At this short story's conclusion, E. J. H. reveals that Lucy Lee's story is her own. The narrative begins with a description of Lucy's "native home," a manufacturing village on "the lovely and useful Merrimack" River. She explains that her characters are "true ones, though under guise of fiction." Lucy was born to poor but virtuous and intelligent parents. Instead of playing with toys, she enjoyed reading or walking in the fields, where "her soul revelled in its fullness" (50). Her father developed a drinking habit: "Mr. Lee had formed the habit of sipping too deeply at the intoxicating bowl." He grows restless and leaves the family, traveling West but soon returning. His intemperance worsens. Desiring education more than anything else, Lucy realizes that she must take care of herself: "It was then that Lucy first formed the resolution of doing for herself." At age twelve, she goes to work in a local factory. The narrator explains that some of the "best educated girls" and even members of the village "aristocracy" work in the factory (51). Lucy works and attends school when she can, helping out her family financially as well. Her mother encourages and supports her in all her endeavors. Lucy finds her women co-workers "kindred minds and loving hearts." At seventeen, she travels with another young woman, the author of "Rights and Duties of Mill Girls" (i.e., Eliza Jane Cate) to attend a better school. There they alternate schoolwork with mill

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work, studying and toiling together. Her friend strengthens and encourages her and helps her overcome some of her faults. Lucy is greatly indebted to this friend. Her favorite subjects are "Grammar, Rhetoric, and Composition," and soon she becomes a published writer and teacher. Since factory work pays better than teaching, she returns to the mills from time to time. Lucy's mother dies, leaving eight children. The family is "broken up and scattered." Lucy works in a factory with a "good and intelligent superintendent . . . worthy and well-educated sister minds . . . and . . . access to a library connected therewith." She sees her articles printed in city newspapers. The narrative telescopes ahead to the present: "Now Lucy Lee is a wife and mother." Living "in a beautiful Southern city," she has a good husband and a son, friends, books, and a writing career (52). Her father has become sober, joining "the faithful 'Sons of Temperance.'" E. J. H. realizes that her story "will expose [her] to all the contempt and bitter, biting sarcasm of those about me who deem that an 'operative' can be nothing." Yet, despite "all its wrongs and evils," the factory system has made her what she is: "Without it what or how could I have done?" At the end of the story, she imparts some advice to her sister operatives: "Toil, my sisters; but *think* also. Raise high your standard of moral and intellectual worth. With *energy* and *perseverance* you will reach it at last" (53).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

62. H., L. S. [Lydia Sarah Hall (m. Graffam)]. "Lowell . . . A Parody." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 63.

AUTHOR: A factory worker in Lowell, Massachusetts, Hall was an editor and writer for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Operatives' Magazine and after its demise contributed poetry to the *Lowell Offering*. She traveled West as a missionary to the Choctaw Indians. She later worked for the United States Treasury Department, serving briefly as acting United States Treasurer (Robinson, *Loom and Spindle* 92-93).

SYNOPSIS: A ballad in eight four-line stanzas, Hall's poem expresses the importance of the *Offering* as a means of dispelling prejudice against factory operatives. The piles of cloth manufactured in Lowell attest to the power of factory women, showing "What factory girls had power to do" (2). The women's power is further manifested in the *Lowell Offering* that they bring to "Science" (8). In their writings, the women convey their thought, reason, fancy, spirit, mind, and genius, thereby dispelling the "slander" and "calumny" that have plagued factory women:

> Wave, Science, thy bright banner wave,
>
> Above each Lowell factory.
>
> Here poetry and prose shall meet
>
> Upon the Offering's flying sheet,
>
> Till blushing calumny retreat--
>
> Then lock her in her sepulchre. (27-32)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

63. Maria. "Rosa,--Or, Judge Not the Motive." *The Operatives' Magazine* 12 (March 1842): 179-82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: This story, appearing in a factory women's magazine, includes a rare, sympathetic portrait of a working-class female intellectual and nonconformist. Rosa Fontaine, the heroine, is a misunderstood factory girl, who relates her life experience to Maria. Because she spends most of her free time alone, preferring study to socializing, Rosa is considered a "misanthrope" and "selfish" by the other factory girls (179-80). To Maria, she relates the reasons for her seemingly antisocial behavior. From early childhood, Rosa has longed to devote herself to learning, but obstacles, such as her upbringing in a poor, rural, farm family, have prevented her from getting the education she desires:

> [W]hile my brothers and sisters were happy in such an education as the circumstances of our dear parents allowed them, I secretly pined for a full cup from that fount where "shallow draughts intoxicate the brain, and drinking largely sobers us again." While they sported in the gaiety of young life, I stole away to indulge in reflections I might not utter--having been taught that the daughter of a country farmer should not look far beyond the walls of the district school house for the sum of her mind's riches. To be satisfied with this were impossible. . . . I could check my doings, but my desires were unconquerable. How could I spend a lifetime with no other advantages--no other means of mental improvement than my native town afforded. (180-81)

With intellectual desires so unusual and urgent for a farm girl, Rosa has been misunderstood by most people around her. Her father fails to understand or assist her, as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rosa remarks: "My father, who could not,--no, that is too much; who did not see as I saw the wants of my being, had nothing to bestow." Even Rosa's grandmother considers her "foolish" for not applying herself to marriage preparations and predicts a sad end for her: "I tell you, Rosa, you are a foolish child, and by and by, when I am in my grave, and your [sic] are a poor penniless wanderer in a land of strangers, you will wish you had hearkened in your childhood to your old grandmother." Despite the lack of her family's support, Rosa summons her courage and goes off to the city (presumably Lowell, Massachusetts) alone, "a stranger," hoping to find the means of improving her mind. She pursues "intellectual pleasure" but finds that the demands of earning a living make study difficult. She resents that more privileged women often waste educational opportunities denied to poor women: "When I see the daughters of the wealthy idling away their school hours, I wish I could borrow what seems so irksome to them" (181). By the end of the story, Rosa has given up hope of obtaining the education she desires. Attributing her limited educational opportunities to Divine Providence, she strives to accept God's wisdom in thwarting her desires, although she admits to not understanding why. She consoles herself with the thought that after death she will have an eternity to spend in seeking wisdom: "Is it not a delightful thought that these undying spirits shall spend a long eternity in searching into the unfathomable depths of the infinity of wisdom, love and power. . . . [I]n yonder bright world, we shall be permitted to understand even the deep things of God." Maria acquires a profound appreciation for Rosa's "moral and intellectual beauty" (182).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

64. ***Mind amongst the Spindles: A Selection from the Lowell Offering, a Miscellany Wholly Composed by the Factory Girls of an American City.*** Ed. Charles Knight. London: Charles Knight & Co., 1844. 224 pp.

SYNOPSIS: In this anthology, Charles Knight reprints thirty-seven writings--mostly prose--from the *Lowell Offering*. He avoids the more controversial writings, republishing instead many of the factory women's local-color descriptions of life in their native villages. In his "Introduction," Knight presents some of the history of Lowell, Massachusetts, and the *Lowell Offering*. Greatly admiring the writings, Knight discusses their strengths. Their foremost quality is their lack of pretension and vulgarity: "[T]here is an entire absence of all pretension in the writers. . . . They are factory girls. They always call themselves 'girls.' They have no desire to be fine ladies, nor do they call themselves 'ladies.' . . . They have no affectations of gentility; and by a natural consequence they are essentially free from all vulgarity" (ix). Other merits of the *Lowell Offering* writings include their expressions of piety, love of family, and patriotism. Since the women describe "simply and correctly, what they have witnessed with their own eyes," Knight appreciates the fresh realism of the writings (xi). The *Lowell Offering* ought to encourage the English people to strive to improve the condition of their working classes. Knight reprints a five-page letter from Harriet Martineau, describing her impressions of working women in Waltham and Lowell, Massachusetts. On a visit to the United States, she greatly admired the factory women for their health, culture, elegant and attractive appearance, and generosity toward their families.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in the United States in 1845 as *Mind amongst the*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spindles: A Miscellany, Wholly Composed by the Factory Girls (Boston: Jordan, Swift, & Wiley). Microform reprints in *Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature* and in *Selected Americana from Sabin's Dictionary.*

65. Saretta. "A Narrative." *The Operatives' Magazine* 2 (July 1842): 51-52.

SYNOPSIS: Published in a factory women's magazine, Saretta's narrative recounts the experience of a young factory worker, Amelia. She is the daughter of "poor, but pious parents" in Vermont. Following her father's death, ten-year-old Amelia goes out to service. After working as a domestic for six years, she wishes to earn more money toward an education. She becomes a cotton mill operative in order to afford "a respectable education." No mean scholar, she alternates periods of factory work with school attendance. Above all else, Amelia loves learning: "Her love of learning seemed to predominate over every other wish of her heart, and bring them all into mild subjection to this ruling passion. She was often heard to say concerning dress and personal attractions, that to her they were all vanity without the cultivated intellect and heart." The narrator expresses a hope that readers will profit from Amelia's example. She encourages female readers to have high aspirations: "Think not, young friends, for a moment, that woman is destined to occupy a low place in society. Her standing is high, and her influence is at the base of the glory or degradation of nations. . . . How important, then, that the native mildness of the female character be embellished by cultivation and refinement" (52).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

66. T., A. S. "Answers to Puzzles, &c." *The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry* 1.3 (April 1848): 103.

SYNOPSIS: The ballad is an acrostic in which the first letters of each line form the words "the mirror and casket." In eighteen lines, the speaker reveals the answers to puzzles posed in previous issues. In the final six lines, she or he wishes success to *The Mirror and Casket*, urging working women to contribute their "gems fair and bright":

> C ome let us the secret disclose,
>
> A nd "The Mirror and Casket" you'll
>
> see.
>
> S uccess crown your efforts say we:
>
> K eep your book from impurities free.
>
> E ach Daughter of Industry lend now your
>
> aid,
>
> T hat of gems fair and bright this Casket be
>
> made. (13-18)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

67. Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]. "A Vision of Truth." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 44-45.

AUTHOR: Harriet H. Robinson sketches this portrait of Chamberlain (born c. 1794), a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker: "Mrs. Chamberlain was a widow, and came to Lowell with three children from some 'community' (probably the Shakers), where she

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had not been contented. She had inherited Indian blood, and was proud of it. She had long, straight black hair, and walked very erect, with great freedom of movement" (*Loom and Spindle* 86).

SYNOPSIS: In this brief dream allegory, the factory-girl narrator falls asleep after attending a delightful session of the Improvement Circle, a factory women's organization for self-education and literary expression. She dreams of a beautiful, fruit-bearing tree growing in a garden. The tree was grown from "seeds . . . germinated in flower-pots, in the cotton mills" (44). Named "*Mental Knowledge*," the glorious tree bears leaves of the *Lowell Offering* which cure "maladies of the mind" (45).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

68. "To the 'Voice of Industry.'" *Voice of Industry* 1.44 (17 April 1846).

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker, in this sixteen-line ballad, urges the *Voice of Industry*, a "noble champion," to "Press onward" (1). The speaker appreciates the paper's role as an "advocate for the oppressed" (3). She or he wishes the paper success in the struggle against capital:

> Success attend thy efforts,--
> To raise thy "*Voice*," ne'er fail,
> Till virtue, truth and honesty
> O'er capital prevails [sic]. (5-8)

The paper must have a great future influence, as it instructs the "Young Men of America" (13) to safeguard the independence won during the Revolutionary War.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

69. Wetherbee, Emily G. "The Working-Girls." *Poems and Addresses of Emily Greene Wetherbee.* Lawrence, MA: The Lawrence Publishing Co., 1898. 53-58.

AUTHOR: Wetherbee (1830-97) taught in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, public schools. Robert Frost was one of her most appreciative students.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad expresses admiration for Lawrence's hardworking factory women. The poem's speaker appreciates as well the lively mill town, with its "splendid mills and factories, / Massive and grand and high" (54). Working at the looms are immigrant women from England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, and Germany. In contrast to their more prosperous, idle sisters, the working women are "Industrious and thrifty." To improve their lives, they greatly desire education, "long[ing] so much to learn, / That they may be enabled / A livelihood to earn" (55). After working hours, the women attend night school, eagerly studying dressmaking, millinery, cooking, gardening, and housekeeping. They also occupy the "quiet reading-room" and enjoy songs and stories (57). The speaker pays tribute to the devoted evening schoolteachers and to the friendship and support shared by the students. At the end of the poem, the speaker urges more "favored" women to learn a lesson about virtue from the factory women:

> And you, O favored sisters,
>
> Who live a life of ease,
>
> Lilies which toil and spin not,
>
> A lesson learn from these.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Take on yourselves a mission

In this world's sisterhood,

Remembering that true pleasure

Is earned by doing good. (58)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Immigrant City Archives and Lawrence (Massachusetts) Public Library.

70. Whipple, Frances H. "The Factory Girl" by F.H.W. *The Wampanoag, and Operatives' Journal* 1 (1842): 11-12.

AUTHOR: Frances Harriet Whipple (1805-78; b. Smithfield, Rhode Island; m. Green; m. McDougall) was the editor of *The Wampanoag*.

SYNOPSIS: Martha Ray, the factory-girl heroine of this short story, comes home with Christmas presents for her mother and siblings. With her earnings, she has bought them all books and for herself tickets for botany lessons. Unlike Martha, the other factory girls use their wages to buy themselves jewelry. Martha asks her boyfriend, Frank Burleigh, to attend the botany lessons with her. Frank is apprenticed to Mr. Ray at the machine-making business. Martha gives her father a subscription to *The N.Y. Mechanic*. Martha and Frank excel in studying botany. Martha saves enough money from her wages to enable her to attend an excellent school for one year, where she eventually wins the gold medal, surpassing the "pale young ladies" from "fashionable boarding schools" (12). Gentlemen of a high station are attracted to her, but she remains true to her first love and marries Frank Burleigh. They continue to work and prosper together. This is one of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

few fictional texts in which a factory woman does not marry upward but marries a working-class man.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER THREE

OFFERINGS AND VOICES: PERIODICALS OF WOMEN'S WORK

71. *The Business Woman's Journal* (New York, NY) 1-11 (January 1889-November 1896).

LATER TITLES: *The American Woman's Journal*; *The American Woman's Magazine and Business Journal*; *The American Woman's Magazine*.

EDITORS: Editors included Mary F. Seymour, Frances E. Willard, and May Wright Sewall.

DESCRIPTION: Published bimonthly and monthly at a price of seventy-five cents to one dollar per year, the *Journal* aimed to be "a complete encyclopedia of women's advancement in education, industries and reform" (September 1892). The editors endeavored to serve the interests of all American women, especially those working outside the home "in active pursuits." The *Journal's* contents include biographical sketches of eminent American women; articles about women's opportunities in many different occupations, including telegraphy, law, stenography and typography, carpentry, engineering, medicine, and architecture; developments in women's education; news of women's clubs and organizations; advice on fashion and health; brief adult and children's fiction; poetry; advice for homemakers; book reviews; and reports on the women's suffrage movement and other women's rights activities. While the *Journal* does not include any factory fiction or poetry, the editors aspired to "be a champion of the poor working-girl and all women who suffer from unjust laws and customs" (January 1889: 4).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To this end, they published several reports on factory working conditions.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *The Gerritsen Collection of Women's History.*

72. *The Factory Girl* (Newmarket, NH) 1.17 (1 October 1842).

DESCRIPTION: Prior to this date, the proprietor of this semimonthly was J. L. Beckett, but with October 1, 1842, the proprietor and editor became Charles C. Dearborn. Dearborn expresses an intention of making *The Factory Girl* "a useful and entertaining companion for the operatives of New England." He was assisted in his editorial duties "by several operatives of undoubted ability." The periodical's contents include poetry, advice on conduct and morals, humorous anecdotes, short stories, scientific information, and editorials advocating labor reforms. As Stearns comments, "the magazine had much to say about wages and hours of labor," and it often expressed its views with "vigor and passion" (695). This one issue (1.17 [1 October 1842]) seems to be the only surviving number of *The Factory Girl*, although Stearns quotes from two issues published in 1843 (15 January and 1 March).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

73. *Factory Girl's Album, and Operatives' Advocate* (Exeter, NH) 1-2 (14 February 1846-15 May 1847).

LATER TITLE: *Factory Girls' Album, and Mechanics' Offering.*

DESCRIPTION: The periodical was published biweekly, until 15 August 1846, when it was issued weekly. From 15 December 1846, it appeared semimonthly. The *Album* was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

published and owned by Charles C. Dearborn and "edited by an association of factory operatives." W. P. Moulton was the printer. In the Prospectus, Dearborn announces his intention "of affording to Factory Operatives, and the Ladies generally, a cheap, interesting, and useful visiter [sic]." In addition, the *Album* will advocate the ten-hour day and "a general reform from the many abuses now practised upon Factory Operatives" (1.10 [20 June 1846]). Contents include articles advocating labor reforms, poetry, advice on conduct and morals, humorous anecdotes, and short stories. Several poems address factory work. While most of the short stories are romantic or historical tales with foreign settings, there is one story entitled "The Factory Girl" and several other local-color stories with rural New England settings. Many poems elegize deceased relatives or friends. The *Album* often condemns factory abuses and class bias in the strongest terms, e.g., characterizing manufacturers as "semi-barbarians" who "[b]uild factories with blood" ("The Factory System." 2.15 [21 November 1846]).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and Library of Congress.

74. *The Factory Girl's Garland* (Exeter, NH) 1-3 (1 January 1844-11 July 1846).

LATER TITLES: *Weekly Messenger and Literary Wreath; Weekly Messenger, Literary Wreath, and Factory Girl's Garland; The Literary Wreath and Factory Girl's Garland.*

EDITOR: The publisher and editor was Abraham R. Brown.

DESCRIPTION: This periodical was published biweekly at a subscription price of fifty cents per year. The printers were J. L. Beckett and A. R. Brown. At the outset the paper

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was "specially intended" for the many factory women in the Exeter area. The editor aimed to make the paper interesting and morally uplifting, inculcating "those principles which shall lead to virtuous actions" ("To Our Readers." 1.1 [1 January 1844]). In the 25 May 1844 issue, Brown expresses his interest in examining the conditions of American manufactures and in offering female factory operatives "chaste" reading, "to state plainly the moral and physical state of the manufacturing interests of our country; and to spread light relative to the privileges, duties, and intellectual character and advantages of operatives, particularly the females; and to furnish them with chaste and profitable reading during their hours of relaxation from labor." Later issues are subtitled as "devoted to the interests of the New England factory operatives," and the periodical was sold in mill towns throughout northern New England. The contents include historical or sentimental tales and poetry (few of which address the factory), advice on conduct and morals, news items, brief sketches, humorous anecdotes, and book notices. Several articles address class bias and women's labor. Occasionally, an article advocates labor reforms, such as the ten-hour system. F. W. D. in "Aristocracy vs. Labor" (1.11 [25 May 1844]) protests against the fourteen-hour day in factories:

> We acknowledge the present system of manufacturing companies has a tendency to degrade the working class of females, by compelling them to labor fourteen hours a day, which every one knows is injurious to their physical and mental system, as it leaves them no time for improvement, but enfeebles both mind and body, and hence, if the present system is continued, our factory girls will soon be reduced to imbecility.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. W. D. advocates a reduction of the working hours to ten. For another article advocating the ten-hour system, see 2.16 (10 July 1845).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society. One issue (1.11 [25 May 1844]) is held by Houghton Library, Harvard University.

75. *The Factory Journal, and Laborer's Advocate* (Pawtucket, MA and RI) 1.1 (14 April 1843).

DESCRIPTION: Apparently, only one number of this periodical survives. It was offered weekly for a subscription price of fifty cents per year by the publisher, Benjamin W. Pearce. In "To the Reader," the unidentified editors (or the publisher), alleging to have worked ten years in the factories, explain their intentions. They hope to benefit the "manufacturing portion of this and other communities in the vicinity," openly championing their "cause." They solicit written contributions from laborers, urging them to "show to your oppressors that you are not the vulgar, unlettered creatures they have denounced you to be." Several pieces express indignation at workers' oppression and class bias. Other contents include an incomplete tale set in a factory village; poetry; advice on conduct, health, and morals; and (mostly sensational) news items.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Columbia University. Photocopy held by Yale University.

76. *Journal of Women's Work* (Philadelphia, PA) 1-3 (1887-90).

LATER TITLE: *The Working Woman's Journal.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

EDITOR: The Editorial Committee included Eliza Sproat Turner (1826-1903), Mary E. Mumford, Martha B. Earle, and Anne H. Wharton.

DESCRIPTION: Issued by the New Century Guild of Working Women, the *Journal* was published monthly by Mary T. Gawthrop at a price of twenty cents per year. The paper was intended for women working in all occupations, as the editors explain:

> Our aim is to make it both interesting and valuable to every woman who supports herself wholly or in part by her own exertions, whether in the house, at a loom, at a desk, counter, type-writer, sewing-machine, whether making the most of the faculties her Maker gave her as teacher, artist, physician, dentist, writer, or anything else that means independence to her and use to the world. ("Salutatory" 1.1 [10 December 1887]: 1)

As the organ of the New Century Guild of Working Women, the *Journal* reports on its activities. Located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at 1132 Girard Street, the Guild House offered "mental improvement" lectures and "circles," a library, a gymnasium, and day and evening classes in such subjects as writing, stenography, reading and spelling, dressmaking, and literature. The contents of the *Journal* include reports on Guild House business; brief essays on education, women's concerns, health, and travel; didactic and sentimental poetry; advice on conduct and morals; book notices and reviews; and news items. One essay, Anne H. Wharton's "An Early Club of Working Women" (3.9 [1 November 1890]: 4-5), addresses the experience of early women textile workers in Lowell, Massachusetts. The question of race relations between white and "colored" working women is discussed in several consecutive issues (2.3-5 [2, 30 March and 27

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 1889]).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York State Library, Library of Congress, and University of Rochester.

77. *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 1.1-4.1 (June 1840-July 1843; some issues missing).

LATER TITLE: *The Lady's Pearl.*

EDITOR: The editor was Daniel Wise (1813-98; b. England; pseud. "Francis Forrester"), a Methodist clergyman and a writer and editor of children's religious literature.

DESCRIPTION: *The Lady's Pearl* was published by Edward A. Rice and Daniel Wise. The editor intended the *Pearl* "to be devoted to the pleasure and profit of Woman" ("Editorial" 2 [1842]: 214). Its contents include "moral, entertaining and instructive literature," tales, essays, historical and travel sketches, biographies of notable women, scientific information, and book reviews. The editor hopes to preserve "a high moral tone" ("Editorial. The Pearl" 1.1 [June 1840]: 24), avoiding "sensuality" and "lightness and . . . trashy sentimentality" ("Editorial" 2 [1842]: 215). Thus, many of the writings convey moral or religious messages. Since *The Pearl* was published in Lowell, much of its content was written either about or by women factory workers. Many writings explore class issues. In most of the short stories, women's suffering at the hands of intemperate men is a concern. Five short stories feature factory-girl heroines. In another story, a male factory worker is the protagonist. While the periodical includes a number of poems, none of them treats factory work or workers. Lydia H. Sigourney is a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prominent writer in *The Pearl.*

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

78. *Lowell Offering* (Lowell, MA) Ser. 1, No. 1-4 (October 1840-1 March 1841); v. 1-5 (April 1841-December 1845).

EDITORS: Series 1 and the first two volumes were edited by Rev. Abel C. Thomas. In October 1842, Thomas turned over the management of the *Offering* to three factory women known as the "three Harriets." Harriet Farley served as "Editress" and, along with Harriot F. Curtis and Harriet Lees, comprised the "principal contributors" to the magazine (3.12 [September 1843]: cover [ii]).

OTHER TITLE: *Lowell Offering and Magazine.*

DESCRIPTION: This magazine was the longest-running and apparently the earliest factory workers' periodical. It is also quite possibly the first periodical in the United States--and perhaps in the world--written entirely by women. While the *Lowell Offering* has been unfortunately characterized by scholars as "timid and genteel" (e.g., Foner, *Factory Girls* 58), in fact the contributions of its seventy factory-girl writers reflect a diversity of viewpoints and sentiments. Another common misconception is that the *Offering* received substantial support and editorial direction from mill owners, such as Amos and Samuel Lawrence. To date, no evidence has surfaced to substantiate more than a meager level of corporation support (see the *Amos Lawrence Papers* at the Massachusetts Historical Society). For the most part, the periodical appears to have been editorially independent and financially self-supporting. Scholars have also wrongly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contended that the *Offering* promoted only a rosy view of factory work and life. While many of its writings do reflect a favorable view of Lowell life, a number of other nonfiction and literary writings paint a bleaker picture, sometimes challenging mill abuses (e.g., see the fervent advocacy of a reduction in working hours in H. F.'s [Harriet Farley] "Editorial" 3 [1843]: 214). *Lowell Offering* fiction includes six stories in which the factory-girl heroine, or another important factory-girl character, dies of working and living conditions in Lowell, including one harrowing account of death in a mill fire (J. S. W.'s [Jane S. Welch] "The Mother and Daughter" 4 [1844]: 126-28). Some of its poetry and editorials and other nonfiction writings challenge factory conditions, speak out on social evils such as class bias and slavery, and express feminist sentiments.

The first four issues of the *Lowell Offering* were published irregularly from October 1840-March 1841. From April 1841 until the last issue appeared in December 1845, the periodical was published usually monthly. With the October 1842 issue, William Schouler, a publisher, purchased the titles of the *Lowell Offering* and *The Operatives' Magazine* and merged them in one magazine, the *Lowell Offering and Magazine*. Schouler continued as publisher until October 1843, selling the title to Harriet Farley and Harriot F. Curtis. With 4.1 (November 1843), the *Lowell Offering* was owned, edited, and published by Curtis and Farley, who continued in this capacity until December 1845. (It was revived, however, in September 1847 as *The New England Offering*; see entry 82 below). Issues were usually thirty-two pages in length, including the covers, with covers of varying colors and design and slightly varying titles. A one-year subscription cost one dollar. In terms of numbers of subscribers, one *Lowell*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Offering editorial gives some suggestions, although it does not include a total. In 1843, Harriet Farley wrote that the *Offering* had three hundred subscribers in New York State (exclusive of New York City) and that their "subscription list [was] very good." There were subscribers in all of the states, except some Southern ones, and overseas in countries including England, Scotland, Ireland, and France (*Lowell Offering* 3 [1843]: 282; and 3 [March 1843]: cover [ii]). Sales of the early issues were vigorous, ranging from three thousand to more than five thousand copies per issue (see "A Sketch of Lowell" in *Star of Bethlehem* [Lowell, MA, and Manchester, NH] 1.11 [13 March 1841]). Nonetheless, support by factory operatives seems never to have been strong, as was usually the case for workers' periodicals. Farley commented in another editorial that "the proportion of those factory girls who interest themselves in [the *Lowell Offering's*] support is not more than one in fifty" (3 [1843]: 96). Therefore, out of some six thousand factory women in Lowell, perhaps one hundred twenty were subscribers.

The *Offering's* intended audience was factory workers, especially women, and the general public. As Abel Thomas writes in the first issue, the aims of the periodical were "to encourage the cultivation of talent; to preserve such articles as are deemed most worthy of preservation; and to correct an erroneous idea which generally prevails in relation to the intelligence of persons employed in the Mills" ("Editorial Corner" 1 [October 1840]). Reducing prejudice against factory operatives continued to be an important editorial objective. The *Offering's* contents include short stories, poetry (often on nature, death, or religious subjects), brief essays on history and science, brief biographies, sketches of everyday American life, editorials, reminiscences, advice on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morals and conduct, and book reviews. An especially valuable feature of *Lowell Offering* writings is that many of them concern the everyday life of women workers in Lowell. In fact, the periodical includes some thirty-seven short stories with factory-girl heroines. Its unusual local-color realism has been insufficiently appreciated by scholars. *Lowell Offering* writers include an early Native American woman writer, Betsey Chamberlain (or Chamberlin), who published under the signatures, "Betsey," "Tabitha," "Jemima," and "B. C." (see Robinson, *Loom and Spindle* 86). Chamberlain's many writings include a pro-Native story, "The Indian Pledge" by Tabitha (2 [1842]: 215-17).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: The periodical has been reprinted on paper and in *American Periodicals*. These reprints, however, lack the covers of individual *Offering* issues. Important text, such as editors' announcements and statements of intention, articles, messages to writers and traveling agents, and information about distribution, appears on the covers. Several research libraries hold collections of *Offering* issues, complete with covers. Extensive holdings can be found at the Center for Lowell History, Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and Boston Public Library. Boston Public Library's holdings include issues donated by Harriet Hanson Robinson, the factory-girl writer, with notes and marginalia in her handwriting. Published anthologies of *Offering* writings include *Mind amongst the Spindles* (1844, 1845) and Benita Eisler's *The Lowell Offering* (1997).

79. *Manchester Operative* (Lowell, MA, and Manchester, NH) 1.5-2.5 (27 January 1844-15 February 1845; scattered issues).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LATER TITLE: *The Operative.*

EDITOR: In 1844, the editor was W. N. Haradon.

DESCRIPTION: This weekly was sold for the subscription price of one dollar per year. In 1844, the "publishers and proprietors" were W. N. Haradon and E. R. Wilkins. In 1845, the publisher was J. C. Stowell & Co. *The Operative's* contents seem slanted more toward working men's interests than women's, as suggested by the caption beneath the title: "Published under the patronage of the Mechanic and Laborers' Association, the operatives, mechanics, laborers, and the public generally" (2.5 [15 February 1845]). Writers for *The Operative* strongly champion the rights and dignity of laborers, the ten-hour day, and other labor reforms. Articles often denounce oppression in strong terms: "A soulless aristocracy will continue to pamper its already plethoric purse--will continue its unhallowed traffic in flesh and blood, till the operatives shall rise up in their might, and with one voice, one mind, sound throughout our land the knell of oppression and its hand-maidens, misery and degradation" (P. H.'s "Our Reform" 1.52 [11 January 1845]). The paper's contents include short stories and poetry, news items, humorous anecdotes, advice on conduct and morals, letters, and pieces advocating labor rights. The few surviving issues of *The Operative* do not include any fictional stories or poems about factory work.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Various issues are held by New Hampshire Historical Society, University of New Hampshire-Manchester, and Manchester Historic Association.

80. *The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry* (Newburyport, MA) 1.1-3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(February-April 1848).

EDITOR: The publisher and editor was Joseph Hunt of Newburyport.

DESCRIPTION: Hunt appealed to the women workers in the steam mills of the Newburyport area to support his periodical. Hoping to benefit women workers, Hunt specifies his aims on the back cover of each issue: "Our aim will be to render the Mirror and Casket a welcome, instructive, interesting and chaste visitor to all who may become its readers. We pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to dignify the character of female laborers, by inducing them to pay more attention to the culture of the mind, than they have been wont to do." The periodical is intended not only for women mill workers but for other laboring women, such as cigar makers, tailoresses, shoe binders, and milliners. Hunt encourages the "daughters of industry" and other women writers to send in their written contributions (1.1-3: back cover). The periodical does not reflect a clear stance on labor issues. While the writer of one article holds women mill workers responsible for their own problems, others express disapproval of wage reductions and the behavior of some overseers. The contents include essays, short stories, poetry, nature sketches, advice on conduct and morals, and news items and notices. One short story features a factory-girl heroine. Issues are thirty-two to thirty-six pages in length and sold for a subscription price of $1.00 per year. The printer was Abel Whitton.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Beinecke Library, Yale University.

81. *The New Century for Woman.* No. 1-27; 13 May-11 November 1876.

DESCRIPTION: This weekly paper was published by the Women's Centennial

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Executive Committee of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Committee began publishing at the opening of the 1776-1876 International Exposition. The unidentified editors express their aims as follows:

> The Women's Executive Committee propose to publish, on the opening of the Exposition, a weekly paper, to be devoted to the Industrial interests of women. All departments of women's work, as represented in the Exposition, or as noted in correspondence from abroad and at home, will come under consideration. All means for advancing the prosperity and extending the opportunities of women-workers are open for suggestion and discussion in our columns. (4)

The editors solicit reports from working women, especially those employed in trades and professions newly opened to women. The paper's contents include brief essays, news items, descriptions of various Exposition exhibits, biographical sketches of eminent women, reports on women's work and education, travel sketches, fiction, and poetry. Although the periodical includes no fictional stories or poetry about factory workers, several articles pertain to working-class women. "Report from Lowell" (83), "Boffin's Bower" (132), "Working Girls of Boston" by Jennie Collins (134-35), "Employment of Women" (138), and "A Man's View of the Servant Question" by Peter Lovett (151) are a few such articles. The paper includes a seamstress story by Rebecca Harding Davis, "An Every-Day Story" (7). The paper sold for ten cents per issue or two dollars for six months.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *The Gerritsen Collection of Women's History.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

82. ***The New England Offering: A Magazine of Industry. Written by Females Who Live by Their Labor.*** No. 1; v. 1-2 (September 1847-March 1850).

LATER TITLES: Subtitles vary somewhat. For instance, the April 1848 title reads: *The New England Offering: Written by Females Who Are or Have Been Factory Operatives.*

EDITOR: Harriet Farley, a former weaver in the mills.

DESCRIPTION: This factory workers' periodical was essentially a continuation of the *Lowell Offering* (see entry 78), but with several changes. While the *Lowell Offering* published writings by female operatives from Lowell, Massachusetts, *The New England Offering* was open to any current or former female operative in New England. Generally more conservative than the *Lowell Offering, New England Offering* writers are more outspoken in their defense of the corporations. Published in Lowell, the first issue appeared in September 1847 and then no more were published until April 1848, when the periodical began appearing usually monthly, for a subscription price of one dollar per year. Issues were twenty-four to thirty-six pages in length. T. W. Harris was the publisher until April 1849, when Harriet Farley became the publisher, as well as the editor, proprietor, and traveling agent. In several articles, Farley indicates the aims of *The New England Offering*. Some of its objectives were "to promote, in every possible way, the highest welfare of manufacturing laborers;--to raise them in the estimation of the community; to elevate their character; [and] to improve them by counsel" ("Prospectus" June 1848: 73). Farley had literary aspirations as well. She explains that she hopes the magazine will "furnish a medium" for aspiring mill girl writers, "to lay upon the altar of our country's literature an 'offering' worthy of that shrine" ("Editor's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table" December 1849: 275-77). Its contents include short stories; poetry, including "prose poems"; advice on conduct and morals, including a long serial article, "Rights and Duties of Mill-Girls" by Eliza Jane Cate; essays; historical and travel sketches; sketches of New England village life; and book reviews. Several short stories and poems address factory life. A number of poems and other writings convey wishes for death. Writings were contributed by workers in many different States, including some outside New England.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper. These reprints, however, lack the rare September 1847 issue and the covers of individual *Offering* issues. Important text, such as editors' announcements and statements of intention, articles, messages to writers and traveling agents, and information about distribution, appears on the covers. Several libraries hold collections of *Offering* issues, complete with covers. Extensive holdings can be found at Massachusetts Historical Society, Center for Lowell History, American Antiquarian Society, and Boston Public Library. The Boston Public Library's holdings include the September 1847 issue and other issues donated by Harriet Hanson Robinson, the factory-girl writer, with notes and marginalia in her handwriting.

83. *The Olive Leaf, and Factory Girl's Repository* (Cabotville, MA) 1.2-15 (11 May-28 October 1843).

LATER TITLE: *Olive Leaf, and New-England Operative.*

EDITOR: Irville Irwin Leslie.

DESCRIPTION: A semimonthly paper written for and partly by New England factory

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workers, especially those of Cabotville (now Chicopee) and Chicopee Falls, *The Olive Leaf* includes many writings, especially poetry, by mill workers. Like such periodicals as the *Lowell Offering*, *The Olive Leaf* strove to avoid political and controversial issues. In the "Prospectus," Irville L. Leslie, the editor, indicates the aims of the periodical:

> The Olive Leaf is a semi-monthly paper, devoted to the interests of the Operatives at Cabotville and Chicopee Falls, and throughout the New England States. . . .The matter will be chiefly original, containing articles --Religious, Literary, and Historical. The paper will ever be free from a party spirit, and nothing will be admitted to its columns with a view to establish any particular opinion. Virtue and Morality will be its leading characteristics. . . . The principal contributors will be Operatives, whose communications will ever be gratefully received. (1.2 [11 May 1843]: 24)

A subscription cost one dollar per year. The printer was Thomas D. Blossom. With the subtitle change in 1.8 (24 July 1843), an epigraph suggesting the derivation of the title appears beneath the masthead: "From humble life, untaught to soar for fame, a leaf I bring, plucked 'mid the hidden boughs." Publishing contemporaneously with the *Lowell Offering*, *The Olive Leaf's* editor and writers convey a sense of competition with the well-known paper. Nonetheless, the Cabotville paper differs in some striking ways from its Lowell, Massachusetts, sister. *The Olive Leaf* published far less writing directly concerned with factory life. Moreover, while the *Lowell Offering* bears the strong impress of talented women like Harriet Farley, Harriot Curtis, and Lucy Larcom, women appear to have had much less influence in producing *The Olive Leaf*. With its romantic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Gothic tales and sketches of the European past, *The Olive Leaf* seems intended more as escape reading. Only two of its short stories feature factory workers as protagonists, and none of its poems concern the factory. Still, many of *The Olive Leaf's* pieces address issues of class conflict and class bias. A common theme is the discord between the corrupt rich and the virtuous poor. The predominant subject of *The Olive Leaf's* many poems is death, often of young friends in Cabotville and Chicopee Falls. Much of the periodical's content is a curious amalgam of the sensational and the moralistic. There is much more material on lurid subjects like murder, insanity, death, suicide, intemperance, and gambling than one finds in the Lowell workers' periodicals. *The Olive Leaf's* pages also include much advice on conduct and morals, as well as many brief humorous anecdotes and maxims.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Yale University and University of Massachusetts-Amherst and reprinted on microfilm.

84. *The Operatives' Magazine* (Lowell, MA) No. 1-12; 2. 1-4 (April 1841-August 1842).

EDITORS: The editors were two factory women, Lydia Sarah Hall (m. Graffam) and Abba A. Goddard (m. Rutherford).

TITLE: Variations in the title include: *Operatives' Magazine, and Lowell Album; The Operatives' Magazine and Young Ladies' Album.*

DESCRIPTION: This factory workers' monthly periodical first emerged out of the Improvement Circle presided over by the Universalist pastor, Thomas B. Thayer of the First Congregational Church in Lowell (for more on this Improvement Circle, see

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Larcom, *A New England Girlhood* 205-10). Although at first *The Operatives' Magazine* included writings by both male and female operatives, soon--and earlier than the *Lowell Offering*--it passed into the hands of women. With the No. 4 (July 1841) issue, the periodical was written, owned, edited, and published by women. Contributors included both current and former factory workers. Like the *Lowell Offering*, *The Operatives' Magazine* published more controversial material than it is usually given credit for, including pieces exploring problems of class bias and illness and death caused by factory work. The editors' intentions were to exhibit the abilities and talents of the operatives and to help them develop their talents. While many of the articles would convey religious messages, political and socioeconomic ("sectarian") topics would be avoided. As explained in "Editorial Remarks" (No. 1 [April 1841]: 16), the magazine aims to be "a specimen of what our operatives can do upon subjects of utility and importance. We shall . . . endeavor to encourage the cultivation of the intellectual and *moral* energies of our operatives, by offering them a medium of communicating their thoughts upon moral, religious and literary subjects." Of all the factory periodicals, *The Operatives' Magazine* contains the most explicitly religious, specifically Christian evangelical, material, often in brief essays with such titles as "The Value of the Soul" (May 1841: 30-31) and "Prayer" (August 1841: 75-76). Other contents include ten factory-girl stories, in which heroines are usually laboring to support themselves and obtain an education. The periodical includes much advice on conduct and morals, poetry (often on religious subjects), essays, nature sketches and poetry, and letters. The *Magazine's* first publisher was Amos Upton, and printers included L. Huntress and William Schouler. Issues were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sixteen to twenty-four pages in length, and subscriptions cost seventy-five cents to one dollar per year. Editorials reveal that the *Magazine* was not well supported by operatives. In October 1842, William Schouler, who had purchased the titles of the *Lowell Offering* and *The Operatives' Magazine*, merged and began publishing them in one magazine, the *Lowell Offering and Magazine*. Hereafter, former *Operatives' Magazine* editors and some of its writers contributed to and worked for the *Lowell Offering*.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Numbers 1-12 (April 1841-March 1842) are reprinted in *History of Women: Periodicals*. The microfilm version, however, lacks the covers of individual issues. Issues complete with covers, as well as partial or complete holdings of V. 2, no. 1-4, may be found at the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Center for Lowell History, and the City College (C.U.N.Y.) Library.

85. *Voice of Industry* (Fitchburg, Lowell, and Boston, MA) 1.1-3.38 (29 May 1845-31 May 1848); New Series, 1.1-9 (2 June-3 August 1848).

LATER TITLE: *The New Era of Industry*.

EDITORS: Editors and co-editors included William F. Young, John Allen, Mehitable Eastman, Sarah G. Bagley, D. H. Jaques, and John Orvis.

DESCRIPTION: This weekly paper began publishing in Fitchburg, Massachusetts. With 1.20 (7 November 1845), they moved to Lowell, Massachusetts, and after 3.20 (26 November 1847), the *Voice* was issued from Boston. The paper was sold for an annual subscription price of $1.00. Its editors and writers vigorously championed the rights and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dignity of laborers, especially factory workers, as indicated by one masthead inscription: "What We Labor For: The Rights of Man to himself, to a permanent home on the earth, to the choice of industrial pursuits, to limit for himself the hours of toil, to an equivalent for what he produces, to the best opportunities for education, and to freedom in every thing" (2.43 [7 May 1847]). An organ of the 1840s Ten Hour Movement, the *Voice* was quite critical of many aspects of factory life, as expressed in "The Factory System": "The first charge that I shall prefer against this system is--*that it tends to perpetuate ignorance*, and as ignorance is the companion, aye, the twin sister of vice, that it tends to *demoralize society*" (1.41 [27 March 1846]). The paper's editors made an effort to reach out to women factory operatives, as expressed in one appeal to readers: "We cordially invite the Factory Girls of Lowell, and the operatives and working people generally . . . to make the *Voice* a medium of communication; for it is your paper. . . . The Press has been too long monopolized by the capitalist non-producer, party demagogues and speculators, to the exclusion of the people" (1.20 [7 November 1845]). At intervals from 1845 to 1847, women served as co-editors. In the early years, the paper included a "Female Department," edited by members of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association and publishing women workers' contributions. With the title change in 1848, the editors amended the paper's aims to include the promotion of labor organization, trade unionism, and land reform, as reflected in the masthead inscription: "Devoted to the Organization of Labor, Land Reform, Working Men's Protective Unions, Universal Freedom, Literature, and General Intelligence" (New Series, 1.1 [2 June 1848]). The *Voice's* contents include news items, labor reform essays, editorials, travel sketches, poetry, short stories, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

advertisements. Many fictional stories explore class bias (often contrasting the virtuous poor with the corrupt, idle rich) or temperance concerns. Although some fictional stories feature poor working women--often seamstresses--as heroines, there are no factory-girl heroines. In one story, however, the protagonist is a male factory mechanic. About thirty-five poems concern mill work and working-class life. Alice Cary's poems appear frequently, as well as several antislavery poems. Other contents include pieces advocating women's rights, as well as many reports of occupational accidents.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

86. *The Wampanoag, and Operatives' Journal* (Fall River, MA) 1.1-16 (19 March 1842-8 October 1842).

EDITOR: Frances Harriet Whipple (1805-78; b. Smithfield, Rhode Island; m. Green; m. McDougall).

DESCRIPTION: This semimonthly periodical was intended as a vehicle of expression and "improvement" for the many factory workers in the Fall River, Massachusetts, area. Initially, the publisher was Whipple and later Mr. Bowen; the printer was Thomas Almy. Whipple, a middle-class woman ardently interested in politics, temperance, human rights, abolition, women's rights, and labor rights, used her own money to launch the paper and often to keep it afloat. Her "Prospectus" conveys her plans for the contents of the paper: "Tales, Essays, Poetry, Biographical and other Sketches, Anecdotes, Facts and Principles connected with the Natural Sciences and the Arts" (1.1 [19 March 1842]: 7). Whipple later wrote a textbook on botany, and the paper reflects her strong interest in the sciences,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

particularly botany. While in her editorials Whipple encourages factory workers, especially women, to write for her paper, in fact she seems to have received few contributions from them and so to have written much of the content herself, including one fictional factory-girl story. There are also several poems that mention factory workers. In contrast to other factory periodicals, *The Wampanoag* includes much serious nonfiction material, such as essays on history, science, and labor, and transcendentalist essays and poems. After only seven months of publication, Whipple Green was forced to abandon the enterprise, "as the paper afforded no income" (1.15 [8 October 1842]: 115).
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Boston Public Library and Massachusetts Newspaper Project. Microfilm available.

87. *Ware Offering, and Factory Girls' Garland* (Ware, MA) 1.1 (January 1848).
EDITOR: S. F. Pepper, a Ware Village bookseller and publisher, was the editor and publisher.
DESCRIPTION: The paper was issued monthly at a price of thirty-seven and one-half cents a year. Modeled after the *Lowell Offering* and other factory periodicals, the *Ware Offering* eschewed political and sectarian causes. As the subtitle indicates, the *Offering* is: "Devoted to Polite Literature, Science, Morals, and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." In "Introductory," the publisher solicits written contributions from the factory workers of Ware, Warren, Thorndike, Three Rivers, Monson, Jencksville, Chicopee Falls, Cabotville, and Lowell. He also appeals to these factory villages to support the periodical with their subscriptions. In soliciting contributions from Lowell,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the editor pays tribute to the town's preeminence in industry and literature: "We also hope that Lowell, the mother of Villages will not be forgetful, of her long Substantiated claims to Literature, but that we may frequently hear from her through these columns" ("Introductory." 1.1). The *Ware Offering's* contents include a sensational crime story, entitled, "The Stained Hand, or The Criminal His Own Accuser;" elegiac and love poetry; advice on conduct and morals; humorous anecdotes; scientific information; and one factory-girl fictional story. Although this story, "Evening before Pay-Day," is identified as having been written "*For the Ware Offering*," in fact it is pirated from the *Lowell Offering.*

TEXT AVAILABILITY: The first issue (1.1 [January 1848]) is held by the Young Men's Library Association, Ware, Massachusetts. According to Chase's *History of Ware, Massachusetts*, "three or four numbers" of the *Ware Offering* were published (243). The location of further issues is unknown.

88. *The Weekly Jubilee* (Philadelphia, PA) 1.21 (12 June 1852).

EDITOR: In 1855, Fannie Lee Townsend Jones was the editor of *The Monthly Jubilee*. A previous *Jubilee* editor was John Jay Denny.

DESCRIPTION: The paper's subtitle indicates that it is a "national and family newspaper, independent on all subjects." This weekly was "[e]dited and published by the Jubilee Branch, No. 2 of Associated Working Women and Men, J. Wood, President." The periodical was promoted as "the only paper in the United States, wholly given to the advocacy of Labor's Rights." Intended for the "75,000 working men and women in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

city and county of Philadelphia," the paper sold for three cents per issue. The contents include essays on labor rights; labor news; advice on health, conduct, and morals; religious essays; news items; poetry; fiction; and advertisements. Articles were collected and published in *The Monthly Jubilee, Published by an Association of the Daughters and Sons of Toil*, sold for the subscription price of one dollar per year. The editors intended the paper to be "devoted to the interests of the people." Its articles promulgate anti-slavery, pro-women's-rights, and land-rights views. *The Monthly Jubilee* 1.3 (June 1852) includes a selection entitled, "The Reading Factory Girl."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society and New-York Historical Society.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER FOUR

ONLY A FACTORY WORKER: REPRESENTING CLASS

89. Adelia [Harriet Farley]. "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. 1.--The Sister." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1843): 14-23.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: This story's heroine, sixteen-year-old Hannah Felton, arrives in town, seeking both work in the mills and boardinghouse lodgings. She moves into "No. 20," where kindly, hardworking Phebe Matthews presides as boardinghouse keeper. Hannah obtains work in the mills to support a brother, Orville, who is courting a rich young woman, Olivia Ainsworth. Hannah needs to keep this secret, because if Olivia finds out her suitor's sister is a factory girl, she will probably end the courtship. Olivia has often expressed a "foolish contempt of the factory operative" (21). Thus, Hannah is careful not to disclose her reasons for working in the mills or anything about her past to the other boarders or to Mrs. Matthews. The boarders become suspicious, when Hannah receives evening visits from an unknown young man. Actually he is her brother, but Hannah cannot reveal this. Thinking that the relationship is an illicit, amorous one, the other factory girls ostracize Hannah, and she loses her job in the mills. Mrs. Matthews and one of the boarders refuse to join in the censure of Hannah. Stress brings on an illness, and Hannah almost dies but finally recovers. In the end, Hannah's beautiful sisterly love

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wins over Olivia and brings about her marriage to Orville. The story includes a full and sympathetic portrait of the boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. Matthews.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 83-95.

90. Adelia [Harriet Farley]. "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. III.--The Daughter." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 83-92.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story, Fanny Crosby, is the illegitimate daughter of a judge's son and "one of their female domestics, an ignorant, weak-minded girl" (85). In anger, the judge threw his son out of the house, and they have long been estranged. The domestic, Martha Lovit, was sent away. The judge and his wife raised Fanny, who is especially beloved by her grandmother. Though Fanny is intelligent and sensitive, due to her shameful origins, she is scorned by many people. After his wife's death, the judge marries a woman who mistreats Fanny, determined to "crush" her (86). Miserable at home, Fanny goes in search of her mother, who is working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Since she has kept her illegitimate daughter a secret, Martha is not pleased with Fanny's arrival. Fanny directs all of her ardent love toward her mother: "She shared her mother's room, her bed, her toils in the mill, and she labored for both, when necessary, out of it." Her mother, however, is "ignorant, weak-minded, and incapable of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appreciating" Fanny's devotion (88). A young man, Mr. Morton, having heard rumors that Fanny is to inherit her grandfather's money, pursues her, and the factory girls gossip that "it seemed as though her mother was really to have a rival now" (89). He also has seduction in mind, having "designed the destruction of the peace, virtue, and reputation of the already unfortunate girl." This is a terrible shock to Fanny, and "she turn[s] with an increased intensity of affection to her mother" (90). Martha's health, though, is failing, in part from unhealthy conditions in the mills: "She had never sought the factories until her constitution had been seriously impaired by severe labor elsewhere, and a factory was no place for her to regain her health" (90). When her mother dies, Fanny sinks under a weight of loneliness and despair. One day she receives a letter from her father. On his deathbed, he has sent a sister to her and divided his wealth equally between the two of them. Restored by her father's and sister's love, Fanny kneels to express her gratitude and "hold communion with God" (92).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

91. Adelia [Harriet Farley]. "The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. V.--The Wife." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 131-39.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's setting is the fictitious New England village of Valley Mills, a little factory town, where "there were about three hundred 'factory girls' . . .

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ranging from seventeen to seventy" (131). One of the town's physicians, Dr. Alden, brings home his new bride, Alina. Reared in wealthy circumstances, she harbors "prejudices against a factory population" (132). One day as the factory bell rings, Dr. Alden and Alina look from their window. He points out a factory girl, Elsa Burt, whom he regards admiringly as "one of those beings endowed by nature with such quick mental perceptions, such a love of moral goodness" (133). Dr. Alden finds himself more interested in her than "in any other of her station" (133). Elsa has nearly been destroyed struggling against the "vice, thriftlessness, and poverty" of her family. Dr. Alden has promised Elsa that Alina will become her friend, a prospect from which Alina recoils. While she might "be kind and *condescending*" toward a working woman, she is not willing to treat her "as an *equal*" (134). Several years pass during which Dr. Alden and his wife suffer a financial decline due to his serious, protracted illness. Quite poor, Alina is forced to seek work in the mills, where she develops a close friendship with Elsa. For Dr. Alden's health, he and Alina travel to the South, taking Elsa with them. No longer prejudiced against factory operatives, Alina is determined that she and Elsa "never disclaim our titles as *factory girls*" (135). The story closes with a long letter written by Alina to an old friend, in which she reflects on her life since her marriage. She writes that a "sad necessity . . . compelled" her to try factory work (136). She observes that their old friends, rich women, have miserable lives. Since her marriage, she writes that she has suffered "sickness, poverty, and sorrow." She has had to overcome her prejudice against factory operatives. "Pure affection" for her husband "hallow[s]" her labor in the mill (137). In her sorrow and factory work, Alina "heard the complaints of the neglected

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and ignorant, and . . . was taught much real knowledge of the human heart." From the factory girls, she receives "universal kindness and sympathy" (138). She informs her friend that Elsa will probably marry Alina's cousin George. The letter ends with Alina's expressions of religious fervor. She regards the factory as a scene of spiritual "trial" where one might find "heaven": "[W]e say of the scene of our trial, 'Surely, this is none other than the house of God--this is the gate of heaven'" (139).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

92. Alger, Horatio. *Brave and Bold: The Fortunes of Robert Rushton.* New York: A. L. Burt, 1882. 318 pp.

AUTHOR: Alger (1832-99; b. Revere, Massachusetts), a minister, became the author of a long series of popular juvenile tales.

SYNOPSIS: Robert Rushton, aged sixteen, works in a factory in the town of Millville to support his mother and himself. He attends an evening school with other boys and girls, aged ten to eighteen. One night, while escorting Hester Paine, the daughter of a prominent lawyer, home from school, Robert incurs the jealous wrath of Halbert Davis, the son of a mill part-owner and superintendent. Halbert is fond of Hester and believes his social position makes him a more desirable suitor. Mrs. Rushton and Robert live in a small cottage near the factory, where Robert raises a few vegetables in their little garden. They support themselves on Robert's wages of six dollars per week, supplemented by the two dollars per week his mother earns braiding straw for a hat manufacturer. Mr. Rushton, a sea captain, has not been heard from in two years and is presumed lost at sea.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many of Millville's men, women, and children work in the mill. Outraged that Hester prefers a factory boy to him, Halbert tells Robert to "associate with those of your own class" and attacks him (17). Although Halbert struck Robert first, he goes home and tells his father that Robert instigated the fight. Unknown to the townspeople, Mr. Davis has lost a great deal of the corporation's money in unsound Wall Street speculations. Among his losses is Captain Rushton's life savings of five thousand dollars that he secretly entrusted to Mr. Davis to invest while he was away. Although Mr. Davis had agreed to turn over the money to Mrs. Rushton and Robert if Captain Rushton did not return, he has in fact lost the money in stock speculations. When Robert refuses to apologize to Halbert, as Mr. Davis asks, Davis discharges him from the factory. Because Robert is "bold and manly," he is unable to debase himself, even to keep his much-needed factory job (43). Thereafter, he displays great "courage and self-reliance," supporting himself and his mother by selling fish he catches and berries he picks. He performs several courageous deeds, helping a man during a robbery and saving a train from a collision. The merchants on board the train reward him with six hundred thirty-five dollars. Meanwhile, all of Halbert's "attempts to humble and ruin our hero" come to naught. Suddenly, Mrs. Rushton and Robert receive an old letter from Captain Rushton, telling them about the five thousand dollars he left with Mr. Davis. When Robert confronts Mr. Davis, he denies ever having received the money. Robert decides to travel for a year to search for his father and see the world. Displaying great "ability, willingness to work, and confidence," Robert is likely to meet with success in life, the narrator maintains. He is also helped along the way by prominent, wealthy men who admire his frankness and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

courage. Robert soon finds his father and brings him home. Captain Rushton recovers his money from Mr. Davis, who loses his job when it is discovered that he was embezzling funds from the corporation. Now poor, Halbert is forced to work in the factory store. When a rich neighbor leaves his inheritance to Robert, the Rushtons are made quite wealthy. After attending school and entering "business life," Robert "promises . . . to become a prominent and wealthy business man" (317). Captain Rushton is made a mill superintendent. The story ends with the engagement of Robert and Hester.

93. Ashton, Ellen. "The Factory Girl." *Factory Girls' Album* 2.21 (15 February 1847). SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in a "rural valley" in the Massachusetts hills. The small town includes a factory, where Edith Mather, an orphan, works for the support of herself and an elderly aunt. Everyone loves Edith who is "so gentle, considerate and kind." Two wealthy young men, aspiring artists, visit the town in summer. One of them, Fred Lovell, is attracted to the beautiful Edith. His friend Harry warns him not to get attached to a woman he cannot marry, since she is "only a factory girl." Although her grandfather was "a worthy divine," he was poor. Edith lacks the fashionable accomplishments of "city girls." Nonetheless, Fred is determined to marry her, convinced that she possesses the simple, domestic talents needed to make a happy home. Soon Fred and Edith are married, and he takes her to live in his elegant Philadelphia home. Edith becomes "the best of wives," unlike the "silly, fashionable woman" Harry married. Edith and Fred establish her aunt in a pretty rural cottage in Edith's native

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

town, where they visit each summer.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

94. B., S. G. [Sarah G. Bagley]. "Tales of Factory Life, No. 1." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 65-68.

AUTHOR: Sarah George Bagley (b. 1806 in Candia, New Hampshire) began working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills in 1837. By 1845, she had become an outspoken critic of the factory system, leaving mill work to serve as a leader in the Ten Hour Movement and the first president of the Female Labor Reform Association, holding that position from December 1844 until January 1847. Her activism included testifying before the Massachusetts legislature on the evils of long working hours. In 1846 she became the first United States female telegraph operator. After working briefly in the Lowell mills again in 1848, Bagley apparently left the mills. No traces have been found of her subsequent activities or death (for further information, see Wright, "Sarah G. Bagley").

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story, Sarah T., is twelve years old when her family moves to New England. Since her family is poor, Sarah's "education had been neglected" (66). Her father's death leaves a widow and seven children behind. To help their mother support the other children, Sarah and a brother "live out." Sarah is indentured to Mrs. J., the keeper of "a genteel boarding house in the city." In return for her domestic services, Sarah is treated severely and cruelly by Mrs. J. She is also humiliated by Mrs. J.'s daughter: "[Sarah] had a proud spirit, and could not well endure the mortification of hearing the daughter of Mrs. J. inquire why she was so meanly clad,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and did not attend school to study French and Music." Mrs. J. calls her "a poor little beggar" (67). After working for Mrs. J. about two years, Sarah decides she must find other work, so she can obtain an education and decent clothing. She decides to go to Lowell, Massachusetts, and work in the factories. When Mrs. J. discovers Sarah's plans, she tries to talk her out of it, driving home her message with "a box on the ear." One morning Mrs. J. rises, expecting to find Sarah fixing breakfast, but she has run away. The narrator humorously comments, "We will leave the old lady to make her own coffee, and enquire after Sarah's sudden disappearance." Sarah "at dawn of day commenced a journey of thirty miles, on foot, without a cent in her purse" (68). A stagecoach driver offers her a ride, telling her, "I contend, with the old maxim, that 'we should not kill those that try to live,' and surely you are making a strong effort." She is "only a bare-footed girl, with a small bundle." The passengers take up a collection for her. One of them, "a factory girl, took the trouble to purchase [for her] a pair of shoes, hose and other necessary articles." The factory girl invites her to stay at her boardinghouse and helps her get a place in the mills. Relieved, Sarah "felt a new motive to action; for, thought she, 'I shall be paid for what I do now'" (69). For six months she works and spends her evenings in study. Then she sends for her younger sister to join her in the mills. The narrator reveals that she has obtained this story first-hand from the real "Sarah," who has overcome adversity through perseverance. Accompanying "Sarah" to the savings bank, the narrator learns that she has managed to deposit four hundred dollars from her factory wages.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Offering 66-69.

95. Baker, Harriette Newell Woods. *Juliette; or, Now and Forever*. By Mrs. Madeline Leslie. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869. 416 pp.

AUTHOR: Baker (1815-93; pseud. "Madeline Leslie") wrote religious fiction for young people and nonfiction.

SYNOPSIS: In this religious novel, the heroine, Juliette Fearing, is an heiress and the daughter of a wealthy New York City banker. When her widowed father abandons her to go live abroad, young Juliette is cared for by the Smiths, a kind farm family in Stamford, Connecticut. At eighteen, wanting to support herself, Juliette plans to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. From a visiting factory girl, she has heard favorable reports of the cultural and religious advantages of Lowell:

> Miss Darley spoke with great enthusiasm of the privileges the factory girls enjoyed. The moment the bell rang for them to be dismissed they were free to employ their time as they pleased. Many of them formed societies for mutual benefit, when they read, worked, and conversed together. On the Sabbath great attention was paid to their improvement in the several churches of the city, as they formed no unimportant part of the whole community. Bible classes with the best of teachers were gathered, and all who wished invited to join. (221)

Darley contends that factory work is not unhealthy, at least not the neat and well-ventilated weaving rooms where she works. Mr. Smith is concerned that Juliette, being

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

small, delicate, and religiously devout, might find it hard to fend for herself in "them city factories" (258). Nonetheless, assuming the name "Juliette Edwards," she travels to Lowell, relying upon God to protect and strengthen her. Soon after arriving, she meets a gentlemanly agent for the Lawrence Corporation, who refers her to a boardinghouse and promises her a place in the mills. In the boardinghouse, Juliette is dismayed by the "crowded, meagre" room that she shares with four women. She is offended by the coarseness of the boardinghouse keeper and boarders. Jealous of Juliette's ladylike refinement, the factory women harass her with taunts and vulgar jokes:

> [T]he delicate beauty of [Juliette], her evident superiority in education and refinement, subjected her to many low taunts and jeers of ridicule. But this was nothing compared to the scoffing laugh of her room-mates when they found she was a praying Christian. Her assuming the attitude of devotion was a signal for the commencement of loud-whispered jokes upon subjects too low to be given to the reader, and at last she was obliged to postpone her supplications until they were asleep. (267)

In the weave room where she works, Juliette meets a refined worker, Agnes Barnard. Juliette moves into the private home where Agnes boards. The home is owned by the Palmers, a family living in genteel poverty. In chapter twenty six, the narrator relates the story of Agnes, the daughter of a poor New Hampshire farmer. Intelligent and noble Agnes is working in Lowell to pay off a mortgage on the family farm. Sharing a room, Agnes and Juliette develop a "close intimacy" (288). Although Agnes and the Palmers are polite, cultured, and nominally Christian, Juliette is disappointed that they are not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more devout. They tend to neglect the Bible, "ridiculing those who believe in converting grace" (297). Juliette, after becoming the teacher of a Sunday school class of four German immigrant girls, is known "as an uncompromising disciple of Christ" (299, 301). Her well-attended class grows to nine girls. Juliette strives for their conversion, as well as Agnes's. With many tears, pleas, and prayers, Agnes is converted, "a sinner purified in the Saviour's blood" (318). She convinces a number of other factory operatives to attend Sunday school. Agnes and Juliette leave the factories, Agnes to marry a minister and Juliette to be reunited with her dying father. Knowing Agnes's independent nature, Juliette counsels her on "the duty of wives to yield both obedience and reverence to their husbands," as taught in the Bible (370). Juliette's relatives are horrified that she has been working in a factory. Her father obtains her forgiveness, and she cares for him until his death. She expects to marry her childhood sweetheart, Horace. The text includes many passages of poetry and hymn verses.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

96. Browner, Burner. "Destiny; Or, The Autobiography of a Lowell Operative." *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* (1860): 209-17.

SYNOPSIS: This short story is narrated in first-person voice. Rosa Favor tells of the financial ruin of her family after her father's death from intemperance. When she is twelve, her widowed mother takes her seven children to "the manufacturing city of L----," where she supports them by working as a boardinghouse keeper for thirty "coarse, vulgar" male boarders. The children are kept apart from the boarders and pampered with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

some of the luxuries they knew in the country. Hoping to preserve some of their former gentility, their overworked mother does not allow the children to work in the mills or "assist in the drudgery of the house" (210). One evening, while retrieving her young sister from the circus, Rosa is rescued from contact with the vulgar herd by a gentleman, Carl Fergus, the son of the Company agent. Seventeen-year-old Rosa is deeply impressed by her first encounter with a gentleman. Two years later, Rosa is vacationing at Niagara, when she has a presentiment of the presence there of Carl. Soon after she meets him again, they fall in love and become engaged. Back in L---, Carl's mother tells Rosa that since her connections are vulgar, she will prevent her son from marrying her. Rosa reminds Mrs. Fergus that her father was a day-laborer in the town where her family was "once rich and respectable" (212). Rosa reveres Carl as a god. Mrs. Fergus wants Carl to marry Mrs. W., a rich widow. While Carl is traveling with his mother and Mrs. W., Rosa's mother hears that he is to marry Mrs. W. Rosa marries a rich man, Mr. S., whom she does not love, but who does not scorn her poverty and wishes to support Rosa's mother and sisters. As a wealthy woman, Rosa enjoys her power and influence. One night while her husband is traveling, Rosa again has a presentiment of Carl Fergus's coming nearer to her. That night, both Carl's wife and Rosa's husband are killed in a fire on a steamer returning from Europe. Rosa inherits all her husband's property, and her mother soon dies. After feeling that she and Carl are "one in soul," Rosa is visited by Carl, who tells her he has always loved her and marries her one week later. They establish a luxurious home for themselves and their two children. Carl's mother is glad that his marriage to Rosa has made him the richest man in the state.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

97. Buell, C. J. "Only a Factory Girl." [c. 1900]. Rice, Wallace and Frances. *The Humbler Poets (Second Series): A Collection of Newspaper and Periodical Verse, 1885 to 1910.* Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910. 306-307.

SYNOPSIS: Buell dedicates his or her poem "to the millions of self-supporting young women of America." In a thirty-three-line ballad, the speaker portrays a humble factory girl working to provide a better home for her aged mother. Although her work is hard, she has a free soul and a cheerful heart. She helps the needy and wishes well to all poor laborers, hoping for a "better day" to come (33).

98. Cate [of] Lowell. "The Toiler's Lament." *Voice of Industry* 1.34 (6 February 1846).

SYNOPSIS: In this twenty-line ballad, the speaker questions why the "toiler's lot" is considered "such a degraded one" (9). She asks why the worker's plight is "pollution," while others "bask in a sunnier clime" (10, 12). Lacking answers, the speaker affirms her commitment to the cherished life of labor, pitying those who do not share her love of work:

> Oh, Labor! may I ever cling to thee,
>
> 'Till Heaven sees fit to set me free,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then give me my hood and my calico dress,
>
> And to the looms and the spindles I'll press,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For to labor, is the life I love best,

And I'll pity those, who its blessings detest. (13-14, 17-20)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

99. Clara. "Our Mill at Laureldale." *The New England Offering* (1849): 161-62.

AUTHOR: The author was apparently a factory worker from Hopkinton, Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: Published in a factory workers' periodical, this ballad in nine twelve-line stanzas, celebrates women workers' productivity, as well as their simple sisterly contentment unknown to "city 'belles'":

To let you know, we nearly make

Five thousand yards a week,

From only twenty looms;

And the cloth put up for sale,

There is none can make much better,

Than our mill at Laureldale.

. . . . . .

If you wish to find a happy band

And cheerful, do not fail,

If ever you should come this way,

To call at Laureldale.

. . . . . .

We covet not the flatteries,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bestowed on city "belles,"

For our preference is given,

Where sweet contentment dwells.

Here in this little factory,

Regardless of the name,

We perform our labor proudly,

"Without regret or shame[.]" (43-48, 57-60, 73-80)

While calling attention to the excellence of factory women's work, Clara's speaker rejects the shame and regret considered appropriate to their station, especially in their supposed inferiority to more refined and pampered "city 'belles.'" Outside the mill, the women enjoy spending their wages and teaching in the Sabbath schools.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

100. Edgarton, Sarah C. "The Dignity of Labor." *Star of Bethlehem* (Lowell, MA, and Manchester, NH) 1.7 (13 February 1841).

AUTHOR: Sarah Carter Edgarton (1819-48; m. Mayo) was born in Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: After visiting a factory with her father, Lucy, the heroine of this brief moral tale, expresses sadness at seeing the confinement and "laborious and menial employment" of the operatives. She pities them for their lack of opportunity to cultivate and elevate their minds and hearts. Her father disagrees with her, explaining that a Northern factory is nothing like a Southern plantation. No people on earth, he maintains, are happier than the mill workers. They are happy because they are working for a "noble

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purpose," either to "elevate themselves" or to help their families. Their minds and hearts are improved by working for these purposes. He asks Lucy how she would feel if he were poor and she was required to work to help the family. She replies that she would be "*proud* of [her] own powers," as she toiled and played a part in "the great operations of human destiny." Her father urges her also never to esteem "the idle rich" above the poor, since laborers are often the "noblest" and most religious people. He encourages her to imitate female laborers, who, by working for "some useful and holy purpose," glorify God.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society.

101. Eliza. "A Dialogue." *The Operatives' Magazine* 3 (June 1841): 37-38.

SYNOPSIS: This brief fictional dialogue was published in a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women's magazine. The text recounts a conversation between two Lowell workers, Emma and Augusta. They discuss the close friendship, "the love and confidence of sisters," that now exists between them. Augusta proclaims that such "exalted friendship" is "one of the bright sides of a factory life." Emma responds in agreement, "Some friendships which I have here formed, cause at times my heart to leap for joy." They both appreciate the lack of class bias in Lowell: "We have among us the only aristocracy which an intelligent people should sanction--an aristocracy of worth" (37). They discuss "why is it, that so many are prejudiced against a factory life." Many people believe that factories "have a tendency to degrade those employed in them." Emma recalls the unfavorable view of factories and factory workers held by people in her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hometown: "Every one in our little aristocratic village thought meanly of those connected with factories." Nonetheless, she believes that factory workers can retain the Yankee "independence of spirit" and love of freedom. The roots of many mill workers in "the most respectable families in New England" protects them from the corporation "oppression" that might turn them into slaves (38).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

102. Ella. "The 4th of July in Rhode Island in 1844." *Young America* 5 (July 1845).

SYNOPSIS: First published in the Providence *Independent*, this poem protesting the imprisonment of Rhode Island's Governor Dorr is prefaced by a note explaining that it has been written by a factory girl. Ella attempts to counteract the class bias she fears will meet her poetic efforts:

> Mr. Editor: May one who can boast of no advantages except what she has gleaned while working in a cotton factory, (the spoons which supply the idle tyrants who run them, with the pap of our daily toil) be allowed to occupy a small space in our paper. I am too well aware of my inability to do anything like justice to the picture which I would draw, yet I would have the favored few who toil not, and who have every advantage of education, know that *the poor, innocent, despised factory girl, can feel.*
>
> Yours, Ella.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

103. Ethelinda. "Prejudice against Labor." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 136-45.

SYNOPSIS: Martha Croly, an orphan, is the heroine of this tale written by a mill operative. Aged nineteen, Martha goes to work in the factory to support herself. Her uncle's family harbors an "aristocratic prejudice" against factory operatives. While discussing whether to invite Martha to a party welcoming her cousin George home from college, her uncle defends Martha and insists upon inviting her, commenting that, "The laboring classes, who are in fact the wealth of a nation, are trampled upon; while those whom dame Fortune has placed above . . . arrogate to themselves all of the claims to good society" (138). At the party, although Martha speaks approvingly of factory life, she does remark that "fewer hours of labor would be desirable" (139). Martha's comportment compares favorably to that of her more privileged cousins. Dressed in white, she resembles Milton's Eve. Her uncle reminds the guests of the duty of the rich toward the poor. Not long after the party, he loses his property through land speculations, and Martha's cousin Caroline is obliged to enter the mills. George, now a lawyer, becomes betrothed to Martha, "the Factory Pearl" (144). At the story's conclusion, the narrator asks readers to "excuse [her] freedom and plainness of speech" (145).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

104. "Familiar Sketches, No. 2. The Fig Tree." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 125-28.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story, written by a factory worker, is Emily Summerville, the poor orphan daughter of a British officer. She is courted by a wealthy

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young man, Augustus Wilson, whose father disinherits him because of his determination to marry Emily, a poor woman. As her fig tree withers and dies, Augustus is dying of consumption. After Augustus dies, Emily's uncle also dies, leaving her penniless. Emily becomes a factory girl in Lowell, Massachusetts. Sometime later, Emily learns that Augustus's and her letters had been intercepted by his father, which likely caused Augustus's death. The only happiness left to Emily is the "melancholy pleasure of perusing" Augustus's letters (128).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

105. H. "The Cousins." *Lowell Offering* Ser. 1, No. 4 (March 1841): 59-61.

SYNOPSIS: Written by a factory worker, this short story opens in a Lowell, Massachusetts, boardinghouse, where Ellen and William Gray, an orphaned brother and sister, who "might have been taken for lovers," are spending their last evening together before William departs for New York (59). The room contains a piano, which should not surprise us, the narrator remarks. For some years, Ellen has been toiling in the mills to enable her brother to attend college and become a lawyer. Contented and cheerful, Ellen continues to work in the factory, thinking it no disgrace. She spends her evenings in study. Eventually she gets married to Captain Percy. The scene shifts to a "richly furnished" New York City home. Rich and beautiful Amy Clifford is distressed that Percy has married her factory-girl cousin, who must be "very ignorant and vulgar." Mrs. Clifford, "a vain, fashionable woman," also resents Percy's marriage to a factory girl, and she conspires with Amy to embarrass Ellen (60). Ellen and Percy attend a dinner at the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cliffords'. After Amy plays piano for the guests, she and her mother insist that Ellen play. She plays beautifully and sings "a simple and very touching melody," winning everyone's admiration. Amy is filled with remorse for her unkindness to Ellen and asks for her forgiveness. She and Ellen develop a close relationship, twice visiting the "city of spindles" (61). Amy comes to admire the factory girls.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

106. Hinchcliffe, Richard. "The Toiler." *Rhymes among the Spindles*. Lawrence, MA: R. Bower, 1871. 7-8.

AUTHOR: In his preface, Hinchcliffe explains that his poems have appeared previously in newspapers and that he began working at the age of nine in textile mills eleven to thirteen hours per day. According to poems that seem autobiographical, Hinchcliffe was an English immigrant, "driven by oppression from my native land" to the United States (40).

SYNOPSIS: "The Toiler," in twenty-four lines of iambic pentameters, proclaims the "true nobility" of workers (23). The rich and proud, who are the "drones of earth" (17), should not scorn honest laborers, such as those who "weav[e] the robes they wear" (7).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Minuteman Library Network (Massachusetts), Duke University Library, and Brown University Library. Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

107. Ione [Harriet Lees]. "Familiar Sketches, No. 1. The Sisters." *Lowell Offering* 1

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1841): 51-53.

AUTHOR: Harriet Lees, a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker, was one of the early *Lowell Offering* contributors and editors.

SYNOPSIS: When this short story opens, Martha and Lucy Williams, daughters of a Philadelphia merchant, are visiting with their Aunt Catherine outside Boston. Aunt Catherine has been a guide to the young women, helping them overcome the prejudices resulting from their education in "the fashionable world" (51). Their Aunt tells them about her three years' residence in Lowell, Massachusetts, and her work there as a teacher of "drawing, painting, and other ornamental branches." When she first moved to Lowell, she had a low opinion of the laboring class there, but after she got to know some of them her opinion changed. One of her students, Maria Dunallen, was a factory girl. She was the daughter of a wealthy family that lost all its property. After her father's death, Maria, aged fifteen, went to work in the mills to support her mother, who lives with her in a boardinghouse. Maria devoted any extra money she had to further education. Since Maria was not a beauty, she did not have many suitors, but she is nonetheless about to be married to a worthy young man. Having heard about Maria from Aunt Catherine, Martha and Lucy are now eager to learn more about the factory girls. Their dreams that night are filled with visions of Lowell and its residents.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

108. Jones, Ernest. "Song of the Lower Classes." *The Socialist* (New York, NY) 1.8 (3 June 1876).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad, composed in five eight-line stanzas, movingly challenges bias against "the lower classes." Though considered "too low" to enjoy the fruits of their labor, the working classes are not considered too low to produce goods for their betters. One stanza addresses the social status of textile workers:

> We're low, we're low--we're very, very low--
> Yet from our fingers glide
> The silken flow and the robes that glow,
> Round the limbs of the Sons of pride;
> And what we get, and what we give,
> We know, and we know our Share.
> We're not too low the Cloth to weave,
> But too low the Cloth to wear. (25-32)

This popular poem was often reprinted in working-class periodicals.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Another version is reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 104.

109. L. [Lura Currier (m. Whitney)]. "A Riddle." *Lowell Offering* 5 (1845): 125.

AUTHOR: Currier (b. Wentworth, New Hampshire; d. 4 April 1889) worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories, wrote for the *Offering*, and later founded a public library in Haverhill, New Hampshire.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad in eight four-line stanzas obliquely interrogates problems of class oppression suffered by factory women. The speaker of the poem and the answer to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the riddle seems to be a power loom. The subject is presented with an ambiguity that confuses the loom and the weaver. L. thereby reenacts the factory girl's grievance of being regarded by the larger society as no different from or better than the machinery she tends. Yet the speaker insists that factory women are of a high lineage, "o'er even a prince's head," thus emphasizing their priceless human worth:

> Of humble origin am I,
>
> And serve as waiting-maid
>
> To nymphs whose lineage is high
>
> O'er even a prince's head.
>
> And many to their love aspire,
>
> But woo them oft in vain;
>
> And so they change their fond desire
>
> And stoop, my smile to gain.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Though soulless as an idiot is,
>
> If e'er by them forsaken,
>
> I for my noble mistresses
>
> Have *sometimes* been mistaken. (1-8, 13-16)

The speaker subverts class distinctions by recasting lowly, coarse factory girls as "nymphs" of ultra-royal lineage, free to reject unworthy suitors. The mill machinery, to which women workers are often considered servants, becomes their "waiting-maids." By

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this subversion of societal assumptions about factory girls, L. registers factory women's sense of injustice at class oppression.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

110. L., P. A. "The Factory Girl." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 103-5.

SYNOPSIS: This short story opens at a party, where two young middle-class women, Julia Stanwood and Ellen Morley, discuss another guest, Mary Emmons, a factory girl. They debate whether she is a "beautiful girl" or only an "ignorant and vulgar factory girl." Contemptuous Ellen Morley feels "a burning jealousy" of the factory girl's beauty (103). Mary Emmons, once the daughter of a "wealthy merchant in the city of New York," is now a penniless orphan. "A sudden reverse of fortune" impoverished her family (104). Orphaned at the age of seventeen, Mary was taken in by her uncle, Mr. Seymour. She begged her aunt and uncle to allow her to work in the mills, and they reluctantly agreed when she promised to return in one year. After her return, Edward Morley (Ellen's brother) proposes marriage. Mary tells him she loves him but cannot be happy, if his sister is unhappy with his choice of a wife. When Ellen learns of the sacrifice that the factory girl is willing to make for her, "the proud and haughty girl wept in bitterness of spirit." She sends a note to Mary, and soon everyone is preparing for the wedding. Mary receives a letter from one of her Lowell, Massachusetts, factory friends. When Ellen reads the letter, she tells Mary that she might be proud of her friend. Mary replies that she is indeed proud of her and of many other Lowell women. At the end of the story, the narrator comments: "And Ellen Morley never had occasion to regret that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her brother had chosen for his companion, a factory girl" (105).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

111. Leslie, Eliza. "Professor Nimmons." *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book* 39 (May-June 1849): 339-344, 405-413.

AUTHOR: Leslie (1787-1858; b. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), known as "Miss Leslie," was a very popular writer of short stories and sketches. She was also an editor and wrote fiction for girls.

SYNOPSIS: This short story, set in the fictitious New York State town of New Venice, suggests that the factory girl might not be all she is cracked up to be. A former factory operative, Mary Ann, hides her true name and past in the mills to become an assistant to a mesmerist calling himself "Professor Ninus Nimmons." He and his two assistants specialize in deceiving and swindling the well-to-do. Mary Ann is also promoted as having clairvoyant powers. One day, a servant girl in town recognizes Mary Ann as Sally Simps from Lowell, Massachusetts. Having overheard, the genteel Mrs. Bambury inquires as to whether she really was a factory girl, and Mary Ann answers, "Well, suppose I was? . . . 'Tis nothing to be ashamed of. Most of the young ladies that assist in factories are very genteel, and some of them quite literary. I'm a poetess myself, under six different names" (412). Shortly thereafter, Professor Nimmons and his assistants are exposed as charlatans and run out of town. When "Professor Nimmons" was published, Harriet Farley, the editor of *The New England Offering*, a factory workers' periodical, took offense to the portrayal of Mary Ann. Finding it insulting to factory women,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

especially those who write, Farley responds to Miss Leslie's story:

> Miss Leslie's name we considered good for any compliment, and had not then read her story about *the mesmerizer*. We cannot see that the point of the story was necessarily sharpened by making his ridiculous accomplice *a factory girl*, or identifying her with any one class of laboring females, and making her one of the silliest pretenders to literary ability. We have never seen a character in the least resembling Miss Mary Ann. . . . As most of the literary pretension of the mill girls is embodied in the Offering, we quietly receive Miss Leslie's hit. ("Editor's Table." June 1849)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

112. Mary. "Song of the Factory Girl." *Maine Farmer* (27 May 1843): 4.

SYNOPSIS: In this twenty-four-line ballad, the factory-girl speaker defends her lowly social standing against the "proudly great" who would scorn or pity her (5). She argues that, although she is compelled to work all day in a "noisy, tiresome room, / . . . Where sterner fate has fixed my doom" (1, 3), she still possesses a free mind and will and "virtue true" singing in her heart:

> Go on, dull noise, and vex the ear
> With all your harsh, discordant notes--
> Drown other sounds I fain would hear,
> On which the willing fancy doats;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yet in the heart sings virtue true--

I hear its notes in spite of you. (7-12)

With these advantages, she has no wish for "haughty power" (13) or riches: "I am not rich, nor wish to be, / For now my love, my acts, are free" (23-24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

113. One of Them. "Song for the Million." By One of Them. *Voice of Industry* 1.6 (3 July 1845).

SYNOPSIS: In six four-line stanzas, this ballad extols the virtues of work and the superiority of workers to the idle, corrupt rich. Although "purse proud, bloated sluggards" (5) might appropriate the fruits of laborers' toil, they cannot rob them of the vital and creative benefits of work. The speaker counts textile mill workers among those profiting from honest labor:

Then ply the spindle, ply the loom,

Though tyrants take the cloth;

Your happy limbs they cannot doom

To feel the pains of sloth. (17-20)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

114. Pierson, Lydia Jane. "A Yankee Lady." *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 3 (August, November 1842): 84+.

AUTHOR: Pierson was probably a factory worker in Lowell.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In this short story, two young friends are visiting in Providence, Rhode Island. One is Mr. Randolph, a Southerner from Virginia, and the other is Henry Stuart, a Providence resident. They attend church to view the local women, some of whom are factory workers. Randolph regards white female factory labor as degrading, a "debasement of female delicacy to occupations which, in the South, belong exclusively to the slave" (86). Yet he is smitten by one beautiful woman, Stuart's cousin, Anthea Louisa Sprague. Unbeknownst to Randolph, Anthea is a factory girl. Stuart tells her that Randolph admires her but asks her not to tell him that she is a mill worker, until Randolph learns that she is also a lady. Seeing Anthea at an elegant party and in her simple home, Randolph falls more deeply in love. One day, Randolph and Stuart visit the factory, where they see Anthea at work. Horrified and disgusted that he has placed his affections on a "despicable factory girl," Randolph flees (119). Soon after, he leaves the city. Fifteen years pass. Anthea is now the wife of a congressman and lives in Washington, D.C., where she encounters Randolph. During their conversation, she tells him that Stuart has married a factory girl. Randolph apologizes for his past class bias, admitting that he has never found a more excellent and elegant lady than Anthea, the factory girl.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

115. Ricketson, Daniel. "The Irish Factory-Girl." *The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems.* New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1873. 15-16.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

historian.

SYNOPSIS: In this thirty-two-line ballad, Ricketson's speaker considers the social status and worth of a young woman that the proud might scorn as "only a poor Factory-girl" (1). Though she's a "poor exile" from Ireland trudging through the streets to toil in the mills, a careless observer might not perceive the true "grace" beneath her "dusty gown" and "care-worn face" (9-12). The Irish woman's valuable qualities include a "noble heart" and "native charms" (13, 15). Thus, we see that God sometimes chooses "His favorites" from "the humbler walks of earth" (24, 21).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Rutgers University, Yale University, Boston Public Library, and Harvard University.

116. Rolli, Merzi. "Ellen Rivers, The Factory Girl." *The Olive Leaf, and Factory Girl's Repository* 1.2-4 (11-24 May 1843): [17]-18, [25]-26.

SYNOPSIS: At this short story's opening, the heroine, Ellen Rivers, works as a factory weaver to support herself and her mother, who is dying of consumption. After the death of her father some eight years ago from circumstances connected to his gambling, "reveling and drunkenness" ([17]), her mother worked in the mills until she became ill. Then Ellen was obliged to leave school and enter the factory, where she has toiled for two years. After her mother's death, Ellen boards in the private house of Mrs. Brentwood. She develops a close friendship with Isabel, the daughter of a well-to-do village merchant. Jealous of Ellen's friendship with a middle-class woman, the other women boarders at Mrs. Brentwood's plot to destroy her reputation by accusing her of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stealing their belongings. Ellen is dismayed that her friendship with Isabel makes her enemies. In discussing it with Isabel, she remarks, "I cannot account for it any farther than this, . . . that I am poor, and they think you ought not to associate with me, so much as you do, and neglect them whom they think you should choose for your companions" ([25]). Ellen is arrested for theft and spends four months in jail, enjoying the constant support of Isabel. During the trial, Ellen is defended by Edward Morton, who makes an impassioned speech in her defense, which results in her acquittal. Four years later, Ellen and Edward marry. Isabel is also engaged to be married. The narrator comments on the boarders' class-based jealousy of Ellen: "The cause of their hatred toward Ellen was produced, strange as it may seem, by her being admitted to society that they were not, and considered as a more fit companion for the daughters of the more wealthy portion of the village" (26). Thus, we see that those who try to injure others unjustly only harm themselves in the end. The boarders who had tried to destroy Ellen's character are so shunned by the townspeople that they eventually move away.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

117. S., H. H. "Prejudice, or the Sailor and His Sister." *The Operatives' Magazine* 11 (February 1842): 170-75.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story, published in a factory women's magazine, is Emma Talbot. At thirteen, she is "exceedingly sentient and perceptible . . . small of stature but of most perfect shape, exceedingly simple and childlike in her dress and manners . . . possess[ing] a noble heart and generous spirit" (170). Due to the family's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

financial troubles, she and her brother James go to live with their Uncle and Aunt Stanfield in New York City. Unfortunately, the Stanfields are great lovers of pleasure and amusement. Employed in his uncle's counting room, James tells Emma that he wishes to become a sailor. Emma is distressed, because she does not want a mere sailor for a brother. Emma and James wish they could "unite with some Sabbath school" (171). Their mother, a religious woman, writes her sister, Mrs. Stanfield, a letter urging her to reform and leave off "places of amusement" (172). Mr. Stanfield runs into deep financial trouble. Mrs. Stanfield falls deathly ill in a ballroom and soon dies. James, losing all patience with his uncle's unkindness, ships off as a sailor. Emma joins the family's domestic, Maria, in seeking work in a cotton factory. Before James went away, Emma had discussed it with him. James had said that he would not want a factory girl for a sister, since they are "such low, mean creatures" (173). Maria and Emma obtain mill employment and board with Maria's cousin Fanny. Both give their hearts to their Savior. The narrator describes the pleasantness of Saturday afternoon in the mill. James and Maria's brother Frank return from sea. Their mother is now able to provide for them, so James and Emma go to live with her. Uncle Stanfield finally reforms. By the story's conclusion, James loses "his prejudice against factory girls and manufacturing towns and cities--and Fanny and Emma theirs against that class of community called sailors." Both learn to "never judge the many, by the few of any class or community" (175).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

118. S., H. J. [probably Huldah J. Stone]. "Dialogue, between Two Young Ladies."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voice of Industry 1.36 (20 February 1846).

AUTHOR: A Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker, Stone became the secretary of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. Working for the *Voice of Industry*, she edited the "Female Department," wrote articles, and traveled canvassing for subscriptions.

SYNOPSIS: The text recounts a dialogue between two young middle-class women, Harriet and Ada. They are planning to attend a "Social Gathering," although Harriet is reluctant to go because of the unpleasantness of being "jostled" in the crowd by "factory girls, house girls, and working men." She dreads being disgraced by associating with "the illiterate and uncultivated." Ada, on the other hand, inspired by the memory of her patriotic and democratic ancestors, rejects the aristocratic prejudice that is becoming too common in the United States To her, the "laboring classes" are the citizens most worthy of respect, since they produce "all the comforts and luxuries of life."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

119. Sedgwick, Catharine Maria. "A Day in a Railroad Car." *Tales and Sketches. Second Series*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844. 169-89.

AUTHOR: Sedgwick (1789-1867; b. Stockbridge, Massachusetts) was a novelist and writer of short stories.

SYNOPSIS: When traveling by train in New England, this tale's narrator enjoys observing the social intimacy which still prevails in the United States, owing to the nation's relative newness and smallness. On one occasion, she and a friend are traveling across Massachusetts from Pittsfield to Boston. They notice another passenger, a young

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

woman in black traveling alone. The narrator admires her facial expression of "sweetness and modesty," at the same time noticing that a former President, Mr. Adams, is also in the car. The narrator learns that the modest young woman, Lizzy Dale, is an orphan. While conversing with her, the narrator comes to appreciate her propriety, delicacy, sadness, and evidence of education. Lizzy declines to share their meal, saying she "ate only to get rid of a sensation of faintness" (174). A factory girl entering the car and sitting beside Lizzy presents a contrast to her, as "the china and earthen jars of the fable" (178). Plump, rosy, and profusely decorated with ribbons and cheap jewelry, the factory girl talks and looks about freely, commenting on the appearance of some men passengers and telling about her factory experience in North Adams, Chicopee, and Lowell. Lizzy inquires whether there were in those places any private boardinghouse where a person might live quietly after work. A fatherly gentleman advises her that factory work is not suited to her. The factory girl disembarks. At the story's conclusion, the narrator is gratified to learn that Lizzy Dale has found a good home with a maiden great-aunt, Miss Priscy. In the *Lowell Offering*, the editors respond to Sedgwick's story and its class bias, commenting that "though *Lizzy Dale* might not find it [i.e., factory work] a suitable occupation for her, yet there are those among us [factory women] as delicate, sensitive, well-educated and unfortunate" (5.1 [January 1845]: inside back cover).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

120. Sheridon, A. M. "Song of the Carpet Weaver." By One of Our Sisters. *The Journal*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America 5.17 (10 January 1885).

AUTHOR: The author may be Annie M. Sheridan, a member of the Knights of Labor (Weir 183).

SYNOPSIS: A note at the head of the poem indicates that it was written during the Kensington, New York, carpet weavers' strike. Sheridon's poem is a long ballad in twenty-two four-line stanzas. The ballad's speaker, a carpet weaver, recounts some of the hardships and routines of carpet mill work. The workers are all "graduates . . . from adversity's school," who have known only "toil" and "self-denial" (5-6, 8). Hearing the noisy looms all day oppresses "the weary heart and brain" (20). The speaker reproaches arrogant "ladies" for their indifference to working women's hardships:

> How many ladies proud and fair,
> Will tread o'er our carpets woven with care?
> With never a thought for the pale working girl,
> Whose youth is blighted with weary toil. (25-28)

She extends her complaint to all those who flourish "upon the spoil / Of the laborer's unrequited toil" (39-40). Challenging child labor, she recommends that child workers be given more "time to grow": "We would give the children time to grow, / E'er sending them out to earn their bread, / Poor little wretches, half clothed, half fed" (50-52). Asking not for pity, the workers seek only the rights and justice promised to Americans. Though she must tend a loom from early morning to evening, the speaker still enjoys a freedom of mind and imagination that cannot be taken from her. She expresses a hope

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for fellowship among workers and a better future, so they may enjoy their "share of nature's flowers" (88).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

121. Smith, Francis S. "The Honest Working Girl." *Poems for the Million.* New-York: Published for the Author by the American News Company, 1871. 71-73.

SYNOPSIS: The poems in this volume were "written for and published from time to time in the columns of Street & Smith's 'New-York Weekly,'" a cheap story paper (t.p.). "The Honest Working Girl," a ballad in six eight-line stanzas, proclaims the dignity and worth of the working woman. On cold, story mornings, while the "child of wealth and luxury" sleeps in a warm bed, the honest working girl "hurries to her daily toil" (71). Warmhearted and smiling, she dresses as well as she can afford. Although her wages are slight, she is generous and honorable:

> With wages scant the ills of life
>
> She's fated to endure;
>
> And yet she manages to save
>
> A trifle for the poor.
>
> At any mean or sordid act,
>
> With scorn her lip will curl,
>
> For noble is the nature of
>
> The honest working girl. (72)

The speaker urges "proud ones" to treat her with kindness and respect. In the final

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stanza, the speaker seeks God's blessing for working girls and warns people not to treat them meanly.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library.

122. Starbuck, Roger. "The Young Slaver; or, The Prodigal's Fate." *The Saturday Weekly Journal* (New York) 1.35 (12 November 1870): 8.

AUTHOR: "Roger Starbuck" was the pseudonym for Augustus Comstock (b. 1837), a sailor, printer, law student, and dime-novel writer (Johannsen I: 7).

