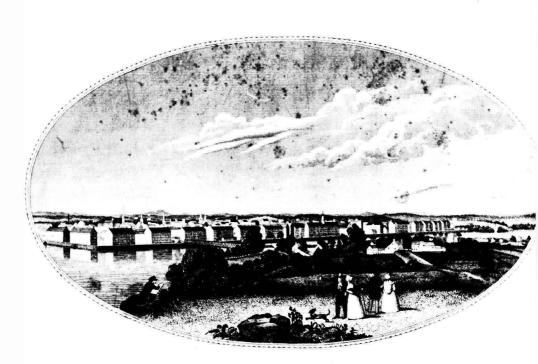


WOMEN AT WORK

Thomas Dublin

WOMEN



View of Lowell, c.1850. From a lithograph on a cloth sampler of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company in Lowell.

COURTESY OF THE MERRIMACK VALLEY TEXTILE MUSEUM.

AT WORK

The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860

Thomas Dublin

New Yor " Imigrareity Press

As a dissertation this book was awarded the Bancroft Dissertation Award by a committee of the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University.

Clothbound editions of Columbia University Press books are Smyth-sewn and printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Dublin, Thomas, 1946– Women at work.

Bibliography: p. Includes index.

- ${\tt 1.}\ \ Women-Employment-Massachusetts-Lowell-History.$
 - ${\tt 2. \ Textile \ workers-Massachusetts-Lowell-History}.$
 - ${\it 3. \ Cotton\ manufacture--Massachusetts--Lowell--History}.$
 - 4. Labor and laboring classes—Massachusetts—Lowell—History. 5. Lowell, Mass.—Social conditions. I. Title.

HD6073.T42U52 331.4'87'70097444 79-10701 ISBN 0-231-04166-7 (cloth)

ISBN 0-231-04167-5 (paper)

Columbia University Press New York Guildford, Surrey

Copyright © 1979 Columbia University Press All rights reserved Printed in the United States of America 9 8 7 6 5

Women at Work

The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

Acknowledgments

OVER THE YEARS that I have been exploring the lives of working women in early Lowell, I have benefited from the support, advice, and criticism of what seem by now almost countless individuals. Among archivists and curators, William Copeley, Robert Lovett, and Helena Wright went out of their way numerous times to assist me in getting and using primary sources. Robert Bristol, David Plourde, and Dorothy Sanborn made available rare local records that proved invaluable in the social origins study. Steven Dubnoff, Bryn Evans, Marc Harris, Gary Kulik, Harold Luft, Jonathan Prude, Mildred Tunis, and Lise Vogel shared unpublished papers that broadened my vision. Harry and Mary Dinmore, Aileen Eurich, Joanne Preston, and Mildred Tunis shared precious family letters and kindly permitted me to quote from these sources. Kathie Galotti and Margaret Moran shared research skills that sped up record linkage for the social origins study immeasurably. The entire staff of the Computer Center at the University of California, San Diego, have been helpful in initiating me into the mysteries of their craft.

For permission to reproduce maps, photographs, and paintings used in the illustrations of this book, I would like to acknowledge the Lowell Historical Society and the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum. The following libraries and archives have kindly permitted me to quote from manuscripts in their collections: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Brown University Library, Haverhill (Mass.) Public Library, the Lowell Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, New Hampshire Historical Society, Old Sturbridge Village, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, University of Lowell, and the Vermont Historical Society.

