



Rhode Island History

Volume 46, Number 4 November 1988





Published by The Rhode Island Historical Society, 110 Benevolent Street, Providence, Rhode Island, 02906, and printed by a grant from the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Edward D. DiPrete, Governor, Kathleen S. Connell, Secretary of State.

Alden M. Anderson, *president*
Kenneth Washburn, *vice president*
Nancy Fisher Chudacoff, *secretary*
Michael D. Lincoln, *treasurer*
Thomas Reilly, *assistant treasurer*
Nancy K. Cassidy, *assistant secretary*
Albert T. Klyberg, *director*

FELLOWS OF THE SOCIETY

Carl Bridenbaugh
Sydney V. James
Antoinette F. Downing
Richard K. Showman
Glenn W. LaFantasie

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Leonard I. Levin, *chairman*
Henry L. P. Beckwith, Jr.
Joel A. Cohen
Norman Fiering
Robert Allen Greene
Pamela A. Kennedy
Alan Simpson
William McKenzie Woodward

STAFF

Albert T. Klyberg, *editor*
Denise Bastien, *graphics editor*
Hilliard Beller, *copy editor*

The Rhode Island Historical Society assumes no responsibility for the opinions of contributors.

Rhode Island History

Volume 46, Number 4 November 1988

Contents

- Zachariah Allen and the Architecture
of Industrial Paternalism 117
RICHARD E. GREENWOOD
- Twentieth-Century Rhode Island
Town Government History:
A Survey of Areas for Research 136
WILLIAM M. FERRARO
- Index to Volume 46 155

Note to Subscribers

Because of difficulties caused by changes in our staff, *Rhode Island History* will not be published for November 1987 or February, May, or August 1988. This issue completes volume 46, which consists of February, May, and August 1987 and November 1988.

All subscriptions will be honored. Those already paid will be carried forward one additional year.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORY is published in February, May, August, and November by the Rhode Island Historical Society. Second-class postage is paid at Providence, Rhode Island. Society members receive each issue as a membership benefit. Institutional subscriptions to RHODE ISLAND HISTORY and the Society's quarterly newsletter are \$15 annually. Individual copies of current and back issues are available from the Society for \$4.00. Manuscripts and other correspondence should be sent to Albert T. Klyberg, editor, at the Society.

Zachariah Allen and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism

Richard E. Greenwood

The mill villages of Rhode Island are a significant legacy of the early Industrial Revolution in the United States. Built along the state's rivers in the first half of the nineteenth century, these small communities are familiar elements of the landscape today. Sometimes shabby, sometimes well maintained or even restored, in almost all cases they are recycled and serving a new generation of occupants as workplaces and homes. For many Rhode Islanders whose memories reach back over the past half century, the image of the company-owned factory village is still a strong one, but the villages they remember were in a final decline that ended for most during the Great Depression. By that time the New England mill village was over 100 years old and had become something of an anachronism in an urban, industrialized society. When it first appeared in Rhode Island, though, the factory village represented the nation's introduction to a new culture forged by machine technology and industrial capitalism, the "industrial order," as historian Jonathan Prude has termed it, that transformed the Western world in the nineteenth century.¹

As industrial archaeologists and historians have demonstrated, the early mill villages are invaluable artifacts that can illuminate the economic, social, and technological dimensions of the process of industrialization in nineteenth-

century America. To interpret these artifacts effectively, however, it is necessary first to perform some industrial archaeology, to strip away the successive layers of deposits and try to reconstruct the original context around the surviving features.

One of the characteristics of the early mill villages that must be understood for any attempt at contextual reconstruction was their newness—in the majority of cases, these communities had no existence prior to the construction of the first factory and workers' housing.² Constructed out of whole cloth, the villages were the intentional creations of the capitalists and their agents who built and administered them. They were physical expressions of a vision that emerged from attempts to satisfy the entrepreneur's economic ambition within the constraints imposed by technology, public opinion, and social conditions.

The nature of the new machine technology insured that the villages shared a basic substructure and that the factory operatives worked at the same range of tasks, but it was within the power of the owners and agents to determine the character of their villages to a large degree. The result was a considerable disparity between individual villages, with the so-called model villages of reform-minded manufacturers at one end of the scale and, at the other end, notorious com-

Richard Greenwood, presently employed at the Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, is a doctoral candidate at Brown University. Research for this article was supported in part by a grant from the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities.

1. See Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of the Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (New York, 1983).

2. For a fuller account of the origins of American industrial architecture, see William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*, vol. 3, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and Early Gothic Styles* (New York, 1980), 22-90, and Richard Candee, "New Towns of the Early New England Textile Industry," in Camille Wells, ed., *Perspectives on Vernacular Architecture* (Annapolis, 1982), 31-50.



The Blackstone River mills of Rhode Island and Massachusetts typified the industrial web that meshed worker, factory, and factory village into an almost seamless fabric of life for the better part of a century. Wood engraving, W. H. Gibson, del. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 131).

munities characterized by abusive labor practices, overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions, and a population that was overworked and undereducated even by the standards of a society that condoned child labor and the thirteen-hour workday.

The model factory villages are of particular interest because they embodied a distinctly American response to opponents of the industrial order who contended that the factory system would endanger the American republic by creating a demoralized proletariat under the domination of an aristocracy of wealth. The model villages were designed to provide blueprints for manufacturing in the New World by creating an environment where Americans working in factories could bolster their country's economic strength (as well as the private fortunes of the millowners) without sacrificing their own economic, political, or moral interests.

One of the foremost proponents of the model village concept in Rhode Island was Zachariah Allen, a member of a prominent Providence family and the owner of several textile factories, most notably the Allendale mill in North Providence and the Georgiaville mill in Smithfield. In his writings and in the architecture and design of the Allendale and Georgiaville villages, Allen left a valuable record of his attempts to establish factory villages where the workers would be indoctrinated into the new world of the industrial order, with its emphasis on the regimentation of time and labor, without losing their republican birthright.

Zachariah Allen (1795–1882) was born during the golden age of maritime commerce in Providence, but he lived most of his life in a city preoccupied with industry. He was a descendant on both sides of his family from the first generation of Euro-Americans who settled on the shores of

Narragansett Bay. His father, Captain Zachariah Allen, had been a successful merchant, and the capital he amassed provided a solid foundation for his three sons, Philip, Zachariah, and Crawford.

Zachariah was well educated, attending Philips Exeter Academy and Brown University, and he graduated from the latter in 1813. As a young man he spent much of his free time studying the natural sciences, and throughout his life he pursued the study of nature and its laws in a spirit of intellectual inquiry that went far beyond the practical concerns of the manufacturer. After an abortive attempt to study medicine and a brief, unsatisfying stint as a lawyer, he began what was to be a fifty-year career in textile manufacturing in 1822 by investing in a woolen factory.

Allen was following a well-established local trend in putting capital earned in commercial enterprise into industrial ventures. His older brother Philip had established his own mill ten years earlier, during the "cotton fever" that infected Rhode Islanders when the Jeffersonian

Embargo and the War of 1812 disrupted maritime commerce. His younger brother Crawford was to follow, entering into a manufacturing partnership with their brother-in-law, Sullivan Dorr, in 1832.

Unlike many merchants-turned-manufacturers, Allen possessed a serious interest in the new industrial technology, and his long career was marked by a series of inventions, innovations, and publications in the fields of textile manufacturing and civil engineering. Most of his inventions emerged from efforts to improve manufacturing techniques in his factories and were on the order of incremental refinements of power looms and cloth-finishing apparatus. In the field of power transmission, he invented a system of high-speed shafting with loose belts that eliminated the use of pulleys. Outside the factory, he developed a variable cutoff valve for steam engines that utilized a flyball governor. The valve never received widespread use, though several elements of his design were later incorporated into George Corliss's more sophisticated and successful variable cutoff valve.

Allen also made great contributions in the field of fire-preventive construction. In his mill at Allendale he adopted a variety of techniques for fire prevention, including slow-burning construction (the technique of building with fewer but more massive structural members to reduce the vulnerability to fire); roof shingles set in a bed of mortar; heavy fire doors; an external stair tower with a cistern on top that fed a sprinkler system; and a water-powered force pump with copper-riveted hose. In 1835 he founded Manufacturers' Mutual, the pioneer company in the factory mutual insurance system, which served to disseminate these and other techniques for improved factory construction throughout the country.

Allen's best-known publications were the *Science of Mechanics* (1829), a compendium of mechanical theory and practice, and *The Practical Tourist* (1835), which recorded his impressions of European society and manufactures. Other works included the theoretical *Philosophy of the Mechanics of Nature* (1852) and *Solar Light and Heat* (1879). As a stalwart proponent of public



Zachariah Allen (1795–1882). Steel engraving by Van Slyck and Company, Boston, c. 1870. RIHS Collection (Rhi X3 5082).

education and "useful entertainments," Allen also delivered numerous public lectures on topics that included the history and geography of America and Europe, astronomy, and other branches of pure and applied science.³

When Allen decided to begin a career in manufacturing, the country was still engaged in a debate over manufactures and the propriety of introducing the factory system into America's overwhelmingly agrarian society, a debate which had begun in the late eighteenth century.⁴ England, the first industrial nation, provided ammunition for the arguments of debaters on both sides of the issue. For those favoring manufactures, England provided a "splendid example" of the prosperity that resulted from the ingenuity and industry of mechanics and manufacturers. By adopting British machine technology, it was argued, the United States could enjoy its own prosperity, while circumventing its traditional labor shortage and freeing itself of dependence on European manufactures.

The opponents of an American factory system, on the other hand, pointed to the social conditions of manufacturing in England, where the factory system had produced a debilitated working class, wracked with disease, vice, and ignorance and crowded into dense and dirty cities. Few Americans could disagree that consequences such as these would prove fatal to the delicate balance of America's republican society, which depended on the independence, intelligence, and virtue of its citizens for its survival.

Allen's position in the debate was clearly on the side of manufactures, but he acknowledged the validity of some of the opposition's arguments while quickly dismissing others. To begin with, Allen rejected the agrarian notion that the farmer was inherently superior to the mechanic:

Is there more intelligence required in the laborer to turn the furrow and apply the manure, than to direct the shuttle or the movements of that powerful engine[,] the most splendid invention of man[,] which has contributed almost as much as the plough to necessities and conveniences of life. It is not the effeminate occupation of using the distaff of ancient times that is now understood by the term manufacture, but operations by which one man with the aid of machinery performs Herculean labours.⁵

Allen, who possessed the optimism characteristic of the Whig temperament, regarded the modern advances in technology as the fruits of a progressive era in which the human intellect, unhindered by superstition or prejudice, had applied itself to the study of nature and the solution of basic human needs. In this view, strongly imbued with the ideals of natural theology, the study of the science of mechanics was an enlightening and morally instructive pursuit, and mechanics were

a class of men whose professional labors lead them necessarily to the knowledge and practice of the natural and mechanical laws which are the manifest revelations of the will of God, the laws intended for governing all the mechanisms of His universe.⁶

Though he was secure in his arguments in favor of the innate worth of the mechanical arts and the virtue of the mechanic, Allen knew from firsthand experience the host of social ills that manufacturing had produced in Europe. In *The Practical Tourist* he wrote:

The most highly colored sketches of the moral depravity and vices of many of the laboring classes of Manchester [England], fall far short of the reality. . . . God forbid, however fondly the patriot may cherish the hope of increasing the resources of his country by opening and enlarging the channels of national industry, that there ever may arise a counterpart of Manchester in the New World.⁷

3. For these lecture notes and other manuscript materials, see the Zachariah Allen Manuscript Collection, Rhode Island Historical Society Library (hereafter cited as ZAMC).

4. Michael B. Folsom and Stephen Lubar, eds., *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

5. Zachariah Allen, "Memorial of the Woolen Manufacturers of Providence and Its Vicinity" (Providence, 1823; reprinted 1927), 8.

6. Zachariah Allen, "Notes of an Address in 1832 for the Purpose of Originating a System of Public Lectures for the Young Members of the Mechanics Association and the Apprentices and Workmen Employed by Them," ZAMC.

7. Zachariah Allen, *The Practical Tourist*, 2 vols. (Providence, 1835), 1:153, 155.

Allen felt, however, that the source of these conditions was not manufacturing, but rather the manufacturing environment. The problems of European industry he traced to preexisting conditions in those nonrepublican societies, particularly the relations between the employer and employee, and to the practice of manufacturing in cities, where physical and, especially, moral vices flourished. In Europe, many factory owners adopted a laissez-faire attitude and abdicated responsibility for their workers' welfare. Where no effort was made to uplift the working class, but only to exploit it, disastrous results were inevitable, Allen believed. But these problems would not arise in the United States, where republican institutions were strong and nearly all manufacturing establishments in the early 1820s were rural and, as he wrote, "sprinkled among the glens and meadows of solitary watercourses," operated by "the sons and daughters of respectable farmers, who live in the neighborhood of the works," who would work there only "for a time."⁸ In these "little villages or hamlets, which often appear to spring up as if by magic in the bosom of some forest, around the waterfall which serves to turn the mill wheel," Allen saw a particularly American form of manufacturing that he could describe in essentially romantic terms, one which drew its strength from the natural landscape and supported republican, agrarian society rather than supplanting it.⁹

The environmental sanctions for this kind of manufacturing were especially strong in his native region, as he wrote in *The Practical Tourist*:

It may be intended as a blessing that an all-wise Providence has denied to the barren hills of New-England the mines of coal, which would allow the inhabitants to congregate in manufacturing cities, by enabling them to have recourse to artificial power, instead of the natural water power so profusely furnished by the innumerable streams, that in their course to the ocean descend over beds furrowed in the rocks of an iron bound country.—Whilst a cold climate and an ungrateful soil render the inhabitants from necessity industrious, thus distributed in small

communities around waterfalls, their industry is not likely to be the means of rendering them licentious, and of impairing the purity of those moral principles, without which neither nations nor individuals can become truly great or happy.¹⁰

This benign image of the rural factory village that Allen painted addressed the question of manufactures on a relatively abstract level. In establishing his own factory, however, he had to deal more concretely with the fundamental implications that the factory system and the company-owned village posed for owners and operatives working out the terms of industrial life in the United States.