SYNOPSIS: This brief tale appeared in a Beadle and Adams story weekly promoting itself as "a popular paper for pleasure & profit." The hero, Edgar Melton, is a wealthy man's son. Against his father's wishes, he marries "a poor but intelligent Lowell factory girl, named Louisa Morton." Louisa's charms include "blue eyes, a snow-white skin, chestnut-colored hair, and a form full of grace and beauty." Old Melton is so angry at his son's marrying a factory girl that he alters his will to cut off his inheritance. Consequently, Edgar and Louisa live in dire poverty. The only means of earning a living that Edgar can find is work on a slave ship. He is sickened by the brutal treatment of the Africans. When the ship is attacked and destroyed, Edgar is presumed dead. Old Melton is so overcome with remorse that he goes to Louisa and gives her "every cent of the money he had originally intended to bequeath to his son." He dies one year later. Soon after, Edgar returns to Louisa, vowing never to "'turn to crime' again."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Beinecke Library, Yale University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

123. Stella. "Gentility." *The Operatives' Magazine* 8 (November 1841): 126-28.

SYNOPSIS: This fictional "sketch" was published in a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women's magazine. At the opening, the narrator explains that she will try to define "[g]entility . . . by briefly sketching a few incidents in the history of one of its warmest votaries." Anna Norcross, the heroine, lives in a small Massachusetts town. When she was very young, her father died, leaving the family just enough money to live comfortably, if frugally, without having to work. In Anna's hometown, "there was a class of persons, styled the *elite*, or genteel people whom fortune had placed, as the expression is, 'above labor.'" Attending school with the children of the *elite*, Anna learns "to consider it the end and aim of her existence *to be genteel*" (126). One day, Anna's cousin Mary calls, having "left her employment in Lowell for a few days." Dismayed, Anna "wonder[s] how her mother could wish to have a factory girl in the house all day." She is even more distressed because a man she admires, Captain Elton, is to call at their house that day. Mary's appearance confuses Anna's notions of gentility: "[W]hen she looked at Mary, whose appearance was very prepossessing and who was dressed quite as fashionably as herself and much more neatly; she thought that if it were not that *she had worked in a factory* she could *almost* call her *genteel*." To Anna's consternation, Captain Elton appears to enjoy talking with Mary. Anna is surprised at Mary's cultivation: "Anna could not conceive how it was that her cousin, who was younger and whose school advantages had been far inferior to her own, should be so much better informed than herself." By the end of the story, Anna is profoundly confused about gentility: "[S]he was left by Capt. E. and her cousin . . . wondering

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

whether Capt. E. was *un*genteel or Mary was *genteel*, which she found formed a problem extremely difficult to solve" (128).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

124. W. "Real Worth: The Lawyer and Laborer." *The Operatives' Magazine* 1 (April 1841): 7-8.

SYNOPSIS: This brief fictional sketch published in a factory women's periodical contrasts two men of different classes. One is Frederic G., a lawyer's son. A profligate, Frederic "spent a life of folly and wickedness, and came to an untimely end." W. R., the son of a "humble mechanic," develops "a character established for honesty and virtue." He happily chooses a wife from among the mill workers: "[T]o no place would he sooner look than to the factory for the object of his wishes." Surrounded by his contented family, W. R. devotes his life to "contributing to the wants of his fellow creatures around him." The narrator asks the reader to determine which of the two men possessed "real worth" (8).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEANS OF ESCAPE: ROMANCES AND MYSTERIES

125. Ann. "The Temptation." *The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry* 1:1 (February 1848): 7-8.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's heroine is Sarah E., the daughter of a poor Vermont farmer. At the age of fifteen, she travels to "N." (perhaps Newburyport, Massachusetts) to earn her living in the factories. Her goodness and intelligence win her the love and respect of her co-workers. Soon Sarah faces a severe temptation, which her virtue and religious faith enable her to withstand. The handsome "son of a very wealthy merchant" expresses his love and desire to marry her. Like other wealthy young men, however, Arthur lacks virtue and integrity: "Arthur, although wealthy and liberally educated, was wanting in correct principles--a want too common in the mass of young men who are born rich; and spent his nights and days in frivolous amusements or indulgence in gross sin" (7). Sarah's innocence prevents her from comprehending Arthur's true nature, and she soon falls deeply in love with him. In quite indirect language, the narrator indicates that Arthur pressures Sarah to yield sexually, in exchange for a promise of marriage and financial help for her parents. Outraged, Sarah tells him they must end their romance: "We must part; and, painful as it is, I must go from you conscious that your professions of affection for me, have been false--were made to deceive. You have designed my ruin!" Arthur is so impressed by Sarah's virtue and "boldness" that, although he had not intended to marry her, he now sees that she would make a "faithful and loving" wife.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After Arthur seeks Sarah's and God's forgiveness, the two are married. Their union is a happy one, Arthur providing as well for Sarah's poor parents. The narrator appends a moral to the story's conclusion: "Virtue is always the best policy, and generally proves a shield to those who practice it" (8).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

126. "Anna Archdale: or, The Lowell Factory Girl." Boston: F. Gleason, [c. 1850]. 10 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Beautiful and virtuous Anna Archdale, the heroine of this short story, is a wealthy merchant's daughter. At eighteen, she has just suffered the death of her mother. Soon after, her father loses his entire fortune and their home in risky business speculations. Since father's health is poor, Anna offers to support them by working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. They must leave their home, one of the most splendid mansions in Boston. Anna writes to her older brother, Henry, a clerk, and informs him of the family's plight. For three months, Anna labors steadily in the mills, winning by her great beauty and gentleness the regard of all and the love of a young physician, Dr. Corliss. Another woman, Mary Foster, daughter of a well-to-do man, falls in love with Dr. Corliss and is filled with rage and jealousy upon discovering he prefers the poor factory girl. Mary resolves to ruin Anna's character and win back her lover. After three more months, Anna is betrothed to Dr. Corliss. One day he finds a note in his office signed "Incognita" charging that Anna is "*a heartless coquette*" and can be seen in the evening at her boardinghouse in a strange young man's company. He goes looking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for Anna and observes her walking with a young man toward her boardinghouse. Through the window, he sees them embracing and kissing. Rushing into the house, Dr. Corliss learns that the strange young man is Anna's brother, who has been left a large inheritance by an uncle. Corliss shows the note to Anna, who identifies the handwriting as Mary Foster's. Three weeks later, Anna and Dr. Corliss are married, and the next morning "the body of a female was found floating in the canal." A note in her pocket signed "M. F." indicates that she has ended her intolerable life, because she has lost her lover and become a "victim of envy" (10).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *History of Women.*

127. Argus. *Norton: or, The Lights and Shades of a Factory Village.* Lowell: Vox Populi Office, 1849. 80 pp.

SYNOPSIS: After an absence of ten years, a thirty-five-year-old man calling himself "Norton" (his name is actually "Ned Church") returns from his Southern home to Lowell, Massachusetts, where twelve years before he worked in the mills as a card stripper. He encounters Julia Church, his twenty-one-year-old sister, accompanied by a lawyer, Alfred Caldwell. Norton befriends the couple, but Julia does not recognize him. The next day, Norton meets Caldwell alone and learns from him of his plan to ruin Julia. He also discovers that his widowed mother is a boardinghouse keeper and that her son (i.e., Norton) had left Lowell, because he was guilty of some crime. Norton remembers a factory girl he once loved, Agnes Moreland, and how he was influenced by a man named "Walton" to attempt a crime. In his years away from Lowell, he has become wealthy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One evening, Caldwell takes Norton out to see some of the "low scenes" of Lowell (14). In a public house, they drink with two women, Kate and Saucy Meg. Norton collapses in shock at learning that Meg, a prostitute, is his old flame Agnes. When Norton visits his mother's boardinghouse, she does not recognize him. He becomes romantically interested in one of the boarders, Catharine Elliston, a modest "factory 'blue stocking'" who writes poetry (23). Meanwhile, Caldwell has begun Julia's seduction by introducing her to "trashy reading" and convincing her to leave mill work. After expressing jealousy of Norton's attentions to her, Caldwell acquaints Julia with card playing and drinking, planning to lure her into prostitution. Norton vainly advises Julia to avoid trashy reading and Caldwell. Soon after, Caldwell detains Julia at a Boston hotel, shares her bed, and leaves her "*ruined!*" (40). Norton learns how factory girls are lured into prostitution at dance halls owned by some of the town's "most respectable citizens" (46). After telling Norton about her seduction by Walton and subsequent life of vice and drunkenness, Agnes commits suicide. Learning of Julia's pregnancy, her mother dies of grief. Norton forces Caldwell to marry Julia and thus restore her respectability, but he deserts her immediately after. Norton marries Catharine and takes her and Julia to his Southern home, where Julia soon dies. The novel ends with a letter written by Norton to Caldwell in which he rebukes him for thinking he could seduce and cast off "an ignorant factory girl, disgraced by labor, and fit only to minister to your lust." Norton warns him that "a fearful day of reckoning" is coming (80). The novel includes many glimpses of working-class culture, such as the Lowell Museum, the play *Rosina Meadows*, the balls, and fortune tellers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

128. Augusta, Clara. "The Factory Girl." *Peterson's Magazine* 39 (1861): 230-34.

SYNOPSIS: This tale's heroine, Annette Burns, becomes the sole support of her parents and young brother. After her invalid father's business failure, Annette decides to go to the fictitious city Milltown to earn the money to pay off a mortgage on the family homestead. Her fiancé, hearing of her impoverishment and plan to enter the factory, breaks off their engagement. For five months, Annette works in a woolen mill. Resolved to save as much money as possible to help her family, she keeps to herself and dresses like a "Quakeress," avoiding buying "gaudy dresses" like the other factory girls. When her overseer invites her to a party honoring the mill owner, Mr. Templeton, Annette declines, wishing to avoid the expense of dress. She also feels bitter toward the "rich and powerful" mill owner, who gains his wealth by her "weary labor" (231). Nonetheless, Annette's quiet virtue attracts the notice of Mr. Templeton, a handsome, noble, and kindhearted man. Annette is grateful when he pays her for time she missed work due to illness. When her brother is dying, Annette is so thankful to Mr. Templeton for paying her travel expenses home and back that she no longer considers him "haughty and purse-proud" (233). He begins to send her gifts and one evening begs her to quit "wasting [her] youth and bloom" at the factory (234). He confesses his love, pays off the debts on the Burns' homestead, and marries Annette, placing her and her parents in wealth and comfort.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

129. Bradbury, Osgood. *Mysteries of Lowell.* By the Author of "The Mysteries of Boston." Boston: Edward P. Williams, 1844. 40 pp.

SYNOPSIS: In this city-mysteries novel, Owen Glendower, a wealthy middle-aged widower, deacon, and mill owner in Lowell, Massachusetts, is enamored of an eighteen-year-old factory operative, Augusta Walton. Owen Glendower has "assumed the garb of religion" as a cover for his sexual and other indiscretions (18). His attraction to Augusta intensifies when they are accidentally brought together during a thunderstorm. Augusta, an exceptionally beautiful and charming young woman, loves Edwin Gilmore, a factory worker who returns her love. Nonetheless, she is strongly tempted by Glendower's wealth and flirts with him. Augusta has grown up poor, the illegitimate daughter of a chambermaid seduced by her employer, and she does not know the identity of her father. The narrator expresses the opinion that "*the greatest mystery is the female heart*" (10). Adriana Bertram, Glendower's maid and mistress, is jealous of his attraction to Augusta, since he had once promised to marry her. Adriana plots with her friend Parmela Snyder to disrupt the budding romance of Glendower and Augusta. Parmela, a factory worker in the same room with Augusta, reports to Adriana on Augusta's activities, especially her flirtation with Owen Glendower, who visits the factory to gaze on Augusta. Parmela has picked up some education in Lowell and writes poetry for the Offering (14). Glendower's young, rich, and handsome nephew, Henry Seyton, Jr., comes to stay with his uncle. After visiting the mill to view Augusta's beauty, Henry falls in love with her. When Augusta's mother and Henry Seyton, Sr., arrive in Lowell, it is revealed that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Seyton is the father of both Augusta and Edwin Gilmore. Henry Seyton, Sr., was the seducer of Augusta's and Edwin's mothers, both chambermaids. Out of jealousy over Owen Glendower's love for Augusta, Adriana has poisoned him and committed suicide by cutting her throat. Since all of the men are related by blood to Augusta, none of them can marry her. The story ends with an "old maxim": "[I]t is a wise child that knows his own father" (40).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

130. C., B. [Betsey Chamberlain]. "A Reverie." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 318-19.

AUTHOR: Harriet Robinson sketches this portrait of Chamberlain (born c. 1794), a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker: "Mrs. Chamberlain was a widow, and came to Lowell with three children from some 'community' (probably the Shakers), where she had not been contented. She had inherited Indian blood, and was proud of it. She had long, straight black hair, and walked very erect, with great freedom of movement" (*Loom and Spindle* 86).

SYNOPSIS: In this brief, prose dream vision, the narrator, a factory woman, describes falling asleep at her "cloth-frame," where she works "at picking cloth." She dreams about leaving the mill and crossing the bridge, where she observes some mermaids on a beautiful jeweled island. She admires the mermaids' beauty, song, and "unrestrained freedom." When she wishes that she too might be "free from care," one of the mermaids counsels her against "envy[ing] . . . their comparatively useless lives." Acknowledging that the factory woman has known only "losses, crosses and disappointments," the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mermaid reminds her that she has the opportunity "to know, to reason, and to act" and so can enxperience "more enjoyment on earth, than is vouchsafed to the nymphs of the ocean" (319). The narrator awakens when her overseer scolds her for her wasteful idleness.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

131. Coolidge, Erwin L. *The Fortunes of a Factory Girl. A Tale of the Manchester Mills.* Boston: Atlantic News Company, 1894. 152 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This dime novel was published as 1.4 in *The Hub Ten Cent Library*. The story opens in September 1880 in Manchester, New Hampshire. One evening on Hanover Street, Joe Cranston and Harry Lester are admiring beautiful and vivacious Mattie Wilmot. Nineteen-year-old Mattie, a worker in the Manchester Mills print works, is entering the elegant carriage of Reuell Morse, the son of a wealthy lumber dealer. Harry is surprised that Mattie is a mill worker, since she dresses and carries herself like a lady. Joe explains "that many of the mill girls are ladies":

> Simply because a girl works in a mill is no reason why she cannot be, or is not, a lady, although true it is that many are not. And as for dress they often set their sisters, who do not labor, a fast pace to follow. They have few expenses, and many make good pay. Miss Wilmot has worked in the Manchester mills for more than a year, and has always been just what you saw her this evening, a stylish, unassuming lady. (13)

Harry, a visiting Southerner, is amazed by Joe's answer. He holds the common, mistaken

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

view that "'mill folks' . . . were a class of 'low-lived, uneducated, repulsive people.'" Yet, Mattie is suspected of having "connections of wealth and position" (14). The young men are joined by their friend Tom Harris, a shoe store clerk. The young men visit a "sporting house," where a newcomer to town, Sancho Gomez, a Mexican, tries to kill Harry, who has enemies back in Louisiana. One year ago, when Mattie came to work in Manchester, she told no one about her past. Her co-workers only know that she came from far away and toils now in the mills "from a desire to earn her own living" (20). Her "earnest spirit" and "steady application" make her "a favorite" in the factory. She boards with the Perrys, "a family of well-to-do working people" (21). After Reuell and Mattie are injured in a carriage accident, Mattie recovers quickly, but Reuell is more seriously hurt. Caring for Reuell, Mattie realizes she loves him. Returning to work worried about Reuell, Mattie tells one of her friends and co-workers, Jo Provest, that she wishes she was dead, because she is "very unhappy all the time" (67). One week later, Reuell has almost recovered. Sancho Gomez is going about Manchester trying to dig up information about Mattie. When a new mill agent begins work, Mattie does not share the other workers' interest, because "she had tired of mill life and had determined to leave it soon" (71). Mattie reveals her mysterious past to Reuell, describing it as, "a sad story of blighted life and misplaced love" (85). In the meantime, Harry Lester overhears his archenemy, Edgar Dupont, and Gomez plotting "the ruin and death" of Mattie (102). The two villains capture and imprison Harry and Joe in a cellar, but they soon escape. The narrator reveals that Mattie is Dupont's daughter. Her deceased mother left her a large fortune, which Dupont is trying to appropriate by murdering her. After Dupont and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gomez are arrested for their crimes, Dupont commits suicide in prison. Mattie happily marries Reuell, "now a partner in the firm of Morse, Hunter & Morse" (152). The text includes many scenes of Manchester street life and use of street vernacular.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Columbia University, University of Rochester, University of Connecticut, Ohio State University, and Dartmouth College.

131a. [Coryell, John R.] *Only a Working Girl, or, Her Heart's Tragedy*. By Geraldine Fleming. New York: Street & Smith, 1895. 320 pp.

AUTHOR: "Geraldine Fleming" was a pseudonym used by John Russell Coryell (1851-1924), the dime novelist who created the *Nick Carter* series.

SYNOPSIS: Set in Lowell, Massachusetts, this dime romance centers on the adventures of Carmen Deane, a young cotton-mill weaver. An eighteen-year-old orphan, Carmen, "the little beauty of Lowell" (7), possesses "limpid blue eyes," a "perfect cupid's bow" of a mouth, and "fluffy, golden curls" (22, 26). She is as modest and innocent as she is pretty (9), valuing "her honor" more than "her life" (48). Carmen is pursued by many local men, including Dick Warren, a stalwart, swarthy, bullying young workman, and Caryl Brander, a handsome, courteous, wealthy young gentleman. Carmen falls in love at first sight with Caryl, provoking burning jealousy in Dick. Unable to contain his "scorn and contempt . . . for the aristocrat, as a pampered creature" (34), Dick shoots Caryl when he takes Carmen for a sleighride. Only slightly wounded, Caryl soon develops "a flaring passion of love and tenderness in his heart" for his "brave little Carmen" (40-41). Soon his kisses "thrilled her to the very soul" (44). Although the two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are deeply in love, Carmen does not know that Caryl is already married to a woman named Violet, by whom he was entrapped in a loveless marriage. Caryl proposes a secret marriage to Carmen. Also unaware that Caryl is married, his friend, Walter Forsythe, the wealthy mill owner's son, hopes to arrange a match between Caryl and the rich, beautiful Imogen Stirling. In love with Caryl, Imogen, "her blood boiling with rage and fury," is outraged that he prefers the "vulgar little beauty of the factory" (55, 57). Visiting Carmen at her loom in the mills, "the busy hives of industry" (71), Caryl arranges with her to elope. Meanwhile, Imogen, regarding "factory girls as the scum of the earth" (104), tries unsuccessfully to humiliate Carmen. Facing these difficulties, plucky Carmen develops the courage and strength to oppose both Imogen and jealous Dick. Learning that Carmen and Caryl have eloped and married in New York City, Violet and Dick pursue them. Dick's hatred for Caryl is gradually supplanted by his love and concern for Carmen. Soon after Caryl showers Carmen with furs and jewels, Violet arrives and disrupts their marriage. Brokenhearted and disgraced, Carmen leaves with Dick. After Carmen is almost ruined in a New York brothel, she and Dick find lodging and work in the city. Carmen becomes a cloak-model in a department store. Violet, enraged that Caryl loves Carmen, determines to cause her ruin. Caryl stays in the city to protect Carmen from Violet. When Walter visits New York, Caryl confesses his love for Carmen and rebukes Walter for his class bias:

> Do you not know that a woman may work with her hands and yet have a soul like snow? Can you not comprehend that labor uplifts and ennobles? . . . Even you, who have a good heart, have the same miserable creed, that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> because a girl works to gain an honest living, she is not worthy to mate with a wretch whose sole merit is the doubtful one of having had his fortune made for him by the exertions of another. (214-15)

Caryl deeply regrets the pain he has caused Carmen and Dick. Meanwhile, Imogen Stirling comes to New York. In love with Caryl and determined to eliminate her rivals, she bribes an evil physician, Dr. Dennison, to confine Carmen in an insane asylum. From Dr. Dennison, Imogen also procures a slow-acting poison to kill Violet. Tortured by guilt, Imogen becomes insane. Before Violet dies, she retrieves Carmen from the insane asylum and confesses to Caryl that she was never actually married to him, because she was already married to someone else. Caryl's marriage to Carmen, therefore, is legally binding. Carmen is reluctant to give herself to him, because she does not wish to condone his near-betrayal of herself, "a trusting girl" (317). After Violet's death, Carmen and Caryl live together happily with their children. Purified by his grief over losing Carmen, Dick becomes an unselfish, kind "manager of one of the largest mills in the country" (320).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by California State University-Dominguez Hills, University of California-Berkeley, and University of Minnesota-Minneapolis.

132. Druid, David. *Bonnie Bess; or, The Prettiest Girl in Fall River*. Lowell, MA: Goode & Adams, 1889. 91 pp.

AUTHOR: According to Johannsen, "[i]t is . . . unknown who was writing under the name David Druid" (2: 85).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: This dime novel was published in the series *Geo. W. Goode's Pocket Library*. The story opens in 1859 in Fall River, Massachusetts, where the Vane family lives in a humble cottage. The father, Stephen, has just been "discharged" from his job "for no good reason at all" (7). Although he was only a humble "section-hand" in the Chase Mills, he possesses the refinement and fine features of a gentleman. "Good blood can not be concealed," the narrator comments (5). The Vanes face starvation, when nineteen-year-old Jack returns home after four years in the Navy. He and Bonnie Bess, also nineteen, are in love. Bess's wealthy father, John Bingham, is the Chase Mills treasurer. Beloved by everyone in Fall River, beautiful Bess has a warm, democratic heart: "Hers was a generous, impulsive heart, which could not distinguish between manly nobility in overalls and working garb, or the rich attire of the wealthy man" (10). A series of obstacles comes between Jack and Bess. First, Jack is wrongly charged with and convicted for murder. He is eventually cleared, but then Bess is forced into a loveless marriage with wealthy Andrew Wilson. Distraught Jack becomes a drunkard but reforms before going off to fight in the Civil War. Meanwhile, Bess is forced to work as a seamstress to support herself and her intemperate husband. After Bess's husband dies, she and Jack marry. Having received a more lucrative position in another mill, Stephen Vane is now living comfortably. The cold and arrogant, John Bingham, once the persecutor of the Vanes, has been financially ruined.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Library of Congress.

133. "Eleanor Mallows." *Olive Leaf, and New-England Operative* 1.11 (2 September

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1843): [81]-84.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's setting is a busy New England village, where workers hasten in the morning to a cotton mill. The narrator paints the scene, including the momentous sound of the mill's machinery:

> A hasty peal went forth from the belfry of a large cotton mill on the outskirts of the village, calling the operatives from their morning meal. In an instant, a long line of pale, care-worn men, who seemed to shrink from the cool, invigorating air of the hour, a troop of dirty, ragged boys, covered with rags and shreds of cotton, and crowd of females of all ages, with handkerchiefs and shawls hastily thrown over their heads, hurried along the beaten pathway and entered the mill. Soon the heavy wheels began to turn, the sound deepening at every revolution, until the confused hum of spindles and the discordant clang of looms filled the air, and the very earth seemed to tremble under the combined operation of those giant powers.

One day, Eleanor Mallows, an elegant, fashionably dressed young woman, arrives in town and obtains work as a weaver in the Baltimore mill. Soon the boardinghouses are "abuzz" with speculation as to what might have induced such a genteel woman to seek factory work. Eleanor's boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. McMorris, adds her authoritative opinion to the gossip: "[S]he gave it as her opinion that her mysterious boarder was some dear, well-born woman, who had been ruined, and had left her home with a broken heart; and this opinion passed for truth throughout the village" (81). Mrs. McMorris gives

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Eleanor her own private room, while her other boarders, eight "coarse, vulgar girls," share two small rooms. Working to support herself, Eleanor is miserable in the noisy, dirty factory, abhorring "the din, dust and ignorance with which she was surrounded." She keeps to herself, avoiding the other factory workers, and is very lonely, until one day the gallant and handsome Harry Ford, the factory agent's son, begins to seek her company. In him, she finds "a companion of similar feelings and sympathies to whom she could unbosom her soul." The other women boarders resent Harry's attentions to Eleanor and vent their envy: "They declared that she was a proud, sentimental girl, no better than other folks; all her learning was obtained from poetry in the newspapers, and as for her dresses and trinkets they were probably stolen" (82). Deeply in love, Eleanor thinks only of Harry, who soon confesses his love. His family, however, oppose his marrying a factory girl. Trouble arises for Eleanor, when her overseer sexually harasses her: "The overseer in Eleanor's room . . . now began to manifest great partiality for her. But she treated all his advances with scorn and contempt. Offended by her rudeness, he determined on revenge. Observing that she neglected her work, he entered a complaint against her, and obtained an order for her discharge." Distraught, Eleanor appeals to Harry for help. He obtains a living situation for her in another town. Eleanor remains there many weeks, but Harry does not return. Suffering Eleanor falls into "a violent fever," from which she almost dies. She finds out that Harry has gone to New Orleans on business. She goes to find him, "believ[ing] that he would marry her if it were not for the pride of his friends." She follows him to "a gaming house" (83). Here he has been drinking and gambling in an attempt to drown his pain over his father's threat to disown

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

him if he marries Eleanor. Soon he receives a letter informing him that his father has died and left him his entire fortune. Happily wedded, Harry and Eleanor preside over the Baltimore mill: "Harry built a large and beautiful house in the grove . . . and the operatives and tenants at the Baltimore mill enjoyed a long season of prosperity and happiness under the mild government and kind attentions of Harry Ford and 'the Lady Eleanor'" (84).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

134. Farley, Harriet. "Factory Romance." *Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius.* Boston: James Munroe, 1847. 100-114.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: The author prefaces the story with several excerpts from contemporary newspapers recounting romantic stories of factory girls. She writes her own version of one of the true romances, the marriage of Irene Nichols, factory girl, to the President of Mexico. The narrator thinks Irene would have been better off to stay in "Yankee-land" (101), and she writes a fantasy of the home Irene might have had in Maine. She painstakingly describes a country home of the period. It is decorated with Irene's textile handiwork (e.g., rugs, mats, curtains, etc.). The narrator reviews Irene's romantic history. Like other young women, she was unable to find a suitable husband in her hometown or at Lowell, Massachusetts. Therefore, it is no wonder that she married the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

President of Mexico.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *History of Women.*

135. Fitzallen. *The Biddeford Factory Girl: Founded on Facts, Being the Most Thrilling Narrative Ever Published.* Maine: Harris' Publishing Halls, 1852. 28 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Adelaide Richardson, this pulp novel's heroine, is the sixteen-year-old daughter of a wealthy Maine farmer. Her father places her in a Massachusetts boarding school. Lonesome and unhappy, Adelaide runs away to join her friend Susan Arion, a factory worker in Biddeford, Maine. After working there in the mills for several months, Adelaide falls in love with and marries Truphor Leander, a wealthy merchant from Western New York. Shortly thereafter he dies, leaving Adelaide a wealthy widow. Her father disowns her for having disobeyed him. Adelaide gets involved with Mr. Ishmael, "a notorious black-leg of New York" (11). Taking her to New York City, he makes her his mistress, is unfaithful to her, and tricks her out of her fortune. Bent on revenge, Adelaide disguises herself as a "negro servant" named "Jonas" and engages herself as Ishmael's "confidential servant" (14). Unrecognized by Ishmael, Adelaide covertly undermines Ishmael's plans for seducing women and committing crimes. She manages to recover her fortune from him, showing him that he was wrong to consider women weak and submissive. At the end of the novel, the author tells readers how to obtain the *Sequel to the Saco and "Biddeford Factory Girl"* by mail for twenty-five cents.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Arizona State University Libraries.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

136. Goode, George W. *Dan Hayes' Greatest Case; or, The Mystery of the Central Bridge Fire.* Lowell, MA: Factory Publishing Co., 1887. 23 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This ten-cent mystery was issued as 1.2 in the series *Factory Life Library: Stories for the Working People*. The story is set in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1882, where, two years earlier, the Appleby National Bank was robbed of forty to fifty thousand dollars. Many people suspect Bad Man Flanagan of committing the robbery, so the bank president, John F. Kilburn, hires "Dan Hayes, the great detective" to capture him (2). John Flanagan has a reputation of robbing the rich to give to the poor. Kilburn's pampered and spoiled son Ralph is scheming to abduct Stella Lord, a beautiful and sweet young woman working in the Boott Mills to support her invalid mother. Ralph is outraged that Stella prefers Edward Maxwell, a young and handsome overseer, to him. Stella lives with her mother in a neat cottage built by her deceased father, a mill operative. On Central bridge one night, Ralph Kilburn and Stub Howard assault Edward Maxwell and abduct Stella, whom they have drugged. Moments later, the wooden bridge is destroyed by fire (an actual occurrence). Dan Hayes pursues Bad Man Flanagan to Lawrence, Massachusetts. Ralph keeps Stella captive, moving her periodically from Andover to Lawrence to Boston, and keeping her drugged some of the time. Nonetheless, she courageously repulses Ralph's advances. Following a long convalescence, Edward Maxwell recovers from his head injury and rescues "sweet little Stella Lord, the mill girl" (22). After their marriage, Edward is promoted to a "lucrative position" in the mill, so Stella does not return to factory work (23). Dan finally captures Bad Man Flanagan in New Haven. Intended for a working-class audience, the text

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presumes a certain familiarity with scenes and occurrences in Lowell and Lawrence. The novel includes many details of Lowell street culture and street vernacular.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Ohio State University, Library of Congress, and University of Rochester. The novel was republished in 1896 as *King Dan, the Factory Detective. A Story of the Spindle City* (New York: S. Ogilvie, 158 pp.). It was a dime novel in the series *Eureka Detective Stories*. *King Dan* is held by American Textile History Museum, Library of Congress, Occidental College Library, California State University-San Bernardino, and Kent State University.

137. Goode, George W. *The Factory Detective: or, The Mystery of the Merrimac Mills.* New York: Norman L. Munro, 1886. 40 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Published in the series, *Old Cap Collier Library*, this dime novel is set in Lowell, Massachusetts. The story opens with the discovery of the body of a middle-aged factory operative, Harriet Wellington, floating in the canal. She worked as a Merrimack Print Mills weaver under Simon Wilkes, a brutal overseer. Although most people assume that her death was a suicide, detective Dan Hayes, observing bruises on her neck, suspects "a diabolical murder" (1). It turns out that Harriet Wellington was actually Myrtle Waldemere, the daughter of an English baronet. After eloping with an American, she was deserted in the United States by her husband. Destitute, she left her small daughter in the care of a poor Lowell couple, the Vanes. Raised as Violet Vane, she is "a slender, fragile young girl of graceful form, and a face of such rare, flower-like

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

loveliness, that she was known by everybody in the city of spindles as 'sweet little Violet,' the overseer's daughter" (6). A mill girl, Violet is courted by two men, Richard Mansfield, a "remarkably handsome" and honorable mill mechanic and the sophisticated but secretly criminal Aubrey St. Clair (7). Aubrey realizes that Violet is the heiress to the immense Waldemere estate. When Violet is abducted and drugged by St. Clair, Richard rescues her. Dan Hayes discovers that Simon Wilkes and Aubrey St. Clair murdered Harriet Wellington. In the end, Violet--now the immensely wealthy heiress of the Waldemere estate--is reunited with her father. She and Richard marry, living thereafter happily. Violet does not neglect to provide generously for the Vanes.
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library and University of Rochester.

138. Goode, George W. *Kathie, the Overseer's Daughter; or, Love and Life at the Loom.* New York and Lowell: Factory Publishing Co., 1887. 24 pp.
SYNOPSIS: This dime story was issued as 1.1 in the series *Factory Life Library: Stories for the Working People*. On a cold December night on the Lowell, Massachusetts, streets, young Kathie Gordon, "slender and marvelously beautiful," is attacked by a drunken ruffian. She is rescued by Cecil Clare, "a tall, well dressed and strikingly handsome young man" (2). He admires Kathie's pure, "childlike and trustful" face and decides that she must be "more than an overseer's daughter" (2-3). Although she does not yet realize it, the couple who have raised her and whom she believes to be her parents are not her real parents. When her "mother" dies, Kathie believes herself an orphan. She works as a weaver in the Massachusetts mills, where her deceased "father" was once an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

overseer. When Kathie rebuffs the advances of her brutish overseer, Simon Willis, she loses her job and finds herself blacklisted in many mills. After suffering great want and anxiety, she obtains a position in the Boott Mills earning "a mere pittance" (6). In the street, when Simon Willis again tries to force himself upon her, Kathie is rescued by the "fearless" Waldo West. Waldo greatly admires her beauty, purity and innocence, "gaz[ing] rapturously, yet almost reverently, upon the beauty of her face." That night, Kathie finds "Waldo West's handsome face mingled with her dreams" (7). Chivalrous and gentlemanly Waldo is the rich "son of one of Lowell's magnates" (7). Due to Willis's evil persecution, Kathie twice more loses jobs in the mills. To make some extra money, she supplements her mill wages working evenings at a seamstress's house running a sewing machine. The narrator commiserates with oppressed mill workers and seamstresses: "Ah, few know the trials, the heartaches, the oppression of the slaves of the loom and the needle--weep for them--aye, the tale justly told would draw tears from an image of stone" (10). Continuing to torment Kathie, Simon contrives to have her falsely accused of theft and arrested. Cecil Clare discovers that his mother, a mill worker, was also subjected to "gross abuse and brutal treatment" by Simon Willis. After Kathie is acquitted of the theft, she leaves Lowell for Lawrence, becoming a weaver in the Pacific Mill. Soon, Waldo declares his love for her, but she is intimidated because he is "so rich" and she "so poor" (15). It turns out that both Kathie and Cecil are the children of the wealthy English Colonel Gracecourt. One day on the Lawrence streets, Kathie befriends a poor woman who has escaped from the Danvers lunatic asylum. Though Kathie does not yet realize it, this woman is her real mother, long ago driven insane by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her husband's mistreatment. Some days later, again on the street Kathie encounters Effie Sinclair, a ragged factory woman carrying an infant. After Simon Willis married her in a sham--unbeknownst to Effie--wedding ceremony, he deserted her and her child. In the end, the Gracecourt family--Kathie, Cecil, and their parents--are reunited. Driven insane by her baby's death, Effie murders Simon Willis, "the brutal overseer." She is captured and confined to an insane asylum. Now rich, Kathie marries Waldo West, and they live happily together in "the Spindle city" (23).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Ohio State University, Library of Congress, and University of Rochester.

139. Goodrich, F. E. "In the Dark." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* (San Francisco) 15.2 (1875): 164-71.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's heroine is Mary Wilson, a textile factory worker in the New England town of Ashton near the Black River (perhaps based upon Ashton, Rhode Island, on the Blackstone River). One November evening, Mary, a tall and graceful young woman, arranges a meeting with her lover, Joe, a young night-watchman at the mill. Joe and her factory friend Aggie are the two people Mary loves most in the world. Mary is the last member of an old New England family, descended from Calvinist preachers and now declined into obscurity. As a result of the Indian captivity of one of her ancestors, Mary also carries some Indian blood. Her Indian traits include her lack of education and impetuosity. When Mary hears that half the workers are to be laid off at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the mill where she and Aggie work, Mary gives up her place for Aggie. Then she secretly discovers Aggie and Joe together in a tryst. Her Indian spirit aroused, she plots revenge. A demon possesses her, impelling her toward a "dreadful purpose" (170). When Mary realizes that Aggie is still her loyal friend, she sacrifices herself, drowning in the canal to save her.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

140. Goodwin, L. S., Mrs. "Factory Song." *The American Workman* (Boston, MA) 2.6 (July 1869).

SYNOPSIS: This thirty-two-line ballad describes a young woman working in a textile mill, eagerly anticipating her marriage. Toiling in the mill's din, she sings out the name of her betrothed, Fred:

> The spindles whirl, the bobbins fill.
>
> A little maid tends the thread,
>
> Singing a song of somebody,
>
> And somebody's name is Fred.
>
> She sings aloud, for none can hear,
>
> So noisily goes the mill,
>
> Telling her secret to many an ear,
>
> And keeping her secret still. (1-8)

She thinks of how "willingly" she will work for Fred (23-24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* xiii. *The American*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Workman is held by Library of Congress, New York University, Yale University, Columbia University, and University of Pittsburgh.

141. Hannah [possibly Hannah Johnson (m. Noyes)]. "The Wedding Dress." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 33-39.

SYNOPSIS: Written by a mill operative, this short story is set in Lowell, Massachusetts. One pleasant summer afternoon, two factory women go on a shopping expedition. Using false names for the characters, the narrator explains that she will relate an event that actually took place. The shorter and plainer of the two women, Laura, intends to buy a silk wedding dress, good enough to be worn by the Governor's daughter, and save it for her marriage. Laura's beautiful friend tells her that she ought to wait until she's engaged, as she herself is. She fears the dress will get ruined in the boardinghouse. Laura, thinking that if she obtains the dress her husband might appear, buys some "dove-colored silk" and engages a milliner to measure and cut the dress. On a visit to her rural home, Laura sews the dress herself. In her hometown, a wealthy old bachelor, Mr. Smith, becomes attached to Laura, the uneducated daughter of a poor farmer. After she returns to Lowell, he sends her ten dollars and advises her to come back home at once. Mr. Smith quickly proposes marriage, insisting on her immediate answer. He drives her by his mansion: "[T]he cage was ready, and it was in truth a splendid one" (38). Three weeks later, he and Laura are married. At the story's end, the narrator apologizes for not creating a nobler heroine marrying from loftier motives. Nonetheless, the story's couple enjoy a happy marriage, never regretting that they avoided a lengthy courtship.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

142. Higginson, Ella Rhoads. "Zarelda." *The Flower That Grew in the Sand, and Other Stories.* 1896. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries P, 1972. 171-91.

AUTHOR: Higginson (1862-1940), a pharmacist in Whatcom, Washington, wrote popular verse and fiction (Adams 184).

SYNOPSIS: This short story's heroine, Zarelda Winser, works as a weaver in a woolen mill near the Willamette River, Oregon. She learns from the factory coquette, Em Brackett, that her boyfriend, Jim Sheppard, has taken Em to a dance. Proud and sensitive Zarelda is one of the most conscientious weavers. Since she has been dating Jim for almost two years, her mother has been making clothes for her wedding and showing them to some of the town's women. In factory society, a young man and young woman might "go together" for a time, and then suddenly one might "throw off" the other without any explanation, as Jim has done to Zarelda (181-82). Though she is deeply hurt, Zarelda refuses to feel sorry for herself or accept her mother's sympathy. Walking alone that evening, Zarelda is moved by the beauty of the Willamette's natural scenery, and she faces her hard life of toil with a noble spirit, determined to make the best of what she has. Features of the story include the characters' use of a Western, working-class dialect.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Also reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

143. Hilton, Maude. *Rose Michel; or, The Trials of a Factory Girl.* New York: Beadle and Adams, 1881. 28 pp.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: This five-cent pulp romance was published in the *Waverly Library* series. It appeared earlier serially in *The Family Story Paper* (14 June 1875-) and later in the same periodical (14 January 1904-) with the author identified as "Ada M. Howard." The story's heroine, Rose Michel, a seventeen-year-old Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker, supports herself and her blind, widowed father. A French immigrant, Rose has the beauty, grace, and learning of a lady, eliciting the envy and spite of her co-workers. Henry Barton, the mill owner's nephew and Rose's overseer, is so dazzled by her beauty that he proposes to make her his mistress. Innocent, virtuous Rose refuses, and in anger Henry imposes fines upon her that diminish her wages. Rose and her father live in wretched poverty in a "ruined cot" (2). The mill owner, Walter Greyson, touched by Rose's purity and beauty, soon realizes that she is his niece and that her father is a French nobleman. Disturbed by Henry's threats to make her his mistress, Rose gets caught in a mill wheel and is "frightfully crushed and mangled" (6), for which she is hospitalized. Concerned about Rose's father, Walter Greyson visits the Michels' cottage and finds him dead. Overcome with pity, the formerly hardhearted Walter prays for the first time in years (7). Worried that Walter will make Rose his heir, Henry has her removed from the hospital to his secluded cottage, where she soon recovers from her accident. Henry hopes to marry Rose to be assured of his uncle's estate. Handsome and strong Archie Wallace, a mill mechanic, saves Rose from the clutches of Henry just as he is about to force himself upon her. Rose and Archie confess their love and become betrothed. They are soon separated by Henry, who sets up Archie as the perpetrator of his own crime. Walter Greyson offers to adopt Rose, but unaware that he is her uncle she refuses. Henry is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

finally convicted of and imprisoned for debt and robbery. Rose and Archie marry and move with Walter Greyson, whom Rose now knows to be her uncle, to a "stately residence" in Boston. Rose hears that Henry has committed suicide and that his last words were: "Rose Michel is avenged" (28). At the story's end, the narrator comments that "the God of the orphan [has] watched over and protected the sweet little factory girl" (28). This is one of the few fictional texts in which a factory woman marries a working-class man rather than marrying upward.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library and Yale University.

144. Holland, Josiah Gilbert. *Miss Gilbert's Career: An American Story.* New York: Charles Scribner, 1860. 476 pp.

AUTHOR: Holland (1819-81; b. Belchertown, Massachusetts), born into a poor family, worked during his adolescence in a textile mill in South Hadley, Massachusetts. He went on to become a well-known American author, journalist, and editor.

SYNOPSIS: In a reversal of the usual romance formula, this novel depicts a poor male factory operative eventually winning the hand of a rich young heroine. In the fictitious New England town of Crampton, the heroine, Fanny Gilbert, is the sixteen-year-old daughter of the town doctor. A teacher in an "infant school" (27), Fanny longs for a great career as a writer. Next door to the Gilberts live a poor family, the Blagues. With Mr. Blague's recent death, it becomes necessary for Arthur Blague, aged eighteen, to go to work to support his mother and her newborn. With few opportunities in Crampton, Arthur considers work in the textile mills at nearby Huckleberry Run. He dreads

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

becoming an operative because of "the loss of caste" and because he knows that the proprietor, Old Ruggles, is a tyrant: "It was torture to think of being under the control of one whom he knew to be mean-spirited and tyrannical. Then the humiliation of coming upon a level with those who had been the slaves of their employer for years, and who, for bread, had forfeited their manhood . . . chafed his pride almost beyond endurance" (40). Old Ruggles had been a business enemy of his father, cheating and otherwise injuring him. At the mill, with its smoky chimneys and noisy looms, Old Ruggles enjoys humiliating Arthur. Many of the mill women are "[d]irty-looking wenches, with arms bare to the elbows, . . . tittering behind the dirtier glass" (53). They are sometimes so miserable that they cry all day at their work (62). One of the distasteful tasks that Old Ruggles gives Arthur is work in the dyeing room:

> The atmosphere was hot, heavy, almost stifling. The room was full of the noise of heavy gearing, and the constant plash of water in the near wheel-pit. Objects a few feet distant could not be seen in consequence of the steam that rolled out of the vats. . . . The moment [Arthur's] hands were bathed in the poisonous liquid they became as painful as if they had been bathed in fire. . . . By degrees, however, sensibility was benumbed, and he worked on with tolerable comfort. (66-67)

Nonetheless, Arthur finds ways to maintain his self-respect. When Old Ruggles is severely injured in the mill shafting, Arthur takes over the management of the mill, living at the Ruggles' home. Arthur gives the workpeople more autonomy, and the mills become more productive. Arthur gets to know a factory woman who is different from the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

others. Mary Hammett, "well educated, intelligent, amiable, and religious" (111), leaves the factory to become the mistress of the Crampton Centre School. She boards with Mrs. Blague to assist her in Arthur's absence. It turns out that Mary is actually the daughter of a New York publisher, who fled home because her father opposed her choice of a husband. Staying briefly in a workers' "lodging-hall," Arthur finds the place a "human sty" (208). In time, Fanny Gilbert becomes a celebrated novelist. When the Huckleberry Run mills burn down, possibly as a result of arson, Old Ruggles commits suicide. After having educated and prepared himself, Arthur enters the ministry. The story ends with Fanny and Arthur's marriage and Arthur's appointment to a desirable New York City pastorate. Although the novel includes some feminist speeches by Fanny about her career ambitions (see especially p. 88), when she marries Arthur she is content to relinquish her aspirations and live "in the career of her husband" (467).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

145. Judd, Sylvester. *Richard Edney and the Governor's Family.* Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1850. 468 pp.

AUTHOR: Judd (1813-53; b. Westhampton, Massachusetts) spent most of his adult life as a Unitarian minister in Augusta, Maine.

SYNOPSIS: The novel includes several female factory workers as characters. The hero, young Richard Edney, leaves his home on a farm, where he has been raised with strong religious training, to seek work in the fictitious New England city of Woodylin (seemingly based upon Augusta, Maine). Soon after arriving, Richard meets the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Governor's daughter, Melicent Dennington. He obtains work in a sawmill and gets to know some of the young women who work nearby in textile mills and live in boardinghouses. One operative, Violet, is dying from tuberculosis contracted in the mills (69). Richard becomes fascinated with Plumy Alicia Eyre, a factory girl who falls in love with him. Some detailed scenes of factory boardinghouse life are depicted. Plumy Alicia, who worked in domestic service before becoming a weaver, is painted as an intriguing but irreligious and rather amoral young woman (346). Having grown up quite poor, she would be considered coarse and unlettered by some, the narrator comments (92). Richard falls in love with Melicent, who, unlike Plumy, is cultured, educated, and involved in philanthropic Christian work--and, of course, she is the Governor's daughter. Plumy Alicia schemes to disrupt Richard and Melicent's romance. In a confrontation with Melicent, Plumy Alicia movingly expresses the hardship and class bias she has suffered from being born into "the lower orders" (435-39). When Melicent offers to step aside and let her marry Richard, Plumy Alicia is converted to Christianity and relinquishes her claim upon Richard. The novel ends with the marriage of Richard and Melicent, whom Richard always believed was the woman most akin to him spiritually. Plumy Alicia resolves to live alone the rest of her life in seclusion, striving to gain serenity through submission of her heart and will. Richard becomes an agent of the Dam and Mills.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

146. "Knights and the Drama. The Stage Invaded by the Labor Reform Idea. A Chance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for Knights of Labor and Union Men to See a Splendid Labor Play." *The Labor Leaf* (Detroit, MI) 2.39 (4 August 1886).

SYNOPSIS: This article announces the opening of a labor play in the Detroit Opera House on August 16, 1886. The writer does not indicate the title of the play or the playwright but reprints from the *Sunday News* (presumably of Detroit) the following synopsis of this sensational play: "Dahlgreen is the proprietor of a large novelty works [a kind of textile factory]. He has made money 'hand over fist.' Still, he has an inward wound. [About twenty years ago] he was a happily married man, but his wife . . . died, leaving one child, a son, whom she intrusted to a dear friend. That friend fell in love with both the child and the father, and the father apparently reciprocated. But one day he went off and married another woman, and the love of the nurse of his child was turned to gall. She loved the child, however, and ran away with it, concealing herself and it so effectually that Dahlgreen was never able to trace them. . . . Dahlgreen has a niece, Myrtle Elmore, whom he takes to his home. He also has a superintendent named Sylvester, whom he desires the niece to marry. But Myrtle is in love with a pattern maker in the works named Simpson. The same day the niece refuses to marry the superintendent, a committee of workingmen waits upon Mr. Dahlgreen, to ask for a shorter workday, and this committee is headed by Simpson. Dahlgreen refuses the request of the committee, as much from hate of Simpson as from unwillingness to give the favor, as his superintendent, Sylvester, has prejudiced him against the young pattern maker. A strike is commenced and the fight begins. Simpson is ordered to take his tools from the works, but is requested to do it at night after working hours. He does this, and is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accompanied by Myrtle, who has been driven from her home, but who takes refuge with Mrs. Simpson. While young Simpson is in the works after his tools, Sylvester, the superintendent, stealthily approaches and attempts to light a bomb to blow up or damage the mill, expecting that the blame will be thrown on the strikers and particularly on Simpson. The niece comes upon him, when he in alarm draws his pistol and shoots her. She falls over the bomb, extinguishing it. Simpson rushes down, hearing the noise, and sees his love lying apparently dead, and clasps her in his arms just in time to be arrested by a policeman and Sylvester on a charge of murder. Mrs. Simpson seeing the difficulty in which her supposed son is placed, goes to Dahlgreen's house and beseeches him to save Simpson, whom she acknowledges is not her son, but the son of Dahlgreen himself. This she proves, and search is made for Simpson, who, in the meantime, has escaped. The niece, it transpires, is not killed, but only stunned. When Sylvester hears this he fears his scheming will be discovered, and he makes preparations to kill the young lady before she has a chance to tell her story. In this he is frustrated by Simpson, who arrives on the scene at the right time. Everything is explained, Simpson is acknowledged heir, and the works start up on 'eight hours a day.' The other characters in the play are Pete, a false heir; Richter, a keen lawyer, who generally sides with the men; and a certain Col. McSwill, who is a sort of decayed agitator. Humor and pathos alternate, and when the audience are not applauding they are expected to be either laughing or crying."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: The *Labor Leaf* is available on microfilm. The author and title of the play are unknown.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

147. L. "The Choice." *The Factory Girl's Garland* 1.1 (1 January 1844).

SYNOPSIS: In this tale, Frank Hervey, a lawyer, is courting Sarah Rockwell, a factory girl. His friend Henry Willis is puzzled to know why he chooses to "throw himself away on a poor girl, obliged to work in a factory." Frank explains that he loves, esteems, and respects Sarah, although she is not one of the "fashionable ladies" concerned only with "the decoration of their own person." Sarah is supporting herself and her poor parents. Frank hopes to marry her and provide for her parents. When Frank and Sarah's engagement is announced, Henry tells Frank that he has won the hand of "the rich Miss Whitney." Twelve years later, Henry is struggling with business troubles and a poorly managed household. Frank is grateful that he chose "a factory girl, instead of a '*fashionable lady*' for his wife."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry. The story was reprinted in *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York, NY): 5 October 1844, available in *American Periodicals.*

148. Libbey, Laura Jean. "Ionie, the Pride of the Mill; or, The Daughter of a Knight of Labor." *The New York Ledger* 43-44 (3 December 1887-25 February 1888).

AUTHOR: Libbey (1862-1925) of Brooklyn, New York, was a prolific writer of pulp romances for young, working-class women.

SYNOPSIS: This serial story was published in a story paper "devoted [as its masthead indicates] to choice literature, romance, the news, and commerce." Seventeen-year-old Ionie Lawrence and her sister, Barbara, twenty-three, are orphans living in New York City. Their father, a Knight of Labor, has recently died. Petite Ionie is "rarely beautiful .

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

. . with a face dark and piquant, framed in a wealth of nut-brown curls; dimpled cheeks, which the cutting wind had kissed into twin roses; lips like the heart of a crimson blossom; and these eyes, dark as stars, looking out from the rose-leaf face, would have startled any one with their vivid loveliness." For a time, Barbara works in a factory to keep Ionie in school. When Barbara falls ill, Ionie plans to seek her place in the Rochester & Leland Nottingham Lace Mills in Manhattan near Broadway and Canal Street. When she first approaches the mills, young Arthur Rochester, "the son of the senior member of the firm," rescues her from falling on the icy steps and assures her a place in the mills. The mill workers consider kind Arthur "the friend of the poor" (3 December 1887). Almost instantly, both Arthur and his handsome friend, Frank Lyons, fall in love with "little Ionie." When Barbara dies, Ionie, overcome with grief and illness, stays away from work ten days. Upon her return to work, the foreman discharges her, but Arthur makes sure she gets her job back. Elaine Granger, a beautiful, rich heiress in love with Arthur, is jealous of his interest in Ionie. One day during lunch break, when most of the workers have left the factory, Ionie stays inside reading. The mill building suddenly collapses, trapping her. Arthur risks his life to save her from the ruins. When Arthur's father finds out he is in love with Ionie, he disinherits him, because he wants him to marry the rich Elaine. Arthur confesses his love to Ionie, but she rebuffs him, mistakenly believing that she loves Frank. Ionie looks forward to marrying Frank and getting away from the mill: "In a little while this life of toil would be over; she would be released at last from the grim poverty which she had known all her young life, and, what was best of all, she would have a young husband, whom she fairly adored, to love and protect her"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(17 December 1887). She breaks off her romance with Frank, when she finds out that he is a drinker and a gambler and is planning to marry an heiress. It turns out that Ionie herself is the heiress. Her wealthy old uncle suddenly appears, makes her his heir, and takes her to live in his Pittsburgh mansion. Colonel Whitney, Ionie's uncle, is an iron merchant. Transformed into a rich, elegant lady, Ionie creates a great sensation in society. She soon realizes that she really loves Arthur and declares her love to him. For a long time, Ionie and Arthur are kept separated and are persecuted by spiteful Frank Lyons and Elaine Granger. By the end of the story, they marry and become the owners of the Nottingham Lace Mills. The Nottingham working women rejoice in Ionie's wonderful fate. Ionie never forgets the hard life of working women and encourages them not to give up hope of winning love and riches:

> "Do not despair," she whispered to the weary-hearted girls, as she turned away. "None of you know how soon you may meet your fate. . . . It was the day when the world looked darkest to me that I met Arthur first, and had not Providence directed my steps here--and in search of work--I would not now be his bride."
>
> How they blessed her and praised her as she turned away. She was a great lady; but, ah! she would always be the friend of the poor working-girls . . . (25 February 1888)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library.

149. Libbey, Laura Jean. *A Master Workman's Oath; or, Coralie, the Unfortunate.* New

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 1892. 199 pp.

AUTHOR: Libbey (1862-1925) of Brooklyn, New York, was a prolific writer of pulp romances for young, working-class women.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine, Coralie Harding, not more than seventeen years old, works as a weaver in the Drexel Silk Mills on or near Canal Street in New York City. With masses of "flaxen" curls and "sparkling" blue eyes, Coralie is "the little beauty of the silk mills" (3-4). Petite and bewitching, she is very "popular with the mill hands, from the handsome young overseer, down to the bobbin-boys" (4). Fun-loving, she is the leader of the other working girls. Coralie lives on East Thirteenth Street in lonely and dreary tenement rooms with her sick, widowed mother, whom she supports. A new overseer, the arrogant and intemperate Robert Sinclair, sexually harasses Coralie, threatening, when she rebuffs him, to discharge her from the Mills. When Sinclair tries to abduct her, she is rescued by the nobly handsome nephew of Mr. Drexel, Allan Drexel, heir to three million, who falls madly in love with her. Hearing Coralie's story of her difficult struggles to support her ailing mother, Allan is deeply moved with compassion. Aided by Richard Marshall, a Master-workman (presumably of the Knights of Labor), Coralie obtained a position in the Drexel Mills two years ago. Soon her mother dies but not before extracting a solemn promise from Marshall. Allan Drexel proposes marriage to Coralie: "Be my wife, and these little hands shall be covered with shining jewels" (18). After rushing off and getting married, Allan and Coralie move "to a fashionable up-town boarding-house" (21). Soon the newlyweds are separated. At the instigation of the vengeful Sinclair, Coralie undergoes several abductions, druggings, near-rapes, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

brushes with death. She and Allan are also persecuted by the jealous and malignant Inez Monstrossor, who loves Allan. Allan unceasingly and heroically seeks his beloved Coralie. Eventually, the Master-workman's secret reveals that Coralie is actually the heiress to the Drexel Silk Mills. Finally, Allan and Coralie are reunited. Although they move into the lavish Drexel Castle north of the city, Coralie never forgets her ties to the working people:

> No one is more welcome at the Drexel mansion than the master-workman--Richard Marshall--and his good wife; and Fedora Burnham, the pretty, dark-eyed girl who was once Coralie's sole companion in the silk-mill when they ran their looms side by side together and counted their little envelopes when Saturday night came to see if they dared take just a little from their mite to buy some longed-for furbelow that struck their girlish fancy. (198)

Coralie, joyously married, is now a mother, and Fedora marries a lawyer.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

150. Libbey, Laura Jean. *Willful Gaynell; or, The Little Beauty of the Passaic Cotton Mills.* New York: Norman L. Munro, 1890. 249 pp.

AUTHOR: Libbey (1862-1925) of Brooklyn, New York, was a prolific writer of pulp romances for young, working-class women.

SYNOPSIS: The novel's heroine, Gaynell Esterbrook, aged sixteen, works as a weaver in the Passaic Cotton Mills, New Jersey, and shares rooms with her sister Hazel, also a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

weaver. They are orphans. While the workers are glad to have the protection of a labor union, it will only defend working women who are "strictly honorable" (35). Gaynell is so beautiful that the mill owner's nephews, Harold Tremaine and Percy Granville, fall in love with her. Gaynell loves the handsome Percy, who, while rescuing her during a flood at the mill, confesses his love. Gay incurs the jealousy of the beautiful heiress Evelyn St. Claire, Percy's fiancee. Percy quickly marries Gaynell, but they are separated immediately. When Harold loses both his inheritance and Gaynell to Percy, he vows revenge. Gaynell's enemies keep her and Percy apart through a series of intrigues, including abductions, close brushes with death, incarceration in an insane asylum, etc. Due to her bravery, Gaynell is made the heiress of a rich New York City banker. By the story's end, Percy and Gaynell are reunited, and Percy expresses gratitude for having found a wife among the "working-girls." Although the plight of factory women is admittedly hard, the novel depicts mill management as kind and benevolent.
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

150a. "Little Charm, the Factory Girl; or, Guarded by the Labor League. A Story of Life and Love among the Cotton Mills." [By the] author of "The Orphan Sisters; or, The Daughters of the Knights of Labor," etc. *The New York Family Story Paper* 573 (September 28, 1884).
SYNOPSIS: This "great story" was advertised in *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) (28 September 1884). It tells of a labor union protecting a New England cotton factory woman from "bitter trials" and "alluring temptations." The story is advertised as follows:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Knights of Labor and other Labor Leagues have battled bravely to secure better wages for workingmen and women in every State of the Union. Their efforts have been rewarded with great success, and more triumphs are in store for them. In the great Cotton Mills of New England the thousands of hard-working girls, who labor there day after day for mere pittances, are surrounded with trials and temptations, to which they are subjected by reason of their sex and their position in life. It is gratifying to observe that the Labor Leagues are turning their attention to this important fact, and are doing their utmost to assist their innocent charges to bear these trials with heroic fortitude, and to withstand the temptations to which they are exposed. Little Charm had to suffer many such bitter trials, and was assailed by many alluring temptations; but in the hour of her greatest need the Labor League stood by her to protect and guard her. The great story . . . tells of the terrible hardships the fair young working girl had to undergo; how even her love for the man of her choice was made a weapon to force her to submit to the cruel will of those who hated her; how the Labor League stood nobly by her, and what steps they took to guard her. It is a true picture of life in the Cotton Mills, full of pathetic incidents and thrilling scenes, and everybody will be deeply interested in reading it."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Possibly not preserved, the original text of the story is unavailable.

151. M., L. B. "The Broken Engagement, or The Factory Girl." *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 2.1 (July 1841): 10-15.

SYNOPSIS: The short story opens in a factory weaving room, where young women are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conversing before beginning work. The narrator contrasts two of them, Clara Morey, who is pious, amiable, sedate, and sincere, and Elvira Pratt, who is gay, fascinating, envious, and deceitful (11). Clara has been engaged to James Hart for a long time. Elvira is a coquette who enjoys gaining the affections of men and dropping them. Elvira attempts to turn James against Clara, ridiculing her recent conversion. Clara is very religious and wishes to be baptized (11). When she places God and duty above her love for her fiancé, she loses James to Elvira. James and Elvira enter into a miserable marriage. James disintegrates into a violent drunk. Due to her piety, Clara finds a good husband and material prosperity. At the end, the narrator addresses readers, telling them that the story is "founded upon fact" and that "the path of duty is the path of safety" (15).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

152. *The Mysteries of Nashua: or Revenge Punished and Constancy Rewarded.* Nashua: C. T. Gill, 1844. 40 pp.

SYNOPSIS: In this novel, two young men of Nashua, New Hampshire, Dennis Maynard and Percy Gardner, are both in love with Adeline Perkins. The son of lax and negligent parents, Dennis, a shopkeeper, has developed into a "passionate youth" and prankster. Percy, the son of an upright and principled farmer, develops into an honorable and gracious young man. Adeline, the daughter of honest farming folk, besides being extremely beautiful, is sensible and modest. She prefers Percy to Dennis, which enrages the latter, so he tries to exact revenge on Percy and ruin his romance with Adeline. At Dennis's advice, Adeline's father suffers considerable loss in land speculations. Adeline,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

now nineteen, goes to work in the Nashua factories to help her parents. Despite other factory women's tendency to spend their wages on rich dresses and finery, Adeline resolves to live frugally and send at least half of her wages to her parents. Dennis grows increasingly corrupt and intemperate. Following Dennis's advice, Percy travels to South America on business. The narrator denounces men like Dennis who bring pain and harm to women. Proposing to Adeline, Dennis offers also to help her parents if she accepts. Adeline refuses, saying that she is engaged. Dennis is shocked at her refusal, especially considering her adversity, which he has purposely contrived. The narrator remarks on the richness of women's love, in light of Adeline's devotion to Percy (26). Another factory girl, Anna Wilder, who has been "too fearfully intimate" with Dennis (28), is rejected by him. Knowing she is pregnant, Dennis sends Anna five hundred dollars. Dennis rededicates himself to revenge and sinks deeper into intemperance and gaming. Still hoping to win Adeline, Dennis places a false obituary for Percy Gardner in the newspaper, but she still refuses to marry him. On her death bed, Anna Wilder forgives and bids farewell to Dennis. She promises to watch over him like "a guardian spirit" (36). Shortly thereafter, Dennis is haunted by an apparition of her. The narrator comments on the evils of seducers and the female suffering they cause. In New York City, Dennis Maynard is murdered by Anna Wilder's brother, Ned. The story ends with the return of Percy, now a prosperous merchant, and his marriage to Adeline. This novel's interesting features include depictions of Nashua street culture and slang, especially young men's.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

153. "Only a Factory Girl." *The Labor Standard* (Fall River, MA) 8.15 (9 April 1881).

SYNOPSIS: This short story's heroine is Delia Gray, a beautiful, young weaver in Archer & Son's mill. As the story opens, she is the object of envious backbiting by some other factory women. Delia is in love with Horace Archer, the corporation's junior partner, and believes that he returns her love. The women mock her for thinking she can become "Mrs. Horace Archer . . . and Queen of Millville." Jim Burns, a handsome factory hand interested in Delia, urges her to shun Horace, who can only bring her grief. Jim tells her she is "a fool" to think Horace would marry her. Delia lives in a humble cottage with her young invalid sister, Nettie, whom she supports. Upon arriving home, Delia finds that Nettie has received gifts brought by Horace and a woman Nettie thinks was his wife. Deeply hurt, Delia tries to avoid Horace the next day, but he pursues her and confesses his love. He explains that the woman who accompanied him on his visit to Nettie was his brother's wife. He is not married but wants to marry Delia. In a state of glorious disbelief, Delia is soon married to Horace and her life completely transformed: "Then she was whirled away to the great house on the hill . . . and listened to the congratulations of stately people who wished her every happiness. And thus she ceased to be only a factory girl, and became indeed Mrs. Horace Archer, the queen of Millville, as her enemies sneeringly predicted."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

154. "Romance of a Factory Girl." *The Ware Standard* 10.34 (5 November 1864).

SYNOPSIS: Published in Ware, Massachusetts, a textile mill town, this news story

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recounts the courtship and marriage of one of the *Lowell Offering* editors. The narrator praises the *Offering* for its exhibition of "talent, genius and literary culture, of no mean order." In the 1840s when the periodical was being published, a St. Louis merchant became romantically interested in one of the writers. To him, her contributions evinced a "peculiarly loveable and womanly character . . . that made an impression deep and lasting it would seem, upon his mind and heart." He initiated a correspondence with her. Eventually they met and became engaged. Now happily married to a prosperous husband, the former factory girl "has shown herself equal to any position and graces society as if to the manor born."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

155. "A Scene of Real Life." *Literary Souvenir* (Lowell, MA) 5.5 (29 January 1842): 36-37.

SYNOPSIS: Jane Ellis, a sea captain's daughter, is this short story's heroine. Her father's death and her mother's illness force Jane to seek work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Soon after turning sixteen, she is seduced by a young man, Charles. After inheriting a great deal of money, Charles marries her. Hereafter, Jane lives in easy circumstances, "the wife of one of New York's richest merchants--the once poor Lowell Factory Girl" (37).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Massachusetts Historical Society and Yale University.

156. Turner, William Mason. "Bessie Raynor: The Factory Girl. A Tale of the Lawrence

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Looms." *The Saturday Weekly Journal* (New York) 2.73-85 (5 August 1871-28 October 1871).

AUTHOR: Turner (b. Petersburg, Virginia) was a Philadelphia physician and author (Johannsen 1: 7; 2: 275).

SYNOPSIS: Published in a Beadle and Adams story paper, this sensational "romance" (as it is called by the narrator [21 October 1871]) includes scenes of the Pemberton Mill Disaster. When the story opens, seventeen-year-old Bessie Raynor works as a weaver in the Pemberton Mill in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1859. She shares a humble cottage with her widowed father and "crippled" younger brother, Ross, who also works in the Pemberton Mill. Her father, once a sea captain, falls gravely ill. On his deathbed, he reveals to Bessie that he owns land in Illinois and some gold that he has buried in Lawrence to prevent his children from being persecuted. He warns her against the villainy of Arthur Ames and Black Phil. Just before he dies, he gives Bessie the key to a chest containing the land deed and the directions to the buried gold. Three men love Bessie: Arthur Ames, a corrupt banker; Black Phil Walshe, an evil, ugly, deformed mill operative; and the handsome, noble mill hand Lorin Gray. Bessie loves Lorin but believes that he loves Minerva Ames, the banker's daughter. Black Phil lives in sin with a haglike factory woman, Nancy Hurd. They were once married in "a false ceremony." Lorin, Black Phil, and Nancy also work in the Pemberton Mill. In a jealous rage over Phil's love for Bessie Raynor, Nancy, like an "Amazon" and a "tigress," attacks him, threatening to kill him or Bessie (5 August 1871). Bessie's key falls into the hands of Arthur Ames. In the mill, Black Phil pushes Ross Raynor onto one of the belts. Lorin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rescues the injured Ross, who eventually recovers from his injuries and returns to the factory. [Chapters 10-34 are missing from Yale's holdings.] Lorin is the adopted son of old Mother Moll, a fortune teller. On the morning of January 10, 1860, the day of the Pemberton Mill collapse, both Ross and Mother Moll experience visions and premonitions of the coming disaster. In describing the terrible day, the narrator comments that it was "a day to be remembered by many in Lawrence, by some, who to this day wear mourning weeds in a sad remembrance." A contemporary newspaper account of the tragedy is inserted. Along with many other workers, Bessie is injured in the accident: "Bessie Raynor, far down beneath the debris of the fallen mills, her face scarred and bleeding, her dress torn, her senses reeling and bewildered, did not recover her reason until hours after, when she smelled the smoke of fire and saw the dull red glow of the flames creeping toward her" (21 October 1871). With tremendous courage and strength, Lorin, also caught in the ruins, rescues Bessie, carrying her away in his arms. While Bessie recovers from her injuries, her sailor brother Ralph returns with the secret to their father's gold and lands. Lorin finds out that he is the heir to a large fortune. He, Bessie, and Ralph become very rich. After Nancy Hurd manages to poison Black Phil, she is murdered herself. The story ends with the marriage of Bessie and Lorin. The text includes some criticism of unjust factory conditions, including the lack of compensation for ill or injured workers.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Beinecke Library, Yale University. The story was republished as "Bessie Raynor, the Work Girl; or, The Quicksands of Life" in the *Waverley Library* (Quarto ed.), 4 (16 December 1879) and in the *Waverley Library*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Octavo ed.), 64 (11 August 1885).

157. Turner, William Mason. *Maggie: or, The Loom Girl of Lowell.* New York: Norman L. Munro, 1883. 179 pp.

AUTHOR: Turner (b. Petersburg, Virginia) was a Philadelphia physician and author (Johannsen 1: 7; 2: 275).

SYNOPSIS: This sensational pulp novel was first published serially as "Maggie, or, 'Spun from the Spindles'" in *The New York Family Story Paper* beginning with 4.182 (2 April 1877). The story is set during the hard winter of 1848. One night, young and beautiful Maggie Marsh is standing out on the cold Lowell, Massachusetts, streets, begging to help her starving family. Her intemperate father, Richard Marsh, once owned the Merrimac Mills but has lost everything through the treachery of his longtime enemy, Philip Frone. Maggie's brother, Tom, cannot find work, and her mother is ill. Maggie once loved the Merrimac Mills' junior partner, Ellwood Gray. He is now betrothed to Leonora Frone, the daughter of Philip Frone, the current Merrimac Mills' owner. George Hart, a kind and honest mill foreman, loves Maggie. The Marshes live in a miserable, dilapidated tenement. Through the kindness of Ellwood Gray, Maggie obtains work as a "loom girl" in the Merrimac Mills earning three dollars a week. A desperately poor old hag, Elsie Harebell, has come to Lowell to avenge herself on her girlhood seducer, Philip Frone. Though feeble and haggard, Elsie at one point attacks Philip "[l]ike an infuriated Amazon" (39). In the mill, Maggie is assigned by Philip Frone to work at a loom near a dangerous, rushing belt. When Philip pushes Maggie into the belt, George Hart and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ellwood Gray rescue her from "the treacherous cogs" (115). Though bruised and stunned, Maggie is not too seriously hurt and after ten days returns to her work. Ellwood and Maggie realize that they still love each other. For some months, Maggie has "a hard, cheerless time" working at her loom, which "taxe[s] her energies to the utmost" (162). In California, Maggie's father becomes wealthy prospecting for gold. By the end of the novel, Philip Frone is murdered by Elsie Harebell, who then commits suicide. Leonora Frone is incarcerated in an insane asylum. Maggie marries Ellwood Gray, the joint owner with George Hart of the Merrimac Mills.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis, and the Library of Congress.

158. Veturia. "The Country Lawyer." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 274-77.

SYNOPSIS: As this short story opens, two women, Alice Belmont and Theresa Copley, are discussing a man, Lawyer Huntley, who has been courting Alice. The women also discuss poetry, love, and marriage. Years pass and the narrative moves forward to a scene of the country lawyer in his fashionable Boston home. His wife sits nearby, "busy with her needle." They have a son. The story ends with the narrator's observation that the country lawyer has never regretted choosing a wife from the "city of spindles" (277).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

159. Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace. "Luke Gardiner's Love." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 84-113.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story is Eden Ronian, an Irish-American factory worker in the fictitious New England town of Blackbird Hollow in the early 1850s. A young woman living with her stepfather, mother, and sisters, Eden is in love with Luke Gardiner, a machinist. Her stepfather opposes the match because Luke is a Yankee. The stepfather is a heavy drinker who beats the children and wants Eden to live at home so he can have her wages. One day at the mill, the overseer Joe Glancy kisses Eden and gives her some earrings. After their father drinks and beats Eden's mentally disturbed young sister, Flit, the sisters run away to stay at the McCannahs' house nearby. The wild McCannah daughters involve Eden in dancing and drinking with Joe Glancy, who hopes to seduce her. Luke Gardiner fights Joe and decides to commit himself to watching over and saving Eden. Eden struggles with shame over her loose behavior. When Flit falls into the river, Luke tries in vain to save her. After Flit's death, the Ronians grow poorer. They are forced to sell some of their furniture, going hungry at times. Eden now avoids "all her former comrades in frivolity," hoping to make herself worthy of Luke's goodness. After again saving Eden from Joe Glancy's advances, Luke proposes to her. When she replies that she is not good enough for him, he says, "You're the nicest girl I know," and Eden assents to the marriage (113).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

160. Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace. "Saint or Sinner." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 32-83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: This short story concerns the life of Hannah Dean, a factory worker in New Bridge, a fictitious New England town. A weaver working twelve hours a day, Hannah lives with her mother and two sisters. Their mother is a religious woman, who accompanies her daughters to prayer meetings in the evenings. Hannah's sister Hetty tells her that she suspects their mother of having poisoned their recently deceased father with arsenic. Mrs. Dean, raised in desperate poverty, is a stern, rigid woman given to religious fervor. The sisters recall that after two old people for whom Mrs. Dean was caring also suddenly died in their home, Mrs. Dean inherited their money. They were relatives of Hannah's fiancé, Tom Furness. Hannah decides she must give up Tom and hereafter watch over her mother to prevent her from poisoning anyone else. Hetty runs away with a man and gets married. As seven years pass, Hannah grows close to her mentally retarded sister, Patty. She watches her mother, never knowing for sure if she is guilty of the poisonings. When a great revival sweeps through town, Hannah gets caught up in it and feels united to Christ in her suffering. She questions the quality of her mother's Christianity. Suddenly, Mrs. Dean marries Deacon Dudley, the possessor of some money. When her mother goes off on a trip with Mr. Dudley, Hannah becomes ill from worry. After Mr. Dudley suddenly dies, the townspeople express suspicion. They have Mr. Dudley's body exhumed and find poison in his stomach. Hannah's mother is tried for murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. Hannah is tormented by doubts about her own complicity in keeping silent and by uncertainty about her mother's guilt, since Mr. Dudley had been taking small doses of arsenic for his stomach. Tom Furness,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

now a widower, comes back to marry Hannah. When a churchwoman obtains a pardon for Mrs. Dudley, she returns to live with Hannah, Tom, and their child, always maintaining her innocence. While Hannah does not attend church, she believes God sends her messages "by these pretty things out-doors" (80). One Sunday when Tom and Hannah take Mrs. Dudley to church, the parishioners complain, so they never return. Without confessing, Mrs. Dudley dies. Free of this terrible burden, Tom insists they "move somewhere, far from here" (83).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

161. Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace. "A Stranger, yet at Home." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 159-203.

AUTHOR: Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story is Prudence Warner, a thirty-five-year-old spinster in a New England village. A middle-class woman, she is contented with her life, devoting herself to the Sunday school, the temperance society, and sewing on her gowns. Her widowed brother-in-law, Darius Kingman, has just returned to town to help out Mr. Coggeshall with the management of a new textile factory. Along with his good business sense, Darius possesses strong spiritual longings to return to his childhood religion, Quakerism. One day after Prue accompanies Darius to a Quaker meeting, he observes her coming from visiting some poor, consumptive invalids in the factory tenements. This deepens his regard for Prue, who is falling in love with him. Darius tells her he believes the rich should try to live more simply "to bring about a keener sense of the brotherhood

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of men" (179). Uncertain of his feelings for her, Darius avoids Prudence for some months. Toward spring the factory hands strike, parading and holding meetings. More and more, Darius finds his sympathies going out to the strikers, which leads Mr. Coggeshall to pronounce him "erratic" (195). One day Darius is clubbed by two drunken Irish men strikers, who regard him as one of "their oppressors." Darius leaves town to have his injuries nursed. He does not want Coggeshall to know about the attack, so that he will go ahead with acceding to some of the strikers' demands, as he has been planning. Darius forgives his attackers, maintaining that there is "no real ill blood among the strikers" (194). Realizing that he loves Prudence, Darius proposes and she accepts.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

162. Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace. "Valentine's Chance." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 278-320.

AUTHOR: Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in the fictitious New England factory village of Blackbird Hollow, where most of the mill workers are French Canadians. Dr. John Valentine, the town's young physician and the hero of the story, is well educated, refined, sensitive, and emotional but with a tendency to paralyzing self-analysis. After meeting a fifteen-year-old French Canadian factory worker, Rose Beauvais, Valentine finds himself strongly drawn to her. He is fascinated by her "unfathomable eyes," soft beauty, and childlike simplicity. Valentine has been halfheartedly courting Miss Jeffreys, the mill owner's daughter, a rather cold and snobbish woman. Rose works in the Jeffreys mill as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a weaver running six looms. When Rose's brother-in-law Frank is severely injured in an elevator accident at the mill, Valentine and Rose are brought together under the emotionally charged circumstances surrounding Frank's injury and eventual death. Convinced that he cannot marry her because of the vast differences in their social standings, Valentine leaves town for several weeks. When he returns, the Beauvais have gone back to Canada. Some time later, Rose and Valentine meet accidentally at a train station. When Rose tells him that she is thinking of entering a convent, Valentine decides he must marry her and does. The Jeffreys and his mother regret the marriage, but Rose and Valentine are happy together. The story depicts some features of French Canadian culture and speech.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER SIX

BLIGHTED AND DECEIVED:

DANGEROUS DESIRES AND WOMEN'S WRONGS

163. Alexander, Charles Wesley (?). *Only a Mill Girl! or, Vinnie Roche's Sad Fate: A True and Touching Account of "The Beauty of Glendale Silk Mill."* Philadelphia, PA: Old Franklin Publishing House, 1879. 30 pp.

AUTHOR: C. W. Alexander (perhaps Charles Wesley Alexander [1837-1927]) is the copyright holder.

SYNOPSIS: This is a fictionalized treatment of events surrounding the actual suicide of Lavinia ("Vinnie") M. Roche, an English silk factory worker living in the United States. At age twenty-five, Vinnie dies after leaping from the Bristol steamer into Long Island Sound. Her corpse is described in rather gruesome detail. The narrator expresses hope that this story will serve as a "warning" to other "poor, trusting, loving, foolish" girls (18). Several years earlier in England, Vinnie was seduced by the wealthy Joe Langfield of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who promised to marry her. He returned to the United States, however, without fulfilling his promise. To hide the "disgrace" of her pregnancy, Vinnie leaves England for Philadelphia, where she gives birth to a boy (23). After a lawyer's son drugs and rapes her, she falls into despair and takes "the downward road" (24). Three circumstances, the narrator contends, have created insurmountable problems for Vinnie: "First the sneers and reproaches of her own sex, second, the constant advances of men, third, poverty" (27). Vinnie becomes a prostitute. When her mother

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

finds out about her sexual transgressions, she disowns her. Vinnie makes up her mind to commit suicide and carries out her plan. The text ends with her "words of despair": *"Oh Joe! I hope God will forgive you!"* The text includes several illustrations with captions in English and German.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

164. B., J. A. *Mary Bean: The Factory Girl.* By Miss J. A. B. of Manchester. Boston: Hotchkiss & Co., 1850. 42 pp.

AUTHOR: The novel's author may be Johannes Adrianus Block.

SYNOPSIS: Raised in a neatly kept Canadian farmhouse, the heroine, Mary Bean, and her sister Ellen enjoy an especially close and loving relationship. Their parents are not mentioned. Mary is courted by William Churchill, a "truly moral young man" (9). In the meantime, George Hamilton has returned to town planning to seduce her. He eavesdrops on the sisters as they discuss their invitation to a party. At the party, George Hamilton draws Mary aside alone with him and arranges a forest meeting with her. When they meet, George tells Mary that he is rich and that he loves her, convincing her to go away with him to Manchester, New Hampshire, where they will marry. In Manchester, George shows Mary the factories and introduces her to some factory girls. He arranges for her to board in a factory boardinghouses, occupying a private room where he visits her each evening. The marriage never takes place. When Hamilton tells Mary that he is bankrupt, she offers to work in the mills to support them. She also says she is interested in trying factory work "just for the novelty of it" (24). That night he seduces her. Unknown to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mary, Hamilton soon after commits a robbery and vicious murder. Mary works in the factory, while growing more and more unhappy. George Hamilton suddenly leaves for Saco, Maine, without telling her, but she finds out where he has gone and follows. The two of them move to Boston, where Hamilton boards her in a "cheap boarding house" (36). Mary visits an astrologer who foretells a sad future for her. Hamilton commits another murder and flees with Mary to Saco. By now, Mary's pregnancy has become obvious. Hamilton convinces her to see Dr. Savin, at whose hands she dies, and her body is deposited in the mill stream. William Churchill and Ellen come to take Mary's body back home for burial. George Hamilton is imprisoned as a murder suspect. William Churchill places a marble tablet at Mary's grave. A few months later, William and Ellen marry and live happily thereafter, always remembering Mary, who was good and kind but too impulsive and generous. Though George Hamilton is acquitted of the murder, the narrator finds him guilty. Dr. Savin is not charged and Mary Bean's murder also goes "unavenged" (42). The narrator denounces these injustices.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

165. *Brief and Impartial Narrative of the Life of Sarah Maria Cornell, Who Was Found Dead (Suspended by the Neck, and Suspected to Have Been Murdered near Fall River, Mass.) December 22, 1832.* Written by One, Who, Early Knew Her. New York: G. Williams, 1833. 24 pp.

AUTHOR: The author identifies him or herself as someone well acquainted with Sarah Maria Cornell (1802-32; b. Rupert, Vermont) and with people close to her and so well

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

qualified to write the life of "this peculiarly unfortunate female" (3).

SYNOPSIS: Sarah Maria was the child of a well-to-do mother and a poor father. Due to the family's financial troubles, at age fifteen Sarah Maria becomes an apprentice dressmaker and then a tailor's apprentice. The death of her grandfather deprives her of all paternal guidance. Having an attractive personality and appearance, she develops an "extreme fondness for gaiety and dress" (7). Becoming "negligent of her needle," she loses her tailoring position. Swept up in a wave of religious revival, Maria "wandered away into the mazy and unexplored regions of religious fanaticism." Now a "wanderer" lacking proficiency in either tailoring or dressmaking, Maria seeks work in a cotton factory (8). Over time, she is employed in some eleven mills and exposed to many unprincipled and evil-minded people. Although sometimes the object of vile rumors, Sarah Maria always earns her employers' approval. Deceived by unprincipled men, Maria sacrifices her virginity, "that which is so essential to adorn the female character" (9). With no guidance but her own impulses and passions, Maria continues to wander, although at times she repents her errors. Becoming a Methodist, she attends camp meetings, which she comes to regret. In a letter to her sister, she writes that when she has wished to become "serious and mindful," she has been ridiculed and slandered by other factory workers (14). She tries to return to needlework, but her eyesight is too weak. At her last camp meeting, something terrible happens. Working now in Fall River, Massachusetts, she appears "like one labouring under a very great depression of spirits" (16). At three o'clock p.m. on the day of her death, Maria leaves her boardinghouse to visit a friend but never returns. The next day, she is found hanging from a haystack

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fence. The narrator considers her death a murder, since she would not have chosen that site for her suicide and because women are reluctant to have their bodies exposed to many eyes. God knows the murderer and will avenge this crime. Sarah has been unjustly stigmatized, the narrator contends, but it must be recognized that she made some serious mistakes, partly attributable to lack of parental guidance. She has been unfairly persecuted both before and after her death. The narrator condemns the wrongs committed by men against women. Finally, she or he vents rage at seducers, those "monsters in human shape" and advises parents to educate their daughters carefully and daughters to be obedient (24). There is great danger in beauty, since it leads to seduction, crime, disgrace, and ruin. The text includes some poetry.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University Library.

166. Carroll, George. *The Manchester Tragedy.* Manchester, NH: Fisk & Moore, 1848. 24 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Sarah H. Furber (1825-48; b. Nottingham, New Hampshire), an unmarried factory worker in Manchester, New Hampshire, died in May 1848 at the hands of an abortionist. *The Manchester Tragedy* includes two parts: a Biography of Furber ([5]-12) and the Examination, a transcription of trial testimony given by the three men charged with Furber's murder (13-24). Although the biographical sketch is "not one of fiction," nevertheless "it is full of romance," the narrator maintains (7). Sarah Furber was the daughter of a poor but honest New Hampshire farmer. A beautiful seventeen-year-old, Furber went to live and work in Haverhill, Massachusetts, where she was seduced by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gardner Ingalls, a thirty-five-year-old married man. In spring 1847, she moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, and began working in the Amoskeag Mills. For more than a year, she was "constant at her daily labor" but continued to see Ingalls occasionally (9). In May 1848, Furber disappeared from her boardinghouse for several days. Later it was discovered that she had visited Dr. John McNab, a local physician with "a reputation gained by a course of practice that respectable physicians look upon with abhorrence" (10). After her death, McNab conveyed Furber's body to the Medical College in Boston, where he attempted to sell it for dissection. The Examination includes the testimony given at Manchester Police Court on June 12, 1848, when John McNab, Gardner Ingalls, and Horace D. McNab were charged with the murder. They were accused of administering to Furber "some deleterious drug for the purpose of procuring abortion" and with attempting "to procure abortion upon her by the use of some sharp instrument," causing her death from peritonitis (13). The Examination includes extensive testimony from Furber's boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. Phebe Lufkin, and from several boarders. This testimony offers many glimpses of boardinghouse life, including the fact that both men and women mill workers boarded at Lufkin's house. Several witnesses carefully describe Furber's dress and personal effects. Lufkin reports that she "turned off" some boarders "because they attended dancing school" or drank (13). She seems concerned to defend Furber against suspicions of impropriety and "criminal familiarity" with men. Several medical men's testimony reveals attitudes toward abortion and women's bodies. John McNab transported Furber's body to Boston in a wooden crate marked "glass." At the Medical College, McNab tries unsuccessfully to sell the body for dissection. He then

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pays a man five dollars to bury the body or "cut it up and put it down the vault" (20). Suspecting foul play, the man preserves the corpse, notifying the police. At the Examination's conclusion, Horace McNab is dismissed for lack of evidence and John McNab is jailed to await further examination. Gardner Ingalls is acquitted of murder and released on bail but ordered to stand trial for "aiding and assisting in the murder." The trial is scheduled to continue October 4, 1848 (24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *A Collection of Trials on Microfiche*.

167. Clarke, Mary Carr. *Sarah Maria Cornell, or the Fall River Murder. A Domestic Drama, in Three Acts*. New-York: n.p., 1833. 48 pp.

AUTHOR: Clarke (b. c. 1790 in Philadelphia) was a New York actress and writer.

SYNOPSIS: Act I, Scene I of this melodrama opens one morning in the factory, where the heroine, Sarah Cornell, tells her co-workers about her terrible dream of being murdered. The young women reassure her of their loving support, especially considering her generosity to them. The scene changes to Mr. Houseman's farmyard, where a young woman there has also had a terrible dream of murder. The scene shifts to a wood, where Mr. Averio and other Methodist men discuss their plans for seducing women and swindling their followers at camp meetings. In Act II, Scene I, the factory girls are singing at their work. Mr. Thornhill, the mill owner and a magistrate, explains to Sarah the mutual dependence of mill owners and workers. Some of the Methodist men enter to sell Bibles and tracts, announcing a camp meeting (14). The scene changes to the farmyard, where Mrs. Houseman eagerly anticipates attending the camp meeting. At

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mrs. Patton's boardinghouse, Sarah and Phebe also prepare to attend the meeting. Back at the farm, Mrs. Houseman and the young women sneak off to the camp meeting, with the angry men in pursuit. The scene shifts to a moonlit evening at the camp meeting, where Averio admits that he is smitten with Sarah Cornell. He takes her for a walk in a "very wild" part of the wood. He protests that he loves Sarah, an orphan like himself, but when she resists him, he "carries her off" (24). Nearby, Brother Jenks tries to seduce Phebe, but she fights him off, telling him, "Nay, lay still, or I will put my scissors into your heart. What does an old goat like you fancy, that a true born New England girl has not courage to defend her honor?--Ha, ha, ha!" (25). Averio wants to keep Sarah as his mistress, but she refuses. Act III, Scene I. At dawn at the camp meeting, Mr. Averio preaches a sermon on the people's sinfulness and need for redemption. The women hand over their jewelry to the elders. When Mr. Thornhill and some other men force the Methodists to return the jewelry, the meeting breaks up. Back at the boardinghouse, Mrs. Patton worries about Sarah's poor health and sadness since the camp meeting. When Dr. Neverflinch arrives, Sarah tells him and Mrs. Patton about her pregnancy. Mrs. Patton consoles her, refusing to turn her out of the boardinghouse: "My poor girl, . . . you are not the first of your sex, by numbers, who has been deceived, nor you won't be the last: so cheer up; my door will never close on you for this error" (33). Averio and some of the other Methodists plan to murder Sarah to protect their reputations. The scene changes to the factory, where Sarah receives a letter from Averio seeking to meet with her. At the farm, Mrs. Houseman and the farm girls have forebodings of something dreadful about to happen. The scene changes to "a view of Fall River" where Averio waits for Sarah.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When she tells him she has not taken the medicine he sent, because "the innocent should not suffer for the guilty," he strangles her (40). The scene shifts to a stack-yard, from which Averio is quickly departing. At sunrise, the farm women discover the body of Sarah hanging from a haystack. Mr. Thornhill identifies the body as Cornell's, and Dr. Neverflinch names Averio as the murderer. The body is relegated to the women's care. Mr. Thornhill captures Averio and takes him to court, where he is accused by Dr. Neverflinch of the murder. Since there is no witness and no proof, the Judge dismisses the case. The play ends with a "solemn dirge," in which the body of Sarah is carried on the stage, followed by a procession of the women, including "a train of the factory girls in black" and at the end the men (48). The text contains several songs, including one sung by the factory girls as they work. This melodrama, performed in the fall of 1833 at the Richmond Hill Theatre, New York City, was considered quite disgraceful by some contemporary reviewers (e.g., see "The Drama Called Sarah Maria Cornell," *The New-York Mirror* 11.12 [21 September 1833]: 94).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Harvard University Library.

168. "The Clove-Hitch Knot, and The Factory Maid." First line: "YE people all a warning take." Fall River, MA?: n.p., c. 1833.

SYNOPSIS: This broadside includes two anonymous poems: "The Clove-Hitch Knot. Composed on the death of Sarah Maria Cornell, who was murdered near Fall River, R. I. Tune--'*Auld Lang Syne*'" and "The Factory Maid. Air--Star Spangled Banner." "The Clove-Hitch Knot" is a thirty-six-line ballad that exhorts people to remember and be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

warned by the clove-hitch knot by which Sarah Maria Cornell (1802-32; b. Rupert, Vermont), an unmarried weaver in Fall River, Massachusetts, was hanged in a suicide or murder on December 22, 1832. Without naming the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery (d. 1869; tried for Cornell's murder but acquitted), the ballad's speaker denounces the "wicked wretch" (10) who murdered her but still "preaches night and day" (21) with the devil's help. At the end, the speaker urges that the murderer be hanged on a tree with a clove-hitch knot and "never be forgot" (36). According to C. Williams's *Fall River* (see Appendix II), "The Clove-Hitch Knot" was written "by an old lady over eighty years of age, in the neighborhood of the coal mines" (131). "The Factory Maid," a ballad in seven six-line stanzas, with a two-line refrain, represents the last day in Cornell's life. Cheerful and sweet Maria leaves her work at day's end "to meet a dark fiend in the shape of a lover" (4). Although she has forebodings of a "dark fate" (24), Maria proceeds to meet the "monster most foul" (36) who brutally murders her. The speaker assures readers that the murderer will never know peace or be free from the crime's "foul stain" (42). Each stanza is followed by a refrain: "Oh! weep for Maria the poor Factory Maid-- / So charming, so fair, and so basely betrayed." "The Factory Maid" also appeared as "Song. The Factory Maid" by J. Graham (*The Free Enquirer* Ser. 2, v. 5 [1832-33]: 319). TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection; Boston Public Library.

169. Colfax, Jasper. *Over the Brink; or, The Peril of Beauty.* Lewiston, ME: n.p., 1869. 100 pp.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: The text consists of two long stories, "Over the Brink" ([9]-60) and "The Peril of Beauty" ([61]-100). In a preface, Colfax indicates that "Over the Brink" was first published in 1866 in the *Once a Month* and the *Yankee Blade*. The story's heroine, Dora Vernon, a virtuous and beautiful sixteen-year-old, is a Maine farmer's daughter. In a departure from her usual pliancy and passivity, Dora pleads strenuously for her parents' permission to leave home and work in the Lewiston factories. She longs to procure beautiful clothes and other advantages of factory life: "But she had heard of Lewiston; of its advantages to the factory girl, and in her country home, dressed, perhaps, in home-spun, at times, she may have dreamt of gorgeous ladies in silken garments, sweeping the pavement with their regal attire." Although her parents worry about factory life's dangers for a lone young woman, Dora insists on her plan's benefits with such "zeal and enthusiasm" that they finally relent (12). She moves into a Lewiston boardinghouse and becomes a cotton mill weaver. Walking out alone one night, Dora is nearly raped. She is rescued by a valiant young journalist, Norman Chester, who falls in love with her and she with him. The story includes some scenes of Lewiston mill workers' recreation, such as strolling in the Park on Thursday evenings and attending plays. Dora and Norman soon become betrothed. Another factory woman, Pauline Montville, jealous of Dora's beauty and purity and of her engagement to Norman, seeks to harm her. Pauline and some of the other factory women lure Dora to a secluded, private meeting with a licentious young man. Soon "innocence yield[s] to false representations and delusive sophistries," and Dora is rendered "a despoiled, ruined girl" (43). Falling into deep despair, she drowns herself in the river. The same day, her seducer, Dick Bruce, is "killed by being caught in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the shafting in the factory" (46). The narrator introduces a new character, Harland Banford, a wealthy and dissolute young man schooled in dissipation in New York City. Soon Pauline Montville and Harland marry. The couple are virtuously transformed by their marriage. Their happiness ends when New York City police arrest Harland for his part in a robbery there, and he is sentenced to ten years in Sing Sing. Pauline, tormented by visions of the drowned Dora Vernon, is drowned herself in the Castle Glen, along with a "freight of abandoned women" (55). The narrative shifts to the Vernon home, one year after Dora's death. Her mother consoles herself with the thought that it is preferable to have a deceased daughter than one "leading a life of infamy." The narrator remarks that poverty and oppression often force women into prostitution: "Too often the pressing hand of poverty performs the fearful work--oppressive task-masters in large cities, who, for the paltry gain of restricted wages, consign those in their charge to the troubled sea of woe" (59). In their sorrow over Dora's death, the Vernons find solace in prayer and "religious fervor" (60).

The heroines of "The Peril of Beauty" are two young orphaned sisters, Belle and Agnes Bishop, operatives for several years in the Lewiston mills. Tired of factory drudgery, Agnes aggrieves Belle by telling her that she hopes to become an actress. Belle is concerned that this "questionable career" will result in Agnes's becoming "an outcast, a wreck in society, a wretched sacrifice to a false ambition" (63). Courted by Albert Heywood, a virtuous young machinist, Agnes does not want to marry him, although he loves her. Agnes knows that her great beauty would be an asset on the stage. When a theater company comes to Lewiston, she applies for work. Behind her back,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cool Graham, the theater company's manager, and Clarkson, a sophisticated Boston thief, conspire to lure her to Boston for evil purposes. They are overheard by Harry Dudley, who confides the plot to Albert. By the time Albert finds out, however, Agnes has already gone with the men to Boston. In the city, Cool Graham has Agnes conveyed to the disreputable house of "Moll Baxter's, on Billerica street," where she is kept imprisoned by the haglike Irish Moll. One evening, as Clarkson bursts in upon Dora lying "partly disrobed" on the bed, his eyes gleam with "the unchecked fires of licentious passion." Before he can accomplish his purpose, he is arrested by Detective Trevelyn. Agnes attributes her rescue to Divine Providence. She is happily reunited with Albert, with whose love she is now "satisfied" (97). The story ends with Agnes's and Belle's marriages. Praising God, Agnes avers that she will never again desire to be an actress. Both stories include some use of working-class colloquialisms.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

170. D. "The Factory Girl." *The Labor Enquirer* (Denver, CO) 8.2 (14 January 1888).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this brief prose sketch views the corpse of a young factory woman in a morgue. The speaker relates "Her Story." Once very beautiful and pure, the factory girl worked to support her mother and two small brothers in a Massachusetts mill town. When her supervisor expressed sexual interest in her, after an inner struggle she fell:

> Her fair face fired the brutal lust of the foreman of her department. Temptation; threats of loss of employment; the vision of the black spectre

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> of hunger hovering at the door of her mother's tenement; of her little brothers suffering for those things which constitute the plainest life necessaries--these were the pressures that pushed her over the precipice at the bottom of which are the blackened, ruined lives of thousands of the poor working girls of our land.