Sections of this book draw upon earlier published articles and permission to reprint portions is gratefully acknowledged. Ideas elaborated in chapters 4-7 first appeared in "Women, Work, and Protest in the Early

Lowell Mills," Labor History, XVI (1975), 99-116. Chapter 10 is based in part on material first appearing in "Women, Work, and the Family," Feminist Studies, 3, nos. 1/2 (Fall 1975), 30-39, and appears by permission of the publisher, Feminist Studies Inc., c/o Women's Studies Program, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Finally portions of chapter 11 draw upon "Women Workers and the Study of Social Mobility," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, IX (1979), 647-665, and appear by permission of The Journal of Interdisciplinary History and The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In addition, I have benefited from the comments, suggestions, and criticisms of friends and colleagues who have read earlier drafts of the book. Susan Benson, Steven Dubnoff, Bryn Evans, Paul Faler, Eric Foner, Michael Katz, Alice Kessler-Harris, Mary Lou Locke, Arthur McEvoy, Michael Merrill, David Montgomery, Mary Beth Norton, Robert Ritchie, Mary Ryan, and Carole Srole all read and shared thoughts on this study as it evolved from an earlier dissertation into the present book. Their support has meant a lot to me as a historian and as a person.

In the final process of writing and rewriting, a number of individuals have read, and sometimes reread, the entire manuscript and made particularly important contributions to the final product. I would especially like to thank Victoria Brown, Stuart Bruchey, Earl Pomeroy, and Harry Scheiber for their helpful suggestions and criticism on the final manuscript. Stuart Bruchey, in particular, has provided valuable guidance and support. He has given me a rare blend of criticism and distance that have helped me grow as a historian.

A historian does not live entirely in the past, and in the course of this work a Danforth Fellowship and an NEH Summer Fellowship freed me to devote full time to study. Grants-in-aid from the Center for Research on Women in Higher Education and the Professions, at Wellesley College, and the American Council of Learned Societies provided helpful funds. In addition, the Research Committee of the Academic Senate, University of California, San Diego, provided crucial support.

And finally, since I began on this project, almost eight years ago, Penny Dublin has shared its tortuous ways, its numerous ups and downs, every detail from computer cards to commas. Our shared life has made this a better book and me a richer person, for both of which I am very grateful.

A Note on Quotations

To convey a sense of what early women workers were like, I have avoided modernizing or correcting their spelling or grammar in quotations. The only changes I have made are ending sentences with a period and beginning them with capitals. Otherwise, any additions are noted within brackets. I have avoided use of the admonitory [sic] except in quoting published sources or in cases of particularly literate writers where errors stand out.

Contents

ONE Women Workers and Early Industrialization 1
Two The Early Textile Industry and the Rise of Lowell 14
THREE The Lowell Work Force, 1836, and the Social Origins of Women Workers 23
FOUR The Social Relations of Production in the Early Mills 58
FIVE The Boardinghouse 75
SIX The Early Strikes: The 1830s 86
SEVEN The Ten Hour Movement: The 1840s 108
EIGHT The Transformation of Lowell, 1836-1850, and the New Mill Work Force 132
NINE Immigrants in the Mills, 1850-1860 145
TEN Housing and Families of Women Operatives 165
ELEVEN Careers of Operatives, 1836-1860 183
TWELVE The Operatives' Response, 1850-1860 198
APPENDIXES
 Preparation of the Hamilton Company Payroll, 1836 209
2. The Social Origins Study 219
3. The Hamilton Company Work Force, August 1850 and June 1860 224

239

4. The 1860 Millhand Sample

Representativeness

5. Sources of Bias and Considerations of

viii CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS 251

NOTES 253

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 293

INDEX 309

Tables

TABLE 3.1	Ethnic Makeup of the Hamilton Company Work Force, July 1836 26
TABLE 3.2	First Entrances of New Hampshire Women at Hamilton, 1827-1850 29
Table 3.3	Room Distribution of New Hampshire Women at First Entrance at Hamilton, Compared to Overall Female Work Force, July 1836 30
TABLE 3.4	Age Distribution of New Hampshire Women at First Entrance at Hamilton 31
TABLE 3.5	Assessed Property Valuations of Fathers of Hamilton Operatives, Compared to Male Household Heads, Boscawen, Canterbury, and Sutton, 1830 34
Table 3.6	Median Property Holdings of Linked Millhand Fathers, 1830-1860, Compared to Male Household Heads of Similar Ages 35
TABLE 3.7	Rank Birth Order of New Hampshire Women Employed at the Hamilton Company, 1830- 1850 41
TABLE 3.8	Initial Room Assignment of New Hampshire Women at the Hamilton Company 49
TABLE 3.9	Occupations of Husbands of Former Hamilton Operatives in New Hampshire Sample 51
TABLE 3.10	Age at First Marriage of Millhands and Husbands 52
Table 4.1	Mean Daily Pay of Men and Women at the Hamilton Company, July 1836, Broken Down by Major Jobs 66