Relations between Allen and his work force were carried on within the general framework of republican ideology, the political faith that defined American society, though employer and employee brought their different interpretations into the factory. For Allen, the republican society offered freedom from the artificial distinctions established by political, social, and religious bigotry; but while it eliminated institutionalized inequalities and substituted freedom of opportunity, it did not eliminate distinctions based on merit or invalidate the concept of a deferential society. Allen likened the freedom of a republican society to a race where the members begin at the same starting line but thereafter rely on their own abilities. Whether the winners were of high or humble origins, their success was based on their own achievements and was therefore unassailable.¹¹

However, both the frontrunners and the rest of the pack had a common obligation to preserve their country and its institutions. For Allen, republicanism placed responsibilities both on himself and on his workers. While he assumed the responsibility of a good steward who had to use his wealth and position not just for profit but for social welfare, the work force had the responsibility of discharging their duties with a similar regard for the good of the enterprise. This meant maintaining self-discipline and a proper respect

8. *Ibid.*, 1:154.

9. *Ibid.*, 1:153.

10. *Ibid.*, 1:155.

11. Allen, "Notes of an Address in 1832."

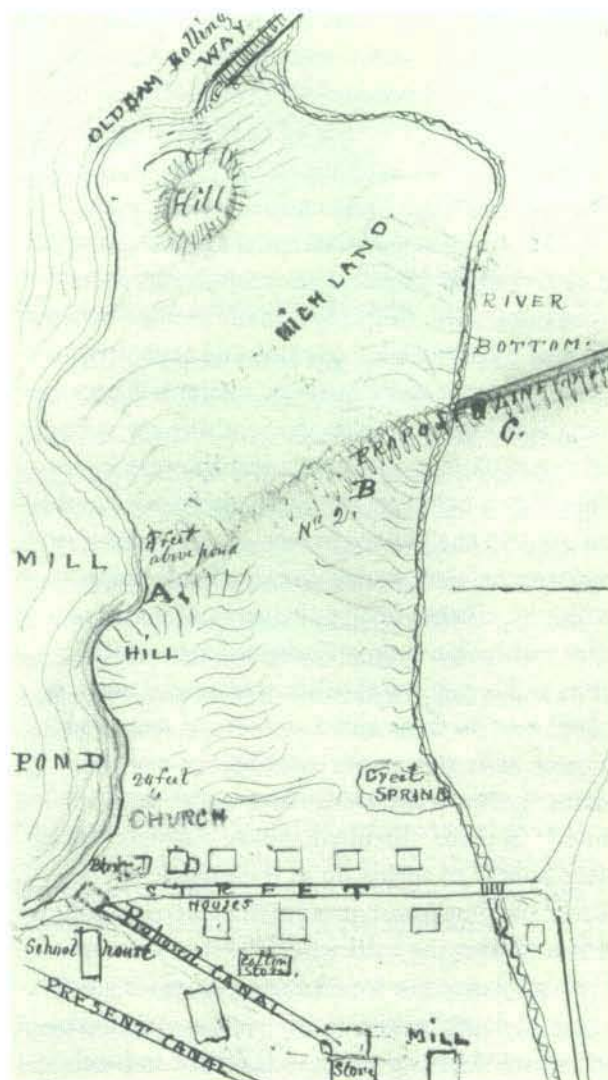
for the management hierarchy, while eschewing bad habits like intemperance, tardiness, and carelessness. This concept of reciprocal responsibility was the linchpin of Allen's paternalism.

For the workers, the appropriate republican canons called for a healthy respect for the worker's independence and a democratic suspicion of any possible tyranny of wealth and influence. They also held the owner to certain obligations, which were based on the concept of fair pay for a day's work, with fairness defined by consensus and tradition and not by the employer's fiat.

If, on the one hand, Allen had the opportunity to use his control over the community environment to secure a stable, industrious, and tractable work force, on the other hand he faced the task of trying to attract and retain the workers he needed to make his venture a success. He had to overcome the opprobrium that many Americans attached to factory work, and he had to compete with other employers in inducing the available operatives to work in his factory. Prevailing labor conditions and the attitudes of the American worker were to be constant factors in Allen's plans for his manufacturing villages.

Allen's first industrial community, the village of Allendale, was built in 1822 on the Woonasquatucket River in North Providence. It was small in size, consisting of a mill, a dyehouse, and three cottages, and it was conservative in style. Allendale was apparently modeled on Allenville, Philip Allen's factory village, which was located a short distance up the Woonasquatucket. Allenville was a mill village of comparable size that had been built in 1813 under the supervision of the Providence architect and builder John Holden Greene.¹² At Allenville, and at virtually all water-powered factories beginning with the eighteenth-century English textile mills, the village plan began with the waterfall as the focus and then grew out of the engineer's solution of the basic questions of where best to build the dam, dig the raceways, and erect the factory.

12. Zachariah Allen, *Diary, 1821-24*, 2 Mar. 1822, ZAMC.



Allen repeated the process of taking charge of the entire layout of the site each time he developed a new mill. Here is his sketch (a "preliminary survey of water power") of Georgiaville. Allen, *Diary*, 11 May 1853. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6147).

With these locations fixed, the housing was built in a convenient location, usually in a simple, orderly arrangement.

Zachariah Allen followed this procedure at Allendale, surveying and laying out the site with Philip Allen and a surveyor. He located the dam where he could capture the maximum fall (ten feet) without affecting the mill privileges above and below him, chose a site for the factory just below the dam, and laid out a short lane running

along the river just above the dam for the dwellings. Access to the site was by a driveway running to this lane across the intervening farmland from the turnpike to Providence (Smith Street). The construction of the village was the responsibility of local carpenter Benjamin Sweet, and perhaps also the Providence firm of house carpenters Tallman and Bucklin. The builders produced plain, solid buildings, derived from the vernacular tradition rather than any formal architectural style.

The mill itself (which is the eastern half of the present mill) was sixty feet by thirty-six feet and three and a half stories tall, larger than the norm for rural buildings, yet emphatically utilitarian in character. Built of local rubblestone with a light coating of stucco, the structure is an example of the plain masonry construction that typified northern Rhode Island mill buildings for most of the nineteenth century. Cheaper than brick or cut stone and possessing the same fire-resistant properties, rubblestone had been employed in Providence wharveside warehouses and similar utilitarian buildings at an early date. Rubblestone was readily available on or near most Rhode Island mill sites, and like other types of masonry it had the distinct advantage of providing sufficient mass for the mill structure to withstand the vibrations generated by textile machinery, particularly power looms. Rubblestone remained a preferred material for Allen throughout his career, and he reserved a special disdain for manufacturers who lavished their capital on hewn stone rather than this cheaper, but equally useful, alternative.¹³

The superficial conservatism of the Allendale architecture is most evident in the housing. The three identical frame cottages—one and a half stories high, three bays wide and two deep, with broad gambrel roofs—are late examples of a vernacular house form common to Rhode Island since the mid-eighteenth century. The presence of two internal gable-end chimneys instead of the traditional center chimney provides the only external clue that the houses were built as du-

plex tenements rather than as single-family dwellings. The internal arrangement of each house was distinctly nontraditional, with the first floor divided into two side-by-side apartments, with the entrance to one in the front and the entrance to the other in the rear. Each apartment had a front and a back room serving as parlor and kitchen, each with a large stone fireplace. On the second floor the house was divided by a central partition running the length of the structure, with each apartment having one small and two large bedrooms.

Modest is perhaps the best word to describe the overall design of the village. Hidden from public view, Allendale assumed its place in the landscape unobtrusively, its buildings emphasizing the continuity of indigenous building traditions, at least superficially. The work force of twenty-four men, women, and children was overwhelmingly Yankee, with a single Englishman. Approximately twenty workers boarded in the cottages; the four women workers seem to have come from the neighboring farms. There were, in addition, three local families employed in outwork—picking and cleaning raw wool at home.

At this initial stage, Allendale marked the embodiment of Allen's vision for American manufacturing. However, the promise of stability and cultural conservatism that the little community represented was challenged almost immediately by the ongoing process of industrialization.

Despite an uncertain beginning and periodic vicissitudes, Allen persisted in manufacturing and gradually enlarged his operations. In the first ten years he expanded his manufacturing capacity to the extent that the work force more than doubled. By 1832 he was employing thirty women, twenty-seven men, and ten children. The substantial increase in the number of women operatives was largely the result of Allen's substitution of power broad looms operated by women for hand broad looms operated by men. Allen undoubtedly had to look beyond the local farm population to fill the increased need for women operatives, and as the number of resident workers grew, he built three more gambrel-

13. *Ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1823.

roofed cottages alongside the original three. These new buildings preserved the hamlet's modest appearance, but this marked the upper limit of the original plan's capacity to guide future growth.

As Allendale continued to grow, it assumed a distinctly different appearance. Major changes began in the late 1830s when Allen switched from the production of woolen to cotton cloth and revamped the factory, more than doubling the building's size, with an addition on the west end and an external stair tower topped with a neoclassical cupola in the center of the facade. Architectural style became more pronounced and eclectic in the enlarged village, and an atmosphere of the picturesque began to prevail over the earlier bucolic simplicity. In addition to many new Greek and Gothic Revival buildings, the village acquired a central park, or green, and a large number of shade trees. Far from being the embryonic cluster of buildings that it was in 1822, Allendale in 1846 was a clearly defined village, with the mill at one end, a chapel at the other, and a green in the middle.

In establishing new institutions and a new environmental character that emphasized Allendale's identity as a distinct and separate community, Allen was acknowledging that his earlier plan of grafting the factory system onto the traditional rural New England society had encountered serious difficulties. Rather than abandon his ideal of a manufacturing society that still embodied the traditional virtues, he began treating the mill village as a society in microcosm, and he assumed the responsibility of providing it with the necessary constituent parts.

A basic problem was the simple one of size and scale; the enlarged Allendale represented a significant concentration of population. Some sorts of controls were necessary to avoid the amorphous, chaotic growth that Allen had observed in European manufacturing cities. Similarly, as the population grew, face-to-face contact

between workers and managers lessened, a change that increased the danger that immorality and vice might rear their ugly heads and productivity might suffer.

A second set of problems had more to do with general industrial conditions and the workers' response to the industrial order. Even as American industry was growing more prosperous and established as a fixture in the economy, its internal conditions were becoming unsettled. The industrious men and women of New England, though they may have been used to wresting their living from their "cold climate and ungrateful soil," had grown restive under prevailing labor practices and had begun to contest the existing balance of power in the workplace. The first generation of American factory workers had already experienced a form of culture shock as they left their traditional occupations, where work proceeded by natural and personal rhythms, and entered a world where work was performed according to the unchanging pace of the machine and the rigid time schedule controlled by the factory management. Once in the factory, they witnessed increases in the degree of mechanization and the work rate, which further decreased their control over their labor. The workers' antipathy for these alien conditions heightened as they encountered the economic cycle of industrial capitalism, in which overproduction and periodic depressions led to extended workdays, wage reductions, and layoffs. These problems affected the textile industry as a whole, but they were frequently exacerbated by avaricious manufacturers who ignored the evils growing up in their establishments in their pursuit of profits. In seeking to increase their control over the conditions of employment, workers resorted to turnouts, or strikes, against individual factory owners, and in the 1830s some pursued political means of redress, organizing the short-lived Workingman's party and a newspaper, the *New England Artisan*.¹⁴

14. See Gary Kulik, "Pawtucket Village and the Strike of 1824: The Origins of Class Conflict in Rhode Island," *Radical History Review* 17 (Spring 1978): 5-37, and Seth Luther,

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, 2nd ed. (New York, 1832).

The tensions in industrial relations, which were widespread in Jacksonian America, were compounded in Rhode Island by the struggle for constitutional reform and the enfranchisement of the nonfreeholding class, which included most industrial workers. While many of the manufacturers, including Allen, had long supported constitutional reform, in the crisis of the Dorr War in 1842 they sided with the Law and Order party, and against their more radical employees, in favor of civil order and the due process of law.

One of the manufacturers' responses to these strained conditions was to accentuate the institutional and authoritarian aspects of their establishments, a strategy that paralleled American society's eager adoption of the institutions of the penitentiary and the asylum as solutions for the problems of crime and mental illness. At Allendale the enlarged factory, with its church-like tower, was certainly a more assertive presence, and throughout the rest of the village the new buildings assumed a more dignified stature through the increased use of architectural style.¹⁵ However, the expressions of authority were only one aspect of Allen's paternalistic efforts to restructure the village environment. He also sought to foster a sense of community and shared purpose between worker and manager through the use of architectural and landscape design, as well as through the establishment of the institutions of church, school, and public green. As is always the case with paternalism, Allen assumed the right to decide what community values should be, though his personal beliefs precluded much of the arrogant assumption of power that the critics of industrialism assigned to "the lords of the loom."