After the foreman "blasted her heart," he deserted her, and she traveled west "to lose herself." Now the foreman is "a respected pillar of the church" and a mill proprietor. The factory girl lies in the morgue, considered "only a dead prostitute" by the unfeeling community.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

171. "The Death of Sarah M. Cornell." First line: "Come all young people far and near." Sold wholesale and retail at Burnham's, Boston. [1832?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad's speaker addresses young people, hoping to warn them against wolves concealed "beneath a righteous robe" (91-92). In ninety-six lines, the speaker tells of the seduction of fair, cheerful, and virtuous Sarah Maria Cornell (1802-32; an unmarried factory worker b. Rupert, Vermont) by a "vile Priest" (16) named Ephraim. When her pregnancy threatens to reveal "their vile unlawful intercourse" (77), Ephraim lures Maria to a secluded spot and hangs her with a clovehitch knot. The speaker urges "young maidens" (89) to beware of righteous hypocrites and "remember poor Maria" (96).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

172. E., E. A. "An O'er True Tale." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 288-91.

SYNOPSIS: When this short story opens, the heroine, Eliza Temple, a factory operative, sits in her exceptionally neat boardinghouse room in Lowell, Massachusetts. She works hard in the mills and at "night-work" (i.e., sewing) to support her widowed mother and sisters, as well as assist a poor local woman. A New Hampshire native, Eliza lost her father when she was twelve. After the family's resources were depleted, her mother allowed her to go to Lowell. Unfortunately, in trying to help others, Eliza is "overtasking her own powers, and . . . thus steadily undermining her constitution" (288). A beautiful young woman with a "kind heart and gentle manner," Eliza is courted by a handsome minister, Danville. He spends evenings with her, "while she plie[s] her industrious needle." Not realizing that Danville is "in heart sordid and selfish," Eliza falls in love with him. One evening, Danville regards the Eliza with lust: "The subdued and gentle manner, the heaving breast, the loving eye, and the confiding glance, created in his soul only vile desire" (289). He whispers in her ear a "fiendish proposal." Feeling shocked and betrayed, Eliza implores him, "Would you--could you have betrayed a poor fatherless girl, who loved you so dearly--who had confided all to you?" Distraught, she falls into a terrible fever, lying "for nearly three weeks in a raging fever, wild and delirious." Mrs. Butler, the poor woman Eliza has aided, attends her. Eventually, brokenhearted and with an "overwrought frame," Eliza returns to factory work to earn money for her mother and sister. Seeking comfort in religion, she believes that she will not live much longer "in this cold and selfish world." One year later, Eliza still "diligently plies her needle" (290). Her industry and frugality have enabled her to save

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

four hundred dollars, which she has entrusted to her minister. One day Mrs. Butler tells her that the Rev. Mr. T. has lost the savings she and other factory women have entrusted to him. Eliza weeps in fear for her aged mother's future. Though she has been twice betrayed by ministers, she still prays. The narrator exclaims, "Oh, ye reverend villains! . . . Heaven only knows the guilty writhings of your tortured consciences." One month later in her mother's humble cottage, Eliza lies dying, a "blighted and fading flower." She implores God to forgive those who have deceived her and to protect her poor mother. At the story's conclusion, the narrator comments: "Let the high and the low, the rich and the poor, learn a lesson from this 'o'er true tale;' and may Heaven bless the world with the charitable and forgiving spirit of this poor blighted and deceived Factory Girl" (291).
TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

173. *Ellen Merton, the Belle of Lowell.* Boston: Brainard & Co., 1844. 32 pp.
SYNOPSIS: In this pulp novel's Introduction, the author specifies his or her intentions. Since nearly nine-tenths of "fallen and degraded females" (i.e., prostitutes) were once "operatives in the Mills of Lowell," the author hopes to expose all the deceptions by which these women have been lured on to "the haunts of Infamy" (3). The author hopes to save other "fair barks" from "shipwreck and ruin" (4). As the story opens, William Walton is castigating his friend Harry Harford for planning to seduce Ellen Merton, a factory operative. Harry, aged twenty-eight, is a "Dry-Goods-Dealer" in Lowell, impulsive and unprincipled. William, aged nineteen, a young man of "modesty, integrity, and courtesy," works as a clerk for one of the manufacturing corporations. Seventeen-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

year-old Ellen is "the daughter of respectable parents residing in the country." She is extremely beautiful, gentle, and amiable, though somewhat too ardent and naive (7). The three young people meet for the first time at a dancing school. Some time later at an oyster saloon, William, Harry, and other young men belonging to the G.F.K. Club exchange stories of their romantic and sexual exploits, mostly among working-class women. Harry Harford tells of his seduction at the age of sixteen by Ann, a sexy twenty-two-year-old "servant girl" of his family (9). After Ann's pregnancy and consequent discharge, she became a prostitute. Harry acted as a "novitiate" in the brothel, seducing young women lured there (10). Since coming to Lowell, he has seduced many young women and believes himself an expert on the subject. He maintains that it is impossible for a man to seduce a woman, unless she has encouraged him in some way. He also thinks that "her own excited passions are a woman's most dangerous enemy" (13). Thus, he intends to put Ellen Merton's virtue to the test. George Brigham, another member of the Club, discusses Lowell life and "profligacy among the women." He maintains that, while "the authorities" of the city and the corporations are diligent in their efforts to police "public morals," because so many women live there, there are necessarily among them some "girls of bad repute" (15). The G.F.K. Club's purpose is for the young men to exchange information and assist each other in seductions. George recounts his sexual experiences with factory girls in "rural rambles" on the Lowell outskirts. After meeting at the dancing school, William Walton and Ellen Merton begin falling in love. In the meantime, at the dancing school Harry continues to pursue his plan of seducing Ellen. Thinking of his mother and sister, William resolves not to listen to "revolting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

confessions" at the G.F.K. Club and to live hereafter "a life of unbending integrity." After Harry takes modest Ellen to a public hall to view "the female half of an indelicate and vulgar Spanish dance," she resolves to avoid his company (28). William leaves the G.F.K. Club and becomes a Washingtonian, taking a temperance pledge. Envious, the members of the Club try to disrupt William and Ellen's romance. They are slandered in a "vile sheet" of scandal published by the G.F.K. Club (29). When Ellen and William become betrothed, William writes to tell his mother. She responds praising his "filial piety" but advising him to wait before marrying, since he is only twenty and Ellen eighteen. She does not object to his marrying a factory girl, since she admires "honest industry." Ellen and William decide to postpone their marriage. Ellen continues to work and cultivate her mind, contributing her writings to the *Lowell Offering*, thus diffusing "the fragrance of her mind . . . through society" (32). His integrity and ability win William a promotion to a high position in the Corporation. He is loved and respected throughout Lowell. After several years, Ellen and William are finally married. The text includes a number of passages of poetry from Shakespeare, William C. Bryant, Byron, et al.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction*.

174. *The Factory Girl.* Warren, PA: E.T. Hazeltine, [c. 1841]. 16 pp.

AUTHOR: The author of the short story, here entitled "The Factory Girl," is Harriet Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy), who worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: This tiny pamphlet with the cover title, *The Factory Girl*, is a trade catalogue advertising "Piso's Cure for Consumption." The text of Farley's short story "Abby's Year in Lowell," first published in the *Lowell Offering*, v. 1, and later in Farley's *Shells from the Strand* (see annotation below), is reprinted here anonymously as *The Factory Girl*. The short story's text is interspersed in the center of each page with "Piso's Cure" advertisements, perhaps acknowledging the prevalence of lung ailments in textile factory workers.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum, Wayne State University, and Stanford University Libraries.

175. "The Factory Maid, and The Clove-Hitch Knot." First line: "OH! list the sad tale of the poor factory maid." [Fall River, MA?: n.p., c. 1833].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside includes the same two poems as in the entry above for the broadside, "The Clove-Hitch Knot, and the Factory Maid." The poems concern the murder or suicide of Sarah Maria Cornell (1802-32; b. Rupert, Vermont), an unmarried weaver in the Fall River, Massachusetts, mills. "The Factory Maid" also appeared as "Song. The Factory Maid" by J. Graham (*The Free Enquirer* Ser. 2, v. 5 [1832-33]: 319).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

176. Farley, Harriet. "Abby's Year in Lowell." *Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius*. Boston: James Munroe, 1847. 56-66.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: This short story originally appeared in the *Lowell Offering*, v. 1. Abby, the heroine, announces to her parents that she is going to Lowell, Massachusetts, to work in the factory. Her father says she may go, but only on the condition that she not visit home for one year and not stay longer than one year. Abby's wants to go to Lowell because she has seen the Slater sisters on a visit home from the mills and wishes to have beautiful clothes like theirs. Her father thinks that Abby may learn more responsibility and appreciation for the value of money if she has to work for it. Abby wants to prove to her parents that she can become "a better, milder, and more thoughtful girl" (61). She decides to save all her wages. In Lowell, Abby learns to resist the temptations of all the "beauties" in store windows. The only desire she gratifies is a new one for "mental improvement" (62). She holds firm in her resolve, even though the other factory girls ridicule her dowdy clothes. At the year's end, Abby returns home, exhibiting a more feminine delicacy and softness. She distributes presents to all the family. Her father is moved to tears that she did not buy herself even one silk dress. She shows her father her bank book, which reflects a "paltry sum," but it was all she could save (65). Abby feels the experience was worthwhile, if she could please her parents. She asks her father if she might go back to Lowell to be able to purchase "*one* silk gown" (66). He answers that he is no longer afraid to let her go.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: This story first appeared in the *Lowell Offering* (see periodical

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

entry). Reprinted in *History of Women.*

177. Frederic, Harold. *The Lawton Girl.* New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1890. 472 pp.

AUTHOR: Frederic (1856-98; b. Utica, New York) was a journalist and novelist in the realist tradition.

SYNOPSIS: This novel's heroine, Jessica Lawton, aged twenty-three, returns to her hometown in upstate New York. Five years earlier, she left town in disgrace, unmarried and pregnant, and lived in Tecumseh, working as a milliner. The fictitious town of Thessaly is dominated by factories and by the Minster ironworks. Horace ("Hod") Boyce, the wealthy man who ruined Jessica, also returns to Thessaly. Jessica is "an energetic, self-contained young woman" whose face is shadowed by suffering (12-13). Her home life has always been squalid and miserable. A lawyer in town, Reuben Tracy, is her former teacher and good friend. An idealistic man, he hopes to perform philanthropic work among the poor people living near the ironworks and factories. Jessica stays briefly with her father, stepmother, and five younger sisters, who work in factories and in domestic service. Jessica has returned to Thessaly wanting to help other poor young women avoid her mistakes. The town is becoming an important manufacturing place of iron, cotton, and other products. With her sister Lucinda, Jessica opens a millinery shop. The business is well patronized from the beginning by the "poor working-girls" (187). Jessica suffers insults from young men and "rough factory-girls" (188). She hopes to establish an evening club for the town's working women, who spend

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

too much time on the streets. The wealthy mill owners' daughter, Kate Minster, bored with her empty, idle life, offers to help Jessica and Reuben open the working women's club. Meanwhile, Horace Boyce pursues his aim of becoming rich and powerful either by marrying Kate Minster or through unscrupulous business dealings. Soon in deep trouble from dishonest business practices, Horace is troubled and haunted by Jessica's presence in Thessaly. After donating the money to open the "Girls' Resting Home," Kate hears rumors from Horace about Jessica's bad character and stays away. Jessica learns that mill wages are being reduced and that Horace Boyce is going to marry Kate. To prevent the marriage, she brings her child from Tecumseh to Thessaly. When Kate discovers that Horace is cheating her family out of their fortune, she ends their friendship. Rather than submit to the wage reduction, the mill workers strike. Horace Boyce and his business associates' shady dealings have caused the labor troubles, but, unaware, the workers blame the Minsters. The factory girls stop coming to the Resting Home, because it is financed by Minster money. The workers are outraged upon hearing that the mill management plans to import French-Canadian workers. Jealous of Kate and Reuben's growing romance and distressed by their neglect of the Girls' Resting Home and her isolation as a fallen woman, Jessica catches cold sitting in the closed Home. Now its bathing rooms, reading material, and rocking chairs are going unused (400). Jessica realizes that she needs to reach out to Kate and Reuben and help them. Going out into the winter cold, Jessica encounters Horace, whom she forgives, and warns the Minsters of a workers' mob heading for their house. At the instigation of outside agitators, the mob sets fire to the rolling mill. Jessica's exertions to help Horace,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reuben, and Kate bring on a fatal illness. Jessica's dying words express her sense of guilt and social ostracism: "I tell you I *have* lived it down!"

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted by Greenwood Press, 1969.

178. A Friend. *The Factory Girl.* By a Friend. Providence, RI: Knowles, Anthony & Co., Printers, 1854. 78 pp.

SYNOPSIS: The author dedicates this didactic novel to factory women, "to those who have been--especially to those who are, and to all who think of becoming Factory Girls." Set in the 1840s, the novel relates the story of Mary, a poor sixteen-year-old country girl from New Hampshire. Discontented with her life of hard work and poverty, Mary catches the "factory fever." Like other young women she knows, Mary wants to go away to work in the mills and enjoy the advantages of city life. For days, she complains and begs her mother to let her go:

> I haven't got anything--I can't *appear* like other girls--I'm ashamed to go into company--my thick shoes--my dress is faded--and my old bonnet looks so. And father *never will* get me anything--*he* does n't care how I look. . . . I think's [sic] strange I can't have things like other girls--I work hard enough. . . . I can't have anything like other girls--I don't want to stay at home. . . . [O]ther girls go, and I can. I never went anywhere in the world, hardly--always have to stay here and work, and then not have anything like other folks. (11)

Eventually, her parents relent. Before Mary leaves for the unspecified mill town, her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mother gives her a Bible and advises her to attend church and shun "places of music and merriment" to avoid being "basely . . . betrayed and ruined" (13-14). In the factory town, Mary obtains work as a weaver and boardinghouse lodging with her new friend Elizabeth. The difficulties of mill work, such as the noise, dangerous machinery, the long hours of standing, and the rushed meals are carefully described. Weave-room work and wages are also delineated. With the pious Elizabeth, Mary attends Bible class, Sabbath school, and meeting. Mary hears from home that her little brother has suddenly become ill and died. The texts of letters exchanged between Mary and her mother are inserted. When Mary begins to feel restless for some amusement, Elizabeth tries to dissuade her from attending immoral amusements like factory workers' balls. Sarah, a co-worker in the weave room, is more persuasive, convincing Mary to attend a ball to forget "the dirt and noise of the old mill" (51). When Mary begins regularly attending balls and dancing school, Elizabeth lectures her and grieves. Despite Elizabeth's displeasure, Mary stops attending Sabbath school and meeting, for, as the narrator explains, "Sabbath schools and dancing schools have no sympathy" (60). One evening at a ball, when Mary sees another young woman collapse and die while dancing, she suddenly becomes ill and faints from her tight lacings. After being revived, Mary, now acutely aware of her own mortality, is stricken with guilt and remorse. Immediately she repents, renouncing dancing and returning to Bible-reading, church, and friendship with Elizabeth. A group of the factory girls forms "a christian circle" (71). Soon Mary leaves the mill, returning to her hometown and intending to stay. Nonetheless, shortly she returns to the mills, bringing a hometown friend. In the final chapter, the narrator

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

describes Mary some years later, married and living in the country with her lawyer husband and children. Hers is "the home of plenty, peace and joy" (74). She has named her oldest daughter after the deceased Elizabeth. The narrator reveals that she or he has "often visited the family of Mary" (76), where Mary has told him or her that she would not allow her daughters to work in the mills. The work is unhealthy and does not prepare young women for the wifely and maternal duties. In the "Conclusion," the narrator instructs readers in lessons to be derived from Mary's experience, which she or he insists is not fiction. Readers should "[c]ultivate contentment" and follow the example of Elizabeth (78). The narrator expresses the hope that factory-girl readers might find happy homes, as Mary has: "And when the shuttle of time has finished your factory days of toil and confinement, may you enjoy--when it be your wish--a blessed retreat in some chosen spot of earth, and make some thrifty home as desirable and pleasant as that of Mary's" (78). The text's features include scenes of working-class culture and characters' use of working-class colloquialisms.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

179. *The Great "Trunk Mystery" of New York City: Murder of the Beautiful Miss Alice A. Bowlsby, of Paterson, N. J.* Philadelphia, PA: Barclay & Co., Publishers, [1872?]. 104 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This crime pamphlet's author may have been George Lippard Barclay. The text describes events surrounding the actual death of Alice Augusta Bowlsby from a botched abortion, August 1871. She was a twenty-five-year-old, single dressmaker in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paterson. Her alleged seducer was Walter F. Conklin, a timekeeper in Dale's Silk Mill, Paterson, and the son of an Alderman. Soon after hearing of Alice's death, Walter committed suicide in the mills, shooting himself in "the large fire-proof room, where the most valuable silks were stored" (56). The abortionist convicted of Bowlsby's murder was "Dr." Jacob Rosenzweig, with offices at 687 Second Avenue near Thirtieth Street, Manhattan. Rosenzweig attempted to dispose of Bowlsby's body by cramming it into a small trunk--perhaps when she was still alive--and shipping it to Chicago. The text reflects attitudes about gender, class, and abortion. The captions of illustrations are printed in English and German.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

180. Hall, J. B. "Lowell Song." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.24 (26 April 1845).

AUTHOR: The poet identifies him or herself as someone with little education and expresses hope that readers will "please overlook" any "bad sense" and "mistakes" in the poem (6-7).

SYNOPSIS: In a ballad of thirty four-line stanzas, the speaker tells the story of a respectable young woman coming to Lowell, Massachusetts, from Vermont seeking work. A factory Agent, James Cook, hires her "in his family" (28). One night when she is sleeping, the Agent comes into her room "with force and arms" (37) and "seduce[s]" her (42). Afterwards, he tries to hush it up and pretend "it was not a rape" (44). His wife forgives him and blames the young woman. When she returns to Vermont pregnant and tells "her sorrows" to "her lover" (55-56), he offers to "father" the child (62). After they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

marry, ten years pass. The couple then return to Lowell and demand that the Agent give them one thousand dollars to keep the story quiet and for the child's expenses, which he pays them. Although the settlement satisfies both parties, the story leaks out to the community and the newspapers. The Agent leaves Lowell for a while. When he and his brother, Calvin Cook, surreptitiously operate a soap business from the mills, Samuel Lawrence (a prominent mill owner) discharges them both.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

181. Hall, Lucy, Mrs. "Lines Composed on the Abduction and Cruel Murder of Miss Sarah H. Furber, Late of Nottingham, N.H." Tune: "The Watcher." First line: "A maid of twenty summers." [Manchester, NH?: n.p., 1848?].

SYNOPSIS: Sarah H. Furber (1825-48; b. Nottingham, New Hampshire), an unmarried factory worker in Manchester, New Hampshire, died in May 1848 at the hands of an abortionist. In eighty lines, this broadside ballad, "Dedicated to her dear parents," relates the downfall of Sarah, a simple and joyful young worker. Innocently she falls in love with a wicked man who seduces and abandons her. Soon her pregnancy becomes apparent, and in terrible "grief and sorrow" (35), Sarah seeks an abortion at the hands of "men of art and science" (33). The speaker denounces abortion as a "cruel hellish practice" (37), only too common in the United States. While other young people go cheerfully about their work, including the "maidens" tending their spinning "frames" (43-44), Sarah lies alone and ill from the botched procedure. As she dies, her only companion is the abortionist, "a fiend in human form" (62). In the final stanza, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

speaker exhorts "young and joyous maidens" (73) to remember this ballad, avoid temptation, and "walk in wisdom's way" (80).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

182. "Humanity Crushed." *The Monthly Jubilee* 1.6 (September 1852): 248-50.

SYNOPSIS: The text reports on and considers the meaning of Kate Virginia Poole's life sentence for infanticide. Poole, a young, single working woman, fell in love with a "gentleman," who seduced and abandoned her (248). With her infant daughter, Poole sought work in Manchester, New Hampshire. Being an unwed mother, she was turned away by every employer. Traveling to Nashua, Poole, distraught, threw her child from the train window. Found guilty of murder, Poole was sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor. The narrator finds great injustice in the double standard applied to Poole and her seducer: "Yet he is permitted to go unreproved, while she, more sinned against than sinning, must be buried alive in prison" (249). The narrator also denounces the hypocrisy of women who scorn their "fallen" sisters while forgiving the men who caused their ruin. According to another periodical, Poole was soon granted a full pardon by New Hampshire's Governor (*The Farmer's Cabinet* [Amherst, NH] 5 August 1852).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library.

183. Ingalls, Lindsey A., defendant. *Capital Trial of Dr. Lindsey A. Ingalls, of Lowell, Mass., for a Rape.* [Lowell, MA?: n.p., 1847?]. 15 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This text transcribes the testimony given at Lindsey A. Ingalls's trial for the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rape of a young factory worker, Elvira C. Mitchell. The trial was held in the Supreme Judicial Court, East Cambridge, Massachusetts, December 1847. The text suggests that Ingalls was an abortionist: "[T]he prisoner professed to be a physician in a certain class of cases" (9). The alleged rape occurred at Ingalls's office in May 1847. At the time, Mitchell was a fifteen-year-old operative in the Suffolk Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts. Born in Vermont, Mitchell had come to Lowell when she was twelve or thirteen, working in domestic service before entering the mills. In her boardinghouse, she became friendly with another young worker, Elizabeth Farmer. According to Mitchell's testimony, Farmer asked her to accompany her to Ingalls's office one evening. When Farmer left to run an errand, Ingalls attacked Mitchell, holding her by the throat, threatening to kill her, and raping her. After Farmer took her back to the boardinghouse, Mitchell suffered great distress, telling several people that she was "a ruined girl" and feeling "lame" and too "unwell" to work (10-11). Several female boarders testify that, following the incident, Mitchell had deep bruises on her neck and experienced convulsive "fits" in which she seemed to be unconscious (10). Another physician who treated Mitchell after the incident testified that her "fit of hysterics" and other symptoms may have been "caused by a sudden check of the course of nature," thus suggesting that she had had an abortion (11). The defense argues that Mitchell, finding herself pregnant, sought advice from Ingalls on "how to get relief." She saw in Ingalls and the rape charge "some excuse for being in that condition." Farmer was a young woman with a "bad reputation," being known as "a common girl, a thief and a liar" (12). Finally, Ingalls takes the witness stand and describes the transactions between himself and Mitchell "with the most shameless

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

effrontery of manner and grossness of detail." As he suggests, he persuaded Mitchell to engage in sexual intercourse by promising to take her and Farmer to the circus. The jury stands "ten for conviction to two" (15). Ingalls is jailed to await a second trial the following June. Farmer is also remanded to jail to await further prosecution as a principal or accessory to the crime. Since the text includes testimony from the boardinghouse keeper and boarders, it offers some glimpses of boardinghouse mores and life, including medical treatment and factory operatives' dress.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New-York Historical Society and Library of Congress.

184. Kelly, John L. *Fact and Fiction!: Disappointed Love: A Story Drawn from Incidents in the Lives of Miss Clara C. Cochran and Miss Catharine B. Cotton.* Manchester, NH: The Daily and Weekly Mirror Steam Printing Works, 1853. 32 pp.

SYNOPSIS: The narrator describes the text as a "tragical romance" based on actual occurrences (3). One of the heroines, Clara C. Cochran, born in New Boston, New Hampshire, is a blacksmith's daughter. When she is aged four, her parents die, leaving her to the care of an overindulgent aunt. After her aunt's death, Clara attends an academy, where she deepens her love for books and study. At thirteen, she falls in love with a distant relative in New York City, George Sherwood, who partly returns her affection. Over the next few years, George and Clara exchange letters frequently. George eventually decides to taper off the correspondence, hoping to extinguish Clara's love for him. Having no home, she decides to enter the Manchester, New Hampshire, factories. The narrator now introduces the second heroine, a young woman less

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intelligent and refined than Clara. Catharine B. Cotton (or Kate), also a blacksmith's daughter, hails from Pownal, Maine. In childhood, she was a loving, "industrious and promising girl" (12), not overly fond of books. At eighteen, wishing to earn some money and see more of the world, Kate enters a Biddeford, Maine, factory. She enjoys close friendships with two boardinghouse roommates. After six months, Kate returns home to scenes of heartwarming love. The narrator emphasizes how important it is to maintain home ties. Returning to Biddeford, she develops a passion for her roommate Lucetta's boyfriend, Cyrus Emmons, a mechanic. The factory girls visit "a celebrated lady sorceress" (16), who predicts happy marriages for Kate and Lucetta. Cyrus, a rake who manipulates women into surrendering to his "fiendish lusts" (18), has influenced the fortune teller to give the women these fortunes. Discovering that Cyrus has been untrue to all of them, the three roommates leave Biddeford for the mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts. Six months later, Kate returns to Biddeford and is courted by Cyrus, who she believes will marry her. When he drops her for Lucetta, Kate, deeply hurt, travels to several factory towns and even contemplates suicide. After Cyrus drops Lucetta and marries someone else, she dies of sorrow. To return to Clara's life, we are told that she is still in love with George and is working now in Manchester. When she receives a letter from George asking her not to write anymore and to find someone else, she falls into deep despondency. Catharine and Clara meet in Manchester and, drawn together by their mutual romantic disappointment, become fast friends. While strolling in the cemetery, they agree upon a "union suicide" (25). For some time, they go about coolly making plans and dropping hints of their suicide pact, carrying on as usual, shopping, working,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

socializing, etc. One Sunday, after conversing with others in the boardinghouse, the two women dress in "vesper white" (29) and walk outside arm-in-arm. Proceeding to the canal, they leap in. The novel affords many glimpses of the working-class culture of b'hoys and g'hals.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

185. "Lines Written on the Death of Sarah M. Cornell." First line: "In times like these, when murderers roam." [N.p., c. 1833].

SYNOPSIS: A two-part broadside ballad in one hundred twelve lines that recounts the seduction and murder of Sarah Maria Cornell (1802-32; b. Rupert, Vermont), an unmarried weaver in the Fall River, Massachusetts, mills. Lovely and simple Sarah, deceived and seduced by Rev. Mr. Avery, falls a victim to his "hellish lust" (21). Not heeding "an inward warning voice" (37), Sarah returns to Avery, who brutally murders her. In the second part of the ballad, the poem's speaker relates that Avery was tried for the murder and is now awaiting sentencing. The speaker hears a spirit telling him or her to "Remember Cornell's end" (90). In the last five stanzas, Cornell's voice speaks from the grave, telling how she was artfully led astray. Cornell warns maidens not to trust men, since most are false:

> Ye maidens all, both old and young,
> Trust not to men's false, flattering tongue;
> To know a man, pray know his life;
> How few there are deserve a wife. (101-4)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She asks for prayers and peace in Heaven, beseeching all to learn from her experience.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

186. "The Lowell Factory Girl." *Uncle Sam* (Boston, MA) 1.12 (11 December 1841).

SYNOPSIS: Published in an early story paper, this seduction story has an unusual outcome, in that the dishonored woman and mother of an illegitimate child eventually marries her lover. The narrator explains that the story is a true one, gleaned from one of the heroine's "most intimate friends." The heroine, Jane Ellis, is the daughter of a ship commander's poor widow. Before the age of sixteen, she goes to work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Being "one of the fairest girls that ever toiled in the Lowell Cotton Mills," she attracts the notice of a wealthy New York merchant's son, Charles Albert Hurlbut. Admiring "his handsome person and fascinating manners," Jane, "innocent and confiding," falls in love. Despite his promises of marriage, unwed Jane "soon f[inds] herself in that situation so honorable to a wife, so disgraceful to a maid." Charles's father, distressed by his romance with Jane, conspires successfully to thwart their marriage. After Charles returns to New York, Jane becomes the mother of a son. Wanting to get away from Lowell, Jane and her mother move to New Orleans. Eventually, she is reunited in New Orleans with Charles, whom she nurses through a severe case of yellow fever. After he recovers, Charles confesses that he has loved her all along and had been hoping to marry her. Upon his father's death, he had been left a large fortune. When they marry, Jane, "the once poor Lowell Factory Girl," becomes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"the wife of one of New York's richest merchants."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

187. M***. "Seduction." *The Album, Or, Ladies' Common-Place Book* (Lowell, MA) 1.26 (12 October 1833).

SYNOPSIS: This twenty-four-line ballad was published in *The Album* at a time when the majority of Lowell's population was women mill workers, so the poem is likely a commentary on the problems of seduction and illegitimate pregnancy among factory girls. The poem's speaker expresses her or his dismay at witnessing seduction's deadly effects upon a beautiful young woman. The speaker sees a "sad decay . . . undermining" the woman's lovely facial features (5-6). The once-beautiful face is now "by pain and sorrow wreck'd" (11). The speaker expresses anger that God has not avenged the seduction. She or he implores God to exact vengeance: "O, let the direst curses fall / On the seducer's head forever" (23-24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History and American Antiquarian Society.

188. "Mill Girls of Lowell; or, Lights and Shadows of Factory Life! With Mysteries of Lowell, Dover, Nashua, and Manchester. A Drama of Innocence and Guilt." Boston, MA: Hooton's Press, 1849.

SYNOPSIS: Apparently only the playbill survives from this drama written by William B. English and performed at the National Theatre, Boston. The playbill describes in detail

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this elaborate four-act play. Act One, entitled "Romance and Rascality" and set in Boston, includes a "View of the Lowell Depot, foot of Lowell Street, Boston, with Bunker Hill Monument and Charlestown in the distance." The second act, "Lights of Factory Life!," includes views of Lowell, Massachusetts, "The Great City of Spindles." A mill interior and mill operatives are presented. A brief verse is quoted:

> Did you ever go into Lowell, Oh! rackett,
>
> Good Lord what a buzzing it makes,
>
> Like fifty live crabs in a bucket,
>
> And what a darned sight of cotton it takes!

Additional scenes include "Factory Boarding House," "Humors of the Factory Girls," and "Shower Baths in operation." Act Three is entitled "Shadows of Factory Life!" In this act, "two scoundrels plot the ruin of a poor Factory Girl." Views of a factory are shown, with "The Big Wheel in Motion," in which a factory girl gets caught. In Act Four, "Lights and Shadows Combined," a factory girl is abducted but rescued, when the "vile kidnapper of female innocence [is] foiled." More mill views are presented. The play ends with festive scenes, including "A wedding party, and CHECK APRON BALL." The action concludes on an auspicious note, with "Virtue and Industry Rewarded" and "The Mills Girls of Lowell Triumphant." The handbill includes an illustration of four dancing women wearing check aprons.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Lowell Historical Society.

189. "Painful Suicide in Lowell of a Young Girl, on the Massachusetts Corporation."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Young America (New York, NY) 16 August 1845.

SYNOPSIS: This news story, reprinted from *Life in Lowell*, recounts events surrounding the suicide of Cordelia Crane, a young factory worker at the Massachusetts Corporation, Lowell, Massachusetts. The narrator contends that there are more suicides in Lowell than anywhere else in New England. Crane had been lured to a brothel and forcibly seduced by a young man:

> . . . Cordelia was at Boston, where she fell in company with a young man who she became acquainted with, and he under the pretence of making a call with her, on some of his friends, took her to a house, where he closed the doors upon her, and coolly informed her that she was in a House of Prostitution, and was ruined. The poor girl tried in vain to make her escape--she was fast in the net, in vain she plead--in tears she urged him to let her go. But no, the villain would listen to nothing--he had ensnared her to gratify his fiendish burning lust, and to accomplish his object he was determined.

After her "ruin," Cordelia returns to work in the mills. Not feeling well, she learns from a doctor that she is to be "a Mother." When she writes to her seducer for help, he responds "taunting with her 'being a bad girl, a worthless creature. . . . That the best she could do was to go into some house of *ill-fame*.'" Not long after, she commits suicide "by taking Oil of Cedar." The narrator considers it his or her duty to relate this story and censure seducers like this "lump of moral putrefaction."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

190. Phillips, J. A. "The Factory Girl." *Machinists' Monthly Journal* (Chicago and Washington, DC) 7 (September 1895): 346.

SYNOPSIS: In contrast to the usual factory-girl heroine, Phillips's heroine is not "the least bit pretty, / And only the least bit gay" (1-2). In six ten-line stanzas, this ballad describes the life of "a common factory girl" earning only two and a half dollars a week. Each day, she works for ten long hours "In a close, ill-lighted room, / Machinery's buzz for music, / Waste gas for sweet perfume" (22-23). Her condition, the speaker avows, is "civilized serfdom" (29). The speaker protests against the poor working woman's difficulty avoiding prostitution. Women ought to receive the same pay as men:

> A man gets thrice the money--
>
> But then a "man's a man,
>
> And a woman surely can't expect
>
> To earn as much as he can."
>
> Of his hire the laborer's worthy,
>
> Be the laborer who it may;
>
> If a woman do a man's full work.
>
> She should have a man's full pay,
>
> Not to be left to starve--or sin
>
> On forty cents a day. (41-50)

In the final stanza, the speaker remarks that it is no "wonder" if a working woman "sins to escape her bondage" by selling her body (59-60).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by United States Department of Labor Library; State

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Historical Society of Wisconsin-Madison; and Johns Hopkins University. The poem is reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 185.

191. Saxe, John Godfrey. "The Times." *Poems*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860. 101-112.

AUTHOR: Saxe (1816-87), born in Highgate, Vermont, was the son of a mill owner.

SYNOPSIS: "The Times" is a twelve-page poem written in heroic couplets. At the beginning, the speaker tries to invoke the Muses, whose initial inaccessibility he likens to that of the Lowell, Massachusetts, mill women. In every factory town, there are signs posted at the mills reading "No admittance here!" (101). Like the Muses, mill women spin and weave, yet somehow the "gay Lothario" makes his way in and leads the women astray (102). The speaker proceeds to enumerate the oddities and foibles of "the Times" in the United States. Slavery is a problem for many Americans, including those who are "bond slaves" wearing themselves out in "hard, unceasing toil" (112).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

192. Shepard, Bartholomew. "Something More about Donty." *Thursday Sketcher* (Somersworth, NH) 2.27 (26 April 1849).

SYNOPSIS: Two young men, Donty and his friend Timothy, leave their hometown, "Sodom," and walk to the rural town of Waterborough. At dusk, they come to "an old, low, dilapidated cottage." Donty sees a young woman of "bewitching loveliness" sitting at the open window, and the two young men seek hospitality there. The poor family

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

offers them dinner and lodging for the night. Eighteen-year-old Lucy, the daughter, is pretty and buxom. Just returned from working at the Saco factories, she is decked out in finery, "ornamented and bedizened with various articles of female haberdashery," some of which she has just put on to impress Donty. Bewitched by her, Donty woos her through the evening. Finally winning a kiss, Donty elatedly feels that "this humble hovel was a heavenly place!" He agrees to take Lucy back to Sodom with him, where she will work in the mill and he will "be her feller." Thrilled with his beautiful Lucy, Donty parts from her and goes off to bed. In the morning, he finds his surroundings disappointing. He thinks that Lucy "had been won too easy." She no longer looks so enchanting but only like "flesh and blood." Wanting nothing more than to get away and never see Lucy again, Donty and Timothy soon leave the cottage.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society and New-York Historical Society.

193. Smith, Matthew Hale. *Sunshine and Shadow in New York.* Hartford: J. B. Burr and Co., 1868. 718 pp.

AUTHOR: Hale (1810-79; b. Portland, Maine; pseud. "Burleigh") was a journalist, a lawyer, and a clergyman of the Universalist, Presbyterian, and other faiths.

SYNOPSIS: *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* surveys New York City life and society from the highest to the lowest strata. Factory girls are noted for their activity as prostitutes and streetwalkers. The text is mostly nonfiction, but it includes some semi-fictionalized "incidents." The narrator relates that in New York's brothels are many

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young New England women, mostly from Maine. Some come from the factories, those "hot beds of temptation," where they have fallen. Scorned by their mothers and sisters, the young women flee to the big city where "they can hide in the solitude of the multitude" (384). In the chapter "Street-Walkers," Smith's narrator observes that many of the young women who "dog the footsteps of men" after ten o'clock p.m. on the city streets work during the day. Some of them toil in "hoop-skirt factories . . . or in some place where girls congregate together" (424). In "An Incident," the narrator tells the story of two New York factory girls who work secretly at night as streetwalkers. They are employed in the factory of a gentleman careful to hire only "respectable girls." In the factory, the two sisters are "models of propriety and order" (428). One night their employer is accosted on the street by one of them. Having been discovered, the women soon leave the factory. The employer finds out that they have been prostitutes for a long time, saving their money to pay off a mortgage on their father's farm. The narrator comments, "Filial love could do no more than this!" (429). In another chapter, the narrator relates that many women, including "girls from shops and factory," enjoy dancing and drinking at "Harry Hill's Dance-House" (439).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library. Reprinted in *Library of American Civilization.*

194. Sparks. *Flora Montgomerie, the Factory Girl: Tale of the Lowell Factories.* New York: Charles S. Attwood, [c. 1856?]. 99 pp.

AUTHOR: Cover text suggests that Charles Paul de Kock is the author. The cover title is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Flora Montgomery.

SYNOPSIS: This seduction novel includes some forthright discussion of class oppression, as well as some early treatment of a strike. The narrator begins by contrasting the conditions of "Industry" (i.e., the workers) and "Wealth" in Lowell, Massachusetts. The narrator unmasks the corruption of the wealthy, who revel in greed and sensuality: "[B]ut do the Producers of all this wealth have even their share of the comforts . . . which accrue from their industry? No! wealth revels in exciting pleasures . . . from sensible to sensual--extinguishes virtue, and laughs over ruined families, with the very money its victims have earned for the possessor" (7-8). Henry Richards, the proprietor of a prosperous cotton mill, pursues the sensual gratifications of "the race, gambling and pleasure with the female operatives in his looms" (9). He openly ogles and arranges hotel stays with his female workers. When Flora Montgomerie begins working at his mill, Henry finds her attractive. Aged nineteen and reared in comfort, Flora is supporting herself after her father's business failure. While she is very beautiful, she is also virtuous and "correct . . . in her deportment." Gentle, industrious, and amiable, Flora is regarded as "almost a sister" by the other women workers (11). Henry uses a gradual and insidious method to seduce her. In the meantime, he seduces another worker, Lizzie Jones, "a gay, reckless girl, whose love of amusement and dress, had rendered her an easy prey for the libertine's wiles" (15). He takes Lizzie to New York, where they join in a pleasure party at a brothel. Back in Lowell, Henry finally wins Flora's love and convinces her to marry him before a fake justice of the peace. Believing that she is actually married, Flora is shocked to learn that Henry is still seeing Lizzie and that he is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

courting an heiress. Soon after finding out that her marriage is invalid, Flora dedicates herself to revenge against Henry, vowing to be his "bane" (57). A group of "gentlemen" factory workers in his mill present Henry with a petition for higher wages:

> It set forth the fact that they received less wages than hands in the other mills--that they considered themselves as efficient workmen as any in the trade, and that they thought they deserved as high pay. At the conclusion they requested their employer to acquaint himself with the rates of wages paid by him, and compare them with those paid by others in the same business, and then to raise theirs to the same rates paid by other manufacturers. (63)

The workers threaten to strike if Henry does not meet their demand. Actually, Henry is paying them decent wages, but the embezzlement of funds by his confidential clerk and bookkeeper, John Graves, is reducing wages. The author does not develop the strike further. Henry separates from the ruined Flora, agreeing to pay her an annuity. After Henry marries the heiress, it is discovered that Flora and Henry's marriage was valid, and Flora's brother arrives in Lowell with news that the family fortune has been restored to them. Distraught about his troubles, Henry commits suicide, but not before Flora and his other wife, Frances, forgive him. John Graves and Lizzie Jones are arrested in New York. Flora marries Frances's brother, an honorable man named James Burleigh.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum.

195. Sullivan, James William. "Minnie Kelsey's Wedding." *Tenement Tales of New*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

York. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1896. 45-65.

AUTHOR: Sullivan (1848-1938; b. Carlisle, Pennsylvania) worked as a printer, writer, and journalist in New York City and edited several social reform periodicals.

SYNOPSIS: At seventeen, orphaned Minnie Kelsey leaves her rural home to live in a tenement on New York City's West Side with her aunt and uncle and their three small children. For a year, she toils in a factory, working long hours six days a week. The narrator describes the unhealthy conditions of her work: "Penned up as she is in a hot, stifling room ten hours a day, the vitiated air dries up the blood in her veins. The heavy, discordant buzz of the machinery grinds into her very brain. The nauseating odor of decomposing machine oil sickens her. Dust thickens the atmosphere and chokes her" (50). Minnie longs to marry a good man and return to the country. She has been dating the dashing thirty-year-old Tom King. Two factory girls urge Minnie to attend a ball, lending her a pretty hat and dress. Fearing her coarse, intemperate uncle, Minnie sneaks out to the ball, meeting her friends and Tom. There, she overhears some young men talking about Tom. She finds out that he has a new girl "every season," that he "gets his money at the races," and that he buys his girlfriends clothes (59). Realizing that he must have bought her the dress and hat and that her reputation is in danger, Minnie dismisses Tom and goes home. When she arrives, she hears her drunken uncle raving about her relationship with Tom and the disgrace she is bringing on the family. He threatens to "break every bone of [her] body" (63). Minnie runs down the dark street with her uncle in pursuit. Tom King appears, striking the uncle and sending him away. Now that Minnie has no home, Tom leads her away to a clergyman's house to be married.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

196. Thompson, George. *Catharine and Clara, or, The Double Suicide; A True Tale of Disappointed Love*. New York, 1854. 44 pp.

AUTHOR: Thompson (1823-1857?), probably born in New York City, was a prolific writer of sensational pulp novels.

SYNOPSIS: This novel is based upon events surrounding the actual suicides of two women factory workers. Catharine B. Cotton, a "humble factory girl" living in a "neat white cottage" in Biddeford, Maine, has a lady's education and mien. Her boyfriend, Cyrus, agrees to marry her, but, as the narrator explains, he has a cold and faithless heart. When her friend, Miss Davis, asks Catharine whether she has been "indiscreet," she refuses to answer but stresses that she believes Cyrus will marry her. Unknown to her, he has been courting the rich and beautiful Julia Templeton and has no intention of throwing himself away upon a poor factory girl. Walking in a lonely spot, Cyrus is confronted by Crazy Mag Wildfire, a woman he once ruined and deserted, thereby driving her into insanity. She lives alone in a forest cave. Berating Cyrus for his immorality, Mag warns him not to deceive Catharine. A week before their wedding, Cyrus tells Catharine that he does not wish to marry. He explains that because they are poor, they should each try to marry someone rich (71). Falling into deep depression, Catharine leaves Biddeford and moves about, working in Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, and Lynn factories. Returning to Manchester, she meets Clara Cochran, and, sharing the same sorrows, they become close friends. Clara, from New Boston and Hopkinton, New Hampshire, is nineteen

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

years old and expects to inherit several thousand dollars in two years. Long ago she had become strongly attached to a young man, who after six years rejected her. Catharine and Clara share a room and spend most of their time together. The narrator reports that "disappointed love" is the sole cause for their suicides. Both women had been known to threaten suicide many times in the past, saying that they "cannot bear the pain of living" (78). In Biddeford, Cyrus is courting Julia Templeton. She rejects his offer of marriage, after hearing about his philandering from Crazy Mag Wildfire, who has recently died. Julia marries "a common mechanic," whom she loves (86). The narrator claims that his information on the suicides of Catharine and Clara was given to him by Miss Davis. One Sunday, the two women dress in white and walk hand-in-hand to the canal and jump in. Clara sinks immediately to the bottom. Catharine sinks and rises several times before drowning. The narrator comments on the lessons readers may draw from these events. Young men should not "trifle with the affections" of loving women, and young women should try to face disappointment with courage. In her journal, Catharine expressed a hope that God would forgive her suicide. The narrator voices a similar wish and attributes the suicides to men's deception and villainy practiced against women's trusting, loving, and weak natures. He calls for God's justice upon "the despoiler's head" (104). The women's poems, letters, and journal writings are inserted at several places in the text.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

196a. Thompson, George. *The G'hals of Boston; or, Pen and Pencil Sketches of*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Celebrated Courtezans. By One of 'Em. Boston: Wm. Berry & Co., 1850. 59 pp.

AUTHOR: Thompson (1823-1857?), probably born in New York City, was a prolific writer of sensational pulp novels.

SYNOPSIS: Illustrated with the subjects' engraved portraits, the text includes fictionalized sketches of the lives of eight young working-class women who, after being seduced, land in the Boston brothels. Mostly New England or Canadian women, three of them work in Massachusetts textile mills before their downfall. Anna Mackay (9-14), and Louise Chenesy alias Parker (57-59) work in Lowell, while Clara Richardson (47-50) is employed briefly in a Waltham mill. For the most part, the "g'hals" begin working for wages in their early teens. From Vermont, Anna Mackay, about thirteen, catches "the Lowell fever" (9). Beautiful, simple, and innocent, Anna is marked as prey by the Lowell libertines soon after her arrival, and her reputation suffers even before her seduction takes place. Drawn into the flurry of "[b]alls, theatres, moonlight excursions," Anna, filled with "[d]reams of gold, fine dresses, and pleasures without alloy" accepts an offer to become a kept woman "rather than drag out an existence in a mill." Tiring of her luxurious, illicit life, she soon enters "a life of promiscuous prostitution" in Boston (13). A "delicate morsel yet," she retains her beauty (14). From Maine, twelve-year-old Clara Richardson works as a domestic and then as a factory operative in Waltham. At fourteen, she enters "the cigar trade" in Boston. Eventually she is seduced and becomes a Boston prostitute. A native of New Brunswick, Canada, Louise Chenesy at fifteen travels alone to Lowell to work in the mills. After being deceived and seduced by a young man, Louise becomes "tired of factory life" and moves to Boston, "where she plunged into all

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

manner of excesses," becoming eventually "the keeper of a house of ill-fame" (59).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library.

197. Thropp, Mary F., Miss, [of] Valley Forge, PA. "The Factory Girl of Fairmount." *The Knickerbocker* 51.5 (May 1855): 477-78.

SYNOPSIS: Set in Fairmount (presumably in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), this ballad in eighteen four-line stanzas portrays a factory girl walking home from the mills after dark. She is beset with troubles, from both within and without. As "the wind and the driving rain" beat upon her, she feels "All weary and cold" (2-3). Pale and feeble, she fears the dangers of the streets. Viewing the lights of "bright, warm homes," she thinks sadly of her "garret all dreary and bare" (11, 17). The appearance of a "man of sin" presents a sexual temptation:

> 'Not into temptation,' O Father! help!
> The tremulous lips impart:
> And the high, pure brow, and the holy eyes,
> Tell they not of the pure in heart?
>
> A timely prayer, for even now
> The tempter is lurking near,
> And gold, and ease, and love for shame,
> Is hissed in the tried one's ear. (21-28)

Her spiritual purity protects her from sexual transgression. After resisting another

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

temptation to plunge from the bridge, the woman arrives at her squalid home. "[F]eeble and shivering," she expires that evening (51). Now in heaven, she is transformed to "a radiant form in flowing white, / . . . With glittering harp and golden crown" (69, 71).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

198. W., S. [of] Cabotville. "Beware of Him." *Olive Leaf, and New-England Operative* 1.11 (2 September 1843): 87.

SYNOPSIS: Published in the factory village of Cabotville, Massachusetts, the poem seems intended to warn working women of the prevalent problem of seduction. A ballad in five four-line stanzas, the poem reveals the treachery that lies beneath the pleasing exterior of the "flatterer":

> Beware of him who flat'reth,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> His siren voice may conquer
>
> Thy young, confiding heart;
>
> His graceful form and manner
>
> May fix the fatal dart.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Withhold thy warm affections,
>
> Nor trust a wretch so vile,
>
> Who would with words of flat'ry,
>
> Thy pure, fond heart beguile. (1, 9-12, 17-20)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

199. Wise, Daniel. "The Widow's Daughter." *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 2.7 (January 1842): 145-53.

AUTHOR: Besides being the editor of *The Lady's Pearl*, Daniel Wise (1813-98; b. England; pseud. "Francis Forrester") was a Methodist clergyman and a writer and editor of children's religious literature.

SYNOPSIS: The story's narrator is spending a few days with a friend in a New England village. They walk through town, viewing the common surrounded by large white houses and "a few clusters of houses gathered round a mill or manufactory" (145). They see a very old, dilapidated house, which must have belonged to the earliest, venerable settlers. The narrator describes the old house as "an emblem," and his friend agrees that "it is a fitting emblem of our frailty" (145). In response to the narrator's questions, the friend relates the history of the Danton family who lived there. Due to misfortune, they experienced "many very serious pecuniary losses" (146). "The last Mr. Danton . . . was a very profligate and idle man, addicted to . . . gambling" (146). All of his six sons died following his example. Mr. Danton's death left his widow and one daughter, Maria, very poor. For nine years, Mrs. Danton was quite happy, raising Maria and working in her garden and "at the needle" (146). At nineteen, "Maria was excessively fond of dress" (147). "She had always been so; in her childhood she used to deck herself with the choicest flowers in the garden, and a wreath of roses on her brow filled her with extreme delight." Maria's "love of show" became "the ruling passion of her heart" (147),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prompting her to leave her mother and seek factory work. As her mother's tears "rolled down her face to the floor" (149), Maria "boldly and decidedly announced her intention of going away" (149). At Cherryvale mill, Maria neglects her mother and spends her earnings on dress. One night the aging and sickly mother, "attacked by a fit" (151), falls into the fireplace, where, in her unconsciousness, her face is burned to ashes and she dies. Her "begrimed, blackened countenance" is "so disfigured" that it is unrecognizable (151). Remorseless Maria falls into a fever and is buried two days after her mother. Now the Danton house is falling into decay. At the end, the narrator remarks, "Here, I saw a young lady actually destroying her mother and herself, by the love of dress" (153).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SCENES OF FACTORY VILLAGE LIFE

200. A., A. R. "Pawtucket Falls." *The Literary Repository* (Lowell, MA) 1.16 (25 July 1840): 128.

SYNOPSIS: This topographical poem is composed in sixty-three lines of blank verse. The speaker recalls the past might and pride of the Pawtucket Falls in the Merrimack River, Lowell, Massachusetts. Once an "emblem" of "mighty pride" (1-2) in their natural beauty, the Falls have now been enslaved by industrialism's forces:

> But latter days have spoiled th'enchanting scene
> Have shorn the spreading forests from thy banks
> And all thy liquid treasures turned away.--
> The wretched miser, man, never content
> With all the nameless blessings nature gives,
> Has yoked thy giant strength with cunning art
> And bids it labor to subserve his will;
> Nay, bids it toil, e'en like a menial slave,
> From day to day and so from year to year. (30-38)

The Falls now serve manufacturing "caprice," including textile production: "To draw the most attenuated thread / And weave the fabric delicately fine" (40-43). The appropriate "emblem" of the Falls now is "an aged warrior," feeble and infirm (54, 56). Though the waters have been enslaved and diverted into canals "To fill the speculating miser's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purse," they will eventually find "their long-sought rest" (62-63).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

201. A. (*dams*), (*S.*) A. [of] Shirley. "Original Lines." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.1 (16 November 1844).

SYNOPSIS: This forty-nine-line ballad portrays a mill overseer, John, of "Shirley-vill" (perhaps Shirley Hill near Manchester, New Hampshire) (1). Both at home and at work, John is plagued by fretting and scolding women. His wife is jealous and "*Not without reason*" (10). The factory women "jaw" and blame him for all their mill complaints (21). The ballad's speaker advises John to turn to religion for the "balsam" (38) he needs "To heal the wound and cure the sore" (37) of his troubles. The speaker urges him to "Read the Bible" (43) and "trust in Christ" (46), who will give him "True peace" (47). In a note appended to the poem, the author claims that some of its lines were "forged" by John's wife.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

202. B., J. L. [Josephine L. Baker (m. Choate)]. "The Maniac Mother." *Lowell Offering* 5 (1845): 224-26.

SYNOPSIS: When the story opens, night has fallen in a busy town. "The whir of machinery" and vehicles' and pedestrians' movements are stilled. A young woman passes quickly through the streets and enters a small building on the town's outskirts. This is where Helen lives with her sister, Lizzy, and their seriously ill mother, Mrs. M.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Helen has failed in her attempts to get the family some help. The two sisters will stay up late sewing to earn needed money. Mrs. M. has been suffering from "a long and dangerous illness," during which she has lost her sanity (224). As a widow, she had worked hard to support her family. She suffered a severe shock when her firstborn son, George, became intemperate: "[H]er idolized boy had been allured from virtue and truth by the wine-cup's sparkling brim" (225). One evening, some men came to her home carrying the dead body of George. Shortly after, Mrs. M. lost her reason. Her weary daughters have been seeking help for her. Helen and Lizzy watch and sew through the night. At dawn, "Helen, summoned by the bell, [goes] to her daily employment." Lizzy has "a strange presentiment" but must leave her mother to go out. Several hours later, Mrs. M. dies. At the cemetery where the widow and her son are buried, birds "chant their requiem over the betrayed and broken-hearted" (226).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

203. "The Belles of Lowell. Palinode." *The Old Ladies' Piece Bag* 1 (1868): 12.

SYNOPSIS: In nine eight-line stanzas, the poem's speaker maintains that the thousands of Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women excel in grace and beauty the women of such distant places as Paris, China, and Timbuctoo:

> Oh, the belles of Lowell
> Such gems outglow all
> By the mill-vexed rapids
> Of the Merrimack. (69-72)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History.

204. "Biography of Sam Patch." *Berkshire Journal* 1.24 (11 February 1830).

SYNOPSIS: In one hundred four lines, this long ballad recounts the life of Sam Patch (1807-29), who worked from childhood as a Pawtucket, Rhode Island, cotton spinner. In early adulthood, Sam decides to leave the mill, feeling that "he was a ninny, / To spend his life in twirling thread, / Just like a spinning Jenney" (10-12). Seeking "fame and glory" (16), Sam fashions a new career as a daredevil, jumping from the tops of factory buildings into rivers and over waterfalls before admiring crowds. He jumps "To show that some things *can* be done, / . . . as well as others" (75-76). The poem depicts Sam's death at Niagara Falls, but he actually twice survived jumping over Niagara, dying during a leap over the Genessee Falls, Rochester, New York. The ballad reflects Patch's folk-hero renown.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Early American Newspapers*.

205. Bryant, William Cullen. *The Song of the Sower*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1870. 48 pp.

AUTHOR: Bryant (1794-1878; b. Cummington, Massachusetts) was an acclaimed American poet and journalist.

SYNOPSIS: In autumn, as seeds are sown for the following spring, the poem's speaker beseeches the sower to plant the grain of peace. In lines of iambic tetrameters, the speaker asks that seed be generously strewn for all United States workers and poor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

common people. The poem pays tribute to various laborers, including those in textile mills:

> Fling wide the grain for those who throw
> The clanking shuttle to and fro,
> In the long row of humming rooms,
> And into ponderous masses wind
> The web that, from a thousand looms,
> Comes forth to clothe mankind. (29)

This passage is illustrated with a Winslow Homer engraving depicting a woman working at a power loom.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

206. Burton, Jennie Davis. "Adria, the Adopted: or, The Mystery of Ellesford Grange." *The Saturday Weekly Journal* (New York) 2.85 (28 October 1871): 1-2.

SYNOPSIS: Published in a Beadle and Adams story paper, this serial tale is advertised as "a grand love story . . . of the present" (21 October 1871). Some of the action takes place in the fictitious New England manufacturing town of Crofton. The Russell Brothers' cotton mill stands beside the river: "The long, narrow windows were let down from the top, and the half-screens adjusted to prevent careless eyes wandering from the duty before them. From top to bottom the whirr, and buzz, and steady clank of machinery announced that every worker was in place, and every joint of the mechanical anatomy performing its office." One day, a woman worker's clothing gets caught in a band, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

she is carried upward with it. Her severe injuries include an "utterly crushed" arm and bruises. The woman, Nelly Kent, is considered somewhat "touched" mentally but quiet and steady (2). The foreman, Kenneth Hastings, employed from boyhood in the factory, kindly looks after the disabled woman. Soon both of them leave Crofton. The continuation of the story is missing.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Beinecke Library, Yale University.

207. Candace. "The Redeemed Farm." *The Operatives' Magazine* 3 (June 1841): 33-36.

SYNOPSIS: Set in 1835, this short story was written by a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory woman. At the opening, an adult brother and sister, Mr. Clarence Sinclair and Mrs. Hester Clinton, who once worked in "the mill at L.," are reunited. Clarence reminds Hester not to think of her misfortunes but instead to be grateful and remember those less fortunate. The narrator relates their earlier history. They were children of a widowed clergyman, who died and left them "nothing of value" (33). The orphans were "placed at a manufactory . . . under the care of Miss Caroline Selden," a mill worker. Caroline, aged twenty, has been working two years in a mill weave-room in the town of S. One of her reasons for working is to help educate her brothers and sisters. When Clarence and Hester join her, they are aged sixteen and fourteen respectively. For six years, with Caroline they work and spend their spare time reading and talking together. Clarence's first mill job is "carrying filling from the spinning to the weave-room, and returning with the empty bobbins." By the age of twenty-two, he becomes a successful machinist. Though quite beautiful at twenty, Hester is "plain and simple in her dress and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appearance." She soon marries. Clarence is "offered a large salary by a company, to superintend the erection of some machinery" in a distant place (34). After a twenty-year absence, he is reunited with Hester, now a widow whose daughters have died. Most of the Seldens have traveled West, where many of them have died. When Clarence and Hester revisit the mill where they once worked, Hester is shocked to see a factory girl who strikingly resembles Caroline. As she soon learns, Caroline and her daughter, Maria, have been working in the mill to try "to redeem their property" (35). Clarence, Hester, and Caroline resume their friendship. Caroline, a widow, tells them how through her afflictions she was led to "receive [Christ] as our all-sufficient Saviour." When Clarence redeems her property, the news sends her into a "violent fever," but she recovers. Clarence and Hester replenish the old library in the farmhouse, "to which all the girls employed at the mill had access." Appreciating Caroline's "beauties of religion," Clarence marries her. Hester's only remaining child, a son Augustus, is apprenticed at the age of fifteen to "a large cabinet and furniture ware-house," where he earns "a fair prospect of becoming a partner in this flourishing and lucrative business." The story ends with the suggestion that Maria and Augustus will marry.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

208. Carleton, Will. "Wealth." *City Ballads*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1885. 15-45.

AUTHOR: Carleton (1845-1912; born in a log cabin near Hudson, Michigan), the most famous "People's Poet" of his era, worked as a journalist in New York City.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: "Wealth" includes portraits of the urban rich and poor in a typical American city. The ballad's speaker hears the "machinery's din" of a textile factory and observes some workers entering, a "child with a poor, pale face" and a "woman with hurried grace." He asks them where their wages go, and they reply, "A goodly part to the owners, whoever they may be," a little for themselves and their loved ones, and all the rest "to the cities" (33).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library. Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

209. Cooke, Rose Terry. "The Deacon's Week." *The Deacon's Week, and What Deacon Baxter Saw*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, [1894]. 5-29.

AUTHOR: Cooke (1827-92; b. near Hartford, Connecticut) was a poet and short story writer in the local-color realist tradition.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's hero is Mr. Parkes, the pastor of a congregation of "farmers and mechanics" in the town of Sugar Hollow (5). Sugar Brook, "a brawling, noisy stream," runs through the town and "turn[s] the wheel of many a mill and manufactory" (5-6). The factory people present the problems for Mr. Parkes of "the keen brain and skeptical comment," as well as the "bitter feeling" that creates "communistic" tendencies (6). Mr. Parkes is discouraged about the difficulty of "arous[ing] his people from their sins and mak[ing] them believe on the Lord" (7). He asks his congregation to spend a week practicing their religion. At the end of the week, Deacon Emmons, a storekeeper, recounts his experiences. The week practicing inspires many of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

congregation to greater religious faith and spiritual striving.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

210. D. [Eliza Jane Cate]. "Leisure Hours of the Mill Girls." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 65-79.

AUTHOR: Cate (1812-84; b. Sanbornton, New Hampshire) worked in mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and wrote fiction.

SYNOPSIS: This didactic short story, set in a factory boardinghouse, is calculated to guide women workers in spending their free time wisely and virtuously. Ann, the heroine, visits the rooms of other boarders and reproves some of the women, in a rather heavy-handed manner, for their frivolous behavior. Charlotte and Bertha, whose room is a mess, spend their leisure time shopping for delectables and reading novels. Ann and the narrator express their disapproval of such pastimes, especially given that Charlotte's family is very poor and needs the money she wastes on "lemons, nuts, and cake" (66). Another pair of roommates, Miss Clark and Miss Emily, also squander their leisure time, "making netting and dresses," rather than participating in such uplifting activities as "the lecture room, the improvement circle, and . . . reading . . . the 'Book of books'" (79). In another room, giddy Ellinora and Fanny laugh recounting their pranks and flirtations. Alice, another boarder, suffers from "the *blues*," which, according to Ann, she tends to bring on herself by gloomy ruminations and reading too much Byron and not enough of the Bible (71, 77). The most exemplary boarder is Isabel Greenwood, "the peerless" (78), a pious orphan who relies at all times on God for protection, guidance, and strength.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She gently counsels Ann and the other women on overcoming their faults. Isabel, like Alice and some of the boarders, is working to support a brother's education. Under Isabel's influence, the women begin to improve. The story reflects some of the amusements and colloquialisms of young working-class women.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 172-82.

211. Davidson, John. "Piper, Play." [c. 1900?]. Rice, Wallace and Frances. *The Humbler Poets (Second Series): A Collection of Newspaper and Periodical Verse, 1885 to 1910.* Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910. 170-71.

SYNOPSIS: A ballad in forty-eight lines, the poem depicts various kinds of men and women workers leaving their jobs for a holiday. One stanza describes women quitting their factory looms and spindles. Although they are the humblest kind of people, the workers look forward to a brief spell of freedom, rest, music, and dance beneath the stars. The poem affirms the humanity of laborers.

212. "Death of Sam Patch." First line: "There came to the shore in the month of November." Boston: n.p., [1829?].

SYNOPSIS: This anonymously published broadside includes a prose announcement of Sam Patch's death and a ballad in forty lines depicting his final day. Patch (1807-29), a cotton spinner turned daredevil, dies during a leap over the Genessee Falls, Rochester, New York. In the ballad, Sam is characterized as handsome ("A youth blest with health

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and with beauty's full bloom" [2]), and courageous ("firm and undaunted" [8]). Before jumping, he arranges for his mother's "protection" in the event of his death (30). Though he has survived other death-defying leaps, this time "fate had decreed that he should now be a martyr" (35). After he leaps, "we ne'er saw him more" (40). Patch is memorialized as a folk hero in this broadside.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library.

213. Denison, Mary A. *The Mill Agent*. Boston: Graves and Young, c1863. 352 pp.

AUTHOR: Mary Ann Andrews Denison (1826-1911; b. Cambridge, Massachusetts) contributed fiction to popular periodicals and wrote sixty novels.

SYNOPSIS: In this temperance novel, the mill agent, Guilford Coit, influences the impious, pleasure-loving townspeople to embrace Christianity and sobriety. This novel is set in the fictitious town of Clifton Locks, a quiet, out-of-the-way village of four thousand. Its most prominent buildings are the three "stately" Leffingwell mills, "bristling with numerous windows," and the old tavern kept by Tristam Saint (6). In the final chapter, the narrator explains that her story has been "no fiction" but a relation of events that actually occurred in a New England village. The mill owner, Colonel Leffingwell, is an intelligent, dignified gentleman past fifty. A new agent, Guilford Coit, arrives in town, a man Leffingwell believes is "of sterling principle" (13). People of all ages, from very young to old, work in the mills: "Then by scores came the operatives from the doorway of the mill--young, old and middle-aged; little toddling girls, bright eyed rosy-cheeked, carrying their shining kettles. Young maids, modest and shy, or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

saucy, defiant and bold, flocked by, exchanging words, nods and smiles with those whom they passed" (15). The townspeople are largely given over to impiety, intemperance, and other worldly pleasures, failing to support even a single church. Tristam Saint's daughter Hager, a fifteen-year-old mill worker, is a "delicate and sensitive" girl with an unsatisfied spiritual longing. She admires Guilford, "a professing Christian" (47) who speaks openly about his religion and his disapproval of the townspeople's ballroom dancing, drinking, and card-playing. As one virtuous young mill worker, Sarah Church, explains, dancing is wrong "in so far as it makes us wish for the pleasure for the sake of being seen, of showing off finery, or enjoying the mere excitement of motion" (103). For a time, many of the townspeople resent Guilford's religious proselytizing, including some factory girls who ridicule "saint Coit" (157). Listening to Guilford and devoting more time to prayer, Hager grows increasingly pious. One day while working at the mill, she is severely injured after being "drawn under the shaft" (205). From her bed of suffering, Hager tells those attending her that heartfelt belief in Jesus is *"all"* (216). Suffering terribly and expected to die, Hager assumes an "extreme etherialization" and great saintliness (342). Under the influence of Guilford's Christianity, Colonel Leffingwell gives Sarah Church and her father ownership of the house they rented from him. Sarah's father is pleased that she will no longer have to "toil and delve in the factory, in the midst of that cruel machinery" (336). Colonel Leffingwell closes the bar in the Saints' tavern, converting it to a church. When Hager is miraculously healed by God, a number of Clifton Locks' residents are converted to Christianity. A "great revival" takes place in the mills. After three years have passed, Sarah Church has married one of the Leffingwell sons, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hager has recovered from all her injuries and married Guilford Coit. Clifton Locks now supports five churches and a "little Sabbath School" (352).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

214. Dindle, Dolly. "Measure for Measure." *Lowell Offering* 5 (1845): 104-8.

SYNOPSIS: The hero of this short story is Mr. Eaton, the good-natured overseer of a factory weave room. To play a joke on a neighbor, Mr. Eaton disguises himself as a phrenologist. The story recounts his humorous phrenological encounter with his neighbor. At the end, the narrator apologizes for the story, but asserts that at least it has the virtue of being "true": "I am sorry I have no better story to tell though this has the advantage of being true" (108).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

215. Fitch, James. "The People's Carding Shop." Chester, PA: John Spencer, Steam Power Printer, 1877.

SYNOPSIS: This broadside includes a prose description of Fitch's carding services offered at Yorkshire Centre, Pennsylvania, and a humorous ballad, "My Neighbor's Wife and I: A Satire," composed presumably by Fitch. He explains that he will "Cleanse, Oil and Card Wool for 12 cents per pound, or for 8 cents per pound when the Wool is prepared." If people want to send their wool by railroad, he will pick it up from and deliver it to the station. "My Neighbor's Wife and I" is a forty-eight-line poem narrated in the voice of a man who has loved his neighbor's wife too well. In doing so, he has

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tried to apply the golden rule and other Christian precepts: "To love my neighbor as myself, / Is Christian like, they say" (9-10). He gets in trouble when he is caught holding and kissing his neighbor's wife.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

216. *Fun in a Factory Village.* Worcester, MA: C. B. Webb, 1847. 34 pp.

AUTHOR: Although the author's name is not revealed, he gives some information about himself in the Introduction. He indicates that his education and opportunities have been limited and that "writing books is *not my trade*."

SYNOPSIS: The hero of this brief fictional text is James Sumner, a cotton mill worker living in a small New England factory village. Jim and his friend Samuel Doubtful are spying on a group of young male factory workers who have formed a secret society, the "P.B. Society." Jim dedicates himself to discovering the nature and activities of the Society. A member explains that their purpose is entertainment and "instruction": ". . . a few young men anxious to be engaged in something besides their regular labor in the mill, contrived various ways and means to amuse themselves and gather instruction" (3). One of the young men remarks that they need such a society, because their "advantages are poor, very poor" (16). The story's characters include some female mill workers. In scenes depicting its meetings, the Society lightheartedly parodies workers' self-improvement societies. In ridiculous terms, the members discuss such weighty questions as the worth of old bachelors, the wearing of cotton pantaloons, and "the delightful

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

miseries of mule-spinning" (9). The whole village is speculating and gossiping about the secret society. Some of the factory women decide to form their own secret society for "intellectual pleasure" (19). When the factory owner, Mr. K., orders the young men to make their society public (people fear they are "conspirators"), one of the members remarks angrily, "What business has he with our private affairs out of the mills?" (28). Meanwhile, Jim continues his persistent efforts to discover the secrets of the P.B. Society. He is finally successful and credits his efforts with bringing about the female society, public meetings of the P.B. Society, and eventually a union of the male and female societies. At the story's conclusion, there exists in the village a public society of male and female workers, "a large and flourishing society, whose object [is] to improve the mind" (34). Features of the text include the use of working-class colloquialisms and many representations of working-class culture.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

217. "Going to Law." *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York, NY) 2:30 (12 March 1831).

SYNOPSIS: In this humorous, twelve-line ballad, the owners of an Upper and a Lower Mill quarrel about water rights. After a costly lawsuit, their lawyers end up in possession of the mills.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

218. Grosvenor, Fred C. "Six O'Clock." *New York Saturday Star Journal* 5.231 (15

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

August 1874): [1].

SYNOPSIS: This twenty-five-line ballad was published in a Beadle and Adams story paper promoting itself as "a popular paper for pleasure and profit." The poem's speaker recounts the relief of workers upon hearing the factory's six o'clock whistle ending the workday. The speaker first paints a rather gloomy picture of the factory:

> Up from the towering factory's side,
>
> Looms the giant chimney stack,
>
> And over its gloomy top so tall,
>
> The thick smoke hangs like a funeral pall
>
> That pours from its summit black. (1-5)

When the whistle blows for six o'clock, the happy workmen come out into the waning sunlight. They are glad to leave "the toil and strife" (22) to go home to their "cheery" wives (25).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Beinecke Library, Yale University.

219. Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe." 1834. *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Vol. IX. Twice-Told Tales*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974. 106-120.

AUTHOR: Hawthorne (1804-64; b. Salem, Massachusetts) is one of the major nineteenth-century American writers of fiction.

SYNOPSIS: First published in *The New England Magazine* (December 1834), this short story concerns the fictitious mill town of Parker's Falls on the Salmon River. Mr.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Higginbotham is a part-owner of the town's slitting-mill and a considerable stockholder in its three cotton factories. The town's population includes "mistresses of boarding-houses, factory-girls, [and] mill-men" (112). The story explores the social consequences of unfounded rumors about Mr. Higginbotham's murder. The story reflects Hawthorne's knowledge of the popular culture of his time.

220. Holland, Josiah Gilbert. "Picture." *Garnered Sheaves: The Complete Poetical Works*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1878. [9]-13.

AUTHOR: Holland (1819-81; b. Belchertown, Massachusetts), born into a poor family, worked during his adolescence in a textile mill in South Hadley, Massachusetts. He went on to become a well-known American author, journalist, and editor.

SYNOPSIS: "Picture," a topographical poem, depicts an Eastern town over which a powerful snowstorm is gathering. In blank verse, the speaker describes the varied scene, including a forest, farms, and a factory beside a stream. In contrast to its bright activity ("many fingered life") the previous evening, the factory is dark and still. Now, in the shadow of the impending storm, it "lifts its bulk / With dim, uncertain angles" (10).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

221. Holland, Josiah Gilbert. *Sevenoaks: A Story of To-Day*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1875. 441 pp.

AUTHOR: Holland (1819-81; b. Belchertown, Massachusetts), born into a poor family, worked during his adolescence in a textile mill in South Hadley, Massachusetts. He went

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on to become a well-known American author, journalist, and editor.

SYNOPSIS: In 1875, the novel was first published serially in *Scribner's Monthly*. The story is set in Sevenoaks, a small town of the kind that may be found in northern Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, or New York. Built on a river, the town is dominated by an immense factory owned by the wealthy Robert Belcher, who owns or controls all of the town. Another prominent local institution is the poorhouse: "[O]n the bleakest hill in the region, stood the . . . poor-house. In dimensions and population, it was utterly out of proportion to the size of the town, for the people of Sevenoaks seemed to degenerate into paupers with wonderful facility. There was one man in the town who was known to be getting rich, while all the rest grew poor" (3). The people are paid so little for their work that it is almost impossible for them ever to leave town. Belcher's nemesis, a fearless itinerant tailoress, Keziah Butterworth, acquainted with him from childhood, confronts him with his responsibility for a former employee's destruction. Paul Benedict, an ingenious man who contributed many inventions to Belcher's mills, grew increasingly poorer while Belcher grew rich on his inventions. After Benedict lost his sanity, Belcher committed him to an insane asylum. Butterworth informs him that Benedict has been released from the asylum. The next day there is to be an auction of the town's poor, including Benedict (13). Much of the ensuing plot concerns Belcher's efforts to find and confine Benedict. A friend, Jim Fenton, helps to hide Benedict from Belcher. Eventually, Benedict sues Belcher over his stolen inventions and is vindicated when Belcher is convicted of fraud and forgery. He escapes to Canada, where, rumor has it, he tends a bar on a St. Lawrence steamboat. Benedict comes into possession of Belcher's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mansion and other property in Sevenoaks, out of which he supports Belcher's wife and children. Under Paul Benedict's proprietorship, the mill operatives and other people of Sevenoaks become more prosperous and contented.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

222. Horr, J. C., Mr. "Amoskeag's New Mill." Tune: "The Poachers." 1841. Browne, George W. *The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, New Hampshire: A History.* Manchester, NH: Amoskeag Mfg. Co., 1915. 74-75.

SYNOPSIS: Mr. Horr, "of Meredith Bridge," sang this song at a banquet given November 17, 1841, at Shepherd's Tavern, Manchester, New Hampshire, to celebrate the starting of the machinery at Amoskeag Mill No. 1. This forty-line ballad commemorates the completion of the new mill's construction and the efforts of "enterprising citizens" (15). Mr. Horr praises the water power that moves the mill's wheel, "the great canal" (26), the railroad to Boston, and the cotton factories that give many laborers work.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Book held by New York Public Library and Baruch College Library (C.U.N.Y); reprinted in *Harvard Social History/Business Preservation Microfilm Project. Project 2a; 22547.*

223. J., E. W. [Eliza W. Jennings]. "The Stanleys." *Lowell Offering* 5 (1845): 61-65.

SYNOPSIS: Mr. Stanley, "a respectable mechanic," dies, leaving a widow and seven small children (61). When he was on his deathbed, his friend and landlord, Mr. Granger, promised to protect the family. Mrs. Stanley struggles to support the children by her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

needle. Six months later when their funds are exhausted, Mr. Granger evicts the Stanleys from their home, sacrificing friendship to greed. The family moves to a less desirable tenement, where "none but poor folks live" (62). One daughter, Anna, will go to live with her Uncle Henry, a prosperous lawyer. He hopes to adopt her and make her a lady. To support the family, Mrs. Stanley will take in washing, eighteen-year-old Harriet "should go to the factory," and one son, Arthur, will work in a store. Despite their efforts, "poverty [is] still their guest," and they sometimes go hungry (63). One day Arthur leaves for New York to try to become rich. On the boat, he saves a girl who has fallen overboard and is rewarded with five hundred dollars. He sends half of the money to his mother. Fifteen years later, the narrator returns to the Stanleys' hometown. Mr. Granger has suffered a financial collapse. The Widow Stanley and her children are still poor: "The hand of poverty was still upon them." Arthur returns, and the narrator hints that he purchases Mr. Granger's house for his mother. At the story's conclusion, the narrator addresses the "kind reader," commenting modestly that "this little tale has nothing to recommend it, save its truth." Its moral, derived from the example of Arthur's success, is "that every man is, to a great extent, the framer of his fortune" (65).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

224. Jewett, Sarah Orne. "The Gray Mills of Farley." 1898. *The Irish Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett*. Ed. Jack Morgan and Louis A. Renza. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1996. 71-93.

AUTHOR: Jewett (1849-1909; b. South Berwick, Maine) was a writer of local-color

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

realist fiction.

SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in a dreary New England factory village by a river. Most of the workers are Irish and French-Canadian immigrants. The workforce includes young children who work as doffers. The mill agent, Dan, having risen up from boyhood poverty through the ranks, genuinely cares about the workers and tries unsuccessfully to avert a mill shutdown. Nonetheless, after collecting a sizable dividend for themselves, the directors and stockholders shut down the Farley mills. During the half-year the mills stay closed, the agent struggles to find ways to help the suffering, unemployed workers who remain in town.

225. Jillson, Clark. *Progress Attributed to the Laboring Classes: A Poem Delivered before the Worcester County Mechanics' Association, March 3d, 1853*. Worcester, MA: Printed by Edward R. Fiske, 1853. 36 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This poem by Jillson (1825-94) is composed in lines of iambic tetrameter. The poem's speaker expresses his opinions on "working men" (5). Though laborers are often oppressed by tyrants, this problem will be overcome in the future by effort and patience. Those who toil should strive for freedom, virtue, and right (10). Since the time of Adam and Eve, "honest toil" has been honorable, and benefits like the printing press and the telegraph have been developed by workers (16). Nonetheless, some people scorn workers and the poor. Human progress will eliminate oppression of workers and other cruelties and crimes, as well as "ignorance and wrong" (27). In New England, cities are springing up with "moving wheels," "power-looms," and spindles that turn "with all the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

speed of lightning" (27-28). Still, people look down on workers, considering them lacking in the wisdom and greatness of those with more education and social status. Yet workers have built our cities, railways, canals, and "noisy mills" (30). American laborers, descendants of those who fought for independence from England, are at the forefront of modern progress. The speaker urges workers to avoid looking back at the past, to fight for their rights, and to maintain "a free and independent mind" (33). Human progress and reform cannot be stopped. Workers should inscribe their names and likenesses on the future.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New-York Historical Society and Brown University Library.

226. Judson, Emily Chubbuck. *The Great Secret; or, How to be Happy*. Rev. ed. New York: L. Colby and Company, 1847. 252 pp.

AUTHOR: Judson (1817-54; b. Eaton, New York; pseud. "Fanny Forester") began working in a Hamilton, New York, woolen mill at the age of ten. She went on to become a teacher, a writer, and a missionary.

SYNOPSIS: This children's novel concerns a poor family, the Elmores, living in upstate New York. Made miserable by his father's drunken abusiveness, Willie Elmore, about twelve years old, runs away from home. To support himself, he considers working in a woolen mill, a "high, red factory" that he finds "dismal" (151-52):

> There were several machines for carding the black, greasy wool, and one for spinning; and two boys, with pale, thin faces, all begrimed with dirt,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> were hurrying about among the former, while a tall, sickly-looking man, walked back and forth behind the latter, turning a crank as steadily as a horse in a tread-mill. Willie's head grew dizzy, and his heart sick, as he looked upon them. . . . Mounting a flight of stairs, he found himself in a room a little pleasanter, although the continual whirl of machinery still turned his head, and the water power looms looked not half so agreeable as the large familiar ones in 'Squire Ross's out-house chamber. He observed that all the working-people in this room, whether men, women, or children, were as those below, pale and thin; but yet they seemed cheerful . . . (152)

Willie finds more congenial work as a "boat-driver" on the Erie Canal.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

227. La Vista. "Lowell." *Lowell Mercury* 5.36 (5 September 1834).

SYNOPSIS: Sitting on the banks of the Merrimack River one night, the speaker of this topographical poem describes his or her view of Lowell, Massachusetts, and thoughts about it. In thirty-six balladic lines, a semi-pastoral and semi-urban scene is painted. Looking at Lowell, the speaker thinks about the noise of the textile mills: "The picker's loud hum and the quick loom's jar, / And the bell that hung in the bleach-house dome" (17-18). The speaker expresses regret that the beauties of nature are being supplanted by noisy factories, railroads, and other features of urbanization. No longer can she or he hear "the nightingale's song, and the note of the lark / . . . nor the beautiful sound / That

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sung in the grass of the meadow ground" (33-35). The poem conveys a mood of haunting sadness.

228. Larcom, Lucy. "Lowell at Sunset." *Our Home. Tenth Annual Fair for the Benefit of the Home for Young Women and Children.* Lowell, MA: Courier P, 1885. N. pag.

AUTHOR: Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering*. Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet. She also worked as a teacher and editor.

SYNOPSIS: This forty-line ballad evokes the scene of Lowell, "the beautiful City of Toil" (4), at dusk. The speaker urges workers to recognize the closeness of God, the heavens, and the angels to their places of toil. Although people must work, they must also remember to "aspire" (17):

> O ye who toil in the town,
>
> The work of your hands is well;
>
> Do you know how close the heights lean down
>
> Toward the busy depths where you dwell?
>
> Look up! for the glorious gates
>
> Above you are open spread,
>
> And a splendor beyond your dream awaits

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To illumine the ways you tread. (29-36)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History and University of California-Riverside.

229. Larcom, Lucy. "My Merrimack." *The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom*. Household ed. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884. 231-32.

AUTHOR: Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering*. Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet. She also worked as a teacher and editor.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad's speaker, in eight six-line stanzas, expresses gratitude for the beauty of the Merrimack River, which she has enjoyed from childhood. Working in the mills along the River, the speaker was gladdened and uplifted by this glimpse of unspoiled "paradise" (20). Beside the Merrimack, she also found "holy" friendship (35). She expresses a hope that other working women might find inspiration in the River:

River of inspirations sweet,
Wash off the dust from weary feet!
Where shuttles clash and spindles whirl,
Sing to the homesick working-girl
In cheerful undertones, and lift
Her thoughts along thy current swift! (37-42)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

230. "The Last Request." *The Factory Journal, and Laborer's Advocate* 1.1 (14 April 1843).

SYNOPSIS: This short story's narrator recounts his springtime visit to the beautiful New England village of F---. A stream winds among farms and beside a factory. From the mill's open windows, the narrator hears "the sound of the loom, the busy hum of machinery, and . . . the voice of the female operative . . . in melodious strains, indicative of the contentment that dwelt within her heart." Nearby stands a "neat little" church. That evening the narrator encounters a man kneeling and praying in a grove for the conversion of a friend. After following him and conversing with him, the narrator promises to visit the man in the factory. The next morning being the Sabbath, the narrator attends church in the village, reflecting that people might be happy in a place of such beauty and simplicity, even if "confined within the walls of a factory." No matter what people's occupations are, their minds can remain "unshackled, and free as the air." At this point, the narrative breaks off, "To be continued," but subsequent issues of *The Factory Journal* apparently were not published or preserved.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

231. Locke, B. W. "My Workmen." *The American Workman* (Boston, MA) 4.52 (27 April 1872).

SYNOPSIS: Celebrating the work of many kinds of American laborers, Locke's ballad is composed in nine four-line stanzas. The poem's speaker contends that, although he is not the "lord of a manor" or an owner "of huge fact'ries with thousands of hands" (1-2), still

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

millions of workers toil for him. These workers include factory women:

> The spinner and weaver, in clattering mill,
>
> The seamstress, in attic so dismal and chill,
>
> The kitchen girl, serving so blithely the tea,
>
> Are spinning and weaving and serving for me. (29-32)

Since the speaker's life is benefitted by the work of millions of Americans, he gives thanks for their efforts: "There's little I eat, and there's nothing I wear, / But what's been a burden for some one to bear; / Though most of my workmen I never shall see" (33-35).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Library of Congress, New York University, Yale University, Columbia University, and University of Pittsburgh.

232. *Lollypop! The Artful Dodger, or the Factory Girl.* Providence, RI: A. C. Greene, Printer, 1850.

DESCRIPTION: A broadside announces the performance of this "farce" in Providence on September 2, 1850. It comprised one of three plays performed during a "dramatic exhibition." *Lollypop's* characters include Young Lollypop, the artful dodger; Old Brummagem, the selfish father; John Smith, Esq., the poor lover; and Sally, the factory girl.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Broadside held by American Antiquarian Society. It is not known whether the script was published or preserved.

233. "Mechanic's Song." *The Wampanoag, and Operatives' Journal* 1 (1842): 68.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In thirteen four-line stanzas, this anonymous ballad published in a factory workers' periodical honors various kinds of workers. The speaker expresses admiration for their skill and productivity. Recommending that carders, spinners, and weavers follow the advice of their friend Poor Richard, the speaker urges them to "Stick close to your looms and your wheels and your card / And you never need fear of the times being hard" (35-36).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

234. Miss Prepared Chalk, Manchester. "Factory Girls. From the Stark Corporation." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.45 (20 September 1845).

SYNOPSIS: In this twenty-four-line ballad, the speaker describes some of the ways that factory girls spend their leisure time. After receiving their wages, some go straight out and spend their money in the shops, bragging of their purchases. Others attend church, often "with the intention of getting a beau" (10). In the evenings, the women argue over who shall have the use of the boardinghouse parlor for courting. When a suitor arrives, several young women linger in the parlor, trying to decide whether he is "handsome" (19). At ten o'clock, the boardinghouse keeper calls out for the young women to "start for the attic" (22), because soon the agent will arrive (presumably to enforce the ten o'clock curfew). Now "the lover" and "his dear" enjoy some privacy (24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

235. Nelson, Dorothy E. "Mary Harding's Easter." *The Youth's Companion* (Boston,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MA) No. 3487 (22 March 1894): 125-26.

SYNOPSIS: In a small town stand Hackett's Mills, "three great, grim, prison-like buildings." In a fifth-floor room, "seventy girls" work (125). The short story's heroine, Mary Harding, is a "cold, hard girl," easily annoyed by the lively "French girls" among the workers (125-26). Mary is grieving over the death one year earlier of her only family member, a beloved young sister, Bel. She looks forward to placing hyacinths on Bel's grave at Easter. After attending a prayer-meeting, Mary decides to give the flowers instead to her co-workers. Unknown to her, her sympathetic co-workers have planned to place violets on her sister's grave. On Easter Day, when Mary visits the cemetery, she finds a co-worker there spreading the flowers. Mary finally allows herself to give and receive affection. The narrator expresses some unfavorable views of factories, including that none of the workers "spent a moment longer than was necessary in the noisy, oily rooms" (126).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

236. P. "Factory Bells (A Parody)." *Lowell Daily Journal and Courier* (26 February 1853).

SYNOPSIS: This poem in one hundred thirteen lines is a close parody of Poe's "The Bells" (1849). P. recreates the routine of a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker's day, as marked by the tolling of the factory bells. The earliest bells, "the hideous morning bells" (1), create a "sleep-disturbing clamor" (16), urging the workers to "hustle" and "bustle" (12) to the mill gates. Next, "the mellow breakfast bells" (20) evoke the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wonderful scent of coffee and "a row of muffins" (22). "[T]he welcome dinner bells" (41) call the "ladies worn and weary" (55) to a meal of soup and "turkey tough" (43). Last are the "golden bells" of evening ending the workday (76). The poem includes many details of life in the mills and boardinghouses, especially the boardinghouse meals.
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Boston Public Library.

237. A Party of Poor Workingmen. "Copy of Verses." By a Party of Poor Workingmen. First line: "When nature, in a voice of pain." [New England?: n.p., c. 1870s-1880s].
AUTHORS: In a note following the poem, the authors identify themselves as "a party of unemployed workingmen . . . compelled to throw [them]selves at the feet of the humane and sympathizing public." Until they are able to obtain work, selling verses is their only means "to support the slender thread of existence and keep us and our families from utter starvation."
SYNOPSIS: In six four-line ballad stanzas, the poem's speakers portray their inability to find work and consequent poverty:

> For many weeks we work have sought,
> But work we can't procure;
> Sad distress has been our lot,
> To go from door to door. (5-8)

They ask readers not to blame them for their "distress" (13), and they pray for heaven's blessings to be showered upon their benefactors. The speakers conclude the poem by stressing their reliance upon Jesus and the Cross: "Many despise the poor man's lot, / But

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the Cross I fly" (23-24). Notes following the poem include "Please hand this to the Lady or Gentleman," suggesting that the broadsides were left with servants at homes of the well-to-do.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

238. A Poor Operative. "Copy of Verses." By a Poor Operative. First line: "When nature in the voice of pain." [Lawrence, MA?: n.p., 1850-70?].

AUTHOR: In a note following the poem, the author identifies himself as an "unemployed operative from Lawrence, Mass.," for whom selling verses is "the only means left to me at present to support myself and family."

SYNOPSIS: This twenty-four-line ballad is nearly the same as the ballad ascribed to "A Party of Poor Workingmen" (see annotation above). The poem's speaker, a "poor tradesman" (23), describes his inability to find work and consequent poverty. The suffering of his children is particularly painful to witness:

> How does the wretched parent feel,
>
> When children cry for bread?
>
> How keen the pain of sorrow then,
>
> They surely must be fed. (9-12)

The speaker asks readers not to blame him for his "distress" (13), and he prays for heaven's blessings to be showered upon his benefactors. The speaker concludes the poem by stressing his reliance upon Jesus and the Cross.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

239. Ricketson, Daniel. "The Scotch Factory-Girl." *The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems.* New Bedford, MA: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1873. 26-27.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and historian.

SYNOPSIS: The ballad's speaker expresses sympathy for the immigrants driven from rural Scotland to the United States and "a life in the mill and the close crowded town" (12). In twenty-eight lines, the poem's speaker laments that the Scotch factory-girl is growing pale since exchanging her "home in the fields" for the factory. Though no longer as greatly blessed by Nature as she was in Scotland, she should remember that God's love and green fields can also be found in the United States. In the final stanza, the speaker extends a hand of friendship and welcome to Scottish immigrants.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Rutgers University, Yale University, Boston Public Library, and Harvard University.

240. Russell, Theodore. "To the Merrimack River, at the Falls of the Am-auh-nour-skeag." *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* 39 (August 1849): 106-7.

SYNOPSIS: This topographical poem is composed in one hundred thirty-seven lines of blank verse. The speaker views the Merrimack River and meditates on its history. He laments the passing of both the Indians and the wild beauty of the river. The coming of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the white man has caused the river's free flow to be "bound in servile chains," providing water power for industry. Nevertheless, the river greatly benefits humanity, transforming base things into gold.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

241. Sigourney, Lydia Huntley. "The Lonely Church." *American Female Poets.* Ed. Caroline May. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1853. 89-90.

AUTHOR: Sigourney (1791-1865), the daughter of a Connecticut gardener, became one of the most popular antebellum poets.

SYNOPSIS: In "The Lonely Church," the speaker views an unfrequented church standing in a quiet vale and sketches the scene in thirty-eight lines of blank verse. Just beyond the church, busy sounds of village industry, including a textile factory, reveal the interests and activities of the villagers. The speaker expresses fear that people are neglecting religious worship in favor of industry and other worldly interests and hopes that they will turn from toil back to the "lonely church."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Culture Series. Titles in the Field of Literature and Language.*

242. "Song of the Spinners." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): [32].

SYNOPSIS: The "Song" includes lyrics and music. At the end of the day, a group of spinners express their enjoyment of their work and of the independence it gives them:

> The day is o'er, nor [sic] longer we toil and spin;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For ev'ning's hush withdraws from the daily din.

And now we sing, with gladsome hearts,

The theme of the spinner's song,

That labor to leisure a zest imparts,

Unknown to the idle throng.

We spin all day, and then, in the time for rest,

Sweet peace is found,

A joyous and welcome guest.

Despite of toil we all agree, or out of the Mills, or in,

Dependent on others we ne'er will be,

So long as we're able to spin.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

243. "Song of the Weavers." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): [facing p. 65].

SYNOPSIS: A brief, lighthearted song in two verses, with lyrics and music. The speakers, weavers, express their cheerful feelings while singing at their work. Although they enjoy little free time, they possess hope and merry hearts:

All day we have been weaving,

And soon the bells will ring;

But why should we be grieving,

When cheerily merrily we can sing?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tho' few our leisure hours,

And time is on the wing,

Hope strews our path with flowers,

And cheerily merrily we will sing. (9-16)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

244. T., L. M. "Our Mill." *The New England Offering* (May 1849): 119.

AUTHOR: L. M. T. was apparently a female factory worker in Hopkinton, Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: Published in a factory workers' periodical, this ballad in thirteen four-line stanzas expresses fellowship among workers and pride in workers' productivity. The poem's speaker, "a factory girl," begins with an apology for her "simple ditty," acknowledging the incongruity between the factory and "the poet's art":

Excuse me for intruding

Upon the poet's art,

For I am but a factory girl,

With a merry, happy heart. (5-8)

T.'s speaker thus recognizes that factory girls are considered incapable of "the poet's art." With a Romantic gesture, she offers her exuberance (her "merry, happy heart") as justification for appropriating the poet's role. Pride in her work, she also suggests, lends her authority to express herself poetically. The speaker praises workers' productivity and sisterhood in the mill:

From twenty looms we average

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Four thousand yards a week.

The walls all o'er are nice and white,
Which makes the help look clever;
They love to see the glowing light,
In dark and rainy weather.

. . . . . .

The girls are all united
To labor heart and hand. (27-32, 41-42)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

245. Trowbridge, John Townsend. *The Great Match, and Other Matches.* Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877. 293 pp.

AUTHOR: Trowbridge (1827-1916; b. near Rochester, New York) was a popular writer of fiction and verse for adults and children.

SYNOPSIS: This novel contrasts the fictitious Massachusetts villages of Milltown and Dornfield. Milltown is a "bustling, money-making place" with many factories, and Dornfield is a quiet agricultural town (7). The country boys and girls prefer the liveliness of Milltown, with its "bright stores" and "excitement" (8). Milltown's other advantages include a railroad station, a circulating library, and three newspaper offices. There is a class distinction between Milltown and Dornfield, as well. The "aristocracy" live in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dornfield, while the "shoddy" occupy Milltown, although Milltown has "the money" (10-11). Nonetheless, the "real American people," the narrator contends, are to be found in Milltown. Most of the novel's plot concerns the rivalry between the two towns' baseball teams and the social and romantic pursuits of the young people of Dornfield. The towns' residents include some colorful Irish immigrants.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

246. W., T. P., Lawrence Corporation. "The Operative's Holiday Song." *Lowell Courier* (31 July 1841).

SYNOPSIS: In eighty balladic lines, the poem's speaker--a mill operative taking a day off from work--celebrates the one-day holiday. As other workers hasten to the factory, the speaker heads for grassy fields. Walking in the "forest shade" and by a stream, the speaker enjoys the freedom of the outdoors until evening, vowing never to regret having taken this holiday:

> I shall not mourn these hours as lost,
> Or lightly thrown away,
> Nor e'en at life's last hour regret,
> That I've not toil'd to-day. (77-80)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Boston Public Library.

247. Whittier, John Greenleaf. *Ballads of New England.* Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1870.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: Whittier (1807-92; b. East Haverhill, Massachusetts), a Quaker who worked in his youth as a shoemaker, was a strong supporter of abolition and labor rights and one of the most popular nineteenth-century American poets.

SYNOPSIS: *Ballads of New England* includes several references to factories and factory workers. In "Cobbler Keezar's Vision," a "weary mill-girl" looks out on a river at dusk. Visions of "her homestead" and "love" float past her (41). In "Mary Garvin," the speaker evokes a contemporary scene of the Saco River, Maine, with its mills and "mill-girl watching late and long the shuttle's restless play" (57). Then the poem turns to recounting a colonial legend of the Saco River.

248. Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace. "Bridget's Story." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 257-77.

AUTHOR: Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in a mill town near Fall River, Massachusetts. The narrator, Bridget, is an Irish-born woman who lived in Lancashire, England, as a child, before coming to the United States. The story is related in her Irish-English dialect. Bridget tells the story of Ellen McKiernan, a town mill worker and mother of many children. She is a religious woman who alienates her husband and grown son, Tom. When Ellen objects to their drinking, gambling, and staying out at night, her husband and Tom move out of the house together. A young Protestant woman in the town, Rosie Roberts, loves Tom, but her parents object to the match. Bridget urges Tom to give up his wild ways and settle down. When Rosie runs away and becomes a domestic in Fall

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

River, Tom soon disappears. After the priest talks to Mr. McKiernan, he returns to his wife and family. One day Tom returns to town, having married Rose and decided to become "a steady fellow" (277). Ellen rejoices in the reunion of her family.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE MILLS:

AN ANNOTATED GUIDE TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN TEXTILE FACTORY LITERATURE

by

JUDITH A. RANTA

VOLUME II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1999

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WORKING CHILDREN

249. Baker, Harriette Newell Woods. *The Factory Boy*. By Aunt Hattie. Boston: Henry A. Young & Co., 1867. 104 pp.

AUTHOR: Baker (1815-93; pseud. "Madeline Leslie") wrote religious fiction for young people and nonfiction.

SYNOPSIS: The hero of this boys' story, Johnny Talbot, the eight-year-old son of a poor, ailing widow, works in a stocking factory. He winds yarn upon spools, which men and "large boys" weave into stockings (15). One cold morning, Johnny gives his little sister his porridge, since the family has no other food. On his way to work, he finds a silver dollar. Mrs. Miles, the mill superintendent's wife and a good Christian woman, gives Johnny some food for his family. These blessings are Johnny's reward for "giving up his own comfort for that of his mother and sister." Thus, God has sent him friends to "care for him" (20). Johnny's mother also loves Christ, and though the family's one room is very poor, it is "clean as hands could make it" (24). Mrs. Miles and her husband, Donald, become involved in helping the Talbots, obtaining sewing work and medicine for Mrs. Talbot, buying clothing for Johnny, and refurbishing their room. Concerned that Johnny is too young for factory work, Mr. and Mrs. Miles arrange for him to attend school part of the day. Now he learns to read and write. Johnny sometimes wishes he were rich but does not "cherish such thoughts" (71). He knows that God has been kind, ordering all things for his "best good." Mrs. Talbot worries as winter approaches, her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sewing work dwindles, and the roof begins to leak. Johnny is going to lose his mill job, because "there were no orders from the merchants, and they would have to stop" (77). When his fearful mother cries thinking they will starve, Johnny suggests that they pray, and, as a result, their fortune changes. An old family friend Mr. Hardy arrives, marrying Mrs. Talbot and building the family a house. The factory reopens in a few weeks. Johnny returns to mill work but only for two hours a day, since Mr. Hardy will not allow him to work more. Because Johnny and his mother did not forget to trust in God, all these blessings have come to them.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Massachusetts Historical Society, University of Texas, and American Antiquarian Society.

250. Cary, Alice. "Growing Rich." *Ballads, Lyrics, and Hymns*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865. 25-26.