- TABLE 8.1 Growth of Textile Manufactures in Lowell, 1836-1850 133
- TABLE 8.2 Ethnic Makeup of the Hamilton Company Work Force, August 1850 and June 1860 139
- Table 8.3 Age Distribution of the Census-Linked Group of Hamilton Operatives, August 1850, Broken Down by Sex 141
- TABLE 8.4 Residence of the Hamilton Company Work Force, July 1836, August 1850, and June 1860 144
- TABLE 9.1 Mean Daily Pay of Hamilton Workers, August 1850, Broken Down by Nativity and Sex 148
- TABLE 9.2 Distribution of Native-born and Immigrant Women in the Major Departments of the Hamilton Company,
 August 1850 148
- TABLE 9.3 Mean Daily Pay of Female Piece Workers at Hamilton, August 1850, Broken Down by Job and Literacy 150
- TABLE 9.4 Room Placement of Native- and Foreign-born Females at the Hamilton Company, August 1850, Broken
 Down by Experience 152
- Table 9.5 Proportions of Literate Female Operatives Employed in the Major Departments of the Hamilton Company, August 1850, Broken Down by Nativity and Experience 154
- TABLE 9.6 Proportions of Immigrants Among Women Workers in the Major Departments at Hamilton, 1845-1850 155
- TABLE 9.7 Mean Daily Pay of Native- and Foreign-born Females at the Hamilton Company, August 1850 and June 1860 158
- Table 9.8 Mean Daily Pay of Female Operatives at the Hamilton Company, August 1850 and June 1860, Broken Down by Department 159

TABLE 9.9	Mean Daily Pay of Female Operatives at the Hamilton Company, 1836-1860 161
TABLE 9.10	Mean Daily Pay of Major Female Jobs at the Hamilton Company, August 1850 and June 1860 162
TABLE 9.11	Proportions of Foreign-born Among All Females in the Major Departments of the Hamilton Company, August 1850 and June 1860 163
TABLE 10.1	Residence Patterns of 1860 Female Millhands Broken down by Ethnicity 167
TABLE 10.2	Relationships of 1860 Female Millhands Living at Home to Household Head, Broken Down by Ethnicity 168
TABLE 10.3	Nativity of 1860 Female Millhands Living at Home with Parents and of the Parent Household Heads 170
TABLE 10.4	Statistics on Families and Households of 1860 Female Millhands Living with Parents in Private Tenements 172
Table 10.5	Children's School and Employment Patterns and Ages in Families of 1860 Millhand Daughters 173
TABLE 10.6	School Attendance and Employment Patterns of Male Children in the Families of Female Millhands, 1860 178
TABLE 10.7	School Attendance and Employment Patterns of Female Children in the Families of Female Millhands, 1860 179
Table 10.8	Proportions of Males and Females Among Children in the Families of 1860 Female Millhands, Broken