The architectural style that Allen employed predominantly was the Greek Revival, which enjoyed a universal popularity in this country in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Its vogue had much to do with the desire of Ameri-

cans to express their national identity and affirm their cultural independence from Europe. The new Greek Revival buildings at Allendale, even though they were rather modest examples of the style, proclaimed themselves to be symbols of a new era of national progress, in contrast to the cottages of 1822, which spoke of a link with the indigenous folk traditions of agrarian New England.

Allen's preference for the Grecian mode had roots in his personal philosophy as well. In *The Practical Tourist*, in a critique of the Gothic architecture of York Cathedral, Allen remarked that the Grecian orders of architecture . . . lift their simple fronts in a more chaste style, as if to invite the most severe scrutiny of their faultless proportions, designedly modeled to combine beauty with utility.¹⁶

In its faithful adherence to the physical laws of nature, Greek architecture was, in Allen's eyes, deeply expressive of the same virtues that he found in the study of mechanics. By employing the Greek Revival mode throughout the village, Allen was trying to create an environment that would inspire his workers with the ideals associated with the style: beauty, utility, and patriotism.

The Greek Revival buildings at Allendale included the stone store built in front of the factory and six identical frame tenements, two and a half stories high with side-by-side entrances in the gable end. The latter buildings, which appear today as the not-too-distant ancestors of the ubiquitous three-decker apartment house of the late-nineteenth-century city, were built on the lane north of the original cottages and on the driveway leading to the turnpike.

Despite his criticism of the florid Gothic style, Allen built two Gothic Revival buildings as well, a chapel and school and a superintendent's cottage. The latter structure, designed by Tallman and Bucklin, provided an overt expression of the elevated status of its occupant in the hierarchy

15. John Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York, 1976), 55-106, and Gary Kulik, "A Factory System in Wood: Cultural and Technological Change in the Building of the

First Cotton Mills," in Brooke Hindle, ed., *Material Culture of the Wooden Age* (Tarrytown, N.Y., 1981), 300-335.

16. Allen, *The Practical Tourist*, 1:230.



Thomas Alexander Tefft executed a plan of the village schoolhouse in Allendale in 1848. Engraving from Henry Barnard, Report and Documents Relating to the Public Schools of Rhode Island for 1848 (Providence, 1849), 285. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6148).

of village society. With its modish and rather elaborate appearance, this house contrasted sharply with the other new residential buildings, in which uniformity of style and scale predominated.

In the Allendale chapel, the Gothic mode served primarily to enrich the small building with the impressions of age and venerability associated with the Christian tradition. Designed by the gifted Rhode Island architect Thomas Tefft, the stuccoed stone building evoked the small parish churches of England that Allen had admired during his travels.¹⁷ Its careful siting on

a wooded knoll overlooking the millpond on the northern edge of the village emphasized that the building, in its functions as both a chapel and a school, provided a spiritual counterpart to the "worldly toils" in the factory.

Whereas church affiliation in many mill villages was decided by the management, as a firm believer in the Rhode Island tradition of religious freedom Allen put the question of the chapel's sectarian affiliation up for popular vote. The majority of the villagers were in favor of a Freewill Baptist chapel, and although Allen found some of the evangelical Baptist attitudes out of harmony with his liberal Episcopalian views, the chapel became and remained a Baptist society. Allen contributed to the support of a preacher, and he made meeting places available to other de-

17. Margaret Ruth Little, "The Architecture of a Lamented Genius, Thomas Alexander Tefft" (M.A. diss., Brown University, 1971), 9, 285.

nominations in the village with an equal degree of toleration.¹⁸

The basement of the chapel contained a school-room furnished with a library of 400 volumes donated by Allen, and it was here that a Sunday school was conducted for the mill children. Unlike present-day Sunday schools, this school taught reading, writing, and the rudiments of an elementary education, albeit using the Bible and religious tracts as basic texts. Because it was open on Sunday, the one free day of the week, it represented the principal educational opportunity for full-time mill workers.

With its services, its school for children, its Bible classes for young adults, and its reading room for all, the chapel represented a major addition to the village's religious, educational, and social life. For Allen, moreover, the chapel's intrinsic merits were complemented by its role as a conservative cultural institution, one that he hoped would have a stabilizing influence on his employees. While some early Freewill Baptists had taken an adversarial stance toward factory owners who sought to assume temporal authority over their workers, in the 1840s the Baptist ministry was warning of intemperance and the "dangers of radicalism" in political as well as religious matters.¹⁹ Allen no doubt believed that the moral instruction and self-control promulgated in the chapel would encourage order and retard worker unrest. This was not a purely self-serving attitude, for Allen believed that the habits making a good worker would also tend to make a better individual. In Allen's eyes, self-improvement through industry, combined with intellectual and moral education, was a powerful formula for the advancement of the worker. The convenient congruence between his own interests and the goals he prescribed for his employees is illustrated in the following quotation from his "Address on the Value of Education":

It is in the power of almost every individual having young persons engaged under his superintendence, to confer inestimable blessings, by taking a decided personal interest in providing for their use a few good books, suited to their several capacities and to their business and prospects in life. Such benefactors will . . . receive an early return for their judicious liberality by inducing the workmen on whom they depend for faithfulness and sobriety in the discharge of their services to abandon frivolous and expensive amusements and to pass their leisure hours at home in reading. They will thus qualify themselves better to fulfill their moral obligations as men and their duties as artists in the vocations in which they may be engaged, and will have less inducement to spend their earnings, and oftentimes the property confided to them by their employers, in scenes of dissipation and debauchery.²⁰

In light of these sentiments, it is hardly surprising that one traditional community institution, the tavern, was prohibited in his village.

Though it is not readily apparent today, Allen carried out a major landscaping program at Allendale. Utilizing his experience as one of the country's first silviculturists, he planted mature locusts and other shade trees throughout the village. In the middle of the lane that passed in front of the original row of cottages, he laid out an elongated green, or common, which has largely disappeared with the subsequent widening of Woonasquatucket Avenue.

The shade trees and the green were obviously an effort to improve the natural amenities of the village, in the same way that the architectural design increased the attractiveness of the mill housing; but just as the design of the superintendent's villa served to objectify the occupant's higher status, the new landscape features had social functions as well. Allen had observed in his visit to Europe how public parks and promenades provided unique settings for the democratic mingling of all ranks of society, and he also knew how they offered recreational relief to the urban poor, and thus were among the few alternatives

18. Zachariah Allen, "Notes on Sectarianism" (n.d.), ZAMC.

19. See "11th Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Baptist Sunday School Association" (Providence, 1851), 4; *Minutes of the Rhode Island Association of Freewill Baptist Churches*

[Providence, 1862], 10; and J. M. Brewster, "Rise and Progress of the Freewill Baptists in Rhode Island," *Providence Journal*, 20 May 1880.

20. Zachariah Allen, "Notes of an Address on the Value of Education" (c. 1832), ZAMC.

to the alehouse. The shaded walks and the central green in Allendale were, in this way, designed to stimulate a sense of community by providing a common ground for social interaction.²¹

As an exercise in community planning, the improvements at Allendale were a major achievement for Allen. In his use of the assembled techniques of architectural and landscape design, he anticipated the program of village improvements that the country's leading architectural critic, Andrew Jackson Downing, was to propose in his *Rural Essays*. Significantly, in an essay of 1850 the author extolled the traditional New England village as the country's best model for community design.²² But while Allen was obviously influenced by his native environment, he was also inspired by the rural factory villages of Georgian England that he visited in 1826. Another visitor to England in 1826, the German architect Karl Friedrich von Schinkel, sketched a pleasing picture of the mills in the valley of the Stroud: "The factory buildings lie hidden at a distance under tall lindens, elms and larches and mingle with small churches which are equally picturesque in their setting."²³ By 1846 this harmonious blending of natural beauty with artificial improvements and textile factory with church described Allendale as well.

While the transformation of Allendale between 1822 and 1846 had been incremental, Allen was to develop a cohesive approach to mill village design by the time he was through. In his final essay at Georgiaville in Smithfield, he would employ the techniques of architecture, landscape design, and institution-building simultaneously in a unified program.

The 1840s were a prosperous decade for Allen and the cotton textile industry in general, and by the end of the decade he was planning to capitalize on his success with an expansion of his manufacturing operations. He decided to build a

large new mill, a move that was prompted in part by his need to "keep up with the times," as he put it.²⁴ In an industry that was increasingly dominated by large concerns, such as the corporation mills at Lowell and the multiunit firms of the Brown and Ives and Sprague families in Rhode Island, Allen felt he had to increase the scale of his operations to sustain his profits and remain competitive. In 1852 this combination of circumstances brought Allen to purchase the village of Georgiaville on the Woonasquatucket River just a few miles north of Allendale.

The Georgia Cotton Mill, one of the state's pioneer cotton mills, was established in 1813. At the time of Allen's purchase, the village consisted of a stone mill with two additions and fifteen houses of stone and frame. The houses, which included multiple-unit residences and small cottages built in a plain vernacular mode, were arranged in two linear groups on the main lane which ran between the factory and the millpond. The factory contained 7,700 spindles, and the work force totaled around 150 men, women, and children. By the time Allen's expansion was through, the industrial capabilities had increased twofold, with 16,650 spindles in the old and new mills, tended by 280 operatives.

Allen's plans for Georgiaville called for a new mill, housing for the enlarged work force, and a rehabilitation of the existing property. In order to obtain the additional waterpower he would need for a second mill, Allen purchased the Appleby gristmill privilege directly above Georgiaville, which allowed him to raise the height of the Georgiaville dam from seventeen to thirty-five feet. At the same time, the millpond grew from 40 to 122 acres.²⁵

Allen's preferred site for the new construction was a level meadow on the southern edge of the village, adjacent to the original mill. However, this site posed a major problem: it was more than 100 yards away from the waterfall that

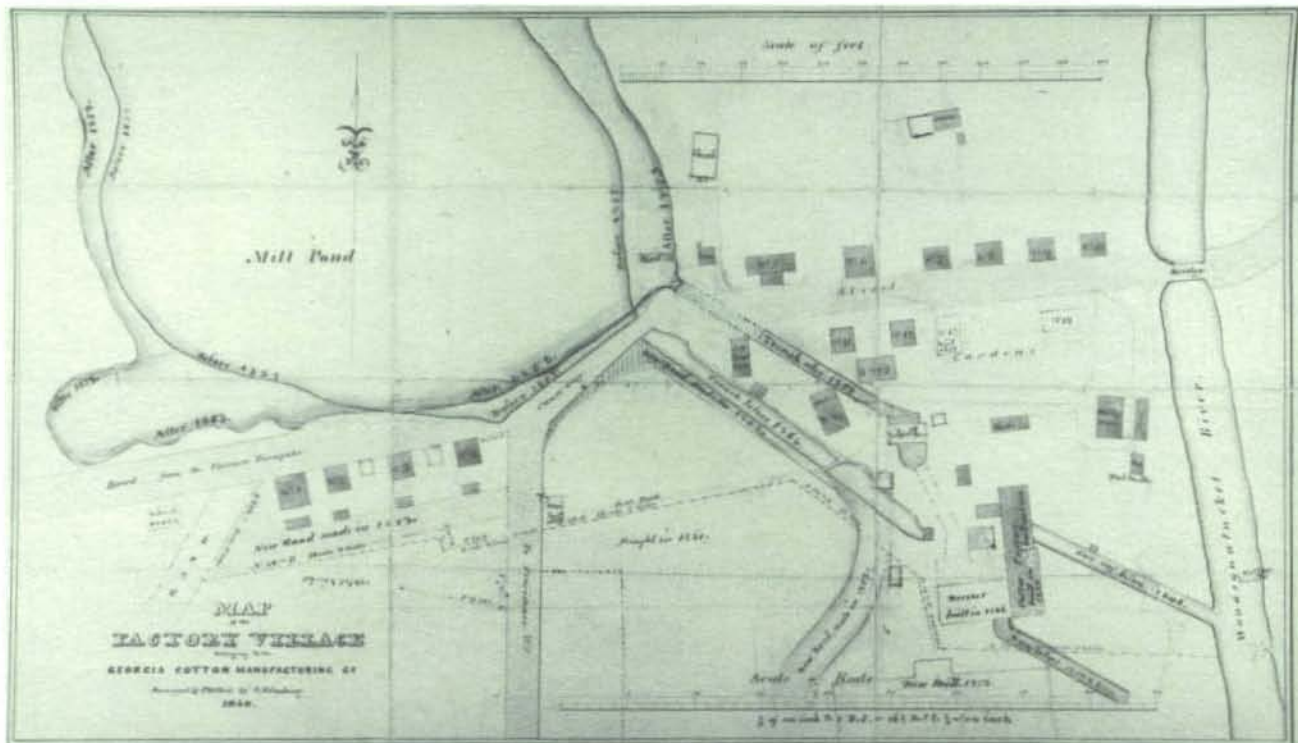
21. Zachariah Allen, "Public Squares, Advocated by Z. Allen" (n.d.), ZAMC.

22. Andrew Jackson Downing, "Our Country Villages," in *Rural Essays* (New York, 1853).

23. Quoted in Pierson, 36.

24. Zachariah Allen, "Memoranda of the Estimates and Calculations made by Z. Allen in relation to his purchase and Improvements of the Georgia Mill in the Village of Nightingale begun May 1, 1853" (1853-55), 22, ZAMC.