AUTHOR: Cary (1820-71; b. Hamilton County, Ohio), a popular poet and novelist, grew up in rural poverty.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad in thirty-two lines relates a dialogue between a brother and sister, Johnny and Nora. Johnny asks her why she is so sad. Since they have new lambs, a healthy cow and mare, and corn planted, they "are growing rich" (17). Nora replies that she cannot be happy, as long as "little brother Phil is down / In the dismal coal-pit" (19-20). Her father is going blind and "darling Molly's hand, last year, / Was cut off in the mill" (27-28). Nora cannot feel happy about their prospering farm, as long as father's blindness and the mine and mill weigh upon her heart.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

251. Cheesewright, Charles. "The Factory Girl." Air: "The Orphan Boy." *The Labor Enquirer* (Denver, CO) 7.29 (16 July 1887).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this twenty-four-line ballad is "a poor little factory girl" (1). She and her brothers and sisters work in the mills, since their father cannot find work. His job was made obsolete by machinery. When their mother died of factory work, the children became the "prey" of the mill machinery (16), to be exploited by the factory owners. Their suffering belies the American promise of freedom:

> My poor, dear mother sank at last.
>
> The factory lord heard not her moan,
>
> But into wealth he still does coin
>
> Our lives, our flesh, our blood, our bones.
>
> I've heard folks say this land is free;
>
> I think it is a hollow lie
>
> To call it FREE, where some are doomed
>
> To toil and starve in pain and die. (17-24)

The Labor Enquirer was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 155.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

252. "Child Labor." [c. 1900]. Rice, Wallace and Frances. *The Humbler Poets (Second Series): A Collection of Newspaper and Periodical Verse, 1885 to 1910.* Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910. 164-65.

SYNOPSIS: In this thirty-four-line ballad, the poem's speaker condemns child labor as evil. Working in factories spinning "dainty fabrics" destroys children's health, spirits, and morals. The speaker charges the rich with sin in their exploitation of child labor.

253. Dickinson, Emily. "112 [Where bells no more affright the morn--]." 1859. *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson.* Ed. Thomas H. Johnson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1960. 53-54.

AUTHOR: Dickinson (1830-86; b. Amherst, Massachusetts) is a major American poet.

SYNOPSIS: In twelve lines, the poem expresses a wish to enter a place called "Bliss" or "Heaven," where people will no longer be frightened by bells and factories (7). In this pleasant place, "tired Children" can sleep as long as they like. The poem's speaker lodges an oblique protest against oppressive patriarchal power as manifested in ringing bells and factories. In the promised land, "Not Father's bells--nor Factories, / Could scare us any more!" (11-12).

254. F., F. K. "Home Missions." *The Haverhill Laborer* (Haverhill, MA) 2.8 (5 September 1885).

SYNOPSIS: The microfilmed text of this ballad is mutilated, so portions of it are illegible. F. K. F.'s ballad is a response to the suffering of poor factory workers, as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reported in a note at the head of the poem: "Before a committee of the New Hampshire L[egislatur?]e, a Manchester undertaker testified that a large percentage of the deaths coming under his notice were due, directly or indirectly, to the overwork and insufficient nourishment of factory life. The ten-hour law was, nevertheless, rejected." In a ballad composed in forty-six lines of rhyming couplets, F. K. F.'s speaker protests against the hypocrisy of Christians in the United States who decry oppression overseas and contribute to foreign missions, while ignoring the suffering poor in their midst. Instead, Christians ought to form "home missions" to aid oppressed factory workers, including children:

> And in factory, workshop, mine and mill,
> The blood of its [i.e., Juggernaut's] victims runneth still,
> As o'erworked women and children small
> Under the wheels of mammon fall.
> Oh, the pitiful sham of a pitiless age
> When in foreign missions men engage!
> They need not seek in realms afar
> To find the lands where the heathen are,
> While factory children day by day
> Weave with the cloth, their lives away,
> While rich employers dividends seek
> Coined from the blood of the poor and weak.
> And heartless rulers refuse to yield

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The asked-for [boon?] of the ten-hour shield. (15-28)

The Haverhill Laborer was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

255. *The Factory Children.* New York: American Tract Society, [between 1830 and 1880?]. 16 pp.

SYNOPSIS: The setting of this children's story is unspecified; it may be the United States or England. Seven-year-old Annie and her older brother Jim work in a cotton factory to support themselves and their widowed, infirm mother. During the week, they stay in a "miserable lodging-house" near the mill (6). On Saturday evenings, after finishing work and collecting their pay, the children walk home four miles to spend the Sabbath with their mother, who has taught them to pray and follow God's laws. While Annie remains faithful to her mother's religious teachings, Jim is being drawn toward the ways of the "bad boys" in the factory (8). One Saturday, as they walk home, the children are caught in a rainstorm. When they seek shelter in a barn, Jim, exhausted from the week's work, falls into such a deep sleep that Annie cannot awaken him. Worried about her mother, Annie is forced to leave Jim and walk home alone in the dark. Although she is terrified, her religious faith and love for her mother sustain her, and she finally reaches home. When Jim arrives the next morning, he is so moved by his sister's bravery and faith that he resolves to pray and follow Christ himself. The narrator explains the lessons of the story at the end. Readers should trust in God as Annie did and follow Jesus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Hagley Museum and Library.

256. Hickey, Emily H. "The Dead Worker." *The National Workman* (New York, NY) 2.9 (2 March 1867).

SYNOPSIS: Elegizing a deceased child worker, the poem is a ballad in eight six-line stanzas. The speaker deplores the hardships of the girl's life. While she may have been a farm worker, the text does not specify her work. It is clear, however, that she was a manual laborer, since her toil left her hands "hard . . . [and] all labor-seamed" (5). Her brief life was spent in a "ceaseless round of labor" that left her "Dulled with work unchangeable" (20-21). The speaker ends the poem asking Jesus "for light" (48) to understand the "awful truth" of this child's life, spent "without living" (41-42).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Library of Congress, Cornell University, New York University, and University of Illinois.

257. Hinchcliffe, Richard. "Let Us Labor While We Live." *Rhymes among the Spindles*. Lawrence, MA: R. Bower, 1871. 89-91.

AUTHOR: In the preface, Hinchcliffe explains that his poems have appeared previously in newspapers and that he began working at the age of nine in textile mills eleven to thirteen hours per day. According to poems that seem autobiographical, Hinchcliffe was an English immigrant, "driven by oppression from [his] native land" to the United States (40).

SYNOPSIS: A ballad in forty lines, "Let Us Labor While We Live" urges readers to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work to overcome "Mammonites," child labor, and oppression of the weak and poor. People ought to work for reform "Where the child, to earn a crust, / Weary, toils from morn till night" (90).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Minuteman Library Network (Massachusetts), Duke University Library, and Brown University Library. Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

258. Judson, Emily Chubbuck. "Grace Linden." *Alderbrook: A Collection of Fanny Forester's Village Sketches, Poems, Etc.* 10th ed. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1846. 7-72.

AUTHOR: Judson (1817-54; b. Eaton, New York; pseud. "Fanny Forester") began working in a Hamilton, New York, woolen mill at the age of ten. She went on to become a teacher, a writer, and a missionary.

SYNOPSIS: This four-chapter novella captures the life of the heroine, Grace Linden, at four points in her life: at the ages of eight (7-23), eighteen (23-38), twenty-eight (38-62), and thirty-eight (62-72). In chapter one, Grace, a cheerful and loving eight-year-old, goes to work in a woolen mill to help her family living in New York State. Poor business judgment and weakness of character have undermined her father's efforts to provide for the family. Her mother, reared in affluence as a governor's daughter, struggles to support the family by her needle. Her earnings are insufficient, so several of the children must work. The factory is a dark, dirty, and dingy place where Grace endures long hours of exhausting toil. She is tormented by a young co-worker in the carding-room, Dick

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Crouse. Attracted by Grace's paleness and sadness, Harry Russel, the kind fourteen-year-old son of the mill owner, intervenes to protect her from Dick and to help her with her work. In response to Harry's complaints, Mr. Russel discharges Dick from the mill, replacing him with Grace's brother. One night, Dick appears to Grace in the window of her sister's room, vowing to avenge himself on her and Harry. Soon after, Harry returns to school, and Grace's beloved older sister Abby dies. Fearing that she sees in Grace symptoms of Abby's illness, Mrs. Linden removes her from the factory. The family moves back to their New England hometown of Alderbrook. The mother and daughters work as seamstresses, and the men of the family obtain jobs. Chapter two--Through hard work, the Lindens have managed to pull themselves out of poverty. Hoping to help her parents financially in their old age, Grace has studied, taught school, and saved her money. Her savings enable her to attend a good boarding school for one year. Harry Russel, after the deaths of his parents and loss of their fortune, has become a lawyer. He moves to Alderbrook and looks for Grace. They find fault yet are fascinated with each one other. A drunken, ragged Dick Crouse turns up in Alderbrook, nursing a violent grudge against Grace. Grace tells Russel that she owes her life, or at least her reason, to his solicitude for her during the summer she worked in the mill. Their next meeting takes place in the forest, where they become betrothed. Russel loves her for her plan to work and help her family financially. Chapter three--Now twenty eight, Grace discusses with her sister Lizzy the past ten years of her life. When she and Russel parted, she became a governess. For five years, she kept in close contact with Russel by letters, but then he mysteriously stopped responding. Grace lives with Lizzy, where she has "schooled [her]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

heart into submission and cheerfulness" (41). Lizzy tells Grace that Dick Crouse and his child live in a squalid hut nearby. Grace admits that she harbors guilt for injuring Dick so long ago. Grace and Lizzy tend to Crouse's desperately ill child, Nannie. He tells Grace why he tormented her in childhood: the Russels had discharged his fifteen-year-old sister Nannie from the factory to make room for Grace. He and Nannie had been compelled to work in the mills, because their parents were drunkards. After her discharge, Nannie was "ruined" (50). When little Nannie recovers, Dick becomes timid and gentle. He goes away, leaving Nannie in Grace's care. At Dick's prompting, Harry Russel returns and reveals to Grace that their letters have been intercepted by Dick. Grace and Russel marry. Chapter four--A wife and mother at thirty-eight, Grace lives in splendor with Harry in an embassy. They build a "simple, airy mansion" in Alderbrook. Dick Crouse has been jailed as a drunk and vagrant. Grace helps a poor, drunken footman keep his job, giving him Abby's ring as a pledge. The Lindens agree that Grace has been a blessing to the family.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

259. A Lady. *The Factory Boy, or, The Child of Providence.* By a Lady. Boston: New England Sabbath School Union, 1839. 141 pp.

AUTHOR: The author of this children's novel may be the copyright holder, Henry Stevenson Washburn (1813-1903).

SYNOPSIS: Alfred Stitson, the factory boy, is the child of poor but virtuous parents living in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, suburbs. His father is a mechanic and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

descendent of the early settlers of New England. After his father's death, his mother works as a seamstress to support the family, until her health fails. At the age of nine, Alfred goes to work in a tobacco manufacturing shop but is too weak to do the work, so he obtains a job in a cotton factory. He succeeds at factory work. Mrs. Stitson is dying. Alfred obtains work in another cotton factory, where he succeeds very well, but his wages are quite small. Alfred loves reading and studying. After Mrs. Stitson dies, the family is separated. "Alfred procured a good boarding-place, and continued at the cotton factory" (75). Feeling the deficiency of his education, he improves his mind by attending Sunday school (78). Alfred prays constantly, even while at work, marking the number of prayers with chalk on a pipe overhead. At twelve years of age, he devotes all his leisure to books. He greatly enjoys reading the Sabbath school library books and obtains permission to take them into the factory (104). To read at work, he uses string to tie his book from a pipe. His teachers take him to speak to children in other Sunday schools, and he becomes known as the "little preacher" (109). Some friends remove him from the cotton factory, "until they could place him in a better business" (110). While he works as a bookstore clerk, some gentlemen contribute money to send him to a New England academy. He becomes a preacher at age fifteen and then attends college. Alfred becomes the pastor of a New England church and later "a missionary to the heathen" (139). Property left by the Stitson children's father is restored to them. At the end of the story, the narrator instructs readers that "if you will devote yourself to God, as Alfred did, His blessing shall attend you also" and that "[o]ur sufferings are frequently our greatest blessings" (140). The novel includes much commentary on poverty.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society and Free Library of Philadelphia.

260. "The Little Factory Boy." *The Farmers' Cabinet* (Amherst, NH) 50.34 (1 April 1852).

SYNOPSIS: This brief religious tale, reprinted in the *Cabinet's* "Youths' Department" from the *N. Y. Observer,* is set in "the town of M---, [where] there are many large cotton factories." The mills employ not only thousands of men and women but also many children. The children work such long hours that they are unwilling to attend school in the evening. Fortunately, the narrator remarks, they are blessed with Sunday schools, for which they should be grateful: "[H]ow greatful [sic] should they be to the kind people who teach them!" James, an eleven-year-old factory boy, attends Sunday school. One Sunday when the teacher questions him about his progress, James reveals that he is not always able to pray at home and in the factory, as the teacher has recommended. Recently when he was praying at home, his father beat him and "dragged [him] down stairs by the hair of [his] head, and threw [him] into the street." His father, a drunkard and atheist, curses him and forbids prayer at home. The teacher urges James to continue praying both at work and at home when his father is out, asking God to bless, change, and forgive his father. One day, James's father, overhearing him praying for him, is moved to repentance and conversion. James's father thanks the Sunday school teacher for the blessings James's instruction has brought the family. At the story's conclusion, the narrator expresses his or her admiration for Sunday school teachers and wishes for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their success: "I highly respect Sunday-school teachers. O may this article encourage them to speak faithfully to the dear children God has committed to their care!"

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Early American Newspapers.*

261. "The Little Factory Girl to a More Fortunate Playmate." Luther, Seth. *An Address to the Working-Men of New-England.* Boston: Published by the Author, 1832. 32.

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker, a child worker, addresses her former playmate in twenty long rhyming lines of iambic fourteeners. She recalls her happy rural life before coming to the factory. With her country playmate, she once enjoyed running and gathering flowers in the fields. Where she lives now, there are no fields or flowers. She spends her days turning "a dull and tedious wheel," which makes her feel "sad, and tired, and faint" (7-8). She cannot even rest in bed at night, because she dreams of the factory and worries about the fines that will be exacted from her pay if she is late. Her father sobs that she would be better off dead than a "little sinless slave" in the mills (16). If she ever obtains a holiday, she hopes to spend it with her country playmate gathering flowers, carrying the memories back to the factory. The popularity of this poem is suggested by its republication in several periodicals: *The Free Enquirer* Ser. 2, v. 4 (1831-32): 301 (in which the poem is attributed to "Mr. Whelden"); *New England Artisan, and Laboring Man's Repository* (1832); *The Man* 1.71 (13 May 1834): 288; as "The Little Factory Girl's Complaint, to a More Fortunate Playmate" in the *New-York Mirror* 11.38 (22 March 1834): 299; and in *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York, NY) 22 February 1845.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 42, and in *American Periodicals* (*The Man* and *The Working Man's Advocate*).

262. "The Little Factory Girl's Last Day." *New England Artisan, and Laboring Man's Repository* (Boston, MA) 2.24 (13 June 1833).

SYNOPSIS: An introductory note explains that this poem is based upon the death of a ten-year-old English factory girl. While the poem seems to have been quite popular in the United States, it is unknown whether the author was English or American. (According to the *Mechanic's Advocate,* the poem was written by "Mr. Sadler," presumably an Englishman [1.5 (31 December 1846)]). The introductory note's author contends that, while conditions are worse in British factories, American employers are just as "greedy of gain" and apt to oppress their workers. In sixty-four lines, this ballad recounts the child's last workday and death from overwork. Early in the day, she expresses fear of dying from mill work as her younger brother did ("They killed my little brother, / Like him, I'll work and die!" [15-16]). Her overseer whips her when she weeps from fatigue. She dies the next morning, trying to rise at the ringing of the factory bells. The daughters of the wealthy pass by in a chariot, lamenting "negro wrongs," caring nothing for "*the white slave*" who has died making their fathers rich (62-64). The poem's importance to American readers is suggested by its republication in labor periodicals over at least fifty years. Variations of the poem appear as: "The Factory Girl" in *The Man* 2.1 (17 May 1834): 4; "The Factory Child" in *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.5 (25 May 1844); "The Factory Girl's Last Day" in the *Voice of Industry* 1.26 (11 December 1845);

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Factory Child" in *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany, NY) 1.5 (31 December 1846); "The Little Factory Girl. Founded on Fact" in the *Factory Girls' Album, and Mechanics' Offering* 2.21 (15 February 1847); and "The Factory Girl's Last Day" in *The Journal of United Labor* 6.8 (25 August 1885). Robinson discusses and quotes from it in *Loom and Spindle* (21-22).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society. Versions of the poem are reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 42-43, and in *American Periodicals* (*The Man* and *Mechanic's Advocate*).

263. *Little Susan, the Factory Girl.* Hagerstown, MD: M'Kee & Robertson, 1850. 16 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This children's text includes four parts: "Susan, the Factory Girl" (3-11); "Good Advice. Honor Thy Mother and Thy Father" (12-14); "A Word to Boys" (14-15); and "Hymn. Examples of Early Piety" (16). Susan is the eldest of a poor widow's four children. All week she works in "a factory near the village," so Sunday is the only time she has for "learning about heavenly things" (11). Since her mother must stay home tending a sick child, one Sunday Susan attends church alone and later tells her mother about the sermon. Mr. Todd, the minister, read Matthew 25.14-30, the parable of the talents. Susan's mother supposes that Mr. Todd "spoke mostly to the rich people," since "poor folks" like herself have no money or time to spare. Susan replies that he had a message for poor adults, telling them that their children are their talents. To each poor child, Mr. Todd said that, though they might doubt it, God has given at least half a talent. Their duty is to read the Bible to those who cannot, teach their younger siblings about

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

religion, and save their "farthings to send missionaries" (10). The narrator urges other readers who are working children to follow Susan's example of piety. In "Good Advice," the narrator exhorts readers to honor their parents. In "A Word to Boys," the narrator reminds boys that someday they will have responsibility for all the business of "this great world" (14). The "Hymn" advises children "to mind / Religion in their youth" (16).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Stanford University Libraries.

263a. Massey, Gerald. "The Baltic Cotton Mills." *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) 1.31 (11 May 1884).

AUTHOR: Massey (1828-1907; b. Tring, England) began working in a silk mill at age eight. He later became a Christian socialist and a labor poet popular in England and the United States. His other interests and work included journalism, literary scholarship, and spiritualism.

SYNOPSIS: While touring and lecturing in the United States, Massey published this poem about the abuse of child labor in Baltic, Connecticut. Along with this poem, John Swinton published articles exposing the exploitation of children aged seven to twelve in the Baltic Cotton Mills. In a seven-line ballad, Massey's speaker condemns the evil of child labor:

> The devil might gloatingly pull for the peal that wakes the child to work.
> Come, little children, the mill-bell rings, and drowsily they run,
> Little old men and women and human worms who have spun

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The life of infancy into rags; . . . (1-4)

The speaker deplores the "factory-stamp" seen on the children's "weird white faces" (6-7). *John Swinton's Paper* was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

264. A Minister. *Old Crag; or, The Alison Family: An Authentic Tale of Rural and Factory Life.* By a Minister. Ed. Daniel P. Kidder. New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1854. 216 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This religious novel, perhaps intended for young adults, includes some rare fictional representation of the "family system" of factory labor, as well as some of the strongest literary indictments of child labor. The story centers around the Alison family, a large and poor family who lose their contract on a farm in northwestern Massachusetts. In need of a home and a livelihood, the parents move with their ten children to the factory village of "M--- . . . on the southern border of Massachusetts" (77). The family occupies a corporation tenement with a garden, on agreement that the children "of a sufficient age" (i.e., at least ten years old) work in the woolen mills. Mrs. Alison, a deeply religious woman, worries about the corrupting influences of the mill village upon her children, but she is relieved to find an agreeable church there. Four of the children begin work in the mills, and much of the ensuing narrative concerns the boys' work experience. The author paints a disturbing picture of the treatment of child workers. Beneath the vigilant eyes of abusive overseers, the children work long hours under constraint and fear.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> The overseers were mostly men of sour tempers and unpolished manners. They possessed skill enough to keep the machinery in repair, and turn off heavy supplies of work, and thus satisfied their employers; but with the hands, especially the younger ones, they were reserved and cross. Puffed up with a little brief authority, they treated the help as little above slaves. The children were never greeted with a smile; and every delinquency, whether voluntary or accidental, was treated with severity. Then came the wearisome sense of confinement. From twelve to fifteen hours of each day they were compelled to stand at their respective positions, toiling and watching. Is it a wonder that their little countenances became pale, their limbs slender, and their eyes haggard? (89-90)

The Alison children's health begins to break down. Circumstances force the family to move to "J---," another factory village fifteen miles away. Here the children encounter even worse treatment in the mills. In J---, the child workers are "ill-paid, severely worked, and frequently flogged for real or imagined delinquencies" (141). Although vice prevails in the town, the public officials ignore the problems, "exhibit[ing] no conscience upon the subject" (141). When a fourteen-year-old factory girl drowns herself in the canal, the narrator characterizes her as "another martyr to the cruel discipline of merciless and avaricious men" (151). Embittered by his mill experience, Martin Alison finds ways to sabotage work, such as breaking machinery and stealing tools. Eventually, through Mrs. Alison's fervent efforts, all the Alison children are converted and "saved." Mrs. Alison even brings about the conversion of a factory agent's son. Longing to free

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

themselves from the factory village, the Alisons purchase a small farm. The story ends with Mrs. Alison's death, not long after the death of Mr. Alison. A "Conclusion" is appended to the novel, in which the narrator suggests some "salutary thoughts" to be derived from the story. The conclusions pertain mostly to poverty. The narrator declares that "[h]onest poverty brings no disgrace" and that "[t]he honest poor, who obey God and trust in him, will *always be provided for*" (215-16).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society and Library of Congress.

265. Paulding, James K. "The Man Machine." 1826. *The Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of Gotham*. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1835. [17]-102.

AUTHOR: Raised in poverty, Paulding (1779-1860; b. Pawling, New York) became a well-known New York City writer of his time.

SYNOPSIS: "The Man Machine" is one of three long stories included in *The Merry Tales*, a satire modeled after Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (1704). Paulding's text mocks those who believe that pursuit of self-interest will lead to the greatest social good. The Man Machine is one victim of this misguided notion, as promoted in Robert Owen's "A New View of Society" (1813). Narrated by the Man Machine, the story begins with his entrance into a cotton factory at the age of nine. The text reveals a close acquaintance with child factory labor, of which it is quite critical. The Man Machine finds that after three years in the mill, he has "actually become a piece of machinery," "as docile as the galley-slave at his oar," and "stupified in mind" (19). Soon philanthropists propose

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reforms of factory labor, and, at thirteen, the narrator begins working in a new mill, "a manufactory for the spinning of cotton and the perfectability of man" (20). The founder hopes to produce the greatest profit to the proprietors by perfecting the Man Machine so "that one man may be able to do the work of twenty" (22). The narrator is consigned to the spinning-jenny for instruction in subduing his free will and following orders. The story relates the workers' difficulties overcoming the "counteracting principles," their self-love and passions. The factory owner and master also finds it impossible to establish perfect equality among his Men and Women Machines. In the course of a few years, the Man Machine's parents and siblings have all sickened and died of factory work (59). The narrator is no longer concerned with anything but the turning of the spinning-jenny. "The Man Machine" is the earliest known literary protest against child labor.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

266. Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. *Up Hill; or, Life in the Factory.* Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1865. 318 pp.

AUTHOR: Phelps (1844-1911; b. Andover, Massachusetts; m. Ward) was a prolific writer of fiction for children and adults. Her work reflects strong concerns with the oppression of women and workers.

SYNOPSIS: Phelps seems to have based *Up Hill* on her own experience at age nineteen working as a Sunday school teacher for a class of mill girls (Bennett 33, 55). This children's novel features paired heroines, fourteen-year-old Mary Kirk and sixteen-year-old Kate Bradley. Close friends, the two girls live in a factory village (presumably in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New England) and work in the mills spinning flax. Conditions in the dingy mill, such as the noise ("the endless crashing of the machinery" [81]), dust, and cold, are described in chapter four. The narrator also admires the girls' marvelous facility at their work:

> The stone walls and dusty floors looked chilling and dark that morning. The great wheels whirred round and round, and the giant arms of the machinery clanked up and down, and the straps and pulleys ran in and out with such creakings and groanings and thunderings, as made the whole seem like some living monster. . . . [T]he lint and dust puffed up in clouds about the girls, who hurried to and fro with their baskets of flax, or stood in groups before the machinery to watch and catch with nimble fingers the twining of some wonderful thread, that to an ignorant spectator would seem to grow under their hands; for how they got hold of it, or how they managed to let it go again without either tearing the flax or their fingers, was a mystery. . . . (71-72)

Mary Kirk, the child of Scottish immigrants, lives with her widowed mother and four younger siblings. Her father was killed working on the railroad. Mary and her twelve-year-old sister Blithe support the family, supplemented by their mother's small earnings from needlework. Very poor, the Kirks occupy a shabby but neat cottage. Kate Bradley lives in worse conditions in a factory tenement with her parents and brother. Her alcoholic father steals the children's wages to buy liquor. When drunk, he beats his wife and wrecks the apartment. Kate sometimes intervenes to protect her mother, cursing her father. At the opening of the novel, Mary and Kate are attending a "Sabbath-school" one

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sunday afternoon. Founded many years ago by "a wealthy gentleman," the Sabbath-school is not connected with any church but instead occupies a building that was once a store amid the mill buildings in the center of town. Most of the scholars are poor mill workers (14-15). The hardships of their lives create difficult temptations for Mary and Kate. Many of the mill girls use profane language, quarrel, violate the Sabbath, and express "contempt for the Bible" and for piety (88-89). After disrupting the Sabbath-school and distressing Miss Grant, their teacher, Mary and Kate resolve to mend their ways and follow a Christian path. The story recounts their struggles to become Christians. After Kate's brother George enlists to fight in the Civil War, she suffers from loneliness and becomes further embittered. When one of their girlfriends accidentally drowns in the river, "death and eternity" become real to Mary and Kate (201). With Miss Grant's help, Mary attends a Methodist revival and becomes converted, confessing her sins to Christ, receiving His forgiveness, and becoming God's servant. Upon learning that her brother was killed in battle, in her sorrow, Kate turns to Jesus as Savior, receiving His forgiveness and love. Like Mary, Kate becomes gentle, no longer "rude or noisy" (242). Mary and Kate are taunted by the other factory girls who call them "dear little saints" (245). One day George Bradley returns home, having been only wounded and taken a prisoner by the Confederates. George, Kate, and Mary begin to study together in the evenings. Kate's father still gets drunk and beats her mother. At her lavish home, Miss Grant shows the converted factory girls an illustration of the "Pilgrim's Progress" (309) and explains to them that though their path is a thorny one, Christ has walked it before them (316). Kate explains how hard it is for mill girls to be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Christians, since "[p]eople are against us at home, and against us in the mill. . . . [and d]rinking and swearing and making fun of religion is all we hear" (315). Miss Grant assures them that, since their struggle is harder, they will win a greater reward in "the beautiful city" (316).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society, Princeton University Library, and Phillips Academy-Andover, Massachusetts.

267. Place, E. R. "The Story of a Household." *The Labor Standard* (Fall River, MA) 7.35 (28 August 1880).

AUTHOR: The author was probably Edward R. Place (d. November 7, 1881), the poet of the Boston Eight Hour League and a frequent contributor to labor papers.

SYNOPSIS: The poem chronicles the struggles of a poor family, comprising a mother, father, and one child. Composed in nine eight-line stanzas, the ballad's stanzas alternate with a two- to four-line "monody," in which the poem's speaker expresses indignation at the wrongs suffered by poor factory workers. The stanzas relate a dialogue between the father and the mother on their problems. Since the father, a mill worker, has fallen ill from factory work, the parents have removed their small daughter, Jane, from school and sent her to work in the mill. When the father returns to work and wages are cut down, the management coldly tells him that now he has his daughter's meager wages to supplement his own: "To make it easy, sir, you have--*your / daughter's dime a day*" (48). Fatigue and anxiety take their toll on Jane:

> Since Nettie Belton's arm was crushed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and torn away,

Jane works in ever-haunting fear, and

trembles all the day.

How pale she looks, and thin--she should

come home at noon;

'Twas yesterday, from overwork, she

fell down in a swoon. (49-56)

Soon, both Jane and her father fall ill and die of factory work. Now that the mother is also working in the mill, she does not expect to live long herself. In the monody, the ballad's speaker denounces these injustices, with such lines as: "Forbear, forbear, ye haughty ones and high! / The wailings of the children call, you've coldly doomed to die."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

268. Rose, H. "The Little Mill Girl Matilda." *The Paterson Labor Standard* (Paterson, NJ) 1.9 (23 November 1878).

SYNOPSIS: A dialogue between a mother and daughter is related in this forty-four-line ballad. One morning, Matilda begs her mother to let her stay home and play with the other children rather than going to work in the factory. She is distressed because the bosses scold and slap her and make her toil without any rest. She finds the tedious work difficult:

I am too small to reach the spools,

That on the spindles fly;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I sit all day on great hard stools,

And tangled threads untie. (9-12)

Matilda's mother explains that since the family rents from her boss and needs her wages desperately to pay the rent, she must go to work in the mill. She regrets the hardships "darling little Till" must endure in the mill but has no other choice (44).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

269. Rowe, Mrs. F. M. "Too Hot for Church: A Story for Children." *The Ladies' Repository* (Cincinnati, OH) 20.12 (1860): 734-36.

SYNOPSIS: Belle Howard, the heroine of this children's story, leaves church and Sunday school early one summer morning, because she is too hot and cross. Her uncle, Dr. Graham, chides her for her ill humor and lack of religious devotion. To teach her a lesson, he takes her with him to visit one of his patients, Mary Mills, a young, injured factory girl whose leg had gotten "caught in some of the machinery." Mary tells Dr. Graham and Belle how much she misses going to church and Sunday school, the "only comfort" of her poor mother and herself (735). After this, Belle begins to attend church and Sunday school regularly, as well as visit Mary and bring her library books. Another very hot Sunday, Mary dies. Her mother tells Dr. Graham that as she was dying Mary heard the "choir of angels." Dr. Graham instructs Belle on the lesson to be learned from Mary Mills's life: "how even the humblest of God's creatures can glorify him in their lives." Hereafter, they "will cherish among [their] holiest memories the recollection of Mary Mills, the poor factory girl" (736).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

270. Stevens, Ella. "The Poor Man's Soliloquy." *Workmen's Advocate: An Official Journal of the Socialist Labor Party* (New York, NY) 5.15 (13 April 1889).

SYNOPSIS: In this forty-line ballad, the speaker, a poor man, contends that the blessings of life in the United States, the land of "Liberty" (10), are not shared by the poor. Among the injustices suffered by the poor is the forcing of destitute women into prostitution: "And woman barters self, from sheer / Necessity" (24-25). Poor, working children are especially oppressed:

> And little children, pale and wan,
> Mere mute machines, go plodding on,
> Strangers to sunshine, field and flowers,
> Waifs in their "Native Land"--Ye Powers!
> What mockery! (26-30)

Although slavery has been abolished, a worse kind of slavery takes its place, destroying laborers' "souls": "But worse, in mills and mines and trade / Their very souls are crushed, to aid / Monopoly" (33-35). The speaker avows that he would be ashamed, in his "penury," to call America "free" (39-40).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, United States Dept. of Labor, Boston Public Library, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin-Madison.

271. Talcott, Hannah Elizabeth Bradbury Goodwin. *Madge; or, Night and Morning.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1863. 407 pp.

AUTHOR: Talcott (1827-93; b. Massachusetts) lived in Boston and wrote fiction for young people.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this charming and sometimes sentimental girls' novel is Margaret ("Madge") Foster. Madge's mother was the daughter of a wealthy judge in the New England town of Hayden. After her drunken, dissolute husband deserts her and Madge, they end up in an almshouse. Her mother dies there after a brief illness, leaving four-year-old Madge a pauper and an orphan. She is a dark, plain girl, whose only beauty is "the depth and brilliancy of her large eyes" (18-19). She possesses, as well, an innate goodness and dignity befitting a lady. When she is five, Madge becomes indentured as a "bound girl" in domestic service on Mrs. Sarah Hardy's farm in Clyde. Mrs. Hardy's young son, Maurice, and Madge form a close friendship. Since she cannot attend school, Maurice teaches her to read and write. In supervising Madge, Mrs. Hardy often administers severe punishments, including blows, whippings, and harsh language. When Madge is twelve, Mrs. Hardy crops her long, dark curls close to her head. A neighbor comments that Madge's bondage is almost as "unjust" as Southern slavery (32). Helped by Christian friends, Madge becomes more refined and womanly, learning to rely upon God as "her Father and Friend" (74). Unable to bear any longer "the chains of bondage with which she was shackled" (102), fourteen-year-old Madge runs away from Mrs. Hardy's. Seeking work in the cotton mills, she travels two hundred miles by train to the fictitious manufacturing town of Preston. After moving into the "genteel boardinghouse" (129) of warm and motherly Mrs. Green, Madge begins spooling for the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sharonville Company, planning to save money for her education. Soon she becomes accustomed to "the clang of machinery" (134). Madge enjoys buying herself books and cloth for a dress and attending church and Sabbath school. Becoming a weaver in the mills, Madge earns higher wages. Her kindness and industry win her the love of her female co-workers. When James Stanley, another boarder, makes vulgar advances to her, Madge, hurt and offended, repulses him. Her Sabbath-school teacher convinces her not to attend a ball with James or accept any gifts from him. Madge befriends Jane Brown, a mill weaver who has been working from the age of twelve to help her poor, widowed mother and five younger siblings. After two years in the mills, Madge has greatly "enriched her intellect" by study (205). But working twelve hours a day and studying three hours each night have undermined her health (207). When Madge falls seriously ill with a fever, the doctor recommends that she not return to the factory. He remarks on the unhealthiness of the long mill hours: "The strongest girls wear out very shortly, working so many hours" (221). After recovering, Madge becomes an assistant schoolteacher. In supporting and educating herself, Madge is happy to have become "a more independent and useful woman" (246). Now a professor, Maurice sends her two hundred dollars to pay for a musical education. Madge studies the piano and becomes a music teacher, dedicating her spare time to helping the poor. While nursing Sarah Hardy on her deathbed, Madge forgives her. She marries Maurice, whom she has always loved, and adopts a poor widow's young daughter. The novel's characters include some colorful Irish immigrants.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

272. Thayer, William Makepeace. *The Bobbin Boy; or, How Nat Got His Learning. An Example for Youth.* Boston: J. E. Tilton, 1860. 310 pp.

AUTHOR: Thayer (1820-98; b. Franklin, Massachusetts), a Congregational clergyman, was the author of a juvenile biography series about eminent people who rose up from humble beginnings.

SYNOPSIS: *The Bobbin Boy* is a fictionalized account of the life of Nathaniel Prentice Banks (1816-94), the twentieth Massachusetts governor. The story is loosely based on Banks's life. For instance, like Nat (Thayer's bobbin boy), Banks worked in youth as a bobbin boy. Thayer neglects to mention, however, that Banks, unlike Nat, was the son of the superintendent of the Waltham, Massachusetts, cotton factory where he worked. Thayer's Nat is the son of parents too poor to support him. In the Preface, Thayer explains that his purpose "is to show the young how 'odd moments' and small opportunities may be used in the acquisition of knowledge." Nat's example is intended to inculcate the virtues of "energy, industry, perseverance, [and] application" (iii). At age eleven, Nat works as a "picker boy" in a Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mill (83). After returning home from Lowell, he attends school for some months. When a local factory agent asks Nat's father to send him to work as a bobbin boy, the father consents, because he realizes that he cannot "do much more for [Nat]" (83). Although Nat loves school and is an excellent student, his parents are not able to support him anymore. Disappointed about leaving school but determined to help his parents, Nat, aged twelve, enters the cotton mill as a bobbin boy. Upon learning that the corporation provides a workers' library, Nat is more reconciled to his fate (97-98). Though he works from five

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

o'clock a.m. until seven o'clock p.m., Nat finds two hours per day to educate himself, reading such works as the biographies of Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry. In the mill, Nat's work is "to carry bobbins around to the operatives as fast as they wanted them." Although the job requires speed, it is "rather light work" (108-109). Responding to the factory bell, Nat is pleased to learn punctuality. He and another factory boy, Charlie Stone, begin to spend evenings together in "mutual improvement" (113), studying mathematics, astronomy, political science, etc. Although their co-workers tease them, calling them "literary gentlemen," Nat and Charlie forgo attending many social events in order to study (121-22). When he is fourteen, Nat goes away to live with an uncle, an overseer of another factory, where he becomes "an apprentice in the machine-shop" (165). Staying with his uncle for three years, Nat makes the most of opportunities to obtain books and attend lectures. Devoting every spare moment to reading, Nat educates himself better than many boys who attend school. Hereafter, he progresses to becoming a machinist, a temperance speaker, a State legislator, and finally a Governor. Thayer's narrator frequently interjects lessons on morality and on the avoidance of such vices as smoking, swearing, and drinking. The story concludes with the narrator's advice to readers: "There is no excuse for non-exertion that will stand before the Bobbin Boy's example--not one. Imitate it, then, by cultivating those traits of character which proved the elements of his success" (310).

273. *Walter Martin; or, The Factory, the School, and the Camp*. New York: American Tract Society, 1864. 176 pp.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: In a foreword, the author describes the text as "truthful in its facts and simple in its style," written "by one who well knows the persons described" (3).

SYNOPSIS: The hero, Walter Martin, aged thirteen, works in the Monimock Mills, where cotton sheetings are manufactured. He is a thoughtful, pleasant, and resolute boy, appreciated by his overseers as a responsible worker. While a few of the factory workers are "of noble mould," many more are rude and coarse, manifesting a "great want of serious thought" (9). Children are placed in the mill by avaricious fathers or impoverished mothers. Others must support themselves because they are orphans. Walter works in the mule-spinning room with other boys and men. The text closely depicts the processes of mule spinning (18-21). Walter is the youngest of six brothers, some of whom also work in the mill. Anxious to educate himself, Walter often brings books with him to work, which he keeps open on the window sill. He does not read "trashy novels" but serious works in history, biography, science, and an occasional poem (24). Longing for more time to study and for better associates, Walter is generally unhappy in the mill. The boys often receive "kicks and abusive language" from their supervisors, but this is usually the result of their own bad behavior, the narrator contends. While the Martins are a "moral family," their religious observance is lacking (38). When a revival sweeps through town, Walter and many other mill workers are converted. In the factory, Walter is "a steadfast witness for Jesus" (137), avoiding such popular boys' vices as smoking and drinking. He leaves the mill to attend an academy, becoming a district schoolteacher. After several years of study and teaching, Walter enlists in the army to fight in the Civil War. After the war ends, God leads Walter to his life's work: teaching

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the freed slaves to read. At the end of the novel, Walter sums up the message of his story: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man" (176).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library and Stanford University Libraries.

274. "Weary ere They [Run?]." *The Paterson Labor Standard* (Paterson, NJ) 11.18 (6 August 1881).

SYNOPSIS: This poem, composed in twenty-eight lines, mournfully protests against child labor. The poem's speaker indicts his or her fellow Christians for failing to live up to their faith. Since child workers do not experience earthly love, it is impossible for them to know God's love. Working children suffer the ills of adulthood and old age without their consolations: "[The children a]re worn as if with age, yet unretrievingly / The harvest of [age's] memories cannot reap" (13-14). They are weary before they have even begun to run life's race. The poem's speaker reproaches the "cruel nation" indifferent to children's suffering (21). Their cries condemn those profiting from child labor: "But the child-sob in the silence curses deeper, / Than the strong man in his wrath" (27-28).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Microfilm available.

275. Woodman, Shirlie. "Vox Populi." *Workmen's Advocate: An Official Journal of the Socialist Labor Party* (New York and New Haven) 5.24 (15 June 1889).

SYNOPSIS: Parts of this text are mutilated and illegible. The poem's speaker expresses

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the "vox populi," the voice of the people. In eighteen six-line stanzas, the ballad's speaker predicts the rising power of the working people, coming "From the factory and mine, / From the workshop; from all places, / Where earth's wretched toilers pine" (8-10). The speaker warns the rich and proud that they will pay for their sins, as did the Biblical Dives, who for a time enjoyed "purple and fine linen" (33). Toilers, on the other hand, have been forced to accept the "*crumbs and rags* of Laz'rus" (35). Poor children and women are particularly victimized by "Capital, the monster" (78). In "foul and noisome" tenements, children are "[b]orn with features wan and haggard," bringing them "the lordling's scorn" (43, 45, 48). While still very young, they are forced to work: "[Ere?] their tiny feet could toddle, / Driven forth to earn their bread" (49-50). The contrast between the lives of rich and poor children is disgraceful:

> [In?] the mansions of our masters
> Childhood blossoms bright and fair.
> [St?]unted forms and pallid faces,
> Marked by misery, want and care,
> [Ar?]e the portion of our lov'd ones.
> Oh! these things are hard to bear. (61-66)

Women earning starvation wages are forced "to barter woman's honor" (75), while wealthy women, far removed, shed hypocritical tears over "those poor outcasts" (81). The voice of the people is gaining in strength and power, backed by God's justice, and will finally be heard.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, United States Dept. of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Labor, Boston Public Library, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin-Madison.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER NINE

WONDROUS MACHINES: RESPONSES TO TECHNOLOGY

276. A., G. H., and C. U. "The Factory Song." First line: "While in the sable shades of night." [New England?: n.p.], 1838.

SYNOPSIS: Another version of the folk song "The Song of the Factory Girl," this broadside ballad in nineteen four-line stanzas includes more of the technical details of cotton factory work than other versions. The ballad's speaker praises the skill of factory workers, such as the spinners:

> Come, listen, friends, and you I'll tell
> What spinners they can do;
> The roping they will quick convert
> To warp and filling too. (41-44)

The productivity of the factory, where "Six thousand yards from day to day, / . . . Are carded well and spun and wove / And carried to be sold" (65, 67-68), is affirmed as well.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

277. Abbott, Jacob. *Jonas on a Farm in Winter*. New York: Clark, Austin & Smith, 1841. 180 pp.

AUTHOR: Abbott (1803-79; b. Hallowell, Maine), a Congregational minister and educator, was a popular and prolific children's author.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In this children's novel in the *Jonas* series, the young hero, Jonas, goes to live with and work for a farm family. While the story's major lesson is the necessity for overcoming evil with good, along the way Jonas learns some lessons about work, particularly when he visits a "Carding-Mill" (128). The farm women send him to the mill to obtain rolls of wool carded by means of "curious machinery." On their spinning wheels, the women spin the carded wool into yarn. In discussing the dangers of the mill machinery, Jonas suggests that it is usually boys' own fault when they get hurt: "[B]oys sometimes do get very badly hurt in mills,--careless and disobedient boys especially" (130). Jonas also believes that working boys are better off than rich, idle ones, since work teaches one industry, patience, and perseverance (134). Jonas and the farmer's son, Oliver, admire the "rumbling," water-powered machinery, tended by "girls":

> The girl who came to tend the machine immediately opened the great bundle of wool, and then she took up a handful of it and began to spread it evenly over the cloth. When she had got the cloth pretty nearly covered she pulled a handle pretty near her, and that, in some mysterious way or other, set the machinery a-going. The cloth, with all the wool upon it, began to move towards the great rollers of the machine. These rollers were covered with card teeth, and the wool, as it was drawn in between them, was carded fine, and spread evenly over all the surface; and in a few minutes Jonas and Oliver found that it began to come out at the other end, in the shape of rolls. One roll after another dropped out, in a very singular manner. Oliver thought that it was a very curious machine indeed, to take

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in wool in that way at one end, and drop it out in beautiful long rolls at the other. (138-39)

Other lessons Jonas learns on the farm are that in work there must always be subordination and that it takes more skill to command than to obey (24-25, 30).

278. Caverly, Robert Boodey (1806-87). *The Merrimac and Its Incidents: An Epic Poem.* Boston: Innes & Niles, Printers, 1865. 76 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Composed in heroic couplets, Caverly's poem sketches the Merrimack River's history from the creation to contemporary times. The poem's speaker extols the benefits of such industrial developments as textile factories, the railroad, and the telegraph. As the Merrimack was channeled into "huge canals," mills were built and equipped with efficient machinery: "Manufactories filled / With prompt machinery, as art had willed / Her *work*, in stately ranks now line the shore / Of Merrimac" (62). Now the river turns "the ponderous *wheel* with *mighty* power" (63). Water-powered industry produces an abundance of beautiful textiles for domestic and foreign markets:

> The *wheels* "within *the wheel*," with one consent,
> Fly round and round, each on its duty sent;
> Ten thousand spindles in their places spin,
> Ten thousand spools fast wind their fibres in,
> Ten thousand shuttles shoot across the web
> Fed by the mules slow back and forward led;--
> Fast roll the fabrics from the rolling beam,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Complete in beauty, true in thread or seam;

The sheeting white, the listed broadcloths fine,

Neat satinet, and carpets superfine;

The gaudy prints and blankets plainer made,

For realms remote, for home or foreign trade. (63)

The speaker briefly limns the cities and towns that thrive along the Merrimack, including Amoskeag, Manchester, Newburyport, Lowell, Lawrence, Nashua, Hooksett, Suncook, Salisbury, Tyngsboro, Chelmsford, Franklin, and Amesbury.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

279. *Domestic Industry: A Poem, in a Dialogue between a Farmer and a Manufacturer.* [Philadelphia, PA?: n.p., 1819?]. 28 pp.

SYNOPSIS: An anonymously published pamphlet poem written in heroic couplets, "Domestic Industry" relates a dialogue between a farmer and a manufacturer on the pros and cons of industrialization. The manufacturer, who clearly has the upper hand, makes a plea for the patriotic development of American industry, arguing that factories bring prosperity not only to poor adults and children but to the entire nation. He admires the large mills that have sprung up "as if from magic" and stand "in stately grandeur" (11, 7). The manufacturer appeals to American women to renounce foreign finery and support domestic fabrics. Such dress confers "an angel purity" on its wearers (19). He expresses hope that the country's "hills [will echo] to the shuttle's sound," bestowing "health, content, and plenty" upon all (20). The poem favorably depicts factory machinery and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

child labor.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Early American Imprints.*

280. "Factory Song." First line: "Come all ye ladies of Lowell." [Lowell, MA?: n.p., c. 1830s-1840s].

SYNOPSIS: A broadside ballad in twenty-one four-line stanzas, the "Factory Song" is another version of the folk song "The Song of the Factory Girl." Addressed to women factory workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, the poem describes many of the technical details of factory work. The poem follows the course of a day in the mills, from the early morning when "the gate is hoisted high" and "the machinery goes." The poem's speaker expresses wonder at the machinery's intricacy: "A thousand wheels in union move, / Without the least mistake." The productivity and skill of workers are praised. The weavers, for instance, stand between the looms efficiently mending "each broken thread." Every day "six thousand yards" of cloth are "carded well, and spun and wove." In the final stanza, the speaker expresses hope that the corporation will prosper and that brotherhood and friendship will prevail among the workers.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History.

281. "Factory Song." First line: "While in the sable shades of night." [Lowell, MA?: n.p., c. 1830s-1840s].

SYNOPSIS: The "Factory Song" is another version of the folk song "The Song of the Factory Girl." A broadside ballad in twenty four-line stanzas, the poem describes many

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the technical details of cotton factory work. The poem follows the course of a day in the mill, from the early morning when the young workers cheerfully enter the factory "To labor in the dust and dirt." The speaker describes the movement of the cotton through the mill: from the picker to the cards and breakers, then on to the speeder and the spindles, to the dressing room, and finally on to the looms. Workers' skill and productivity are praised. In the final stanza, the speaker expresses hope that the corporation will prosper and that brotherhood and friendship will prevail among the workers.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by the Center for Lowell History.

282. Felch, Walton. *The Manufacturer's Pocket-Piece, or, The Cotton-Mill Moralized.* Medway, MA: Published for Samuel Allen, 1816. 23 pp.

AUTHOR: Felch seems to have been a mill manager in Medway, Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: This pamphlet poem in heroic couplets utilizes metaphors drawn from textile manufacture. Felch offers a moral interpretation of the factory, showing how the mill machinery's workings illustrate moral principles. For instance, religion's beneficial influence on the soul is likened to the action of the Regulator, a machine that raises and lowers the gate, regulating the mill's speed:

> And if we lack religion's blest control,
> (Spontaneous *Regulator* of the soul)
> And passion's rising speed disturb our peace,
> Let reason's couteracting [sic] powers increase,
> Or life's disordered frame, with fatal haste,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For sorrow spins, or only runs to waste! (12)

The poem's speaker defends child labor, contending that in the factory "childhood works, in mild, refreshing toil" (7). The poem also includes some commentary on managing women workers, including the observation that women are much less likely to complain about working conditions when they receive the same pay as men (12).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

283. "Home Industry, the Most Direct Road to National Prosperity." First line: "Sages conven'd from delegating states." [Charlestown, MA?: Joseph White?, between 1810 and 1826].

SYNOPSIS: This ninety-eight-line broadside poem is derived from David Humphreys's "A Poem on the Industry of the United States" (see entry below). Lines 1-76 are drawn from Humphreys's lines 191-352, including his advocacy of the labor of children and the aged. The poem's final quarter, however, lines 76-98 denouncing sloth, is original to this text. The speaker maintains that sloth destroys Americans' hard-won independence. Charity only encourages more sloth, which is wrongly viewed as less disgraceful than toil. Americans must realize that "our nation's strength" is to be found "In toil, not Gold" (98).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

284. Humphreys, David. "American Manufactures: The Best Trump to Play with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Great Britain." First line: "To toil encourag'd, free from tythe and tax." Boston: Printed by Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., [between 1810 and 1814].

AUTHOR: David Humphreys (1752-1818), renowned as a Revolutionary hero and aide to George Washington, a diplomat, and one of the Connecticut Wits, established the first successful American woolen mill in Humphreysville (now Grosvenor Dale), Connecticut, in 1806.

SYNOPSIS: This broadside poem consists of extracts from David Humphreys's "A Poem on the Industry of the United States," lines 217-78 (see entry below).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

285. Humphreys, David. *A Poem on Industry. Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America*. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1794. 22 pp.

AUTHOR: David Humphreys (1752-1818), renowned as a Revolutionary hero and aide to George Washington, a diplomat, and one of the Connecticut Wits, established the first successful American woolen mill in Humphreysville (now Grosvenor Dale), Connecticut, in 1806.

SYNOPSIS: This pamphlet poem written in heroic couplets may be the first major American poem on industrialization. Humphreys maintains that he has written out of patriotic motives, since industry holds great promise for the new nation. The poem's speaker enumerates factories' benefits, such as providing employment to poor women, children, and aged. Poor women will be "rescu'd" from prostitution, it is suggested. Humphreys's speaker finds factory machinery wonderful and ingenious:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ingenious engines wondrous works perform,

The hungry nourish and the naked warm!

Teach little hands to ply mechanic toil,

Cause failing age o'er easy tasks to smile;

With gladness kindle rescu'd beauty's eye,

And cheek with health's inimitable dye;

So shall the young, the feeble find employ,

And hearts, late nigh to perish, leap for joy! (14)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Early American Imprints*.

286. Humphreys, David. "A Poem on the Industry of the United States." *The Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys*. 1804. Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968. 89-114.

AUTHOR: David Humphreys (1752-1818), renowned as a Revolutionary hero and aide to George Washington, a diplomat, and one of the Connecticut Wits, established the first successful American woolen mill in Humphreysville (now Grosvenor Dale), Connecticut, in 1806.

SYNOPSIS: A revised version of the 1794 text, the poem includes the same pro-factory lines but with a strengthened advocacy of developing domestic manufactures, education, and science. The speaker urges women to eschew foreign finery and ornaments in favor of domestic manufactures.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

287. Reeve, George F. "Wool Carding." *Orange County Gazette* (Goshen, NY) 1.20 (11 August 1807).

SYNOPSIS: This poem in thirty-four tetrameter lines of rhyming couplets advertises the author's carding mill for wool near Newburgh, New York. To his mill, which features a "well contriv'd Machine" for carding, "girls" come to take the wool home to spin:

> I have a well contriv'd Machine
>
> To Card your Wool and Pick it clean;
>
> But send a little oil pray do,
>
> A quart to twenty pounds or so,
>
> The girls when they do come to spin it,
>
> I think will find a profit in it. (21-26)

If customers will bring their wool to him, the poem's speaker promises that it will be efficiently "carded, roll'd and pack'd" (30) at the price of eight cents per pound.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society. Reprinted with minor changes in Arthur H. Cole's *The American Wool Manufacture* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1926), I: 97-98.

288. Todd, John. "The Angel of Toil and the Great Mill." *The Angel of the Iceberg: And Other Stories.* Northampton, MA: Bridgman and Childs, 1859. 183-201.

AUTHOR: Todd (1800-73; b. Rutland, Vermont), was the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from 1842-72. He published many fictional and nonfictional texts, primarily religious and didactic literature for children.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In the volume's preface, the author explains that he has written his allegorical children's stories to present "religious truths" (iii). In "The Angel of Toil," he hopes to show readers the necessity of preparing their hearts for salvation, the importance of faith and prayer, and reliance on "Divine Power" (182). The story is set in a faraway, Edenic paradise "called *The Island of the Blessed*" (184). One day, "the Angel of Evil" visits the island, bringing with him suffering, sickness, aging, and the necessity for work. The inhabitants must now toil to provide themselves with food and clothing. Two angels descend from the sky to help them, "the *Spirit of Power* and the *Spirit of Toil*" (188). Before departing, the Spirit of Power instructs the Spirit of Toil in building a large, water-powered mill for producing gas, bread, and textiles. Now transformed from a spirit into a brawny workingman, the Spirit of Toil sings a song describing his plans. Here inserted in the text are forty-six lines of poetry, including the following scheme for textile manufacture:

> And then for the spindles, the bands, and the wheels,
> The spools and the balls, the bobbin and reels,
> The whirling and twisting, the sputter and clatter,
> The plannings of Spirit, the wonders of Matter;
> . . . . . .
> The old and the young shall hurry and come,
> Seize the clothing so warm, and fresh from the loom[.] (193)

Thousands of men join Toil in the work, constructing an immense mill, thirteen stories high with twenty-four chimneys. They install machinery for making bread and "for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coloring, spinning, weaving, and making cloths" (196). Finally the day comes to set the mill in motion. They find they are able to turn the water wheel, but none of the machinery moves. The Spirit of Toil tries to remedy the problem, but nothing works, until he cries out in eighteen lines of verse for the Spirit of Power to return. The Spirit of Power tells him that he must "Make a wide band out of the article called Faith." When the Spirit of Toil connects this band to the water wheel, all the machinery begins moving: "In a moment the cards went to work, the spindles flew, the looms creaked, . . . and bread and clothes and light came out." Then, the people "sent up a shout of joy so full and so loud that it reached the third heavens, and entered into the ears of the God of Sabaoth!" (201).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

289. Tongue, Robert C. "The Factory Chimneys." *The Paterson Labor Standard* (Paterson, NJ) 27.17 (21 November 1896).

SYNOPSIS: First published in *The Youth's Companion*, this ballad in five eight-line stanzas extols the benefits of industry and factories. Though some people regard their smoking chimneys as an eyesore, the poem's speaker welcomes the sight of factories. To him or her, the hum of busy factories signifies peace and plenty:

> Those somber standards [i.e., the chimneys], floating fair,
> Give token of the reign of peace.
> More potent than the arms of war
> Their whirring looms that never cease.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Beneath that dusky cloud is wrought

The fabric of a people's fate,

The victories of love and thought

Transcending all the spoils of hate. (17-24)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

290. Walworth, Mansfield Tracy. *Lulu*. New York: Carleton, 1863. 367 pp.

AUTHOR: Walworth (1837-73; b. New York) was a lawyer and well-known author of romance novels.

SYNOPSIS: The novel is based loosely on events surrounding the actual poisoning of guests at the National Hotel, Washington, D.C., in 1857. The characters include "a few of our substantial merchant princes and our worthy sons of toil." The story opens in a mill town on the banks of the Mohawk, in the fictitious New York city of Dutchhold, where can be heard "the busy hum of spindles and the plash of water-wheels" (7). John Neaton, a wealthy cotton manufacturer, is one of the novel's merchant princes. He is "one of Nature's noblemen," who takes an idealistic view of his business: "To his ear the clash and hum of machinery betokened, not only coming wealth and luxury, but they spoke to a human heart of regular employment for indigent men, of huge establishments where thousands would earn abundant bread for the hungry by their daily toil" (15). Another cotton manufacturer, Alexander Broadhead, is pursuing litigation for the theft of his invention for improved spindles. Much of the story revolves around the romance of the hero, Harry Carter, a young lawyer retained by Broadhead, and the enchanting Lulu

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rogers. The characters all eventually wind up at the National Hotel, where many become victims of the mysterious poisoning. Some of the characters die, while others, such as Harry, fall ill but recover. After Broadhead wins his suit, he and his only heir die in a train crash. At the story's conclusion, Harry and Lulu marry.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

291. Wetherbee, Emily G. "Lights of Lawrence." *Poems and Addresses of Emily Greene Wetherbee.* Lawrence, MA: The Lawrence Publishing Co., 1898. 87-89.

AUTHOR: Wetherbee (1830-97) taught in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, public schools. Robert Frost was one of her most appreciative students.

SYNOPSIS: Wetherbee prefaces her poem with a note about the impressiveness of Lawrence's lighted factories: "Strangers approaching Lawrence on evening trains are always greatly impressed by the sight of the large and brilliantly lighted factories, which extend for a mile along the banks of the Merrimack. The following poem depicts such a scene from the train" (87). In balladic stanzas, the poem describes a wintry night. Train passengers are "spellbound" at the sight of Lawrence's illuminated factories:

> Each tall and stately factory
>
> A fairy palace seems,
>
> As o'er the snow and darkness
>
> The wondrous radiance streams.

The passengers admire the "mighty chimneys / [That s]tand out against the sky" (88). Finding the scene magical and uniquely beautiful, one passenger praises Lawrence,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Proud industry's great mart; / Its looms and flying spindles, / The pulsings of its heart." The poem's speaker exhorts the "lamps of labor" to continue to "Burn bright." Labor is humanity's "comfort, strength, and health" (89).

292. Wetherbee, Emily G. "The Old Residents." *Poems and Addresses of Emily Greene Wetherbee.* Lawrence, MA: The Lawrence Publishing Co., 1898. 40-43.

AUTHOR: Wetherbee (1830-97) taught in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, public schools. Robert Frost was one of her most appreciative students.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad depicts a gathering of Lawrence's "old residents." They recall scenes of the city as it changed from a pleasant rural village to "industry's great mart." Now "massive buildings" rise by the fields and river. The vibrant factory dominates the city:

> Tall chimneys tell the story
> Of industry's great mart;
> And loud we hear resounding
> The factory's beating heart. (41)

Bells summon the people "to honest labor." The poem's speaker appreciates the human skill that has mastered the forces of nature: "Thus man has proved his power, / And harnessed to command / The wondrous force of nature" (42). The speaker expresses hope that Lawrence's old residents will always honor the "vows of friendship" formed in their youth (43).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

293. Wetherbee, Emily G. "Semi-Centennial Anniversary Poem." *Poems and Addresses of Emily Greene Wetherbee.* Lawrence, MA: The Lawrence Publishing Co., 1898. 74-83.

AUTHOR: Wetherbee (1830-97) taught in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, public schools. Robert Frost was one of her most appreciative students.

SYNOPSIS: This is another poem praising industrial Lawrence, Massachusetts, Wetherbee's hometown. The poem's speaker admires both Lawrence's devotion to religion and education and her vibrant industry:

> The church spire points to heaven, and tells of things divine;
> To Learning's potent spirit there rises many a shrine;
> Here is the mart of traffic, proud Industry's great mart,--
> The looms and flying spindles are beatings of its heart.
> Great bridges span the river, tall chimneys pierce the sky,
> And Labor's massive buildings here proudly tower on high[.] (80)

294. "[Wond'rous machine! thy curious fabric shows]." *The American Museum* (Philadelphia, PA) 2 (1787): 256.

SYNOPSIS: This brief, untitled poem (twenty-two lines) celebrating factory technology and written in heroic couplets was published anonymously as the early United States factories were being built. Inspired by viewing the silk mills at Derby, England, the speaker praises textile machinery as an expression of God's power manifested in human ingenuity:

> Wond'rous machine! thy curious fabric shows

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

How far the pow'r of human wisdom goes:

Where many thousand movements all attend

Upon a wheel, and on that cause depend. (1-4)

Such human ingenuity verifies the power and intelligence of the Creator, the "First Mover" (22). The poet demonstrates that the American people might successfully combine industrial development with traditional religious piety.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER TEN

OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS: STRESS, DISEASE, ACCIDENTS, FIRES

295. A., A. G. [probably Abba A. Goddard (m. Rutherford)]. "The Orphan." *The Operatives' Magazine* 2 (May 1841): 20.

SYNOPSIS: This fictional sketch of the life of Ellen S. appears in a factory women's periodical. Orphaned and poor, Ellen must work for a living. The narrator does not reveal the exact nature of her employment but comments that it helped develop her character: "Ellen found the necessity of self-exertion, and in so doing faculties were brought into exercise of which she little deemed herself the possessor." Deeply religious since early childhood, Ellen relies upon "faith in Jesus." Like so many others, she does not attempt "to drown her sorrows in the pleasures of earth." After toiling several years, she dies young of disease.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

296. Ames, Harlow. "Additional Facts in Relation to the Fall of the Pemberton Mill!" First line: "Hark! hark! O list, what noise is that, didst thou not feel the jar?" [Boston, MA?: n.p., 1860?]. 4 pp.

SYNOPSIS: In this long broadside poem in seven-stress lines, the poem's speaker recounts his observations of and thoughts about the fall of the Pemberton Mill, Lawrence, Massachusetts, and subsequent events. He relates the terrible crash of the falling mill where seven hundred people were working, the valiant rescue efforts, the spread of fire

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

among the ruins, some of the victims' agonizing deaths, and several miraculous escapes. He attributes the tragedy to human selfishness and corruption: "O, selfish man, what hast thou done? thy darkness comes to light-- / Selfishness that knows no bounds, nor stops for human life. / A man may cause a thousand deaths, and him the law will screen" (1). He expresses a wish to find those responsible for the disaster and call them to account, rectifying wrongs inflicted by the rich on the poor and inverting unjust class distinctions:

> O! that I could have the power, the party I would seek,
> That lit the trap to slay mankind, on them my vengeance reek [sic];
> Would strip them of their plunder--would hurl them from their station--
> Would place poor sufferers in their stead, and they should be their servants. (4)

An "Irishman" making a lucky escape from the ruins remarks that the disaster was "one of thim damned Yankee tricks!" (4).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum.

297. B., J. L. [Josephine L. Baker (m. Choate)]. "The Factory Girl." *Lowell Offering* 5 (1845): 274-77.

SYNOPSIS: Flora Herbert, this short story's factory-girl heroine, sits in the window of her boardinghouse room and looks out on the nighttime scene, admiring her beautiful view of the canal, the factory yards, the streets, the Merrimack River, and the surrounding countryside. Flora reflects sadly on the deaths of her father, mother, and brother, and her adoption into the family of a minister, Mr. Elmore. Flora's father had

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

been a sea captain, who "perished at sea." Flora "felt it her duty to labor," although "her form was [too] light and delicate" for "constant toil." After working three years in the mills, she is "thoroughly wearied in mind and body" (275). Symptoms of the hereditary disease that killed her mother and brother, Earnest, have appeared in her. In the decaying leaves beneath her window, Flora sees "a type of her own brief life" (276). Soon she is lying on her deathbed, attended by Anna Ellis, another factory worker. Gazing at the night sky, Flora realizes that she has "loved, almost to idolatry, [the] beautiful stars" (276). After her death, Mr. Elmore and his daughter Mira carry her remains to their home. At the story's conclusion, Mira visits Flora's and Earnest's graves, thinking of how deeply and purely she loved Earnest.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

298. Beal, Leonard Hathaway (b. 1831). "Lines on the Catastrophe at Lawrence, on Tuesday, January 10, 1860." First line: "In the State of Massachusetts." [Lawrence, MA?]: n.p., 1860.

SYNOPSIS: This eighty-line broadside ballad was written in response to the fall of the Pemberton Mill, Lawrence, Massachusetts. On January tenth, at five o'clock p.m., six hundred "hands" are busy working (9), each dear to someone either on this shore or across the Atlantic. Some immigrant workers are saving their wages to bring their families to the United States. No one imagines that the mill "is soon to be their tomb" (12). As the mill falls, the victims are shrieking. Although one man emerges unharmed and grinning, many victims are mangled beyond recognition. The outbreak of fire

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

confounds rescue efforts and the hopes of relatives. Victims' and relatives' agony is beyond description. This is the worst calamity to strike New England, one of the terrible "scenes of woe" that too often "greet us" in life (77).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection. The same poem, with minor changes, was reprinted in the *Boston Sunday Globe Magazine* (30 September 1928): 18, as "The Fall of Pemberton Mill; or Lines on the Catastrophe at Lawrence," sent in by M. A. S.

299. Briancourt, Percy. "The Sale of Labor." *The Journal of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America* 8.27 (7 January 1888).

SYNOPSIS: The poem depicts an auction of various worn-out laborers. In fifty lines, the poem's speaker, an auctioneer, tries unsuccessfully to sell an exhausted boy, a decrepit man, and a consumptive woman factory worker:

> Well, gentlemen, here is a lady fair,
> A store of wealth, a glorious trade,
> She's sickly now from the factory air,
> Give us a bid and a fortune's made;
> With a consumptive cheek
> Her look it is meek;
> She's worked to death for a trifling sum--
> I'll sell her cheap,
> The fruits you reap,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Come, what now for this dainty one? (21-30)

Satirizing stereotypical--and hypocritical--notions of women's daintiness, the poem's speaker unmasks female factory workers' exploitation.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

300. Carey [sic], Alice. "The Mill-Maid." *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* 5.5 (November 1849): 282.

AUTHOR: Cary (1820-71; b. Hamilton County, Ohio), a popular poet and novelist, was raised in rural poverty.

SYNOPSIS: In this thirty-two-line ballad, the speaker observes the golden-haired and "broken-hearted" (4) mill-maid at church each Sunday over a period of time. The speaker sees her growing paler and weaker each Sabbath as she walks down the aisle. The church members realize she is dying. When she dies, the mill-maid becomes a "voiceless sacrifice," a beloved flower "Blown . . . to Jesus' folding bosom" (21, 23-24). For one day, the mill wheel is still, and "[t]he spindle ceased its plying" (26). The mill-maid's home looks sad, but after several Sabbaths have passed, no one in the village choir misses her singing.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

301. Clariette [of] Bloomfield, Me. "Lament of the Dying Factory Girl." *Factory Girl's Album, and Operatives' Advocate* 1.8 (23 May 1846).

SYNOPSIS: This poem's speaker is a dying factory girl far away from her "humble

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

home" (10). In twenty-two lines of heroic couplets, the speaker expresses longing for her former "health and hope, and rustic happiness" (5). Now her life is "blasted" by "cankering decay" (15, 12). Factory work, the "toil" which she has "wrestled with, but could not foil," has contributed to her fatal illness (17-18). Surrendering to death, she trusts that a better life awaits her with "holier, heavenly joys!" (22).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

302. Cowden, Jason E. "The Lawrence Disaster." First line: "Heard ye that wail of fearful woe." Lowell, MA: n.p., 1860.

SYNOPSIS: This ninety-six-line broadside ballad marks the "fearful woe" (1) in Lawrence, Massachusetts, causing the nation's heart to throb with anguish. One evening at sunset, a cry of fire rang out in Lawrence. The fallen Pemberton Mill has crushed "the matron and the maid" (24), the old and the young. A father trying to save his young daughter sees her die in the flames. The next morning, many workers lie "in death's embrace" (63), people who only one day before were animated by hope and joy. Now their "toils and pains are o'er" (90). Soon "we" will join them when we, too, "leave this earthly sphere" and "claim our immortality / Purchased by Jesus' love" (93, 95-96).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

303. Davis, Rebecca H. *Margret Howth.* Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1862. 266 pp.

AUTHOR: Rebecca Harding Davis (1831-1910; b. Washington, Pennsylvania), an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important early practitioner of literary realism, wrote fiction addressing social problems. She also contributed stories to periodicals and worked as an editor.

SYNOPSIS: This novel was first published serially in the *Atlantic Monthly* 8-9 (October 1861-March 1862) as "A Story of To-Day." Set in an Indiana city, Davis's novel offers a critique of the ills of industrialism. In October 1860, the eponymous heroine begins work as a bookkeeper for Knowles & Company, woolen manufacturers. In the mills, women work as weavers, "most of them bold, tawdry girls of fifteen or sixteen, or lean-jawed women from the hills, wives of the coal-diggers" (116). Twenty-year-old Margret is working to support her poor parents. Her mother and father, a former schoolmaster, cling to their old aristocratic, Tory prejudices. Dr. Knowles, the "principal owner" of the corporation (12), is the Howths' family friend. He hopes to interest Margret in his utopian scheme of founding a Fourierite community. She is a plain, sincere woman whom Dr. Knowles thinks is suited to a greater purpose than only that of daughter, wife, and mother. Margret befriends Lois Yare, a young mulatto woman and former mill worker. Lois worked in the mills from the ages of seven to sixteen, until she became too physically and mentally impaired to continue, as she tells Margret:

> In them years I got dazed in my head, I think. 'T was th' air n' th' work. I was weak allus. 'T got so that th' noise o' th' looms went on in my head night 'n' day,--allus thud, thud. 'N' hot days, when th' hands was chaffin' 'n' singin', th' black wheels 'n' rollers was alive, starin' down at me, 'n' th' shadders o' th' looms was like snakes creepin',--creepin' anear all th' time. (69)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After being rescued from the poorhouse by Dr. Holmes, Lois works as a peddler, selling goods and spreading evangelical Christianity. An old suitor of Margret's, Stephen Holmes, returns to town. Two years earlier, Margret had rejected his offer of marriage, because she thought she would be a hindrance to his financial ambitions. Now engaged to the wealthy Miss Herne, Stephen plans to purchase Knowles & Company with money furnished by Miss Herne's father. Dr. Knowles is leaving the business to found his socialistic community for the poor and oppressed. Soon Margret and Stephen realize that they still love each other. Margret joins Dr. Knowles working at his "House of Refuge" for the city poor. Becoming the mill manager, Stephen discovers that one of his workers, Joe Yare (Lois's father), is wanted for forgery. Although Joe has reformed, Stephen feels obligated to turn him in to the police. In revenge, Joe sets fire to the mills, badly injuring Stephen, whom Lois rescues. The fire spells financial ruin for Dr. Knowles and the end of his communitarian plans. During his long recuperation, Stephen undergoes a change of heart. Learning that Lois is dying from tuberculosis, Stephen decides not to turn in her father. Regretting his past selfishness and greed, Stephen breaks off his engagement to Miss Herne and devotes himself to giving Margret the love she needs. On Christmas Day, they announce their engagement, and on New Year's Day Lois dies.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted by The Feminist Press in 1990.

[Annotation 304 has been intentionally omitted.]

305. "Death, the Builder." *Vanity Fair* 1.5 (28 January 1860).

SYNOPSIS: This ballad, published within several weeks of the Pemberton Mill Disaster in Lawrence, Massachusetts, is illustrated with an engraving of a skeleton and a devil

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peering into a crystal ball upon the image of a female power-loom weaver. In seven four-line stanzas, the poem's speaker describes Death working for "the Lords of Enterprise" (11), who want a mill built "cheap":

> "My Lords wish it cheaply built, they say,"
> The Builder laughed in glee;
> "And I'll build so cheap that some fine day,
> A sorrowful sight they will see. (13-16)

Eventually his "villany" [sic] will be revealed in death and suffering, the Builder gloats. Then, a little charity and Jesus's blood will heal the injustice, before "gold . . . wash[es] away" the traces of Christ's blood.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

306. DeWolfe, Byron. "Lawrence Disaster!" Composed by George G. B. DeWolfe, S. M. P. First line: "In a high and frowning building." [Nashua, NH?]: n.p., 1860.

AUTHOR: The author's full name was George Gordon Byron DeWolfe (1835-73).

SYNOPSIS: In a note following this broadside poem, the author explains that it was "*composed in Twenty One minutes.*" Copies sell for "THREE CENTS EACH." This ballad in thirteen eight-line stanzas describes the collapse and burning of the Pemberton Mill where eight hundred people worked. According to the poem's speaker, this disaster is the saddest ever known. The bulk of the poem focuses on rescue and philanthropic efforts. DeWolfe's speaker pays tribute to the brave women who aided the sufferers:

> Noble woman! who can praise Thee

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

More than Thou didst then deserve?

Proving in the Hour of Peril

Woman's Love and Hope and Nerve!

Showing to the myriad Watchers

How New England's daughters still

Had the courage of Forefathers

And the same determin'd will! (49-56)

In the final lines, the speaker beseeches God to "guide the Suff'rers / To a better land above / Where there are no such disasters / But all Light, and Hope and Love!" (101-4).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University Library.

307. DeWolfe, Byron. "Maggie Wright, or the New-England Factory Girl!" First line: "A girl came from the wilds of Maine." Nashua, NH: n.p., 1873.

AUTHOR: DeWolfe's full name was George Gordon Byron DeWolfe (1835-73).

SYNOPSIS: This broadside in two columns includes a note from the author and the ballad "Maggie Wright." The note tells how DeWolfe sells his broadside poems at mill gates and informs readers how they might obtain them by mail. The thirty-two-line ballad with a four-line "chorus" relates the story of Maggie Wright, an innocent, charming young woman, who leaves her Maine home to work in a cotton mill. The rich should not scorn her, because she is poor and has to earn her daily bread. Those made wealthy by her work care nothing when Maggie becomes ill:

And those by fact'ry girls made rich,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Saw not her cheeks grow wan,

Nor dropped a tear for Maggie Wright

When life's lamp-light had gone! (21-24)

Soon her death leaves a mother grieving in Maine. Now Maggie is free from sorrow and from the sounds of the factory bells.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

308. Ella. "The Sisters." *The Operatives' Magazine* 1 (April 1841): 15-16

SYNOPSIS: This brief tale published in a factory women's periodical relates the story of Adaline and Nancy L., two sisters from New Hampshire. At the story's opening, the narrator explains that it is "no varnished tale of unusual occurrences" (15). Owing to their father's death and the family's consequent poverty, Adaline goes into domestic service for a clergyman. Even though she is treated kindly, "the extreme smallness of compensation to 'help'" compels her to seek work in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories. Being "active, industrious, and intelligent," Adaline wins the regard of many in Lowell. Soon her sister, Nancy, though still "a child," comes to live and toil with her. Unlike other factory women, Adaline and Nancy do not neglect religious observance: "These sisters did not forget (*like too many*) the house of God." Soon, however, consumption marks the two sisters its prey. They return to their mother's house to die: "Emaciated, wan and sick even unto death, they returned to a *mother's* dwelling, to linger a few brief days and then to die." The sisters die within a few days of each other. At the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

story's conclusion, the narrator comments on their deaths, "Sweet, aye, triumphant was their death; pleasant were they in their lives, and in death not long divided" (16).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

309. "Ellen Jane Hunter. Perished in the Flames at the Granite Mill No. 1, Fall River, Mass. Aged 15 Years, 3 Months, and 19 Days. From the Labor Journal." First line: "Bright was her eye and sweet her smile." [Fall River?: n.p., 1874?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside includes four texts: a prose note from "A Friend," and three untitled, consolatory ballads by authors identified only as S. H. W., G. W. B., and M. B. C. S. A Friend describes the mill fire on September 19, 1874. Children and young women were trapped by the flames, while men connected with the mill and the fire department cared only to save property. Ellen Jane Hunter, an only child working to assist her poor parents, was a sweet, promising, and religious girl, whose dying thoughts were of her parents. In forty-four lines, S. H. W.'s poem tells how Ellen, the sweetest and most worthy young woman, died in anguish:

> Oh thus to die, midst flame and smoke,
>
> Wild dispair [sic] and burning pain!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Ah, cruel fate that snatched her youth,
>
> In its pure and sinless bloom[.] (25-26, 29-30)

Now she is with the angels in heaven. G. W. B.'s sixteen-line ballad expresses faith in God's loving justice, despite the sorrow caused by Ellen's death. In forty-four lines, M.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

B. C. S. offers comfort to the friends of Ellen, who now stands by the side of the other martyrs in heaven. Just as Ellen is comforted by Jesus, her friends should seek His consoling presence. One day they will see Ellen's face again.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

310. Fisk, P. B. "The Fall of the Pemberton Mill." *The Boston Sunday Globe* (8 December 1918): 3.

AUTHOR: Fisk is identified as a clergyman ("Rev.") of Lydonville, Vermont.

SYNOPSIS: According to introductory notes, this poem was "[d]elivered at Barre, Vermont, Academy, April, 1869 [and r]equested by G. P. C., Shirley, Mass." This is a long poem of twenty-three eight-line stanzas in iambic pentameters. The poem opens at midnight on the day preceding the Pemberton Mill's collapse and burning, Lawrence, Massachusetts, on January 10, 1860. Fisk's primary concern is the spiritual fate of those destined to die. His speaker considers whether the Pemberton workers are spiritually prepared to die, since they, like most people, are probably carrying a "debt so very great" (16). Fisk's poem reminds readers to mend their ways and prepare for death, which might strike as suddenly and unexpectedly as it did in Lawrence. At daybreak on January tenth, at the sound of the bells the workers hasten to the mill, assuming their posts amid the "humming wheels" and "gyrating spindles" (70-71). The mill building's collapse and the ensuing scenes of panic and suffering are described:

A moment more the wheels their order keep--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A shock! a crash! and men like drunkards reel;
Or, like a soldier roused from heavy sleep,
They rush on ruin with a maniac zeal!
Down cower the timid, but the wary leap;
The wall falls in and sends the shocking peal
Far on the air; the giant groans his last;
Earth shudders underneath, and all is past! (89-96)

Fisk's speaker ascribes the collapse and the flames that soon engulf the ruins to the work of the devil, who delights in human suffering. An army of rescuers saves some of the victims, but many dead "Are lifted from the ruin's brutal press" (118). In the "the scene of agony," the speaker finds consolation only in the thought that some of the dead may have been freed from a sorrowful life to "a better sphere" (165, 174). Following the disaster, life goes on and "earth resumes her day," noting only that the dead have "Passed away" (181-82).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Boston Public Library.

311. H., J. "A Poem; on the Distressing, and Afflictive Death of the Rev. Josiah M. Muspratt; Who Was Killed in an Awful Manner; Being Caught in the Machinery of Whitesborough Factory, Carried up to the Floor Above by His Arm, Where It Was Drawn from His Body, from Whence He Fell Again to the Floor, Torn and Lacerated in the Most Shocking Manner; May, 1827." First line: "And is our Brother torn away?" [Utica, NY?: n.p., 1827].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: The broadside poem, composed in seventeen five-line hymnal stanzas, elegizes Muspratt, a Methodist minister and weaving superintendent killed in a mill accident (Giles 315). J. H. finds evidence of God's providence in Muspratt's life and death. Concerned about the "carless [sic] living" (12) of his factory hands, Muspratt had been anxious to convert them and lead them to salvation. In his efforts "To bring more souls to Heaven" (30), Muspratt died a martyr. Now he is among heaven's angels.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

312. Handy, George. *Poetic Sketch Written upon the Sad Disaster at Lawrence, Mass., Occasioned by the Fall of the Pemberton Mill, Which, on the Tenth Day of January, 1860, a Few Minutes before Five O'Clock, P. M., Fell with a Sudden Crash, Burying Several Hundred Operatives beneath Its Ruins.* Boston: Printed for the Author, 1860. 16 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This long ballad was issued in a pamphlet. The poem describes events following the collapse and burning of the Pemberton Mill. The poem's speaker vividly describes the trapped and injured workers' suffering: "And there hemmed in by fallen beams, / Between the shattered walls, / 'Midst dying groans and rending screams" (3). He relates several scenes of terrible death or amazing survival. Only women's deaths are treated, although there were a number of male victims. In a passage subtitled, "A Sister in the Ruins," a young woman's death in the flames is recounted (7). In "A Company of Girls," a group of young women sings a hymn, "We're going home," as the flames approach and engulf them (9). Handy also represents the terrible suffering of the victims'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

families (9-12). In "A Young Man Seeks His Sister," a man frantically searches for and grieves over a lost sister (12). "A Mother Seeks Her Daughter" describes a mother who, tormented by grief over her lost daughter, loses her sanity (14-15). The speaker expresses sad regret that some people will relive all their lives the terrible events of January tenth. Other people are left lifelong "cripples" (16). In the final stanzas, the speaker attributes the disaster to the builders' incompetence and/or carelessness:

> How agonizing is the thought
> Of the great mischief which was wrought!
> The anguish, loss and grief that came
> From the misbuilding of that frame!
>
> Why did the foreman not procure
> Material which was strong and sure? (16)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

313. Hannah. "The Reverse." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 91-93.

SYNOPSIS: When this short story opens, Miss Y., an "elderly female" factory worker in Lowell, Massachusetts, visits the home of Mr. Q. (91). Mr. Q. lives in luxury with his wife and daughters. Miss Y. learns that he has lost her entire life savings (two thousand dollars) in speculations. Half of this money was left her by her beloved, deceased sister, Mary, who had worked and lived with her for many years. Mr. Q. sheds some insincere tears, insisting that he is sorry and that he has lost all of his own money, too. Miss Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

will now have no savings for her old age. Several years pass, and Miss Y. is still working hard in the mills, while Mr. Q. enjoys a life of ease and opulence. Miss Y. does not expect to receive anything from Mr. Q. She often thinks of her beloved sister Mary, looking forward to "that better land, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'"

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

314. Harmon, A. W. "The Granite Mill Fire, at Fall River, Mass." Composed by A. W. Harmon. Tune: "Young Edmond." First line: "May God, the great Creator." [Fall River, MA?: n.p., 1874?].

SYNOPSIS: A broadside ballad in one hundred twelve lines describing the fire that destroyed the Granite Mill, Fall River, Massachusetts, on September 19, 1874. Beginning at seven o'clock a.m. in the mule spinners' room, the fire quickly spreads, suffocating the "Girls, women, men and children" at work (15). Workers leap from the sixth story, some dying instantly and others surviving:

> Behold their arms extend,
>
> Far up six stories high:
>
> For help, hear them imploring,
>
> Help us or we must die.
>
> Up from the highest windows
>
> Some leaped in wild despair,
>
> And some survived that awful leap,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While others died in prayer. (49-56)

The speaker describes some families' losses and expresses appreciation for the assistance given the "poor operatives" (98) by the Agent of the Company. In the last stanza, the speaker reminds the Engineers and fire department to uphold their responsibilities and never forget this "loss of life and suffering" (111).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

315. Harmon, A. W. "The Lawrence Disaster." Composed by A. W. Harmon. First line: "Hark! have ye heard that awful wail." [N.p., 1860?]

SYNOPSIS: In this broadside ballad in thirty-six four-line stanzas, the speaker stresses the suddenness and unexpectedness of the Pemberton Mill's collapse and burning in Lawrence, Massachusetts, on January 10, 1860. Eighty-six workers were killed and many more injured. Many people, including the victims and their friends and relatives, have suffered terribly. The poem recounts some of the most striking disaster occurrences, such as the suicide attempt by an overseer trapped in the ruins, a child's death in the flames, and a woman worker's miraculous escape:

A girl from Calais City, Maine,
Miss Olive Bridges was her name,
Seized the elevator's hoisting chain,
And safely down five stories came. (101-4)

In the last stanzas, the speaker assures readers that the dead victims' friends and relatives

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

will meet their loved ones again in the next life.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum. Portions of this ballad survived as a folk song, collected from Mrs. Susie Carr Young of Brewer, Maine, and published by Phillips Barry as "The Fall of the Pemberton Mills." *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast* 3 (Fall 1931): 16-17.

316. Havara [of] Cabotville. "Lines on the Death of Maria L. Damon, Who Died in This Village August 8, 1843." *Olive Leaf* 1.13 (30 September 1843): 104.

SYNOPSIS: A balladic elegy in four eight-line stanzas, the poem was probably composed by a mill worker, since Cabotville (now Chicopee), Massachusetts, was a factory village, and mill workers contributed much of the content of the *Olive Leaf.* Seventeen-year-old Maria L. Damon was probably a factory worker herself, having come to Cabotville from "a distant State," as the author indicates in a note appended to the poem: "The Parents and relatives of this gentle girl reside in a distant State, and could not visit her during her sickness, or at her death. Alas! how many young beings like her, die here among strangers and without having even a stone raised to mark where they lie!" Havara's speaker explains that Damon's death was preceded by her loss of "the bloom of health" and "hope of life" (9-10). The poem conveys the sadness and love felt by Damon's friends in Cabotville.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

317. Hinchcliffe, Richard. "Fall of the Pemberton Mills, at Lawrence." *Rhymes among*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Spindles. Lawrence, MA: R. Bower, 1871. 30-32.

AUTHOR: In the preface, Hinchcliffe explains that his poems have appeared previously in newspapers and that he began working at the age of nine in textile mills eleven to thirteen hours per day. According to poems that seem autobiographical, Hinchcliffe was an English immigrant, "driven by oppression from my native land" to the United States (40).

SYNOPSIS: In "Fall of the Pemberton Mills," composed in seventy lines of iambic pentameters, the poem's speaker recounts some of the events of January 10, 1860, when the Pemberton Mill collapsed and burned, killing eighty-six workers and injuring many more. At sunset, hundreds of "men, women, children" were at work weaving and spinning, including the lighthearted "maiden" and the "sire" (30). Suddenly, the walls begin to fall and "hundreds are buried 'neath the ruins" (31). Rescuers work valiantly, saving many people, whose families welcome them back. Suddenly "the shout of 'fire'!" is heard (32). Human efforts are weak "against that raging element." Thousands of people feel a "depth of agony" (32). The speaker implores God to look down in mercy and pity on the sufferers, who have nowhere else to turn. In the last line, the speaker beseeches God: "On bleeding hearts pour out the balm of love!" (32).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, Minuteman Library Network (Massachusetts), Duke University Library, and Brown University Library. Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

318. "The House That Bigelow Built." *Vanity Fair* 1.5 (28 January 1860): 68.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: Modeled after the nursery rhyme, "The House That Jack Built," this illustrated poem is a bitter commentary on the Pemberton Mill's collapse and burning in Lawrence, Massachusetts, on January 10, 1860. The poem's speaker holds the architect, Bigelow, principally responsible for the disaster, although later investigations exonerated him. The final stanza includes all of the lines that preceded it:

> This is the hearse o'er which thousands mourn,
> That was filled by the Architect, covered with scorn,
> Who heard the bell on that awful morn,
> Toll death to the widow with babe just born,
> Who wept for the husband mangled and torn,
> Who died by the work-girl all forlorn,
> Who was crushed by the beam all crumbled and worn,
>
> That was split by the hand,
> That filled the fount,
> Whence flowed the spring,
> That sapped the stone,
> That lay in the sand,
>
> On which was raised the House that Bigelow built. (78-90)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

319. Irenaeus. "A Daughter's Love. From the New York Observer." *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 2 (1842): 287-88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: The narrator recounts her visits to a dying woman "[i]n an upper room of an humble dwelling, in the city of New York." The afflicted woman was an Irish immigrant, eighteen years old, who had left her native land "in early life." She "had sought America, trusting to the labor of her hands for her daily bread" and found work in the mills (287). Now, alone and penniless, she is dying of consumption. The narrator visits her several times, offering spiritual counsel and urging her to "trust in Jesus." When the dying woman expresses a wish to see her mother, the narrator interprets this as "a tribute of filial love" (288). The narrator explains that we might learn about "the mother's power" from this incident. Mothers should use their ties with their children to bind them "fast to the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ" (288). Women who are now dishonored and hopeless outcasts might have been saved if their mothers had impressed on their youthful minds "the truths of God's word." By teaching her to place her trust in Jesus, the Irish woman's mother had kept her daughter "from the paths of vice." She dies three days later. At the end, the narrator blesses her: "Blessed girl! if now with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom" (288).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

320. Jones, I. Edgar. "The Working Girl's Sleep." *The Journal of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor* 8.8 (27 August 1887).

SYNOPSIS: The poem elegizes a deceased working girl. In thirty-three mostly iambic pentameter lines, the poem's speaker assures readers that the working girl, now free from the pains and toil of life, "nestle[s] safely in the shepherd's arms" (8). Though born

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"lowly," she had a "pure and noble heart" (30, 24). Uncomplainingly, she toiled through "weary days" (15). No more will she be oppressed by dependence and weariness. Her friends need not mourn for her, because now she has entered a "glad sphere," where "There are no tears" (32-33).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

321. Lewis, Phendeus H. "To the Parents and Friends, of John Killgore, of Fryburg, Me." First line: "John Killgore *of Fryburg*, a promising son." N.p., [185-?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside includes two consolatory ballads written about the death of John Killgore, a young man who left his parents' Maine farm to work in Lowell, Massachusetts. The first ballad, in nine four-line stanzas, tells how John worked first on a ship and then in the mills. In the factory, he worked his way up to a responsible watchman's position. Soon he fell ill and died. His grieving friends now "long for a home, where sorrow will cease" (36). The second ballad, in twenty-four lines, urges John's friends to maintain their religious faith and "[p]ress on . . . and bear the cross" (13). One day, they, too, may join John in the "heavenly choir," to sing "God's praises" (23-24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum.

322. Mann, Ebenezer. "The Lawrence Tragedy! or Fallen Mill." Tune: "The Lexington Miller." First line: "Come gentlemen and ladies all." Lawrence, MA: n.p., 1860.

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad is composed in twenty-three four-line stanzas. Mann

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

carefully paints the scene in the Pemberton Mill preceding the disaster. Lawrence, Massachusetts, is the city where "the Factory Girl" works (8). Nine hundred workers are busy there producing cotton cloth:

> The busy wheel, the noisy loom,
>
> The shaft's majestic power,
>
> Still followed in their regular course,
>
> Until the fatal hour.
>
> Nine hundred souls were there employed,
>
> 'Midst noise and bustling din,
>
> To weave the web, to run the loom,
>
> That drew the cotton in. (25-32)

The speaker describes the horror of the collapsing building and the ensuing fire. He laments the terrible suffering caused by the rending of human ties:

> The well known ring, the comb, the key,
>
> A patch of cloth, a token rare--
>
> 'Twas all that's left of friends to see,
>
> Who stood in anguish and despair. (81-84)

In the final stanza, the speaker maintains that the "tender ties" now broken and the "melancholy" site of the disaster will never be forgotten (90-92).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University Library.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

323. Monitur. "The Dying Factory Girl" (from the Lowell Mercury). *The Working Man's Advocate* 6.35 (11 April 1835).

SYNOPSIS: The twenty-eight-line ballad's speaker is the dying factory girl, Mary. She tells a "stranger" that she is dying (1). Soon she will no longer feel "the fearful jarring / Of the ponderous [mill] wheel" in her "poor wasted bosom" (9-11). And neither will she hear "the dismal clangor / Of the morning bell" (13-14). As she dies, she sees the sun setting, thinks of her "native mountains" (21), and blesses the stranger.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

324. "No One to Blame." *Vanity Fair* 1.6 (4 February 1860): 85.

SYNOPSIS: In a parody of a popular song, this poem, published within one month of the Pemberton Mill Disaster, exposes rich people's responsibility for various terrible industrial accidents. In six ten-line stanzas, the poem's speaker satirizes the subsequent investigations that often render the verdict, "No One to Blame." Several stanzas concern the Pemberton Mill:

> Now the best fun of all. Here's a trap that's worth while!
> This rotten old Factory, founded on sand,
> See the seams in the walls! no wonder you smile,
> But you'll fairly guffaw at the hecatomb grand
> It will soon be. Ha! Ha?
> And the funeral car
> Will jog briskly on; 'tis to us all the same.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

We've nothing to fear--

At least while we're here--

For the verdict, we know it, is "No one to blame." (31-40)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

324a. Norton, Hal. "Jane Hayes." *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) 3.130 (28 March 1886).

SYNOPSIS: The narrator opens the story contending that his tale is very different from the popular fiction of "romance and love." Jane Hayes, the heroine, is "a factory girl." After her father's death in an occupational accident, young Jane must leave school to work in a woolen mill. Her mother works at sewing, until her health fails. Jane proudly supports herself and her mother, despite "the curses which the gruff foreman heaped upon the girls." After a time, her mother becomes gravely ill. In order to nurse her, Jane stays away from her job several days. Consequently, her pay is docked, and she is discharged from the mills. Soon her mother dies. Grieving over her mother's death and unable to find work, Jane soon dies herself and is buried beside her mother in the Potter's Field. Like stories of "romance and love," this story, the narrator explains, this story "comes 'all right in the end.'"

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

325. "Nursery Rhymes for Factory Stockholders." *Vanity Fair* 1.4 (21 January 1860): 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: These verses were published within two weeks of the Pemberton Mill's collapse and burning in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Each of the four four-line stanzas parodies a well-known nursery rhyme. The poems satirically express the horror of the human suffering and destruction, implicating the stockholders and the architect:

> Spin away cotton! on Factory's top,
>
> When the bricks part the walls they shall drop,
>
> When the beams snap the building shall fall,
>
> Down! come the op'ratives, crush'd one and all.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Cotton Spinner on the high wall,
>
> If Cotton Spinner chance to fall,
>
> All the stockholders and stockholders men
>
> Can't put Cotton Spinner up again.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

326. Orianna [Hannah Johnson (m. Noyes)]. "The Dying Sister's Gift." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 220-23.

AUTHOR: Johnson was a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker.

SYNOPSIS: In this short story, unhealthy working conditions contribute to a factory girl's death. The heroine, Oraville West, enjoys a close relationship with her twin brother, Orlando. Orphaned from early childhood, the brother and sister both desire further education. At sixteen, Oraville travels to work in the Lowell factories. Orlando

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

works as a clerk in another town. After one year, the twins board together and attend the "G. Seminary" for several months. Needing more money to continue her schooling, Oraville prepares to return to Lowell. When they say goodbye, Orlando gives his sister a gold coin on a blue ribbon as a remembrance of him. When Oraville arrives in Lowell, she learns that wages have been reduced ten percent while she was away. Since many factory girls have left town "to breathe the pure summer air of their mountain homes, and thus recover from the lassitude which a confined atmosphere had infused into their system," Oraville "runs double work" (meaning that she doubles her workload, thereby increasing her pay since workers were paid by the piece). Determined that "no obstacle should deter her from the pursuit of knowledge," she takes on extra work to make enough money both to support herself and to save for her education. She enjoys studying in her spare time, but her demanding schedule leaves only six hours per night for sleep. During the ensuing severe winter, she must give up her daily airing. Continuing "to run double work" and frequent exposure "soon destroyed her health, and a burning fever prostrated all her energies." On her deathbed, Oraville gives Orlando some of her belongings, including the gold coin, asking him never to part with it (221). Years pass, and Orlando becomes a prosperous merchant. Nonetheless, he begins "to form habits of dissipation" and is soon reduced to a drunkard and "a ragged beggar" (221-22). One day, he is contemplating pawning the gold coin for bread, when he is taken in and helped by the kind Wellington family. By wearing the gold coin and reminding Orlando of his dead sister, Nancy Wellington helps Orlando remain sober. Eventually he is able to work as a clerk for Mr. Wellington. Thinking of his "sainted sister," he again wears the gold coin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

327. "Pemberton Mills." *Vanity Fair* 1.4 (21 January 1860): 52.

SYNOPSIS: The subject of this ballad is the collapse and burning of the Pemberton Mill, Lawrence, Massachusetts, on January 10, 1860. In seven eight-line stanzas, the speaker paints the terrible scene. Prior to the collapse, both the machinery and human minds and hearts beat vibrantly in the poorly constructed building:

> Through the Factory's storied rooms,
> Busily hum a thousand looms;
> Warp and treddle, shuttle and woof,
> Thrilling and throbbing through floor and roof;
> And the whirr of wheels, and the endless pant
> Of engines naked, and grim, and gaunt,
> Thrill with their motion the icy air,
> And shake with tremors the crazy stair. (1-8)

The poem's speaker holds the millionaire mill owners responsible for the death and destruction: "A curse on ye, ye Millionaires / Who sit at home in your easy chairs, / And crack your nuts and sip your wine" (49-51).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

328. Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. "The Tenth of January." 1868. *The Silent Partner, A Novel, and The Tenth of January, A Short Story.* Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist P,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1983. 305-51.

AUTHOR: Phelps (1844-1911; b. Andover, Massachusetts; m. Ward) was a prolific writer of fiction for children and adults. Her work reflects strong concerns with the oppression of women and workers.