Table 11.1 Previous Work Experience of Hamilton Mill A Sample, July 1836 184

- TABLE 11.2 Mean Daily Pay of Hamilton Mill A Sample, July 1836, Broken Down by Sex and by Previous Work 185
- Table 11.3 Major Jobs of Females in the Hamilton Mill A Sample, July 1836, Broken Down by Previous Work 186
- Table 11.4 Job Mobility of Persistent Men at Hamilton, 1836-1850 187
- TABLE 11.5 Job Mobility of Persistent Women at Hamilton, 1836-1850 187
- TABLE 11.6 Experience of Hamilton Operatives, 1836 and 1860, Broken Down by Sex 189
- Table 11.7 Mean Daily Pay of the Hamilton Mill AB Sample, June 1860, Broken Down by Sex and by Previous Work 190
- TABLE 11.8 Comparison of 1850-1860 Persistent Workers to 1850 Hamilton Company Work Force 193
- TABLE 11.9 Job Mobility of Persistent Men at Hamilton, 1850-1860 194
- TABLE 11.10 Job Mobility of Persistent Women at Hamilton, 1850-1860 194
- Table 11.11 Difference in Mean Daily Pay of Persistent
 Operatives at Hamilton, 1850-1860, Broken Down
 by Sex and Ethnicity 195
- Table 11.12 Mean Daily Pay of Persistent Females and All Women Workers at Hamilton, 1850-1860, Broken Down by Ethnicity 197
- Table A.1 Comparison of Residence Patterns of Hamilton
 Work Force, July 1836, Before and After Directory
 Linkage 214
- TABLE A.2 Family Residence of Female Operatives in the Hamilton Company, July 1836 217

TABLE N.4

TABLE A.3 Housing of Female Operatives in the Hamilton Company, July 1836 217 TABLE A.4 Quarterly Output of Selected Waltham-Lowell Firms. 1836, 1850, 1860 240 TABLE A.5 Comparison of the 1850 Census-Linked Group and the Hamilton 1850 Work Force TABLE A.6 Corrected Age Distribution of the Hamilton 1850 Work Force 245 TABLE A.7 Comparison of the 1860 Hamilton Work Force and the 1860 Millhand Sample 246 TABLE A.8 Summary of Census and Register Nativity of Hamilton Operatives in Mills A and B, June 1860 248 TABLE N.1 Estimate of Age Distribution of Female Operatives at the Hamilton Company, 1830 and 1840 TABLE N.2 Marriage Residence Patterns of New Hampshire Women Workers 264 TABLE N.3 Contributions of Employed Children, Broken Down By Age of Oldest Child 282

Force as a Whole

Comparison of the 1836 Mill A Sample to the Work

288

Illustrations

Frontispiece	View of Lowell, c. 1850 ii
	(Figures after page 62)
Figure 1	A Plan of Sundry Farms &c. of Patucket in the Town of Chelmsford, 1821
Figure 2	Plan of the City of Lowell, 1845
Figure 3	Middlesex Manufacturing Company, Lowell, c. 1840
Figure 4	Lowell Carding Machine
Figure 5	Warp Spinning Throstle, c. 1830
Figure 6	Drawing In
Figure 7	Lowell Power Loom, c. 1848
Figure 8	Women Weavers, c. 1860
Graph 1	Mean Daily Pay by Experience, 1836 and 1860 for Women Workers at the Hamilton Company 191

CHAPTER ONE

Women Workers and Early Industrialization

Women have always worked, but until the past century their work has been confined almost entirely to the domestic setting, and it has been for the most part unpaid labor. Women's work was an element in the larger family economy that predominated in preindustrial society. Although this work proved crucial to family subsistence, it also constituted the basis for women's subordinate position in patriarchal society. In the American colonies, for instance, women made substantial contributions to both agricultural production and domestic manufacture; still, married women could not own property, nor could they make contracts on their own. This legal framework reinforced the economic subordination of colonial women; without means for self-support, women's place was clearly in the home.

The nineteenth century saw crucial changes in this dominant pattern. With the rise of the cotton textile industry in New England in the years between 1820 and 1860, large numbers of young, single women left their parental homes to work in the expanding mill towns. Employment in the mills enabled women to enjoy social and economic independence unknown to their mothers' generation. At the same time it created new pressures—in both the economic and cultural spheres—to which Yankee women had to respond. In responding to the novel demands of industrial capitalism, women workers relied upon familiar cultural traditions and