25. *Ibid.*, 4.



S. B. Cushing drew this map of the Georgia Manufacturing Company's village in Smithfield in 1840. The later notations were probably made by Allen. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 4681).

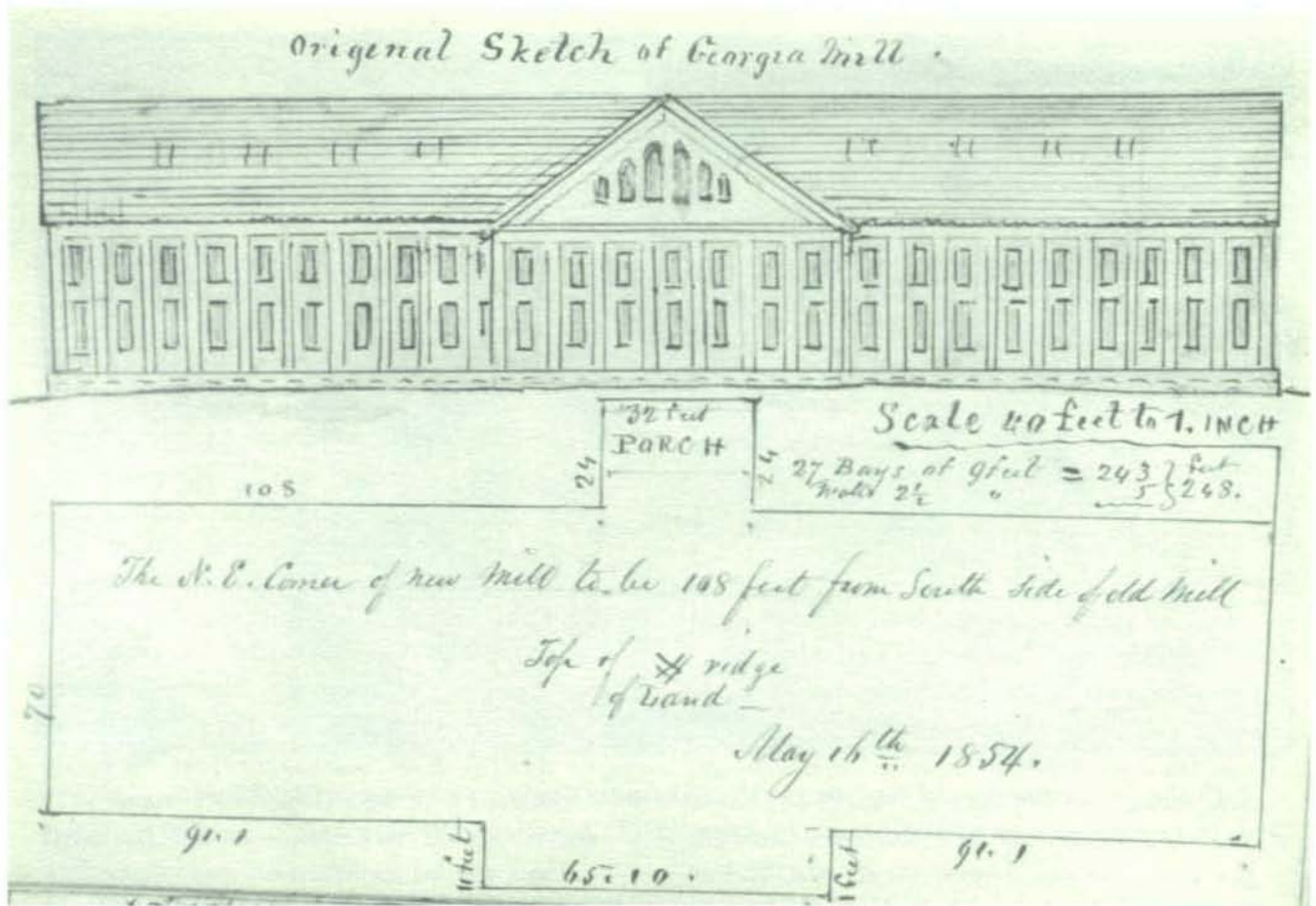
would provide the power. Through careful engineering, Allen was able to design a power-transmission system utilizing 389 feet of horizontal shafting that enabled him to transfer the mechanical power across the intervening distance from a separate wheelhouse to the new mill. By using this arrangement, he could take advantage of the better building site and avoid construction on the rocky slope next to the waterfall.²⁶ The three-and-a-half-story mill was erected in 1853, and two large boardinghouses were added shortly thereafter, with all three built of the customary stuccoed rubblestone. Allen seems to have designed the new buildings himself, judging by the drawings and plans he sketched in his diary. These drawings and the buildings that resulted reflect the increased attention that Allen gave to architectural expression in the process of mill engineering.

Because the new mill was on the southern edge of the existing mill yard, Allen used the

north side as its front. In the center of the north elevation he put a compactly designed external stair tower that contained the principal entrance to the mill as well as the first-floor counting room, an elevator, toilets, heating ducts, and, on top, a water tank for the mill's sprinkler system.

The southern elevation, though it was the rear of the building in functional terms, was also the most visible, and so Allen developed it as the public facade, making it the focus of his architectural design. The style he employed was a vernacular version of the neoclassical, like that used in the Allendale store: predominantly Greek Revival, but in this instance accented with rounded forms borrowed from Roman architecture. The new mill was 248 feet long and 70 feet wide, twice as big as the enlarged Allendale mill. While this vast expanse of stone wall might have become overwhelming, Allen broke up the monotony of plain walls with a modest but effective amount of ornament. Corner pilasters and a simply styled cornice enriched the factory walls, and in the center of the south facade a broad pa-

26. *Ibid.*, 21.



Allen's original sketch for the Georgia Mill. Allen, *Diary*, p. 20. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 4183).

vilion with shallow piers separating the long window bays served as a visual anchor for the design. In the pedimented gables that crowned the pavilion and the end walls, Allen added a stepped cluster of roundheaded windows that both provided a contrast to the rigid rectilinear geometry of the first three stories and helped light the attic story. While the bulk of the factory was covered with brown stucco, a coat of whitewash accentuated these ornamental touches.

The formal quality of the mill's southern facade was heightened by the two new boardinghouses that Allen built a short distance away from the mill, positioned so they framed the central pavilion when viewed from the south. Three stories high on raised basements, these apartmentlike buildings were designed, like the mill,

with a modicum of neoclassical styling. In the eastern building the ornament consisted principally of pedimented gables lit by solitary roundheaded windows. The western boardinghouse was further decorated with pier-and-panel walls and roundheaded windows on the third story. Allen originally planned to have separate boardinghouses for men and women, which may explain the differences in styling.²⁷

The appearance of the new complex was sufficiently satisfying to Allen so that he added a new front to the original Georgiaville mill in the same neoclassical style. This improvement, he declared, gave the old mill "a modern aspect and some degree of symmetry, corresponding with the appearance of the new mill."²⁸

After completing the new engineering system

27. *Ibid.*, 87.

28. Zachariah Allen, "Memoranda of Manufacturing Operations. . ." (1855-57), 242, ZAMC.

in all its particulars, Allen went on to carry out many of the environmental reforms he introduced at Allendale. Shade trees, principally horse chestnuts, were planted along the village streets and even around the mill. A site for a new chapel was provided on the shore of the millpond, and Allen donated \$1,000, a third of the construction costs, for building it. Completed in 1856 after a design by his son-in-law William Ely, this little Gothic stone chapel earned Allen's approval as being "exceedingly picturesque and beautiful."²⁹ As at Allendale, the chapel's sectarian affiliation with the Freewill Baptist Church was decided by public consensus. Before its completion Allen made the second floor of the new mill available for Sabbath services.

The village already had a schoolhouse, but Allen replaced it with a modern structure. Here he instituted evening classes for the mill workers, so that they might make profitable use of the free time they had gained by the shortening of the workday from twelve to eleven and a half hours.³⁰

In 1856 Allen was compelled to buy a two-acre meadow south of the mill, which had become partially flooded by water seeping from the enlarged millpond. He thereupon began to develop plans for converting the meadow into a "very ornamental central village square" with a small brook winding through it, a fountain fed by the millpond, and evergreens and other ornamental plantings. On the western border of this park he contemplated building another row of housing.³¹ The picturesque park he envisioned was in the modern tradition of romantic landscape architecture that had made its appearance in the United States relatively recently, principally in urban cemeteries like Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts (1831) and Swan Point Cemetery in Providence (1847). In 1856 the most famous of the American romantic parks, Central Park in New York City, was still in the formative stage, and though Allen's park would have been far more modest, the plans indicated the level of so-

phistication on which Allen was now pursuing his environmental design. The park—designed in the latest fashion, flanked on one side by the imposing new mill complex and on another by a row of housing that presumably would have been built in a complimentary design—would have given the village a formal, almost urban character, a marked departure from the simple plan of the Allendale green. The ambitious scheme was never to reach fruition, however, as Allen went bankrupt when his New York commission agent failed in the panic of 1857. This calamity put an end to the park, the new housing, and Allen's plans for a public reading room. In the spring of 1858 Allen wrote this despondent footnote to the earlier plans: "All these castles in the air have vanished."³²

However, Allen did not abandon his aim of providing village residents with some form of recreational resort; he simply lowered his sights and settled on a remote spot in the northeast corner of the village. Here, at the rollway where the Woonasquatucket River left the millpond and rushed down over a rock ledge, passing through a glade of tall hemlocks, was a picturesque spot already endowed with the restorative charms of Nature. Aside from transforming the ledge into a series of cascades through a careful process of quarrying, Allen preserved the spot in its natural state, intending it to serve as a romantic retreat and picnic grove for his workers. The location had the added advantage, from the workers' point of view, of being out of sight of the mill, but it was also a little too far away for them to visit comfortably during their thirty-minute lunch period (forty-five minutes in the summer), the only break in their eleven-and-a-half-hour workday.

Allen's bankruptcy in 1857 disrupted but did not destroy his manufacturing enterprise. His son-in-law, William Ely, obtained control of Allendale, while his brother Crawford Allen purchased the Georgiaville mill estate at auction and then turned its management back over to Zachariah. By 1863 Allen had recouped enough

29. *Ibid.*, 236.

30. *Ibid.*, 48.

31. *Ibid.*, 160, 161.

32. *Ibid.*, 168.



A label used by the Bernon Manufacturing Company of Georgiaville, 1868. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 208).

of his fortune to buy back a half interest in Georgiaville, and he and his brother continued to operate it as the Bernon Manufacturing Company until Zachariah's retirement in 1871.

Even though financial reverses forced Allen to forego some of his improvements, Georgiaville under his management was still an impressive example of a model mill village. The grand style and symmetrical design of the mill and flanking boardinghouses gave the new complex a monumentality surpassing that of any previous building at Georgiaville or Allendale. At the same time, picturesque landscaping enhanced the natural setting and preserved the rural atmosphere. The parklike quality of the village was emphasized in the view of the new mill that

Allen used on his cloth labels, which showed the imposing structure standing in a grassy mill yard dotted with a variety of trees and enclosed by a neat picket fence. And in addition to the obvious amenities of the village's carefully ordered environment, there were others, less apparent but no less important, such as a sanitation program that provided water closets, wet sinks, and drains in all the mill housing.³³

Allen augmented the physical attractions of the mill village with certain inducements and improvements in the working conditions in the factory. He had a general policy of offering wages that were higher than average in order to attract the best workers, and he also maintained a kind of merit system by which he encouraged employees to refine their skills and improve the manufacturing process. In at least one instance, he paid a mechanic a cash premium for the right

33. Zachariah Allen, "Estimated Cost of Improvements on the Georgia Mill Estate from 1858 to 1869" (n.d.), ZAMC.

to use an invention that was developed on company time.³⁴

In the realms of civil engineering, environmental design, and labor relations, Allen's effort at community planning was an apparent success, one that was singled out for favorable comment by writers of the day.³⁵ However, Allen's success was far from complete. For all his efforts at controlling the manufacturing environment in his villages, America's industrial development was proceeding by the actions of forces that were often beyond control. The erratic billows and falls of the economy were the most obvious examples of the ungovernable nature of industrialization.

The success of the textile industry had spurred its growth while heightening competition between manufacturers. The small-scale operation that Allen envisioned at the start of his career was rapidly losing its viability as millowners boosted production to compensate for reduced profit margins. As Allen expanded his operations to remain competitive, the small hamlet in forest solitude disappeared; with a resident work force nearing 300 people, by 1856 Georgiaville was one of the principal villages in Smithfield, and eventually it would become the seat of town government.

Yet as the industry expanded over the long run, it was still plagued by cyclical depressions. The often violent oscillations of the American economy could catch even a successful manufacturer like Allen off guard, as happened in 1857. Whether a panic or depression caused a manufacturer to shut his mills or run them on "short time," the resulting layoffs and wage reductions created tremendous hardships for the work force and accentuated the gap between employer and employee. As Allen experienced in 1857 and 1858, the extreme pressures exerted by these economic conditions outweighed the more subtle

inducements of his paternalistic programs and brought him into direct conflict with his striking employees. In these situations Allen's paternalism assumed a sterner appearance, and he used dismissals and evictions to maintain his control over the factory community.³⁶

Another factor that affected industrial relations, and every other facet of American society, was immigration. Not only had Allen's work force grown; it was changing in character as well. Undoubtedly there were still some sons and daughters of local farmers working in his factory, but a substantial and ever-growing proportion of the operatives were now foreign-born. These natives of Ireland, England, Scotland, and Canada brought with them their own traditions, their own religion, and in many cases a strong heritage of craft solidarity and resistance to what they felt to be overweening authority. At this juncture the earlier idea of a work force composed of farm girls on a temporary sojourn in the factory was being supplanted by the reality of a permanent industrial population, one characterized by ethnic diversity rather than shared cultural values.