SYNOPSIS: This short story was first published in 1868 in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Phelps based the plot on actual events surrounding the Pemberton Mill Disaster, which she witnessed from her home in nearby Andover and researched for this story (Phelps, *Chapters* 88-93). On January 10, 1860, the Pemberton Mill, a cotton factory in Lawrence, Massachusetts, collapsed and burned, killing some eighty-six workers and injuring many more. Among the dead was one "Asenath S. (or P.) Martin," from which Phelps must have derived the name of her heroine, Asenath Martyn (*Authentic History* 54; *Report of the Treasurer* 45). Phelps's narrator explains that she is not a novelist, but rather "the biographer of this simple factory girl" (329). The story opens with a portrait of the bustling industrial city of Lawrence and its ten thousand factory workers, two-thirds of them women. The most striking characteristic of the workers' faces is their "appearance of restlessness" (306). Asenath ("Sene") Martyn, a young woman disfigured by her drunken mother's beatings, works in the Pemberton Mill and shares a cottage with her widowed father, a shoemaker. Sene is in love with a young worker, Richard Cross, who for two years has boarded with the Martyns. Sene stands by helplessly and sadly when Dick falls in love with her pretty, shallow friend, Del Ivory. Mill work's hardships, as Sene experiences them, are described. On January tenth, Sene and Del are among the many working people in the Pemberton Mill when the building collapses. Seriously

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

injured, Sene is buried in the rubble near Del, who has received only a scratch on her face. When fire breaks out, the rescue workers can save only one more of the workers trapped in the ruins. After selflessly sending Del off to be with Dick, Sene dies in the flames. The example of Sene's selflessness seems to have been drawn from reports published after the Disaster. The *Report of the Treasurer* includes an account of a young woman's sacrifice of her own life for that of another: "'Save Nash first,' was the cry of Lizzie Flint, a bright young girl of sixteen. . . . Poor Nash, who lay severely injured near her . . . was indeed saved. The poor girl did not survive" (11-12).

329. Pheney [of] Hookset [sic], [NH]. "The Early Called." *Voice of Industry* 2.43 (7 May 1847).

SYNOPSIS: This narrative ballad in twenty-one four-line stanzas tells of the death of "a fair young girl," a gentle and cheerful mill weaver (7). Feeling ill with a "throbbing brow" in "the clashing noise and din," she knows that she will soon die (7, 5). One day, she can no longer rise from her bed. She lies at night admiring the stars, thinking:

> For long long years I have loved to look
> At the pearly stars above,
> And gather from their calm, holy light
> Pure lessons of trust and love. (49-52)

As the stars' light grows fainter to her vision, she passes "Away from this sin o'er-shadowed earth / To a home of truth and light" (79-80).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

330. Pike, George. "The Factory Girl. An Owre True Tale." *Religious and Literary Gem* 1 (September 1842): 92-94.

SYNOPSIS: This brief tale, reprinted from the *Ladies' Wreath*, represents poor factory workers' sufferings, which are, the narrator contends, "of too common occurrence." The narrator visits "one of the largest and most flourishing manufacturing towns of New England," where she or he becomes acquainted with a poor widow and her four children. The eldest, a daughter aged sixteen, is very ill with consumption. Her mother vents anger at the "hard hearted masters and overseers, from whom we receive the small pittance that helps to supply us with food and clothing" (92). On the previous day, the young woman's mill overseer "had struck her to the floor because the poor girl had answered not to his harsh rebuke for tardiness." Two of her younger brothers, not more than twelve years old, also work in the mills, where they hasten in the morning with "fear of punishment and dread of hard words." Already languishing from factory conditions, the daughter has become ill:

> The long hours of labor, the close and heated atmosphere of a cotton-mill, had the effect to impair her health, and weaken the frame which was never hardy. Possessed of lively sensibilities, with a fondness for reading, a strong thirst for knowledge, and a heart that delighted in the beautiful and good in nature, she could ill bear the confinement through the long and dreary hours required by her occupation. The fatigues of the body had, day by day, preyed upon the mind, and produced such an inaction of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> intellect through very weariness, that she forgot all her natural vivacity . . . (93)

After three months, the young woman dies, and soon her grief-stricken mother also dies. The narrator accuses the overseer of being a "Murderer" (94). A clergyman adopts the orphaned boys and removes them from the factory.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society and Library of Congress.

331. Porter, J., Rev. "The Stranger's Grave." *The Ladies' Repository* (Cincinnati, OH) 9.5 (1849): 141.

SYNOPSIS: At this short story's opening, the narrator recounts how agents travel sometimes hundreds of miles seeking operatives for factories in the East. In St. Lawrence County, New York, a gentleman travels recruiting workers for a factory in the Connecticut River Valley. Some agents exaggerate mill work's advantages. A young woman, Isadore S., departs for the factory with about thirty others from her native county. The women work and live together "in the bonds of sisterly affection." After one year, Isadore falls ill of an epidemic from which many around her are dying. Unfortunately, she has neglected religion. Racked with guilt and suspense, on her deathbed she turns to God. Before dying, she exhorts her companions not to neglect religion and to avoid dancing. The following Sunday, Isadore is buried, attended by many of her factory friends.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

332. Ricketson, Daniel. "Mill Notes.--Mother and Daughter." *The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems*. New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1873. 23-25.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and historian.

SYNOPSIS: A ballad in forty-eight lines, the poem opens with a dialogue between a mother and daughter, factory workers resting at home on a Saturday night. No longer a child, the grown daughter is so exhausted from the week's work that she lies in her mother's arms. She looks as pale and ill, the mother observes, as if she "were dead" (8). In her mother's arms, the daughter says she feels safe from the factory bell (16). Lying together in their small room, the two women die that night. The ballad's speaker castigates the "rich men" responsible for such suffering and loss: "O rich men, can you still enjoy / Wealth purchased at such cost" (29-30).

He faults the clergy, as well, for letting such sins go "unrebuked" (47).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Rutgers University, Yale University, Boston Public Library, and Harvard University.

333. Ricketson, Daniel. "Working at the Mill." 1857. *The Autumn Sheaf*. New Bedford: Published by the Author, 1869. 181-82.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and historian.

SYNOPSIS: This thirty-six-line ballad depicts the plight of Bessy, an Irish immigrant working as a mill weaver to support her young sisters. Back in "old Erin" (23) with her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

parents and friends, Bessy had no cares. Though she has long been growing weak and ill, Bessy strives to continue working. Soon she will be with God in heaven where her "tattered garments" will be replaced with "shining robes" (35-36).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

334. Thompson, T. Phillips. "Thirty Cents a Day." Air: "The Faded Coat of Blue." *The Labor Reform Songster.* Philadelphia, PA: Journal of the Knights of Labor Print., 1892. 15-16.

AUTHOR: Thomas Phillips Thompson (1843-1933; b. Newcastle-on-Tyne, England) lived most of his adult life in Canada but spent several years working in the United States. A socialist and journalist, Thompson joined and wrote for the Knights of Labor, an important North American labor organization.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad is composed in five four-line stanzas, each followed by a four-line refrain. The poem's speaker recounts the death of a young working woman, "worn with toil and care" (3). Laboring from early childhood, the woman has known only "hunger and rags" (6). Although the rich have "tempted" her "to eat the bread of shame," her mother has taught her to value her reputation (9-10). Refusing to sell her body and earning only thirty cents a day, she is condemned to die of hunger and poverty. In the final stanza, the speaker rebukes "Christian ladies" for not saving the working woman and for "smil[ing] upon" her oppressors, "those who killed her with their thirty cents a day" (17, 20). In the chorus, the speaker bids the deceased woman to rest:

> No more the work-bell calls the weary one.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rest, tired wage-slave, in your grave unknown;

Your feet will no more tread life's thorny, rugged way,

They have murdered you by inches upon thirty cents a day!

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 162, and in T. Phillips Thompson's *The Politics of Labor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

335. "The Toilers." *Voice of Industry* 1.2 (5 June 1845).

SYNOPSIS: In the voice of a young widow, this ballad in nine eight-line stanzas describes the plight of a poor mill family. Seriously ill with a cough and pain, the widow herself is no longer able to work in the factories. Sorrowfully, she sends her three young sons into the tomblike mills to work as spinners:

Away, away they speed

To watch with faultless eye

Each spindle with its circling thread,

And every break supply--

To watch within yon upper grave

From dawn till welcome night,--

Grave for the bud and bloom of youth,

For all that makes life bright. (25-32)

Reluctant to tell her sons that she is dying, the widow turns to God, expressing her sadness about her sons' hard life of toil and poverty in prayer. She expresses assurance that they will one day be with God in heaven.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

336. W., J. S. [Jane S. Welch]. "The Mother and Daughter." *Lowell Offering* 4 (1844): 126-28.

AUTHOR: Welch was a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker.

SYNOPSIS: This short story includes a rare fictional representation of a factory fire, in which the heroine dies. Compounding the tragedy is the narrator's suggestion that Anna and her co-workers might have survived if not for their overseers' poor judgment and/or indifference. The narrative opens with a mother asking her daughter, "My dear child, how can I part with you?" Her only daughter, Anna, is traveling fifty miles away "in quest of employment in a factory." Until now, Anna and her widowed mother have supported the family by their needles. Anna wishes to work in a factory to support herself and earn money for her brother Henry's education. Her mother is troubled by a dream she had the previous night, in which she saw flames in the sky and a small, light cloud resembling Anna that "disappeared in the flaming sky" (126). Despite her mother's fears, Anna enters the factory and works "industriously and cheerfully." Some months pass, and in autumn Anna is working her last day before returning home to her mother. Employed in an "upper room," Anna suddenly hears that a fire has broken out in the lower part of the mill (127). The overseers quiet the women workers, assuming mistakenly that the fire will be easily extinguished:

> Anna was suddenly interrupted in her employment by the information, from one of her room-mates, that the lower part of the mill was on fire,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> and one flight of stairs was already nearly consumed! She then observed, for the first time, that considerable confusion prevailed in the room; many of the frames were stopped, and the girls were walking to and fro, looking anxious and fearful. Their fears had been quieted once and again by the overseers, who thought the fire would be easily extinguished. They soon perceived their fatal mistake. The flames rapidly increased, and were soon entirely beyond control. . . . [T]he smoke and flames, bursting out with accelerated fury, completely barred the passage, and forced the few remaining behind back to the room to prevent suffocation. . . . The wood work and material manufactured soon caught the "fierce element," and caused it to spread almost with the rapidity of lightning. The half-frantic few left behind, comprehending their peril, rushed to an open window, and shrieked wildly for help. . . . No means were at hand--none were devised, by which they could be rescued, and they were left to their inevitable doom. . . . [S]ome, who feared naught so much as the fiery death to which they were exposed, precipitated themselves from the window. Anna still remained at the window, and, in the agonizing tones of despair, implored assistance. She saw the gathering flames approaching nearer and nearer; again she turned to the window, and again that piercing cry was heard above the hoarse voices below. She could endure no more; . . . and she sunk, exhausted, upon the floor. (127-28)

As Anna dies in the fire, she envisions her mother: "[I]n her dreamy vision she again met

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her mother, and her spirit passed from earth" (128). Upon hearing the news of her daughter's death, the widow meekly bows to the will of God. The story ends with nine lines of poetry about the importance of a mother's reliance on God.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

337. Wait, Peter. *A Descriptive Poem of the Sad Calamity at Lawrence, Mass.* By an Eye Witness. Boston: Charles C. P. Moody, 1860. 20 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This pamphlet consists of two poems: "Descriptive Poem" ([3]-19) and "Appeal" (19-20). "Descriptive Poem" is a ballad recounting the events of January 10, 1860, in Lawrence. Late in the day, the happy and gay workers toil in the busy cotton factory. Suddenly, as the mill building collapses, a strangely terrible noise is heard:

> No 'tis not like the windy gale;
>
> Nor like the ocean's roar,
>
> It sounds like what I never heard,
>
> No; never heard before.
>
> There's something in it terrible,
>
> Foreboding--startling, wild!
>
> To cause the stoutest hearts to quake,
>
> As doth a frightened child. (5)

Many workers lie dead or injured among the ruins. As rescue workers lower a lantern down into the ruins, the cotton catches fire and soon the flames are spreading rapidly,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dooming many of those trapped. The poem's speaker relates some tragic deaths, as well as miraculous escapes. A group of girls dies in the flames singing the words of a hymn that they "Were going home to glory" (9). A little boy hiding in a box is among the fortunate survivors. The speaker describes the aftermath in Lawrence, as human remains are removed and identified and the injured are nursed. The terrible suffering of the victims' families is described. Finally, a "gentle snow" like a "funeral pall" falls and covers the "melancholy site" (19). In the brief second part, "Appeal," Wait tells how he visited Lawrence, "a stranger," to view the devastation (19). In a ballad meter, the speaker describes the people's terrible injuries and sadness. He urges readers to "giveth up alms in pieces of gold" to help the Lawrence people. Moreover, he will donate the profits of his poem "To aid the poor people--the victims of woe" (20).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Buffalo and Erie County Library (New York), and Harvard University.

338. "When Pemberton Fell." Tewksbury, Robert H. *Historical Sketch: The Fall of Pemberton Mill on the Tenth of January, 1860, at Lawrence, Mass.* N.p., 1900. 12.

AUTHOR: While Tewksbury does not identify the poem's author, he inserts a note explaining that the poem was "written long ago, and never published."

SYNOPSIS: This poem is composed in thirty-two tetrameter lines. The poem's speaker describes the terrible grief and shock felt by many on January 10, 1860, when the Pemberton Mill collapsed and burned, killing eighty-six workers and injuring many more. Though time has passed since then, the old people still remember vividly: "But the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

old-folks see in their waking dreams, / How Pemberton fell!" (23-24). The only bright aspect of the "sad, sad story" (25) is people's generosity and charity in helping the disaster victims. Though some of the Pemberton mill workers died without ever being identified, "God knows each one who died that day" (31).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Immigrant City Archives and Merrimack Valley Library Consortium.

339. Withington, William. "The Lawrence Calamity. Awful Destruction of Human Life at the Pemberton Mill in Lawrence, Mass., January 10, 1860." First line: "Come friends attend while we relate." 2nd ed. Portland, [ME]: Berry, Printer, [1860?].

AUTHOR: In the text, the author writes that he lives in Portland, Maine (159).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this broadside ballad describes the "awful tragedy" (2) of the fall and burning of the Pemberton Mill, while hundreds of people were working. In one hundred sixty lines, the speaker reminds readers not to meet death unprepared, as did so many Lawrence mill workers. Among those buried in the ruins were "Women and men, and boys and girls" (29). The dead and wounded were brought to Lawrence City Hall, where their anguished relatives gathered. Although other fatal accidents occur in the United States, the "Lawrence Tragedy" is "awful in extreme" (101, 105). It is hard to understand God's will in such a situation. Let us hope never to see such a calamity again. Although several Lowell mills have burned, the loss of life at Lawrence is greater. The speaker urges "all Contractors . . . to build a solid wall" (150-151). Finally, he thanks his friends for their "kind favors" (160).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Textile History Museum.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

LABORERS' REMONSTRANCES: SPEAKING OUT AGAINST OPPRESSION

340. "[Ah, leave my harp and me alone]." *Voice of Industry* 1.36 (20 February 1846).

AUTHOR: According to the anonymous writer of "The 'Social Gathering,'" an article introducing this poem, the poem was mailed to the *Voice of Industry* by "some unknown factory girl."

SYNOPSIS: In the first stanza of this untitled, twelve-line ballad, the speaker expresses "grief" (2). If she cannot be freed from the factory's stress and noise, she entreats God to grant a ten-hour workday:

> Far from the factory's deaf'ning sound,
> From all its noise and strife,
> Would that my years might run their rounds
> In sweet retired life.
>
> But, if I still must wend my way,
> Uncheered by hope's sweet song,
> God grant, that, in the mills, a day
> May be but *"Ten hours'" long.* (5-12)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry. The poem was reprinted in *Young America* (28 February 1846), available in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

341. Blank. "'Get Up Early.' A Parody." By Blank. *Voice of Industry* 3.9 (10 September 1847).

SYNOPSIS: This poem's speaker parodies the urgency for mill workers' early rising imposed by bosses and clanging bells. In three eight-line stanzas, this ballad satirizes the hardships and late fines inflicted on workers:

> Get up early! Well nigh dead one,
> Ope your heavy eyes.
>
> Get up early! Or a "quarter"
> *Minus*, counts your time,
> Get up early! Each pale daughter,
> Hark! the "last bell's" chime. (7-12)

Unfortunately, the reason workers must rise early is to "Win [their] master's God," money (16). They must work hard, even though the fruits of their labor are gleaned by "Agents" (20). Finally, the speaker urges readers to compose poems defending their "Right" (24).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

342. C. [Harriot F. Curtis]. "The Laborer's Remonstrance." *Lowell Offering* 3 [1843]: 20.

AUTHOR: Harriot F. Curtis (1813-89; b. Kellyvale [now Lowell], Vermont; originally "Harriet") worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. A founding member of the first

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

factory women's Improvement Circle in Lowell, Curtis became a principal writer, editor, and business manager for the *Lowell Offering*.

SYNOPSIS: Soon after becoming a joint editor of the *Lowell Offering*, Curtis contributed this fictional dialogue between a laborer, Jonathan, and a rich man. The wealthy man is angrily characterized as "one of the non-producers, who spend the night in devising means to grow rich upon the earnings of those who toil early and late." Jonathan tells the rich man, "Give me justice, and keep your charity at home. . . . *[C]ompensate* me, adequately to my toil. . . ." Refusing to accept the rich man's religious rationalizations for his afflictions and oppression, Jonathan continues to demand his rights.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

343. Campbell. "Manufactures vs. Agriculture." *Young America* (New York, NY) 21 June 1845.

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of Campbell's poem argues for the superiority of rural, agricultural life to manufactures. In eighteen lines of iambic pentameters, the speaker indicts industrial workers' enslavement, exploitation, and deprivation of the healthy influences of nature: "One heart free tasting nature's health and bloom / Is worth a thousand slaves to Mammon's gains, / But whither goes that wealth and gladdening whom?" (2-4). These workers include children, "childhood's self as at Ixion's wheel, / From morn to midnight tasked to earn its little meal" (8-9). The speaker questions whether this degeneration of human beings constitutes "improvement" (10), answering that it does not:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Improvement! smiles it in the poor man's eyes
Or blooms it on the cheek of labor?--No
To gorge a few with Trade's precarious prize
We banish rural life and breathe unwholesome skies. (15-18)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

344. Colesworthy. "Female Labor." *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.12 (13 July 1844).

SYNOPSIS: This thirty-two-line ballad and a note are reprinted from the *Olive Branch.* The note expresses concern for the suffering of seamstresses and women factory workers: "No class of our fellow citizens suffer greater oppression than females, whether seamstresses or operatives in our factories. The following, by Colesworthy, of the Portland Tribune, we cheerfully publish by the request of a charitable lady of this city." The ballad's speaker deplores the poverty and fatigue of working women oppressed by "earth's pampered lords" (18). The speaker regrets that women work so hard for so little:

From morning's dawn till evening's close,
With weary heart and aching head,
O God! how hard poor females work
To gain their scanty daily bread.
In rain or sunshine--heat or cold,
They still are lingering at their task,
While lordly men who count their gold,
In pride and gay luxuriance bask. (1-8)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The speaker implores God to soften the hearts of the wealthy toward the "uncomplaining" women workers (21). She or he expresses hope that the rich will be moved to pity and assist the poor, thereby gaining for themselves divine blessings that money cannot buy.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Microfilm available from Center for Research Libraries.

345. Cross, W. "Oppression." *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.5 (25 May 1844).

SYNOPSIS: Cross's speaker, in this twenty-six-line ballad, deplores the hard life of the "poor son of toil" (1), who works the land for a "tyrant wretch" (8). If he dares complain, the tyrant punishes him severely. As hard as the farm laborer's situation is, the life of factory workers is even worse. In the mills, overheated, foul air debilitates workers:

> But there are some whose lot is harder still--
> Those doom'd to toil in some unwholesome mill,
> Where noxious vapours, breath'd the live-long day,
> Producing death and premature decay,
> Coop'd in a room where tropic heats prevail
> Say, is it strange that youth and strength should fail? (13-18)

The ballad's speaker denounces this kind of slavery and ends the poem by revealing a "truth": "*He who allows oppression shares the crime*" (25-26).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Microfilm available from Center for Research Libraries.

346. Davis, Rebecca Harding. "Life in the Iron Mills." 1861. *Life in the Iron Mills and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other Stories. Ed. Tillie Olsen. New York: The Feminist Press, 1985. 11-66.

AUTHOR: Davis (1831-1910; b. Washington, Pennsylvania) wrote fiction examining social problems. She also contributed stories to periodicals and worked as an editor.

SYNOPSIS: This novella was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* 7 (April 1861): 430-51. The story's setting is probably drawn from Davis's long residence in Wheeling, West Virginia. One of the main characters is Deb, a young, "deformed" (17) cotton mill worker, toiling twelve hours a day as a picker. Her co-workers include exhausted immigrant and mulatto women, who find release from their cares in evenings of drinking and dancing. Deb shares a shabby home with her beloved young cousin, Hugh Wolfe, a furnace stoker in a mill making railroad iron. Deb cares for Hugh like a mother, admiring his artistic talent. Hugh makes sculptures from korl, an iron mills' waste product. Wanting to help him become an artist, Deb steals some money and gives it to him. Hugh decides to turn the money over to the police but is arrested and sentenced to nineteen years of hard labor. Charged with being an accomplice, Deb receives a three-year prison sentence. Hugh soon dies in jail. A kindly Quaker befriends Deb and after her release takes her to live among the Quakers in the country.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted by The Feminist Press in 1972 and 1985.

346a. "Defiance to Oppression." *Thursday Sketcher* (Somersworth, NH) 2.9 (28 December 1848).

SYNOPSIS: After publishing several articles highly critical of proposed wage reductions for factory women employed in a local textile mill, the Great Falls (New Hampshire)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Manufacturing Co., the *Thursday Sketcher's* editor, John B. Wood, Jr., apparently was pressured by the Company to silence his criticism. This poem, "Defiance to Oppression," is an angry response. In fifty-four lines of iambic hexameter, the speaker expresses scorn for wealthy tyrants who would violate hard-won American freedoms. He denounces those who would "gag the press and banish thought and speech." He rages at those who oppress the poor and "hurl the laborer underneath [their] trampling tread."
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New Hampshire Historical Society and New-York Historical Society.

347. "The Discharged Workman." *The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner* (Lowell, MA) 1 (1841): 180-81.
SYNOPSIS: James, this short story's hero, is recognized by his employer as "an excellent workman" who has performed well in the factory for ten years. Nevertheless, his employer discharges him, explaining, "We have nothing more to do; business is at an end." James is a husband and the father of three small children. His search for other work is unsuccessful, because "most of the factories were idle." It is winter and his children are suffering from hunger and cold. On hearing them cry for bread, James exclaims, "There is wealth enough around us--superfluous wealth; the unfeeling rich revel in abundance, and prodigally waste more than would suffice to keep these poor babes from starving.--Why do they not search out the dwellings of the needy, and prevent crime, by relieving those small, but emergent wants, which too often prompts its perpetration?" Distressed by the children's suffering, James tells his wife, "Wife--they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

weep, they are famished--they shall have bread" (180). Running out into the street, he sees a well-dressed young man and rushes upon him, taking ten francs from his purse. When the young man follows James and learns his history from the baker, he gives the baker money to supply the family with bread. James is troubled with guilt over having committed a robbery. He sees two men approaching the house, one of whom is the well-dressed man. They are coming to help him, but unaware of this, James throws himself from the fifth-story window. Meanwhile, his wife welcomes the men, exclaiming, "Heaven has sent you!," but it is too late. They soon discover the "mangled and lifeless body of James" (181).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry. The story was reprinted in the *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany, NY) 1.43 (9 October 1847): 337-38, available in *American Periodicals*.

348. Doubleday, E. Stillman. *Just Plain Folks: A Story of "Lost Opportunities."* Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894. 316 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Doubleday's narrator explains that this novel of "plain people" has been written, so that readers will come to understand "the *cause* of their impoverishment of body and soul" and remedy the problem (314). He expresses hope that readers will insist on justice for all people and strive to end economic oppression: "You will not silently permit the robbery of many for the enrichment of few, nor tolerate the pretense of atonement for such a crime, by gifts given in '*charity*' (?) to the robbed, from the very plundered treasure of which they have been despoiled" (315). The novel's hero is a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young working-class man, John Hardhand, living in the fictitious New England village of Scarborough. In this town, there is a vast chasm between rich and poor. John, twenty-nine years old, wishes to marry Thetty Vick, aged twenty-six, but cannot because he has to work to help his father pay off a mortgage on their farm. The mortgage is held by the wealthy local mill owner, Mr. Opolee. Seeking work, John travels to New York City, where he stays for two years working for a packing and shipping concern. Falsely accused of theft, John is arrested and jailed. Eventually, he returns to Scarborough and works for a while in the Opolee Mills running a bobbin-winding machine. Soon John finds the work so monotonous and stultifying that he fears for his sanity. Seeking some mental stimulation but knowing that newspapers are forbidden in the weaving and spinning rooms, John observes that other workers sometimes read books. When he asks his foreman if he might read in idle moments at his machine, the foreman warns him of its dangers: "[T]hose hands that are forever reading and *thinking* are also forever kicking up a mess and breeding discontent with the relation of the *hands* to the *heads* of business" (237). The foreman recommends that he ask the mill owner. Mr. Opolee tells him that he might bring books into the mill but that he should avoid "those loose socialistic absurdities . . . which have created so much discontent and unhappiness among workingmen," making them "most outrageously ungrateful toward those . . . upon whom they must depend for a living" (239). Nonetheless, Mr. Opolee grants John permission to borrow books from his home library. When his father dies, responsibility for the support of his mother falls heavily upon John, further postponing his marriage. The novel includes a subplot of Thetty's sister Mary's seduction by Mr. Opolee's son and his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

desertion of the pregnant Mary.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

349. "The Employer in the Sanctuary." *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.10 (29 June 1844).

SYNOPSIS: This brief tale unmasks the hypocrisy of oppressive, "Christian" mill owners. The narrator first remarks on how greatly operatives appreciate being freed early from their toil on Saturday and having the Sabbath to themselves. The Sabbath is especially valued by "the worn-out laborer, or the Factory slave," looking forward to some recreation or religious observance: "A few moments to read, a few minutes to spend with friends and a little extra comfort, are animating to the crushed ones [sic] soul. The christian laborer, too, rejoices that a day is coming, that he can read his bible, pray with his family, and go to the house of prayer." The narrator describes a procession of townspeople going to Sunday meeting. The crowd includes a laborer "deformed and bent," a woman "with consumptive countenance and cough," and boys and girls worn out by "toil and poverty." Deprived of "plenty" and education, the children are sad: "Sadness sits upon their cheek, and sorrow preys upon their spirits. Spring, summer and winter; plenty, happiness and peace; intelligence, science and literature, are nothing to them. They live in a labor dungeon, and die in a cellar, unpitied, and uncared for." All classes of people enter the church, from poor laborers to the wealthy Mr. Employer. Near Employer sit the "well fed and well clothed agents, clerks, and overseers, whose chief business is to find fault when there is none, and to exercise a little 'brief authority.'"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The narrator sits in the gallery with the poor people. The minister reads Ecclesiastes 4.1 and preaches on oppression. Present-day oppression includes factory workers' suffering from poverty and overwork. The preacher denounces the current economic system and the selfishness of the capitalist, who "look[s] out for no bodys [sic] interest but his own." The narrator and his companions find the sermon "evangelical," noting that Mr. Employer is very angry. They overhear him complaining to the deacons. Soon, the minister is removed from the church. In his farewell sermon, the minister defends his preaching of "the truth."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Microfilm available from Center for Research Libraries.

350. F., H. [Harriet Farley]. "Factory Blossoms for Queen Victoria." *Lowell Offering* 3 (October 1842): 1-4.

AUTHOR: Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor.

SYNOPSIS: The ballad's speaker, a Lowell factory woman, offers her verses, "humble flowers," to Queen Victoria. These flowers bloomed not in classical Greece but "amid the granite rocks." They breathe a "simple" fragrance, this *"factory girl's boquet."* She has long regarded Victoria's throne as "a nucleus of light" (1). Despite her admiration, the poem includes some pointed criticism of British imperialism and the plight of poor English laborers, thus demonstrating again that *Lowell Offering* writers did not ignore social problems. The speaker, a "*Lowell factory maid*" (4), urges Queen Victoria to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

bestow a woman and mother's compassion on the colonized and poor among her subjects:

I read of wars, so vast and proud--
  Say, are they always just?
Are those whose necks thy warriors bowed,
  Those who *should* kiss the dust.

I read of those by wrongs oppressed
  Beneath a woman's sway:
Lady, could not thy kind behest
  Change their sad lot? Oh, say!
. . . . . .
Oft think of those, the poor and vile,
  Whom misery leads to crime;
Of those who live for ceaseless toil,
  And spend for thee life's prime;

Of those to whom their tears are drink--
  From misery's cup they're fed;
Mother, look on *thy* babes, and think,
  If *they* should cry for bread. (60-67, 124-31)

While the poem does not directly address United States labor problems, it is hard not to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hear in it criticism of American workers' suffering, especially considering that Harriet Farley has at this point worked four or five years in the mills, spending her own "life's prime" in "ceaseless toil." Her residence in Lowell would have acquainted her with the many Irish immigrants pouring in and their accounts of suffering under British rule. The poem's speaker believes that her humble position in life allows her to express things other people might refrain from saying: "Even thus the factory girl may say / What others leave unsaid" (3).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

351. "The Factory Bell." *The Factory Girl's Garland* 1.11 (25 May 1844).

SYNOPSIS: This anonymous ballad follows the course of one day in a factory woman's life as marked by the tolling factory bells. In eight four-line stanzas, the poem's speaker--a factory girl--recounts the demanding routine of the fourteen-hour day. She regrets that factory women like herself are not free to enjoy the morning's beauty:

> Not for us is morning breaking,
>
> Though we with Aurora rise;
>
> Not for us is Nature waking,
>
> All her smiles through earth and skies. (5-8)

She protests the rushed meals ("Horrors! oh! not half done eating-- / Rattle, rattle goes the bell!" [27-28]) and the fatigue of "us weary sisters" (24). The evening bell ending their toil is a "Joyous bell" (32).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Houghton Library, Harvard University, and reprinted

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 67.

352. "The Factory Girl." First line: "Come all you weary factory girls." [New England?: n.p., c. 1830-1860].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad in fifteen four-line stanzas has a two-line "chorus." In another version of the folk song "The Song of the Factory Girl," the poem's speaker expresses the factory girl's determination to leave the factory with its oppressive routines and lazy, domineering overseers:

> We have got a lazy overseer,
>
> I never saw his match,
>
> He sits upon a bobin [sic] box
>
> And there his spinners watch [sic].
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A factory life is a weary life
>
> And that you all do know[.] (33-36, 53-54)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

353. "The Factory Girl's Come-All-Ye." First line: "Come all ye Lewiston fact'ry girls." From Mrs. Mary E. Hindle, Bangor, Maine. *Bulletin of the Folksong Society of the Northeast* 2 (1931): 12.

SYNOPSIS: Although recorded in 1931, this poem is much older, probably dating back

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the mid-nineteenth century. A ballad in seven stanzas, Hindle's song is another version of the folk song, "The Song of the Factory Girl." Addressed to women factory workers in Lewiston, Maine, the poem's speaker expresses the factory girl's determination to leave the mill with its oppressive routines, domineering overseers, and low pay.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 69.

354. "The Factory Inquisition, or American Bastile [sic]." *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York) 16 November 1844.

SYNOPSIS: This brief anonymous story is reprinted from the *Fall River Mechanic*. To his "fellow mechanics," the narrator relates a dream vision. In his dream, he finds himself in "Mr. Employer's counting room." At dawn, he views the workpeople entering the factory gates. After the gates close, the gatekeeper conducts an "inquisition" of the latecomers. Some boys are scolded for having stopped to play. A woman who was detained caring for her sick mother is berated. The dreamer reflects on the injustice of Mr. E. paying the gatekeeper "to abuse humanity": "Poverty has brought one to labor in the factory, but is an individual to be abused because he is poor?" This treatment serves no positive purpose but only creates enmity between workers and employers. The dreamer hears Mr. E. exulting over his great profits. When a worker, "care-worn and toil-destroyed," enters and asks if his reduced wages might be increased to enable him to support his family, Mr. E. assails him for his greed and discontent and dismisses him from his job. The narrator describes Mr. E. as someone "whose house consists of *human*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

bones, and whose roof is composed of human skulls." In terrible distress, the discharged man walks away, and the dreamer observes behind Mr. E. "a black looking gentleman, of fearful countenance . . . grining [sic] a most unearthly laugh." In terror, the dreamer hides his face from this apparition of the devil.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

355. "Fall River." *The Labor Standard* (Fall River, MA) 7.9 (26 February 1880).

SYNOPSIS: *The Labor Standard* reprinted this poem from the *New York Sun.* In a ballad in three eight-line stanzas, the poem's speaker compares the wickedness of Fall River to the evil of Sodom and Gomorrah. The poem's speaker doubts that even one virtuous man can be found in Fall River. The mill owners are especially corrupt in their oppression of poor workers and immigrants:

> They have stolen the wages of Labor,
>
> They have robbed the scant homes of the poor;
>
> They have ruthlessly plundered their neighbor
>
> And the stranger who came to their door.
>
> Their sins are sufficient to shiver
>
> The mills that our millionaires built;
>
> Let us pray the good Lord that Fall River
>
> Be not held to account for their guilt! (17-24)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

356. Fiducia. "Fancy." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 117-18.

SYNOPSIS: Written by an unknown factory woman, this ballad is composed in seventy-four lines. The speaker, a female mill worker, describes the flight of her imagination ("Fancy") away from the mill, thereby expressing a wish to escape from its oppressive routines:

> O swiftly flies the shuttle now,
>
> Swift as an arrow from the bow;
>
> But swifter than the thread is wrought,
>
> Is soon the flight of busy thought;
>
> For Fancy leaves the mill behind,
>
> And seeks some novel scenes to find.
>
> And now away she quickly hies[.] (1-7)

Fancy's flight to a gay land of music, dance, flowers, castles, and feasting culminates in sadness and disappointment. The poem ends with the speaker beseeching Fancy not to wander anymore and to accept the difficult reality of the factory:

> O Fancy! now remain at home,
>
> And be content no more to roam;
>
> For visions such as thine are vain,
>
> And bring but discontent and pain.
>
> Remember, in thy giddy whirl,
>
> That *I* am but a factory girl;
>
> And be content at home to dwell,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Though governed by a "factory bell." (67-74)

Fiducia represents the painful struggles of a factory woman to accept the confinement and arduous routines of the mill.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

357. Foran, Martin Ambrose. "New Year Bells." *The Socialist* (New York) 1.1 & 4 (15 April and 6 May 1876).

AUTHOR: The child of Irish immigrants, Foran (1844-1921; b. Choconut, Pennsylvania) worked as a cooper, rising to become president of the Coopers' International Union. He also figured prominently in the Industrial Congress (Grimes 5-6). Later, he became a lawyer, a Congressman (1882-89), and a judge (1911-1921).

SYNOPSIS: Robert Layson, the hero of this short story set in 1870, is a textile mill worker in the fictitious central Massachusetts town of Chintsville. The factory village, with its "large brick mills" and small white workers' cottages, is depicted. Robert works for the greedy and heartless Mr. Hurk. The narrator remarks that Hurk might be characterized by the lines: "Through life's dark road his sordid way he wends, / An incarnation of fat dividends." At Hurk's mill, the workers include sickly women and children: "[W]an, bloodless-faced women, chalk-faced children, who bear upon their dried, pinched countenances the indelible 'mark of the Beast'--poverty--and whose young-old look, a 'ghastly caricature of age,' speaks volumes for our transcendant civilization." In contrast, Robert Layson is strong, dignified, and genial. Since he is so popular with his fellow workers, Mr. Hurk, fearing his influence over them, decides to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

discharge him. Hurk fears that Robert will use his influence to harm his business interests. Knowing that this discharge will prevent him from obtaining work in any nearby mills, Robert goes home miserable to his pregnant wife, Nora. Robert and Nora sell their furniture and move to Lakeville, a town one thousand miles away advertising for textile mill hands. In Lakeville, Robert is refused a job. He learns that the advertisement was placed deceptively by the mill owner, hoping to force his workers to accept a twenty-five-percent wage reduction. Robert rejects Nora's Christian rationalizations for their suffering. When their landlady evicts them, Nora and her newborn child die. As the New Year bells ring, Robert rushes out wildly and gets drunk. When he is arrested and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse, he escapes. The next morning, he is found frozen to death in the reopened graves of his wife and child.
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and as "Truth Stranger than Fiction" in Foran, *The Other Side* 302-16 (see entry 433).

358. Gillette, E. H. "The Ninety and Nine." Parodied by E. H. Gillette. *The Paterson Labor Standard* (Paterson, NJ) 12.7 (13 May 1882).
SYNOPSIS: This is one version of a popular protest poem that was often reprinted in labor papers. In eighteen lines, the ballad's speaker contrasts the situation of the great majority of poor laborers ("the ninety and nine") who work to support the few rich in luxury. The fruits of their labor are appropriated by the rich:

> From the sweat of their brows the desert blooms,
> And the forest before them falls;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Their labor has builded humble homes,
  And cities with lofty halls;
And the one owns city, homes and lands,
And the ninety and nine have empty hands. (13-18)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

358a. Heaney, M. C. "The Factory Girl's Wail." *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) 3.124 (21 February 1886).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this thirty-two-line ballad overhears a young factory woman's complaint about the hardships of mill conditions. Her troubles include the "sneers and frowns of an angry boss" and "scanty" wages (7-8). Long hours, poor ventilation, fines, and a sense of enslavement worsen her lot:

Eleven long hours I toil each day,
  Within a noisome room,
Amid the din of clashing wheels,
  The clinking of the loom,
Inhaling foul and nauseous air,
  And fined for faults unknown;
Ah, often times I'm made to feel
  That life is not my own.

What better am I than a slave,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

That's in the market sold,

To swell the tyrant's pilfered wealth,

And whet his greed for gold? (9-20)

Realizing that the poor and weak lack justice and freedom, she decides to leave the mills for good. *John Swinton's Paper* was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

359. "Hope for All." *Voice of Industry* (Boston, MA) 1.9 (3 August 1848).

SYNOPSIS: Reprinted from the *Athenaeum*, this ballad, in eight seven-line stanzas, addresses a range of workers, from the humble miner to the "Bard" (36). In the refrain, the speaker reminds each one, "There is hope for thee." The speaker offers encouragement to oppressed textile workers:

Who vibrat'st the weary loom,

In a damp and dingy room,

By a lamp's unhealthy fume--

There is hope for thee.

. . . . . .

Thou who tend'st the cotton reels,

Whirling like a thing that feels,

Seest thou not a soul in wheels?

There is hope for thee. (11-14, 18-21)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

360. Johnson, G. P., [of] Paterson, NJ. "The Mills' [sic] Shut Down To-day." *The Paterson Labor Standard* (Paterson, NJ) 6.11 (13 March 1880).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this ballad, composed in twenty-four lines with a four-line chorus, is a laid-off factory worker. He tells his wife that the mill has been shut down. Without his wages, the family lacks food, rent money, clothing, and fuel for heat. Since it is midwinter, the family's suffering is great:

> The mills [sic] shut down to-day, dear wife,
> The snow is on the ground,
> And hark the piercing winds without,
> How mournfully they sound.
> The children have no shoes to wear,
> They cry for milk and bread,
> But wife, the mill has stopped to-day,
> How shall we all be fed? (17-24)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

361. "Labor." *The Journal of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor* 7.11-12 (10-25 October 1886).

SYNOPSIS: The anonymous author of this prose poem protests against the injustices suffered by contemporary laborers. Though "labor" has built the cities, towns, mines,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

railroads, and factories, their earnings are "absorbed" by "usurers" owning all. Labor is reduced to begging to "earn their bread in the workshops and the factories." In return, the usurers allow them bread but nothing more. If they dare ask for more, they will be denied jobs and mortgages. Finally, they will be arrested and "Branded as criminals." In desperation, the State will call out the army and "bayonet [them] in the streets of the cities which [they] have built."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

362. "Lines for Newmarket." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.13 (8 February 1845).

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this forty-four-line ballad unmasks the "crime" and "sin" that prevail in Newmarket, New Hampshire, a modern "Sodom" (1-2, 4). Laborers and the poor suffer from oppression and corruption:

> Thy laborers are driven forth
>
> To unrequited toil--
>
> Crime revels unrebuked in *church*,
>
> In *Mill* and on the soil. (21-24)

The poem's speaker castigates the sinful rich "who lean on luxury's lap, / In slumberous ease" (33-34). She or he warns them that their "frightful crimes" (38) rise up to heaven along with the "poor man's wailing cries" (40). The rich will finally face God's judgment and "a darker night" (44).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

363. "Lines on the Reduction of Pay." Air: "Narragansett Bay." First line: "Come all you operatives in this and other towns." [Fall River, MA?, 1830-1860?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside poem protests against a twenty-five percent reduction of factory operatives' wages. In nine four-line stanzas of heroic couplets, with a four-line refrain, the speaker satirically denounces mill management's heartlessness and greed:

> I will tell you how these Companies divide their stolen spoils;
> For the same the half-paid factory hand all day at labor toils;
> They have to pay an Agent, a Super and a Clerk
> The very best of wages, but, *do they do the work?* (5-8)

The workers will fight to the death if necessary. The speaker hails the courage of weavers at the Crescent, Granite, and Merchants' mills (probably in Fall River, Massachusetts). The situation is so bad that not only the Yankee workers but also the "French-Canadiens" are incensed (33).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection. Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 45.

364. Lippard, George. *The Nazarene; or, The Last of the Washingtons.* Philadelphia, PA: G. Lippard and Co., 1846. 239 pp.

AUTHOR: Lippard (1822-54; b. W. Nantmeal, Pennsylvania) was a journalist and novelist.

SYNOPSIS: This novel includes some minor characters who are Philadelphia textile mill workers. Chapter thirteen, "Nora," describes the lives of a family of poor Irish

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

immigrants, the O'Briens. Gerald, the father, is one of a group of handloom weavers striking for higher wages--a very early fictional treatment of a strike. The O'Briens live in a squalid section of Philadelphia dominated by thundering textile mills. Lippard's narrator condemns the terrible working conditions:

> While the Steam Engine growls his unceasing thunder, here in rooms, filled with an atmosphere as dense and deadly as the blast of an unclosed charnel, you may see men and women and children bending down over their labor, which begins with the sun, and ceases not when the night comes on. . . . The women with their pale faces, reddened by an unhealthy glow on either cheek, while their heavy eyes with swollen lids, look like the eyes of dead people . . . ; the men with contracted forms, shrunken limbs and faces, stamped by the iron hoofs of Want; the children dwarfed, stunted and hollow-eyed, with no smile upon their white lips, no hope in their leaden glance.
>
> This is a Factory. This place crowded by miserable forms, swarming to their labor in rooms rendered loathsome by foul air, and filled with floating particles of cotton, that seize upon the lungs and bite them into rottenness, is a Slave-House. (166)

One of the O'Brien daughters, Mary, once worked in the factory but has since died (191).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

365. Lippard, George. "The Sisterhood of the Green Veil." *The Nineteenth Century. A*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Quarterly Miscellany (Philadelphia, PA) 2 (1848): 746-52.

AUTHOR: Lippard (1822-54; b. W. Nantmeal, Pennsylvania) was a journalist and novelist.

SYNOPSIS: This short story's narrator numbers factory girls among the poor, exploited working women in New York City and Philadelphia wearing the green veil. They are nuns whose "convent is a factory" and whose life is "darker and drearier" than any nun's (746). He scorns the cold indifference and wastefulness of wealthy men and women profiting from the working women's suffering. The story then shifts to a Philadelphia nighttime gathering of four criminal and deviant men, all of whom had been reared in poverty. One of the men, Black Larry, discovers that his poor sister Alice has become a prostitute and drunkard following her seduction and abandonment by a wealthy man. Black Larry reacts with rage and desire for vengeance. Just before Alice dies, she tells him the name of her seducer.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

366. "The Lowell Factory Girl." First line: "When I set out for Lowell." [New England?: n.p., 183-?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad in eighteen four-line stanzas has a two-line "chorus." In another version of the folk song, "The Song of the Factory Girl," the poem's speaker expresses the factory girl's dissatisfaction with mill life's onerous routines: "The factory bell begins to ring, / And we must all obey" (9-10). The speaker finds the oppressive discipline, taxing work, and low wages especially objectionable. She looks forward to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the day when she can leave the mill behind her:

No more I'll draw these threads
All through the harness eye;
No more I'll say to my overseer,
Oh! dear me, I shall die. (37-40)

She summons the younger workers, the "little doffers / That work in the Spinning room," to leave the mill (29-32). The speaker expresses her expectations for respectful treatment and her admiration for the ingenious mill machinery. Soon she will be married "To a handsome little man" (70), enjoying an ease and comfort unknown to factory girls.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 43-44. Location of original is unknown.

367. Man, Thomas. *Picture of a Factory Village* by Sui Generis; alias, Thomas Man. Providence: Printed for the Author, 1833. 96 pp.

AUTHOR: The author seems to have been a member of the Man family, manufacturers of Manville, Rhode Island (Kulik 335).

SYNOPSIS: This earliest known antifactory poem alternates between sections of rhyming couplets of iambic tetrameters and sections of heroic couplets. The strident critique of the factory system opening the poem is written in balladic four-stress lines. The poem's speaker laments the factory's departure from Revolutionary ideals of freedom and equality, as well as the consequent ignorance and suffering. Like slavery, factory work is grueling and dangerous:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In factories 'tis grinding work--

Don't you think this is slavery?

And the basest kind of knavery,

To shut us up in such a place--

Living by such hard sweat of face.

Mary, and is not this despair?

Curse on the Fact'ries every where--

Besides, it causes consumption--

. . . . . .

Many of us can't write nor spell;

A Fact'ry is a Gothic hell.

. . . . . .

Our life's in danger, exposed to constant harm,

The wheels tear the hand, picker takes off an arm. (11)

After the opening section exposing the ills of the factory system, Man devotes the rest of his poem to lampooning various residents of Manville in the style of a roman a clef.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry*.

368. Mary. "Factory Thoughts." *Voice of Industry* 1.52 (12 June 1846).

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker describes standing in the factory behind her "prison walls," and looking down at the river providing water power for the mills. In sixteen balladic lines, she laments the desecration of the river, diverted into mill canals to exploit

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young workers:

> Emblem of Purity and Truth!
>
> Made from thy aim to turn--
>
> To sap the life-blood from young veins,
>
> And fill the funeral Urn! (13-16)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

369. McIntosh, John, [of] Rochester, N.Y. "The Fates' Roundelay." *The Labor Standard* 2.11 (10 March 1877).

SYNOPSIS: A ballad in three twelve-line stanzas, the poem opens with a portrait of the three Fates sewing a shroud for "Wrong." They sing happily as they work. A young woman toiling in a textile mill faintly hears their song, a "gladsome roundelay" (12):

> The thin pale maiden the spindle attending,
>
> Listens and tosses her silken hair,
>
> Thinking, she hears with the gear whir blending
>
> Voices of spirits whispering there:
>
> O'er clash and click and the buzz and jar,
>
> From wheel and shuttle and belt and bar,
>
> Echoing faintly, the sweet refrain
>
> Ebbs to her hearing and flows again[.] (13-20)

A man working at an anvil also hears the Fates' song, conveying the promise of an end to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workers' oppression.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

370. McIntosh, John. "The Radical." *The Labor Standard* 3.30 (2 December 1877).

SYNOPSIS: The views of a labor "radical" are rendered in this ballad of twenty-seven lines. Amid the poverty and corruption of the city with its "ragged, shiv'ring" children (9-10), the radical views a poor spinning mill worker:

> There, in the sliding, upward scale
> Of poverty, he saw the frail
> Thin victim of the spinning mill,
> Lean of soul as well as frame;
> Patient waiting but to fill
> The long black list of Mammon's shame[.] (13-18)

In contrast, a "mechanic swart and strong" (19), committed to his labor union, offers hope for the future.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

371. "The Mechanic Who Would Not Work on the Sabbath." *Voice of Industry* 2.21 (6 November 1846).

SYNOPSIS: Reprinted from the *Mechanic's Mirror*, this short story, set in the 1830s, relates the experience of James Robertson, a mechanic in the mills of Mr. Thompson, Fall River, Massachusetts. When the story opens, Thompson is asking James to work on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sunday, and he refuses for religious reasons. While explaining his objections, James also expresses disapproval of factory child labor:

> [T]he boys and girls will be none the worse of another idle day--poor things, they have been like birds loosened from the cage these two days, and no wonder; working from half-past four every morning till seven every evening, with scarce time to eat food for their sustenance; they feel when relieved for a day or two from the confinement and toil of the factory, like exiles escaped from bondage.

Angered at James's refusal to work and his "preaching," Mr. Thompson discharges him, telling him, "[F]or mechanics and merchants, the fewer words they can say the better." James bids goodbye to Mr. Thompson's gentle and virtuous daughter, Mary, with whom he shares deep affection. He decides to travel to Virginia, working at his trade in various places and picking up new skills. In the Panic of 1837, Mr. Thompson loses most of his fortune and moves to Michigan. One day in 1838, the Thompsons unexpectedly meet up with James Robertson in Michigan. Soon James and Mary marry. With Mr. Thompson and their children, James and Mary live thereafter happily in a rural cottage.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

372. "The Mill Has Shut Down." First line: "The mill has shut down! Good God shut down!" Philadelphia: St. Clair Smith, Song Publisher, [c. 1837].

SYNOPSIS: In this twenty-four-line broadside ballad, the speaker laments the mill's closing and the terrible suffering it will bring to unemployed families, who would be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

better off if they were dead. Last year when wages were reduced, more young children worked and babies were left at home alone:

> More children worked, at tenderer age--
> Even their mite helped the lessened wage.
> The babies were left at their home alone.
> 'Twas enough to break a heart of stone
> To see how these people worked for bread!
> With the mill shut down they'd better be dead! (11-16)

The mill owners claim that their losses necessitate closing the mill. For the unemployed workers, the coming famine will be "far worse than flood or fire" (19). The poem was reprinted in *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) 2.64 (28 December 1884) from *The Independent* and attributed to Helen Jackson.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection. Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 45.

373. Miss Prepared Chalk, Manchester. "Manchester As It Is. [From Stark Corporation.]" *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.48 (11 October 1845).

SYNOPSIS: This sixteen-line ballad condemns the hellishly evil condition of Manchester, New Hampshire, where women "Steep'd in hell's dyes and hardened by its laws" are drawn into vice (4). Even the lawmakers are corrupt. The speaker does not directly address the factory system.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester. Reprinted in Zonderman, *Aspirations and Anxieties* 277.

374. Palmer, B. Frank, Prof. [of] Meredith Bridge, NH. "The Operative's [sic] Respond." *Voice of Industry* 1.37 (27 February 1846).

SYNOPSIS: This ballad's speakers, a group of factory operatives, claim to be acting on behalf of the country's welfare. In ten four-line stanzas, the speakers protest against the wrongs committed by "tyrants" against workers. Too many workers are dying from miserable mill conditions:

> Go back 'mong your rumbling, clamorous looms
> And gaze on the death-stricken skeletons there;
> What think you--how soon may you gaze on their tombs;
> What think you--how soon will the Hectic appear? (33-36)

The speakers urge tyrants to "reform" before they face the "dread wrath of Heaven" (37, 40).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

375. "The Pilgrim's Vision. *To be continued.* Meredith Bridge, December 19, 1844." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.8 (4 January 1845).

SYNOPSIS: The text includes two parts, a brief prose narrative of a dream vision and a twenty-line poem, "The Sixpence and a Half Agent's Lamentation." In the prose narrative, a Pilgrim tells of wandering into a "beautiful village situated upon the borders

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of two small bays" (perhaps Meredith, New Hampshire). The place is called "the village of temperance." By a river, the Pilgrim becomes "insensible" either "by sleep or fainting." In his dream vision, an eagle tells him that there are "no people" more "sordid" than those of this village. The eagle leads him to several locations, including "a large cotton mill." Here, the Pilgrim overhears the "sixpence and a half agent" singing a song of lamentation. In twenty rhyming lines of iambic hexameters, the agent laments his difficulty recruiting factory girls. The women "despise" him and "disdain" his "offers" (4). Though his foreman goes out with a "mouth well filled with lies, / To flatter and seduce them" (5-6), the people have seen through his dishonesty. When they see the agent, the people cry out, "[T]here goes the meanest wretch that ever told a lie" (14). Even "the Gleaner has attacked" him, for which he is now "taking pills" (20).
TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

376. Priest, M. C. "There's Spirit Abroad." *Voice of Industry* 1.37 (27 February 1846).
SYNOPSIS: Invoking the spirit of liberty and justice, this ballad's speaker urges workers to fight for their rights. In six eight-line stanzas, the ballad's speaker addresses various kinds of laborers, including women textile workers, condemning their sinful exploitation:

> There's spirit abroad, where the swift shuttle flies,
> Where the lamp lends a light which the broad sun denies,
> "Accursed be heart," grown so callous and cold,
> That can barter the lives of our maidens for gold;
> For the arm which doth boast of out-stretching to aid,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Is the same that is dark with the blood of betrayed;

And the stain is less deep in the hands of the 'Dyer,'

Than the guilt of that heart which defraudeth of hire. (25-32)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

377. Ricketson, Daniel. "The Factory-Bell." *The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems*. New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1873. [11]-12.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and historian.

SYNOPSIS: In a ballad of forty lines, the poem's speaker tells of hearing the factory bell's sound intruding upon "scenes of Nature fair" (4). The speaker feels sad, thinking of the Irish and Scottish immigrants toiling in the mills homesick for their native lands. Expressing faith in God's wise providence, the speaker admonishes those who exploit the poor:

But oh! ye who rule and dictate

For your own base, selfish ends,

Nature and her God rebuke you,

And at last require amends. (29-32)

The speaker assures readers that God will return to the poor what has been taken from them, bringing them hope as well.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Rutgers University, Yale University, Boston Public Library, and Harvard University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

378. Ricketson, Daniel. *The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems*. New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1873. 48 pp.

AUTHOR: Ricketson (1813-98; b. New Bedford, Massachusetts) was a poet and historian.

SYNOPSIS: The volume is a brief collection of ballads, several of which address the plight of factory workers, presumably in New Bedford, Massachusetts. The poems express sympathy for mill workers' suffering and indict those who heartlessly and greedily exploit them. In the preface, Ricketson explains that his purpose in writing the ballads is to "express a sympathy" for the operatives who perform important but "exhausting labors." He hopes to interest people in working for reforms, such as a reduction in working hours and more education for laborers: "Looking forward to the day, as I hope not far distant, when the hours of labor shall be essentially lessened, and the health, happiness, and the education of the operatives in the mills, and other laboring classes, receive greater consideration than at the present time, I contribute these humble efforts of my muse toward that end." Ricketson dedicates his poems "To the honest, industrious poor, and to all good and feeling hearts everywhere." Many of the poems address the experience of Irish, English, and Scottish immigrants. Factory work and workers are treated in four poems: "The Factory-Bell" ([11]-12), "The Irish Factory-Girl" (15-16), "Mill Notes--Mother and Daughter" (23-25), and "The Scotch Factory-Girl" (26-27). See the annotations for individual poems.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, Rutgers University, Yale University, Boston Public Library, and Harvard University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

379. Roche, James Jeffrey. "The People." *The Labor Enquirer* (Denver, CO) 7.1 (1 January 1887).

SYNOPSIS: The speakers of this poem are laborers, "the hewers and delvers who toil for another's gain" (1). In eighteen six-stress lines, the workers proclaim their right and intention to share in the "fruits of [their own] toil" (8). Though deprived of education ("learning's light" [15]), they are beginning to think and develop power. The exploited workers include the factory child, "defrauded of childhood, [who] tiptoes all day at the loom" (12). The workers are rising in their might to challenge "privilege, pride and caste" (17). *The Labor Enquirer* was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

380. S., L. M. "Pride of the Nineteenth Century." *The Labor Enquirer* (Denver, CO) 2.6-8 (11-25 February 1888).

SYNOPSIS: The hero of this tale of fantasy and social criticism is a reincarnated man. In his previous lifetime several thousand years ago, he was an inhabitant of "the continent that sunk in the sea" (11 February 1888). Reborn in the nineteenth century with a full memory of his earlier life, the man wishes to learn more about the great advances made by the eighteen-hundred-year-old civilization. Traveling with a guide through England and the United States, the man grows increasingly troubled by the economic exploitation and poverty he encounters. He discovers as well that the advances of the nineteenth century are inferior to those he remembers from the sunken continent, such as vehicles

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for air travel and an absence of hunger, poverty, and child labor. Admiring New York City's splendors, the man asks the guide to show him common laborers at work and home. He is deeply saddened to witness the harsh lives of workers:

> The travelers in the course of several days went through many mills and factories. Everywhere it was the same. The workers with angular ungraceful forms, pale, expressionless faces, using all their strength throughout all the long day-light hours, in close dusty air, with the continuous buzz and clatter of machinery ever in their ears; and the children were everywhere haggard mockeries of children, whose tender bones and muscles were trained to but one motion and that the one that ground out the most profit to their masters.

The man is dismayed to see the miserable workers' homes, where "foul smells and gloom were prime ministers" (18 February 1888). After viewing Pennsylvania miners and poor tenant farmers in the West, the man concludes that the nineteenth century is quite inferior to life in the sunken continent. As he tells his guide, the present day has more of which to be ashamed than to be proud: "Your civilization blunders along frightfully, stumbling upon something brilliant now and then which withal carries in its wake nothing but suffering and poverty for the masses of the people" (25 February 1888).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

381. "The Sentimental Manufacturer to the Factory Girl." [From] *Chronotype. The Harbinger* 3.20 (24 October 1846): 308.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In this forty-line, anonymous, mock love ballad addressed from a manufacturer to a factory girl, the poem's speaker--the manufacturer--avers his great love for the factory girl and for her labor which fills his coffers with gold. He insists that she return his "pure" love by foregoing her wages and working for love alone. The ballad is a humorous unmasking of the greed and hypocrisy of exploitative manufacturers, to whom the factory girl represents the "spirit and soul of dividends":

> Spirit and soul of dividends,
>
> In maiden form arrayed;
>
> Thou fairest gift that Mammon sends,
>
> Or Plutus ever made;
>
> Thy fingers, Midas-like, have turned
>
> My cotton into gold;
>
> The money that thy hands have earned,
>
> Has to my coffers rolled. (17-24)

The poem was reprinted in the *Voice of Industry* 2.21 (6 November 1846) and as "The Manufacturer's Song to the Factory Girl" in the *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany, NY) 1.20 (15 April 1847).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

382. Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]. "Sabbath Morning." *Lowell Offering* 2 (1842): 207-8.

AUTHOR: Harriet H. Robinson sketches this portrait of Chamberlain (born c. 1794), a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker: "Mrs. Chamberlain was a widow, and came to Lowell with three children from some 'community' (probably the Shakers), where she had not been contented. She had inherited Indian blood, and was proud of it. She had long, straight black hair, and walked very erect, with great freedom of movement" (*Loom and Spindle* 86).

SYNOPSIS: This prose dream vision's narrator recounts rising early one Sunday morning in "the busy city of Lowell" (207). Longing for the beautiful scenes of her rural New Hampshire home, she tries to express herself in writing but falls asleep. Dreaming, she is carried "in fancy's car" back to the shore of her "own loved Winipisiogee." Admiring the beautiful forest and praising Nature's God, she suddenly awakens and realizes sadly that she "had only been dreaming" (208).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

383. That *Other* Factory Girl. "A Dream." *Voice of Industry* 1.16 (11 September 1845).

SYNOPSIS: Signed "That *Other* Factory Girl," this brief, prose dream vision is reprinted from the *Manchester (N.H.) Democrat*. The narrator recounts falling asleep one night "after thirteen hours of toil in the suffocating heat of a cotton mill." She dreams of the Judgment Day. When some of the agents and owners of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company (Manchester) come forward, the supreme Judge questions them. He asks the agent what he was doing one Sunday in 1844, and he answers that although he attended church, he employed some people to blast rocks. The judge sends him "below" to "the centre of the pit." Next, a factory girl from the Stark Corporation steps forward. When

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the judge asks her what she was doing that Sunday, she answers that she attended church and took a walk in the woods. After hearing that she was often exhausted from working thirteen hours a day, the judge sends her to Heaven to the upper seat of her choice.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

384. "There Must Be Something Wrong." *Factory Girls' Album, and Mechanics' Offering* 2.20 (1 February 1847).

SYNOPSIS: In this forty-line ballad, the speaker protests against the poverty that exists in the midst of plenty. Despite the abundance of food, too many of the poor go hungry. "Toiling millions" (21) expend their health and strength making a few people wealthy. Sometimes the hands of workers are "crushed" (23). The speaker urges that our law "give equal rights / To wealthy and to poor" (33-34). Until all people are free, the speaker can only repeat the poem's refrain: "There must be something wrong."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry. Reprinted in Foner, *Factory Girls* 91, and in the *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany, NY) 2.39 (16 September 1848), attributed to "Eliza Cook" and available in *American Periodicals*.

385. Thompson, T. Phillips. "The Factory Slave." Air: "Way Down upon the Swanee River." *The Labor Reform Songster*. Philadelphia, PA: Journal of the Knights of Labor Print., 1892. 10-11.

AUTHOR: Thomas Phillips Thompson (1843-1933; b. Newcastle-on-Tyne, England) lived most of his adult life in Canada but spent several years working in the United

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

States. A socialist and journalist, Thompson joined and wrote for the Knights of Labor, an important North American labor organization.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad is composed in three eight-line stanzas, each followed by a four-line "chorus." The speakers are a group of suffering factory workmen, "Toiling amid the smoke and clamor / From morn till night, / Deafened by noise of wheel and hammer" (1-3). Their work creates wealth for others, while they themselves stay poor. Seeing "the pallid faces" of their wives and children is hard to endure (13). The rich have robbed honest laborers, who are slaves because they do not own land. The chorus expresses the workers' sadness:

> All my life is full of sorrow,
> Welcome seems the grave;
> Oh when will freedom's bright to-morrow
> Dawn on the factory slave?

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 161-62, and in T. Phillips Thompson's *The Politics of Labor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

386. "[Wake with a song, my soul!]" *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.27 (2 November 1844).

SYNOPSIS: A note at the head of this poem indicates that it is an adaptation of an abolition poem "by Mrs. M. W. Chapman, a celebrated abolitionist." In five seven-line stanzas, the poet has altered Chapman's poem to address the problem of "*northern* slavish institutions" (i.e., factories). The poem's speaker urges mill workers to remember

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that they belong to God and to "flee" the "cities and factories" (5). The speaker seeks greater freedom for all "chained souls" (20), particularly women factory workers:

> Still our free souls must weep,
> While our cotton mill owners keep
> Their weary chain
> Cold on our sister's heart,
> Bidding her peace depart,
> While on the crowded mart
> They scorn her pain. (22-28)

In the final stanza, the speaker beseeches working men to fight for their sisters' rights and "free *these* poor slaves!" (35).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Microfilm reprint available from Center for Research Libraries.

387. A Working Woman of Boston. *The Aristocrat and Trades Union Advocate, A Colloquial Poem, . . . by a Working Woman of Boston.* Boston: Leonard W. Kimball, 1834. 32 pp.

AUTHOR: The author identifies herself as a kitchen servant with only a few months of schooling.

SYNOPSIS: Composed in heroic couplets, the poem is more an advocacy of trade unions than an anti-factory poem. It does, however, include some criticism of factories, such as the following: "The simple ringing of a fact'ry bell, / To some men's ears is Freedoms [sic] funeral knell" (30). *The Aristocrat* is a fascinating document for its revelations

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about the plight of working women and class struggles of the times.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Poetry.*

388. Zig Zag. "Sabbath Labor Christians." *Young America* (New York, NY) 30 August 1845.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad is reprinted from the Lowell (Massachusetts) *Vox Populi.* A note preceding the poem explains that Zig Zag indicts "Factory Lords'" hypocrisy in requiring Sunday church attendance from their operatives while requiring "men" to work about the mills on Sundays. In five four-line stanzas, the poem's speaker reports seeing some "Pats" (i.e., Irish immigrant men) digging in the mud on a Sunday to repair broken cisterns. Lowell Judges who penalize citizens for Sabbath-breaking look the other way when Sabbath-breakers are employees of corporations: "But *Companies* having no *souls*, they may work,-- / Of them there's no cognizance taken" (13-14).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER TWELVE

STRIKES AND OTHER ORGANIZED PROTEST

389. Ada [of] Lowell. "Our Cause." *Voice of Industry* 1.36 (20 February 1846).

SYNOPSIS: This ballad is reprinted from the *Valentine Offering*, a pamphlet promoting the Ten Hour Movement. In three eight-line stanzas, the speaker delivers a rousing call to union among laborers. She urges that all "slaves" be freed from "oppressive sway" (7), encouraging brothers and sisters to join the struggle:

> Come, brothers! then to the rescue come!
> Sure, heaven will your efforts bless;
> Come, sisters! all to the rescue come!
> Union is sure to bring success.
> Come, stay oppression's withering blight,--
> Yes! rise, and break the galling chains,
> Where'er on earth the tyrant reigns;
> Then the enslaved shall have redress. (17-24)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

390. "[The agent to the frog-pond went]." 1837. McNeill, *The Labor Movement* 89.

SYNOPSIS: This four-line stanza is apparently all that survives of a strike poem composed by a woman worker and placarded in the mill yard during the 1836-37 Dover, New Hampshire, strike protesting a wage reduction. The author sketched a large green

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

frog and inscribed some lines humorously challenging factory management's attempts to stifle workers' protests:

> The agent to the frog-pond went,
>
> To kill the frogs he was intent;
>
> He gave them a dose of red-hot water,
>
> For he thought to croak they hadn't oughter.

391. Almira [of] Lowell, Ma. "Stanzas." *Voice of Industry* 1.34 (6 February 1846).

SYNOPSIS: In a twenty-line ballad, the speaker urges working women to rally behind the Ten Hour Movement. They should not hope for mercy, any more than Southern slaves expect mercy:

> Rise, sisters, and your banner raise;
>
> Will ye look for brighter days?
>
> Hope ye mercy still?
>
> What's the mercy slaves can gain?
>
> Behold it on the southern plain! (1-5)

God's "laws" (12) require that all human beings have sufficient time to cultivate their minds. She beseeches working women not to rest until they reach their goal.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

392. Amelia [possibly Amelia Sargent]. "A Lesson from the Wind." *Voice of Industry* 1.23 (21 November 1845).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: This ballad's speaker contends that workers can learn lessons of fortitude and persistence from the wind. In sixteen four-line stanzas, the speaker notes the special strength of factory women, particularly those of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in the struggle against "cotton Lords'" tyranny:

> Ay, tyrant 'tis a battle cry;
> Thou well hast cause to fear,--
> For woman's eloquent pleading eye,
> And firm rich tones art here!
>
> They come by thousands from their haunts
> Of cheerless toil and gloom;--
> And Alleghany's cotton Lords,
> And Pittsburgh's know their doom. (29-36)

The wind will bear protesting workers' voices, just as it carried the message of independence during the American Revolution.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

393. Amelia [possibly Amelia Sargent]. "The Summons." *Factory Tracts* 1 (1845): 8.

SYNOPSIS: The speaker of this forty-eight-line ballad urges the "children of New England" (1) to come forth "from the work-shop and the field" (3). She urges workers to fight against the terrible social evils in the United States, the "want and woe and care and crime" (23) caused by oppressive tyranny. The speaker assures them that future

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

generations will bless their efforts and "that God will break the oppressor's chains" (43). The poem is a rousing call to action:

> Aye, come, and blessed shalt thou be,
>
> By millions yet unborn,
>
> Whom thou hast saved from misery
>
> From insult and from scorn. (37-40)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: *Factory Tracts* are held by Boston Public Library and were reprinted in 1982 by Lowell Publishing Co. "The Summons" was reprinted in *Voice of Industry* 1.20 (7 November 1845) and in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 59.

394. Blanchard, I. G. "Eight Hours." Words by I. G. Blanchard. Music by Rev. Jesse H. Jones. *The Labor Standard* 4.11 (21 July 1878).

SYNOPSIS: Laborers began agitating for an eight-hour workday as early as the 1830s. Blanchard and Jones's "Eight Hours" is one version of a popular Eight Hour Movement song, with the compelling refrain: "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!" In six verses, the song's speakers--weary laborers--claim the right to more time for rest, education, and culture. As beings created in God's image, they assert the right to be more than "bread and butter slave[s]." The oppressed and insurgent workers include factory hands:

> From factories and workshops, in long and weary lines,
>
> From all the sweltering forges, and from out the sunless mines,
>
> Wherever toil is wasting the force of life to live,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There the bent and battered armies come to claim what God doth give[.]

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

395. "The Factory Girl." *New England Artisan, and Laboring Man's Repository* (Boston, MA) 2.19 (9 May 1833).

SYNOPSIS: In three eight-line stanzas, with a four-line refrain, this ballad's speaker is a factory girl. She expresses her determination to remain free, although her employers might try to curtail her freedom:

Although I am a factory girl
  And summoned by the bell,
I will not curry favor
  For I'm independent still--
And my liberty is precious
  As the fibres of my heart,
In bonds we are united
  And never more will part.
    For I cannot be a slave,
    No I will not be a slave,
    I'm so fond of liberty
    That I cannot be a slave. (1-12)

She insists upon seeking "pleasure" and remaining at her "own command" (19-20). This poem inspired two 1830s strike songs, "Oh! Isn't it a pity" and "Let oppression shrug her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shoulders" (see entries 401, 406). The final stanza echoes the liberty rhetoric of the American Revolution:

> Let oppression shrug her shoulders,
>
> And a doughty tyrant frown;
>
> And little haughty ignorance
>
> In mockery look down--
>
> Yet I value not the feeble threats
>
> Of tories in disguise,
>
> While the flag of Independence
>
> O'er our noble nation flies. (25-32)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

396. Fisher, Frank L. "Labor's Demand." *Workmen's Advocate: An Official Journal of the Socialist Labor Party* (New Haven, CT) 4.10 (10 March 1888).

SYNOPSIS: In this sixty-three-line poem, reprinted from the *Labor Echo*, various kinds of laborers demand to receive the rewards of their toil. They ask not for favors but for what rightfully belongs to them. The laborers include textile workers:

> I ask for mine!
>
> I sheared the flock; 'neath southern sun
>
> I picked the cotton; and I spun
>
> All varied garments that men wear,
>
> From coarsest jeans to satins fair;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The raiment's mine--

I ask for mine! (22-28)

The speakers express assurance that they will "conquer" in the end, since "right divine" is on their side (61-62).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, United States Dept. of Labor, Boston Public Library, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin-Madison.

397. "Going Over Jordan." As Sung by Ham's Minstrels. First line: "I looked to the Manchester, and I looked to the 'Skeag." [New Hampshire?: n.p., 1830-1850].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad in twenty-eight lines has a four-line "chorus." In the style of a spiritual, the ballad chronicles a factory women's turn out from "the Manchester" and "the 'Skeag," presumably in or near Manchester, New Hampshire (1-2). The women march behind a banner, a flag, and a "Cornet Band" (5). Scorning the Agent and the boss, the women demand the ten-hour workday, refusing to work anymore fourteen hours a day:

The Ten Hour System is all we want,

And we're bound to have it accordin',

And before we'll work for you fourteen hours,

We'll travel to the pleasant side of Jordan. (13-16)

The ballad's speaker encourages the women to persevere through hardship and remember that their efforts will affect future generations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

398. H., J. B. "Ten Hour System." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 3.50 (25 October 1845).

SYNOPSIS: This twenty-eight-line ballad urges factory women to strive for the ten-hour workday. The poem's speaker deplores the "oppression" persisting in the supposedly "free" United States (1-2). She or he urges factory women to remember that they are "free-born daughters" (6). They should not allow themselves to be overworked by the corporations:

> Let not the Corporation's power,
> Oppress the needy and the poor,
> But every tide and current stem,
> And work ten hours, and *but ten.* (15-18)

The speaker expresses hope that factory workers will claim the right to "intellectual thought" (18) and improvement of their minds. He or she exhorts the women to stand "Firm on the rock of Plymouth" (23) and "let the ten hour system rise" (25).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by University of New Hampshire-Manchester.

399. Hadaway, Mr. "Six to Six." Tune: "Adam and Eve." First line: "In days now gone the working men begun, sirs." [Manayunk, PA?: n.p., 184-?].

SYNOPSIS: This broadside ballad in nine eight-line stanzas is written in long lines with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

six to eight stresses. A two-line refrain follows each stanza. Mr. Hadaway commemorates the winning of the ten-hour day by the working men and the working women's successful fight in Manayunk (a section of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) for better wages. The song is light and humorous in its treatment of the working people's romantic interests. Hadaway compares workers' situation with that of black slaves in the South.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection. Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 69.

400. Jericho. "Ten Hour Law!" A Parody . . . by Jericho. First line: "The fact'ry bells were ringing fast." [N.p., between 1830 and 1860?].

SYNOPSIS: In this broadside ballad, each of nine four-line stanzas is followed by the refrain, "*Ten Hour Law!*" The speaker observes a girl carrying a banner inscribed "*Ten Hour Law*" through the city streets. Admiring her flashing eye and vibrant voice, the speaker deplores her exploitation and suffering during fourteen-hour days in the mills. As the Ten Hour Movement spreads among the mill girls, the speaker urges them to remain courageous and resolute, trusting in God:

> God speed thee girl, in this, thy right!
> God give thee courage for the fight!
> *Yield not one jot!*--nay better die!
> But ever rally at the cry
> *Ten Hour Law!* (29-32)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Their voices calling out for the Ten Hour Law will never die.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Brown University, John Hay Library, Broadsides Collection.

401. "[Let oppression shrug her shoulders]." *The Man* (New York, NY) 1.3 (22 February 1834): 11.

SYNOPSIS: This eight-line strike poem was recited during the 1834 strike of Lowell, Massachusetts, factory women. In balladic lines, the poem denounces "oppression" and the "haughty tyrant" (1-2), appealing to memories of independence won in the Revolution. The speaker unmasks despotic capitalists as "Tories in disguise" (5):

> Let oppression shrug her shoulders,
>
> And a haughty tyrant frown,
>
> And little upstart Ignorance
>
> In mockery look down.
>
> Yet I value not the feeble threats
>
> Of Tories in disguise,
>
> While the flag of Independence
>
> Oe'r [sic] our noble nation flies.--*Boston Transcript.*

The poem is derived from an earlier ballad, "The Factory Girl" (*New England Artisan* 2.19 [9 May 1833]) (see entry 395).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 44, and in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

402. "The March of the Toilers." Air: "Marching through Georgia." *The Labor Standard* 4.11 (21 July 1878).

SYNOPSIS: This song was sung by the Paterson, New Jersey, weavers during the July 1878 strike against the Adams Silk Company. In four four-line stanzas, with a four-line chorus, the marchers express their refusal to "work for hunger pay" or "to oppression bow" (1-2). The chorus voices their determination to unionize and fight back:

> We'll fight, we'll fight, for justice and fair play,
> We'll fight, we'll fight, nor care what despots say,
> We'll make the cruel Adams' class stand back and clear the way,
> We'll give them a taste of our Union.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 134.

403. Mary. "Try Again." *Voice of Industry* 1.47 (8 May 1846).

SYNOPSIS: "Try again" was the motto of the 1840s Ten Hour Movement to reduce the factory workday from fourteen to ten hours. In a ballad of four five-line stanzas, Mary's speaker urges readers to "try again," not minding or fearing "the bold aggressor" and "the stern oppressor" (13-14).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry.

404. Mills, John. "A Voice from the Alley." *The Journal of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor of North America* 5.6 (25 July 1884).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker urges workers to organize in brotherhood and sisterhood. In fifty-four balladic lines, the speaker exhorts laborers to work together for improved working and living conditions. He assures readers that factory workers will rise up to defend their rights:

> Humanity from the factory den
> Shall rise, both womankind and men,
> Their rights to claim;
> And if oppressors should oppose you,
> Give them this bitter draught to swallow,
> "We will our rights maintain." (31-36)

Textile workers should not hesitate to strike for justice: "Stay your work for tyrants' ease, / Let the loom and shuttle cease" (46-47).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

405. Nesbit, Andy, [of] Bellaire, Ohio. "The New Jubilee." *The Appeal to Reason* (Kansas City, MO) (16 May 1896).

SYNOPSIS: Advocating socialism as the solution to economic problems, this ballad is composed in four eight-line stanzas with a ten-line "chorus." The speaker urges factory workers to rebel against their enslavement:

> White slaves in the factories, we toil for our masters;
> The more we produce the more they will get.
> The profit goes to the Rothschilds, the Goulds and the Astors;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

They're living like princes, but we--slave and sweat.

But the day is coming when the riches will perish,

And the white slaves of labor will throw off the yoke[.] (1-6)

The speaker exhorts oppressed workers to strike and work for a socialistic "Utopia" (26). When the jubilee arrives, people will all be free.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 308-9.

406. "[Oh! Isn't it a pity]." Robinson, *Loom and Spindle* 51.

SYNOPSIS: This six-line song was sung by mill women during the Lowell, Massachusetts, strike of 1836 protesting a wage reduction and an increase in the cost of board. It expresses the women's love for "liberty" and determination not to be treated as "slaves":

Oh! isn't it a pity, such a pretty girl as I--

Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?

Oh! I cannot be a slave,

I will not be a slave,

For I'm so fond of liberty

That I cannot be a slave.

Lines three through six are derived from an earlier poem, "The Factory Girl" (*New England Artisan* 2.19 [9 May 1833]) (see entry 395).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in several sources, including *National Laborer* (29 October 1836); Scoresby 61; and Foner, *American Labor Songs* 45.

407. Porter, Linn Boyd. *Speaking of Ellen.* By Albert Ross. New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1889. 345 pp.

AUTHOR: Porter (1851-1916; pseud. "Albert Ross"), a very popular novelist, lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: This novel includes an unusually full and sympathetic portrait of a strong woman labor leader. The text also examines labor issues, including child labor, sexual harassment, strikes, anarchism, and Christian socialism. Porter strongly attacks the double standard that condemns the fallen working woman but forgives the erring upper-class man. The story is set in the New England manufacturing town of Riverfall (perhaps based upon Fall River, Massachusetts). Most of the town's mills and real estate are owned by the Great Central Corporation. The heroine, Ellen, is a weaver in the Corporation's cotton mills and a beloved labor leader revered by the townspeople as the "Marchioness of Riverfall." She is the illegitimate daughter of an English immigrant mill girl seduced and abandoned by a United States Senator. Another mill hand, Hugh Mayfield, works with Ellen as a labor organizer. Philip Westland, a manager of some of the stocks and lands of the Great Central, initially hostile to labor "Agitators and Theorists" (19), becomes interested in Ellen. Admiring her beauty, spirit, and independence, he soon falls in love with her, although he long denies it. Philip becomes a Corporation agent and begins to spend more and more time with Ellen. Labor troubles

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are brewing in Riverfall. When the mill owners propose to cut down wages, Ellen responds decisively: "Strike! . . . We must destroy their profits. . . . They are susceptible to no other argument. . . . We must make our stand right where we are against these capitalists! If to-day we submit to be crushed to the earth, to-morrow we shall be ground in the mire. We must strike" (53-54). She also fearlessly challenges Philip's class privilege and biases:

> I can think of you as a babe. . . . Servants attended you, prepared your meals, swept your chamber, gratified your every necessity. When you reached the age of manhood, did you seek to render equal service to other helpless ones? No! You were a *gentleman*--God save the mark! You never did anything, you never *mean* to do anything, to help support the great table at which you have eaten so greedily! (58-59).

Several years before when a mill agent made sexual advances to her, Ellen disdainfully told him, "Sir, . . . you are incapable of understanding me were I to reply to you in the terms you deserve. I leave you my pity and my scorn" (75). When the Riverfall workers go out on strike, some workingmen try to stir up the people to take more extreme action. In its portrait of the anarchist, Bill Converse, the novel condemns reckless labor agitators who incite workers to arson and other acts of violence. Converse's male pride is offended when Ellen stands up to him; he also resents that the workers follow her lead rather than his. When the strike drags on for too long, Philip, in trying to settle the labor troubles exhibits too much sympathy for the strikers, and so is discharged by the Corporation. After the Corporation begins to evict strikers from the corporation

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tenements, Mill No. 1 is blown up with dynamite. When Ellen's father, Edwin Eastman, dies, Philip is the manager of his property. Eastman leaves her most of his estate, valued at three million dollars, including a large share in the Great Central Corporation. Ellen decides to use her money to help Riverfall's poor workers. When she and Philip marry, they become the Great Central Corporation's proprietors. Their planned reforms include building a nonsectarian Protestant church, a hall for recreation and social events, a hospital, an evening school, and a library. They will renovate the housing and establish "a socialistic community," sharing mill profits with all employees. The workday is reduced to eight hours, and wages are increased. No longer much of a capitalist, Philip explains the lessons he has learned from Ellen:

> "I believe . . . that what is called wealth should never be allowed to accumulate in private hands, beyond a given extent; that the natural increase of property in a country should be the heritage of all the people thereof; that the State should absorb the greater part of private fortunes on the death of the reputed owners; that no child should be poorly fed, meanly clothed, or deprived of an education merely because its father is not an able financier; and that there can be no such thing as over-production of the necessaries of life while a single human being is cold or hungry." Ellen clapped her hands joyfully. (342)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

408. "The Strength of Tyranny." *The Gleaner* (Manchester, NH) 4.29 (29 May 1847).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In this thirty-two-line ballad, the speaker protests against the tyranny of those who bind laborers in chains, arguing that there is no divine sanction for such oppression:

> We toil, we spin, we delve the mine,
> Sustaining each his neighbor;
> And who can hold a right divine
> To rob us of our labor? (17-20)

The speaker protests as well against the "servile fear" that makes laborers "slaves" and urges workers freely to cast off such fear: "One glorious burst in freedom's name, / And rend our bonds asunder" (31-32).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Manchester Historic Association.

409. "The Strike." *The Labor Standard* (Fall River, MA) 6.42 (11 October 1879).

SYNOPSIS: An anonymous ballad in seven four-line stanzas, the poem was published during a strike of the Fall River mule spinners. The ballad's speaker explains that in many places the "factory hands" are on strike "Against the Mill Czars [sic] tyranny" (1, 3). The mill owners resent losing any of their profits:

> The profits of those Czars,
> Have long been very high,
> And now they're losing some of them,
> Oh crackey don't they cry. (5-8)

The speaker encourages the spinners and other strikers to persevere and fight for "a fair

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

day's pay" (28):

So cheer up my brave spinner boys,
You never must give way,
For if your drivers lash you now,
They will lash you another day. (21-24)

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

410. Striker [of] New Britain. "A Striker's Song." *The Haverhill Laborer* (Haverhill, MA) 1.33 (26 February 1885).

SYNOPSIS: The poem's speaker, in a forty-line ballad, contrasts the lives of the rich and the poor. The former live in a "gorgeous dwelling," made possible because "workmen of their rights are shorn" (9, 16). On the other hand, the mill worker with his "meagre pittance" rents an attic (18). This "poor slave" enjoys only a "short respite from toil" (22). His wife watches the baby, working busily with her needle, knowing that "the wolf is at the door" (29). In the final stanza, the poem's speaker expresses indignation at the suffering of the poor in this great country where blood was shed to end slavery:

How long shall freemen groan despairing
'Neath the yoke of purse-proud knave,
In this great land where heroes daring,
Shed their blood to free the slave?
How long shall despots at recital
Of our sufferings sneer and smile,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While hunger, mayhap, gnaw the vitals

Of some honest sons of toil? (33-40)

The Haverhill Laborer was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

411. Tyler, Martha W. *A Book without a Title: or Thrilling Events in the Life of Mira Dana.* By Mrs. M. W. Tyler, of Worcester. Boston: Printed for the Author, 1855. 260 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This ostensibly autobiographical novel contains the earliest known representation of a factory strike in United States fiction. In the preface, the author maintains that her novel is "a gallows" on which to punish men, "monsters in human form," who brutalize women (iv). She writes in hopes of saving other women from such sorrows. Mira Dana, the heroine, grows up on a farm in the town of "L—" (possibly Lancaster) on the Nashua River "a few miles from Worcester," Massachusetts (9). She is a lively girl ("the wildest, merriest being"), who so enjoys working outdoors in the fields with her father that she is nicknamed "Dick" (9-10). Her brother obtains a position for her in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. Traveling there by stagecoach, Mira resolves to become "a real worker upon life's great stage" (13). Though she finds the boardinghouse too crowded, Mira gradually adjusts to mill work and sets aside money for school tuition. Now seventeen, she returns home for several weeks and attends school. She would like to become a physician but realizes that for a woman "without rights" it is impossible (20). She soon finds herself back in the factory, never to return to school. Tyler's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

account of the factory women's strike matches many of the details of the 1834 Lowell strike. When a wage reduction is announced, Mira becomes a leader of the indignant women. She expresses the anger toward mill management that many of the women are feeling: "[T]hey are striving to crush our very souls for cursed gold" (23). One day, the women turn out from all the factories. Mira leads a group of striking women from her mill:

> Mira Dana soon stopped her lively-going work and took from a nail close by, her bonnet and shawl. She twirled her saucy-looking bonnet around her head a few times and started for the door followed by all in the room, save a few cowardly objects who cared more for a few paltry coins, than their own independence and liberty. . . . How quickly they followed and continued to follow, until but few were left to keep the heavy machinery in motion. It was a curious sight, that procession of rosy-cheeked, bright-eyed girls. Blue eyes, black eyes, grey eyes, yes, all eyes, were gleaming with triumphant merriment. (24-25)

The striking women hold meetings and adopt resolutions. With Mira as their President, the women vow not to return to the mills unless the wage reduction is reversed. When the corporations refuse to yield, more than four thousand women leave town. Mira stays on in Lowell but keeps her vow never to work again in a factory there. The remainder of the novel treats Mira's unhappy married life and her experience writing and publishing this book. After marrying a man who abuses her and their three small children, she obtains a divorce and wages a difficult battle against her husband for custody of their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children. Mira finally succeeds in obtaining custody. With the money she earns from publishing this novel, she buys a cottage in which to raise her children.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

412. Tyler, Martha W. *A Book without a Title: or Thrilling Events in the Life of Mira Dana.* By Mrs. M. W. Tyler, of Worcester. 2nd ed., with additions. Boston: Printed for the Author, 1856. 298 pp.

SYNOPSIS: The second edition includes much of the same content as the first (see entry 411). The preface and the story's ending, however, have been revised. In "To the Reader," Tyler explains that, while most of the first edition was autobiographical, the conclusion was "merely imaginative" (vii). Actually, Mira Dana was unable to obtain custody of her children. The novel's conclusion reflects this change, as well as depicting the vilification Mira has suffered as a result of publishing her story.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

413. "[We are not slaves!]" 1841. Fairfield, *Sands, Spindles, and Steeples* 47.

SYNOPSIS: This four-line verse was recited by the three hundred to four hundred women factory operatives marching through the streets during a strike in Saco, Maine, in 1841. In this chant, the women ask for no special treatment, only to be granted the rights belonging to daughters of freemen.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

414. "The Ten Hour System." *Factory Girl's Album* 1.1 (14 February 1846).

SYNOPSIS: The four lines of verse express factory women's determination to achieve passage of a bill reducing their workday from fourteen to ten hours. Until they reach this goal, they will not be silenced:

> We will have the Ten Hour Bill--
> That we will--that we will;
> Else the land shall ne'er be still--
> Never still--never still.

An earlier poem including these four lines of verse appeared in the *New England Artisan, and Laboring Man's Repository* (Boston) 2.38 (19 September 1833) (held by American Antiquarian Society). The poem was sung by "crippled" English factory children and their supporters presenting a ten-hour petition to Parliament.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: See periodical entry. Reprinted in Foner, *American Labor Songs* 69.

415. Woodbridge, Alice. "The Last Chance. A Story of the Labor Movement of To-Day." *The Journal of United Labor: Official Journal of the Order of the Knights of Labor of North America* 9.18-21 (1-22 November 1888). 8 pp.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this short story is Lilius Stanton, a young female factory worker in the town of L---, supporting herself and her ailing, widowed mother. When the story opens, the mill workers are on strike for higher wages. Five years earlier, Hugh Gresham, a labor organizer blacklisted in his own state, came to town and organized the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workers to reduce their workday from fourteen to nine hours. He also helped them win higher wages. Now striking again for higher wages, the workers, worn out by hunger and cold, vote--against the urging of Hugh and Lilius--to end the strike and return to work. Knowing that he cannot go back to the mills, Hugh leaves town. Though he loves Lilius, Hugh dedicates himself to a solitary life serving God and the cause of labor, which "will shine some day to light the world." Tramping from state to state seeking work, Hugh finds himself blacklisted in many mills. Sometimes working briefly on farms or in factories, Hugh never "fail[s] to sow the seed of organization" (November 8). One day, he receives a telegram from Frank Churchill, a factory worker in L---, informing him that Lilius is dying and asking for him. Though he is quite ill himself, Hugh travels to L--- but gets stranded in a snowstorm. Walking out into the storm and sinking into the snowdrifts, he sees Lilius standing in a bright light. At the time of Hugh's departure from L---, Lilius, brokenhearted because she loves him, returns to her job in the factory. The corporation imposes a twelve-hour workday and otherwise oppresses the workers, discharging and blacklisting any rebels. The workers' organization falls apart. After the death of Lilius's mother, she moves in with Frank Churchill and his mother. Frank comes to love Lilius, but she still pines for Hugh. When the mills reduce wages, Frank and Lilius revive the workers' organization. Five hundred workers wage an eight-week-long strike, winning a nine-hour day at the old pay. Lilius becomes "the first Master Workman of the new organization" (November 22). When Frank asks Lilius to marry him, she tells him that she still loves Hugh. She falls very ill. During a spell of recovery, she promises to marry Frank. No longer able to work at the mill, Lilius stays home but

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

soon becomes deathly ill. As Lilius dies, Hugh also lies dying in the snow, clasping a lock of her hair.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

415a. "The Yonkers Women's Strike." *John Swinton's Paper* (New York, NY) 2.87 (June 7, 1885).

SYNOPSIS: Published anonymously in a labor paper, "The Yonkers Women's Strike" is modelled closely after Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade," with striking female carpet weavers taking the part of charging soldiers. Fighting for higher wages and the right to unionize, two thousand women sustained the months-long strike in Yonkers, New York. The thirty-two-line poem is a rousing tribute to their courage and solidarity:

> "Strike for your rights!" she said,
> Wildly her shuttle waved,
> While 'round about the maid,
> Machinery thundered.
> "Down with your tools!" she cried,
> Then they marched side by side,
> Eyes flashing honest pride,
> Gallant few hundred.
>
> Oh! what a strike they made,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Was there a girl afraid?

E'en though the varlets said,

"Some one has blundered."

Weavers with shuttles deft,

Of every right bereft,

Nothing but strike was left,

So struck the few hundred.

Dailies to right of them,

Weeklies to left of them,

Slander in front of them,

Volleyed and thundered.

Charged at with shot and shell,

(But not a striker fell,)

Boldly they stood and well,

Noble few hundred.

Oh! how they struck that day,

Striking to get fair play,

Striking for honest pay,

Their wrongs are unnumbered.

When can their glory fade?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Honor the strike they made,

Honor each noble maid,

Gallant few hundred. (1-32)

John Swinton's Paper was affiliated with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ANTI-STRIKE FICTION

416. Arthur, Timothy Shay. *The Strike at Tivoli Mills; and What Came of It.* Philadelphia: Garrigues Bros., 1879. 147 pp.

AUTHOR: Arthur (1809-85; b. New York) was a prolific writer of didactic fiction.

SYNOPSIS: This temperance novel is set in the fictitious town of Tivoli, where the working people live in wretched poverty in Corporation Row. Cotton mill workers, predominantly men, go on strike to protest against their "starvation wages" at the Commonwealth Mills (27). Mill management refuse to yield to their demands. The strikers' hero is a rough heavy drinker named "Black Andy" Sullivan. As the strike continues, the starving wives and children beg the men to return to work. Whatever money they have the men spend at Maguire's Tavern. Several upper-class characters, including the town doctor and the mill superintendent Mr. Thorne, begin convincing the strikers that it is the whisky men and not the mill owners who are their real enemies. When Mr. Thorne recommends that they strike instead against the whisky mills which are depriving them of their wages, the strikers begin to withdraw support from the original strike to join a strike against the whisky mills. Mrs. Farrington, wife of the probate judge and the town's leading philanthropist, convinces Mr. Thorne that the corporations' lack of paternalistic care for the working people has also contributed to their poverty. Mr. Thorne decides to rehabilitate the corporation housing and exact a temperance pledge from all workers in his mill. Most of the strikers, having taken the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pledge, return to work in the mills at the old starvation wages. During a period of several years, Mr. Thorne resolutely carries out his reforms. Corporation Row becomes a beautiful place, and the sober workers are able to save enough money to buy their own homes or start their own businesses. Features of the novel include the portrayal of working-class women as conservative and slovenly, the depiction of Irish immigrants as childish and prone to drunkenness and violence, and the view of the upper class as much wiser and more benevolent than their subordinates.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

417. Benjamin, Charles A. *The Strike in the B--- Mill: A Study.* Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1887. 362 pp.