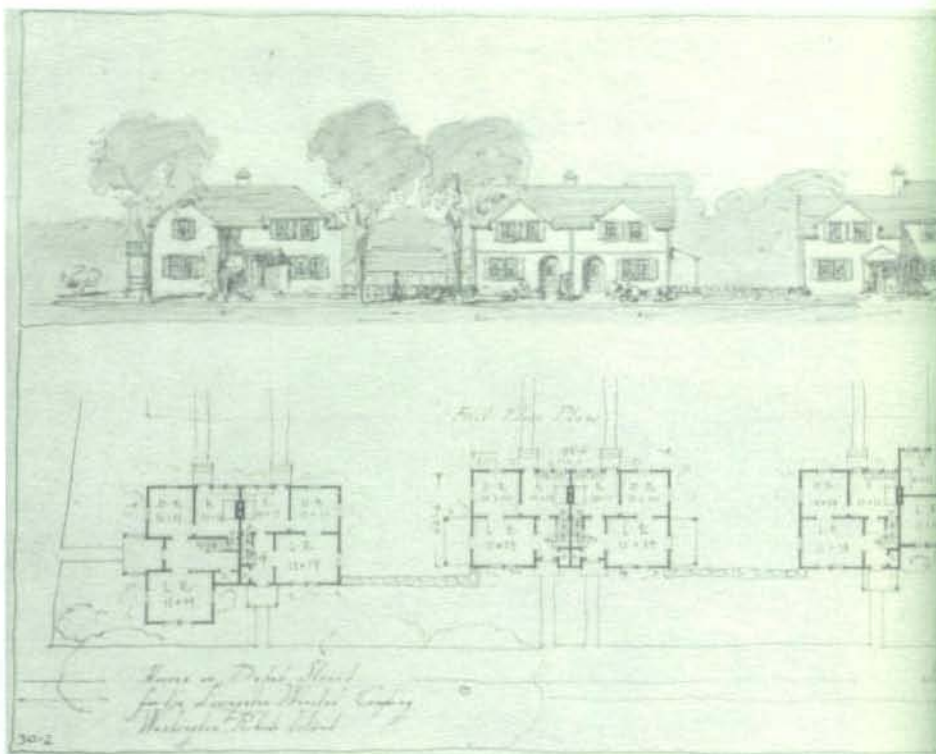
While Georgiaville of 1856 differed from Allendale of 1822 in several significant aspects, these fundamental changes to his original ideal of rural manufacturing did not destroy Allen's vision. Rather they confirmed him in his belief that a strong paternalistic approach was necessary to control industrialization, to harness its economic benefits while neutralizing its social liabilities. For Allen, the model factory village remained critical from a managerial point of view as an effective institution for indoctrinating workers in industrial discipline and eliciting maximum productivity. Allen also retained his faith in the intrinsically progressive nature of the new machine technology and in the ability of factory work to provide an education in the rational operation of the universe. By instilling dis-

34. Allen, "Memoranda of Manufacturing Operations," 50; "Manufacturing Villages," newspaper clipping in Scrapbook, c. 1856, ZAMC; reminiscences of Robert C. McCormick reported in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 19 May 1918, sec. 6, p. 8.

35. "Manufacturing Villages."

36. Zachariah Allen, *Diary*, 1857-60, 211, 213, 214, 297, ZAMC.

This 1922 architectural drawing by Albert Harkness shows proposed worker housing on Depot Street in the village of Washington, Coventry, for the Livingston Worsted Company. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 4145).



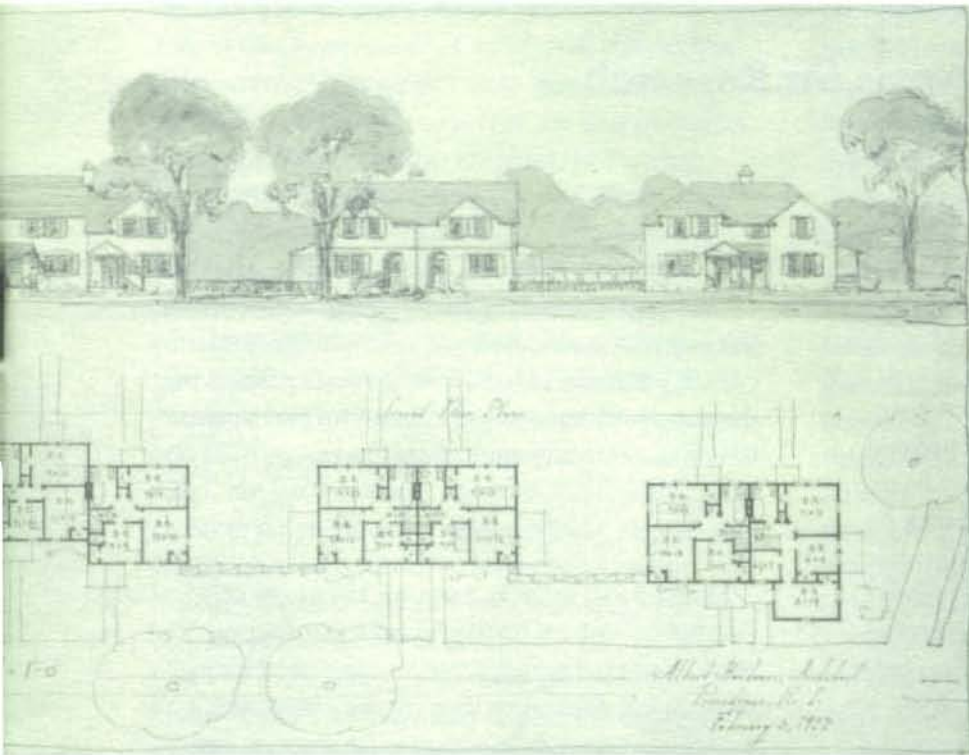
cipline and providing an enlightening education, the factory village could be a potent force for acculturating the new immigrants and correcting the apparent superstition and irrationality of the preindustrial culture they brought with them.

The dangers that arose in the absence of these paternalistic controls had become all too apparent to Allen in Providence and other eastern cities, where the steam engine had made possible the development of urban manufacturing. Just as he had witnessed in England in 1825, the urban industrial worker was being exploited in the factory and neglected outside it. Wages were depressed to near-subsistence levels, and public education and welfare were largely ignored. In Allen's words, "The rich [had become] practically accustomed to consider the poor as so many living machines to operate for their profit or pleasure." If the rich continued to grind the poor and abdicate their responsibilities as stewards, he believed, the failure of the republican experiment and a decline into feudal barbarism were imminent.³⁷

Allen ended his manufacturing career in 1871, half a century after he had launched his enterprise at Allendale. In his retirement he looked back on the mill estates he had built up and the contributions he had made to industrial practice with a strong sense of achievement. Yet once he relinquished control at Georgiaville, it became apparent how much the model factory concept was dependent on personal vision and commitment. The new manager possessed none of Allen's concerns for the village as a social entity, but treated it solely as a source of profit or loss. Though the physical appearance of the village changed little, the sense of community and shared purpose that Allen had fostered evaporated, at least for the time being.

Nonetheless, the concept of the model factory village was far from extinct. The design techniques that Allen and similar-minded manufacturers like the Hazards in Peace Dale had developed were already being used by the professional architects and managers who were building the large company towns of the late nineteenth century, and they have continued to form the foundation of the new towns and planned communities

37. Allen, "Public Squares Advocated by Z. Allen," 9.



of the present day.³⁸ In contrast to the longevity enjoyed by these principles of environmental design, however, the paternalistic ethos that underlay the model village of the nineteenth century now seems alien and autocratic. Yet even as we pass judgment, Allen's case history

should remind us that paternalism, whatever its faults, could be the constructive product of power wielded with a sense of social responsibility, at a time when social responsibility was often left outside the countinghouse door.

38. See John Garner, *The Model Company Town: Urban Design through Private Enterprise in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, Mass., 1984) for a discussion of the model industrial community in the late nineteenth century.

Contrast his comments on the lack of planning in the mill villages built in the first half of the century with the history of Allendale and Georgiaville.

Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research

William M. Ferraro

I

The towns of Rhode Island essentially rim an urban core centering in Providence. Peripheral geographically, the towns similarly have been relegated to the edges of historical research on Rhode Island. This observation has particular validity in the area of twentieth-century town government history. State politics and party realignment, the industrial cities and their ethnic laboring classes, have been and are receiving substantial scholarly attention,¹ but the towns must also receive their due.²

Having identified the "where" as Rhode Island towns and the "when" as the twentieth century, I propose to establish paths of inquiry into this beckoning frontier along the lines of the three remaining classic historical questions—who, what, and why. These paths are meant to encourage research that will eventually link up into a rich and thorough understanding of town government participants, practices, and patterns amid

the fast-paced economic, social, political, and cultural changes of the present century. Knowing the supply of sources is the necessary prerequisite to undertaking any such exploration.

II

Multifarious sources exist for the study of twentieth-century Rhode Island town government history. Though there is some overlapping, these break down into three major categories: general-use sources, town-specific sources, and formal monographs. The sources themselves have distinct strengths and weaknesses, and the diligence and imagination of the researcher will determine their actual value. Selective commentary can only hint at the potential uses and overall value of any individual source.

Among general-use sources, *Rhode Island: A Bibliography of Its History*, edited by Roger Parks, stands as the obvious starting point. This cross-indexed volume contains over 4,000 entries

William Ferraro is a teaching fellow in the American Civilization Program at Brown University. Research for this article was supported in part by a grant from the Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities.

1. See, for example, John D. Buerker, "Urban Liberalism in Rhode Island, 1907-1919," *Rhode Island History (RIH)* 30 (1971): 34-51; Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), 172-227; Neal R. Peirce, *The New England States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 141-81; Erwin L. Levine, *Theodore Francis Green: The Rhode Island Years, 1906-1936 and Theodore Francis Green: The Washington Years, 1937-1960* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1963 and 1971); Elmer E. Cornwell, "Party Absorption of Ethnic Groups: The Case of Providence, Rhode Island," *Social Forces* 38 (1960): 205-10; Matthew J. Smith, "Rhode Island Politics, 1956-1964: Party Realignment," *RIH* 35 (1976): 49-61; Jay S. Goodman, *The Democrats and Labor in Rhode Island, 1952-1962* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1967); Elmer E. Cornwell et al., *The Rhode Island General Assembly* (Washington, D.C.:

American Political Science Association, 1970); Paul Buhle, ed., "Working Lives: An Oral History of Rhode Island Labor," *RIH* 46, nos. 1 and 2 (1987).

2. In an effort to achieve consistency, this essay adheres strictly to its focus on twentieth-century Rhode Island towns, according them a place in tables and generalizations only during their existence as towns. The following alphabetical list is a complete enumeration: Barrington, Bristol, Burrillville, Charlestown, Coventry, Cranston (until 10 March 1910), Cumberland, East Greenwich, East Providence (until 1 December 1958), Exeter, Foster, Glocester, Hopkinton, Jamestown, Johnston, Lincoln, Little Compton, Middletown, Narragansett (since 28 March 1901), New Shoreham, North Kingstown, North Providence, North Smithfield, Portsmouth, Richmond, Scituate, Smithfield, South Kingstown, Tiverton, Warren, Warwick (until 21 April 1931), Westerly, West Greenwich, and West Warwick (since 14 March 1913). Of course, approaches and insights related to these towns may be applicable to Rhode Island cities and the state government as well.

organized under state, county, and town headings, and having been issued in 1983, it is still reasonably current.³ The book's main defect (which is no fault of its compilers) is that the lists of entries under the town headings are short, and among these lists titles addressing colonial, Revolutionary, or nineteenth-century history predominate. A similar imbalance characterizes the massive multivolume Rhode Island histories written or edited during the first third of the twentieth century by Edward W. Field, Thomas W. Bicknell, and Charles C. Carroll. Carroll's work, the latest and least biased of the three, most rewards perusal, but on the whole these histories hold little of value for research on twentieth-century Rhode Island town government history.⁴ Professor William G. McLoughlin's *Rhode Island: A Bicentennial History* merits attention for its sure grasp of social, religious, economic, political, technological, and cultural factors influencing Rhode Island's history; but resting on secondary studies, this book too gives negligible weight to recent town government history.⁵

This survey of pertinent general-use secondary sources shows the importance of primary materials to twentieth-century Rhode Island town government research. Several readily available general-use sources warrant notice. The *Providence Journal Almanac* (1886–) is a mine of information. It contains town officer rosters, election results, tax and valuation data, and population statistics for each town, and it presents and updates this information annually. Charts and tables indicating trends and shifts in these areas may easily be tabulated from this material

for any segment of the twentieth century. Information from the *Providence Journal Almanac* may, and sometimes should, be supplemented with figures from the Rhode Island or United States censuses, but in many cases the *Providence Journal Almanac* saves the researcher the tedious task of locating town statistics for census tracts not aligned with town boundaries, statistics often buried in rolls of microfilm. Local libraries should keep back issues of this annual reference volume.⁶ Another important general-use reference, nearly as valuable as the *Providence Journal Almanac*, is the General Assembly's *Rhode Island Manual* (1869–), which also prints voting records and features brief biographies of the Assembly's senators and representatives.

Other important general-use sources augment the sweep of facts available in the *Providence Journal Almanac* and *Rhode Island Manual*. Newspapers are both the least accessible and potentially the richest of these items. Fortunately, the Rhode Island Historical Society holds microfilm for virtually every newspaper ever published in Rhode Island. Central holdings, however, do not ease the needle-in-a-haystack process of finding information in an unindexed newspaper, though having in mind a specific incident or date relieves some of the burden. Succor also may be obtained at the *Providence Journal* office library, where indexers maintain a topical clippings file for each town extending back about twenty years, or at town libraries, where an index of the local paper may have been compiled.⁷

While newspapers possess potentially vast

3. Roger Parks, ed., *Rhode Island: A Bibliography of Its History*, vol. 5 of *Bibliographies of New England History* (Hanover, N.H., and London: University Press of New England, 1983). See also George H. Kellner and J. Stanley Lemons's foreword to this volume, "An Appraisal of Rhode Island Historiography."

4. Edward W. Field, ed., *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century: A History*, 3 vols. (Boston and Syracuse: Mann Publishing Co., 1902); Thomas W. Bicknell, *The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, 3 vols. (New York: American Historical Society, 1920); Charles C. Carroll, *Rhode Island: Three Centuries of Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1932).

5. William G. McLoughlin, *Rhode Island: A Bicentennial History. The States and the Nation Series* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

6. Errors occasionally find their way into the *Providence Journal Almanac*. Information, especially town official rosters, should be checked against local records whenever possible.

7. Neither of these avenues is without its drawbacks. The *Providence Journal* office library limits patrons to an hour or two of use per day, and local newspaper indices often stop abruptly when the compiler leaves the area or no longer has sufficient time or interest.

quantities of information in well-hidden recesses, *Rhode Island Acts and Resolves* and *General Laws of Rhode Island* possess limited amounts of readily accessible information. General Assembly legislation and state laws most often speak to procedural aspects of town government or conclude town issues either insignificant or important mainly within town boundaries. These state legal records have their greatest value as frames for testing or questioning town government activities rather than as ends in themselves.⁸

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), *Rhode Island: A Guide to the Smallest State*, American Guide Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937) and the state map published annually by the Rhode Island Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Promotion Division, round out the significant general-use sources for twentieth-century Rhode Island town government research. The WPA guide evokes a tangible sense of the state at a pivotal point in time, while the Rhode Island map illustrates spatial relationship and factors frequently bearing upon town government actions. Physical geography brings concreteness to historical research and thought.

While general-use sources merely whet the appetite of the researcher interested in a particular town or group of towns, town-specific sources can satisfy even the most ravenous historical appetite. Town records rank foremost among the town-specific sources. These records encompass town meeting and council minutes, probate and land evidence, tax books, and any other miscellaneous reports, correspondence, or documents held in the town vault. Town clerks control these records and have the legal responsibility to make them available to the public upon request. Typewritten in most towns since the mid-1920s, town meeting and council minutes present the most attractive and accessible material for the



Members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at a luncheon meeting in 1954. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6144).

twentieth-century town government researcher, though such minutes will yield sparingly unless combed through with care.⁹

Intriguing stories and patterns invisible to the casual glance emerge under close scrutiny. A case from my examination of the Portsmouth records suggests the truth of this claim. From 1910 through 1921 a running battle was waged in Portsmouth between the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and victualing establishments allegedly violating local liquor ordinances and operating slot machines. Multiple entries in the council minutes over this twelve-year span tell a story of the town council acting

8. The compilations of *General Laws of Rhode Island* used in the twentieth century are those of 1896, 1909, 1923, 1938, and 1956. There have been reenactments and changes in the laws since 1956, but no new compilation has yet been issued.

9. Some towns now record town meeting and town council proceedings on tape. These provide a verbatim record but are not very easy to use.

the role of a mediator reconciling the interests of the two parties. The council hired special constables for suppressing the sale of liquor, ordered the town sergeant to investigate WCTU charges, examined victualing and entertainment license applications more thoroughly, and—in a move probably aimed at embarrassing the WCTU into less rancorous protest and greater discretion—stopped a meeting on 13 September 1920, after receiving yet another communication from the WCTU regarding slot machines in operation at Island Park, Portsmouth, and immediately went with the town sergeant “to Island Park, searching fourteen holders of Victuallers licenses but finding no machines.”¹⁰

Taken individually, any given entry relating to this dispute may seem of no great consequence, but grouped together the entries show town officials grappling with practical government problems and developing a town morals policy. The plot thickens with the inclusion of other council decisions during the period to ban Sunday ice cream peddling and to prohibit second-hand article dealers from selling wares to minors.¹¹ Provocative town government minutes may be spun into a historical web that supports analytical positions and leads to further inquiries.

Time spent in town clerks' offices should familiarize the researcher with town government activities over time and identify the most useful approaches to the town-specific sources found in local historical societies. Scrapbooks, photo albums, pictures, oral history transcripts and tapes, and ephemeral papers make up the usual local historical society collection. These sources have variable value for town government history.

Scrapbooks containing conscientiously gathered clippings on specific issues or topics can save many tedious hours of searching through newspaper microfilm or files. Personal letters or diaries may provide perspectives and shades of meaning not found in official records or formal accounts. The scattered nature of their collections and often irregular hours detract from the value of local historical societies as research sites, but they (and the town historical sections in some local libraries) are worth consulting. [See Appendix A for a listing of Rhode Island town clerks' offices, town libraries, and local historical societies.]

The largest grab bag among sources for twentieth-century Rhode Island town government research consists of formal monographs. With these items, luck plays nearly as important a role as scholarly instincts and good sense. Much of this monograph material takes the form of annual reports, statistical compilations, or planning projections. Since the 1950s the Rhode Island Development Council and its successor, the Rhode Island Department of Economic Development, periodically have issued “surveys” of the individual towns and cities in the state. Aimed at encouraging economic activity in the state, these profiles offer snapshots of a town's economic and governmental situation at distinct points in time. The challenge for the researcher is to connect, put in motion, or otherwise bring life to these snapshots.¹² Though not necessarily treasure troves, the reports of other state boards, commissions, and departments may yield bits of significant information.¹³ Unlike the economic development monographs that neatly organize in-

10. Town of Portsmouth, Council Records 14 (10 Oct. 1910), 108 (3); (12 May 1913), 233 (3); Council Records 15 (13 Sept. 1920), 217–18.

11. Town of Portsmouth, Council Records 15 (28 June 1917, special meeting), 100; (13 Dec. 1916), 80.

12. Louis P. Virgadamo, ed., *Rhode Island Cities and Towns: An Economic Survey*, 2 vols. (Rhode Island Development Council, 1953) began these publications. Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein, *Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1953) is another valuable source for economic and demographic data.

13. The range and extent of the annual state reports is

suggested by *Report of Industrial Statistics, Rhode Island*, annual vols., 1887–1916, superseded by *Rhode Island Department of Labor, Annual Report*, 1917–58; *Rhode Island Public Utilities Commission, Annual Report*, 1913–37, superseded by *Rhode Island Department of Revenue and Regulation, Annual Report*, 1938–40, superseded by *Rhode Island Public Utilities Administration, Annual Report*, 1941–74; *Reports of the Rhode Island School Commissions*, 1845–63, superseded by *Rhode Island School Report*, 1865–1921; *Rhode Island State Board of Agriculture, Annual Report*, 1887–1922; *Rhode Island Department of Public Works, Annual Report*, 1935–64; and *Rhode Island State Board of Public Roads, Annual Report*, 1903–34.

formation by town, the state bureau annuals tend to organize information topically or chronologically, intermixing town data indiscriminately. If the researcher musters sufficient fortitude, however, these sources reveal easily overlooked or forgotten interactions between the state and local governments.

Some other formal monograph publications must be mentioned also. From 1960 to 1976 the Rhode Island Bureau of Government Research (RIBGR), stationed at the University of Rhode Island, produced series of studies focused on improving administrative efficiency in local and state government. These are sporadically applicable to town government history. *Rhode Island Local Government: Past, Present, Future*, edited by Robert W. Sutton, Jr., compels attention for the breadth of its contents and contentions. [Appendix B lists the major published products of the RIBGR.] Directed at material culture and architectural heritage rather than town government, the recent Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission pamphlets on selected towns still may be consulted profitably for insights into the contexts surrounding town government processes. Lastly, the several town histories published in or about 1876 for the United States centennial or from the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century to commemorate a notable town anniversary may contain a nugget or two of useful information and generate momentum for looking into twentieth-century town government topics.¹⁴

14. A partial list of these town histories includes David Sherman Baker, Jr., *An Historical Sketch of North Kingstown* (Providence: E. A. Johnson, 1876); Welcome A. Greene, *Historical Sketch of the Town of Lincoln* (Central Falls: E. L. Freeman, 1876); Rev. S. S. Griswold, *An Historical Sketch of the Town of Hopkinton* (Hope Valley, R.I.: Wood River Advertiser Press, 1877); William Franklin Tucker, *Historical Sketch of the Town of Charlestown* (Westerly: G. B. and J. H. Utter, 1877); C. C. Beamon, *An Historical Sketch of the Town of Scituate, Rhode Island* (Phenix, R.I.: Capron & Campbell, 1877); D. H. Greene, *History of the Town of East Greenwich and Adjacent Territory, from 1677 to 1877* (Providence: J. A. & R. A. Reid, 1877); Oliver Payson Fuller, *The History of Warwick, Rhode Island, from Its Settlement in 1642 to the Present Time* (Providence: Angell, Burlingame & Co., 1875); *Livermore's History of Block Island, Rhode Island* [1877; reprint ed., Block Island Committee of Republicanism for the Block Island Tercentenary Anniversary, 1961];

As this survey of sources tries to show, twentieth-century Rhode Island town government history incorporates extensive and varied terrain. Plowing through books, records, and tables haphazardly will fatigue even the gamest researcher. With an eye on easing entry into the field and its most fertile grounds, the remainder of this piece will concentrate on the "who," "what," and "why" questions that best initiate and guide research efforts.

III

Government without people provides little basis for discussion except in theoretical terms, so it seems appropriate to establish paths of inquiry first with "who" questions. During the period under consideration the fabled Yankees dominated the typical Rhode Island town historical landscape. They made town meeting government work and set its frugal and taciturn style. During the muckraking era early in the twentieth century, however, these often extolled Yankees came in for their share of abuse. Journalist Lincoln Steffens, Bishop William N. McVickar, and historian Irving B. Richman alleged rampant political corruption among old-stock residents in the rural towns and denounced these same citizens as depraved and heathen.¹⁵ These charges should be followed through in individual towns and either confirmed or refuted or, even better, explicated and explained. Did political machinations involve only leaders, or

and Henry J. Peck, *200th Anniversary of Warren, Rhode Island: Historical Sketch* (Warren, 1947).

15. Lincoln J. Steffens, "Rhode Island: A Corrupted People—Showing That American Citizens Can Be Bought (Cheap) to Sell Out Their Cities and States," in his *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906; reprint ed., New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968), 120–60; "Rhode Island: A State for Sale," *McClure's Magazine* 24 (Feb. 1905): 330–53; and "Rhode Island: The Good Old American Stock," in *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931), 2: 464–69. William N. McVickar, ed., *To the People of Rhode Island: A Disclosure of Political Conditions and an Appeal for Their Reform* (articles reprinted from the *New York Evening Post*, n.d. [1903?]). Irving B. Richman, *Rhode Island: A Study in Separatism*. American Commonwealths (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905), 325–28.

Table 1
Party Voting in Rhode Island Towns, Selected Gubernatorial Races, 1902–1986

This table presents town voting results for gubernatorial elections at four-year intervals. Annual gubernatorial elections took place until 1912; elections since 1912 have been every two years. See the footnote on the tables for general evaluative guidelines.

Year	Total Town Votes for Governor	Town Republican Votes for Governor	Town Republican Vote %	Town Democratic Votes for Governor	Town Democratic Vote %	Total State Vote for Governor	% Total Town Vote for Governor
1902	21,154	11,958	54.0	9,196	41.6	59,792	37.0
1906	25,038	13,978	55.8	11,060	44.2	66,501	37.7
1910	22,803	12,664	55.5	10,139	44.5	67,622	33.7
1914	25,662	15,584	60.7	10,078	39.3	78,023	32.9
1918	26,054	15,446	59.3	10,608	40.7	80,361	32.4
1922	51,780	27,944	54.0	23,836	46.0	158,410	32.7
1926	54,614	32,960	60.4	21,654	39.6	166,199	32.9
1930	70,175	40,687	60.0	29,488	40.0	221,780	31.6
1934	73,128	35,253	48.2	37,875	51.8	247,685	29.5
1938	87,481	52,714	60.3	34,767	39.7	311,289	28.1
1942	70,245	34,681	49.4	35,564	50.6	238,148	29.5
1946	86,616	45,067	52.0	41,549	48.0	275,341	31.5
1950	99,123	46,035	46.4	53,088	53.6	296,809	33.4
1954	114,695	52,870	46.1	61,825	53.9	328,670	34.9
1958	128,978	69,331	53.8	59,647	46.2	346,780	37.2
1962	114,034	62,086	54.4	51,948	45.6	327,506	34.8
1966	122,636	81,391	66.4	41,245	33.4	332,064	36.9
1970	136,255	72,720	53.3	63,535	46.7	346,341	39.3
1974	135,826	33,950	30.0	101,876	70.0	321,660	42.2
1978	135,550	48,923	36.1	86,627	63.9	314,363	43.1
1982	151,806	43,256	28.5	108,550	71.5	336,661	45.1
1986	149,477	103,062	68.9	46,415	31.1	313,326	47.7

did they involve voters as well in the thinly populated towns? Did cooperation with Republican "Boss" Brayton exemplify personal and moral depravity, or Yankee nativist fears, or logical efforts to preserve Yankee control and traditional local autonomy in the towns?