SYNOPSIS: As the author explains in the preface, the novel is calculated to warn readers of the dangers of strikes. The story is set in the New England textile manufacturing town of F---, where three thousand factory hands, mostly men, work and live. Many of the workers and their families are Irish and French-Canadian immigrants. A large group of the workers belonging to a labor organization, the "Associates of Toil," strike for an advance in wages. The A.O.T. seems intended to represent the Knights of Labor, a prominent nineteenth-century labor organization. The novel's few women workers and the wives of the men workers generally oppose the strike. When presented with the workers' demands, the mill management, who are depicted as mostly benevolent, agree to raise wages. They refuse, however, to discharge the "scabs" who stayed on in the mill during the strike, as the A.O.T. demands. The strikers consequently stay out of work six

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

weeks over the issue of the "scabs." Though some of the A.O.T. are reasonable men, generally the organization is represented as undemocratic and despotic, "dictating to capital and labor alike" (62). Their callous attitude toward the "scabs" reveals the true corruption of A.O.T. leadership. The most depraved of the A.O.T. heads are a drunken German socialist and anarchist named Kohler and an Irishman, Patrick Murphy. The character of Kohler is "modeled after Johann Most," according to Mayberry (119). The A.O.T. and the strikers are represented as un-American, "largely of foreign antecedents" (269). Their activities cause "want, distress, and violence" (144). Radical labor organizations, moreover, introduce dangerous notions of class distinctions into the classless United States. They also oppress workers by keeping them "down to one level" (155). To the mill management and stockholders, the strikers are "poor, mistaken people" (207). The narrative stresses the hunger, intemperance, and disease among the working class caused by the strike, as well as the altruistic efforts of the bourgeoisie to relieve their suffering. After intimidation and isolated attacks fail to drive the "scabs" from the mill, a mob of A.O.T. members convenes one night to dynamite their tenement. When the police and other citizens mount a strong defense, the A.O.T. is easily defeated, with the cowardly Kohler deserting his men. The riot marks the withdrawal of the A.O.T. from town, the end of the strike, and the return of the workers to the B--- Mill to work alongside the "scabs." Towards the novel's conclusion, the narrator contends that labor problems are caused by a glut of wage laborers. Instead of crowding into towns and cities to work in industry, laborers ought to take up farming, thereby finding a more wholesome and independent life.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

418. Bennett, Mary E. *Asaph's Ten Thousand.* Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1890. 325 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Set in Milfordville, a fictitious New England factory village, this tractate novel depicts the strained relations between the rich mill owners, the Milfords, and their poor cotton mill operatives. Much of the narrative concerns the workers' strike for higher wages. While the text represents labor activism, particularly strikes, as threatening to American society, it also treats sympathetically the hardships of the workers' lives. Bennett also devotes significant attention to the struggles and aspirations of factory women. At the story's opening, the sisters Edith and Adele Milford return from college to the Milfordville family mansion. Their father, George, runs his family and his factories with an iron fist. Their brother Asaph, in his early forties, lives at home, a sad failure. Years earlier his father gave him ten thousand dollars to launch himself in business. After Asaph ineptly lost the money, he received an inheritance from an uncle and paid back his father. Nonetheless, he remains tortured by a sense of inferiority. For twenty years, he has been courting a noble factory woman, Mary Fielding, whom he is afraid to marry because his father disapproves of his marrying a mill worker. Edith and Adele suffer, too, from idleness and a sense of uselessness. When her father rejects Adele's request to enter the family business, she devotes herself to raising funds to found a women's astronomical college. The local clergyman, Mr. Paxton, ministers to the mill workers, including one woman dying from consumption, and tries to bridge the gulf

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between the town's rich and poor. He and his wife reflect sadly on the contrast between the Milford daughters' luxurious lives and the privation of the mill women: "They were both full, perhaps, of thoughts about girls so different from these, the girls they had often seen gathered in the lecture-rooms at the mill; faces hard and pale haunted them, faces that reflected untaught, under-fed minds, and the stirrings of uneasy passions, covetousness, discontent, suspicion" (124). The disgruntled workers form an organization, the Champions, led by two reckless and intemperate immigrants, Carl Friese (perhaps modeled after Johann Most) and Clancy. Mary Fielding disapproves of the Champions, deeming herself privileged, as she tells a co-worker, Maggie Daley, to work with wonderful machinery participating in "God's work," making "white garments for many people." Maggie disagrees, remarking, "Why should we poor girls work so hard and still be poor while others do nothing and are so rich?" (55). A New York labor agitator, Hickok, addresses the Champions movingly on their lack of rights and need to organize and agitate: "For ages past we have toiled on, unnoticed, unknown, uncounted, laying down our lives in obscurity. . . . The day is coming when all things are to be ours. The means of production will no longer be held by a privileged few; they will be in the hands of an enlightened State, pouring out their streams of wealth for the benefit of all" (77). When George Milford discharges Friese and Ida Mix from the mills for their labor activism, the workers walk out on strike for higher wages. Ida is a thoughtful young woman, supporting her widowed mother and young siblings. She yearns for more education and a writing career. In the meantime, Carl Friese seduces a giddy factory woman, Ellie Briggs. After being humiliated by Friese and Ellie, Asaph stands up to his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

father and announces his engagement to Mary, becoming a new man. Friese and Ellie cause "wanton destruction" to the Milfords' property (196). A gang led by the drunken Clancy ignites a fire that leaves Lucien Milford, George's son, "crippled" for life (298). The narrator avers that such disorderly foreigners stand in need of salvation (220). Ida narrowly escapes seduction by Hickok. When the Champions discover that Friese is a corrupt fraud, he leaves town, deserting Ellie. Trying to drown herself in the mill stream, Ellie is rescued by Mary Fielding. With Clancy in prison, the strikers, bereft of their leaders, return to the mills. George Milford makes a minor improvement in working conditions, closing one hour earlier on Saturdays and Wednesdays. Years ago, George invested Asaph's ten thousand, which has since multiplied threefold. He gives the money as a wedding gift to Adele, which she decides to use, not for her college, but to build a mill workers' clubhouse, with a reading room, library, gymnasium, bathing rooms, coffee house, parlor, garden, bowling alley, and tennis and croquet grounds. Ida Mix will serve as the librarian.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Library of Congress.

419. Coolidge, Erwin L. *The Mystery of the Montauk Mills: The Story of a Great Strike.* New York: J. S. Ogilvie Co., 1893. 152 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This dime novel in the series, *Eureka Detective Stories*, is set in the New England factory city, Millville. The hero is young Walter Wallace, a longtime employee of the Montauk Mills who has worked his way up to the responsible post of night watchman. Caspar Leclair, the wealthy mill owner, loves Walter like a son since he has

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

always been faithful to his interests. When Leclair plans to reduce wages by five percent, Walter tells him that the hands will certainly strike, especially considering that this would be the second cutdown of wages in a year. Walter's fiancee, Jessie Graves, a very beautiful young spinner in the mills, "a woman pure and true," lives in a cottage with her foster mother (74). Between Jessie's wages and Mrs. Graves's earnings from "needle and fancy-work," they are able to support themselves comfortably (22). While Jessie is unsure what position she will take on the impending strike, Mrs. Graves fears it since past strikes have been "bad things" ruining many families (26). The ringleaders of the strike are Jack Dyke and Steven Morley, two "rough, villainous" men (38). Jack hates Walter because he wants to possess Jessie for himself. Since Jack has been telling Leclair fictions about dissatisfied help, Leclair intends to reduce wages just to teach the workers a lesson and soon after raise them again. While Leclair can well afford to let the mills lie idle for several weeks, he does not think that the strikers can hold out long. Leclair regards the workers as "hungry and greedy wretches . . . cattle . . . slaves" (33). Jack attacks and tries unsuccessfully to kill both Leclair and Walter. The day the wage reduction is announced, most of the workers walk out on strike, parading and holding a mass meeting. Jessie remains at work, along with thirty other operatives, but they are dismissed because they are too few to keep the mills running. Morley and Dyke soon abandon the strikers, whom they regard as "their duped tools" (94). When Jack Dyke murders Leclair, Walter shoots and kills him. Leclair's will bequeaths most of his property to Walter, except $100,000 for his missing daughter, who turns out to be Jessie. Without a leader, the strikers relent and go back to work after one week. In the narrator's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opinion, the strikers had "rashly deserted" their posts (151). Walter and Jessie marry, becoming the wealthy owners of the Montauk Mills.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by New York Public Library, California State University, Kent State University, and Ohio State University.

420. Cruger, Mary. *Brotherhood.* Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1891. 306 pp.

AUTHOR: Cruger (b. 1834 in New York) lived and wrote in Montrose, New York.

SYNOPSIS: This novel exposes the evils of labor activism and trade unionism. The story is set in the fictitious small town of Archdale, where Squire Newbold is the owner of "extensive factories" (32) manufacturing an unspecified product. Before his death, Newbold disowned his daughter, Meta, because she married the lowly son of a factory agent, Robert Aberley. Left a widow with a young child, Meta is scorned by her family and forced to work as a dressmaker. George Marchant, an intelligent, charismatic, and handsome labor leader, is a "man of the people" (54), who began life as a laborer. Mabel Vane, a naive young socialite, is among his blindly admiring followers. As an official in a labor organization called "the brotherhood," George wishes to overthrow the aristocracy. He believes that there should be no inheritance of wealth and that business profits ought to be shared with employees (83, 85). When George stirs up the workers to agitate for higher wages, Ralph Newbold imposes a lock out, shutting down the mills. While George is out of town, some unruly, drunken workmen set fire to the factories, burning them down and seriously injuring Ralph. The workers come to feel remorse for their opposition to Ralph, their "master," who has always treated them so kindly (204).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

George deeply regrets his part in the brotherhood, realizing that most of the working class is unworthy of trust:

> [H]e could not fail to see how his efforts had thus far produced only discord and suffering. He felt more keenly than ever the one strongest drawback that belonged to the brotherhood. It was of necessity composed almost entirely of illiterate, unthinking men, who had to be swayed as masses, had to be guided and governed, but could never be left to their own devices, or trusted with the leading power. (206)

When Ralph Newbold recovers, he rebuilds the factories, making them bigger and better than the old ones, and he rehires many of his old hands. Feeling that his life is a failure, George regrets his hatred of Ralph Newbold: "He had hated Ralph Newbold with an unreasoning hatred. . . . [H]e had gloried in opposing him, had led by his wonderful eloquence the multitude of unthinking men, who had wrought so much of woe and suffering to the master whose rule had been ever just and reasonable. Everywhere he was defeated" (277-78). Ralph and Meta are reconciled. In the end, George Marchant freezes to death in a blizzard.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

421. Grant, Robert. *Face to Face*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. 396 pp.

AUTHOR: Grant (1852-1940; b. Boston, Massachusetts) was a lawyer, judge, poet, and novelist of Boston.

SYNOPSIS: This novel's heroine is Evelyn Pimlico, a wellborn young Englishwoman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

traveling in the United States. When she inherits fifteen million dollars from an American benefactor, along with some factories north of New York City, she devotes herself for a time to industrial reform. The Wisabet Mills, located on the Hudson River, employ men, women, and children to manufacture an unspecified product. Ernest Clay, the owner of the nearby Clyme Valley Manufacturing Company, falls in love with the beautiful and noble Evelyn, but she initially rejects his marriage proposal. As Evelyn assumes ownership, the Wisabet operatives have struck for a share in the corporation's profits. The strikers' leader is the darkly handsome and charismatic Andrew De Vito, a talented mill mechanic who has created some important inventions. He is the illegitimate son of an Italian immigrant factory girl and a wealthy Yankee. Although the former mill owner provided the workers with a public library and Saturday night entertainment, they are dissatisfied with their pitiful wages and miserable tenements. Learning of their plight, Evelyn comes to sympathize with them, as she tells Ernest: "[I]f I were one of the working masses I should very likely be a striker too. Think what a bitter sight the luxury and extravagance of the rich must be to a man with barely means enough to save his children from hunger. How our splendid houses and brilliant equipages and beautiful dresses must confuse his sense of justice!" (265). Talking with De Vito, a self-described radical and Socialist, Evelyn becomes aware of the great gulf between capital and labor. When De Vito leaves town for a while, without their leader most of the strikers return to work at the old wages. Evelyn convinces De Vito to join her in the "experiment of drawing rich and poor nearer together" (305). She will manage the Mills, with De Vito as her superintendent. Over a period of several years, Evelyn and De Vito implement a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

number of reforms in the mills and workers' housing. Evelyn builds rows of pretty cottages to replace the "dingy tenements" (317). She improves the drainage and other sanitary conditions. The mills are run on a profit-sharing plan, and many cultural advantages are brought to town. Nonetheless, the Wisabet Mills cannot compete with surrounding mills paying starvation wages. Since Evelyn's mills are losing money, De Vito proposes to instigate strikes in the neighboring mills. He angrily denounces the unjust economic system, telling Evelyn:

> The old world had its kings and priests, the new world has its capitalists and corporations. . . . We working men have been taught to believe that the United States is a shelter and asylum for the oppressed, that there are no class distinctions here, that all are free and equal. Pshaw! That is a fiction, a cruel deception. . . . An aristocracy of wealth and luxury is squeezing the life-blood out of the working man. (325-26)

To his advocacy of strikes, Evelyn responds that working-class rebellion "means disorder, bloodshed, anarchy" (330). She defends her own class, who are responsible for "the many noble features in our civilization." The laboring class, on the other hand, has only impeded progress by their "ignorance and brutality and indolence." The "masses," she contends, are "the descendents of shiftless, sinful people" (340). Before De Vito can contact his old radical labor union, a plan for a wonderful new invention is sent to Evelyn anonymously by Ernest Clay, saving the Wisabet Mills from collapse. Although De Vito declares his passionate love for her, Evelyn realizes that she loves Ernest. When embittered, drunken workers set fire to some of Ernest's mills and his mansion, De Vito

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sacrifices his life, out of love for Evelyn, to rescue Ernest from the flames. Ernest and Evelyn plan to marry.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

422. Haynes, Emory Judson. *Dollars and Duty.* New York: Ward & Drummond, 1887. 458 pp.

AUTHOR: Haynes (1847-1914; b. Vermont) was a Methodist minister and an author.

SYNOPSIS: This novel's hero, Paul Havens, is an Amherst College student and the son of a minister in Crosston, a fictitious New Hampshire town. His fiancee, Clara Norcross, is the daughter of Lemuel Norcross, the wealthy and imperious owner of the Crosston silk mills. The five thousand Crosston residents are all dependent, either directly or indirectly, on Lemuel's mills. Lemuel, who owns the parsonage, is deeply involved in managing the church's affairs, including a sizable debt. Clara, unselfish and kind, is the embodiment of innocent and pure Christianity. Through the novel's first half, Paul struggles to choose between the opportunity to become Lemuel Norcross's partner and a possible call to the ministry. Finally, he accepts God's call to the ministry. Chapter ten includes some description of the mills and the workers. The gatekeeper is a former mill worker who lost his foot in the machinery. The young operatives are "white-faced," as they go to their "treadmill toil" (182). Their attitude toward their superiors is one of either obsequious admiration or envy. The workers' health has been damaged by mill work, which has "stunted all their growths," made them pale, and caused them to walk with a shuffle (183). Lemuel Norcross, unschooled in his youth, has a mind that works

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

like machinery. Resentful at losing his partner and possibly his daughter to the humble life of a parson's wife, Lemuel tells Paul that the world is not "worth serving" and that "[g]old is the god now-a-days" (195). Dissatisfied Crosston mill workers begin to talk of striking. The narrator avers that in a factory village a strike is a "horror . . . a civil war boiled down to the bitterest extract" (240-41). At a meeting of the Brotherly Amalgamated American Working-Men, speakers, including an English demagogue named Liverpool, inflame the Yankee workingmen's enmity against the Norcrosses and their "race-hatred." Overcome with ethnic hatred, the Yankee workers decide to strike in order to drive out the French, French-Canadian, and Irish immigrant workers. A battle breaks out between the Yankees and the "foreigners." Invoking Christ and calling upon the workers' "Puritan consciences," Rev. Havens calms the Yankee workers. The "foreigners" set fire to some of the sheds in the millyard. The Yankee and immigrant workers soon reestablish peace, becoming as "silly" in their "joy" as they had been in their "savagery" (270). Despite Rev. Havens's role in saving Norcross's mills, Lemuel dismisses him from the town pastorate. Once ordained, Paul Havens devotes himself to a ministry among the Boston poor. By the end of the novel, Lemuel Norcross is ruined by his own crooked financial dealings, and Paul marries Clara.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

423. "The Rich and the Poor: A Fairy Tale." *Paterson Intelligencer* (5 August 1835).

SYNOPSIS: This short story was published in Paterson, New Jersey, during the 1835 textile strike for a reduction in working hours. For its time, the strike was a large and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lengthy one, involving two thousand workers over a six-week period (Gish 32). Children aged eight to sixteen constituted nearly half of Paterson's mill workforce, toiling from twelve to fourteen hours a day (Gish 24, 32). During the strike, the *Paterson Intelligencer* ran two stories illustrating the dangers of class leveling and higher wages. In "The Rich and the Poor," the hero, John Hopkins, is a "poor laborer" with many children. He is disgusted by the great contrast between the luxuries enjoyed by the rich and his own difficulty procuring even the bare necessities of life. Suddenly a fairy appears, offering to remove all of the wealthy's "handsome equipage, fine clothes and dainty dishes" with a wand stroke. Initially, John is pleased with the change. Soon he finds, however, that even the few luxuries enjoyed by the poor have disappeared. His brother, a silk mill weaver, loses his job when the silk vanishes. Many other laborers lose their jobs, because the rich no longer have much incentive to conduct business. After one week, John begs the fairy to reverse the change. The fairy grants his request, and John is delighted to see "the turned-off workmen running to their looms and spindles." John learns that "the rich and the poor have but one and the same interest" and that "the comforts of the poor are derived from the riches of the rich."

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Paterson (New Jersey) Public Library.

424. Sheldon, Charles Monroe (1857-1946). *The Crucifixion of Philip Strong.* Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1900. 257 pp.

SYNOPSIS: At the opening of this novel, the hero, Philip Strong, a clergyman, has decided to turn down the attractive offer of a pastorate in a quiet university town for a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more demanding one in Milton, a fictitious manufacturing community. A town of fifty thousand, mostly operatives, Milton is beset with vice and misery. Philip feels called by God to "work for Christ" among the poor and oppressed factory operatives (9). After moving to the Calvary Church parsonage in Milton, Philip views the huge textile mills and dreary corporation tenements:

> He noted with special interest and earnestness the great brick mills by the river, five enormous structures with immense chimneys, out of which poured great volumes of smoke. Something about the mills fascinated him. They seemed like monsters of some sort, grim, unfeeling, but terrible. As one walked by them he seemed to feel the throbbing of the hearts of five creatures. The unpainted tenements, ugly in their unfailing similarity, affected Philip with a sense of almost anger. (19-20)

From the pulpit he begins challenging the property owners' exploitation of the poor workers. He also speaks out against the townspeople's desecration of the Sabbath and their frequenting of saloons. Philip begins to be persecuted, enduring being shot and receiving death threats. He gets to know Mr. Winter, the owner of the Ocean Mill and one of the town's wealthiest men, and gradually leads him closer to Christ. Philip preaches "Christian Socialism" to the mill employees (97). When one of Mr. Winter's mill workers is killed, "a mob of howling, angry" workingmen attack him (100). Philip defends him and prevents the mob from hanging him. The workers threaten to strike against a wage reduction, but Philip dissuades them, characterizing strikes as "demoralizing, [and] an unhealthful, disastrous method of getting justice done" (108).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

He later speaks out against "the great selfishness of the labor unions and trades organizations in their attempts to dictate to other men in the matter of work" (212). Before the workers can strike, the mill owners shut down the factories. As the mill closure drags on through the winter, the unemployed workers and their families suffer terribly from hunger and cold. After turning the parsonage into an orphan asylum, Philip and his wife move into the tenement district. Philip works among the poor people during an epidemic "caused by the lack of sanitary regulations, imperfect drainage and crowding of families" (216-17). Believing that the church ought to address the problems of capital and labor, Philip preaches that the wealthy should "use its power for the good of [Milton], for the tearing down and remodeling of the tenements, for the solution of the problem of no work for thousands" (216). In fear of the influence of Philip's socialistic ideas, the church officials and Milton businessmen vote to remove him from the church. Preaching his last sermon and filled with love for the Milton people, Philip begins to cough up blood and expires at the foot of the crucifix. The text includes many transcriptions of Philip's sermons. For the most part, the factory workers remain very much in the story's background.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

425. "Wages: A Fairy Tale." *Paterson Intelligencer* (12 August 1835).

SYNOPSIS: This short story was published in Paterson, New Jersey, during the 1835 textile workers' strike for reduced working hours. For its time, the strike was a large and lengthy one, involving two thousand workers over a six-week period (Gish 32). Children

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aged eight to sixteen constituted nearly half of Paterson's mill workforce, toiling from twelve to fourteen hours a day (Gish 24, 32). During the strike, the *Paterson Intelligencer* ran two stories illustrating the dangers of class leveling and higher wages. In "Wages," the hero, John Hopkins, is a "poor laborer" with many children. He believes that laborers should be paid twice the wages they now receive. This increase would greatly benefit the poor, while hardly affecting the wealthy. When John asks a fairy to wave her wand and make this change, she agrees to try it for three months. Initially, people are happy with the higher wages, but soon prices rise. Workers begin to lose their jobs, because employers cannot afford the high wages. John's children are laid off from the textile mills, and his own work schedule is reduced by half. After three months, John asks the fairy to return wages to the former rates. When wages are lowered to the original levels, people's jobs are restored. John learns "how dangerous it [is] to meddle with things he [does] not understand." His son Dick, a mill worker, is fairly well informed on economic matters, because the factory is like a school where the workers learn by talking with each other.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by Paterson (New Jersey) Public Library.

426. Warner, Beverley Ellison. *Troubled Waters: A Problem of To-Day*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1885. 327 pp.

AUTHOR: Warner (1855-1910; b. New Jersey), a New Orleans Episcopalian minister, wrote fiction and literary criticism.

SYNOPSIS: Depicting a bitter strike, this novel advocates responsible stewardship of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wealth and cooperation between labor and capital. The story is set in a large Eastern manufacturing city, where Richard Wilton is the owner of the prosperous Tradelawn Mills, manufacturing woolen cloth (7). Founding the Mills with secretly stolen money and inventions, Wilton has become a millionaire. His minimal education and childhood experience of poverty and mill labor have made him coarse and arrogant. The narrator characterizes him as a "man who merely makes money" (12). Robert Croft, a longtime worker in the machine-shop, is bitter about the great disparity between Wilton's wealth and his own poverty. His sixteen-year-old daughter, Ellen, is a typical mill girl who enjoys "story-papers" and "street-walking" (25). Regrettably, like other factory girls, she regards mill work as "only an occupation by the way . . . [while m]arriage is the end of life" (27). The narrator recommends that girls be raised instead to regard work and marriage as boys do, viewing their work as "life-work" (28). Many of the town's workingmen belong to the "Royal Sons of Toil" (seemingly based upon the Knights of Labor). The organization is "a sick and burial brotherhood" (36). Angry about their poverty and about being forced to send their children into the mills, some of the Sons of Toil, including Robert Croft, vent their anticapitalist indignation: "Why, we fools of workingmen first create wealth, then we hand it over to people we call capitalists, who deal out to us just enough to keep us from starving, while we keep adding to their pile" (39). The narrator comments that the problems of labor cannot be solved without taking into account "the human heart and the human soul" (44). Wilton decides to lay off one hundred of his better-paid workers and replace them with cheaper hands. Concerned that Croft is a troublemaker who reads too much, Wilton includes him among the layoffs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Before leaving the Mills, Croft castigates Wilton, telling him, "Do you think God'll stand it much longer to have big houses built on the bodies and souls of men and women?" (55). When Wilton and the town's other manufacturers announce a wage reduction, the workers plan a strike. Sydney Worthington, an idealistic young society belle looking for a purpose in life, decides to help the workers. Mark Winthrop, a local clergyman, also sympathizes with the oppressed workers. Meanwhile, the workingmen's wives and mothers plead with them not to strike, fearing it as they fear war: "The misery, starvation, uselessness, were all urged . . . by these poor women,--the women buoyed up by no excitement, like the women at home while the men are at war, who see only the lists of dead, wounded, and missing without feeling the glow of battle and the mad delight of carnage" (103). Excluding women and children, the workingmen hold a mass meeting. In a rousing address, Robert Croft urges them to strike. A professional "agitator" from New York addresses the crowd even more persuasively in the "cant of the working-man's cause," promising them aid (111). Croft is appointed to the executive committee of the strikers' league. Sydney and Mark Winthrop come to believe that cooperation is the solution to the problem of labor and capital. Their prior social reform efforts include opening a "day-nursery down near the mills" (122). As the strike nears, the men frequent the barrooms. The workingmen present the mill owners with a declaration (which the narrator calls "a bungling contrivance") stating "that they would not go back to work at the reduced rate, nor would any return unless all were received back on equal terms" (138). Nine-tenths of the working people honor the strike, and some of the mills, including Wilton's, are shut down. The narrator blames their negligent and hardhearted

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mothers for the wildness of working girls like Ellen Croft (149). Distressed by the men's idleness and intemperance, the women more and more vehemently oppose the strike. The destitute workers begin to trickle back to the mills, and after two weeks, the strike ends. The employers discharge those perceived as "shiftless or careless workmen" (151). Croft, blacklisted as "dangerous," is unable to find any work (152). Fired by whiskey and bitterness, some of the Sons of Toil plan to burn Wilton's mansion. Driven away by her mother's cruelty, Ellen Croft runs off with a man. Not long after, she and her illegitimate infant die. As Wilton's mansion burns, a mob of townspeople including Robert Croft plunders his property. Eventually, Wilton, revealed as a thief and a fraud, leaves town in disgrace. Sydney and her brother, along with some other townspeople, build a new cooperative mill. All of the workers are stockholders in the business. The Tradelawn workers are now transformed from "dulled, embittered, and helpless slaves" into "men and women" (318). The story ends with several happy weddings. In the last few pages, the narrator discusses the moral of his "parable" (322). Wealth should not be hoarded: "It is a stewardship." Cooperation of labor and capital can solve the problems of "the misery of poverty, . . . [and] ill-compensated labor" (325). Treated humanely, labor will not "threaten the order and peace of society" (327).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CHARITY AND REFORM

427. Bellamy, Charles Joseph. *The Breton Mills: A Romance.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879. 455 pp.

AUTHOR: Bellamy (1852-1910; b. Massachusetts) worked as a journalist and novelist in Springfield, Massachusetts.

SYNOPSIS: In this novel, the wealthy mill owner's son undertakes mill reforms. The story includes a mostly sympathetic portrait of a labor leader, Curran. Set in the fictitious town of Bretonville, the novel's hero is Philip Breton, son of the textile magnate, Ezekiel Breton. At the opening of the story, Philip, a sensitive, kind young man, has just returned home from college. Disguising himself in shabby clothing, Philip attends a meeting of workingmen and begins to learn about "the disease called poverty" (12). He hears an address by Curran, one of the Bretonville weavers and a charismatic leader of the Labor League. Philip is awakened and electrified by Curran's speech, hearing such stirring words as:

> Yes, men you are, in spite of all the degradation the rich and powerful can put upon you. The time is coming, when the principles of equality vaunted on the pages of so many lying constitutions, and breathed on the lips of so many false-tongued demagogues, shall be fully realized. The time is coming when the work shall not be on one side, and the reward on the other. We shall not always wear rags as the livery of our masters. Not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> always shall the poor rise early and toil late, wear their skin till it be shriveled like parchment, and their bodies till they be ready to drop into the grave for weariness, only to pluck the fruit of God's bountiful earth for the lips of the idle and the proud to taste. (15)

Feeling that the scales have fallen off his eyes, Philip gets acquainted with the wretched living conditions and health problems of the poor operatives, what the narrator calls the "strange, terrible life" of the poor (31). The mill workers include "old-faced, joyless children" (34). The narrator compellingly describes the noisy, dangerous conditions in the weave-room:

> The strident voices of four hundred looms would seem to be too much for human nerves, but the walls of the weave-room number two of the Breton Mills are hung with soiled plaid shawls and chip hats, the livery of the factory girl. Their restless forms are busy among the rattling machinery, their swift cunning fingers moving harmlessly where mutilation would seem certain. It is a mere matter of habit, one look at most of the set pale faces, would show there was no brain force in exercise. Why, the overseer will tell you those girls are as much machines as the frames and belting; though they undoubtedly have one advantage for the employers, the girls are cheaper. The wonderful mechanism of those looms, the skillful system of belts and pulleys, and the enormous water-wheel cost a fortune; girls can be bought in the market any day for a crust of bread. (35)

One of the weavers, Jane Graves, seeing "nothing in [her work] but slavery and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

degradation" (58), yearns for love and release from the mills. Philip is betrothed to a rich young woman, Bertha Ellingsworth, but she does not love him, because he seems too weak and passive. Bertha and Jane both fall in love with the noble, majestic Curran. Jane is pleased to leave the factory and become a maid for the wealthy Ellingsworths. When a fire breaks out in the mills, the workingmen struggling to extinguish it are urged by a stranger to let the mills burn. After Philip addresses them, promising improvements, the men finish extinguishing the blaze. Disturbed by Curran's labor activism, Ezekiel Breton discharges him from the mills. When a working men's delegation requests that Ezekiel install fire escapes in the mills and increase their wages, Philip convinces his irate father to put in the fire escapes. Meanwhile, Jane, rebuffed by Curran, marries the widowed Mr. Ellingsworth, thereby becoming a wealthy lady. Nonetheless, she never ceases pining for her true love, Curran--and hating her rival, Bertha. The mill workers organize a strike but abandon it when Ezekiel suddenly drops dead. The working people have great faith in Philip, now the mill owner. They are confident that he will rectify injustices. Bertha and Curran run off together, and Philip begins to implement reforms, including an eight-hour workday, higher wages, a cost-price store, and profit-sharing. Philbrick, Philip's radical college friend, helps out with the Bretonville reforms. Philip's efforts enable many of the children to attend school rather than work in the mills (274). No longer loving Curran, Bertha returns to town. Now that Philip has proven his mettle, he wins her back. Philip builds a new cooperative mill. Since Curran is trying to steal Bertha back from him, Philip decides he must take her far away. He entrusts the mills to Philbrick, who plans even more reforms, such as a six-hour workday and lectures for the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

workers (419). Curran is maddened by his humiliation at Philip's hands. Still, he tries to convince the workers not to strike, reminding them of all Philip has done for them. In the final scene, Philip and Bertha sail for Europe.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

428. Campbell, Helen Stuart. *Mrs. Herndon's Income*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1886. 534 pp.

AUTHOR: Campbell (given name: Helen C. Weeks; 1839-1918; b. Lockport, New York) wrote fiction primarily about and for girls and women. Her writings reflect her philanthropic concerns for the poor.

SYNOPSIS: The novel's heroine, Margaret Wentworth Herndon, grows up in wealth and ease in the fictitious New England town of Edgeton. As a girl, she is shocked upon seeing the squalid living conditions of a poor neighbor, Meg Duke, the child of French Canadian ("Kanucks") factory workers. Margaret stands to inherit a great deal of money and hopes to use it to help poor people like the Dukes. After eight years of marriage and her husband's disappearance and presumed death, Margaret decides to use her wealth in helping the poor, hoping to bring some "happiness" and "amusement" into their lives (171). Encountering Meg Duke again in New York City, where the two women now live, Margaret asks her to join in her philanthropic work (187). Meg is a battered wife, whom Margaret assists in leaving her husband. The novel's large cast of characters includes socialists and trade unionists, one of whom describes the New England mills as "child-killers, women-killers" (214). Another character, Herbert Longshore, a New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

City factory owner, takes steps to improve working and living conditions for his protesting workers (241-335). The wretched workers' housing is closely described. Longshore decides to share his factory's profits with the workers (337). Christian love and upper-class philanthropy are promoted as the solutions to poor mill workers' problems. When Mrs. Herndon's husband reappears, she decides to continue living as a single woman, devoting her income to helping the poor.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

429. Dorsay, Lewis R. "John Van Alstyne's Factory." *The Catholic World* 46-48 (October 1887-November 1888).

SYNOPSIS: Published serially, this is a novella in thirty-eight chapters. The story advocates Christian love, individual responsibility, and profit-sharing as solutions to poor mill workers' problems. The text includes much examination of Christianity, specifically of relations between Catholics and Protestants. The heroine, nineteen-year-old Zipporah ("Zip") Colton, becomes a schoolteacher in the fictitious town of Milton Centre in New York State. Having been raised in comfortable middle-class circumstances, Zip is a rather naive young woman. Milton Centre is dominated by John Van Alstyne's textile mills, whose two to three hundred employees are mostly poor Irish immigrants. Zip was raised a Methodist. Nearby live a poor Irish Catholic family, the Murrays. The eldest son, Paul Murray, works as a factory manager. The eldest daughter, Mary Anne, is a saintly, overworked young woman who has assumed the role of housekeeper and surrogate mother since her mother's death. John Van Alstyne is a very rich but kindly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mill owner, who does not reduce wages or close down the mills when other manufacturers do and "does everything for his hands, especially . . . [the] sick or feeble" (November 1887: 209). A nonobservant Protestant, he warns Zip not to "stir up the religious prejudices of the people" (November 1887: 196). Zip's pupils include Yankee, Irish, French-Canadian, and African-American children, many of whose parents work in the mills. Planning to build another factory, Van Alstyne decides also to erect a Catholic church for the workers. Viewing his wealth as a "trust" to be used for the benefit of as many people as possible, he institutes a profit-sharing plan for his employees, to be continued even after his death by his designated successor, Paul Murray (February 1888: 664). Van Alstyne believes it wrong for him to possess such great wealth, as he tells Paul, "I think the fact that I or any other man can possess a fortune of five or ten millions, unquestioned, implies a fundamental injustice somewhere" (February 1888: 670). Out of humanitarian motives, he refuses to employ mothers of young children in his mills and makes lowcost houses available for his workers. In planning his new industrial community, Van Alstyne believes that he is no longer the "owner" but "only steward and distributer" (November 1888: 250). By the end of the story, Zip has converted to Catholicism. She and Paul marry, taking up housekeeping with Mr. Van Alstyne. In this novella, the mill workers remain very much in the background.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)" and in *American Periodicals*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

430. Douglas, Amanda M. *Hope Mills.* Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1880. 372 pp.

AUTHOR: Amanda Minnie Douglas (1831-1916; b. New York City) lived in Newark, New Jersey, and wrote popular fiction for young people and adults.

SYNOPSIS: The novel is set in the fictitious New England town of Yerbury, home of the Hope Mills, a woolen textile industry. No single character serves as the hero or heroine, but several young characters share the spotlight. The story opens with a portrayal of the close boyhood friendship of Fred Lawrence, the son of the wealthy and honorable Hope Mills' owner, and Jack Darcy, a mill hand's son with some claim to noble blood among his ancestors. Fred and Jack, now eighteen, are the friends of a young neighbor, Sylvie Barry, the daughter of decayed gentility. Sylvie is an earnest, idealistic young woman who despises class snobbery. Jack longs for Western adventure but must stay in Yerbury to care for his widowed mother and grandmother. When Fred attends Harvard, he drops his friendship with Jack as something beneath him. Furious at Fred's class bias, Sylvie rejects his marriage proposal. Jack works on steadily as a foreman in Hope Mills. Wealthy men buy up open land in Yerbury, building more factories and housing. When overproduction reduces the demand for textiles and other manufactures, Hope Mills twice reduces wages. Refused a return to their old wages, the mill workers strike (82). Mr. Lawrence brings in replacement workers from another town. Soon the bank fails due to unsound speculations and business transactions. The Lawrence family is now ruined, and Mr. Lawrence dies. The mills close for the winter, the whole country being in a depression. The United States is quickly reaching a state of "the few rich and the many poor" (117). Through the winter, the mill people suffer greatly from hunger and disease.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jack Darcy reads and ponders the problems of capital and labor. When his grandmother dies, he inherits seven thousand dollars. Jack and Dr. Maverick, the town's physician, interest a rich old woman, Miss McLeod, in their scheme to reopen Hope Mills and run the business for five years on a cooperative plan, sharing profits with the workers. Miss McLeod agrees to provide most of the needed capital. After one idle year, the Mills, renamed the "Hope Mills Co-operative Association," reopen in mid-September, with a plan to divide the profits, half to capital and half to labor. The new mill regulations include a prohibition against liquor. The narrator contrasts slow, honorable industry to the reckless financial speculation that may appeal more to human nature (169). When Fred returns to Yerbury, he and Jack resume their friendship. Fred works as a paper mill clerk and foreman, maintaining his mother and sister in a small cottage. Sylvie and Miss Morgan (Jack's cousin) open an Industrial School to teach Yerbury's poor women cooking, economy, and sewing. Sylvie includes lessons on talking in a "lady-like manner" and on "cleanliness, order, taste, and neatness" (222, 224). After six months, the mills make a small profit. The workers begin to think for themselves, tidy up their homes, and plant gardens (236). By the next fall, however, business slumps. Facing foreign competition, by winter Hope Mills reduces wages. Jack learns "an earnest sympathy for all struggling capitalists" (245). At Miss McLeod's suggestion, the Hope Mills management develops a new kind of fabric. With business lagging and the mill workers earning only three-quarter wages, disaffection grows among the workers, but this problem passes when business improves. Once Fred has sufficiently proved his worth, Sylvie marries him, content to submerge her considerable talents in his career.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Finally, Hope Mills prosper, their new line of products selling well. A labor prophet named McPherson arises, traveling about the country speaking to great acclaim. The narrator derides his discovery of "the magic key to the workingmen's paradise" (322). McPherson's views of labor and capital's struggles are bombastic and often fallacious, the narrator contends. Reading McPherson's speeches, the Hope Mills workers question why their wages are not higher and why they are still so poor. They invite McPherson to speak at Yerbury. After he delivers a rousing address on labor's enslavement and oppression by capital, workers inside and outside Hope Mills begin to attack its cooperative scheme. Strikes are breaking out all over the United States, as labor has "capital a little by the throat," the narrator explains (333). Liquor consumption is rising at the same time. As other local mills strike, they pressure Hope Mills to join them in solidarity. Although some of the Hope Mills workers distrust management, a majority of the workers proclaim their loyalty to Jack Darcy, refusing to strike. The mutual loyalty of mill management and workers is the beauty of cooperation. Nonetheless, fights break out in Yerbury, and someone tries to burn Hope Mills. The Mills survive and receive a sizeable two-year contract, ensuring their prosperity. Under the cooperative system, the hands become neater and more intelligent and industrious. Some of the Industrial School's students become so adept at sewing and millinery that they prefer this work to mill work. The Hope Mills management eschews speculation. Although Irene Lawrence once scorned Jack Darcy as a mere mill hand's son, in time they fall in love and marry. At the end of five years, the cooperative scheme is a success, reaping profits for all. Having adhered to the principles of "honesty, industry, and fidelity," both workers and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

management are satisfied with the results. The workers and Fred Lawrence regard honest, self-sacrificing Jack Darcy as their hero. Jack feels that in his efforts to help others he has come to understand true Christianity.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

431. Dowling, George Thomas. *The Wreckers: A Social Study*. 3rd ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1886. 400 pp.

AUTHOR: Dowling (1849-1928; b. New York, New York) was a Baptist, and later a Protestant Episcopalian, clergyman.

SYNOPSIS: In this novel, Christian cooperation and loving stewardship of wealth are advocated as the solutions to labor problems. The novel's protagonist is Michael Barney, an Irish immigrant and the owner of a grocery store in the fictitious town of Jenkinstown, New Jersey, not far from New York City. Mike suffers from bouts of temporary insanity. The major plot involves Mike's search for and eventual reunion with his abducted daughter. Subplots involve some Jenkinstown manufacturers. Mr. DeCamp is a banker and the proprietor of a woolen factory. Knowing that his employees are dissatisfied, DeCamp fears they will strike (206). He pays his workers as little as he can, because, as he says, "That's business" (220). His angry workers form "socialistic clubs." The narrator contends that there ought to be more public sympathy for oppressed workers: "[W]hat the laborer hungered for, though he in many instances knew it not, was not simply more gain, but more sympathy and respect: to be dealt with not as a machine, but as a man" (221). DeCamp suffers serious financial loss when his workers engage in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"several long strikes" (284). After arsonists destroy his mansion, DeCamp is left "a shattered man" (308). The owner of a local iron mill, Mr. Russell, is an exemplary capitalist, who respects his workers, exacts temperance pledges from them, provides coffee-houses where he joins his employees in checkers, and practices profit-sharing. To Russell, selfish employers such as DeCamp, regarding their workers as little more than machines, are among the "wreckers" of society (394). Due to such tyranny, white and black "slaves" are worse off than the chattel slaves of the antebellum era (223). Capitalists' tyranny creates antagonistic, communistic workers and labor agitators, the narrator suggests. Employers should practice a Christian "law of love" (393).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

432. "The Employer's Family Devotion." *The Mechanic* (Fall River, MA) 1.9 (22 June 1844).

SYNOPSIS: This short story's narrator explains that his or her purpose is "[t]o reach [the oppressor's] conscience, . . . and attempt to sketch the deformity of his character so that he may be warned and repent." One day, gathering his family together to pray, Mr. E., "the employer," is distressed when his daughter reads several Bible passages denouncing riches and oppression of the poor. Feeling strangely disquieted, he lies down to sleep and has a vivid dream. He dreams of receiving a visit from an old friend, Mr. Reformer, who takes him to view a mill village. Here, the factory workers live in "[n]eat little cottages, surrounded with garden plots." Mr. E. admires the "large, airy, and neat" factory, with its intelligent and efficient workers. He observes that the working boys and girls regard

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their employer, Mr. Owner, with "more like the affection of children than of young slaves." Mr. O. explains to Mr. E. that the factory is run on the "eight hour system" and a profit-sharing plan. When Mr. O. learns that Mr. E. is reaping a huge profit from his factories, he accuses him of selfishness. Mr. E. awakens at the sound of the next morning's factory bell. The narrator urges "hypocrites" like him to "reform":

> Unless he will reform, we venture to say that he is a curse to the world, and the sooner he is taken from it the better it will be for him and the laborers too. . . . It is time to unmask hypocrites, . . . and to let them appear in their naked deformity before the world.--The rich ought to know, and we fearlessly tell them that, as oppressors, they cannot be saved.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Held by American Antiquarian Society.

433. Foran, Martin Ambrose. *The Other Side: A Social Study Based on Fact.* Washington, DC: Gray & Clarkson, Printers and Publishers, 1886. 461 pp.

AUTHOR: The child of Irish immigrants, Foran (1844-1921; b. Choconut, Pennsylvania) worked as a cooper, rising to become president of the Coopers' International Union. He also figured prominently in the Industrial Congress (Grimes 5-6). Later, he became a lawyer, a Congressman (1882-89), and a judge (1911-1921).

SYNOPSIS: The text is a loosely connected series of fictional sketches--often melodramatic and sensational--of American life in the 1850s to 1870s. Most of the characters are laborers, and the setting is often Chicago. Foran dedicates his book "To

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Working Men and Women of America." In his Introduction, he explains that he has written "[t]o call attention to some of the iniquities of the wage system." He contends that wage labor is a kind of slavery, in some ways worse than chattel slavery. The solution to economic problems is "profit-sharing, equitable participation in the product of labor and capital, and collective ownerships in the great engines of production and agencies of distribution" (viii). The text's major character, Richard Arbyght, is a cooper. A subplot recounts the experience of Marcia Nullus, orphaned at fourteen in a New York City tenement district. She is sent to Illinois and auctioned as a bound girl: "Any person wishing a bound boy or girl could go to the hall where they were exhibited and examine them, as the slave dealer did human chattels in the palmy days of the 'divine institution'" (93). Her indenture is so miserable that after several years, Marcia runs away to Chicago. She obtains work as a "sewing girl" in a shirt and cloak factory. The chapter, "Her Beauty Her Ruin," tells how Marcia is seduced by a wealthy man. She gives up her illegitimate child for adoption. Meanwhile, Richard Arbyght gets involved in union organizing. The plot includes several strikes. Chapter thirty-six, "Truth Stranger Than Fiction," relates the story of Robert Layson, a textile factory worker, published earlier as "New Year Bells" in *The Socialist* 1.1 & 4 (see entry 357). The text conveys a deep sympathy for the struggles of poor, oppressed workers.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

434. Hale, Edward Everett. *Back to Back: A Story of To-Day*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877. 98 pp.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AUTHOR: Hale (1822-1909; b. Boston, Massachusetts) was a noted Unitarian clergyman and writer of Boston.

SYNOPSIS: This novella's hero is Max Rising, a native of New Altoona, Pennsylvania. At the age of fifteen, he begins supporting himself working in a woolen flannel mill in Manayunk (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). Being "steady, temperate, obliging, and civil," he is promoted to the position of overseer at age twenty-two (12). He then travels to Europe to learn more about his trade. After returning home, Max has trouble finding work, because a national financial panic has hit and many mills are closed. Learning of some closed mills for sale in the fictitious town of Pigottsville, Rhode Island, Max decides to become a "capitalizer" (i.e., one "who will bring capital to labor and labor to capital") (40). Max decides to purchase the Pigottsville mills and run them on a cooperative basis. He names them the "Back to Back Mills," derived from a story of three men playing in a scrimmage back-to-back protecting one another (50). He draws up a five-year contract with several men who will help finance and manage the mills manufacturing woolen flannel. Profits will be divided in three portions: one-third to Kaufmann Baum, the major financier; one-third to the managers, Max Rising and Robert Ringgold; and the final third to be divided among the workers. Max hires men, women, and children, many of them English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants. The workers enjoy their sense of ownership in the mills: "[T]he *morale* and tone of the men and women were improved by the constant sense that it was 'our' work, that it was 'we' who had succeeded, or 'we' who had failed" (62-63). Although work at the Back to Back proceeds smoothly, the depressed economy makes it difficult to sell their flannel, so

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

profits are low. When business picks up, the workers are disgruntled at their small share of the profits. Some of the mill women try to make amends to the managers for the ingratitude of the men workers. A delegation of trade unionists led by a man named Fordyce comes to town, angry that the Pigottsville workers are undercutting "the established rate of wages, and ruin[ing] the market for labor, which was the poor man's only commodity" (86). Fordyce addresses the Back to Back workers on their oppression: "Fordyce . . . explain[ed] how the system of the proletariat made the rich richer and the poor poorer, and how things were never going to be mended till the pyramid was turned over, and labor, which created all wealth, was at the top, and capital, which was at best only a fiction, was at the bottom" (87). Some of the workers begin planning a strike, pressuring their co-workers to join them. After "Tipsy" Mike Gorry addresses the crowd of potential strikers, they abandon their labor activism. When the five years have elapsed, the Back to Back Mills are running successfully. The workers have become reliable and steady, enjoying their lyceum and library. The managers refuse to employ all the children who seek work, and the children are the better for it (95). Some of the overseers purchase shares in the Mills. The community decides to continue working together for another five years, "bearing each other's burdens and helping in each other's trials, back to back" (98).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

435. Hale, Edward Everett. *How They Lived in Hampton: A Study of Practical*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Christianity Applied in the Manufacture of Woollens. Boston: J. Stilman Smith & Co., 1888. 281 pp.

AUTHOR: Hale (1822-1909; b. Boston, Massachusetts) was a noted Unitarian clergyman and writer of Boston.

SYNOPSIS: In the Preface, the author explains that his text is a semi-fictional one, an "Essay on the Christian relations of the capitalist and the workman . . . presented in narrative form" (iii). The story is set in the factory town of Hampton, Connecticut, a village built around one woolen mill. In 1874, three men draw up an agreement to reestablish the Hampton Woollen Mills and run the corporation for five years. Thankful Nourse furnishes $72,500 to purchase and repair the property. John Workman and William Spinner, who will manage the business, contribute five hundred dollars and two thousand dollars respectively. The business will be run cooperatively, on a profit-sharing plan. One-third of the profits will be paid to Nourse, one-third to the managers, and one-third to the workers. Feeling that they are well treated, the workers consider themselves partners in the business. When union organizers visit the town, the workers reject their lecturing (49). Fewer women work in the Hampton Mills than in similar establishments, and no children under the age of sixteen are employed. The town's young people are not made to feel constrained to work in the mill all their lives; rather, they are encouraged to develop whatever talents they possess. The narrator maintains, "Open promotion is the central word for American society and American life" (55-56). Management and workers strive to run the Hampton Mills on "the Christian law of love" (56). Chapters describe aspects of Hampton society, such as the store, the school, the church, the public

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

library, entertainment, temperance, and the bank. The people work eight hours per day, and no one who drinks liquor is allowed to work in the mills. After five years, the woolen mill is so successful that all parties agree to continue indefinitely.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted by Arno Press, 1971, and in *Library of American Civilization.*

436. Howells, William Dean. *Annie Kilburn.* 1888. *William Dean Howells: Novels 1886-1888.* New York, NY: The Library of America, 1989. 641-865.

AUTHOR: Howells (1837-1920; b. Martins Ferry, Ohio), an author of novels and many other kinds of literary works and a journalist, editor, and critic, was one of the leading literary figures of the nineteenth century. He was an influential proponent of realism in American literature.

SYNOPSIS: This novel is set in the fictitious Massachusetts mill town of Hatboro', not far from Boston. To gather material for his novel, Howells visited the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories (*The Critic* [NY] New Ser. VII [26 February 1887]: 103). Although Hatboro's mills are not cotton and woolen ones like Lowell's, Howells seems to have derived his portrait of the town--at least in part--from Lowell. The novel's heroine, Annie Kilburn, is the thirty-one-year-old unmarried daughter of a judge and Congressman. After her father's death, she returns to live in her native Hatboro'. The town's factories manufacture straw hats, stockings, and shoes. Annie is anxious to devote herself to some philanthropic cause. Several of Hatboro's ladies approach her to join them in staging theatricals to fund a "Social Union" for the workers. They propose

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to make the Social Union "a reading-room, supplied with the magazines and papers, . . . where the work-people could spend their evenings" (670). If the venture succeeds, they hope later to add a kitchen serving refreshments. When Annie discusses the charity with a local clergyman, Rev. Julius W. Peck, she is troubled by his negative reaction. After hearing that the working people will be excluded from the benefit dance, Peck contends that the Social Union cannot benefit the workers: "The point is whether a Social Union beginning in social exclusion could ever do any good" (683). Deeply concerned with the poor and laborers, Peck is an earnest man who worked his way up from his youth as a Massachusetts farm boy and cotton mill worker. He insists that a "sense of fraternity" between rich and poor cannot be bought but can only come "from like experiences, like hopes, like fears" (684). Visiting a local mill, Annie is dismayed by conditions there:

> The Wilmington Stocking-Mills spun their own threads, and the first room was like what Annie had seen before in cotton factories, with a faint smell of oil from the machinery, and a fine snow of fluff in the air, and catching to the white-washed walls and the foul window sashes. The tireless machines marched back and forth across the floor, and the men who watched them with suicidal intensity ran after them barefooted when they made off with a broken thread, spliced it, and then escaped from them to their stations again. In other rooms, where there was a stunning whir of spindles, girls and women were at work; they looked . . . from under cotton-frowsed bangs. . . . [I]n the room where the stockings were knitted she tried to understand the machinery that wrought and seemed to live

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> before her eyes. But her mind wandered to the men and women who were operating it, and who seemed no more a voluntary part of it than all the rest . . . (740-41)

To Annie, Peck later expresses grave doubts about his rise to a position above that of common working people: "I fancied . . . that I had authority to set myself apart from my fellow-workmen, to be a teacher and guide to the true life. But it was a great error. The true life was the life of work. . . . Christ himself came as a labouring man" (756). By the end of the novel, Peck relinquishes his pastorate to go live and work among the poor Fall River, Massachusetts, mill workers. Continuing to grapple with questions raised by Peck and after the failure of several of her charitable efforts, Annie marries and gives up "doing good" beyond what she can accomplish in her private circle.

437. Mason, Caroline Atwater (1853-1939). *A Woman of Yesterday*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900. 367 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This is a religious novel about a woman of the previous generation who joins a utopian community supporting itself with a cotton factory and sawmill run on Christian socialist principles. The story opens in 1869, when the heroine, Anna Mallison, a Calvinist minister's daughter, is eighteen. She has grown up in the northern Vermont village of Haran. Possessing a love for reading and poetry writing, Anna is a sensitive woman with strong spiritual yearnings. After several pass, she marries Keith Burgess, a wealthy but weak and dependent man. Anna becomes fascinated with the charismatic John Gregory, an English Christian socialist. When Anna attends a public lecture given

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by John, she hears him challenge class oppression: "[T]he riches of the rich man are founded upon a lie! This is the lie: *that a man has the right to build up his own property and enjoyment upon the suffering and privation of his fellow-men*" (222). In North Carolina, he has founded a "cooperative colony" called "Fraternia," where there are no class distinctions and where everyone works "a reasonable number of hours a day" (228). The Fraternians grow their own food and cotton, manufacturing cotton textiles in a factory which has been made as attractive as possible (229). The community members share everything and practice mutual loving service. They aim to preach "cooperation and social brotherhood" to the outside world (230). Inspired by John, Anna and Keith join Fraternia, where Anna becomes a schoolteacher, working five hours a day--the normal workday for women. Other residents toil happily in the cotton mill, where "[f]rom the wide and open windows . . . the sound of whirring spindles and the joyous laughter of girls and men issued" (259). The people occupy pleasant cottages with gardens and enjoy a library and Sunday services held in the cotton mill. Anna finds the fulfillment of her "passion for brotherhood with lowly men and poor" (276). She develops some leadership abilities and begins to write poetry again which her husband and John submit for publication. The next summer when the cotton crop fails, the mill is shut down. Since John has refused to sell Fraternia's textiles at a profit, the community has no savings to fall back upon. Later when conditions improve, the community begins to sell their manufactures for a profit. Over time, Anna and John have fallen deeply in love. Not long after Keith's death, John Gregory gives up the community and leaves. Anna also leaves Fraternia, going away alone, never to see John again. The text includes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

many passages of poetry from such authors as Dickinson, Emerson, and Matthew Arnold.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

438. McCardell, Roy Larcom (b. 1870). *The Wage Slaves of New York.* New York: G. W. Dillingham Co., 1899. 196 pp.

SYNOPSIS: This melodramatic novel includes treatment of a strike and a portrayal of a strong woman labor leader. The author dedicates his book "To all of us who have to work for a living." In the preface, McCardell explains that the text was first published serially in the New York *Evening World* and thereafter in many other periodicals. The story opens in some silk factory buildings located on the Hudson River near One Hundred Fortieth Street in Manhattan. One evening, John Garman, the sullen night watchman, murders Walter Wickford, a clever mill mechanic who has invented an improved silk loom. Garman steals Wickford's invention and joins forces with William Barriston, a worker who has inherited thirty thousand dollars, to purchase the silk mills. As the years pass, the stolen invention helps make the men immensely wealthy. Wickford's daughter, Rosalie, works as an operative in Barriston's mills. After William Barriston's death, his twenty-four-year-old son, Arthur, inherits his estate. Arthur becomes concerned about the workers' suffering under the merciless Garman. Arthur regards the great wealth produced for him by the workers as "a sacred trust--as something in whose benefits they, too, should participate" (35). He decides to disguise himself as a factory hand named "James Baird" in order to understand the operatives' plight: "I hold that this great wealth that is mine is now extorted from the anguish and poverty of others,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and I am going back to toil among them, to share their sorrows and their lot, that I may see, as with their eyes, just where the system that makes me richer and them impoverished can be remedied" (35-36). Charles Marbury, a friend of Arthur's from Harvard who closely resembles him, will impersonate him as the part-owner of the mills. Arthur's only legal heir, Burton Westley, a cruel and greedy usurer known as "the Money Spider," conspires with Garman to harm Arthur and appropriate his fortune. At several points, Walter Wickford's ghost appears to Garman and the Money Spider. Garman has reduced mill wages to a pittance that "hardly sufficed to keep body and soul together" (47). The workers hold out hope that Arthur Barriston will be able to end their oppression. Arthur as James Baird develops a great interest in the pretty and extraordinarily intelligent Rosalie Wickford. Her earnings support herself and her "half-demented" mother (52). As mill hours lengthen and wages shrink, Rosalie and "James Baird" work together organizing the operatives. At their meetings, women justly occupy an equal place with men, as the narrator remarks: "There were secret meetings, and at these both men and women seemed on equal terms. And rightly so--for were not both oppressed, ground down and brutalized with penury and almost unrequited toil by John Garman?" (78). When James and Rosalie confess their mutual love, Rosalie refuses to marry him until she has accomplished the "mission to which [she has] sworn to devote" herself, the improvement of the mill wage slaves' plight (82). Rosalie assumes a leadership role in confronting the mill management and leading the workers to strike. A long struggle ensues between Arthur, on the one hand, and Garman and Westley, on the other, for control of the mills. Demanding higher pay and a limitation of Garman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

power, the operatives walk off the job en masse. As the strike drags on, Rosalie's influence is decisive in bolstering the strikers' spirits and courage. Eventually, John Garman is exposed as a murderer and condemned to Sing Sing. Arthur Barriston and Charles Marbury take over the Barriston Mills, running them on a profit-sharing plan. Rosalie, now affianced to Arthur, learns that her father was the inventor of the looms. After Arthur's "successful Socialistic experiment," the mill employees enjoy libraries, schools, recreation halls, and gymnasiums (195). At the story's conclusion, the narrator expresses a wish that more of the "Wage Slaves of New York" might be as happy and contented as those at Barriston Mills.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

439. McIntosh, Maria Jane. *The Lofty and the Lowly; or, Good in All and None All-Good.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853. 2 vols. (299, 323 pp.).

AUTHOR: McIntosh (1803-78; b. Sunbury, Georgia) wrote popular fiction about domestic life for adults and children.

SYNOPSIS: In the novel's preface, McIntosh explains her aims as the removal of prejudice and the creation of better understanding between the North and South. She attempts to portray lovingly and truthfully the "social characteristics of each" (5). A response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the novel contrasts Northerners and Southerners by depicting three sets of brothers and sisters: Northerners Robert Grahame and his sister Mary; Southerners Donald Montrose and his sister Isabelle; and their Boston cousins Charles Montrose and his sister Alice (Baym 98-99).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Robert Grahame, the son of a bankrupt Springfield, Massachusetts, manufacturer, promises his dying father to pay off his debts. The father, Edward Grahame, had built his cotton and woolen mills in 1813 on the Connecticut River, basing his faith upon "the conjunction of manufactures and agriculture" (I: 36). Years later, Robert is recalled from college to assist the failing business. In bankruptcy, Edward Grahame expresses as much concern for his workers' suffering as for his own. After Edward's death, Robert rebuilds the family business into a flourishing enterprise. When Alice Montrose, a pampered and wealthy woman, visits the Grahame Cotton Mills, she pities the factory girls' hard life but admires their accomplishments in helping support their families (I: 189-90). After working many years to create an important invention in textile machinery, Robert Grahame becomes very rich. At Col. Montrose's Georgia plantation, slavery is shown to be a mild, benevolent system (II: 162-63 and *passim*). With his great wealth, Robert's first act is to establish a school for his factory workers' children and for the "younger hands" (II: 295). In all his plans are mingled concerns for the operatives' welfare. He demolishes the shabby, old boardinghouse and builds about fifty small houses, each with a garden, for the operatives. He also builds a church and brings in a clergyman. All these innovations create "a beautiful picture of smiling rural life" (II: 296). Robert refers to the factory village as "Grahameville" at one point (II: 306). When Mary Grahame marries and moves away, the mill is closed at midday and "every young girl connected with the factory received, in Mary's name, the present of a handsomely bound Bible" (II: 312). The novel ends with Robert Grahame and Alice Montrose's marriage (II: 316). Despite the novel's multiple references to factory workers, no worker is given a name

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and face; they are very much in the background.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

440. McNeill, George Edwin. "Agnes Lovering; or, The Slave of Fortune." *The Haverhill Laborer* (Haverhill, MA) 2.8-29 (5 September 1885-30 January 1886).

AUTHOR: McNeill (1837-1906; b. Amesbury, Massachusetts) worked in Amesbury textile mills as a teenager. Much of his life, he was active in the labor movement, working with such organizations as the Eight-Hour League, the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor. He also edited labor papers and wrote about labor.

SYNOPSIS: Many issues are missing from the microfilm reprint of *The Haverhill Laborer*. Thus, of the twenty-one chapters of McNeill's serialized story, only chapters 2, 14, 20, and 21 are available. The following is a reconstructed version of the plot, with gaps. The heroine of this long story or novella is Agnes Lovering, the daughter of a wealthy businessman, Augustus Lovering. She falls in love with one of her father's employees, George Eagleson, a foreman and organizer of a strike against the corporation. In chapter two, Augustus has George arrested "for conspiring against the peace and welfare of the State, and for inciting others to conspire for unlawful acts" and for plotting to rob Augustus and abduct his daughter (15 September 1885). The arresting officers, however, are just thugs hired by Augustus to have George shipped to China, but he escapes. By chapter fourteen, Agnes has been reduced to poverty, because her father has lost his fortune. In the fictitious town of Kingsville, Massachusetts, she seeks work in the cotton mills, even though she believes "the factory system is all wrong and evil." Agnes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tells Mr. Hoyt, a labor leader, that she will organize the factory women and "lead them to strike" (21 November 1885). She becomes a weaver and obtains lodging in a boardinghouse full of German immigrants, men and women. Mr. King, the town's despotic textile magnate, plans to reduce wages. He employs many young children, and the housing is poor. Sometime later, Kingsville is destroyed by a flood. By chapter twenty, Agnes's fortune has been restored. George Eagleson, though still poor, proposes to her. He asks her to join him in working for labor's cause and creating a new society. She accepts, because she loves him and "hate[s] the wage labor system" (23 January 1886). Augustus's will leaves fifty thousand dollars to George, in gratitude for his assistance in protecting the Lovering property. Most of the remaining estate is left to Agnes. Mr. Hoyt, Agnes, and Mr. Kimball have rebuilt the village of Kingsville. They plan to run the cotton mill as a cooperative company utilizing Christian principles and profit-sharing. Working and living conditions have been made as safe and healthy as possible. New rules prevent the labor of married women and children under the age of twelve. The village is renamed "Unionville." The story ends with two marriages, including Agnes and George's. A "true reformer" addresses the wedding guests with a Christian socialist message, explaining that Jesus "was a socialist, a communist and a tramp. He came to preach salvation to the poor. . . . He worked, and like all workers, He was poor. . . . He rose from the dead, and when we shall be wise enough we shall rise from the tomb of the wage system clothed in the manly garments of love and purity" (30 January 1886). The text's features include discussion of the factory system's evils and representations of Irish and German immigrants. *The Haverhill Laborer* was affiliated

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with the Knights of Labor, an important nineteenth-century United States labor organization.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm.

441. Neal, Alice B. "The Gossips of Rivertown." *The Gossips of Rivertown; with Sketches in Prose and Verse*. Philadelphia: Hazard and Mitchell, 1850. 7-157.

AUTHOR: Neal (1827-63; maiden name, Emily Bradley; b. New York; m. Haven) wrote popular fiction for children and adults, under pseudonyms "Alice B. Lee," "Alice B. Neal," "Alice B. Haven," and "Cousin Alice" (Baym 243).

SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in a fictitious New York State city. When the local manufacturer, Arthur Jackson, drowns in the mill pond, his widow, Annie, takes over management of the factory. Motivated by concern for the poor workers rather than by greed, Annie Jackson defies convention to become a woman manager, eliciting much gossip in Rivertown. Some people mistake her philanthropic motives for avarice and hypocrisy. The workers are grateful for the Jacksons' kind treatment. According to Baym, Mrs. Jackson is "the first woman factory owner and manager in American fiction" (244).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

442. Optic, Oliver. *The Do-Somethings: A Story for Little Folks*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1862. 96 pp.

AUTHOR: "Oliver Optic" was the pseudonym used by William Taylor Adams (1822-97;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b. Boston, Massachusetts). A very popular writer of hundreds of juvenile books and stories, Adams taught for many years in the Boston public schools.

SYNOPSIS: This children's novel was published in *The Riverdale Books* series. In the town of Riverdale, many families support themselves by factory work. After the onset of a severe winter and a business panic, the mill owners shut down the factories, leaving many of the unemployed destitute. Two middle-class children, Frank and Flora Lee, decide to form a children's organization to aid the poor. Calling themselves the Do-somethings, the children collect money from Riverdale's rich people. The girls sew and knit clothing which the boys deliver to the poor. They also shovel snow and carry wood and food to the needy. One of their beneficiaries is Mrs. Lake, a widow who had relied on the mill labor of her three daughters, the oldest only fourteen, to support the family. Flora and Frank's father teaches them "to work for the poor, and make sacrifices for them" (57). Seeing how much good the Do-somethings are accomplishing, Riverdale's rich people are only too happy to donate money. Nonetheless, after a period of time, a few of the boys and girls lose interest in the Do-somethings, preferring to pursue their own pleasures. The children who continue the work of "active benevolence" (27) are richly rewarded, the narrator maintains:

> I am sure they were a great deal wiser, and better, and happier for the thought and the labor they had bestowed upon the needy and suffering. Their good works also helped them to form good habits.
>
> As children they learned to think of the poor; and when they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became men and women they will not be likely to forget them--at least, I hope they will not. (95-96)

443. Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. *The Silent Partner.* 1871. *The Silent Partner, A Novel, and The Tenth of January, A Short Story.* Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1983. 1-302.

AUTHOR: Phelps (1844-1911; b. Andover, Massachusetts; m. Ward) was a prolific writer of fiction for children and adults. Her work reflects strong concerns with the oppression of women and workers.

SYNOPSIS: This novel is set in the fictitious mill town of Five Falls, a small town near Boston, Massachusetts. The heroine, Perley Kelso, is the daughter of the managing partner of Hayle and Kelso, cotton textile manufacturers. When the story opens, Perley is twenty-three and engaged to be married to her father's junior partner, Maverick Hayle. She is suddenly awakened out of her life of indolent luxury by an encounter with one of the mill girls, Priscilla ("Sip") Garth. When Perley's widowed father dies, she inherits his share in the mills. Meeting Sip again in Five Falls, Perley learns that her father has also recently died after being caught in the mill machinery. She also finds out that twenty-year-old Sip cares for her deaf, dumb, and mentally disturbed younger sister, Catty. When Perley seeks to become an active partner in Hayle and Kelso, she is thwarted by the male owners, who resent her intrusion. She realizes that to Maverick she is valued only as an ornament. The management offers her the chance to be a "silent partner," investing her money but having no say in mill operations (61). Having gotten

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to know something about the factory hands' hard lives, Perley wishes to improve their working and living conditions. Phelps's narrator describes the unhealthy mill conditions, such as the stifling, dusty air (73-74). Sip and Catty share a rented room in a stone house, having been turned out of the boardinghouses due to Catty's drinking and sexual transgressions. Visiting Sip and Catty in their home, Perley gets to know more about their difficulties. She also becomes acquainted with Bub Mell, an eight-year-old mill boy. Recognizing the mill workers' terrible exploitation, Perley breaks off her engagement to Maverick. On the day that his mother dies of consumption, Bub is crushed to death in the mill machinery. When a worsening economy forces Hayle and Kelso to plan a wage reduction, the outraged workers threaten to strike. Recognizing Perley's extraordinary rapport with the workers, the desperate mill management calls upon her to intercede and try to prevent the strike. When Perley explains the necessity for a wage reduction, the workers call off the strike. Soon after Sip realizes that Catty is becoming blind, the mill river floods and Catty is drowned. Sip rejects an offer of marriage from a factory watchman, Dirk Burdock, because she does not want to bring children into the world to become mill workers. Perley also rejects an offer of marriage, in order to continue to devote herself to philanthropic work among the mill hands. Feeling compelled to express Catty's spirit, Sip becomes a street preacher, telling the factory hands of Jesus's compassion for the poor. The novel gives sustained consideration to class bias, envy, and misunderstanding between middle- and working-class women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

444. Raymond, Evelyn Hunt. *Reels and Spindles: A Story of Mill Life*. Boston: W. A. Wilde and Co., 1900. 369 pp.

SYNOPSIS: Raymond (1843-1910) explains in her preface that this girls' novel shows that "the influence of even one sincere girl is far-reaching" (5). The young heroine, Amy Kaye, is the daughter of an artist-father and Quaker mother. They live at the family estate, Fairacres, in Ardsley (perhaps in New York State), several miles from the Crawford carpet mill. When Amy is taken on a mill tour by the superintendent, she admires the competence and independence of the girls working in the spinning room. Amy is a thoughtful and considerate girl who is "wholesome, honest and engaging" (36). Her family had once owned a great deal of property, but due to her father's lack of business sense and mild mental illness, the family loses Fairacres. The Kayes move into a cheap rented house called "Spite House." Sheltered Amy must learn to help her family. After her mother's death, Amy goes to work in the carpet mill, quickly befriending a kind "hunchback" named Mary Reese. The Kayes' cold-hearted cousin, Archibald Wingate, who forced them out of Fairacres so that he could live there, owns the mills now. Initially, Amy's refinement causes pain and resentment among the mill girls, but her kindness eventually wins them over. Due to her virtue and intelligence, she is soon promoted from spinner up the ranks. Amy discusses with Mary her plans to one day "build a Home for Mill Girls, where they shall have all things that any gentlewoman should have" (208). The novel includes a character, Napoleon Bonaparte Lafayette Jimpson, a mentally retarded boy who was bound out as an orphan from the poor farm to Archibald Wingate. He harbors great resentment against Wingate for the almost-daily

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

beatings Wingate ordered for him (220). Since then, he has worked in the factory and elsewhere. Napoleon attacks Wingate one night, giving him a "horsewhipping" (288). Later he almost bombs Wingate's office. Won over by Amy's kindness, Wingate forgives Napoleon's attacks. Following her motto, "simplicity, sincerity, sympathy" (232), Amy excels at the mill, finally being promoted to the highest position, "setting." Details of carpet manufacture are reflected in the text. As the Kayes grow "sturdier" from having lost everything, Amy brings improvements into the mill operatives' lives, influencing them to give up some of their bad habits, such as buying on credit and reading trashy story papers. She starts a workers' club, a "mutual benefit organization" with social activities and a reading room. When she is made an heiress by a wealthy neighbor, Amy decides to use her money to open a Happy Home for Mill Girls, with a Modern Industrial School, a library, a gymnasium, and a swimming pool for mill folks (366).

445. Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]. "A New Society." *Lowell Offering* 1 (1841): 191-92.

AUTHOR: Harriet H. Robinson sketches this portrait of Chamberlain (born c. 1794), a Lowell, Massachusetts, factory worker: "Mrs. Chamberlain was a widow, and came to Lowell with three children from some 'community' (probably the Shakers), where she had not been contented. She had inherited Indian blood, and was proud of it. She had long, straight black hair, and walked very erect, with great freedom of movement" (*Loom and Spindle* 86).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SYNOPSIS: In a brief, prose dream vision, the narrator, a weary factory girl, falls asleep and dreams of a new society founded in 1860. Its proposed reforms include equal pay and educational opportunities for men and women and an eight-hour workday.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted on microfilm and paper and in Eisler, *The Lowell Offering* 208-210.

446. Townsend, Virginia Frances. *The Mills of Tuxbury*. Boston: Loring Publishers, 1871. 362 pp.

AUTHOR: Townsend (1836-1920; b. New Haven, Connecticut), an editor and writer for ladies' magazines, also wrote many popular books for girls.

SYNOPSIS: This girls' novel is set circa 1859 in the fictitious town of Tuxbury on a river twelve miles inland from the sea, among the northern New England hills. The Whitmarshes are the owners of the town's cotton mills and iron works. Berry Shumway, a fifteen-year-old girl, is a mill spinner. She is an honest, "warm, helpful little soul," whose face has force and character in it (5). Her family emigrated from England to the United States, where sickness and poverty have ended her father's and mother's lives. Now she and her older brother, Hardy, an iron mill worker, share a poor but clean cottage. One day when Berry is returning from work, a gentleman, Benjamin Whitmarsh, suddenly stops and gives her five dollars for no particular reason but a generous impulse. The novel's heroine, Marjorie Carruthers, is staying at Tuxbury visiting her cousin Eleanor Whitmarsh, the mill proprietor's wife. An orphan with a modest fortune, Marjorie is beautiful, high-spirited, and sensitive, enjoying a special rapport with those of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lower social position. After getting involved in a fight at work, Hardy loses his job, subjecting himself and Berry to a period of hunger and privation. Marjorie develops a closeness to her idealistic and cultured cousin Ben Whitmarsh, who resists entering the family business. One evening after Ben is shot near Tuxbury Mills, Marjorie administers first aid that saves his life. Maddened by his inability to relieve Berry's hunger, Hardy does something desperate. Although strongly hinted at throughout by the narrator, it is not revealed until the end of the novel that Hardy participated in the attack on Ben Whitmarsh. One day when Marjorie is riding in a carriage wearing her furs and wrappings, she meets Berry, who looks upon her with awe and devotion. After recovering, Ben learns of the Shumways' poverty and offers to restore Hardy's old mill job. Most of the novel's action concerns the developing romance between Marjorie and Ben. When Marjorie visits her at home in her neat cottage, Berry, the "brown, little factory-girl," regards her as a "beautiful lady, fair and gracious as a princess" (247). Finally, Marjorie and Ben become betrothed. When Hardy saves Marjorie's life, he is mortally wounded. On his deathbed, he confesses to the attack upon Ben and is forgiven by him and Marjorie. Hardy's errors are attributed to the evil influence of another corrupt worker, Blatchley. After Hardy describes how he was driven mad by Berry's hunger, poverty becomes real to Marjorie and Ben. They adopt Berry, who wants to work toward helping the poor and rich people understand each other better. Ben and Marjorie will dedicate their lives to work among Tuxbury's poor, "lifting up these poor, coarse men and women and children into a smoother, higher, happier life" (362).

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

447. A Traveler. "The Happy Village, or the Ten Hour System Exemplified." By a Traveler. *Mechanic's Advocate* (Albany, NY) 2.10 (12 February 1848).

SYNOPSIS: This short story's narrator describes traveling into the interior of New York State in 1846. He sojourns in a manufacturing village. A mill agent explains to him that the neat and beautiful village, pledged to temperance, owes its order to the ten-hour system. It has been found that when the mill hands work only ten hours a day, they are less inclined to intemperance and more interested in cultivating their minds. They also take more pride in maintaining their cottages and grounds. Since human beings are created "in the 'Image of God,'" the narrator contends, a ten-hour law should be enacted.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *American Periodicals*.

448. Warner, Susan and Anna. *Wych Hazel* and *The Gold of Chickaree*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876-77. 528, 426 pp.

AUTHORS: The Warners were sisters and writers who collaborated on some of their works. Susan Bogert Warner (1819-85) was born in Manhattan, New York. Anna Bartlett Warner (1827-1915) was born in Brooklyn, New York. After their wealthy parents lost most of their property in the 1837 financial panic, the two sisters began writing out of economic necessity. Susan's novel *The Wide, Wide World* (1850) was one of the century's great bestsellers. The Warners published many novels for young people and adults.

SYNOPSIS: *The Gold of Chickaree* (1877?) is a sequel to *Wych Hazel* (1876). The novels' heroine is a wealthy girl named Wych Hazel, an orphan cared for by her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

guardian, Mr. Falkirk. Young Wych Hazel is a free-spirited and pleasure-loving girl. When the story opens, Hazel and Mr. Falkirk are moving back to her hometown, the fictitious town of Chickaree in the Catskill region, New York State, after a long absence. Hazel befriends Dane Rollo, an interesting young man, who, unbeknownst to her, is her joint guardian. One day Hazel and Rollo take a tour through a cotton mill in nearby Morton Hollow. They are saddened by the terrible conditions in which the adults and children work:

> The men, and the women, employed as hands in the works, were lank and pale and haggard, or dark and coarse. Their faces were reserved and gloomy; eyes would not light up, even when spoken to. . . . Yet the children were the worst. Little things, and others older, but all worn-looking, sadly pale, very hopeless, going back and forth at their work like so many parts of the inexorable machinery. Here Rollo now and then got a smile, that gleamed out as a rare thing in that atmosphere. On the whole, the outer air seemed strange and sweet to [Hazel and Rollo] when they came out into it. . . . Where they had been, surely the beauty, and the freedom, and the promise, of the pure oxygen and the blue heaven, were all shut out and denied and forgotten. (*Wych* 489)

The shabby mill housing is marked by "[p]overty and dirt and barrenness" (*Wych* 490). In Morton Hollow, Rollo and Hazel learn that a sick girl has been driven to her mill job by her father, who needs her wages. Hazel asks to have the poor girl sent to her for nursing. Rollo approves of her getting involved in charitable, Christian work among

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

those less fortunate. As Hazel learns to love Dane Rollo, she becomes more thoughtful, subdued, and interested in Christian philanthropic work among the poor. Rollo begins to buy up mills in Morton Hollow. The first thing he does is raise the hands' wages. The other mill owners and his well-to-do friends react with angry shock to his reforms. He rebuilds the mill housing and forbids the labor of children under age twelve (*Gold* 88). Hoping to raise "the very ignorant community . . . to a higher level" (*Gold* 90), Rollo provides Saturday night readings to keep the workers out of the "gin shops" (*Gold* 91). He builds a school and church. Hazel suggests that he provide a kind of day care for working mothers: "Don't you know . . . such a place as I have read of in France . . . where the women who go out to work leave their children all day; so that they cannot burn themselves up, nor fret themselves to death, nor do anything but play and be happy" (*Gold* 94). Eventually, Hazel and Rollo marry, and Hazel contributes her income to buying more property in the Hollow, now renamed Mill Hollow, until she and Rollo own all the mills and housing. After ten years of Rollo and Hazel's philanthropic efforts, the factory village features many advantages, such as gardens and shade trees, beautiful cottages with white fences, a library, a coffee room, a cooperative store, two churches, a park, a "home for disabled and superannuated old people," schools, a bank, and public baths. No one in the Hollow desires "to do anything but what the master [i.e., Rollo] wishes" (*Gold* 420-22). Although the mills have not made Rollo and Hazel very rich, their income from them increases every year.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

449. Winslow, Helen Maria. *Salome Shepard, Reformer*. Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1893. 256 pp.

AUTHOR: Winslow (1851-1938; b. Westfield, Vermont) was a Boston, Massachusetts, journalist.

SYNOPSIS: The heroine of this novel, set in Shepardtown, a fictitious Massachusetts mill town, is Salome Shepard. The wealthy daughter of the Shawsheen Mills' owner, Salome is initially quite indifferent to the mill workers' plight. Manufacturing cloth, the Mills employ two thousand workers, who board in "dingy and desolate" company housing (5). Living in thoughtless luxury, Salome first becomes aware of the mill workers' condition, when a strike breaks out. At her father's death, Salome became the Mills' owner. She is, however, uninvolved in their management. For thirty years, the mills have been managed by the agent, Otis Greenough, an efficient but callous man. Soon the reform impulse springs up in Salome, and she wishes to return the Mills to the idyllic conditions in which her grandfather, Newbern Shepard, founded and managed them. At the beginning, the young mill woman took great pride in her work, in part because she knew the owners cared about her: "Aware that her employers took an interest in her welfare, aside from the fact that she was a part of the motive power of the mill, she rewarded them with a full performance of her duty" (12). Under Otis's heartless management, the operatives find their rights entirely disregarded. At the strike's commencement, the new Labor Union presents a petition to mill management. They demand the right to organize, the ten-hour day, the removal of dangerous machinery, no wage reduction, and weekly payment of wages (17-18). Otis responds wrathfully,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exclaiming, "If they were not ignorant dogs, they'd know that they could best serve the interests of labor by being faithful to those of capital" (19). After reading her grandfather's manuscripts, Salome decides to get involved in running the Mills. She even envies the early mill girls, as she tells her aunt:

> . . . girls who could discuss Shakespeare, Dante, and Milton at their looms; who read Locke and Abercrombie and Pollock and Young (something I can't do!); who sent petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery; who helped build churches from their pitiful savings; who wrote essays and poems and stories, even while running their looms; who spent their evenings in the study of German and French and botany; and who went out, at last, to become teachers and mothers and missionaries, and, above all, noble, self-sacrificing, helpful women. And I tell you that, with all my money and my polished education, I envy them. (30-31)

The present-day factory women present a sad contrast, she feels. They are "[b]eings of bangs and bangles and cheap jewelry, of low aspirations, and correspondingly low morals!" Their problem is, she contends, that women of a higher station are wrapped up in themselves and do not teach lower-class women about "higher subjects" (31). She also feels guilty for her part in exploiting the workers, for having "let them live a mean and sordid life of unremitting toil, in order to furnish [her] with money to live a selfish life of luxurious ease" (67). Meanwhile, Otis brings in workers from another town to fill the strikers' places. When he tries to start up the mills, however, he cannot, because belts have been cut and engines tampered with. The strike drags on for months into the winter,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Salome is becoming "tired of the endless pursuit of pleasure" (48). She begins reform work in earnest, rebuilding the workers' housing. Pleased with the improvements, the workers end their strike. Soon after Salome gets involved in mill management, Otis dies. Salome takes over as Mill Agent, assisted by two superintendents, Geoffrey Burnham and John Villard. Villard is somewhat sympathetic to the workers, having worked his way up from being a factory boy himself. Salome is joined in the reform work by an old schoolgirl friend, Marion Shaw. Salome builds the "Newbern Shepard Hall" for the workers, with a library and reading rooms, classes for women (in such subjects as dressmaking, millinery, and cooking), men's carpentry classes, and a hall for concerts, lectures, and shows. Marion and Salome are glad to serve as role models for the coarse factory women, as Marion tells her: "We shall have to endure the cross of having them cut all their dresses like ours, wear ribbons like ours, do up their hair like ours, and get up the most astonishing hats purporting to be like ours, . . . but if it all comes of their wanting to be like us, . . . I mean of their wanting to reach a higher ideal of course,--we can bear it." Salome responds that the factory women "will be trying to copy our habits and manners and characters, too" (173). Salome implements a profit-sharing plan. Working together, she and John Villard fall in love with each other. Salome forgives a trusty overseer, John O'Donovan, who confesses his attempt to blow up the mills during the strike. Gradually, under Salome's reforms, the workers begin to manifest more refinement and morality. Nonetheless, she finds that mill management is not fulfilling enough for her. Both she and Marion prepare to marry. Once she has married John Villard, Salome relinquishes the management of the mills to him.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

450. Wyman, Lillie B. C. "And Joe." *Poverty Grass.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886. 204-56.

AUTHOR: Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman (1847-1929) was born in Rhode Island.

SYNOPSIS: This short story is set in the fictitious New England mill town of Newbridge near the Blackstone River. Most of the town's workers are Irish and French Canadian. The heroine, Theodora Justice, the daughter of the manufacturer who owns most of the town's factories and housing, suffers from idleness and a sense of uselessness. One day she meets a fourteen-year-old, French-Canadian mill boy nicknamed Joe "Huckleberry," who has been thrown out of his home by his brother-in-law. Joe is mentally disabled and because of the trouble he keeps causing, his family must move frequently. Theodora takes Joe home to feed and care for him until she can make other arrangements. The narrator comments that manufacturers ought to recognize they have a moral obligation "to elevate their work-people" (216). Joe's brother-in-law, Andrew Moore, is a mule spinner who secretly has two wives. One wife is Joe's sister Annie and the other is Nell, a milliner who suddenly moves to Newbridge. Theodora's father believes in a kind of social Darwinistic idea of the survival of the fittest in which the stronger manufacturers are destined to triumph over the weaker operatives. When Andrew Moore deserts Annie and his child by her, Annie falls deathly ill. Theodora nurses her and brings her father's attention to the factory people's suffering. Mr. Justice vows to shut up the "abominable" factory tenements (250). When Annie dies of emotional shock and overwork in the mills,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her baby dies soon after. Theodora decides to dedicate her life to helping the factory people, beginning with Joe. She feels that the mill workers need her and that "it would not be hard to labor for them, because she would love them" (252). The story's characters include a woman physician.

TEXT AVAILABILITY: Reprinted in *Wright American Fiction.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

PIECING THE THREADS

In the mill spinning rooms, piecers--often children--attended the machinery, repairing any threads broken during winding or spinning. Similarly, this conclusion connects the factory texts in several ways to other American literary and cultural expression. Since factory writing has been so neglected, another component of recovery work is to recontextualize it, restoring its place as a living element in a vibrant nineteenth-century culture of high and low forms. Although factory literature--particularly the writings by mill workers and other working-class writers--shares many of the features of other working-class art, setting it apart from the canonical literature prized by modernist scholars, it did exert an influence on canonical writers, especially the realists and naturalists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as Stephen Crane and Theodore Dreiser.

This is not to deny that the factory writing differed, too, in important ways from other contemporary literature. Its treatment of industrial work and workers distinguishes it from canonical and other kinds of nineteenth-century literature which by and large ignored industrialism and labor issues. Moreover, factory women's writings differ in important ways from middle-class women's writing. While middle-class nineteenth-century women poets tended to avoid public issues, preferring instead such "private" subjects as family life, death, religious piety, and nature appreciation, the factory-girl poets of the workers' periodicals often addressed not only the private subjects but also

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

such controversial social issues as labor rights, slavery, industrialization's effects, and Native rights. Moreover, the female characters in factory women's fiction tend to exhibit more independence, assertiveness, and physical vitality than one finds in domestic fiction's women characters.

Focusing principally on workers' writings, this conclusion considers the factory literature in the context of other kinds of American writing produced before, during, and after it. The factory literature bears the traces of other contemporary "low" forms, such as sermons and Sunday school fiction, Indian captivity narratives, and slave narratives. Although the conclusion focuses on American writing, British literature was at least as well known by early Americans. As reflected in American imitations and in labor periodical commentary, certain admired British writings were particularly influential. These include Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (1847), with its poor, independent heroine; the poetry of Robert Burns, the people's poet; and Charles Dickens's tales of poor, struggling characters, such as *Oliver Twist* (1837-38), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41), and *Hard Times* (1854). Although U.S. factory writing, composed in the tradition of working-class art, is often quite distinct from canonical literature and modernist, Jamesian concepts of literary value, it shares some qualities with the work of canonical American writers, such as Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, and Dreiser.

The didactic, moralistic quality of much nineteenth-century factory women's writing reflects the influence of the literature most familiar to them: sermons and Sunday school tracts. Given the high rates of church attendance among nineteenth-century mill workers, the sermon was one of the literary forms most available to them. Besides

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

attending church, numerous mill-worker characters participate in Sunday schools either as students or teachers, as did many actual nineteenth-century workers. Some literary examples include: Alfred Stitson, the young hero of *The Factory Boy* (entry 259, published by the New England Sabbath School Union), an avid Sunday school pupil; Mary Burnam, the heroine of Sarah Savage's *The Factory Girl* (entry 41), who teaches a Sunday school class of twenty factory children; and the factory-girl speaker of the *New England Offering* ballad, "Our Mill at Laureldale" by Clara (entry 99), who describes the factory girls' Sabbath activities: "We hasten to the Sabbath school, / To meet our scholars there, / To join with them in singing, / To unite in solemn prayer" (97-100). The importance of Sunday schools to nineteenth-century mill workers cannot be overstressed; they furnished some workers' only schooling.[11]

The heroines of fiction by the factory-girl writer Eliza Jane Cate are often connected with Sunday schools. In two stories, "Emma Hale" (entry 10) and "Kate Kimball" (entry 58), factory-girl characters enjoy reading the Bible and "Sabbath-school books." Many actual Sunday schools offered libraries stocked with books furnished by such prolific evangelical publishers as the American Tract Society. In Cate's fiction, Sunday school literature's importance is underscored by its providing Kate Kimball with essential knowledge about her family. From a Sabbath-school book, Kate first learns that her family is poor and her father "a drunkard." As she explains: ". . . when I had been

---

[11] At least one nineteenth-century labor reformer, however, disliked Sunday school literature. At an 1845 "workingmen's convention" in Lowell, Massachusetts, a speaker urged that "the first thing that must be done to elevate the Workingmen, was to *collect and burn the Sunday School books*, which were poisoning the minds of the young" (W., H. "From the Lowell Journal." *Voice of Industry* 1.6 [3 July 1845]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reading in a Sabbath-school book, the story of a very poor family; who were so very poor because Mr. Mason was a drunkard. . . . All at once the thought came to me that we were very, very poor, and that my father was a drunkard" (2). In Cate's "Helen Gould" (entry 11), the eponymous heroine eventually marries a fellow Sabbath school teacher.

Since much nineteenth-century evangelical literature was aimed at the newly literate poor and laborers, this was literature with which factory workers would have been especially familiar (see MacLeod 22-23). In its appeals to these readers, tractate texts drew many of their characters and scenes from lower-class life. Thus, factory women and other working-class writers learned that their lives might form the substance of published literature. In large measure, evangelical literature's influence accounts for the unusual realism of 1840s workers' writings, many of which concern mill work and workers. In their frank treatment of poor people's lives and problems, Sunday school and factory literature thus contribute to the development of realism and naturalism later in the century. Such characters as the impoverished, drunken, and brutal parents in Stephen Crane's *Maggie, a Girl of the Streets* (1893) develop, in part, from the poor, struggling, and sometimes intemperate, characters of tractate fiction.

Like Sunday school literature's essential didacticism and moralism, the writings of Cate and other factory women authors are often addressed to mill women and calculated to influence their behavior and "morals." Both kinds of tales recount a struggle--often of a moral or religious nature--that fosters the hero or heroine's spiritual development. As Sunday school tales often end with a summation of the story's moral and religious lessons, so factory workers' fiction often concludes with a moral. For

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instance, in the factory women's periodical, *The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry*, Ann's tale, "The Temptation" (entry 125), concludes with the narrator's assertion: "Virtue is always the best policy, and generally proves a shield to those who practice it" (8). These are some of the ways in which factory writers imitated Sunday school tales.

Another popular literary form that influenced some factory literature is the Indian captivity narrative. With its accounts of innocent white people--often women--held captive and persecuted by arbitrary and "savage" Native Americans, the captivity narrative offered some writers a metaphor for the menacing aspects of the factory and working-class life. The contrast between the factory's danger and savagery and middle-class peace and safety is often conveyed in the terms of blackness versus whiteness. Although technically "white," vulgar working-class characters are described as dark and black. Likewise, in captivity narratives the threatening quality of Native Americans and their way of life is conveyed by their murky darkness. In factory writing, the language of light and dark serves as a cultural shorthand representing class divisions and dread of poverty, alienation from the body, and fear of industrialization.

In Emily C. Judson's "Grace Linden" (1846; entry 258), the young heroine's paleness and sadness mark her as too worthy and genteel for the factory (11, 15). Nonetheless, her family's poverty forces her, at age eight, to work in a woolen mill. Grace's paleness and delicacy elicit the sympathy of Henry Russel, the factory owner's refined son, who befriends, protects, and eventually marries her. Its "blackness" signifies the danger and threat of the factory, a "long narrow building, with its dingy walls, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

doors which received their ebony blackness from the soiled fingers of the laborers" (11).

During her first weeks in the mill, Grace is tormented by Dick Crouse, a crude factory boy, who "seemed inclined to take advantage of her timidity, thrusting his hideous face, marked as it was with black, before her at every opportunity." Grace fears him as one might dread being abducted by Indians: "She trembled when he looked at her during the day, and at night dreamed that he was an evil spirit dragging her away from her mother and Abby [her sister], to a place of horrible darkness" (13-14). Harry Russel nicknames Dick "Blackey," and Grace remarks, "He can't help getting black in this dirty place; but if he would n't mark that black ring around his eyes, and make up such awful faces, and tell me such horrible stories" (17). As the Indians tormented their captives, Dick persecutes Grace, striking and pinching her and pulling out her hair "slily" (18). Years later, Dick, with his "harsh words and a wolfish expression of countenance" and "shaggy beard," continues to haunt Grace (51).

The language of darkness and savagery conveys the fearsomeness of working-class life, with its closeness to poverty and bodily desires. In *The Factory Girl* by a Friend (1854; entry 178), the factory and factory life are presented as a site of wildness and danger. The mill is a wild place of noise and confusion, a "confused labyrinth of apparatus, and velocities, . . . jarring thunders" where wheels spin "as if chasing the wind in a circle" (18). Later in this novel, the factory workers at a ball embody temptation and treachery. Mary, the heroine, describes them as "dark fiends . . . black creatures with a white dress," and she begs her pious friend to "save me from their clutches and perfidy, and torments. . . . How they tried to devour me" (67). In such genteel texts, the virtuous

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

heroine is delivered at last from the wilderness and savagery of working-class life, usually by marriage to a middle-class man, often a clergyman. Likewise, captivity narratives usually represent the eventual return of their heroines to "civilized" society.

Although so often light and dark people are opposed in American writing, in the mostly white factory literature, one finds some evidence of influence by and upon African-American literature. In exploring the lives of the poor--black, white, and other--writers pooled their resources. Factory writers drew upon the slave narrative and other African-American forms, and at least one early African-American writer, Harriet E. Wilson, adapted the bound-girl and factory-girl tale to her uses. One finds some slave narrative conventions in early factory women's writings. Many exemplary factory-girl heroines, like the heroes and heroines of slave narratives, demonstrate their worth through their struggles for education. For some, education provides a way out of the mills, as education enables some slaves to transcend or escape their condition. In some texts, particularly those exposing the evils of child labor such as "The Little Factory Girl's Last Day" (entry 262) and *Old Crag* by a Minister (entry 264), as in slave narratives, authors chronicle the abuses inflicted upon workers.

A fictional form especially close to the slave narrative is the bound-girl story, recounting the wrongs and triumphs of female indentured servants. In the nineteenth century, a number of bound-girl stories were produced, comprising a subgenre in what Samuel Bowles called "the literature of misery" (qtd. in D. Reynolds, *Beneath* 340). Several of the factory-girl texts are also bound-girl stories. In an 1841 *Lowell Offering* story, Sarah G. Bagley's "Tales of Factory Life, No. 1," the heroine, Sarah T., aged

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

twelve or thirteen, works in domestic service for the cruel and severe Mrs. J. and her daughter. After one unsuccessful attempt at escape, like a persecuted slave, ragged Sarah runs away one night barefoot and carrying only a small bundle. She finds a better life in Lowell, Massachusetts, supporting herself working in the mills.

Such bound-girl literature contributes to Harriet E. Wilson's portrayal of Frado, an African-American Northern indentured servant, in *Our Nig* (1859), the first known novel by an African-American published in the United States. While Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and other critics have discussed the influence of the sentimental novel and the slave narrative upon *Our Nig*, the influence of bound-girl and factory-girl literature has not been recognized (see Gates). Like Sarah T., Frado is humiliated and physically abused by her mistress and her mistress's daughter.[12] And like bound girls who become factory girls, Frado finds a better life (for a time anyway) when her indenture ends and she begins working to support herself.

Wilson's *Our Nig* reflects the influence of another factory story published four years earlier: Martha Tyler's *A Book without a Title* (1855; entry 411). Since Harriet Wilson seems to have been living in Boston when Tyler's novel was published there, she may well have been familiar with it. Both Tyler and Wilson, in their ostensibly autobiographical novels, claim to have written in order to earn money desperately needed for their children's support. Both catalog a personal history of abuse. Mira Dana suffers

---

12

Bound girls' actual persecution by their mistresses is reflected in an 1843 newspaper report of a seven-year-old bound girl's death after a "severe" whipping by her mistress in Connecticut ("Trial of Maria Moore for Manslaughter." *The People's Paper* [Cincinnati, OH] 1.102 [2 Dec. 1843]).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first from poor working conditions and inadequate pay in the mills. After her marriage, she undergoes physical and emotional abuse at the hands of her husband. Like the heroes and heroines of slave narratives, Mira Dana learns to stand up for herself and assert her rights, as Wilson's Frado also learns.

Wilson's *Our Nig* in turn greatly influenced another bound-girl and factory-girl novel published in 1863, Hannah Talcott's *Madge; or, Night and Morning* (entry 271). Like Frado, the heroine, Madge, a dark girl, loses her parents when she is very young. Aged five, Madge is indentured as a domestic servant on the farm of the merciless Mrs. Hardy. She develops a close friendship with Mrs. Hardy's son, as Frado grows close to her mistress's son. Madge suffers, as does Frado, from her mistress's blows, whippings, and harsh language. Both bound girls endure having their beautiful dark curls cropped by their enraged mistresses. Madge and Frado are both denied education, as were many actual indentured or otherwise employed children. A neighbor comments that Madge's bondage is almost as "unjust" as Southern slavery (32). Like Frado, Madge is helped by Christian friends and learns to rely upon God as "her Father and Friend" (74).

Unable to bear any longer "the chains of bondage with which she was shackled" (102), fourteen-year-old Madge runs away to work in the cotton mills. Like Frado, Madge enjoys a period of freedom after her indenture, but she, too, eventually suffers the collapse of her health. The brutal mistresses in both texts die before the novels' conclusions. In borrowing from the slave narrative and from Wilson's novel, Talcott and other factory writers explore the shifting ground of poverty occupied variously by poor whites, blacks, and other oppressed people. Factory writers debate the meaning of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

slavery and explore the extent to which poor whites in the United States are also enslaved.

While the cross-influences among such popular American literary genres as factory literature, Sunday school tracts, captivity narratives, and slave narratives are most readily apparent, canonical American writers also drew upon popular literature. Although the industrial workplace and industrial labor issues and problems were frequently not treated by canonical authors such as Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, and Dickinson, it is still possible to trace the effects of factory literature upon their work. Since factory writing's influences upon canonical writers are too numerous and subtle to cover fully here, a brief discussion intended to suggest only some kinds of influences follows.