The ethnic immigrant influx intertwines intimately with Yankee political behavior during the early and middle twentieth century. Portuguese in Newport County, Italians in Providence and Kent counties, French Canadians in Woonsocket and the neighboring towns, and pockets of Scandinavians and eastern Europeans in Hope Valley and western border towns put pressure on accustomed town government arrangements. What was initial town government reaction to these newcomers? How did ethnics influence town government, and through what processes did they gain acceptance? The rate of ethnic election

to town offices viewed in conjunction with population figures suggests answers to these questions. Another measure of the ease or difficulty of ethnic absorption may be drawn from property and employment records. Until 1973 the Rhode Island Constitution withheld town meeting voting privileges on any question related to expenditures or imposition of a town tax from any person not owning property in the town valued at \$134. Ethnics who hired out as farm or day laborers had little political incentive or power. Ethnics could wedge their way into town government only through property ownership. A few studies of Portuguese immigrants in Rhode Island may assist researchers in certain instances,¹⁶ but work addressing ethnics and town government must rest principally on fresh primary research in demographic, tax, and electoral records.

16. See, for instance, Donald R. Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England* [Portsmouth, R.I., and Fall River, Mass.], *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*,

no. 241 (New York: Columbia University, 1923) and Betty Ussach, "The Portuguese in Rhode Island" (master's seminar paper, Providence College, 1973).

Table 2
Party Voting in Rhode Island Towns, Intraparty Comparison, 1902–1986

This table compares partisan voting in the towns against partisan voting in the cities for Rhode Island gubernatorial elections. The same four-year interval as in table 1 has been followed. See the footnote on the tables for general evaluative guidelines.

Year	Total Republican Votes	Town Republican Votes	Town % of Republican Votes	Total Democratic Votes	Town Democratic Votes	Town % of Democratic Votes
1902	24,541	11,958	48.7	32,279	9,196	28.5
1906	31,877	13,978	43.8	33,195	11,060	33.3
1910	33,540	12,664	37.8	32,400	10,139	31.3
1914	41,996	15,584	37.1	32,182	10,078	31.3
1918	42,682	15,446	36.2	36,031	10,608	29.4
1922	74,724	27,944	37.4	81,935	23,836	29.1
1926	89,574	32,960	36.8	75,882	21,654	28.5
1930	112,070	40,687	36.3	108,542	29,488	27.2
1934	105,130	35,253	33.5	140,239	37,875	27.0
1938	167,003	52,714	31.6	129,603	34,767	26.8
1942	98,741	34,681	35.1	139,407	35,564	25.5
1946	126,456	45,067	35.6	148,885	41,549	27.9
1950	120,684	46,035	38.1	176,125	53,088	30.1
1954	137,131	52,870	38.6	189,595	61,825	32.6
1958	176,505	69,331	39.3	170,275	59,647	35.0
1962	163,952	62,086	37.9	163,554	51,948	31.8
1966	210,202	81,391	38.7	121,862	41,245	33.8
1970	171,549	72,720	42.4	173,420	63,535	36.6
1974	69,224	33,950	49.0	252,436	101,876	40.4
1978	95,596	48,923	51.2	197,386	86,627	43.9
1982	79,602	43,256	53.3	246,566	108,550	44.0
1986	208,822	103,062	49.9	104,504	46,415	44.4

Table 3
Party Voting in Rhode Island Towns, Selected Presidential Races, 1900–1984

Town votes for Roosevelt's Bull Moose candidacy in 1912 and Anderson's Independent candidacy in 1980 are included in parentheses. See the footnote on the tables for general evaluative guidelines.

Year	Total Town Votes for President	Town Republican Votes for President	Town Republican Vote %	Town Democratic Votes for President	Town Democratic Vote %	Total State Vote for President	% Total Town Vote for President
1900	18,551	12,843	69.2	5,708	30.1	56,548	32.8
1904	24,054	16,020	66.6	8,034	33.4	68,657	35.0
1908	25,994	17,593	67.7	8,401	32.3	72,317	35.9
1912	26,849	11,175 (4,848)	41.6 (18.1)	10,826	40.3	77,894	34.5
1916	28,755	16,173	56.2	12,582	43.8	87,816	32.7
1920	50,424	36,161	71.7	14,263	28.3	167,981	30.0
1924	66,309	45,220	68.2	21,089	31.8	210,115	31.6
1928	75,743	44,297	58.5	31,446	41.5	237,194	31.9
1932	73,805	37,109	50.3	36,696	49.7	266,170	27.7
1936	96,345	53,888	55.9	42,457	44.1	311,178	31.0
1940	95,533	47,182	49.4	47,351	50.6	321,150	29.7
1944	91,895	43,572	47.4	48,323	52.6	299,377	30.7
1948	103,338	49,190	47.6	54,148	52.4	327,692	31.5
1952	136,659	76,221	55.8	60,438	44.2	414,498	33.0
1956	138,504	86,199	62.2	52,305	37.8	387,609	35.7
1960	133,012	55,883	42.0	77,129	58.0	405,534	32.8
1964	136,905	32,131	23.5	104,774	76.5	390,078	35.1
1968	140,405	54,684	38.9	85,721	61.1	384,938	36.6
1972	170,661	98,340	57.6	72,321	42.4	415,757	41.0
1976	178,377	84,024	47.1	94,353	52.9	410,584	43.4
1980	195,179	78,851 (33,882)	40.4 (17.4)	82,446	42.2	415,967	46.9
1984	194,283	111,173	57.2	83,110	42.8	410,489	47.3

Table 4
Party Voting in Rhode Island Towns, Intraparty Comparison, 1900–1984

This table compares partisan voting in Rhode Island towns against partisan voting in Rhode Island cities in presidential elections. See the footnote on the tables for general evaluative guidelines.

Year	Total Republican Votes	Town Republican Votes	Town % of Republican Votes	Total Democratic Votes	Town Democratic Votes	Town % of Democratic Votes
1900	33,784	12,843	38.0	19,812	5,708	28.8
1904	41,605	16,020	38.5	24,839	8,034	32.3
1908	43,942	17,593	40.0	24,706	8,401	34.0
1912	27,703	11,175	40.3	30,412	10,826	35.6
1916	44,858	16,173	36.1	40,394	12,582	31.1
1920	107,463	36,161	33.6	55,062	14,263	25.9
1924	125,286	45,330	36.1	76,606	21,089	27.5
1928	117,522	44,297	37.7	118,973	31,446	26.4
1932	115,266	37,109	32.2	146,604	36,696	25.0
1936	125,031	53,888	43.1	165,238	42,457	25.7
1940	138,654	47,182	34.0	182,180	47,351	26.0
1944	123,518	43,572	35.3	175,426	48,323	27.5
1948	135,792	49,190	36.2	188,737	54,148	28.7
1952	210,935	76,221	36.1	203,293	60,438	29.7
1956	225,819	86,199	38.2	161,790	52,305	32.3
1960	147,502	55,883	37.9	258,032	77,129	29.9
1964	74,615	32,131	43.1	315,463	104,774	33.2
1968	122,359	54,684	44.7	246,518	85,721	34.7
1972	220,383	98,340	44.6	194,645	72,321	37.2
1976	181,249	84,024	46.4	227,636	94,353	41.5
1980	154,793	78,851	50.9	198,342	82,446	41.6
1984	212,080	111,173	52.4	197,106	83,110	42.1

Tables 1 through 4 summarize party voting in the towns during twentieth-century presidential elections and selected gubernatorial races. These tables suggest trends and prompt queries about partisan behavior and population redistribution in the towns. The percentage columns relate the most telling stories.¹⁷ The Republicans have reigned in the towns throughout the twentieth century, whether control is measured in terms of the percentage of total town votes or, because of the markedly smaller number of voters in towns as against cities, the percentage of overall Republican votes. The towns remained Republican bastions through the storms of FDR's tenure and the eclipse of state Republican party power in the "Bloodless Revolution" of 1935. Removal of

voting restrictions has had little, if any, effect on Republican majorities in the towns. Only the aberrations of Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose candidacy in 1912, Barry Goldwater's candidacy in 1964, John Anderson's independent candidacy in 1980, and the extremely harsh economic climate in the state from the mid-1970s through the early 1980s brought on by President Richard Nixon's decision to withdraw major elements of the navy from Rhode Island undermined Republican supremacy in the towns, and even in these cases town Republicans displayed greater loyalty to the party than their city brethren. Who have these Republicans been, and how have their ranks changed through the years? Who led the local town Republicans, and how efficient have

17. The tables have been derived from election results found in the *Providence Journal Almanac* and *Rhode Island Manual*. Returns from the 1986 gubernatorial election have been procured directly from the Rhode Island Board of Elections. Except for major third-party candidacies, third-party votes have been ignored. This omission results in minor un-

derstating of most town vote figures and minor overstating of vote percentages for Republicans and Democrats, but the skewing has negligible impact on trends and patterns because towns cast so few third-party votes. The tables, however, should be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive.

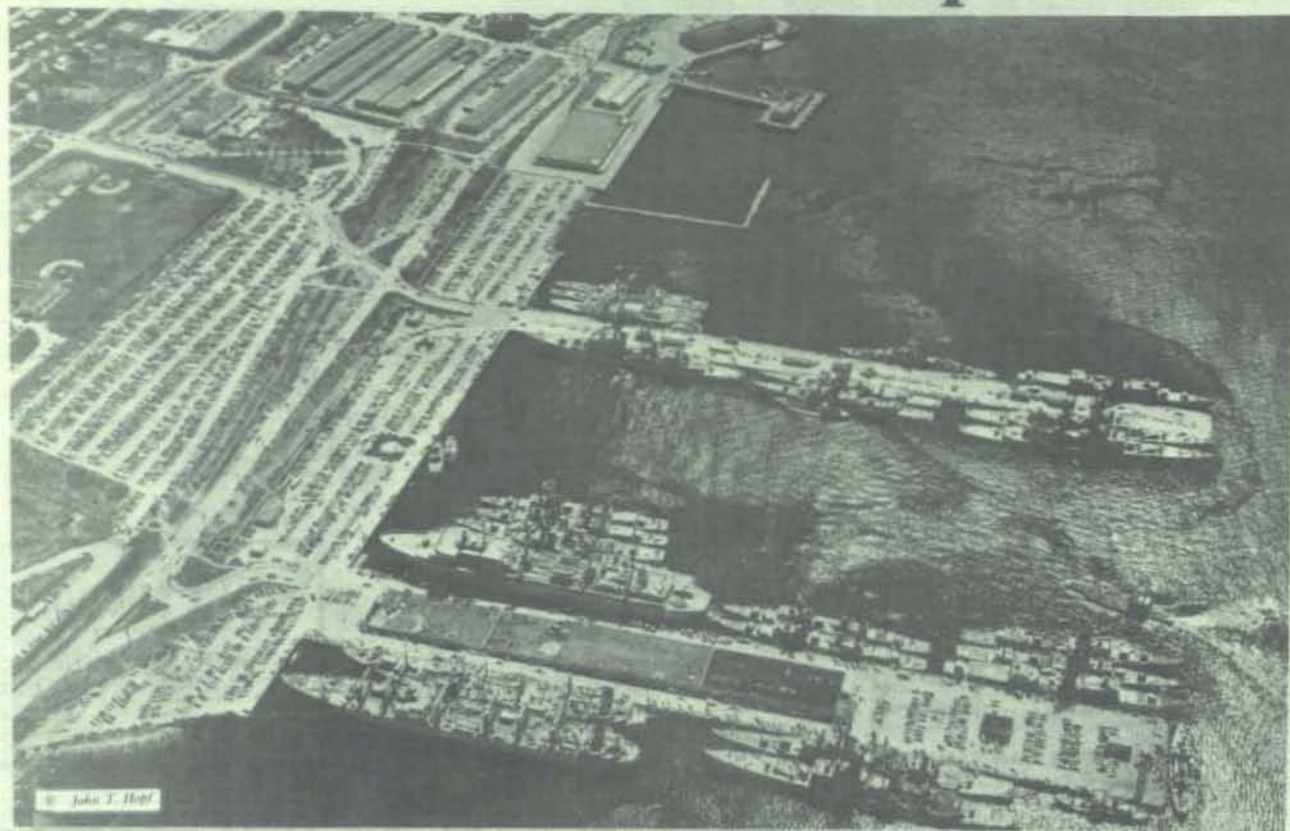
The Newport Daily News

127TH YEAR 32 PAGES

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, Monday, April 16, 1973

21¢ Weekly By Carrier 25 CENTS

Fleet To Abandon Newport Base



Phase-Out To Be Completed By July 1, 1974

The Newport Daily News announced a navy pullout on 16 April 1973. Photo courtesy of John T. Hopf. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6142).

their organizations been? Has Republican dominance been translated into policy, and, if so, in what manner and form? Much work is needed to delineate the individuals and specifics.