Walt Whitman, for one, admiring the vitality and spirit of American workers and common people in such poems as "A Song for Occupations" and "Song of Myself," pays tribute to the factory girl. In "Song of Myself," first published in 1855, the speaker observes that "The clean-hair'd Yankee girl works with her sewing-machine or in the factory or mill" (294). While honoring the factory girl by including her in his panorama of American life, Whitman also desexualizes her, stressing her "clean-hair'd Yankee" quality. Whitman's desexualization or de-eroticization of the factory girl strikingly contrasts with her sexualization and sexual objectification in the era's sensational pulp literature. While Whitman may have wished to counteract her exploitation, he may also have been drawing from the images of wholesome, "clean-hair'd" factory women gracing the pages of such mill workers' periodicals as the *Lowell Offering* and *The Olive Leaf.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's fiction reflects even more traces of the factory-girl literature. Hawthorne's close awareness of popular culture, including storytelling and ballad composition, is evident in his story, "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," in which factory girls make a cameo appearance (see entry 219). Moreover, his treatment of the fallen woman, Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), responds to the concern with women's sexual transgressions common in the factory-girl seduction literature circulating at the time (see Chapter 6). The character of Arthur Dimmesdale, the minister and seducer of Hester Prynne, is preceded by several such "reverend villains" in the factory-girl literature. In the 1830s, a number of texts--broadside ballads, pulp pamphlets, and even a play--were published addressing the seduction and death of Sarah Maria Cornell, a factory worker. The acquittal of her seducer and alleged murderer, the Reverend Ephraim K. Avery, evoked popular outrage. Hawthorne's fascination with this case found an outlet in *The Scarlet Letter* (D. Reynolds, *Beneath* 252). His novel, however, revises some of the popular sources. For instance, in Mary Carr Clarke's play, *Sarah Maria Cornell* (1833; entry 167), the heroine, Sarah, is comforted and aided by other women after her seduction. In *The Scarlet Letter*, on the other hand, Hester Prynne, the fallen woman, is rejected and shunned particularly by other women; she is quite alone and without women friends throughout the novel. From his version of the seduction story, Hawthorne removes the feminist aspect of female solidarity found in texts by women authors such as Mary Carr Clarke.

Two corrupt clergymen appear in E. A. E.'s *Lowell Offering* story, "An O'er True Tale" (1844; entry 172). The heroine, Eliza Temple, a mill worker and seamstress, is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

betrayed by two ministers, one who attempts to seduce her and another who cheats her out of her hard-earned savings. The narrator exclaims, "Oh, ye reverend villains! . . . Heaven only knows the guilty writhings of your tortured consciences" (291). Likewise, Arthur Dimmesdale, wracked with guilt over his secret sin, writhes over the duration of *The Scarlet Letter*. "An O'er True Tale" is one of many popular texts from which Hawthorne may have drawn in creating *The Scarlet Letter*.

Like the heroines of factory-girl literature, two of Hawthorne's significant women characters are textile workers, specifically seamstresses. His profound treatment of seamstresses in *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) acknowledges the historical significance of the textile arts in women's lives. Yet Hawthorne focuses upon the old-fashioned hand seamstress at a time when women's textile work was being mechanized by the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the sewing machine. In so doing, he registers the significance of women's loss of dominance in the fiber arts, as well as perhaps his own resistance to handicraft mechanization.

In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hester Prynne supports and even redeems herself by working as a seamstress. In fact, Hester's artistry with the needle, as expressed in her embroidery of the letter "A" itself, enables the novel's creation. The narrator's discovery of the scarlet letter stored in an attic inspires him to write the novel. *The Blithedale Romance's* narrator, Miles Coverdale, is similarly impressed with the textile work of a poor, young seamstress, Priscilla--so much so, in fact, that he falls in love with her. Coverdale admires the "peculiar excellence . . . [and] great delicacy and beauty" of the silk purses Priscilla makes (60).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrastring Priscilla, the frail seamstress, and Zenobia, the dynamic, intellectual woman, *The Blithedale Romance* explores the changing roles of women and the waning importance of the fiber arts in women's lives. Similarly, in Hester Prynne, Hawthorne combines the woman textile worker and the new intellectual woman, who serves as a bridge to an even newer woman, represented by her daughter, Pearl. As the factory literature probes the changing nature of women's work and intellectual and career opportunities, Hawthorne's seamstress characters embody women's changing roles.

In his story of women toiling in a paper mill, "The Tartarus of Maids" (1855), Herman Melville addresses women's industrial work, utilizing many tropes from the factory-girl literature. As Melville's narrator tours a northern New England paper mill, he reports his observations and reactions. Fascinated with factories, many actual nineteenth-century people took mill tours and observed the machinery and women and children at work. In fact, these tours were so popular that some places even sold tickets. Many contemporary magazines published articles reporting on such tours and praising the wonders of the mills (see "Works Cited" for some of them). Scenes of visitors touring the mills appear regularly in the antebellum factory writings. In "Tartarus," Melville draws upon the cultural discourse from contemporary periodicals and factory literature. In stories by factory-girl authors, women characters sometimes react with chagrin or irritation to being on display.

Coming to Melville's story after immersion in the factory-girl literature, one is struck by the paper-mill women's silence and muted subjectivity. The liveliness of mill women's culture, unmistakable in the factory literature, is entirely lacking in "Tartarus."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The "Tartarus" version of a factory village is quite a bleak, cold, and empty one. The liveliness found in mill women's writings has been drained away. As a man, Melville may have felt threatened by the vibrancy of factory women's culture in a place such as Lowell, Massachusetts, existing almost apart from men.

In her article "'What Factory Girls Had Power to Do': The Techno-Logic of Working-Class Feminine Publicity in *The Lowell Offering*," Elizabeth Freeman notes a similar strain not only of misogyny but also of class bias in Melville's treatment of the paper-mill women. After focusing first upon mill women's writings in the *Lowell Offering*, she perceives anxiety in "Tartarus" regarding working-class women's writing: "The fact that Melville's women are working in a *paper* factory seems crucial, for it foregrounds anxieties about laboring white women as potential writing subjects--not just bodies written upon, but consciousnesses writing" (110). Since the *Lowell Offering* was the first, or one of the first, U.S. periodicals written entirely by women, some men seem to have found it especially objectionable, as evident in the number and virulency of men's attacks against it in the contemporary press.

While mill women's culture is conspicuously absent from "The Tartarus of Maids," Melville's critique of the factory borrows from labor-paper and other protest writings (see Chapter 12). His generally ironic stance toward the factory resonates with many labor-paper writings, such as those appearing in the *Voice of Industry* (entry 85). In describing the paper-mill women as the slaves of the machines, Melville's narrator remarks, "The girls did not so much seem accessory wheels to the general machinery as mere cogs to the wheels" (278). Similar charges had been made in print as early as the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1820s. For instance, in James Kirke Paulding's 1826 satirical tale of a factory child, "The Man Machine; or, The Pupil of 'Circumstances,'" the young worker remarks that three years' toil at a spinning jenny have left him "as docile as the galley-slave at his oar . . . [and] stupified in mind" to the point that he has "actually become a piece of machinery" (19). Likewise, a writer for *The Free Trade Advocate,* discussing the first all-women's strike in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1828, represents factory women's plight as an enslavement in which "their very souls are chained to a spinning jenny, upon which, like the body of Ixion, they are wheeled round and round in never ceasing torment" ("Female Riot" 74). Like Ixion and Melville's paper-mill women, the Dover factory women are imprisoned in a Tartarus-like place of endless punishment. Although in "Tartarus" Melville erases factory women's culture, he derives the story's critique of industrialism directly from earlier and contemporary factory writings.

Emily Dickinson is another canonical writer whose work reveals the influence of factory literature, particularly mill women's writings. Living in Massachusetts with its booming textile industry in such towns as Lowell and Chicopee (the latter not far from her Amherst home), Dickinson could not have been unaware of factory women and their writings. As a girl attending school, she may well have had access to such widely circulating factory women's periodicals as the *Lowell Offering* (1840-45; entry 78) and *The New England Offering* (1847-50; entry 82) through school subscriptions. Between the ages of ten and eighteen, Dickinson attended Amherst Academy from 1840-47 and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary from 1847-48. In 1843, the *Lowell Offering* reprinted a letter from Emma Willard, the director of another girls' academy, the Troy (N.Y.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Female Seminary ("Editorial" 3 [1843]: 281-82). Willard's letter comments upon a previous issue of the *Lowell Offering*, suggesting that she was a regular reader. If the periodical was available at a girls' academy in New York State, it may well have been available at similar Massachusetts girls' schools, such as the ones Dickinson attended.

Scholars including Emily Stipes Watts and David S. Reynolds have shown how closely Dickinson's poetry is connected to other nineteenth-century women's writing, particularly middle-class women's poetry and fiction.[13] Likewise, numerous correspondences can be found between Dickinson's poetry and factory literature, especially mill women's writings. Of these correspondences, the themes and tropes of women's departure from the private sphere and her changing roles are discussed. Other concerns touched upon briefly include Dickinson's responses to mill abuses and hazards, specifically child labor and the Pemberton Mill Disaster. Like many of the factory balladeers, Dickinson often utilizes the common ballad meter. While her prosody has been traced to the hymns with which she was so familiar, it may also owe its origins to the many ballads in circulation.

Both factory women's writings and several of Dickinson's poems address the theme of leaving home, with its ramifications for women's exchanging the domestic sphere for a public sphere of work. Many antebellum factory-girl stories and novels include scenes of the heroine leaving her rural home to go off alone and work in the city. A careful rendering of the stagecoach journey to the city emerges as a convention of factory-girl literature. Setting out on her travels, the heroine reviews her life, as she

---

13

See Watts 125-37 and Reynolds, D. *Beneath* 387, 412-37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

passes the fields, schoolhouse, and other scenes of youth. In *A Book without a Title* (1855; entry 411), the heroine's journey is recounted: "Slowly moved the old stage-coach at last, by each dear object she had known from childhood. The broad meadow field--the laughing brooklet, 'fringed with the violets colored by the skies;' the old gnarled oak that so long had stood by the quaint old school-house" (13). Such scenes anticipate the journey in Dickinson's, "712 [Because I could not stop for Death--]," in which the speaker recalls her carriage ride: "We passed the School, where Children strove / . . . We passed the Fields of Gazing Grain" (9, 11). It must be recognized, however, that while the factory heroines journey toward a new life, Dickinson's speaker leaves home to die. Still, Dickinson's poem, like the factory fiction, registers the deep changes in women's lives as they leave the private sphere.

Another related convention of factory-girl literature is the heroine's return home from the mills. Often, she finds that she cannot resume life where she left off. After recognizing how profoundly she has changed, she often leaves home again, perhaps returning to the mills. One such text is a ballad published in the *Voice of Industry* (entry 85), "Lines on Revisiting Home" by Blank (3.2 [23 July 1847]). The speaker strains to recognize once-familiar scenes and people: "And is this home?--Is this the spot / In childhood's time so dear, / Through years of absence ne'er forgot" (1-3). Even though Emily Dickinson rarely left home herself, several of her poems acknowledge the social dislocations that others, particularly women, are experiencing. In poem 609, Dickinson's speaker recounts the feelings of alienation upon return home after a long absence: "I Years had been from Home / And now before the Door / I dared not enter" (1-3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Another *Voice of Industry* ballad, Mary's "I Stand Where I Stood Years Ago," describes the speaker's estrangement from home and fear of the future: "Yes; I stand where I stood years ago, / . . . Then light on my pathway did glow; / Now dark is the Future before me" (17, 19-20). The speaker of Dickinson's poem 10 also finds herself in a confusing darkness: "My wheel is in the dark! / I cannot see a spoke" (1-2). Mary's speaker further expresses her bewilderment: "Dense webs all around me are weaving" (13). Likewise, Dickinson's speaker, who begins with a "wheel"--quite possibly a spinning wheel, invokes weaving imagery to convey modern displacements: "Some have resigned the Loom--" (9). In such poems Dickinson, like the factory writers, registers some of the changes in women's roles and social disjunctures accompanying industrialism.

These are only a few of the correspondences between Dickinson's poetry and factory writing. Textual evidence strongly suggests that Dickinson's read some of the factory women's periodicals, such as the *Lowell Offering* and possibly *The Olive Leaf* (entry 83), the latter published in nearby Chicopee. Knowing that death is the predominant subject of the *The Olive Leaf's* many poems helps to restores some context for Dickinson's seemingly odd and morbid preoccupation with death. Furthermore, several of Dickinson's poems indicate her awareness of mill abuses and hazards. Her "112 [Where bells no more affright the morn--]" (entry 253) advances a critique--albeit indirectly--of child labor. Dickinson's speaker describes factory bells affrighting the morning, as the speaker of P. B. Fisk's poem, "The Fall of the Pemberton Mill" (entry 310), recounts the Disaster alarm bells being "affrighted at the ruin done" (3). Read in the context of Pemberton Mill Disaster literature (see Chapter 10), Dickinson's puzzling

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

poem "280 [I felt a Funeral, in my Brain]," written probably not long after the Disaster, suddenly takes on new meaning as a possible response to the horrific and widely publicized event. Thus, Dickinson's poetry, often viewed as occupying a rarefied realm far removed from the strife of industrialization, is seen to share in the culture that produced factory literature.

Of all the canonical American writers, Theodore Dreiser most fully reworks themes and tropes from nineteenth-century factory literature. Raised in a poor, working-class family, Dreiser knew firsthand the desires and trials of his novels' young, working-class characters. Deeply concerned about his sisters' difficulties, Dreiser delves into the special trials and temptations facing poor young women in *Sister Carrie* (1900), *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911) and *An American Tragedy* (1925). Women's problems, such as seduction, unwanted pregnancy, and abortion, treated repeatedly in nineteenth-century factory literature, are again addressed and deeply reworked in Dreiser's fiction.

Dreiser's poor, young characters express the same kinds of desires for more opportunities and a better life that were expressed in factory fiction at least as early as the 1840s. Some early factory heroines bring to the city with them a half-articulated multitude of desires. One such heroine appears in Eliza Jane Cate's short story, "Kate Kimball" (1843; entry 58). As Kate leaves her rural home for the Newburyport, Massachusetts, factories, she desires not only money to help her impoverished parents but advantages for herself, such as friendship, education, and beautiful, metropolitan surroundings:

> . . . there were new, pleasing, and profitable friendships, superior facilities

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> for deepening her knowledge of books and of human nature; and, besides, there were beautiful town and county residences, with their piazzas, balconies, shrubberies, arbors, groves, and splendid public buildings, about all of which she had read and imagined so much. (2)

Nineteenth-century Newburyport was hardly the seat of such splendor, but Kate pursues her desires anyway and fulfills some of them.

Dreiser's fiction, particularly *Sister Carrie* (1900) and *An American Tragedy* (1925), conveys the same quality of yearning in poor, young Americans for something greater and more glittering--and the same inability of the surrounding culture to answer young people's desires. When Clyde Griffiths, the hero of *An American Tragedy*, obtains a job as a bellboy in the Green-Davidson, a hotel in Kansas City, he is astonished at the place's luxury, and he anticipates being able to help his struggling family and enjoying social advantages:

> At the mere mention of work in connection with so imposing an institution as the Green-Davidson . . . Clyde first stared, felt himself tremble the least bit with excitement. . . . Once through [the doorway], he beheld a lobby, the like of which, for all his years but because of the timorous poverty that had restrained him, from exploring such a world, was more arresting, quite, than anything he had seen before. It was all so lavish. . . . For now, all at once, he saw economic independence ahead for himself, if not for his family. . . . And in addition he was to live and move always in the glorious atmosphere of this hotel . . . to have good clothes--interesting company,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> maybe--a good time, gee! (32, 40)

Like Kate Kimball, Clyde mistakes provincial versions of urban sophistication for the real thing. Clyde also longs to dress as well as the other bellboys, as if, by improving his outward appearance, he might amplify his intrinsic worth. The various inarticulate longings of Carrie in *Sister Carrie*, a young woman who leaves a small town in search of fame and fortune in Chicago, often coalesce around a desire for beautiful clothes and adornments: "She realized in a dim way how much the city held--wealth, fashion, ease--every adornment for women, and she longed for dress and beauty with a whole and fulsome heart" (23). Like Clyde, Carrie channels considerable energy into obtaining the "right" kind of clothes, in an ardent effort to elevate her social status and worth as an individual.

Many nineteenth-century factory heroines desire and sometimes obtain beautiful dress for themselves with their earnings. For instance, Abby, in Harriet Farley's "Abby's Year in Lowell" (entry 176), while preparing to leave home and enter the mills, anticipates buying for herself the kind of finery she has never been able to have:

> Yes, she would go to Lowell, and earn all that she possibly could, and spend those earnings in beautiful attire; she would have silk dresses,--one of grass green, and another of cherry red, and another upon the color of which she would decide when she purchased it; and she would have a new Navarino bonnet, far more beautiful than Judith Slater's; and when at last she fell asleep, it was to dream of satin and lace, and her glowing fancy

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> revelled all night in a vast and beautiful collection of milliners' finery. (58)

An exemplary 1840s heroine, Abby forgoes the silk dresses and bonnet, but by the time of Dreiser's twentieth-century fiction, his heroes and heroines, such as Clyde Griffiths and Carrie Meeber, do obtain and enjoy beautiful clothes.

In his fiction, Dreiser represents the dual experience of "lights and shadows" found in nineteenth-century factory writings. In the factory literature as in Dreiser's work, protagonists enjoy a buoyant sense of opportunity and possibility. Their hopefulness is oftentimes checked, however, by harshly restrictive and exploitative mill working and living conditions. Like Dreiser's Carrie Meeber, some of the nineteenth-century mill heroes and heroines seek a way out of the drudgery and dreariness of mill life. Jasper Colfax's *The Peril of Beauty* (1869; entry 169) recounts the story of a young Lewiston, Maine, factory worker, Agnes Bishop. Tired of mill drudgery, Agnes dreams of becoming an actress. When she travels to Boston to join a theater company, she is abducted and nearly raped. After being rescued, she renounces her stage dreams and returns to Lewiston to marry a dull but reliable machinist. Dreiser revisits--and revises--this narrative in *Sister Carrie.* Carrie Meeber leaves a dull factory job and plodding tenement life to become the mistress of first one and then another man who assist her in becoming an actress. Rather than thwarting her career, her seductions actually facilitate her success. Whereas in nineteenth-century factory literature, characters are usually punished for seeking release from tedium and duty, Dreiser refrains from punishing Carrie. Initially condemned for the novel's immorality, Dreiser eventually won praise for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his pioneering naturalism. Dreiser also refused to condemn his fallen working-class heroine in *Jennie Gerhardt*; in fact, Jennie is exalted for her loving and self-sacrificing qualities. In her innate goodness and closeness to nature, Jennie resembles some of the exemplary nineteenth-century factory heroines

Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* reworks many troubling elements of the factory literature's seduction stories, such as class bias, abortion, and violence against women. Dreiser's factory-girl character, Roberta Alden, resembles in significant ways the seduced factory girls of chapter six, "Blighted and Deceived." Many correspondences can be found between Dreiser's novel and such nineteenth-century factory texts as J. A. B.'s *Mary Bean: The Factory Girl* (1850; entry 164) and *Brief and Impartial Narrative of the Life of Sarah Maria Cornell* (1833; entry 165). For instance, the seducer George Hamilton obtains a factory job for Mary Bean, just as Dreiser's Clyde Griffiths hires Roberta to work in his department in his uncle's factory. As the licentious George procures a private room for Mary Bean, so he can visit her in the evenings, Clyde visits Roberta in her private room with a private entrance. George takes Mary to a doctor to "fix" her problem pregnancy, just as Clyde takes Roberta to see a doctor. A physician also plays a role, perhaps also a crucial one, in the death of Sarah Maria Cornell. Mary Bean's body turns up in a river, while Roberta Alden's body is found in a lake. The circumstances of both murders are quite unclear, suggesting brutality and foul play. George Hamilton is relieved to be rid of the problem of Mary, just as Clyde is glad to be rid of Roberta.

At the same time that he is courting Roberta, Clyde is attracted to the stunning

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and wealthy Sondra Finchley and begins to pursue her as well, amazed when she returns his interest. The narrowness and impoverished harshness of his upbringing leave him quite vulnerable to Sondra's glamor and wealth. Similarly, some factory fiction treats poor characters' desires to marry into wealth. In Argus's pulp novel, *Norton: or, The Lights and Shades of a Factory Village* (1849; entry 127), a giddy factory woman, Julia Church, allows herself to be seduced by a poor young lawyer, Alfred Caldwell. Behind her back, Alfred, hoping to marry into wealth, is courting a rich woman. A similar subplot is found in Day Kellogg Lee's *Merrimack* (1854; entry 30). The factory-girl heroine, Mercy Winthrop, is betrayed by her working-class lover, Neal Derby. Dazzled by a rich local beauty, Arabella Puffit, Neal breaks off his engagement to Mercy. In *An American Tragedy*, Dreiser draws upon and immeasurably deepens popular literary treatment of the ways class complicates and disrupts love and marriage.

This conclusion shows some of the ways factory writing shaped and was shaped by other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature. Factory writers borrowed freely from several contemporary popular forms, such as sermons, Sunday school literature, and Indian captivity and slave narratives. Although factory writing influenced canonical American literature, it differs from canonical literature in two major ways. For one, it treats industrialism, industrial workers, and labor conflict, subjects by and large ignored by nineteenth-century canonical writers. Moreover, much factory literature shares the qualities of working-class art, especially its instrumentality and the communal creation of some texts, such as broadside ballads. Although nineteenth-century factory writing has been neglected by scholars, it is not only intrinsically important and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interesting, but in its influences upon canonical writers factory writing illuminates aspects of the work of such writers as Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, Dickinson, Crane, and Dreiser. The elements that canonical writers chose to highlight or erase from the surrounding popular culture become apparent, shedding new light on canonical writers' aims. Study of factory writing and other popular literature sometimes restores a context for puzzling or seemingly idiosyncratic aspects of canonical writers' works, such as Dickinson's preoccupation with death or Dreiser's focus upon the moral dilemmas facing poor young working women. In the case of Dreiser's major novels such as *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy*, nineteenth-century factory writing reveals that he was building upon a long tradition of factory-girl and seduction literature.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX I

ANNUAL CHRONOLOGY OF FACTORY LITERATURE

BY TITLE, WITH AUTHOR, GENRE, AND ENTRY NUMBER

1787
"[Wond'rous machine! thy curious fabric shows]" [Poem], 294

1794
A Poem on Industry (Humphreys) [Pamphlet poem], 285

1804
"A Poem on the Industry of the United States" (Humphreys) [Poem], 286

1807
"Wool Carding" (Reeve) [Ballad], 287

1810
"Home Industry" (1810-26) [Broadside poem], 283
"American Manufactures" (Humphreys, 1810-14) [Broadside poem], 284

1814
The Factory Girl (Savage) [Novel], 41

1816
The Manufacturer's Pocket-Piece (Felch) [Pamphlet poem], 282

1819
Domestic Industry (1819?) [Pamphlet poem], 279

1826
"The Man Machine" (Paulding) [Novella], 265

1827
"A Poem; on the . . . Death of the Rev. Josiah M. Muspratt" (H., J.) [Broadside poem], 311

1829
"Death of Sam Patch" (1829?) [Broadside ballad], 212

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1830

"Biography of Sam Patch" (*Berkshire Journal*) [Ballad], 204
The Factory Children (1830-1880?) [Children's tractate fiction], 255
"The Factory Girl." First line: "Come all you weary factory girls" (c. 1830-1860) [Broadside ballad], 352
"Factory Song." First line: "Come all ye ladies of Lowell" (c. 1830s-1840s) [Broadside ballad], 280
"Factory Song." First line: "While in the sable shades of night" (c. 1830s-1840s) [Broadside ballad], 281
"Going Over Jordan" (between 1830 and 1850) [Broadside ballad], 397
"Lines on the Reduction of Pay" (1830-1860?) [Broadside poem], 363
"The Lowell Factory Girl" (183-?) [Broadside ballad], 366
"Ten Hour Law!" (Jericho, between 1830 and 1860?) [Broadside ballad], 400

1831

"Going to Law" [Ballad], 217

1832

"The Death of Sarah M. Cornell" (1832?) [Broadside ballad], 171
"The Little Factory Girl to a More Fortunate Playmate" [Poem], 261
"Sweet Home" (Nature's Child) [Ballad], 36

1833

Brief. . . Narrative of the Life of Sarah Maria Cornell [Crime pamphlet], 165
"The Clove-Hitch Knot, and The Factory Maid" (c. 1833) [Broadside poems], 168
"The Factory Girl" (*New England Artisan*) [Ballad], 395
"The Factory Maid, and The Clove-Hitch Knot" (c. 1833) [Broadside poems], 175
"Lines Written on the Death of Sarah M. Cornell" (1833?) [Broadside ballad], 185
"The Little Factory Girl's Last Day" [Ballad], 262
Picture of a Factory Village (Man) [Pamphlet poem], 367
Sarah Maria Cornell (Clarke) [Melodrama], 167
"Seduction" (M***) [Ballad], 187
"Song. The Factory Maid" (Graham) [Poem], 168

1834

The Aristocrat and Trades Union Advocate (A Working Woman of Boston) [Pamphlet poem], 387
"[Let oppression shrug her shoulders]" [Ballad], 401
"Lowell" (La Vista) [Topographical poem], 227
"Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" (Hawthorne) [Short fiction], 219

1835

"The Dying Factory Girl" (Monitur) [Ballad], 323
"The Rich and the Poor: A Fairy Tale" [Fantasy fiction], 423

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Wages: A Fairy Tale" [Fantasy fiction], 425

1836
"[Oh! Isn't it a pity]" [Song], 406

1837
"[The agent to the frog-pond went]" [Poem], 390
"The Mill Has Shut Down" (c. 1837) [Broadside ballad], 372

1838
"The Factory Song" (A., G. H., and C. U.) [Broadside ballad], 276

1839
*The Factory Boy (*A Lady) [Children's tractate fiction], 259

1840
"The Factory Girl's New-Year Song" (1840-49) [Broadside ballad], 20
The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner (June 1840-July 1843) [Periodical], 77
Lowell Offering (October 1840-December 1845) [Workers' periodical], 78
"New Song of the Factory Girl" (184-?) [Broadside ballad], 38
"Pawtucket Falls" (A., A. R.) [Topographical poem], 200
"A Pic-Nic Party" (C. [Harriot F. Curtis]) [Allegory], 56
"Six to Six" (Hadaway, 184-?) [Broadside ballad], 399

1841
"An Acrostic" (Dora) [Ballad], 59
"Amoskeag's New Mill" (Horr) [Ballad], 222
"The Broken Engagement" (M., L.B.) [Short fiction], 151
"The Country Lawyer" (Veturia) [Short fiction], 158
"The Cousins" (H.) [Short fiction], 105
"Cure for Discontent" (Clementine) [Short fiction], 13
"A Dialogue" (Eliza) [Fictional dialogue], 101
"The Dignity of Labor" (Edgarton) [Short fiction], 100
"The Discharged Workman" [Short fiction], 347
"The Evening before Pay-Day" (Lucinda [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 31
The Factory Girl (E.T. Hazeltine, c. 1841) [Short fiction], 174
"Familiar Sketches, No. 1. The Sisters" (Ione [Harriet Lees]) [Short fiction], 107
"Familiar Sketches, No. 2. The Fig Tree" [Short fiction], 104
"Fancy" (Fiducia) [Ballad], 356
"Gentility" (Stella) [Short fiction], 123
"Harriet Greenough" (A. [probably Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 52
"Incidents in the Life of an Operative" (Enea) [Short fiction], 16
Jonas on a Farm in Winter (Abbott) [Children's fiction], 277
"The Lowell Factory Girl" (*Uncle Sam*) [Story-paper fiction], 186

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"My Country's Flag" (Adelaide [Lydia S. Hall (m. Graffam)]) [Ballad], 54
"A New Society" (Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]) [Dream vision], 445
"The Operative's Holiday Song" (W., T. P.) [Ballad], 246
The Operatives' Magazine (April 1841-Aug. 1842) [Workers' periodical], 84
"The Orphan" (A., A. G. [Abba A. Goddard (m. Rutherford)?]) [Short fiction], 295
"Prejudice against Labor" (Ethelinda) [Short fiction], 103
"Real Worth: The Lawyer and Laborer" (W.) [Short fiction], 124
"The Redeemed Farm" (Candace) [Short fiction], 207
"The Sisters" (Ella) [Short fiction], 308
"Song of the Spinners" [Song], 242
"Song of the Weavers" [Song], 243
"Susan Miller" (A., F. G.) [Short fiction], 1
"Tales of Factory Life, No. 1" (B., S. G. [Sarah G. Bagley]) [Short fiction], 94
"Tales of Factory Life, No. 2. The Orphan Sisters" (B., S. G. [Sarah G. Bagley]) [Short fiction], 7
"A Vision of Truth" (Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]) [Dream allegory], 67
"[We are not slaves!]" (Fairfield) [Poem], 413
"The Wedding Dress" (Hannah [possibly Hannah Johnson (m. Noyes)]) [Short fiction], 141

1842
"A Daughter's Love" (Irenaeus) [Narrative], 319
"Disasters Overcome" (F.) [Short fiction], 19
"Factory Blossoms for Queen Victoria" (F., H. [Harriet Farley]) [Ballad], 350
The Factory Girl (Newmarket, NH) 1.17 (1 Oct. 1842) [Workers' periodical], 72
"The Factory Girl" (Whipple) [Short fiction], 70
"The Factory Girl. An Owre True Tale" (Pike) [Short fiction], 330
"Leisure Hours of the Mill Girls" (D. [Eliza J. Cate]) [Short fiction], 210
"Lowell....A Parody" (H., L. S. [Lydia S. Hall (m. Graffam)]) [Ballad], 62
"Mechanic's Song" [Ballad], 233
"Myra, the Factory Girl" (Lura) [Serial fiction], 32
"A Narrative" (Saretta) [Narrative], 65
"Prejudice, or the Sailor and His Sister" (S., H. H.) [Short fiction], 117
"A Reverie" (C., B. [Betsey Chamberlain]) [Dream vision], 130
"The Reverse" (Hannah) [Short fiction], 313
"Rosa,--Or, Judge Not the Motive" (Maria) [Short fiction], 63
"Sabbath Morning" (Tabitha [Betsey Chamberlain]) [Dream vision], 382
"A Scene of Real Life" [Short fiction], 155
The Wampanoag, and Operatives' Journal (19 March-8 October 1842) [Workers' periodical], 86
"The White Mountain Sisters" [Short fiction], 51
"The Widow's Daughter" (Wise) [Short fiction], 199
"The Widow's Son" (Orianna [Hannah Johnson (m. Noyes)]) [Short fiction], 39
"A Yankee Lady" (Pierson) [Serial fiction], 114

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1843

"Ada, the Factory Maid" (Annaline) [Short fiction], 55
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. 1.--The Sister" (Adelia [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 89
"Beware of Him" (W., S.) [Ballad], 198
"Eleanor Mallows" [Short fiction], 133
"Ellen Rivers, The Factory Girl" (Rolli) [Serial fiction], 116
The Factory Journal (14 April 1843) [Workers' periodical], 75
"The Journal and Advocate" (H.) [Poem], 60
"The Laborer's Remonstrance" (C. [Harriot F. Curtis]) [Fictional dialogue], 342
"The Last Request" [Serial fiction], 230
"Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England" (Cate) [Fiction collection], 10, 11, 57, 58
"Lines on the Death of Maria L. Damon" (Havara) [Ballad], 316
The Olive Leaf, and Factory Girl's Repository (11 May-28 October 1843) [Workers' periodical], 83
"Song of the Factory Girl" (Mary) [Ballad], 112
"Truth through Fiction. No. 1. True Independence" [Short fiction], 49
"Woman's Influence" (Grace [Harriot F. Curtis]) [Short fiction], 23

1844

"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. II.--The Mother" (Adelia [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 2
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. III.--The Daughter" (Adelia [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 90
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. IV.--The Betrothed" (Adelia [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 3
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. V.--The Wife" (Adelia [Harriet Farley]) [Short fiction], 91
"The Choice" (L.) [Short fiction], 147
"A Day in a Railroad Car" (Sedgwick) [Short fiction], 119
"The Dying Sister's Gift" (Orianna [Hannah Johnson, m. Noyes]) [Short fiction], 326
Ellen Merton, the Belle of Lowell [Pulp novel], 173
"The Employer in the Sanctuary" [Short fiction], 349
"The Employer's Family Devotion" [Short fiction], 432
"The Factory Bell" (*The Factory Girl's Garland*) [Ballad], 351
"The Factory Girl" (L., P. A.) [Short fiction], 110
The Factory Girl's Garland (1 Jan. 1844-11 July 1846) [Workers' periodical], 74
"The Factory Inquisition" [Short fiction], 354
"Factory Labor" (S., W. J. [Jane S. Welch?]) [Fictional dialogue], 40
"Female Labor" (Colesworthy) [Ballad], 344
"An Incident" (B., J. L.) [Narrative], 6
"Letters from Susan" (Susan [Harriet Farley]) [Story collection], 44-47
Manchester Operative (27 Jan. 1844-15 Feb. 1845) [Workers' periodical], 79

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mind amongst the Spindles [Anthology], 64
"The Mother and Daughter" (W., J. S. [Jane S. Welch]) [Short fiction], 336
Mysteries of Lowell (Bradbury) [City-mysteries fiction], 129
The Mysteries of Nashua [City-mysteries fiction], 152
"An O'er True Tale" (E., E. A.) [Short fiction], 172
"Oppression" (Cross) [Ballad], 345
"Original Lines" (A. [*dams*], [*S.*] A.) [Ballad], 201
"[Wake with a song, my soul!]" [Poem], 386

1845
"An Acrostic" (Ada) [Ballad], 53
"A Dream" (That *Other* Factory Girl) [Dream vision], 383
"The Factory Girl" (B., J. L. [Josephine L. Baker (m. Choate)]) [Short fiction], 297
"The Factory Girl" (Denison) [Ballad], 15
"Factory Girls" (Miss Prepared Chalk) [Ballad], 234
"The 4th of July in Rhode Island in 1844" (Ella) [Poem], 102
"A Lesson from the Wind" (Amelia [possibly Amelia Sargent]) [Ballad], 392
"Lines for Newmarket" [Ballad], 362
"Lowell Song" (Hall) [Ballad], 180
"Manchester As It Is" (Miss Prepared Chalk) [Ballad], 373
"The Maniac Mother" (B., J. L. [Josephine L. Baker (m. Choate)]) [Short fiction], 202
"Manufactures vs. Agriculture" (Campbell) [Poem], 343
"Measure for Measure" (Dindle) [Short fiction], 214
"The Mechanic Who Would Not Work on the Sabbath" [Short fiction], 371
"Painful Suicide in Lowell of a Young Girl" [News story], 189
"The Pilgrim's Vision" [Dream vision], 375
"A Riddle" (L. [Lura Currier (m. Whitney)]) [Ballad], 109
"Sabbath Labor Christians" (Zig Zag) [Ballad], 388
"Song for the Million" (One of Them) [Ballad], 113
"The Stanleys" (J., E. W. [Eliza W. Jennings]) [Short fiction], 223
"The Summons" (Amelia [possibly Amelia Sargent]) [Ballad], 393
"Ten Hour System" (H., J. B.) [Ballad], 398
"The Toilers" [Ballad], 335
Voice of Industry (29 May 1845-31 May 1848) [Workers' periodical], 85

1846
"[Ah, leave my harp and me alone]" [Ballad], 340
"Dialogue, between Two Young Ladies" (S., H. J. [probably Huldah J. Stone]) [Fictional dialogue], 118
Factory Girl's Album, and Operatives' Advocate (14 February 1846-15 May 1847) [Workers' periodical], 73
"Factory Thoughts" (Mary) [Ballad], 368
"Grace Linden" (Judson) [Novella], 258
"Lament of the Dying Factory Girl" (Clariette) [Poem], 301

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Nazarene (Lippard) [Novel], 364
"The Operative's [sic] Respond" (Palmer) [Ballad], 374
"Our Cause" (Ada) [Ballad], 389
"The Sentimental Manufacturer to the Factory Girl" [Ballad], 381
"Song of a Factory Girl" (W., J. H.) [Ballad], 50
"Stanzas" (Almira) [Ballad], 391
"The Ten Hour System" [Ballad], 414
"There's Spirit Abroad" (Priest) [Ballad], 376
"To the 'Voice of Industry'" [Ballad], 68
"The Toiler's Lament" (Cate) [Ballad], 98
"Try Again" (Mary) [Ballad], 403

1847
"Abby's Year in Lowell" (Farley) [Short fiction], 176
Capital Trial of Dr. Lindsey A. Ingalls . . . for a Rape (Ingalls, 1847?) [Crime pamphlet], 183
"The Early Called" (Pheney) [Ballad], 329
"Extracts from a Journal" [Short fiction], 18
"The Factory Girl" (Ashton) [Short fiction], 93
The Factory Girl (Cummings) [Novel], 14
"Factory Romance" (Farley) [Short fiction], 134
Fun in a Factory Village [Pulp novella], 216
"'Get Up Early.' A Parody" (Blank) [Ballad], 341
The Great Secret (Judson) [Children's fiction], 226
The New England Offering (Sept. 1847-March 1850) [Workers' periodical], 82
"The Strength of Tyranny" [Ballad], 408
"There Must Be Something Wrong" [Ballad], 384

1848
"Answers to Puzzles, &c." (T., A. S.) [Ballad], 66
"Defiance to Oppression" [Poem], 346a
"Evening before Pay-Day" (*Ware Offering*) [Short fiction], 17
"The Factories of Lowell, and the Factory Girls" (Cate) [Serial fiction], 9
"Female Industry" [Ballad], 22
"The Happy Village" (A Traveler) [Short fiction]
"Hope for All" [Ballad], 359
"Lines Composed on . . . the Cruel Murder of Miss Sarah H. Furber" (Hall) [Broadside ballad], 181
The Manchester Tragedy (Carroll) [Crime pamphlet], 166
The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry (February-April 1848) [Workers' periodical], 80
"The New England Factory Girl" (Neal) [Serial fiction], 37
"Roxy and Dorcas" (Farley) [Serial fiction], 21
"The Sisterhood of the Green Veil" (Lippard) [Short fiction], 365

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Song of the Factory Girl" (Heywood) [Broadside ballad], 24
"The Temptation" (Ann) [Short fiction], 125
Ware Offering, and Factory Girls' Garland (Jan. 1848) [Workers' periodical], 87

1849
"Mill Girls of Lowell" [Melodrama], 188
"The Mill-Maid" (Carey [sic]) [Ballad], 300
Norton: or, The Lights and Shades of a Factory Village (Argus) [City-mysteries fiction], 127
"Our Mill" (T., L. M.) [Ballad], 244
"Our Mill at Laureldale" (Clara) [Ballad], 99
"Professor Nimmons" (Leslie) [Serial fiction], 111
"Something More about Donty" (Shepard) [Short fiction], 192
"Song of the Factory Girl" (J. G. Shorey) [Broadside ballad], 42
"The Stranger's Grave" (Porter) [Short fiction], 331
"To the Merrimack River" (Russell) [Topographical poem], 240

1850
"Anna Archdale: or, The Lowell Factory Girl" [Short fiction], 126
"Copy of Verses" (Poor Operative, 1850-70?) [Ballad], 238
"Emma Weston" (L., L. E.) [Serial fiction], 26
"The Factory Girl" (Arthur) [Short fiction], 4
The G'hals of Boston (Thompson) [Pulp fiction], 196a
"The Gossips of Rivertown" (Neal) [Short fiction], 441
Little Susan, the Factory Girl [Children's tractate fiction], 263
Lollypop! The Artful Dodger, or the Factory Girl [Farce], 232
Mary Bean: The Factory Girl (B., J. A.) [Pulp novel], 164
"Reminiscences of a Manufacturing Village" (H., E. J.) [Short fiction], 61
Richard Edney and the Governor's Family (Judd) [Novel], 145
"Song of the Factory Girls" [Ballad], 43
"To the Parents and Friends, of John Killgore" (Lewis, 185-?) [Broadside ballads], 321

1852
The Biddeford Factory Girl (Fitzallen) [Pulp novel], 135
"Humanity Crushed" [News story], 182
"The Little Factory Boy" [Children's fiction], 260
The Weekly Jubilee [Periodical], 88

1853
Fact and Fiction! (Kelly) [Pulp novel], 184
"Factory Bells (A Parody)" (P.) [Poem], 236
The Lofty and the Lowly (McIntosh) [Novel], 439
"The Lonely Church" (Sigourney) [Poem], 241
Progress Attributed to the Laboring Classes (Jillson) [Pamphlet poem], 225

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1854
Catharine and Clara (Thompson) [Pulp novel], 196
The Factory Girl (A Friend) [Novel], 178
Merrimack; or, Life at the Loom (Lee) [Girls' fiction], 30
Old Crag (A Minister) [Novel], 264

1855
A Book without a Title (Tyler) [Novel], 411
"The Factory Girl of Fairmount" (Thropp) [Ballad], 197

1856
A Book without a Title, 2nd ed. (Tyler) [Novel], 412
Flora Montgomerie, the Factory Girl (Sparks, 1856?) [Pulp novel], 194

1857
"Working at the Mill" (Ricketson) [Ballad], 333

1859
"The Angel of Toil and the Great Mill" (Todd) [Children's allegorical fiction and poetry], 288
"[Where bells no more affright the morn] (112)" (Dickinson) [Poem], 253

1860
"Additional Facts in Relation to the Fall of the Pemberton Mill!" (Ames, 1860?) [Broadside poem], 296
The Bobbin Boy (Thayer) [Children's fiction], 272
"Death, the Builder" [Ballad], 305
A Descriptive Poem of the Sad Calamity at Lawrence, Mass. (Wait) [Ballads], 337
"Destiny; Or, The Autobiography of a Lowell Operative" (Browner) [Short fiction], 96
"The House That Bigelow Built" [Poem], 318
"The Lawrence Calamity" (Withington, 1860?) [Broadside ballad], 339
"The Lawrence Disaster" (Cowden) [Broadside ballad], 302
"Lawrence Disaster!" (DeWolfe) [Broadside ballad], 306
"The Lawrence Disaster" (Harmon) [Broadside ballad], 315
"The Lawrence Tragedy! or Fallen Mill" (Mann) [Broadside ballad], 322
"Lines on the Catastrophe at Lawrence" (Beal) [Broadside ballad], 298
Miss Gilbert's Career (Holland) [Novel], 144
"No One to Blame" [Poem], 324
"Nursery Rhymes for Factory Stockholders" [Ballad], 325
"Pemberton Mills" [Ballad], 327
Poetic Sketch Written upon the Sad Disaster at Lawrence (Handy) [Pamphlet ballad], 312
"The Times" (Saxe) [Poem], 191
"Too Hot for Church" (Rowe) [Children's fiction], 269

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1861
"The Factory Girl" (Augusta) [Short fiction], 128
"Life in the Iron Mills" (Davis) [Short fiction], 346

1862
The Do-Somethings (Optic) [Children's fiction], 442
Margret Howth: A Story of To-Day (Davis) [Novel], 303

1863
Effie and I; or, Seven Years in a Cotton Mill (Hilbourne) [Novel], 25
Lulu (Walworth) [Novel], 290
Madge; or, Night and Morning (Talcott) [Girls' fiction], 271
The Mill Agent (Denison) [Novel], 213

1864
Walter Martin [Tractate fiction], 273
"Romance of a Factory Girl" [News story], 154

1865
"Growing Rich" (Cary) [Ballad], 250
The Merrimac and Its Incidents (Caverly) [Narrative poem], 278
Up Hill; or, Life in the Factory (Phelps) [Children's fiction], 266

1866
"The Old Mill at Amoskeag" (Cate) [Serial fiction], 12

1867
"The Dead Worker" (Hickey) [Ballad], 256
The Factory Boy (Baker) [Boys' fiction], 249
"The True Story of 'An Aged Indigent Woman'" [Narrative], 48

1868
"The Belles of Lowell" [Ballad], 203
Sunshine and Shadow in New York (Smith) [Narrative], 193
"The Tenth of January" (Phelps) [Short fiction], 328

1869
"Factory Song" (Goodwin) [Ballad], 140
"The Fall of the Pemberton Mill" (Fisk) [Poem], 310
Juliette (Baker) [Girls' fiction], 95
Over the Brink; or, The Peril of Beauty (Colfax) [Novellas], 169

1870
Ballads of New England (Whittier) [Ballad collection], 247

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Carrie Prince (Mudge, c. 1870?) [Children's fiction], 34
"Copy of Verses" (Party of Poor Workingmen, c. 1870s-1880s) [Ballad], 237
Gracie Goodwin (Mudge, c. 1870?) [Children's fiction], 35
The Song of the Sower (Bryant) [Ballad], 205
"The Young Slaver" (Starbuck) [Story-paper fiction], 122

1871
"Adria, the Adopted" (Burton) [Story-paper fiction], 206
"Bessie Raynor: The Factory Girl" (Turner) [Story-paper fiction], 156
"Fall of the Pemberton Mills, at Lawrence" (Hinchcliffe) [Poem], 317
"The Honest Working Girl" (Smith) [Ballad], 121
"Let Us Labor While We Live" (Hinchcliffe) [Ballad], 257
The Mills of Tuxbury (Townsend) [Girls' fiction], 446
The Silent Partner (Phelps) [Novel], 443
"The Toiler" (Hinchcliffe) [Poem], 106

1872
The Great "Trunk Mystery" of New York City (1872?) [Crime pamphlet], 179
"My Workmen" (Locke) [Ballad], 231

1873
"The Factory-Bell" (Ricketson) [Ballad], 377
The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems (Ricketson) [Ballad collection], 378
"The Irish Factory-Girl" (Ricketson) [Ballad], 115
"Maggie Wright" (DeWolfe) [Broadside ballad], 307
"Mill Notes.--Mother and Daughter" (Ricketson) [Ballad], 332
"The Scotch Factory-Girl" (Ricketson) [Ballad], 239

1874
"Ellen Jane Hunter" (1874?) [Broadside ballads], 309
"The Granite Mill Fire" (Harmon, 1874?) [Broadside ballad], 314
"Six O'Clock" (Grosvenor) [Ballad], 218

1875
An Idyl of Work (Larcom) [Narrative poem], 27
"In the Dark" (Goodrich) [Short fiction], 139
Sevenoaks: A Story of To-Day (Holland) [Novel], 221

1876
The New Century for Woman (13 May-11 Nov. 1876) [Periodical], 81
"New Year Bells" (Foran) [Short fiction], 357
"Song of the Lower Classes" (Jones) [Ballad], 108
"[Waken toilers!]" (B., H. N. G., Mrs.) [Ballad], 5
Wych Hazel and *The Gold of Chickaree* (Warner, 1876-77) [Novels], 448

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1877
Back to Back: A Story of To-Day (Hale) [Novella], 434
"The Fates' Roundelay" (McIntosh) [Ballad], 369
The Great Match (Trowbridge) [Novel], 245
"Maggie, or, 'Spun from the Spindles'" (Turner) [Story-paper fiction], 157
"The People's Carding Shop" (Fitch) [Broadside ballad], 215
"The Radical" (McIntosh) [Ballad], 370

1878
"Eight Hours" (Blanchard) [Song], 394
"The Little Mill Girl Matilda" (Rose) [Ballad], 268
"The March of the Toilers" [Song], 402
"Picture" (Holland) [Topographical poem], 220

1879
The Breton Mills (Bellamy) [Novel], 427
Only a Mill Girl! (Alexander?) [Crime pamphlet], 163
"The Strike" [Ballad], 409
The Strike at Tivoli Mills (Arthur) [Novel], 416

1880
"Fall River" [Ballad], 355
Hope Mills (Douglas) [Novel], 430
"The Mills' [sic] Shut Down To-day" (Johnson) [Ballad], 360
"The Story of a Household" (Place) [Ballad], 267

1881
"Only a Factory Girl" [Short fiction], 153
Rose Michel; or, The Trials of a Factory Girl (Hilton) [Pulp romance], 143
"Weary ere They [Run?]" [Poem], 274

1882
Brave and Bold (Alger) [Boys' fiction], 92
"The Ninety and Nine" (Gillette) [Ballad], 358

1883
Maggie: or, The Loom Girl of Lowell (Turner) [Pulp romance], 157

1884
"The Baltic Cotton Mills" (Massey) [Ballad], 263a
"Little Charm, the Factory Girl" [Story-paper fiction], 150a
"My Merrimack" (Larcom) [Ballad], 229
"A Voice from the Alley" (Mills) [Ballad], 404
"Weaving" (Larcom) [Ballad], 28

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Workmates" (Larcom) [Poem], 29

1885
"Agnes Lovering" (McNeill; 1885-86) [Serial fiction], 440
"Home Missions" (F., F. K.) [Ballad], 254
"Lowell at Sunset" (Larcom) [Ballad], 228
"Song of the Carpet Weaver" (Sheridon) [Ballad], 120
"A Striker's Song" (Striker) [Ballad], 410
Troubled Waters: A Problem of To-Day (Warner) [Novel], 426
"Wealth" (Carleton) [Ballad], 208
"The Yonkers Women's Strike" (Poem), 415a

1886
"And Joe" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 450
"Bridget's Story" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 248
Face to Face (Grant) [Novel], 421
The Factory Detective (Goode) [Dime detective fiction], 137
"The Factory Girl's Wail" (Heaney) [Ballad], 358a
"Jane Hayes" (Norton) [Short fiction], 324a
"Knights and the Drama" [Drama], 146
"Labor" (*The Journal of United Labor*) [Prose poem], 361
"Luke Gardiner's Love" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 159
Mrs. Herndon's Income (Campbell) [Novel], 428
The Other Side (Foran) [Fictional sketches], 433
"Saint or Sinner" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 160
"A Stranger, yet at Home" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 161
"The Toilers of Men" (Carey) [Ballad], 8
"Valentine's Chance" (Wyman) [Short fiction], 162
The Wreckers: A Social Study (Dowling) [Novel], 431

1887
Dan Hayes' Greatest Case (Goode) [Dime detective fiction], 136
Dollars and Duty (Haynes) [Novel], 422
"The Factory Girl" (Cheesewright) [Ballad], 251
"Ionie, the Pride of the Mill" (Libbey; 3 December 1887-25 February 1888) [Story-paper fiction], 148
"John Van Alstyne's Factory" (Dorsay; Oct. 1887-Nov. 1888) [Serial fiction], 429
Journal of Women's Work (1887-90) [Periodical], 76
Kathie, the Overseer's Daughter (Goode) [Dime novel], 138
"The People" (Roche) [Poem], 379
The Strike in the B— Mill (Benjamin) [Novel], 417
"The Working Girl's Sleep" (Jones) [Poem], 320

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1888
Annie Kilburn (Howells) [Novel], 436
"The Factory Girl" (D.) [Short fiction], 170
How They Lived in Hampton (Hale) [Novel], 435
"Labor's Demand" (Fisher) [Ballad], 396
"The Last Chance" (Woodbridge) [Serial fiction], 415
"Pride of the Nineteenth Century" (S., L. M.) [Serial fiction], 380
"The Sale of Labor" (Briancourt) [Poem], 299

1889
Bonnie Bess; or, The Prettiest Girl in Fall River (Druid) [Dime novel], 132
The Business Woman's Journal (Jan. 1889-Nov. 1896) [Periodical], 71
"The Poor Man's Soliloquy" (Stevens) [Ballad], 270
Speaking of Ellen (Porter) [Novel], 407
"Vox Populi" (Woodman) [Ballad], 275

1890
Asaph's Ten Thousand (Bennett) [Tractate novel], 418
The Lawton Girl (Frederic) [Novel], 177
Willful Gaynell (Libbey) [Pulp romance], 150

1891
Brotherhood (Cruger) [Novel], 420

1892
"The Factory Slave" (Thompson) [Song], 385
A Master Workman's Oath (Libbey) [Pulp romance], 149
"Thirty Cents a Day" (Thompson) [Ballad], 334

1893
Madonnas of the Smoke (Morgan) [Novella], 33
The Mystery of the Montauk Mills (Coolidge) [Dime detective fiction], 419
Salome Shepard, Reformer (Winslow) [Novel], 449

1894
"The Deacon's Week" (Cooke) [Short fiction], 209
The Fortunes of a Factory Girl (Coolidge) [Dime novel], 131
Just Plain Folks (Doubleday) [Novel], 348
"Mary Harding's Easter" (Nelson) [Children's fiction], 235

1895
"The Factory Girl" (Phillips) [Ballad], 190
Only a Working Girl, or, Her Heart's Tragedy (Coryell) [Dime romance], 131a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1896
"The Factory Chimneys" (Tongue) [Ballad], 289
King Dan, the Factory Detective (Goode) [Dime novel], 136
"Minnie Kelsey's Wedding" (Sullivan) [Short fiction], 195
"The New Jubilee" (Nesbit) [Ballad], 405
"Zarelda" (Higginson) [Short fiction], 142

1898
"The Gray Mills of Farley" (Jewett) [Short fiction], 224
"Lights of Lawrence" (Wetherbee) [Ballad], 291
"The Old Residents" (Wetherbee) [Ballad], 292
"Semi-Centennial Anniversary Poem" (Wetherbee) [Poem], 293
"The Working-Girls" (Wetherbee) [Ballad], 69

1899
The Wage Slaves of New York (McCardell) [Pulp novel], 438

1900
"Child Labor" (Rice, c. 1900?) [Ballad], 252
The Crucifixion of Philip Strong (Sheldon) [Novel], 424
"Only a Factory Girl" (Buell, c. 1900?) [Ballad], 97
"Piper, Play" (Davidson, c. 1900?) [Ballad], 211
Reels and Spindles (Raymond) [Girls' fiction], 444
"When Pemberton Fell" (Tewksbury) [Poem], 338
A Woman of Yesterday (Mason) [Novel], 437

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX II

NAMES AND *NOMS DE PLUME* OF THE WRITERS IN *THE LOWELL OFFERING.* COMPILED AND CORRECTED BY HARRIET HANSON ROBINSON, SEPTEMBER 1902

Bagley, Sarah G. "S. G. B.," "Sarah."
Baker, Josephine L. (m. Choate). "J. L. B.," "B."
Baker, Lucy Ann (m. Choate).
Bean, Caroline. "C. B."
Bradley, Adeline (m. Sturtevant). "Enileda."
Brown, Fidelia O.
Bryant, M.
Carroll, Joanna.
Carter, Alice Ann (m. Currier). "Alice," "A. A. C."
Cate, Eliza J. "D.," "Jennie," "Jane," "E. J. C.," "Franklin, N.H."
Chamberlin, Betsey. "Betsey," "Tabitha," "Jemima," "B. C."
Clapp, Kate.
Currier, Louisa. "Louisa," "Lisetta."
Currier, Lura (m. Whitney). "Lura," "L. C.," "L."
Currier, Maria (m. Keezar). "Maria," "M."
Curtis, Harriot F. "Kate," "Jessie," "C.," "H. F. C.," "Mabel," "Grace," "Letty" ("Grace" also used by Harriet Lees).
Dodge, Catherine.
Dodge, Eliza B.
Dodge, M. A. "Charity Dawson."
Farley, Harriet (m. Dunlevy [or Donlevy]). "Ella," "Annette" (also used by "R. C. T."), "A.," "Ilena," "Coila," "Susannah," "Susan," "Adelia," "Adah," "Lucinda," etc.
Foley, Margaret. "M. F. F.," "Margaret," "Lebanon, N.H."
Fosdick, M. A. "M. A. F."
Goddard, Abba A. (m. Rutherford). "A. A. G.," "A. G. A."
Green, Mariam R. (m. Kimball). "M. R. G."
Hall, Lydia Sarah (m. Graffam). "Adelaide," "L. S. H."
Hamilton, Jane B. "J. B. H."
Hanson, Harriet Jane (m. Wm. S. Robinson). "H. J. H."
Hayes, Rachel.
Holbrook, Eliza Rice (m. Rev. J. W. Hanson). "E. R. H."
Hough, S. J.
Jennings, Eliza W. "E. W. J."
Johnson, Hannah (m. Noyes). "Orianna," "H. J."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kidder, E.
Lane, Miss. "Elan," "Enad," "Lurenda," "Este," "Melodia."
Larcom, Emmeline A. (m. Rev. George Spaulding). "Dorcus," "E. A. L.," "Mabel," "Caroline" (early), "E. L.," "A. L.," "Agnes."
Larcom, Lucy. "Ruth Rover," "Rotha," "Sally," "Mara," "Nymphea," "L. L.," "M.," "Y. M."
Leavitt, L. E. "L. E. L."
Lees, Harriet. "Ione," "Grace" (also used by H. B. C.), "Inez," "Constance," "Estelle," "H. L.," "Isabella."
Leonard, Mary Anne (m. W. G. T. Pierce). "M. A. L.," "Mary," "Gertrude" (she is not "M. A.").
Lyon, Sarah J. "S. J. L."
Macdonald, Helen M. "Helen."
Martin, Sarah E.
McAffee, Mary J.
Perver, Elizabeth D. "Elizabeth" (in 1845).
Pope, E. S. "E. S. P."
Rainey, Nancy R.
Shedd, Sarah. (see her "Experience," etc., Vol. V, page 260) "S. S."
Smith, Ellen L. (m. Hilburn).
Smith, Helen E. "Helen," "H. E. S."
Spaulding, Laura. "Laura."
Spaulding, Mary Anne (may be "M. A.").
Sprague, Emmeline.
Stewart, S. W.
Tay, Laura (m. Le Belle). "Laura."
Thompson, Rebecca C. "R. C. T.," "Annette" (also used by Miss Farley).
Turner, Abby D. (m. John Caryl). "Abigail," "A. D. T."
Turner, Elizabeth Emerson (m. Chas. Sawyer). "E. E. T." (once "**T.")
Welch, Jane S. "J. S. W."
Whitney, Caroline H.
Wilson, A. Elizabeth (m. Holman).
Winship, Adeline H. "A. W."
Wright, Sabra. "Sabra."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX III

NONFICTION TEXTS BY AND ABOUT

NINTEENTH-CENTURY TEXTILE FACTORY WORKERS.

Bush, Charles P. *Five Years in China: or, The Factory Boy Made a Missionary. The Life and Observations of Rev. W. Aitchison.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1865.

Collins, Jennie. *Nature's Aristocracy; or, Battles and Wounds in Time of Peace. A Plea for the Oppressed.* Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1871. Collins (1828-87; b. Amoskeag, New Hampshire) worked during her youth in the Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, factories. She became a labor and women's suffrage activist. *Nature's Aristocracy* includes much valuable first-hand observation of factory life, including the workday routine, boardinghouse life, friendship, the Dover (New Hampshire) strike and other strikes, and the Pemberton Mill Disaster, as well as chapters on the poor and other laborers, labor reform, and woman's suffrage. Reprinted in "Making of America (MOA)."

---. *A Plan for Future Work, in Behalf of the Working Women. June, 1872.* Boston: George L. Keyes, 1872. Reprinted in *History of Women.*

[Curtis, Harriot F.]. *S.S.S. Philosophy.* By the author of "Kate in Search of Husband," "Jessie's Flirtations," &c., &c. Lowell, MA: Merrill & Heywood, 1847. Curtis (1813-89; b. Kellyvale [now Lowell], Vermont; originally "Harriet") worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. A founding member of the first factory women's Improvement Circle in Lowell, Curtis became a principal writer, editor, and business manager for the *Lowell Offering*. *S.S.S. Philosophy* consists mainly of brief, prose nonfiction pieces, some of which are reprints of Curtis's *Lowell Offering* writings. Several pieces convey her views on women's rights and her challenges to class bias. Reprinted in *History of Women.*

Davis, Almond H. *The Female Preacher, or Memoir of Salome Lincoln, Afterwards the Wife of Elder Junia S. Mowry.* Providence, RI: Elder J. S. Mowry, 1843. This is a biographical memoir of Salome Lincoln (1807-41), an early woman strike leader and itinerant preacher. She worked from 1822-29 as a textile operative for the Crocker and Richmond Manufacturing Company in Taunton, Massachusetts. On April 30, 1829, she joined with sixty to one hundred other women weavers in a strike protesting a wage reduction. At their meeting, Lincoln addressed the women on "their wrongs" (51). Reprinted in *History of Women.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Farley, Harriet. *Operatives' Reply to Hon. Jere. Clemens, Being a Sketch of Factory Life and Factory Enterprise, and a Brief History of Manufacturing by Machinery.* Lowell, MA: S. J. Varney, 1850. Farley (1813-1907; b. Claremont, New Hampshire; m. Donlevy) worked as a weaver in Lowell, Massachusetts, and became a writer and the *Lowell Offering's* most prominent editor. The *Operatives' Reply* defends the factory system against Clemens's harsh criticism of working and living conditions. Farley also recounts the history of the American textile industry.

---. *Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius.* Boston: James Munroe, 1847. This is a collection of Farley's writings, most of which first appeared in the *Lowell Offering.* The volume includes essays, sketches, fiction, and poetry. Reprinted in *History of Women.*

Goddard, Abba A. *Gleanings. Some Wheat--Some Chaff.* New York: D. Appleton, 1856. Abba A. Goddard (m. Rutherford) was a co-editor and writer for *The Operatives' Magazine* and a writer for the *Lowell Offering. Gleanings* is a collection of brief fiction and brief essays, none of which concern factory workers. Some of the fiction represents the experience of seamstresses and other laborers, and several essays address problems of the poor.

Larcom, Lucy. "Among Lowell Mill-Girls: A Reminiscence." *Atlantic Monthly* 48 (1881): 593-612. Larcom (1824-93; b. Beverly, Massachusetts), the daughter of a poor widow with ten children, worked in the Lowell, Massachusetts, factories from age eleven to twenty-one. As a mill girl, she contributed writings to *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering.* Larcom continued writing throughout her lifetime, becoming a nationally known poet. She also worked as a teacher and editor. "Among Lowell Mill-Girls" is a nostalgic, autobiographical essay, reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

---. *A New England Girlhood: Outlined from Memory.* 1889. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1986. This autobiography tells Larcom's life story up to young adulthood. She describes her mill working experience and her participation in *The Operatives' Magazine* and the *Lowell Offering.*

Munger, Hiram. *The Life and Religious Experience of Hiram Munger: Including Many Singular Circumstances Connected with Camp-Meetings and Revivals. Written by Himself.* Chicopee Falls, MA: The author, 1856. The text includes some description of the author's childhood factory work experience. Reprinted in *Millerites and Early Adventists* (University Microfilms International, 1977).

Mussey, Abigail. *Life Sketches and Experiences.* Cambridge, MA: Dakin and Metcalf, 1866. In this autobiography, Mussey describes some of her experiences working in New England textile mills in the 1820s and 1830s. Reprinted in *History of Women.*

Penny, Virginia. *How Women Can Make Money.* 1870. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1971. (Reprint of *Employment of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co., 1863.) From 1859-61, Penny travelled widely gathering information on United States working women. "Textile Manufactures" are covered in pages 172-214, providing details of mill locations, wages, working and social conditions, and attitudes towards working women.

"People of a New England Factory Village." *Atlantic Monthly* 44 (Oct. 1880): 460-64. Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

Porter, James. *The Operative's Friend, and Defence; or, Hints to Young Ladies Who Are Dependent on Their Own Exertions.* 3rd ed. Boston: Charles H. Peirce, 1850. Written by a minister, this is a conduct book for factory women. Porter advises them on labor's honorability, neatness and order, sabbath keeping, economy, health, mental cultivation, religious observance, modesty, morality, etc. Reprinted in *History of Women.*

Robinson, Harriet Hanson. *Loom and Spindle; or, Life among the Early Mill Girls.* 1898. Kailua, HI: Press Pacifica, 1976. Robinson (1825-1911) worked from the ages of ten to twenty-three in the Lowell, Massachusetts, mills. *Loom and Spindle* recounts her factory experience. The history of the *Lowell Offering* is given in several chapters, including one providing brief biographies of some of the *Offering* writers.

Whittier, John Greenleaf. *The Stranger in Lowell.* Boston: Waite, Peirce and Co., 1845. Whittier describes his stay in Lowell, Massachusetts. Chapters include "The Factory Girls," "Sabbath in Lowell, and "The Lighting Up" (i.e., of the mills for evening work). He challenges the "Corporations without souls" to show more concern for their overworked operatives (24).

Williams, Catharine Read. *Fall River: An Authentic Narrative.* 1833. New York: Oxford UP, 1993. Williams (1790-1872) treats events surrounding the murder or suicide of Sarah Maria Cornell, a Fall River, Massachusetts, factory worker. Throughout the text, she expresses deep sympathy with Cornell and anger at the man she believes murdered her, the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery.

Wyman, Lillie B. C. "Girls in a Factory Valley." *Atlantic Monthly* 78 (1896): 391-403, 504-17. Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

---. "Studies of Factory Life." *Atlantic Monthly* 62-63 (1888-89): 16-29, 315-21, 605-12; 69-79. Reprinted in *American Periodicals.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX IV

TITLES UNAVAILABLE FOR EXAMINATION

Clarke, Sarah M. *Songs of Labor for the People*. N.p.: A. M. Slocum, 1880.

Fleming, Geraldine. *Is Love Worthwhile? or, The Romance of a Cotton Spinner*. New York: Street & Smith, [between 1897 and 1901].

---. *Love at the Loom, or, Her Gallant Sweetheart*. New York: Street & Smith, 1895.

---. *Was He Worth It? or, The Romance of a Cotton Spinner*. New York: Street & Smith, 1897.

Harris, Linnie Sarah. *The Young Capitalist*. Boston: The Pilgrim P, 1897.

Kinley, Isaac. *Labor Rhymes*. Los Angeles: n.p., [c. 1886].

McGovern, Michael. *Labor Lyrics and Other Poems*. Youngstown, OH: The Vindicator P, 1899.

The New England Operative (periodical). Lowell, MA, between 1840 and 1849.

Lillia Weston, the Factory Girl. By an Operative. New York: P. F. Harris, 1855.

The Protest (periodical). Lowell, MA: n.p., 1848.

Ross, Eric St. C. *Only a Mill Girl: A Thrilling Story*. Cleveland, OH: A. Westbrook, 1890.

Winslow, Margaret E. *Katie Robertson; A Girl's Story of Factory Life*. New York: A. L. Burt, 1885.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

WORKS CITED

PRE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOURCES

Adams, Oscar Fay. *A Dictionary of American Authors*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1897.

Addison, Daniel Dulany. *Lucy Larcom: Life, Letters, and Diary*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1895.

"Address to the Workingmen." *The Boston Quarterly Review* (Orestes A. Brownson, Editor) 4.1 (Jan. 1841): 112-27.

Alcott, Louisa May. *Work: A Story of Experience*. 1872. Ed. Joy S. Kasson. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

Allen, Zachariah. *The Practical Tourist*. Boston: n.p., 1832.

An American Citizen. *Individual Independence; or, True Liberty*. By an American Citizen. Worcester, MA: Printed for the Author, by Church & Fiske, 1843.

Ames, Azel, Jr. *Sex in Industry*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1875.

"Application of Principles. The Waltham manufactory . . ." *Niles' Weekly Register* 20 (23 June 1821): 259-60.

An Authentic History of the Lawrence Calamity, Embracing a Description of the Pemberton Mill, a Detailed Account of the Catastrophe, a Chapter of Thrilling Incidents, List of Contributions to the Relief Fund, Names of the Killed and Wounded, Abstracts of the Sermons on the Subject, Report of the Coroner's Inquest. Boston: J. J. Dyer & Co., 1860.

Avery, Ephraim Kingsbury. *Explanation of the Circumstances Connected with the Death of Sarah Maria Cornell*. Providence: W. S. Clark, 1834.

Ayer, J. C. *Some of the Usages and Abuses in the Management of Our Manufacturing Corporations*. Lowell, MA: n.p., 1863.

Bagnall, William R. *The Textile Industries of the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1893.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Barnard, Thomas. *A Sermon Preached in Boston, New-England, before the Society for Encouraging Industry, and Employing the Poor, September 20, 1758.* Boston: S. Kneeland, 1758.

Barry, William. *Moral Exposure and Spiritual Wants of Manufacturing Cities.* Lowell, MA: n.p., 1850.

Bartlett, Elisha. *A Vindication of the Character and Condition of the Females Employed in the Lowell Mills, against the Charges Contained in The Boston Times, and the Boston Quarterly Review.* 1841. *Women of Lowell.* Ed. Leon Stein and Annette K. Baxter. New York: Arno P, 1974. N. pag.

Beecher, Catherine E. *The Evils Suffered by American Women and Children: The Causes and the Remedy. Also: An Address to the Protestant Clergy of the United States.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1846.

[Bigelow, Josiah.] *A Review of Seth Luther's Address to the Working-Men of New England, by a Factory Hand.* Waltham, MA: n.p., 1832.

Bishop, John Leander. *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860.* 3rd ed. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1868.

Blewett, Mary H., ed. *Caught between Two Worlds: the Diary of a Lowell Mill Girl. Susan Brown of Epsom, New Hampshire.* Lowell, MA: Lowell Museum, 1984.

Bodichor, Barbara Leigh (Smith). *Women and Work.* New York: C. S. Francis, 1859.

Braddon, Mary Elizabeth. *The Factory Girl; or, All Is Not Gold That Glitters. A Romance of Real Life.* New York: R. M. De Witt, 187-? [British fiction]

"Brief Notices. Riot." *Niles' Weekly Register* 40 (28 May 1831): 221.

Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. "The Cry of the Children." 1843. *Mrs. Browning's Complete Poetical Works.* New York: Crowell, 1900. 321-23. [British factory poem]

Brownson, Orestes A. "The Laboring Classes." *The Boston Quarterly Review* 3.3 (July 1840): 358-95.

—. "Letter to the Editors of 'The Lowell Offering.'" *The Boston Quarterly Review* 4.2 (Apr. 1841): 261-64.

C. "Literature. The Factory Girl." *The Minerva* (New-York) 2.1 (9 Oct. 1824): 29-30.

C. "A Working Woman's Statement." *Nation* 4.86 (21 Feb. 1867): 155-56.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Carey, Matthew. "Low Rate of Females' Wages: Extract from the Proceedings of a Town Meeting of the Citizens of Philadelphia, Held on the 21st of February 1829, to Take into Consideration the Sufferings of the Poor." *The Free Trade Advocate, and Journal of Political Economy* 1 (1829): 174-75.

Chace, Elizabeth Buffum. "Factory Working Conditions for Women and Girls: Written in 1881." *Virtuous Lives: Four Quaker Sisters Remember Family Life, Abolitionism, and Women's Suffrage*. Ed. Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera. New York: Continuum, 1994. 165-75.

Charlotte Elizabeth (Mrs. Tonna). *Helen Fleetwood*. 1841. *The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth: With an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe*. 8th ed. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1844. I: 503-638. [British factory ficton]

Chasles, Philarète. *Anglo-American Literature and Manners: From the French of Philarète Chasles, Professor in the College of France*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852.

A Citizen of Lowell. *Corporations and Operatives: Being an Exposition of the Condition of Factory Operatives, and a Review of the 'Vindication,' by Elisha Bartlett, M.D., Published at Lowell, 1841*. 1843. *Women of Lowell*. Ed. Leon Stein and Annette K. Baxter. New York: Arno P, 1974.

Clarke, Dorus. *Lectures to Young People in Manufacturing Villages*. Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1836.

Collyer, Robert H. *Lights and Shadows of American Life*. Boston: Brainard & Co., [c. 1843].

A Complete History of the Great Fire at Granite Mill No. 1, in Fall River, Sept. 19, 1874. With a Full List of the Dead and Wounded, the Report of the Coroner's Inquest, Verdict of the Jury, Scenes, Incidents, Etc., Etc. Fall River, MA: Slade & Franklin, 1874.

The Condition of Labor. Boston: n.p., 1847.

Crosland, Newton, Mrs. *A Story of the Factories*. 1840. *Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature*, no. 31314.15. [British fiction]

Cuyler, Theo. Ledyard. "A Day at Lowell." *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book* 33 (1846): 183-84.

Dall, Caroline H. *Woman's Right to Labor; or, Low Wages and Hard Work; in Three Lectures, Delivered in Boston, November, 1859*. 1860. *Low Wages and Great Sins:*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two Antebellum American Views on Prostitution and the Working Girl. Ed. David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman. New York: Garland Publishing, 1987.

Davis, Almond H. *The Female Preacher, or Memoir of Salome Lincoln.* Providence, RI: n.p., 1843.

Denison, Mrs. M. A. "The Wages of Starvation." *Peterson's Magazine* 36 (Sept. 1859): 161-62.

Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation.* 1842. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1934.

Dickinson, Emily. *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson.* Ed. Thomas H. Johnson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1960.

"The Drama Called Sarah Maria Cornell. Produced at the Richmond-Hill Theatre." *New-York Mirror* 11.12 (21 Sept. 1833): 94.

"The Early Factory Girl." *Boston Herald* (14 Oct. 1889).

"Editor's Department. The Lowell Offering, Again." *Literary Souvenir. A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Arts* 4.10 (11 Sept. 1841): 78-79.

"Editor's Easy Chair: The terrible tragedy in Lawrence." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 20 (1860): 559.

Ely, Alfred. *A Sermon Delivered on Occasion of Constituting a Church at Ware Factory Village, April 12, 1826.* Brookfield, MA: E. and G. Merriam, Printer, 1826.

"Essay on Manufactures." *The American Museum* 7 (Jan. 1790): 23-25.

Evans, George H. "The Working Men's Declaration of Independence." *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York) and *Mechanic's Free Press* (Philadelphia), 1829. On-line. Internet. Available: http://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/doc29.html.

"Factory Children." *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York, NY) 25 May 1845. [British poem]

"Factory Girls." *Maine Farmer* 7.43 (9 Nov. 1839): 337-38.

Farley, Harriet. *Operatives' Reply to Hon. Jere. Clemens, Being a Sketch of Factory Life and Factory Enterprise, and a Brief History of Manufacturing by Machinery.* Lowell, MA: S. J. Varney, 1850.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Female Labour." *The Free Enquirer* 3.1 (1834): 117.

"Female Riot in New England. From the Boston Commercial Gazette of Jan. 5." *The Free Trade Advocate, and Journal of Political Economy* (Ed. Condy Raguet. Philadelphia: Adam Waldie) 1 (1829): 73-74.

Finney, Charles Grandison. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* 13th ed. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1840.

Finney, Charles Grandison. *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney. Written by Himself.* New York: A. S. Barnes, 1876.

Fosgate, Blanchard. "Social Influence of Manufacturing." *New World* 6 (3 June 1843): 651-54.

Fourth Congregational Society of Lowell. *The Importance and Means of Evangelizing Manufacturing Cities.* N.p., 1854.

Fowler, Orin. *History of Fall River, with Notices of Freetown and Tivertown, as Published in 1841.* Fall River, MA: Almy & Milne, Printers, 1862.

"From the Providence Patriot, May 29." *New-York Evening Post* (31 May 1824).

Fry, Sarah Maria. *The Factory Girls; or, "Trust in God."* By the author of "Matty Gregg." Boston: H. Hoyt, [185-?]. [British fiction]

Fuller, Margaret. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* 1845. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.

G. "Notices of Recent Publications. *Lowell, as It Was, and as It Is* by Rev. Henry A. Miles. . . . *Mind among the Spindles. A Miscellany, Wholly Composed by the Factory Girls. . . . American Factories and Their Female Operatives* . . . By the Rev. William Scoresby. . . ." *The Christian Examiner* 39 (1845): 275-76.

Giles, Charles. *Pioneer: Narrative of the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labours of Rev. Charles Giles, with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections.* New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844.

"[The girls at Lowell have struck again]." *The Herald* (New-York) 7 Oct. 1836.

Grant, Mrs. *Popular Models, and Impressive Warnings for the Sons and Daughters of Industry.* Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1816.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Green, John O. *The Factory System, in Its Hygienic Relations. An Address, Delivered at Boston, at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, May 27, 1846.* Boston: Published by the Society, 1846.

Hale, Sarah Josepha. *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women, from the Creation to A. D. 1854. . . .* 2nd ed, rev. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860.

Hallett, Benjamin F. *Trial of Rev. Mr. Avery: A Full Report of the Trial of Ephraim K. Avery, Charged with the Murder of Sarah M. Cornell--before the Supreme Court of Rhode Island at a Special Term in Newport, Held in May 1833 with the Arguments of Counsel. Reported by Benjamin F. Hallett.* 1833. Microfilm rpt. in *History of Women*, reel 167, no. 1080.

Hanaford, Phebe A. "The First Factory Girls." *Women of the Century.* Boston: B. B. Russell, 1877. 524-.

Hand-Book for the Visiter to Lowell. Lowell: D. Bixby and Co., 1848.

Harnden, Harvey. *Narrative of the Apprehension in Rindge, N.H., of the Rev. E. K. Avery, Charged with the Murder of Sarah M. Cornell; together with the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Fall River.* Providence: W. Marshall & Co., printers, 1833.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Blithedale Romance.* 1852. New York: W. W. Norton, 1958.

---. *The Scarlet Letter.* 1850. New York: New American Library, 1959.

Hayes, John L. *American Textile Machinery: Its Early History, Characteristics, Contributions to the Industry of the World, Relations to Other Industries, and Claims for National Recognition.* Cambridge, MA: Cambirdge UP, 1879.

Hilbourne, Charlotte S. *Modern Aristocracy; or, Money Worship.* Providence: Knowles, Anthony, Printers, 1857.

"History of Lowell." *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* 2 (Nov. 1835): 98-99.

Hood, Thomas. "The Song of the Shirt." 1843. *Selected Poems of Thomas Hood.* Ed. John Clubbe. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1970. 305-07. [British poem]

"Importing Labor." *The Woman's Advocate* 1.44 (10 Nov. 1855).

Industry and Frugality Proposed as the Surest Means to Make Us a Rich and Flourishing People,: And the Linen Manufacture Recommended as Tending to Promote These

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

among Us. : With Some Cursory Reflexions on Charity, So Far as It Regards Our Distributions to the Poor. Boston: Thomas Fleet, 1753.

J., J. H. "'Factory Girls'--Domestic Economy." *Maine Farmer* 8 (1840): 88.

Jerrold, Douglas. "The Factory Child." *The Expositor* (New York) 1.20 (4 May 1839): 235-37. [British fiction]

A Lady of N. York. "Description of Lowell." *American Penny Magazine* 2.27 (8 Aug. 1846): 421-23.

Larcom, Lucy. "American Factory Life--Past, Present, and Future." *Journal of Social Science* 16 (Dec. 1882): 141-46.

---. "Among Lowell Mill-Girls: A Reminiscence." *Atlantic Monthly* 48 (1881): 593-612.

Lawrence, Myron. *An Oration Delivered at Springfield, Chickopee [sic] Factory, at a "Union" Celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1836*. Springfield, MA: Geo. and Chas. Merriam, 1836.

Lewiston, Maine, Public Library. *A Brief History of the Manufacturers and Mechanics Library Association of Lewiston, Me., with Constitution and By-Laws*. Lewiston, ME: The Journal Office, 1897.

The Little Manufacturer, or The History of Sarah Wright. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1825. [British factory fiction]

"Lowell." *American Journal of Science and Arts* 27 (1835): 340-47.

"Lowell: and Its Manufactures." *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* 16 (Apr. 1847): 356-62.

"Lowell Factories." *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* 2 (29 May 1852).

Lowell Loom. "A Voice from the Mills." *The American Workman* 1.10 (26 June 1869).

"The Lowell Offering." *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* (London) 722 (1841): 658-59.

Luther, Seth. *An Address to the Working-Men of New-England, on the State of Education, and on the Condition of the Producing Classes in Europe and America. With Particular Reference to the Effect of Manufacturing, (as Now Conducted,) on the Health and Happiness of the Poor, and on the Safety of Our Republic. Delivered in Boston, Charlestown, Cambridgeport, Waltham, Dorchester, Mass., Portland, Saco, Me., and Dover, N.H.* Boston: Published by the Author, 1832.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

McIntosh, Maria J. *Woman in America: Her Work and Her Reward.* New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1850.

McLean, Alexander. *An Oration, Pronounced at Ludlow Factory Village, Mass., July 4th, 1829, Being the Fifty-Third Anniversary of American Independence.* Belchertown, MA: Warren & Wilson, printers, 1829.

McNeill, George E., ed. *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today.* 1887. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1971.

"Manchester, N. H." *Amoskeag Representative* (Manchester, NH) 1.41 (24 July 1840).

Martineau, Harriet. "The Factory Boy." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 2 (1851): 660-62. [British fiction]

---. *Illustrations of Political Economy. In Nine Volumes.* London: Charles Fox, 1834.

---. "The Lowell Offering: A Letter from Miss Martineau." *Littell's Living Age* 2 (28 Sept. 1844): 502-03.

---. *Society in America.* 2d ed. 2 vols. New York: n.p., 1837.

Mason, Lemuel. "Meeting of Operatives." *The Monthly Jubilee* 3.11 (Oct. 1853): 401.

Meader, J. W. *The Merrimack River.* Boston: B. B. Russell, 1869.

Melville, Herman. "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids." 1855. *Billy Budd, Sailor and Other Stories.* New York: Penguin Books, 1986. 261-86.

Miles, Henry A. "The Cotton Manufacture." *North American Review* 52 (Jan. 1841): 31-56.

---. *Lowell, as It Was, and as It Is.* 2nd ed. 1846. Microfilm rpt. in *History of Women,* reel 221, no. 1462.

"Mind among the Spindles: a Selection from the Lowell Offering." *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* (London) 877 (1844): 751.

"'Mind among the Spindles.' A Selection from the 'Lowell Offering.' From the National Intelligencer." *The Union (Saco, Maine)* 1.18 (6 June 1845).

Montgomery, James. *A Practical Detail of the Cotton Manufacture of the United States of America.* 1840. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Co., 1968.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Neutral Tint. "Views in Pawtucket, Rhode Island." *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 8.26 (30 June 1855): 405, 408-09.

Norton, Caroline Sheridan. "A Voice from the Factories." 1836. *The Dream: And Other Poems*. New York: C. S. Francis, 1849. 241-60. [British poem]

Oastler, Richard. "The Factory Child." *The Working Man's Advocate* (New York, NY) 15 Mar. 1845. [British poem]

"Our Girls: A Saturday Night Scene." *Sunday Dispatch* (Fall River, MA) 1.1 (23 Nov. 1879).

Peabody, Stephen. *An Address Spoken on the Occasion of the 52nd Anniversary of American Independence at the Factory Village in Wilton, N.H.* Concord, NH: I. Hill, 1829.

"People of a New England Factory Village." *Atlantic Monthly* 44 (Oct. 1880): 460-64.

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. *Chapters from a Life*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1897.

A Plain but Real Friend to America. "On American Manufactures. Letter I." *The American Museum* 1 (1787): 16-19.

Potter, Chandler Eastman. *The History of Manchester*. Manchester, NH: C. E. Potter, 1856.

"Product of Labor in Manufactories." *Niles' Weekly Register* 11 (1816-17): 86-87.

Public friend. "To the Female Opperatives [sic] of the Dover Cotton Manufactories." Dover, NH: n.p., 1842.

R. "On Labour Saving Machinery." *The Free Trade Advocate, and Journal of Political Economy* 1 (1829): 140-43.

Rantoul, Robert S. "The First Cotton Mill in America." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 33 (1897): 1-43.

Reed, Andrew, and James Matheson. *A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835.

Report of the Treasurer of the Committee of Relief for the Sufferers by the Fall of the Pemberton Mill, in Lawrence, Mass., on the 10th of January, 1860. Lawrence, MA: n.p., 1860.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Revival Intelligence. New-York Mills." *Christian Advocate and Journal, and Zion's Herald* (New York, NY) 4.37 (14 May 1830): 146.

"Revivals of Religion. Bozrahville, Conn." *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York, NY) 1.31 (7 Apr. 1827): 122.

Richmond. "Humphreysville Cotton Factory." *Lowell Journal* (Lowell, MA) 5.19 (7 July 1830).

Rider, Sidney Smith. *Bibliographical Memoirs of the Three Rhode Island Authors: Joseph K. Angell, Frances H. (Whipple) McDougall, Catharine R. Williams*. Providence, RI: S. S. Rider, 1880.

"Riot at Pawtucket." *New-York Evening Post* (3 June 1824).

"Riot--Practical Benefits of the Manufacturing System." *New-York Evening Post* (26 July 1828).

Robinson, Harriet Hanson. *Early Factory Labor in New England. [From the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for 1883]*. Reprint ed. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1889.

---. "The Life of the Early Mill-Girls." *Journal of Social Science* 16 (Dec. 1882): 127-40.

---. *Loom and Spindle; or, Life among the Early Mill Girls*. 1898. Kailua, HI: Press Pacifica, 1976.

---. *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement: A General Political, Legal and Legislative History from 1774-1881*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881.

S., C. D. "Visit to Lowell--Portland--Whittier's 'Stranger in Lowell.'" *New-York Weekly Tribune* 4.50 (23 Aug. 1845).

"Sally Brown, the Cotton Spinner." *Tales of the Poor; or, Infant Sufferings*. New York: Samuel Wood, 1816. 26-48. Microfiche rpt. in *Early American Imprints*, second series; no. 39048. [British poem]

Sampson, William. "Domestic Manufactures. Address of the American Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, to the People of the United States." *Niles' Weekly Register* 11 (1816-17): 366-73.

"Scenes and Occupations Characteristic of New England Life." *Ballou's Pictorial* 16 June 1855: 384.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Scoresby, William. *American Factories and Their Female Operatives; with an Appeal on Behalf of the British Factory Population, and Suggestions for the Improvement of their Condition*. 1845. New York: B. Franklin, 1968.

Sedgwick, Catharine M. "An Excursion to Manchester." *The Union Magazine of Literature & Art* 1.3 (Sept. 1847): 111-13.

"A Sketch of Lowell." *Star of Bethlehem* (Lowell, MA, and Manchester, NH) 1.11 (13 Mar. 1841).

"Society--An Aspiration--or the Actual and the Possible." *The Harbinger* 3.23 (14 Nov. 1846): 366-68.

Southey, Caroline Bowles. *Tales of the Factories*. 1833. Microfilm rpt. in *Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature*, no. 28108. [British fiction]

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds. *History of Woman Suffrage*. 1881. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969. I: 1848-61.

Stevens, M. O., Mrs. "Editor's Table. Sketches of Lowell, Mass." *Friendship's Gift of Moral and Entertaining Literature* (Boston and Lowell, MA) 1847: 94-95.

Strickland, Agnes. "The Factory Child." *Poor Man's Guardian* 118.2 (1833): 386. [British]

"Study of a New England Factory Town." *Atlantic Monthly* 43.160 (June 1879): 689-704.

A Succinct Account of the Late Difficulties in the Salisbury Corporation. Salisbury, MA: Currier & Gerrish, 1852.

Taylor, G. E. *The Factory Strike: A Dramatic Drama, in Three Acts*. London: J. Pattie, [18--?]. [British drama]

Thoreau, Henry David. *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. 1849. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983.

Throstle, T. "Factory Life in New England." *The Knickerbocker, New-York Monthly Magazine* 30.6 (Dec. 1847): 511-18.

"To the Editors of the American Museum. The late acquisitions of machinery . . ." *The American Museum* 7 (May 1790): 227-28.

"Town of Lawrence, Mass." *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* 1 (1851): 181.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Trollope, Frances. *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy.* London: Henry Colburn, 1840. [British fiction]

Trouble in the Eastern Factories." *New-York Evening Post* (11 May 1829).

"[Turn out in Pawtucket]." *Providence Patriot* (29 May and 5 June 1824).

"[Turn out of the factory girls at Amesbury]." *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston, MA) 7.1726 (25 Mar. 1836).

Walker, John, dramatist. *The Factory Lad; A Domestic Drama in Two Acts.* London; New York: S. French, [n.d.]. [British drama]

Wallace, John, Jr. *The Factory Girl. A Dramatic Dialogue for Five Males and Three Females. In Two Acts.* Manchester, Eng.: A. Heyward & Sons, [18--]. [British drama]

White, George S. *Memoir of Samuel Slater, the Father of American Manufactures.* 1836. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967.

Whitman, Walt. "Song of Myself." 1855. *Leaves of Grass.* Ed. Sculley Bradley and Harold W. Blodgett. New York: W. W. Norton, 1973. 28-89.

Whittier, John Greenleaf. *The Stranger in Lowell.* Boston: Waite, Peirce and Co., 1845.

Wilder, Sampson V. S. *Records from the Life of S. V. S. Wilder.* New York: American Tract Society, 1865. 196-213.

Wilson, Harriet E. *Our Nig; or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North. Showing That Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There.* By "Our Nig." 1859. New York: Random House, 1983.

The Woman's Advocate. Ed. Anne E. McDowell. Philadelphia, PA. 1-2 (1855-56).

Woollen, Evans. "Labor Troubles between 1834 and 1837." *Yale Review* (May 1892): 87-100.

"Working Women." *State Herald: The Factory People's Advocate* (Portsmouth, NH) 1.5 (3 Mar. 1831): 2.

Wright, Frances. "Lecture VII. On Existing Evils, and Their Remedy. As Delivered in Philadelphia, June 2d, 1829." *Course of Popular Lectures, as Delivered by Frances Wright, in New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore ... and Other Cities, Towns, and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Districts of the United States. . . . New-York: Office of the Free Enquirer, 1830. 150-70.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOURCES

Abbott, Edith. "The History of Industrial Employment of Women in the United States: An Introductory Study." *The Journal of Political Economy* 14 (1906): 461-501.

---. "A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America." *American Journal of Sociology* 14:1 (July 1908): 15-37.

---. *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History.* 1909. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969.

Adickes, Sandra. "Mind among the Spindles: An Examination of Some of the Journals, Newspapers and Memoirs of the Lowell Female Operatives." *Women's Studies* 1 (1973): 279-87.

Albertine, Susan. "Industrialization." Davidson and Wagner-Martin 421-23.

Alloy, Evelyn. *Working Women's Music: The Songs and Struggles of Women in the Cotton Mills, Textile Plants, and Needle Trades.* Somerville, MA: New England Free P, 1976.

Alves, Susan A. "Lucy Larcom (1824-1893)." *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook.* Ed. Denise D. Knight and Emmanuel S. Nelson. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1997. 293-96.

---. "A Thousand Times I'd Rather Be a Factory Girl: The Politics of Reading American and British Female Factory Workers' Poetry, 1840-1914." Diss. Northeastern U, 1996.

American Culture. Series I, 1493-1860; Series II, 1493-1875. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1941-76. (Microform reprint series)

American Fiction, 1774-19--. Reading, Eng.: Research Publications, 1971-. (Microform reprint series)

The American Labor Press: An Annotated Directory. Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American Periodicals, 1741-1900. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1946-77. (Microform reprint series)

American Poetry, 1609-1900. Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, Inc., 1975-77. (Microform reprint series)

Amireh, Amal M. "The Factory Girl and the Seamstress: Imagining Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction." Diss. Boston U, 1997.

Anderson, Eleanor C. *A List of Novels and Stories about Workers.* New York: Woman's P, 1938.

Andrews, John B., and W. D. P. Bliss. *History of Women in Trade Unions. (Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, Vol. X; 61st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 645).* 1911. New York: Arno P, 1974.

Avallone, Charlene. "The Lowell Offering." Chielens 231-38.

Barber, Elizabeth Wayland. *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years. Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1994.

Bardes, Barbara, and Suzanne Gossett. *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1990.

Barry, Phillips. "The Factory Girl's Come-All-Ye." *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast* 2 (1931): 12.

---. "The Fall of the Pemberton Mills." *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast* 3 (Fall 1931): 16-17.

---. "Native Balladry in America." *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 22 (1909): 365-73.

Baxandall, Rosalyn, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby. *America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1660 to the Present.* New York: Vintage Books, 1976.

---. "Boston Working Women Protest, 1869." *Signs* 1.3, pt. 1 (Spring 1976): 803-08.

Baym, Nina. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870.* 2nd ed. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1993.

Beaudry, Mary C. "The Lowell Boott Mills Complex and Its Housing: Material Expressions of Corporate Ideology." *Historical Archaeology* 23.1 (1989): 19-32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bender, Thomas. *Toward an Urban View: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America*. Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1975.

Bennett, Mary Angela. *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1939.

Berkson, Dorothy. "'A Goddess behind a Sordid Veil': The Domestic Heroine Meets the Labor Novel in Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's *The Portion of Labor*." Harris, *Redefining* 149-68.

Blain, Virginia, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.

Blake, Fay M. *The Strike in the American Novel*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow P, 1972.

Blewett, Mary H. "I Am Doom to Disapointment: The Diaries of a Beverly, Massachusetts, Shoebinder, Sarah E. Trask, 1849-51." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 117.3 (1981): 192-212.

Block, Alan A. *Anonymous Toil: Re-evaluation of the American Radical Novel in the Twentieth Century*. Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1992.

Blodgett, Geoffrey. "Robinson, Harriet Jane Hanson." *Notable American Women: 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*. Ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1971. III: 181-82.

Blood, Grace Holbrook. *Manchester on the Merrimack: The Story of a City*. Manchester, NH: Lew A. Cummings Co., 1948.

Bowman, John Scott. "The Proletarian Novel in America." Diss. The Pennsylvania State College, 1939.

Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1988.

Bragin, Charles. *Bibliography. Dime Novels, 1860-1964*. Brooklyn, NY: C. Bragin, 1964.

Brigham, Loriman S. "An Independent Voice: A Mill Girl from Vermont Speaks Her Mind." *Vermont History* 41 (1973): 142-46.

Bromell, Nicholas Knowles. *By the Sweat of the Brow: Literature and Labor in Antebellum America*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Browne, George Waldo. *The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, New Hampshire: A History*. Manchester, NH: Amoskeag Mfg. Co., 1915.

Bushman, Claudia L. *"Good Poor Man's Wife": Being a Chronicle of Harriet Hanson Robinson and Her Family in Nineteenth Century New England*. Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1981.

Butts, Dennis, ed. *Stories and Society: Children's Literature in its Social Context*. London: Macmillan, 1992.

Cameron, Ardis. *Radicals of the Worst Sort: Laboring Women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1860-1912*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1993.

Cantor, Milton, ed. *American Workingclass Culture: Explorations in American Labor and Social History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1979.

Carter, Jean. *Annotated List of Labor Plays*. New York: American Labor Education Service, 1945.

Chambers-Schiller, Lee Virginia. *Liberty, a Better Husband: Single Women in America: The Generations of 1780-1840*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1984.

Charvat, William. *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1959.

Chase, Arthur. *History of Ware, Massachusetts*. Cambridge, MA: The UP, 1911.

Chielens, Edward E., ed. *American Literary Magazines: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1986.

Clark, Beverly Lyon. "Kiddie Lit in Academe." *Profession, The Modern Language Association of America* 1996: 149-57.

Clark, Victor S. *History of Manufactures in the United States*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1929.

Coburn, Frederick W. "Art and Literature in Lowell." *Americana* 13.4 (Oct. 1919): 336-66.

Coffin, Tristram Potter. *The British Traditional Ballad in North America*. Rev. ed., with a suppl. by Roger deV. Renwick. Austin: U of Texas P, 1977.

Coiner, Constance. "U.S. Working-Class Women's Fiction: Notes toward an Overview." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23.1-2 (1995): 248-67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cole, Arthur H. *The American Wool Manufacture.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1926.

Cole, Donald B. "The Collapse of the Pemberton Mill." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 96 (1960): 47-55.

---. *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963.

A Collection of Trials on Microfiche. Littleton, CO: Fred B. Rothman, 1983-. (Microform reprint series)

Collison, Robert. *The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press.* London: J.M. Dent, 1973.

Coman, Katharine. *The Industrial History of the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1910.

Commons, John R., et al. *Documentary History of American Industrial Society.* Cleveland, OH: A. H. Clark Co., 1911.

Coolidge, John. *Mill and Mansion: Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865.* 2nd ed. Amherst, MA: U of Massachusetts P, 1993.

Copeland, Jennie F. *Every Day but Sunday: The Romantic Age of New England Industry.* Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Daye P, 1936.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835.* New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1976.

Coultrap-McQuin, Susan. *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1990.

Cronin, Mary M. "The Lowell Offering." Endres and Lueck 186-94.

Cumbler, John Taylor. *A Moral Response to Industrialism: The Lectures of Reverend Cook in Lynn, Massachusetts.* Albany: State U of New York P, 1982.

Currier, Thomas Franklin. "Whittier and the Amesbury-Salisbury Strike." *The New England Quarterly* 8 (1935): 105-12.

Cutt, Margaret Nancy. *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Writing for Children.* Wormley, Eng.: Five Owls P, 1979.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Davidson, Cathy N. Introduction. *Charlotte Temple.* By Susanna Haswell Rowson. New York: Oxford UP, 1986. xi-xxxiii.

---. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford UP, 1986.

---. "Sentimental Novel." Davidson and Wagner-Martin 786-88.

Davidson, Cathy N., and Linda Wagner-Martin, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Women's Writing in the United States.* New York: Oxford UP, 1995.

Denning, Michael. *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America.* Rev. ed. London: Verso, 1998.

Dimock, Wai Chee. "Class, Gender, and a History of Metonymy." Dimock and Gilmore 57-104.

Dimock, Wai Chee, and Michael T. Gilmore, eds. *Rethinking Class: Literary Studies and Social Formations.* New York: Columbia UP, 1994.

Dobbs, Jeannine. "America's First All Women's Magazine. *New England Galaxy* 19.2 (1977): 44-48.

Dodson, Suzanne C. *Microform Research Collections: A Guide.* 2nd ed. Westport, CT: Meckler Publishing, 1984.

Donovan, Josephine. *New England Local Color Literature: A Women's Tradition.* New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983.

Dorson, Richard M. "The Wonderful Leaps of Sam Patch." *American Heritage* 18.1 (Dec. 1966): 12-19.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1977.

Dreiser, Theodore. *An American Tragedy.* 1925. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.

---. *Jennie Gerhardt: A Novel.* 1911. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.

---. *Sister Carrie.* 1900. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1981.

Dublin, Thomas, ed. *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1830-1860.* New York: Columbia UP, 1993, c1981.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

—. "The Mill Letters of Emeline Larcom, 1840-1842." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 127.3 (July 1991): 211-39.

—. *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1994.

—. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860.* 2nd ed. New York: Columbia UP, 1979.

Dunlap, George Arthur. *The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900: A Study of American Novels Portraying Contemporary Conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.* New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.

Dunwell, Steve. *The Run of the Mill: A Pictorial Narrative of the Expansion, Dominion, Decline and Enduring Impact of the New England Textile Industry.* Boston: David R. Godine, 1987.

Early American Imprints (Evans or *Shaw-Shoemaker), 1639-1819.* New Canaan, CT: Readex Microprint, 1955-. (Microform reprint series)

Early American Newspapers, 1704-1820. New Canaan, CT: Readex Microprint, 1965-. (Microform reprint series)

Eisler, Benita, ed. *The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women (1840-1845).* New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.

Endres, Kathleen L., and Therese L. Lueck, eds. *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues.* Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1996.

English, Walter. *The Textile Industry: An Account of the Early Invention of Spinning, Weaving, and Knitting Machines.* London: Longmans, Green, 1969.

Estill, Robin. "The Factory Lad: Melodrama as Propaganda." *Theatre Quarterly* 1.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1971): 22-26.

Faderman, Lillian. *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present.* New York: William Morrow, 1981.

Fairfield, Roy P. *Sands, Spindles, and Steeples: A History of Saco, Maine.* Portland, ME: House of Falmouth, 1956.

"Farley, Harriet." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography.* New York: James T. White, 1909. XI: 59-60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fenner, Henry M. *History of Fall River, Massachusetts: Compiled for the Cotton Centennial*. Fall River: Fall River Merchants Association, 1911.

Fetterley, Judith, and Marjorie Pryse. Introduction. *American Women Regionalists, 1850-1910: A Norton Anthology*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992. xi-xx.

---. *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1977.

Fink, Gary, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1984.

"First Woman Editor Dead. Mrs. Donlevy, Friend of Whittier, Lived to Be 95." *The New York Times* (15 Nov. 1907).

Flory, Claude Reherd. *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1969, c1937.

Folsom, Michael Brewster, and Steven D. Lubar, eds. *The Philosophy of Manufactures: Early Debates over Industrialization in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; North Andover, MA: Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, 1982.

Foner, Philip S. *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1975.

---, ed. *The Factory Girls: A Collection of Writings on Life and Struggles in the New England Factories of the 1840s by the Factory Girls Themselves*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1977.

---. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Vol. 1. From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*. New York: International Publishers, 1947.

---. *Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I*. 2 vols. New York: Free P, 1979.

Freeman, Elizabeth. "'What Factory Girls Had Power to Do': The Techno-Logic of Working-Class Feminine Publicity in *The Lowell Offering*." *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory* 50.2 (Summer 1994): 109-28.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. Introduction. *Our Nig; or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North. Showing That Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There*. By Harriet E. Wilson. 1859. New York: Random House, 1983. xi-lv.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Geller, Ruth S. "The American Labor Novel, 1871-1884." Diss. State U of New York at Buffalo, 1980.

The Gerritsen Collection of Women's History. Glen Rock, NJ: Microfilming Corp. of America, 1975-. (Microform reprint series)

Gersuny, Carl. "'A Devil in Petticoats' and Just Cause: Patterns of Punishment in Two New England Textile Factories." *Business History Review* 50.2 (Summer 1976): 131-52.

Gilman, Amy. "'Cogs to the Wheels': The Ideology of Women's Work in Mid-19th-Century Fiction." *Hidden Aspects of Women's Work*. Ed. C. Bose, R. Feldberg, and N. Sokoloff. New York: Praeger, 1987. 116-34.

Ginger, Ray. "Labor in a Massachusetts Cotton Mill, 1853-60." *Business History Review* 28 (1954): 67-91.

Gish, Clay. "The Children's Strikes: Socialization and Class Formation in Paterson, 1824-1836." *New Jersey History* 110.3-4 (1992): 20-38.

Gitelman, Howard M. "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish." *Labor History* 8 (1967): 227-53.

Glastonbury, Marion. "The Best-Kept Secret--How Working-Class Women Live and What They Know." *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2.2 (1979): 171-81.

Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature. Reading, Eng.: Research Publications, 1974-. (Microform reprint series)

Green, Constance McLaughlin. *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1939.

Greenway, John. *American Folksongs of Protest*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1953.

Grimes, Mary C., ed. *The Knights in Fiction: Two Labor Novels of the 1880s*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1986.

Grimsted, David. *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850*. 1st pbk. ed. Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.

Groneman, Carol, and Mary Beth Norton, eds. *"To Toil the Livelong Day": America's Women at Work: 1780-1980*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1987.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gutman, Herbert G. *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in the American Working-Class and Social History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Habegger, Alfred. *Gender, Fantasy, and Realism in American Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.

Halker, Clark D. *For Democracy, Workers, and God: Labor Song-Poems and Labor Protest, 1865-95*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1991.

Hamilton, Kristie. "The Politics of Survival: Sara Parton's *Ruth Hall* and the Literature of Labor." Harris, *Redefining* 86-108.

Hapke, Laura. *Tales of the Working Girl: Wage-Earning Women in American Literature, 1890-1925*. New York: Twayne, 1992.

---. "A Wealth of Possibilities: Workers, Texts, and Reforming the English Department." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23.1-2 (1995): 142-54.

Hareven, Tamara K., and Randolph Langenbach. *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City*. Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1978.

Harris, Sharon M., ed. *American Women Writers to 1800*. New York: Oxford UP, 1996.

---, ed. *Redefining the Political Novel: American Women Writers, 1797-1901*. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1995.

Harris, Susan K. "'But Is It Any Good?': Evaluating Nineteenth-Century American Women's Fiction." Warren 263-79.

Hartford, William F. *Working People of Holyoke: Class and Ethnicity in a Massachusetts Mill Town, 1850-1960*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1990.

Hartz, Louis. "Seth Luther: The Story of a Working-Class Rebel." *New England Quarterly* 13 (1940): 401-18.

Hedges, Elaine. "The Needle or the Pen: The Literary Rediscovery of Women's Textile Work." Howe, F., 338-64.

Helmbold, Lois Rita, and Ann Schofield. "Women's Labor History, 1790-1945." *Reviews in American History* 17.4 (Dec. 1989): 501-18.

Henry, Alice. *The Trade Union Woman*. 1915. New York: Burt Franklin, 1973.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hill, Vicki Lynn. "Strategy and Breadth: The Socialist-Feminist in American Fiction." Diss. State U of New York at Buffalo, 1979.

Hindle, Brooke, and Stephen Lubar. *Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790-1860.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution P, 1986.

History of Women. Reading, Eng.: Research Publications, 1976-. (Microform reprint series)

Hoerder, Dirk. *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s: An Annotated Bibliography.* Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1987-.

Hoffman, Nancy, and Florence Howe, eds. *Working Women: An Anthology of Stories and Poems.* Old Westbury: Feminist P, 1979.

Holloway, Karla F. C. "Economies of Space: Markets and Marketability in *Our Nig* and *Iola Leroy*." Warren 126-40.

Holly, Carol. "Nineteenth-Century Autobiographies of Affiliation: The Case of Catharine Sedgwick and Lucy Larcom." *American Autobiography: Retrospect and Prospect.* Ed. Paul John Eakin. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991. 216-34.

Homans, George C. "The Puritans and the Clothing Industry in England." *New England Quarterly* 13 (1940): 519-29.

Horwitz, Richard P. "Architecture and Culture: The Meaning of the Lowell Boarding-house." *American Quarterly* 25.1 (Mar. 1973): 64-82.

Howe, Florence, ed. *Tradition and the Talents of Women.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1991.

Howe, George. "The Minister and the Mill Girl." *American Heritage* 12.6 (1961): 34+.

Humphreys, Frank Landon. *Life and Times of David Humphreys.* 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917.

Humphreys, Nancy K. *American Women's Magazines: An Annotated Historical Guide.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1989.

Hunt, Peter. *An Introduction to Children's Literature.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.
Index to American Periodicals of the 1700's and 1800's. Release 8.0. Indianapolis: Computer Indexed Systems, 1996. (Computer laser optical disk)

Inge, M. Thomas. *Handbook of American Popular Literature.* Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1988.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Johannsen, Albert. *The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature*. 2 vols. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1950.

Johnson, Allen, and Dumas Malone, eds. *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931.

Johnson, Paul. "'Art' and the Language of Progress in Early-Industrial Paterson: Sam Patch at Clinton Bridge." *American Quarterly* 40 (1988): 433-49.

Josephson, Hannah. *The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949.

Kaplan, Cora. "'Like a Housemaid's Fancies': The Representation of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century Writing." *Grafts: Feminist Cultural Criticism*. Ed. Susan Sheridan. London: Verso, 1988. 55-75.

Kasserman, David R. *Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1986.

Kasson, John F. *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900*. New York: Penguin Books, 1976.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*. New York: Oxford UP, 1982.

Kribbs, Jayne K. *An Annotated Bibliography of American Literary Periodicals, 1741-1850*. Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1977.

Kritzer, Amelia Howe, ed. *Plays by Early American Women, 1775-1850*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995.

Kulik, Gary. "Pawtucket Village and the Strike of 1824: The Origins of Class Conflict in Rhode Island." *Radical History Review* 17 (1978): 5-37.

---. *Rhode Island Textile Mills: A Tour of the Blackstone, Pawtuxet, Moshassuck and Woonasquatucket River Valleys*. Pawtucket, RI: Slater Mill Historic Site, 1979.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kulik, Gary, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z. Penn, eds. *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860.* Cambridge, MA: MIT P, 1982.

Lahne, Herbert J. *The Cotton Mill Worker.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1944.

Landry, Donna. *The Muses of Resistance: Laboring-Class Women's Poetry in Britain, 1739-1796.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Lauter, Paul. "Working-Class Women's Literature--An Introduction to Study." *Radical Teacher* Mar. 1980: 16-26.

Lazerow, Jama. "Religion and Labor Reform in Antebellum America: The World of William Field Young." *American Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1986): 265-86.

---. "Religion and the New England Mill Girl: A New Perspective on an Old Theme." *New England Quarterly* 60.3 (Sept. 1987): 429-53.

---. *Religion and the Working Class in Antebellum America.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution P, 1995.

Laws, G. Malcolm, Jr. *Native American Balladry: A Descriptive Study and a Bibliographical Syllabus.* Rev. ed. Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1964.

Leab, Daniel J., and Philip P. Mason, eds. *Labor History Archives in the United States: A Guide for Researching and Teaching.* Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1992.

Lerner, Gerda. *The Female Experience: An American Documentary.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977.

---. "The Lady and the Mill-Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson." *Mid-Continent American Studies Journal* 10 (1969): 5-15.

Levine, Bruce, et al. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society. Vol. 1: From Conquest and Colonization through Reconstruction and the Great Uprising of 1877.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.

Levine, Susan. *Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization, and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1984.

Levy, Anita. *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832-1898.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1991.

Library of American Civilization. Chicago: Library Resources, Inc., 1971. (Microform reprint series)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lovell, Thomas B. "Separate Spheres and Extensive Circles: Sarah Savage's *The Factory Girl* and the Celebration of Industry in Early Nineteenth-Century America." *Early American Literature* 31.1 (1996): 1-24.

Lowell: The Story of an Industrial City: A Guide to Lowell National Historical Park and Lowell Heritage State Park, Lowell, Massachusetts. Produced by the Division of Publications, National Park Service. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1992.

Lozier, John W. "The Forgotten Industry: Small and Medium Sized Cotton Mills South of Boston." *Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center*. Ed. Glenn Porter and William Mulligan, Jr. Wilmington, DE: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 1979. 101-24.

Lund, Michael. *America's Continuing Story: An Introduction to Serial Fiction, 1850-1900*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1993.

Macaulay, Ruth. *"Dull Dejection in the Countenances of All of Them": Children at Work in the Rhode Island Textile Industry, 1790-1938*. Pawtucket, RI: Slater Mill Historic Site, 1987.

McCauley, Elfrieda B. "The New England Mill Girls: Feminine Influence in the Development of Public Libraries in New England, 1820-1860." Diss. Columbia U, 1971.

MacDonald, Allan. "Lowell: A Commercial Utopia." *The New England Quarterly* 10 (1937): 37-62.

McGaw, Judith A. "Women and the History of American Technology: Review Essay." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7.4 (1982): 798-828.

MacLeod, Anne Scott. *A Moral Tale: Children's Fiction and American Culture, 1820-1860*. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1975.

McLoughlin, William G. "Untangling the Tiverton Tragedy: The Social Meaning of the Terrible Haystack Murder of 1833." *Journal of American Culture* 7.4 (1984): 75-84.

"Making of America (MOA): A Digital Library of Primary Sources in American Social History from the Antebellum Period through Reconstruction." University of Michigan and Cornell University. On-line. Internet. Available: http://www.umdl.umich.edu/moa/.

Marchalonis, Shirley. *The Worlds of Lucy Larcom, 1824-1893*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1989.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Idea in America.* London: Oxford UP, 1964.

Mather, Anne. "A History of Feminist Periodicals, Part I." *Journalism History* 1.3 (Autumn 1974): 82-85.

Matthaei, Julie A. *An Economic History of Women in America: Women's Work, the Sexual Division of Labor, and the Development of Capitalism.* New York: Schocken Books, 1982.

Mattina, Anne F. "Shattered Silence: The Rhetoric of an American Female Labor Reform Association." Diss. Ohio State U, 1986.

Mayberry, George Beach. "Industrialism and the Industrial Worker in the American Novel, 1814-1890." Diss. Harvard U, 1943.

Mitchell, Brian C. *The Paddy Camps: The Irish of Lowell, 1821-1861.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988.

Moore, Margaret B. "Sarah Savage of Salem: A Forgotten Writer." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 127.3 (1991): 240-59.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1938.

Mrozowski, Stephen A., Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary C. Beaudry. *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell Massachusetts.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1996.

Naas, Bernard G., and Carmelita J. Sakr. *American Labor Union Periodicals: A Guide to Their Location.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1956.

Nackenoff, Carol. "Of Factories and Failures: Exploring the Invisible Factory Gates of Horatio Alger, Jr." *Journal of Popular Culture* 25.4 (Spring 1992): 63-80.

Nelson, James Malcolm. "The Stage Adaptation of 'That Lass o'Lowries' and Mid-Victorian Plays of Factory and Mine." *Dalhousie Review* 61.4 (1981-82 Winter): 698-717.

Newton, Judith, and Deborah Rosenfelt, eds. *Feminist Criticism and Social Change: Sex, Class and Race in Literature and Culture.* New York: Methuen, 1985.

---. Introduction: Toward a Materialist-Feminist Criticism. Newton and Rosenfelt xv-xxxix.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Noel, Mary. *Villains Galore: The Heyday of the Popular Story Weekly*. New York: Macmillan, 1954.

Odell, George C. D. "The Richmond Hill Theatre, 1833-1834." *Annals of the New York Stage*. 15 vols. New York: AMS P, 1970, c1928. III (1821-34): 688-90.

Oresick, Peter, and Nicholas Coles, eds. *Working Classics: Poems on Industrial Life*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1990.

Pam, Dorothy S. "Exploitation, Independence, and Solidarity: The Changing Role of American Working Women as Reflected in the Working-Girl Melodrama, 1870-1910." Diss. New York U, 1980.

Pattee, Fred Lewis. *The Development of the American Short Story*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923.

Persons, Charles E. "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts: From 1825 to the Passage of the Ten Hour Law in 1874." *Labor Laws and Their Enforcement, with Special Reference to Massachusetts*. Ed. Susan M. Kingsbury. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911. 1-129.

Peterson, Joyce Shaw. "Working Girls and Millionaires: The Melodramatic Romances of Laura Jean Libbey." *American Studies* 24.1 (Spring 1983): 19-35.

Petter, Henri. *The Early American Novel*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1971.

Phillips, Elizabeth. *Emily Dickinson: Personae and Performance*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1988.

Poirier, Clarisse A. "Pemberton Mills, 1852-1938: A Case Study of the Industrial and Labor History of Lawrence, Massachusetts." Diss. Boston U, 1978.

Poovey, Mary. "The Social Constitution of 'Class': Toward a History of Classificatory Thinking." Dimock and Gilmore 15-56.

Porter, Susan L. *Women of the Commonwealth: Work, Family, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1996.

Prestridge, Virginia W. *The Worker in American Fiction*. Champaign: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, U of Illinois, 1954.

Price, Kenneth M., and Susan Belasco Smith, eds. *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*. Charlottesville, VA: UP of Virginia, 1995.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Prude, Jonathan. *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge UP, 1983.

Rabine, Leslie W. "Romance in the Age of Electronics: Harlequin Enterprises." Newton and Rosenfelt 249-67.

Rabinowitz, Paula. "Ending Difference/Different Endings: Class, Closure, and Collectivity in Women's Proletarian Fiction." *Genders* 8 (July 1990): 62-77.

---. *Labor and Desire: Women's Revolutionary Fiction in Depression America.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1991.

Radway, Janice. *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1991.

Reising, Russell J. *The Unusable Past: Theory and the Study of American Literature.* New York: Methuen, 1986.

Reynolds, David S. *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville.* New York: Knopf, 1988.

---. *Faith in Fiction: The Emergence of Religious Literature in America.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981.

---. *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography.* New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

Reynolds, Lloyd George, and Charles C. Killingsworth. *Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings, and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1850-1941.* 3 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1944-45.

Richardson, Dorothy. "The Long Day: The Story of a New York Working Girl." 1905. *Women at Work.* Ed. William L. O'Neill. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1972. [1]-303.

Rideout, Walter. *The Radical Novel in the U.S., 1900-1950: Some Interrelations of Literature and Society.* New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1956.

Rigsby, Mary. "'So Like Women!': Louisa May Alcott's *Work* and the Ideology of Relations." Harris, *Redefining* 109-27.

Rimstead, Roxanne. "Between Theories and Anti-Theories: Moving toward Marginal Women's Subjectivities." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23.1-2 (1995): 199-218.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rivard, Paul E. *Samuel Slater: A Short Interpretative Essay on Samuel Slater's Role in the Birth of the American Textile Industry*. Pawtucket, RI: Slater Mill Historic Site, 1988.

Robinson, Harriet Hanson. "Names and *Noms de Plume* of the Writers in *The Lowell Offering*." Compiled and corrected by Harriet Hanson Robinson, September 1902. [N.p.], 1902.

Robinson, Lillian S. "'The Great Unexamined': Silence, Speech, and Class." *Listening to Silences: New Essays in Feminist Criticism*. Ed. Elaine Hedges and Shelley Fisher Fishkin. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 287-94.

Rockwell, Nancy R. "Saints among the Spindles: Keeping Faith in the Promised Land: Lowell, Massachusetts, 1824-1844: A Thesis." Thesis (Th.M.). Harvard U, 1985.

Roediger, David. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso, 1991.

Rose, Norman. "New England Girlhoods in Nineteenth-Century Autobiography." *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 8.2 (Fall 1992): 104-17.

Rosenberg-Napersteck, Ruth. "The Real Simon Pure Sam Patch." *Rochester History* 52.3 (Summer 1991). Available: http://www.ci.rochester.ny.us.

Rossner, Judith. *Emmeline*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.

Russ, Joanna. *How to Suppress Women's Writing*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1983.

Samuelson, Joan Wood. "Patterns of Survival: Four American Women Writers and the Proletarian Novel." Diss. Ohio State U, 1982.

Sanford, Charles L. "The Intellectual Origins and New-Worldliness of American Industry." *The Journal of Economic History* 18 (1958): 1-16.

Saum, Lewis P. *The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1980.

Schofield, Ann, ed. *Sealskin and Shoddy: Working Women in American Labor Press Fiction, 1870-1920*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1988.

Scott, Joan Wallach. "The Mechanization of Women's Work." *Scientific American* (Sept. 1982): 167-87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Selden, Bernice. *The Mill Girls: Lucy Larcom, Harriet Hanson Robinson, Sarah G. Bagley*. New York: Atheneum, 1983.

Selected Americana from Sabin's Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time. Louisville, KY: Lost Cause P, 1968-. (Microform reprint series)

Shlakman, Vera. *Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts*. Northampton, MA: Dept. of History at Smith College, 1935.

Siegel, Adrienne. *The Image of the American City in Popular Literature, 1820-1870*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat P, 1981.

Sloat, Caroline. *Factory Girls in a Rhode Island Mill: Pomfret Manufacturing Company, 1806-35*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1978.

Slocum, Robert B. *New England in Fiction, 1787-1990: An Annotated Bibliography*. West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill P, 1994.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1.1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

"[Song of the girl factory-worker]." Lomax, John A. "Some Types of American Folk-Song." *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 28:107 (Jan.-Mar. 1915): 13.

Srebnick, Amy Gilman. *The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York*. New York: Oxford UP, 1995.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1987.

Starr, Harris Elwood. "Farley, Harriet (Feb. 18, 1817-Nov. 12, 1907)." *Dictionary of American Biography*. Ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. 6: 272-73.

Stearns, Bertha Monica. "Early Factory Magazines in New England: The Lowell Offering and Its Contemporaries." *Journal of Economic and Business History* 2.4 (Aug. 1930): 685-705.

---. "Early New England Magazines for Ladies." *New England Quarterly* 2 (1929): 420-57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

—. "New England Magazines for Ladies, 1830-1860." *New England Quarterly* 3 (1930): 627-56.

—. "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860." *American Historical Review* 37.4 (July 1932): 678-99.

Stein, Leon, and Annette K. Baxter, eds. *Women of Lowell*. New York: Arno P, 1974.

Stein, Leon, and Philip Taft, eds. *Religion, Reform, and Revolution: Labor Panaceas in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969.

Stout, Janis P. *Sodoms in Eden: The City in American Fiction before 1860*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976.

Strauss, Anselm L. *Images of the American City*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1976.

Strom, Linda J. "Personal Stories in Political Times: Rereading Women's Working-Class Narratives." Diss. U of Oregon, 1993.

Stubbs, Katherine. "Plastic Bodies: Working-Class Women in American Literature and Culture, 1860-1940." Diss. Duke U, 1996.

Sumner, Helen L. *A History of Women in Industry in the United States*. Vol. 9, *Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*. Senate Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess. 1910. New York: Arno P, 1974.

Tamburro, Frances. "A Tale of a Song, 'The Lowell Factory Girl.'" *Southern Exposure* 2.1 (1974): 42-51.

Taves, Ann, ed. *Religion and Domestic Violence in Early New England: The Memoirs of Abigail Abbot Bailey*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989.

Taylor, George Rogers. "Bagley, Sarah G." *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*. Ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1971. I: 81-82.

Taylor, Walter Fuller. *The Economic Novel in America*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1942.

Tebbel, John W., and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*. New York: Oxford UP, 1991.

Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Gollancz, 1963.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tompkins, Jane. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860.* New York: Oxford UP, 1985.

Trescott, Martha Moore, ed. *Dynamos and Virgins Revisited: Women and Technological Change in History.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow P, 1979.

Tucker, Barbara M. "The Family and Industrial Discipline in Ante-Bellum New England." *Labor History* 21 (Winter 1979-80): 55-74.

---. "Our Good Methodists: The Church, the Factory, and the Working Class in Ante-bellum Webster, Massachusetts." *The Maryland Historian* 8 (1977): 26-37.

---. *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790-1860.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984.

Utopian Literature, Pre-1900 Imprints. New York, NY: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1981-. (Microform reprint series)

Vallone, Lynne. *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1995.

Vernon, Sally. "Trouble Up at t'Mill: The Rise and Decline of the Factory Play in the 1830s and 1840s." *Victorian Studies* 20.2 (Winter 1977): 117-39.

Vicinus, Martha. *The Industrial Muse: A Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974.

Vogel, Lise. "Hearts to Feel and Tongues to Speak: New England Mill Women in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Class, Sex and the Woman Worker.* Ed. Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1977. 64-82.

---. "'Humorous Incidents and Sound Common Sense': More on the New England Mill Women." *Labor History* 19.2 (Spring 1978): 280-86.

---. "Their Own Work: Two Documents from the Nineteenth-Century Labor Movement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1.3, pt. 1 (1976): 787-802.

Walton, Perry. *The Story of Textiles: A Bird's-Eye View of the History of the Beginning and the Growth of the Industry by Which Mankind is Clothed.* New York: Tudor Pub. Co., 1936.

Ware, Caroline F. *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1931.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ware, Norman. *The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1924.

Warren, Joyce W., ed. *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1993.

Watts, Emily Stipes. *The Poetry of American Women from 1632 to 1945.* Austin: U of Texas P, 1977.

Webb, Nancy Lynn. "Form and Ideology: An Examination of Factory Novels by Women in Late Nineteenth-Century America." Diss. Northern Illinois U, 1986.

Weinstein, Cindy. *The Literature of Labor and the Labors of Literature: Allegory in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Weir, Robert E. *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor.* University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1996.

Welter, Barbara. *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century.* Athens: Ohio UP, 1976.

Wertheimer, Barbara Mayer. *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Westbrook, Perry D. *A Literary History of New England.* Bethlehem: Lehigh UP, 1988.

---. *The New England Town in Fact and Fiction.* Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1982.

White, Barbara A. *American Women's Fiction, 1790-1870: A Reference Guide.* New York: Garland Pub. Co., 1990.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society: 1780-1950.* 1958. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

---. *Marxism and Literature.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977.

Wolfe, Allis Rosenberg, ed. "Letters of a Lowell Mill Girl and Friends: 1845-1846." *Labor History* 17 (1976): 96-102.

Wood, Ann Douglas. "The Literature of Impoverishment: The Women Local Colorists in America, 1865-1914." *Women's Studies* 1 (1972): 3-45.

Wright, Helena E. *The Merrimack Valley Textile Museum: A Guide to the Manuscript Collections.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

---. "Sarah G. Bagley: A Biographical Note." *Labor History* 20.3 (Summer 1979): 398-413.

Wright, Lyle H. *American Fiction, 1774-1900*. 3 vols. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1966-69.

Wright American Fiction, 1774-19-- (also called *American Fiction*). Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1971-. (Microform reprint series)

Yellin, Jean Fagin. "From *Success* to *Experience*: Louisa May Alcott's *Work*." *Massachusetts Review* 21 (1980): 527-39.

Zandy, Janet, ed. *Calling Home: Working-Class Women's Writings, an Anthology*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1990.

Zimiles, Martha and Murray. *Early American Mills*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1973.

Zlotnick, Susan. "'A Thousand Times I'd Be a Factory Girl': Dialect, Domesticity, and Working-Class Women's Poetry in Victorian Britain." *Victorian Studies* 35.1 (Autumn 1991): 7-27.

---. *Women, Writing, and the Industrial Revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1998.

Zonderman, David A. *Aspirations and Anxieties: New England Workers and the Mechanized Factory System, 1815-1850*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.

---. "From Mill Village to Industrial City: Letters from Vermont Factory Operatives." *Labor History* 27.2 (Spring 1986): 265-85.

Zuckerman, Mary Ellen. *Sources on the History of Women's Magazines, 1792-1960: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ANNOTATION INDEX

Numbers refer to annotation entry numbers in the text.

A. (author), 52
A., A. G. (author), 295
A., A. R. (author), 200
A., F. G. (author), 1
A., G. H. (author), 276
Abbott, Jacob, 277
"Abby's Year in Lowell" (Farley), 174, 176
Abolition, 28, 386. *See also* Slavery
Abortion, 164, 166-67, 179, 181, 183
"An Acrostic" (Ada), 53
"An Acrostic" (Dora), 59
Ada (author), 53, 389
"Ada, the Factory Maid" (Annaline), 55
A. (*dams*), (*S.*) A., 201
Adams, William T., 442
"Additional Facts in Relation to the Fall of the Pemberton Mill!" (Ames), 296
An Address to the Working-Men of New-England (Luther), 261
Adelaide (author), 54
Adelia (author), 2, 3, 89, 90, 91
"Adria, the Adopted" (Burton), 206
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. 1.--The Sister" (Farley), 89
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. II.--The Mother" (Farley), 2
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. III.--The Daughter" (Farley), 90
"The Affections Illustrated in Factory Life. No. IV.--The Betrothed" (Farley), 3
African Americans, 30
"[The agent to the frog-pond went]," 390
Agents, factory, 180, 213, 224, 331, 375, 390
"Agnes Lovering" (McNeill), 440
Agriculture, 343, 417
"[Ah, leave my harp and me alone]," 340
The Album, Or, Ladies' Common-Place Book (periodical), 36, 187
Alcoholism. *See* Intemperance
Alderbrook (Judson), 258
Alexander, Charles W., 163
Alger, Horatio, 92
Allegory, 288. *See also* Dream allegory
Almira (author), 391
Amelia (author), 392-93
American Female Poets (May), 241
"American Manufactures" (Humphreys), 284
American Museum (Philadelphia), 294
American Revolution, rhetoric of. *See* Revolutionary rhetoric
The American Village and Other Poems (Denison), 15
The American Woman's Journal, 71
The American Woman's Magazine and Business Journal, 71
The American Workman (periodical), 140, 231
Ames, Harlow, 296
Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, 222
Amoskeag, New Hampshire. *See* Manchester, New Hampshire
"Amoskeag's New Mill" (Horr), 222
The Angel of the Iceberg (Todd), 288
"The Angel of Toil and the Great Mill" (Todd), 288
Anger, 21

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ann (author), 125
"Anna Archdale: or, The Lowell Factory Girl," 126
Annaline (author), 55
Annie Kilburn (Howells), 436
"Answers to Puzzles, &c." (T., A. S.), 66
The Appeal to Reason (periodical), 405
Appeals for charity, 237-38, 337
Argus (author), 127
The Aristocrat and Trades Union Advocate (A Working Woman), 387
Arson, 303, 420-22, 430-31. *See also* Fires
Arthur, Timothy S., 4, 416
Asaph's Ten Thousand (Bennett), 418
Ashton, Ellen, 93
Ashton, Rhode Island, 139
Augusta, Clara, 128
Augusta, Maine, 145
The Author of "Lights and Shadows of Factory Life," 9
The Author of "Susy L___'s Diary," 12
Autobiographical fiction, 12, 25, 61, 411-12
The Autumn Sheaf (Ricketson), 333

B., G. W. (author), 309
B., H. N. G. (author), 5
B., J. A. (author), 164
B., J. L. (author), 6, 202, 297
B., S. G. (author), 7, 94
Back to Back (Hale), 434
Bagley, Sarah G., 7, 85, 94
Baker, Harriette N. W., 95, 249
Baker, Josephine L. (m. Choate), 202
Ballads, Lyrics, and Hymns (Cary), 250
Ballads of New England (Whittier), 247
Baltic, Connecticut, 263a
"The Baltic Cotton Mills" (Massey), 263a
Banks, Nathaniel P., 272
Barclay, George L., 179
Battered wives. *See* Domestic violence
Beal, Leonard H., 298
Bean, Mary, 164
Bellamy, Charles J., 427
"The Belles of Lowell," 203
Benjamin, Charles A., 417
Bennett, Mary E., 418
Bereavement, 235
Berkshire Journal, 204
"Bessie Raynor: The Factory Girl" (Turner), 156
"Beware of Him" (W., S.), 198
The Biddeford Factory Girl (Fitzallen), 135
Biddeford, Maine, 135, 184, 196
"Biography of Sam Patch," 204
Blacklisting, 138, 357, 415, 426
Blanchard, I. G., 394
Blank (author), 341
Block, Johannes A., 164
Boardinghouses: Augusta, Maine, 145; keepers, 46, 89, 96, 166; leisure activities, 210, 234; Lowell, Massachusetts, 10, 18, 44, 95-96, 183, 236; Manchester, New Hampshire, 166, 234
The Bobbin Boy (Thayer), 272
Bonnie Bess (Druid), 132
A Book without a Title (Tyler), 411-12
Boston, Massachusetts, 85, 387
The Boston Sunday Globe, 310
Bound girls, 21, 94, 271, 433
Bowlsby, Alice A., 179
Bradbury, Osgood, 129
Brave and Bold (Alger), 92
Breadwinners, female. *See* Women breadwinners
The Breton Mills (Bellamy), 427
Briancourt, Percy, 299
"Bridget's Story" (Wyman), 248
Brief and Impartial Narrative of the Life of Sarah Maria Cornell, 165
"The Broken Engagement, or The Factory Girl," 151
Brotherhood (Cruger), 420

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brother's education, factory woman supporting, 14, 37, 105, 336
Brown, Abraham R., 74
Browner, Burner, 96
Bryant, William C., 205
Buell, C. J., 97
Bulletin of the Folksong Society of the Northeast, 353
Burton, Jennie D., 206
The Business Woman's Journal, 71
Businesswomen, 34, 35, 71, 177. *See also* Women factory managers

C. (author), 56, 342
C., B. (author), 130
Cabotville, Massachusetts. *See* Chicopee, Massachusetts
Camp meetings, 165, 167. *See also* Christianity; Revivals, religious
Campbell (author), 343
Campbell, Helen S., 428
Canadians, 164. *See also* French Canadians
Candace (author), 207
Capital Trial of Dr. Lindsey A. Ingalls, 183
Carding mills, 215, 277, 287
Carey, Patrick, 8
Carleton, Will, 208
Carpet manufacture, 120, 415a, 444
Carrie Prince (Mudge), 34
Carroll, George, 166
Cary, Alice, 85, 250, 300
Cate (author), 98
Cate, Eliza J., 9-12, 57-58, 61, 82, 210
Catharine and Clara (Thompson), 196
The Catholic World (periodical), 429
Catholicism. *See* Christianity: Roman Catholicism
Caverly, Robert B., 278
Chamberlain (or Chamberlin), Betsey, 67, 78, 130, 382, 445
Charity, 33, 441. *See also* Philanthropy
Cheesewright, Charles, 251
Chicago, Illinois, 433
Chicopee, Massachusetts, 43, 83, 316
Chicopee Telegraph (newspaper), 43
Child abuse. *See* Domestic violence; Punishment, corporal
Child labor: children earning money for education, 61; children helping support the family, 55, 249, 255, 259, 266, 272-73, 335, 372, 441; children supporting themselves, 207, 271; Connecticut, 41, 263a; criticism of, 250, 253, 261, 265, 330, 371; Fall River, Massachusetts, 371; favorable views of, 279, 281, 283, 285-86; Indiana, 303; leading to death, 256, 269; Lowell, Massachusetts, 27, 30, 94, 272; Manchester, New Hampshire, 11, 254; Massachusetts, 443; New York State, 258, 448; protest against, 120, 251-52, 254, 257, 262, 263a-64, 267, 270, 274-75, 335, 343, 349, 379
"Child Labor," 252
"The Choice," 147
Christianity: averting labor troubles, 422, 431; compatible with industrialism, 288, 294, 435; conversion of mill workers, 213, 273, 331; in the factory, 91, 266, 311; gratitude to God, 13, 19; hypocritical practice, 129, 160, 167, 254, 274, 342, 349; intermarriage, 248; labor glorifying God, 100; leading to material prosperity, 151; need for repentance, 20, 310, 432; neglected in mill towns, 209, 228, 241; periodicals reflecting, 77, 84; piety of factory children, 249, 255, 259, 263-64; piety of factory women, 308, 383; poor and, 377, 428, 440; Roman Catholicism, 429; source of solace, 237-38, 249, 295, 300, 317, 321; source of strength, 34-35, 95, 210, 288; source of virtue, 145, 178, 197, 319.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

See also Camp meetings; Socialism, Christian; Clergy; Revivals, religious; Sabbath breaking; Women preachers
City Ballads (Carleton), 208
City-mysteries fiction, 127, 129, 152
Civil War, 28, 35, 273
Clara (author), 99
Clariette (author), 301
Clarke, Mary C., 167
Class bias, 96; denunciations of, 14, 145; disrupting courtship, 114, 128, 133, 162; efforts to reduce, 57, 60, 62, 75; against factory women, 102, 109, 115, 122, 131a, 147; against factory workers, 12, 40, 89, 93, 101, 436; among factory workers, 133, 444; against laborers generally, 98, 103, 107-8, 117-18, 225, 307, 421; among men, 92, 131a; nobility of workers, 121, 124; relations of the working and middle classes, 245; rights of the poor, 384; as un-American, 54, 118; among women, 89, 91, 95, 105, 110-11, 119-20, 123, 131a, 443; workers'defenses against, 112; workers' superiority to the idle, 22, 83, 85, 106, 113
Clementine (author), 13
Clergy, 34, 169, 171-72, 418, 422, 424, 436. *See also* Women preachers
"The Clove-Hitch Knot, and The Factory Maid," 168
Clubs, women's, 33, 76. *See also* Improvement Circles
Clubs, workers', 216
"Cobbler Keezar's Vision" (Whittier), 247
Cochran, Clara C., 184, 196
Cohoes, N.Y., 8
Colesworthy (author), 344
Colfax, Jasper, 169
Collins, Jennie, 81
The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson, 253
Comstock, Augustus, 122
Conklin, Walter F., 179
Connecticut, 41. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
Contrast, fictional, 9, 21, 151
Cook, Eliza, 384
Cooke, Rose T., 209
Coolidge, Erwin L., 131, 419
Cooperative industries, 426-27, 430, 434-35, 440
"Copy of Verses" (A Party of Poor Workingmen), 237
"Copy of Verses" (A Poor Operative), 238
Cornell, Sarah M., 165, 167-68, 171, 175, 185
Corporal punishment. *See* Punishment, corporal
Coryell, John R., 131a
Cotton, Catharine B., 184, 196
Cotton textile manufacture, 276, 280-82
"The Country Lawyer," 158
Courtship, 142, 234. *See also* Marriage
"The Cousins" (H.), 105
Cowden, Jason E., 302
Crane, Cordelia, 189
Crime, 131, 164; committed by factory women, 116, 138, 156, 324a, 346; committed by unemployed workmen, 347; against mill owners, 446; women fighting against, 135; wrongful charges of, 30, 127, 132, 138. *See also* Arson; Murder; Violence against women
Cross, W., 345
Cross-dressing, 135
The Crucifixion of Philip Strong (Sheldon), 424
Cruger, Mary, 420
Cummings, Ariel L., 14
"Cure for Discontent" (Clementine), 13
Currier, Lura (m. Whitney), 109
Curtis, Harriot F., 23, 56, 78, 342

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

D. (author), 170, 210
Damon, Maria L., 316
Dan Hayes' Greatest Case (Goode), 137
Dance, dangers of, 41, 178, 195, 213
"A Daughter's Love" (Irenaeus), 319
Davidson, John, 211
Davis, Rebecca H., 81, 303, 346
Day care, 426, 448
"A Day in a Railroad Car" (Sedgwick), 119
de Kock, Charles P., 194
"The Deacon's Week" (Cooke), 209
"The Dead Worker" (Hickey), 256
Dearborn, Charles C., 72-73
Death: caused by factory work, 90, 251, 254, 265, 267, 297, 301, 326, 329, 374; of child workers, 254, 256, 262, 267, 269; of factory managers, 310, 441; in factory villages, 83, 316, 331; of factory women, 16, 20, 172, 197, 300, 307, 312, 323, 332, 334; of factory women from consumption, 145, 308, 319, 330; of fiances, 104; of other working women, 320; of workers, 295, 321. *See also* Illness caused by factory work; Occupational accidents; Pemberton Mill Disaster; Granite Mill Fire
"Death of Sam Patch," 212
"The Death of Sarah M. Cornell," 171
"Death, the Builder," 305
"Defiance to Oppression," 346a
Denison, Charles W., 15
Denison, Mary A., 213
Denny, John J., 88
A Descriptive Poem of the Sad Calamity at Lawrence, Mass. (Wait), 337
"Destiny; Or, The Autobiography of a Lowell Operative" (Browner), 96
Detroit, Michigan, 146
DeWolfe, George G. B.
"A Dialogue" (Eliza), 101
"Dialogue, between Two Young Ladies" (Stone), 118
Dickinson, Emily, 253
"The Dignity of Labor" (Edgarton), 100
Dime novels, 131-32, 136-38, 143, 419
Dindle, Dolly, 214
Disability, 156, 328, 346, 422, 443-44. *See also* Mental illness
"Disasters Overcome" (F.), 19
"The Discharged Workman," 347
Discipline, 46, 49, 324a, 330, 356, 366; curfew, 234; of factory children, 264, 268; mill timekeeping, 218, 236, 253, 341, 351, 354. *See also* Blacklisting; Punishment, corporal
Disguises, 135, 214, 427, 395, 401, 438
Divorce, 411-12
The Do-Somethings (Optic), 442
Dollars and Duty (Haynes), 422
Domestic Industry, 279
Domestic violence, 1, 6, 159, 260, 266
Domestic workers, 30, 48, 65, 129, 180, 427
Dora (author), 59
Dorsay, Lewis R., 429
Doubleday, E. Stillman, 348
Douglas, Amanda M., 430
Dover, New Hampshire, 390
Dowling, George T., 431
Drama, 146, 167, 188, 232
"A Dream" (That *Other* Factory Girl), 383
Dream allegory, 67
Dream visions, 130, 354, 375, 382-83, 432, 445
Dress: dangers of, 199; factory women's poor taste, 119; factory women's stylishness, 44; patriotism and, 279, 286; power of, 141, 192; women's restraint advised, 176; women's vanity, 9, 31
Dressmakers, 34, 35, 179, 420. *See also* Seamstresses
Druid, David, 132
Drunkenness. *See* Intemperance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Dying Factory Girl" (Monitur), 323
"The Dying Sister's Gift" (Johnson), 326

E., E. A. (author), 172
Earle, Martha B., 76
"The Early Called" (Pheney), 329
Eastman, Mehitable, 85
Edgarton, Sarah C. (m. Mayo), 100
Education: dangers of, 348; denial of, to the poor, 54, 63; evening schools, 69; factory boys', 259, 271-73; factory work impeding, 367, 391; women's, 27, 30, 52, 58, 70, 398, 445; women's desires for, 32, 55, 61, 63, 65, 326; workers' self-education, 216, 425. *See also* Improvement Circles
Effie and I (Hilbourne), 25
Eight Hour Movement, 5, 394, 432, 445. *See also* Protest
"Eight Hours" (Blanchard), 394
"Eleanor Mallows," 133
Eliza (author), 101
Ella (author), 102, 308
"Ellen Jane Hunter," 309
Ellen Merton, the Belle of Lowell, 173
"Ellen Rivers, The Factory Girl" (Rolli), 116
"Emma Hale" (Cate), 10
"Emma Weston, or the Mother's Prayer" (L., L. E.), 26
"The Employer in the Sanctuary," 349
"The Employer's Family Devotion," 432
Enea (author), 16
English, William B., 188
English Americans, 446
English factory workers, 43, 50, 163, 350
Environmentalism, 33, 200, 218, 227, 240, 289, 343, 368
Ethelinda (author), 103
"Evening before Pay-Day " 17
"The Evening before Pay-Day" (Farley), 31
Exeter, New Hampshire, 73-74
"Extracts from a Journal," 18

F. (author), 19
F., F. K. (author), 254
F., H. (author), 350
Face to Face (Grant), 421
Fact and Fiction! (Kelly), 184
"The Factories of Lowell, and the Factory Girls" (Cate), 9
Factories, views of, 220
"The Factory Bell," 351
The Factory-Bell; and Other Poems (Ricketson), 115, 239, 332, 377-78
"The Factory-Bell" (Ricketson), 377
Factory bells. *See* Discipline
"Factory Bells" (P.), 236
"Factory Blossoms for Queen Victoria" (Farley), 350
The Factory Boy (Baker), 249
The Factory Boy (A Lady), 259
The Factory Children, 255
"The Factory Chimneys" (Tongue), 289
The Factory Detective (Goode), 137
A Factory Girl (author), 10-11, 57-58
"The Factory Girl," 352, 395
The Factory Girl, 174
"The Factory Girl" (Arthur), 4
"The Factory Girl" (Ashton), 93
"The Factory Girl" (Augusta), 128
"The Factory Girl" (Baker), 297
"The Factory Girl" (Cheesewright), 251
The Factory Girl (Cummings), 14
"The Factory Girl" (D.), 170
"The Factory Girl" (Denison), 15
The Factory Girl (A Friend), 178
"The Factory Girl" (L., P. A.), 110
The Factory Girl (periodical), 72
"The Factory Girl" (Phillips), 190
"The Factory Girl" (Pike), 330
The Factory Girl (Savage), 41
"The Factory Girl" (Whipple), 70

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Factory Girl of Fairmount" (Thropp), 197
Factory Girls' Album (periodical), 50, 73, 93, 301, 384, 414
"The Factory Girl's Come-All-Ye," 353
The Factory Girl's Garland (periodical), 6, 74, 147, 351
"The Factory Girl's New-Year Song," 20
"The Factory Girl's Wail" (Heaney), 358a
"The Factory Inquisition, or American Bastile [sic]," 354
The Factory Journal, and Laborer's Advocate, 60, 75, 230
"Factory Labor" (S., W. J.), 40
"The Factory Maid, and The Clove-Hitch Knot," 175
"Factory Romance" (Farley), 134
"The Factory Slave" (Thompson), 385
"Factory Song," 280-81
"The Factory Song" (A., G. H., and C. U.), 276
"Factory Song" (Goodwin), 140
"Factory Thoughts" (Mary), 368
Factory Tracts, 393
Factory villages: Connecticut, 435; families working in, 213, 264; Massachusetts, 264, 357, 439; New York State, 447; Rhode Island, 367; women working in, 91, 230; young people working in, 216
"The Fall of the Pemberton Mill" (Fisk), 310
"Fall of the Pemberton Mills, at Lawrence" (Hinchcliffe), 317
Fall River, Massachusetts: dime novels set in, 132; factory women in, 165, 167-68, 171, 175, 185, 407; Granite Mill Fire, 309, 314; oppression of workers, 355, 363, 371; periodicals published in, 86; strikes, 409
"Fall River," 355
"Familiar Sketches, No. 1. The Sisters" (Lees), 107
"Familiar Sketches, No. 2. The Fig Tree," 104
Families, 248, 267
Family system of factory labor, 264, 372
"Fancy" (Fiducia), 356
Fantasy fiction, 380, 423, 425. *See also* Dream visions; Dream allegory
Farley, Harriet: editorial work, 78, 82; epistolary fiction by, 44-47; other short fiction by, 2, 3, 17, 31, 52, 89-91, 174, 176; poetry by, 350; serial fiction by, 21; true romances by, 134
The Farmers' Cabinet (periodical), 260
Farmworkers, 52
"The Fates' Roundelay" (McIntosh), 369
Fathers: financial failure of, 12, 126, 128, 258, 444; intemperance of, 1, 4, 96, 116; unemployed, 347, 357, 360
Felch, Walton, 282
"Female Industry," 22
"Female Labor" (Colesworthy), 344
Femininity, 3, 52, 176, 178, 299
Feminism, 65; demands for equal rights, 5, 438, 443; fictional characters advocating, 25, 144, 411-12; periodicals promoting, 71, 76, 78, 81, 85-86
Fictional dialogues, 40, 101, 118, 342
Fiducia (author), 356
Fires, in factories, 144, 336, 427. *See also* Arson; Pemberton Mill Disaster; Granite Mill Fire
Fisher, Frank L., 396
Fisk, P. B., 310
Fitch, James, 215
Fitchburg, Massachusetts, 85
Fitzallen (author), 135
Flax mills, 266
Fleming, Geraldine, 131a
Flora Montgomerie, the Factory Girl (Sparks), 194

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Flower That Grew in the Sand, and Other Stories (Higginson), 142
Folk songs, 42, 276, 280-81, 352-53. *See also* Songs
Foran, Martin A., 357, 433
Forester, Fanny. *See* Judson, Emily C.
The Fortunes of a Factory Girl (Coolidge), 131
"The 4th of July in Rhode Island in 1844" (Ella), 102
Frederic, Harold, 177
The Free Enquirer (periodical), 168, 175
Freedom of the press, 346a
French Americans, 143
French-Canadian Americans, 224, 235, 363, 428
French Canadians, 162
A Friend (author), 178, 309
Friendship, women's, 34, 116, 235, 244, 428, 443, 446. *See also* Same-sex love
Fun in a Factory Village, 216
Furber, Sarah H., 166, 181

Garment industry, 433
Garnered Sheaves (Holland), 220
"Gentility" (Stella), 123
German Americans, 440
"'Get Up Early.' A Parody" (Blank), 341
The G'hals of Boston (Thompson), 196a
Gillette, E. H., 358
The Gleaner (periodical), 180, 201, 234, 362, 373, 375, 398, 408
Goddard, Abba A. (m. Rutherford), 84, 295
Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, 96, 111, 240
"Going Over Jordan" (Ham's Minstrels), 397
"Going to Law," 217
The Gold of Chickaree (Warner), 448
Goode, George W., 136-38
Goodrich, F. E., 139
Goodwin, L. S., 140
Gossip, 89, 133, 165, 219. *See also* Slander
The Gossips of Rivertown (Neal), 37, 441
Grace (author), 23
"Grace Linden" (Judson), 258
Gracie Goodwin (Mudge), 35
Graham, J., 168, 175
Graham's Magazine, 37
Granite Mill Fire (Fall River, MA), 309, 314
"The Granite Mill Fire" (Harmon), 314
Grant, Robert, 421
"The Gray Mills of Farley" (Jewett), 224
Great Falls, New Hampshire, 42, 346a
The Great Match (Trowbridge), 245
The Great Secret (Judson), 226
The Great "Trunk Mystery" of New York City, 179
Grosvenor, Fred C., 218
"Growing Rich" (Cary), 250

H. (author), 60, 105
H., E. J. (author), 61
H., J. (author), 311
H., J. B. (author), 398
H., L. S. (author), 62
Hadaway, Mr., 399
Hale, Edward E., 434-35
Hall, J. B., 180
Hall, Lucy, 181
Hall, Lydia Sarah (m. Graffam), 54, 62, 84
Ham's Minstrels, 397
Hampton, Connecticut, 41, 435
Handy, George, 314
Hannah (author), 141, 313
"The Happy Village" (A Traveller), 447
Haradon, W. N., 79
The Harbinger (periodical), 381
Harmon, A. W., 314-15
"Harriet Greenough" (Farley), 52
Havara (author), 316

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Haverhill Laborer (periodical), 254, 410, 440
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 219
Haynes, Emory J., 422
Heaney, M. C., 358a
"Helen Gould" (Cate), 11
Heywood, Henry W., 24
Hickey, Emily H., 256
Higginson, Ella R., 142
Hilbourne, Charlotte S., 25
Hilton, Maude, 143
Hinchcliffe, Richard, 106, 257, 317
Hindle, Mary E., 353
Historical Sketch: The Fall of Pemberton Mill (Tewksbury), 338
Holland, Josiah G., 144, 220-21
"Home Industry," 283
"Home Missions" (F., F. K.), 254
Home work. *See* Outwork
Homemaking, 134
Homer, Winslow, 205
Homesickness, 36
"The Honest Working Girl" (Smith), 121
Hope, 359
"Hope for All," 359
Hope Mills (Douglas), 430
Hopkinton, Rhode Island, 99, 244
Horr, J. C., 222
"The House That Bigelow Built," 318
How They Lived in Hampton (Hale), 435
Howells, William D., 436
"Humanity Crushed," 182
The Humbler Poets, 97, 211, 252
Humor, 215-17, 381, 390, 399
Humphreys, David, 283-86
Humphreysville, Connecticut. *See* Grosvenor Dale, Connecticut
Hunt, Joseph, 80
Hunter, Ellen Jane, 309

An Idyl of Work (Larcom), 27
Illegitimacy, 90, 407, 421. *See also* Unwed mothers
Illness caused by factory work: in fiction, 3, 10, 23, 116, 271, 303; in poetry, 299, 301, 333, 335, 345. *See also* Death
Illustrated Temperance Tales (Arthur), 4
Imagination, 356
Immigrants, 69, 143, 298, 377-78, 417-18, 422, 434. *See also names of specific ethnic groups*
Imperialism, British, 350
Improvement Circles, 56, 67
"In the Dark" (Goodrich), 139
Incest, suggestion of, 89, 105, 126-27, 129
"An Incident" (B., J. L.), 6
"Incidents in the Life of an Operative" (Enea), 16
Indentured servants. *See* Bound girls
Independence, women's: desires for, 32, 130, 395; enhanced by education, 27; enhanced by mill work, 22, 43, 50, 242; enhanced by wage-earning, 49, 94, 271; innate, 112, 395. *See also* Revolutionary rhetoric
Indiana, 303
Industrialism: critique of, 303; praise of, 222, 278-79, 283-86, 289-93
Infanticide, 182
Ingalls, Lindsey A., 183
Insanity. *See* Mental illness
Intemperance, 77; in brothers, 202; exacerbating labor troubles, 416, 426, 430; in fathers 1, 4, 6, 58, 61, 116, 157, 266; in husbands, 23, 132; in Irish Americans, 159; in poor families, 258. *See also* Temperance
Inventors, 221, 290, 421, 426, 438-39
Ione (author), 107
"Ionie, the Pride of the Mill" (Libbey), 148
Irenaeus (author), 319
Irish Americans, 115, 159, 224, 245, 271, 333, 429; in Lowell, Massachusetts, 6; in Massachusetts, 440; mothers, 248; in New York,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

N.Y., 319; in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 364; unfavorable views of, 416
"The Irish Factory-Girl" (Ricketson), 115
The Irish Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett, 224
Italian Americans, 421

J., E. W. (author), 223
Jackson, Helen, 372
"Jane Hayes" (Norton), 324a
Jaques, D. H., 85
Jealousy: among factory women, 95, 116, 133, 153, 156; among men, 92, 131a, 152; sexual, among women, 10, 129, 145, 148-50, 156; among women, cross-class, 110, 126, 131a, 145, 148-50
Jennings, Eliza W., 223
Jericho (author), 400
Jewett, Sarah O., 224
Jillson, Clark, 225
John Swinton's Paper (periodical), 150a, 263a, 324a, 358a, 415a
"John Van Alstyne's Factory" (Dorsay), 429
Johnson, G. P., 360
Johnson, Hannah (m. Noyes), 39, 141, 326
Jonas on a Farm in Winter (Abbott), 277
Jones, Ernest, 108
Jones, I. Edgar, 320
"The Journal and Advocate" (H.), 60
The Journal of United Labor, 120, 299, 320, 361, 404, 415
Journal of Women's Work, 76
Judd, Sylvester, 145
Judson, Emily C., 226, 258
Juliette (Baker), 95
Just Plain Folks (Doubleday), 348

"Kate Kimball" (Cate), 58
Kathie, the Overseer's Daughter, 138
Kelly, John L., 184
Kensington, N.Y., 120
Killgore, John, 321
King Dan, the Factory Detective (Goode), 136
The Knickerbocker (periodical), 197
Knight, Charles, 64
"Knights and the Drama," 146
The Knights of Labor, 146, 417, 426

L. (author), 109, 147
L., L. E. (author), 26
L., P. A. (author), 110
La Vista (author), 227
"Labor," 361
The Labor Enquirer (periodical), 170, 251, 379-80
Labor leaders: female, 407, 411-12, 415, 438, 440; male, 421, 427; unfavorable views of, 416-20, 430
The Labor Leaf (periodical), 8, 146
The Labor Reform Songster (Phillips), 334, 385
Labor rights, 8, 275, 376, 396; fair wages, 342; periodicals advocating, 72-73, 75, 79, 85, 88. *See also* Eight Hour Movement; Ten Hour Movement
The Labor Standard (periodical), 153, 267, 355, 369-70, 394, 402, 409
Labor unions: advocacy of, 389, 404; favorable views of, 370, 387, 402, 415; protecting women, 150a; unfavorable views of, 420, 424, 427. *See also* The Knights of Labor
"The Laborer's Remonstrance" (Curtis), 342
"Labor's Demand" (Fisher), 396
The Ladies' Pearl, and Literary Gleaner (periodical), 49, 77, 114, 151, 199, 319, 347
The Ladies' Repository (periodical), 269, 331

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A Lady (author), 41, 259
"Lament of the Dying Factory Girl" (Clariette), 301
Larcom, Lucy, 27-29, 228-29
"The Last Chance" (Woodbridge), 415
"The Last Request," 230
Lawrence, Massachusetts: dime novels set in, 138; industry in, 291-93; Pemberton Mill Disaster, broadside poetry, 296, 298, 302, 306, 315, 322, 339; Pemberton Mill Disaster, in fiction, 156, 328; Pemberton Mill Disaster, other poetry, 305, 310, 317-18, 324-25, 327, 338; Pemberton Mill Disaster, pamphlet poems, 312, 337; story-paper fiction set in, 156; unemployment, 238; working women in, 69
"The Lawrence Disaster" (Cowden), 302
"Lawrence Disaster!" (DeWolfe), 306
"The Lawrence Disaster" (Harmon), 315
"The Lawrence Tragedy!" (Mann), 322
The Lawton Girl (Frederic), 177
Lee, Day K., 30
Lees, Harriet, 78, 107
"Leisure Hours of the Mill Girls" (Cate), 210
Leslie, Eliza, 111
Leslie, Irville I., 83
Leslie, Madeline. *See* Baker, Harriette N. W.
"A Lesson from the Wind" (Amelia), 392
"[Let oppression shrug her shoulders]," 401
"Let Us Labor While We Live" (Hinchcliffe), 257
"Letters from Susan" (Farley), 44-47
Lewis, Phendeus H., 321
Lewiston, Maine, 169, 353
Libbey, Laura J., 148-50
Libraries, 207, 272
"Life in the Iron Mills" (Davis), 346
"Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England" (Cate), 10-11, 57-58
"Lights of Lawrence" (Wetherbee), 291
"Lines Composed on the Abduction and Cruel Murder of Miss Sarah H. Furber" (Hall), 181
"Lines for Newmarket," 362
"Lines on the Catastrophe at Lawrence" (Beal), 298
"Lines on the Death of Maria L. Damon" (Havara), 316
"Lines on the Reduction of Pay," 363
"Lines Written on the Death of Sarah M. Cornell," 185
Lippard, George, 364-65
The Literary Repository (periodical), 200
Literary Souvenir (periodical), 155
The Literary Wreath and Factory Girl's Garland (periodical), 74
"Little Charm, the Factory Girl," 150a
"The Little Factory Boy," 260
"The Little Factory Girl to a More Fortunate Playmate," 261
"The Little Factory Girl's Last Day," 262
"The Little Mill Girl Matilda" (Rose), 268
Little Susan, the Factory Girl, 263
Locke, B. W., 231
Lockouts, 420. *See also* Strikes
The Lofty and the Lowly (McIntosh), 439
Lollypop! The Artful Dodger, or the Factory Girl, 232
"The Lonely Church" (Sigourney), 241
"Lowell" (La Vista), 227
"Lowell . . . A Parody" (Hall), 62
"Lowell at Sunset" (Larcom), 228
Lowell Courier, 246
Lowell Daily Journal and Courier, 236
"The Lowell Factory Girl," 366
"The Lowell Factory Girl" (*Uncle Sam*), 186
Lowell, Massachusetts, 436; aged women, 48, 313; blacklisting, 138;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

boardinghouse keepers' families, 96; broadsides, 280, 366; corruption, 388; detective fiction set in, 136-37; drama set in, 188; homesickness, 36, 382; illness and death, 90, 297, 308, 321, 326; immigrants, 6; industry, 200, 228; lack of marriageable men, 134; orphans in, 7, 104-5, 131a; periodicals published in, 77-79, 84-85; providing occupation for idle women, 3; rape, 180, 183; refinement of women workers, 123, 203; romances set in, 131a, 157; scenes of, 18, 44-47, 127, 141, 227; seduction, 155, 172-73, 186, 194, 196a; sexual intrigues, 129; strikes, 401, 406, 411-12; suicide, 189; women earning money for education, 27, 37, 51; women earning money to help their families, 1, 4, 9, 25, 27, 37, 39, 51, 107, 126; women earning spending money, 9, 16, 176; women exerting power, 62; women supporting their families, 143; women supporting themselves, 10, 19, 21, 23, 90, 94-95, 104; women's friendship, 101; women writers in, 154; workers' routines, 236, 246
Lowell Mercury, 227
Lowell Offering (periodical): allegorical fiction, 56; anthologies from, 64; dream visions, 67, 130, 382, 445; epistolary fiction, 44-47; fictional dialogues, 40, 342; other short fiction, 1, 2, 19, 23, 39, 51-52, 89, 91, 94, 103-5, 107, 110, 176, 202, 210, 214, 223, 313, 326, 336; poetry, 54, 59, 62, 109, 350, 356; reviews in, 119; romances, 141, 158; short fiction representing factory women's deaths, 3, 90, 172, 297, 326, 336; social criticism in, 342, 350, 356, 382; songs in, 242-43; treatment of child labor, 55; writers for, 154
"Lowell Song" (Hall), 180
Lucinda (author), 17, 31
"Luke Gardiner's Love" (Wyman), 159
Lulu (Walworth), 290
Lura (author), 32
Luther, Seth, 261

M. (author), 187
M., L. B., 151
Machinery, 359, 369; favorable views of, 46, 225, 276, 280-82, 285, 287, 294, 366; unfavorable views of, 226, 251, 265 (*see also* Occupational accidents); women operating, 109, 277
Machinists' Monthly Journal, 190
Madge; or, Night and Morning (Talcott), 271
Madonnas of the Smoke (Morgan), 33
"Maggie, or, 'Spun from the Spindles'" (Turner), 157
Maggie: or, The Loom Girl of Lowell (Turner), 157
"Maggie Wright" (DeWolfe), 307
Maine, 112. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
Maine Farmer & Advocate (periodical), 112
Man, Thomas, 367
The Man (periodical), 401
"The Man Machine" (Paulding), 265
Manayunk, Pennsylvania. *See* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
"Manchester As It Is" (Miss Prepared Chalk), 373
Manchester, New Hampshire: abortion, 166, 181; boardinghouses, 234; corruption, 373, 383; industry, 222; Merrimack River, 240; periodicals published in, 79; poor conditions, 254; strikes, 397; suicide, 196; unwed mothers, 182; women workers, 11, 131, 164

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Manchester Operative (periodical), 79
The Manchester Tragedy (Carroll), 166
"The Maniac Mother" (Baker), 202
Mann, Ebenezer, 322
The Manufacturer's Pocket-Piece (Felch), 282
"Manufactures vs. Agriculture" (Campbell), 343
Manville, Rhode Island, 367
"The March of the Toilers," 402
Margret Howth (Davis), 303
Maria (author), 63
Marketplace values, critique of, 422, 430
Marriage, men's, 144
Marriage, women's, 3, 11, 35; to artists, 93; to clergymen, 37, 58; desires for, 140; to government officials, 114, 134; to lawyers, 4, 10, 103, 116, 147, 158, 258; to merchants, 152, 154-55; to mill managers, 12, 128, 133, 138, 148-50, 153, 258; to physicians, 14, 162; to wealthy men, 131a, 141; to working-class men, 70, 143, 156, 159, 195. *See also* Courtship
Marriageability, women's, 1, 3, 124, 126, 154
Martineau, Harriet, 64
Mary (author), 112, 368, 403
Mary Bean: The Factory Girl (B., J. A.), 164
"Mary Garvin" (Whittier), 247
"Mary Harding's Easter" (Nelson), 235
Mason, Caroline A., 437
Massachusetts, 93, 170, 245, 264, 357, 436, 443. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
Massey, Gerald, 263a
A Master Workman's Oath (Libbey), 149
McCardell, Roy L., 438
McIntosh, John, 369-70
McIntosh, Maria J., 439
McNeill, George E., 440
"Measure for Measure" (Dindle), 214
The Mechanic (periodical), 344-45, 349, 386, 432
"The Mechanic Who Would Not Work on the Sabbath," 371
Mechanic's Advocate (periodical), 447
"Mechanic's Song," 233
Medway, Massachusetts, 282
Mental illness, 131a, 138, 202, 206
Meredith, New Hampshire, 375
The Merrimac and Its Incidents (Caverly), 278
Merrimack; or, Life at the Loom (Lee), 30
Merrimack River, 200, 227, 229, 240, 278
The Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of Gotham (Paulding), 265
Mexicans, 131, 134
The Mill Agent (Denison), 213
"Mill Girls of Lowell," 188
"The Mill Has Shut Down," 372
"The Mill-Maid" (Cary), 300
"Mill Notes.--Mother and Daughter" (Ricketson), 332
Mill owners, 219, 258; favorable views of, 128, 143, 153, 420, 427-29, 431-32, 438-39; humorous views of, 217; unfavorable views of, 144, 194, 221, 349, 355, 357, 383, 388, 422, 426, 431-32
Milliners, 177
"The Mills' [sic] Shut Down To-day" (Johnson), 360
Mills, John, 404
The Mills of Tuxbury (Townsend), 446
Millville, Massachusetts, 153
Mind amongst the Spindles, 64
A Minister (author), 264
"Minnie Kelsey's Wedding" (Sullivan), 195
The Mirror and Casket of the Daughters of Industry (periodical), 22, 66, 80, 125

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Miss Gilbert's Career (Holland), 144
Miss Prepared Chalk (author), 234, 373
Mitchell, Elvira C., 183
Monitur (author), 323
The Monthly Jubilee (periodical), 88, 182
Morality, 160; exemplary protagonists, 41, 272-73; exemplified in mill machinery, 282; men protecting women's, 159; virtue protecting factory women's, 125, 173; workers' virtue, 112; writers instructing in, 57, 77, 210
Morgan, Emily M., 33
"The Mother and Daughter" (Welch), 336
Mothers, 2, 39, 248, 335
Mothers and daughters: devotion of, 6, 26, 97, 202, 268, 319, 324a, 332, 336; troubled relationships of, 90, 160
"Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" (Hawthorne), 219
Mrs. Herndon's Income (Campbell), 428
Mudge, Zachariah A., 34-35
Mumford, Mary E., 76
Murder: committed by men, 137, 152, 164; committed by women, 129, 156-57, 160. *See also* Infanticide; Violence against women
Muspratt, Josiah M., 311
"My Country's Flag" (Hall), 54
"My Workmen" (Locke), 231
"Myra, the Factory Girl" (Lura), 32
Mysteries of Lowell (Bradbury), 129
The Mysteries of Nashua, 152
The Mystery of the Montauk Mills (Coolidge), 419

"A Narrative" (Saretta), 65
Nashua, New Hampshire, 152
The National Workman (periodical), 256
Native Americans, 78, 139, 240
Nature, 26, 229, 382
Nature's Child (author), 36
The Nazarene (Lippard), 364
Neal, Alice B., 37, 441
Nelson, Dorothy E., 235
Nesbit, Andy, 405
New Bedford, Massachusetts, 377-78
The New Century for Woman (periodical), 81
New Century Guild of Working Women, 76
New England Artisan (periodical), 262, 395
"The New England Factory Girl" (Neal), 37
The New England Offering (perodical), 82; fiction, 9, 18, 21, 26, 61; poetry, 99, 244; reviews in, 111
New Hampshire, 422. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
New Jersey, 431. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
"The New Jubilee" (Nesbit), 405
"A New Society" (Chamberlain), 445
"New Song of the Factory Girl," 38
The New World (periodical), 10-11, 57-58
"New Year Bells" (Foran), 357
The New York Family Story Paper, 150a
The New York Ledger (story paper), 148
New York, New York, 148-49, 193, 195, 319, 365, 428, 438
New York Saturday Star Journal, 218
New York (State), 177, 258, 290, 421, 429, 441, 447-48. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
Newburgh, New York, 287
Newburyport, Massachusetts, 52, 58, 80, 125
Newmarket, New Hampshire, 72, 362
The Nineteenth Century (periodical), 365
"The Ninety and Nine" (Gillette), 358
"No One to Blame," 324
Nonconformity, 63
North Carolina, 437

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Norton, Hal, 324a
Norton: or, The Lights and Shades of a Factory Village (Argus), 127
"Nursery Rhymes for Factory Stockholders," 325

Occult, 111
Occupational accidents, 267: child victims, 250, 269, 443; in mill belts, 157, 206, 311; in mill building collapses, 148 (*see also* Pemberton Mill Disaster); in mill elevators, 162; in mill shafting, 144, 169, 213; in mill wheels, 143. *See also* Machinery, evils of
Occupational hazards, 45
"An O'er True Tale" (E., E. A.), 172
"[Oh! Isn't it a pity]," 406
Old Crag (A Minister), 264
The Old Ladies' Piece Bag (periodical), 48, 203
"The Old Mill at Amoskeag" (Cate), 12
"The Old Residents" (Wetherbee), 292
Old women. *See* Women, aged
The Olive Leaf, and Factory Girl's Repository (periodical), 83, 116, 198, 316
"112 [Where bells no more affright the morn--]" (Dickinson), 253
One of Them (author), 113
"Only a Factory Girl," 153
"Only a Factory Girl" (Buell), 97
Only a Mill Girl! (Alexander), 163
The Operative (periodical), 79
The Operatives' Magazine, 84; fictional dialogues, 101; short fiction, 13, 16, 32, 63, 65, 117, 123-24, 207, 295, 308
"The Operative's [sic] Respond" (Palmer), 374
"Oppression" (Cross), 345
Optic, Oliver. *See* Adams, William T.
Orange County Gazette, 287
Oregon, 142
Organizations, women's. *See* Clubs, Women's
Orianna (author), 39, 326
"Original Lines" (Adams), 201
"The Orphan" (Goddard), 295
Orphans, 30; adoptees, 32; relying upon God, 34; supporting relatives, 41, 93; supporting themselves, 207, 235, 295, 297, 326, 446; women putting brothers through college, 105; working in Lewiston, Maine, 169; working in Lowell, Massachusetts, 7, 103-4, 110, 131a; working in Manchester, New Hampshire, 11, 184; working in New York City, 148-49; working in Passaic, New Jersey, 150
Orvis, John, 85
The Other Side (Foran), 357, 433
"Our Cause" (Ada), 389
Our Home (periodical), 228
"Our Mill" (T., L. M.), 244
"Our Mill at Laureldale" (Clara), 99
Outwork, 287
Over the Brink; or, The Peril of Beauty (Colfax), 169
Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine, 139
Overseers, 45-46, 201, 214, 352
Owen, Robert, 265

P. (author), 236
"Painful Suicide in Lowell of a Young Girl," 189
Palmer, B. Frank, 374
A Party of Poor Workingmen (authors), 237
Passaic, New Jersey, 150
Patch, Sam, 204, 212
Paterson, New Jersey, 179, 402, 423, 425
Paterson Intelligencer (periodical), 423, 425
The Paterson Labor Standard

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(periodical), 268, 274, 289, 358, 360
Patriotism, 118, 279, 283-86
Paulding, James K., 265
Pauper auctions, 221, 433
"Pawtucket Falls" (A., A. R.), 200
Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 60, 75, 204
Pay equity, gender, 190, 282, 445
Pearce, Benjamin W., 75
Pemberton Mill Disaster: in broadside poetry, 296, 302, 306, 315, 322, 339; in other short poetry, 298, 305, 310, 317-18, 324-25, 327, 338; in pamphlet poems, 312, 337; in short fiction, 328; in story-paper fiction, 156
"Pemberton Mills," 327
"The People" (Roche), 379
"The People's Carding Shop" (Fitch), 215
Pepper, S. F., 87
The Peril of Beauty (Colfax), 169
Peterson's Magazine, 12, 128
Phelps, Elizabeth S., 266, 328, 443
Pheney (author), 329
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 76, 81, 88, 197, 259, 364-65, 399
Philanthropy: by middle-class women, 161, 418, 428, 436, 444, 446; by mill management, 249, 439, 441, 443, 446. *See also* Charity
Phillips, J. A., 190
Phrenology, 214
"A Pic-Nic Party" (Curtis), 56
"Picture" (Holland), 220
Picture of a Factory Village (Man), 367
Pierson, Lydia J., 114
Pike, George, 330
"The Pilgrim's Vision," 375
"Piper, Play" (Davidson), 211
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 392
Place, Edward R., 267
Poe, Edgar A., 236
A Poem on Industry (Humphreys), 285
"A Poem; on the Distressing, and Afflictive Death" (H., J.), 311
"A Poem on the Industry of the United States" (Humphreys), 286
Poems (Godfrey), 191
Poems and Addresses of Emily Greene Wetherbee, 69, 291-93
Poems for the Million (Smith), 121
Poetic Sketch Written upon the Sad Disaster at Lawrence, Mass. (Handy), 314
The Poetical Works of Lucy Larcom, 28-29, 229
Poole, Kate V., 182
"The Poor Man's Soliloquy" (Stevens), 270
A Poor Operative (author), 238
Porter, J., 331
Porter, Linn B., 407
Poverty, 370, 384, 423; of aged women, 48; of factory women, 97, 446; industry alleviating, 279, 285; of working-class families, 192, 202, 221-24, 259, 263, 360, 372, 410; of working-class men, 237-38, 348; of working women, 121, 334, 344
Poverty Grass (Wyman), 159-62, 248
Power, 15. *See also* Woman's influence
Preachers, female. *See* Women preachers
Pregnancy, 171, 189
"Prejudice against Labor" (Ethelinda), 103
"Prejudice, or the Sailor and His Sister" (S., H. H.), 117
"Pride of the Nineteenth Century" (S., L. M.), 380
Priest, M. C., 376
Productivity. *See* Workers' productivity
"Professor Nimmons" (Leslie), 111
Profit sharing, 407, 421, 427-30, 432-35, 438
Progress, 225
Progress Attributed to the Laboring Classes (Jillson), 225
Prostitution: caused by poverty, 190,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

270, 275; entrapment in, 127, 169; evil of, 373; factory women in, 163, 173, 193, 196a; factory women rejecting, 334; seduction leading to, 189, 196a; women's efforts against, 319
Protest: against lack of freedom in the U.S., 251, 346a, 358a; against manufacturers' greed, 200, 332, 341, 405; against mill conditions, 351-54, 358a, 367-68, 378, 385, 404; against oppression of laborers, 358, 361-62, 369, 374, 379, 394, 408; against oppression of the poor, 257, 345, 355, 380, 384; against oppression of working women, 365, 381, 386; periodicals expressing, 72-73, 75, 79; against social evils, 393; against wage reductions, 42, 363, 406. *See also* Child labor, protest against; Eight Hour Movement; Revolutionary rhetoric; Strikes; Ten Hour Movement
Providence, Rhode Island, 114, 232
Punishment, corporal, 262, 264, 268, 273, 330, 409. *See also* Discipline; Violence against women

Race, 76, 135, 262, 399
"The Radical" (McIntosh), 370
Rape, 163, 180, 189. *See also* Seduction
Raymond, Evelyn H., 444
"Real Worth: The Lawyer and Laborer" (W.), 124
"The Redeemed Farm" (Candace), 207
Reels and Spindles (Raymond), 444
Reeve, George F., 287
Religion. *See* Christianity
Religious and Literary Gem (periodical), 330
"Reminiscences of a Manufacturing Village: Number I. Lucy Lee" (H., E. J.), 61
"A Reverie" (Chamberlain), 130
"The Reverse" (Hannah), 313
Reverses, financial, of families, 7, 12, 19, 39; due to illness, 91; due to unsound speculations, 152, 313; following father's business failure, 51, 126, 128
Revivals, religious, 160. *See also* Christianity; Camp meetings
Revolutionary rhetoric: in antifactory literature, 367; defending workers' rights, 68, 376, 392, 395, 400-401, 406, 408; in strikes, 413
Rhode Island, 434. *See also names of specific cities and towns*
Rhymes among the Spindles (Hinchcliffe), 106, 257, 317
Rice, Wallace and Frances, 97, 211, 252
"The Rich and the Poor," 423
Richard Edney and the Governor's Family, 145
Ricketson, Daniel, 115, 239, 332-33, 377-78
"A Riddle" (Currier, Lura), 109
Robinson, Harriet H., 78, 82
Roche, James J., 379
Roche, Lavinia M., 163
Rolli, Merzi, 116
"Romance of a Factory Girl," 154
"Rosa,--Or, Judge Not the Motive" (Maria), 63
Rose, H., 268
Rose Michel; or, The Trials of a Factory Girl (Hilton), 143
Ross, Albert. *See* Porter, Linn B.
Rowe, Mrs. F. M., 269
"Roxy and Dorcas" (Farley), 21
Russell, Theodore, 240

S., H. H. (author), 117
S., H. J. (author), 118
S., L. M. (author), 380
S., M. B. C. (author), 309
S., W. J. (author), 40
Sabbath breaking, 371, 383, 388

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Sabbath Labor Christians" (Zig Zag), 388
"Sabbath Morning" (Chamberlain), 382
Saco, Maine, 164, 413
Saco River, 247
"Saint or Sinner" (Wyman), 160
"The Sale of Labor" (Briancourt), 299
Salome Shepard, Reformer (Winslow), 449
Same-sex love, 9-10, 14, 25, 29, 61, 178. *See also* Friendship, women's
Sarah Maria Cornell (Clarke), 167
Saretta (author), 65
Sargent, Amelia, 392-93
Sartain's Union Magazine, 300
Satire, 265, 299
The Saturday Weekly Journal, 122, 156, 206
Savage, Sarah, 41
Saxe, John G., 191
"A Scene of Real Life," 155
Schoolteachers, 51, 429
"The Scotch Factory-Girl" (Ricketson), 239
Scottish Americans, 239, 266
Seamstresses, 132, 138, 172, 202, 223, 259, 266, 336, 419. *See also* Dressmakers
Sedgwick, Catharine M., 119
Seduction: denunciations of, 187; of factory women, 152, 173, 188, 194, 196a, 426; of factory women by clergymen, 165, 167-69, 171, 185; of factory women by labor agitators, 418; of factory women by lawyers, 127; of factory women, followed by abortion and death, 164, 166; of factory women, followed by marriage, 155, 186; of factory women, leading to their deaths, 165, 167-71, 185, 196, 426; after false marriages, 194; labor unions protecting women from, 150a; of poor women, 365; women's efforts to prevent, 135, 198; women's virtue as protection from, 125, 197; women's vulnerability to, 191. *See also* Rape
"Seduction" (M.), 187
"Semi-Centennial Anniversary Poem" (Wetherbee), 293
"The Sentimental Manufacturer to the Factory Girl," 381
Separation, marital, 23
Sevenoaks (Holland), 221
Sewall, May W., 71
Sexual harassment, 129, 133, 138, 143, 149, 170, 194
Sexuality, 9, 89, 166, 171-73, 186
Seymour, Mary F., 71
Sheldon, Charles M., 424
Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius (Farley), 134, 176
Shepard, Bartholomew, 192
Sheridon (or Sheridan), A. M., 120
Shirley Hill, New Hampshire, 201
Shutdowns, 224, 360, 372, 424
Sigourney, Lydia H., 241
The Silent Partner (Phelps), 443
Silk textile manufacture, 294
"The Sisterhood of the Green Veil" (Lippard), 365
Sisters, 7, 13, 51, 89, 308, 313, 326, 443
"The Sisters" (Ella), 308
"Six O'Clock" (Grosvenor), 218
"Six to Six" (Hadaway), 399
"The Sixpence and a Half Agent's Lamentation," 375
Slander, 116, 173. *See also* Gossip
Slavery: anti-slavery views, 54, 122; defended, 439; likened to factory work, 191, 358a, 386, 389, 391, 410, 413, 433; unlike factory work, 40, 43, 50. *See also* Abolition
Smith, Francis S., 121
Smith, Matthew H., 193
Socialism, 348, 405, 407, 424, 436-37
The Socialist (periodical), 5, 108, 357
Solidarity, workers', 53

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Something More about Donty" (Shepard), 192
"Song for the Million" (One of Them), 113
"Song of a Factory Girl" (W., J. H.), 50
"Song of the Carpet Weaver" (Sheridon), 120
"Song of the Factory Girl," 42
"The Song of the Factory Girl" (folk song), 42, 276, 280-81, 352-53, 366
"The Song of the Factory Girl" (Heywood), 24
"Song of the Factory Girl" (Mary), 112
"Song of the Factory Girls," 43
"Song of the Lower Classes" (Jones), 108
The Song of the Sower (Bryant), 205
"Song of the Spinners," 242
"Song of the Weavers," 243
"Song. The Factory Maid," 168, 175
Songs, with music, 8, 20, 24, 38, 242
Southerners, 114, 127, 131, 439
Sparks (author), 194
Spinning, 242, 273
Sports, 245
Speaking of Ellen (Porter), 407
Springfield, Massachusetts, 439
"The Stanleys" (Jennings), 223
"Stanzas" (Almira), 391
Star of Bethlehem (periodical), 100
Starbuck, Roger, 122
Stella (author), 123
Stevens, Ella, 270
Stocking factories, 249, 436
Stone, Huldah J., 118
"The Story of a Household" (Place), 267
"A Stranger, yet at Home" (Wyman), 161
"The Stranger's Grave" (Porter), 331
"The Strength of Tyranny," 408
"The Strike," 409
The Strike at Tivoli Mills (Arthur), 416
The Strike in the B--- Mill (Benjamin), 417
Striker (author), 410
"A Striker's Song," 410
Strikes, 415-15a, 423, 425, 431, 440; early literary treatment, 194, 364, 401, 411-12; exhortations to, 404-5; favorable views of, 415a; mule spinners', 409; privation suffered by strikers, 410; pro-testing against wage reductions, 177, 363, 390, 407, 411-12, 419, 426, 438; for a shorter workday, 146, 397, 400, 438; strike poems, 413; sympathy of mill management with, 161; unfavorable views of, 416-19, 421-22, 426, 434; views of, 27. *See also* Lockouts
Sui Generis (author), 367
Suicide: of factory children, 264; among mill management, 144, 179, 194; of seduced women, 129, 163, 169, 189; of women rejected by men, 126, 139, 184, 196
Sullivan, James W., 195
"The Summons" (Amelia), 393
Sunday schools, 41, 95, 259-60, 266
Sunshine and Shadow in New York (Smith), 193
Susan (author), 44-47
"Susan Miller" (A., F. G.), 1
"Sweet Home" (Nature's Child), 36

T., A. S. (author), 66
T., L. M., 244
Tabitha (author), 67, 382, 445
Talcott, Hannah E., 271
Tales and Sketches. Second Series (Sedgwick), 119
"Tales of Factory Life, No. 1" (Bagley), 94
"Tales of Factory Life, No. 2. The Orphan Sisters" (Bagley), 7
Technology. *See* Machinery
Temperance, 213, 416, 447. *See also* Intemperance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Temptation" (Ann), 125
"Ten Hour Law!" (Jericho), 400
Ten Hour Movement: broadside ballads, 397, 399-400; fiction, 447; periodicals, 73, 85; poetry, 340, 389, 391, 398, 403, 414. *See also* Protest
"The Ten Hour System," 414
"Ten Hour System" (H., J. B.), 398
Tenement Tales of New York (Sullivan), 195
"The Tenth of January" (Phelps), 328
Tewksbury, Robert H., 338
Textile imagery, 20, 27-29
Textile work, 134
That *Other* Factory Girl (author), 383
Thayer, William M., 272
"There Must Be Something Wrong," 384
"There's Spirit Abroad" (Priest), 376
"Thirty Cents a Day" (Thompson), 334
Thomas, Abel C., 78
Thompson, George, 196-96a
Thompson, Thomas Phillips, 334, 385
Thropp, Mary F., 197
Thursday Sketcher (periodical), 192, 346a
"The Times" (Godfrey), 191
"To the Merrimack River" (Russell), 240
"To the Parents and Friends, of John Killgore" (Lewis), 321
"To the 'Voice of Industry,'" 68
Todd, John, 288
"The Toiler" (Hinchcliffe), 106
"The Toilers," 335
"The Toiler's Lament" (Cate), 98
"The Toilers of Men" (Carey), 8
Tomboys, 52, 411-12
Tongue, Robert C., 289
"Too Hot for Church" (Rowe), 269
Townsend, Fannie L., 88
Townsend, Virginia F., 446
Tracts, religious, 17, 31, 255, 259, 263, 273, 418
Trade catalogs, 174
Trade unions. *See* Labor unions
A Traveler (author), 447
Troubled Waters (Warner), 426
Trowbridge, John T., 245-46
"The True Story of 'An Aged Indigent Woman,'" 48
"Truth through Fiction. No. 1. True Independence," 49
"Try Again" (Mary), 403
Turn outs. *See* Strikes
Turner, Eliza S., 76
Turner, William M., 156-57
Tyler, Martha W., 411-12

U., C. (author), 276
Uncle Sam (periodical), 186
Unemployment, 237-38, 324a; caused by labor troubles, 357, 424; caused by layoffs, 132, 139, 347; caused by shutdowns, 224, 360, 372, 442
Unions. *See* Labor unions
Unwed mothers, 163, 177, 182, 186
Up Hill; or, Life in the Factory (Phelps), 266
Upward mobility, 137-38, 148, 436
Urbanization, 227, 245, 261
Utica, New York, 311
Utopian communities, 437
Utopian reform, 448. *See also* Philanthropy

"Valentine's Chance" (Wyman), 162
Vanity Fair, 305, 318, 324-25, 327
Veturia (author), 158
Victoria, Queen, 350
Violence against women, 137; committed by abortionists, 164, 166, 179; committed by clergymen, 165, 167-68, 171, 175, 185; committed by women, 271; threats of, 195. *See also* Domestic violence; Punishment, corporal; Rape
"A Vision of Truth" (Chamberlain), 67
"A Voice from the Alley" (Mills), 404

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Voice of Industry (periodical), 85; dream visions, 383; fictional dialogues, 118; poetry, 53, 68, 98, 113, 329, 335, 340-41, 359, 368, 374, 376, 389, 391-92, 403; short fiction, 371
"Vox Populi" (Woodman), 275

W. (author), 124
W., F. H. (author), 70
W., J. H. (author), 50
W., J. S. (author), 336
W., S. (author), 198
W., S. H. (author), 309
W., T. P. (author), 246
Wage reductions, 21, 363, 406, 443
The Wage Slaves of New York (McCardell), 438
Wages, 208; fairness of, 342, 425; right use of, 17, 31, 70, 176; women's desire for, 16, 32, 49
"Wages: A Fairy Tale," 425
Wait, Peter, 337
"[Wake with a song, my soul!]," 386
"[Waken toilers!]" (B., H. N. G.), 5
Walter Martin, 273
Walworth, Mansfield T., 290
The Wampanoag, and Operatives' Journal, 70, 86, 233
Ware, Massachusetts, 87
Ware Offering, and Factory Girls' Garland (periodical), 17, 87
The Ware Standard (periodical), 154
Warner, Anna B., 448
Warner, Beverley E., 426
Warner, Susan B., 448
Washburn, Henry S., 259
Water power, 217, 222, 240, 278, 368
"[We are not slaves!]," 413
Wealth, 92, 96, 112, 221, 423
"Wealth" (Carleton), 208
Wealthy, 106; corruption of, 125, 252, 362; greed of, 384, 432; hard-heartedness of, 307, 313, 344
"Weary ere They [Run?]," 274
Weaving, 243
"Weaving" (Larcom), 28
The Weekly Jubilee (periodical), 88
Weekly Messenger and Literary Wreath (periodical), 74
Weekly Messenger, Literary Wreath, and Factory Girl's Garland (periodical), 74
Welch, Jane S., 40, 336
Wetherbee, Emily G., 69, 291-93
Wharton, Anne H., 76
Wheeling, West Virginia, 346
Whelden, Mr., 261
"When Pemberton Fell," 338
Whipple, Frances H. (m. Green; m. McDougall), 70, 86
"The White Mountain Sisters," 51
Whitesboro, New York, 311
Whittier, John G., 247
Widows, 39, 199, 202, 223, 335
"The Widow's Daughter" (Wise), 199
"The Widow's Son" (Johnson), 39
Wife battery. *See* Domestic violence
Willard, Frances E., 71
Willful Gaynell (Libbey), 150
Winslow, Helen M., 449
Wise, Daniel, 77, 199
Withington, William, 339
A Woman of Yesterday (Mason), 437
Woman's influence, 10, 23, 319, 392, 444
"Woman's Influence" (Curtis), 23
Women, aged, 48
Women breadwinners: supporting husband, 91; supporting husband and children, 48; supporting mother, 107, 116, 155, 324a; supporting mother and siblings, 1, 31, 170-72; supporting parents, 147; supporting parents and siblings, 128; supporting siblings, 7
Women factory managers, 421, 441, 443. *See also* Businesswomen
Women labor leaders. *See* Labor leaders,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

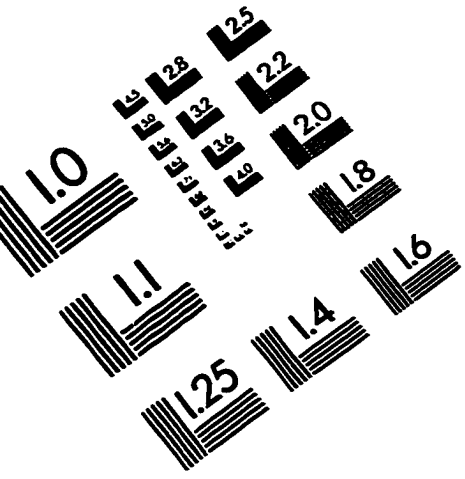
female
Women preachers, 16, 303, 443
Women writers, 61, 78, 84, 127, 129, 144, 418, 437; femininity of, 154
Women's clubs. *See* Clubs, women's
Women's reasons for working in the mills, 47, 50
Women's rights. *See* Feminism
Women's speech, 51, 201
Women's writing, 59, 62, 64, 66
"[Wond'rous machine!]," 294
Woodbridge, Alice, 415
Woodman, Shirlie, 275
"Wool Carding" (Reeve), 287
Woolen textile manufacture, 226, 258, 287
Worcester County (Ma.) Mechanics' Association, 225
Work: pleasures of, 24, 38, 50, 98, 242; pride in, 42-43, 244; value of, 29, 231, 233; work ethic, 37, 98, 100, 106, 113, 225, 277
Workers: productivity, 22, 42, 50, 62, 99, 233, 244; skill, 276; writing by, 60, 102, 111, 244
Workers' writing, 418
"Working at the Mill" (Ricketson), 333
Working-class culture, 178, 204, 212, 216, 219; in Biddeford, Maine, 184; holidays, 211, 246; in Lowell, Massachusetts, 18, 127, 136, 236; in Manchester, New Hampshire, 131; in Nashua, New Hampshire, 152
Working-class women's strength, 11, 142, 392, 400, 407, 411-12
"The Working-Girls" (Wetherbee), 69
"The Working Girl's Sleep" (Jones), 320
The Working Man's Advocate (periodical), 217, 323, 354
A Working Woman of Boston (author), 387
The Working Woman's Journal, 76
"Workmates" (Larcom), 29
Workmen's Advocate (periodical), 270, 275, 396
The Wreckers (Dowling), 431
Wright, Maggie, 307
Writing, women's. *See* Women's writing
Writing, workers.' *See* Workers' writing
Wych Hazel (Warner), 448
Wyman, Lillie B. C., 159-62, 248

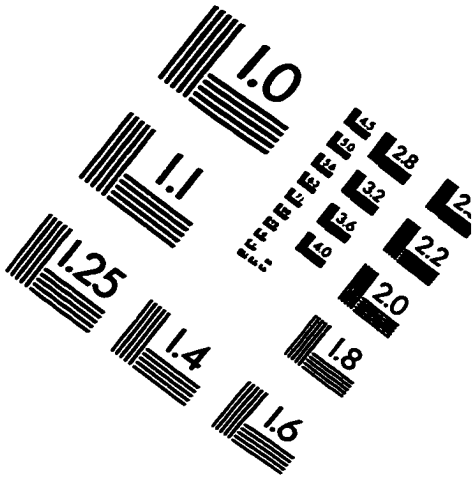
"A Yankee Lady" (Pierson), 114
Yonkers, New York, 415a
"The Yonkers Women's Strike," 415a
Yorkshire Centre, Pennsylvania, 215
Young, William F., 85
Young America (periodical), 102, 189, 343, 388
"The Young Slaver" (Comstock), 122
The Youth's Companion (periodical), 235

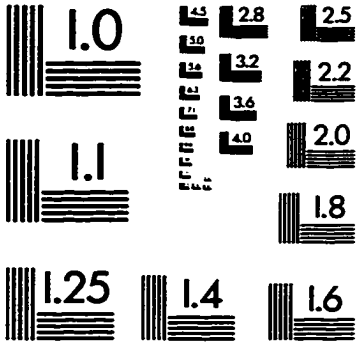
"Zarelda" (Higginson), 142
Zig Zag (author), 388

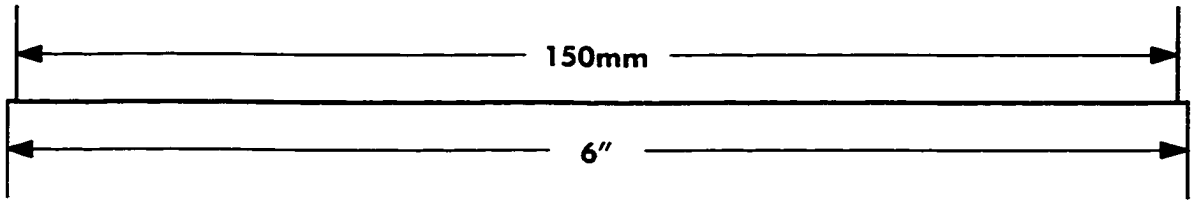
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

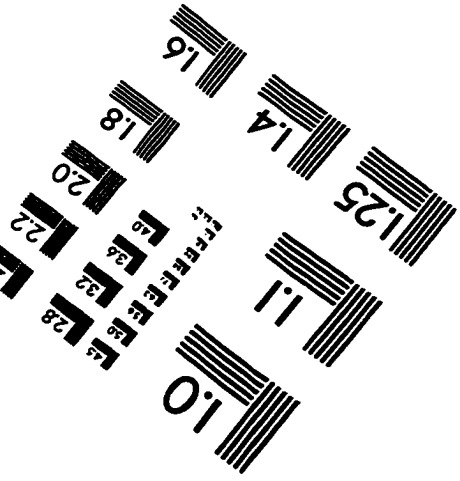
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

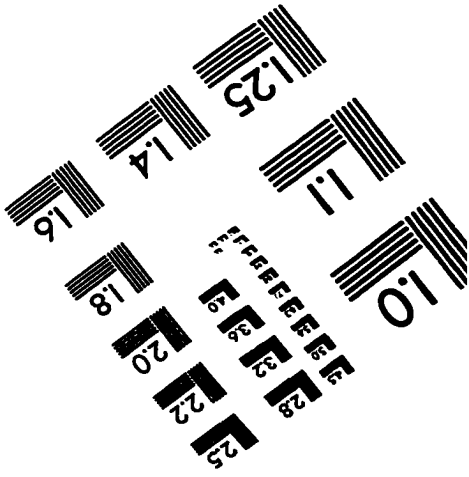












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.