Contrary to the prevailing conception, the tables show town Democrats as more than a moribund remnant. During the Republican heyday extending over the first three and a half decades of the twentieth century, the Democrats still managed to pull in 30 to 40 percent of the total town vote. Who were these Democrats? Were they merely naysayers or disillusioned Re-

publicans, or did they have substantial policy and ideological disputes with the opposition party? Were the town Democrats concentrated in manufacturing villages? Did the Democrats organize and have strong leaders? As the century progressed, city Democrats assumed control over the state political structure. How did town Democrats fit into these new arrangements? Migration from the cities to the towns increased after World War II and made the town vote an even larger percentage of the total state vote. As a result of this movement, Democratic as well as

Republican numbers grew in the towns. Has the enlarged Democratic presence in the towns sparked confrontation along partisan lines? Have partisan conflicts followed discernible economic, ethnic, personal, or issue alignments? Have partisan allegiances tended to shift?

The post-World War II suburban migration that has augmented the towns' Democratic numbers and overall voting weight has also placed tremendous pressure on traditional town meeting government and local decision-making processes. The new town residents required, and have demanded, governmental services not previously provided in the towns. Professional public works

crews, police forces, and fire departments have taken over for amateur and ad hoc surveyors, constables, and companies. Public servant unions have added a new dimension to town government. Population shifts have also upset established economic patterns. Residential tract development, shopping malls, and industrial parks have replaced farmland and open space. Tax controversies have come in the wake of land-use changes and upgraded services. How have town governments reconciled the interests of longtime residents and newcomers? How have town governments reacted to cries for "progress" and "development"? Town debates over zoning



Governor R. Livingston Beeckman signs the Women's Suffrage Act in Providence on 18 August 1917. Among those grouped beside the governor are Elizabeth Upham Yates, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Miss Phebe Jencks, Senator Henry I. Kane, and Representative Richard Jennings. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6143).



The south side of Middletown Town Hall. Photo by Raymond Ball, 1940. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6146).

speak most directly to these questions. Approved zoning codes, their implementation, and their revision reveal other facets of these issues.

The issue of gender must not be overlooked. Aside from local school committees, town government was a male preserve until the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution mandated women's suffrage. This amendment did not open any floodgates; men continued to hold the vast majority of the major town government positions—clerk, council member, moderator—for the next forty years. Only in the past two decades have women made significant inroads into town government leadership. In 1965 women headed eight of thirty-one town clerk's offices in Rhode Island and held .6 percent, or 1 of 164, of the town council seats. No women were town council presidents, moderators, mayors, or managers. Twenty years later, in 1985, women headed twenty-three of thirty-

one town clerk's offices and held 14.7 percent, or 25 of 170, of the town council seats; in addition, four women were council presidents, and at least two were town moderators or managers.¹⁸ Who were the women now assuming governmental roles? What caused their rapid movement into town government? Where do considerations of prestige, status, and compensation fit into the picture? The path of gender inquiry promises to uncover as much about the larger institutional dynamics of recent changes in Rhode Island town government as it does about the specific history of women within that government.

IV

"What" is the most expansive path of inquiry. Possible topics for research appear in the foreground, in the background, and on the horizon in profuse numbers. Four subgroups—internal, federal, state, and miscellaneous—help bring clarity to the enormous array.

Internal developments involving town govern-

18. Statistics tabulated from the *Providence Journal Almanac* town government sections, 1965 and 1985.

ment already have been broached in the discussion of zoning as a response to changing population and economic realities. It is important to note here that the financial town meeting has been the principal form of government in Rhode Island towns, and despite numerous reforms it continues in place in many of them. Nonetheless, the researcher should be warned not to view the town meeting itself as the whole of town government. Such a view drastically and inappropriately limits the range of town government history and the questions that might be asked about town government. The financial town meeting may shepherd the flock of town government components, but the components have a life of their own. For instance, school committees monitor town educational directions and decisions, and the actions and arguments resulting in school consolidation from the once ubiquitous one-room schoolhouses present fascinating and manageable research subjects.¹⁹ Highway surveyors, town sergeants, and town tax collectors all had miniature fiefdoms within the structure of town government during the first half of the twentieth century. How did these officials pursue their duties and deal with the various segments of the town citizenry? How, and why, did they lose their power within the towns? Of course, room also remains for studying the town meeting itself. Who participated? How have the interests represented changed over the years? What has the level and style of discussion been? What issues most consistently provoke contention?

Internal developments affecting town government invariably bear some relationship to external events, and these have assaulted the towns from all angles. Reconstructing and interpreting town government responses to this barrage of events poses a monumental challenge for researchers. The towns first faced national government demands during the Revolutionary era and were subjected to formal federal government intervention during the Civil War, but these prece-

dents look like puddles when compared with the sea of federal government activity obliging a town response during the twentieth century. Constitutional amendments during the opening decades of the century establishing a federal income tax, direct election of senators, women's suffrage, and national prohibition forced some alteration in town government and political practices, and there is much supposition that the "100 percent Americanism" campaigns after the United States' entry into World War I spurred on a nativist resurgence and Ku Klux Klan demonstrations in Rhode Island towns during the 1920s. Significant, if unsavory, stories may reward digging in these topics.

The New Deal looms as a watershed in town-federal relations. Dire physical want occasioned by the Great Depression compelled many towns to seek and accept outside assistance for the first time. After state resources ran dry, the federal government stood as the last recourse. How did the different towns respond to the new bureaucratic forms and manage the planning of projects and the flow of relief funds?

Foster, a town that historically had been at or near the bottom of Rhode Island towns in terms of annual per capita income, welcomed the New Deal. Town officials dutifully completed applications for road work projects financed through the Emergency Relief Administration, secured approval, and got their unemployed citizens working. During 1935, 1936, and much of 1937, the town cooperated with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp located there, purchasing gravel for the workers to use in resurfacing town roads. But this congenial state of affairs did not last. During the latter years of the decade Foster soured on the New Deal—perhaps because economic conditions had improved, perhaps because town citizens chafed at the loss of local autonomy accepted along with outside aid, perhaps because traditional Republican sentiments reasserted themselves. The changed attitude surfaced

19. Charles Carroll, *Public Education in Rhode Island*, Rhode Island Education Circulars, no. 728 (Providence: State Board of Education, 1919) provides information regarding the

General Assembly's role in promoting school reform in the towns and the general context.

clearly during the town council session of 3 July 1937, when a vote ordered the town clerk to "obtain an opinion from the town solicitor relative to the town's responsibility in case of accident on any of the roads being built by CCC." On 5 March 1938 the council voted and ordered the town clerk to "notify Farrell D. Coyle, Rhode Island Works Progress Administrator, that the council does not desire to take part in the Community Improvement Appraisal as outlined in his letter of recent date." Other refusals to join in public works and public records programs followed.²⁰ The Foster town government had assumed an active posture against federal assistance. This brief account of the New Deal in one town only suggests the rich possibilities for research into this pivotal period for Rhode Island's local governments.²¹

The New Deal forced towns to engage with a governmental power outside of themselves and to revamp traditional budgeting and administrative patterns. Since then the influence of the federal government has not subsided. World War II brought on a major naval buildup dramatically influencing a few of the coastal towns. How did town governments respond to this sudden and massive federal presence? The cold war following World War II saw concerted (though short-lived) civil defense activity in towns across the state. What did this flurry of civil defense activity reveal about cultural fears and attitudes toward intergovernmental relations? Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" appealed to state and local governments with local improvement grants. What moved some towns to seek funds for "Green Acres" programs and recreational projects while others let the opportunity pass? During the 1970s and 1980s "New Federalism" and block grants have kept the federal lever geared into the workings of town government. Federal government decisions and funds have undoubtedly influenced changes in the structure of town government and

its operation, and the details and dynamics of this process demand investigation.

The Rhode Island state government joins the national government as an instigator of town government behavior. What major state actions have prompted responses from town governments? From early in the century the state has striven to centralize and coordinate the delivery of services. What has been the nature and history of town and state government relations in the areas of road improvement, educational policy, water management, and welfare assistance? What circumstances have supported congenial relations, and what circumstances have provoked hostility? Possible topics for consideration include highways I-95 and I-295, proposed highways I-84 and I-895, the paving of dirt roads early in the century, racetrack referendums, the voter-aborted "Greenhouse Compact," and the decision (on the part of Providence, with the backing of the General Assembly) to build the Scituate Reservoir.

The home rule charter amendment to the state constitution, adopted in June 1951, opened a new dimension for town government research. What role did town officials take in the framing and passage of this amendment? Towns now had the option to reframe their structure of government and gain a measure of freedom from the General Assembly over procedural matters, like floating bonds within previously set debt limits. Home rule charters and the debates preceding their eventual acceptance or rejection offer unparalleled insights into local attitudes toward town government. Where has power been lodged? Has the financial town meeting been worked into the new system or scrapped? What political elements have coalesced around proposals for charters? Table 5 shows the results of home rule charter votes in Rhode Island towns. Rejected charters may prove more interesting subjects for study, but all the listed years, and sub-

20. Letter boxes, Foster town clerk's office; Town of Foster, Records of Council and Town Meetings, no. 7, town meeting minutes (20 Mar. 1936), 440; council minutes (3 July 1937), 480; Records of Council and Town Meetings, no. 8, council special session minutes (10 May 1938), 9.

21. Richard Munson Judd, "A History of the New Deal in Vermont" (diss., Harvard University, 1959), which covers aspects of Vermont town experiences during the New Deal, provides useful comparative perspectives for thinking about Rhode Island towns.



The Rhode Island State Council of Defense's float in the "On to Victory" parade in Providence, 2 May 1943. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 6145).

sequent years when revisions were considered or made, should be ripe areas for town government research.

One other item in the subgroup of state developments comes to mind. How did the towns respond to the General Assembly redistricting controversies churned up by the United States Supreme Court's landmark apportionment decision in *Baker v. Carr* (1962), a decision calling for state assembly representation on the basis of "one man, one vote"? Did town government wishes figure in any of the multiple proposals reviewed and rejected during the hectic period in late 1962? At the very least, the loss of the historic privilege to have a minimum of one repre-

sentative per town was a symbolic blow to town government autonomy.

A number of research topics that do not readily fit into the internal, federal, or state subgroups may be included in the miscellaneous subgroup. How did town governments involve themselves in the controversial proposal to build a nuclear power plant in South County during the last decade? How has environmental activism affected town government deliberations and decisions? How have town governments addressed the issues of industrial and transportation facilities? Early in the century several town governments enthusiastically sought to attract streetcar and railway lines through their towns,

Table 5
Rhode Island Towns Votes
on Home Rule Charters

A major distinction between home rule charters is the creation of an appointed versus an elected town executive. An (A) after the year of a home rule charter adoption signifies an appointed executive; an (E) signifies an elected executive. Towns have chosen administrator, manager, and mayor as titles for their chief executives. Only Foster has approved a home rule charter without a chief executive.

Town	Approved	Disapproved
Barrington	1958(A)	
Bristol	1970(E)	1952, 1958
Charlestown	1980(A)	
Coventry	1972(A)	1968
Cumberland	1978(E)	1960
East Greenwich	1972(A)	
East Providence	1954(A)	1952
Foster	1976	1966
Jamestown	1974(A)	1952
Johnston	1962(E)	
Lincoln	1958(E)	
Middletown	1968(A)	
Narragansett	1966(A)	
North Kingstown	1954(A)	
North Providence		1968
North Smithfield	1968(E)	
Portsmouth	1972(A)	
Smithfield		1968, 1970, 1974
South Kingstown	1968(A)	1958
Warren		1970
Westerly	1968(A)	
West Warwick	1986(E)	1970

(This table was compiled with the assistance of Joe Coduri.)

and later in the century ratable industries were eyed with comparable enthusiasm. Streetcar lines frequently did not meet expectations, and town citizens sometimes have taken positions opposed to their government's aspirations for industrial ratables. The history of these issues and confrontations has barely been touched.²² Technological advances and entertainment devices—movies, cars, radios, televisions—have influenced the nature and extent of citizen involvement in town government during the twentieth century. Explicating this relationship should be a worthwhile (though difficult) project. Special districts within towns—their incorporation, their operation, and their relationship to

22. For a brief overview of streetcar development in Rhode Island, see Samuel Henry Rosenberg, "A History of Street Railways in Rhode Island" (thesis, University of Rhode Island, 1962).

23. Since the abolishment of incorporated school districts

the main town governments—may be deemed another miscellaneous research topic.²³

V

"Why" is the most elusive path of inquiry. The antiquarian desire to find out for the sake of finding out is a sufficient reason to pursue historical study, but it is not necessarily a good one. A somewhat more convincing reason for researching twentieth-century Rhode Island town government history is the desire to gain a better understanding of the dilemmas chronically faced by town governments. This understanding may assist current and future decision-makers and increase public appreciation for the practice and responsibilities of local government.

The question of why people get involved in government and politics at the town level strikes me as an even more powerful reason to research twentieth-century Rhode Island town governments. Somewhere amid the history of town government practice lie hidden the root human emotions motivating participation in the governmental process. When has action been driven by fear? When by greed? Have convictions of honor, fairness, and independence had a part in town government? How and why do motivations change over time? Citizen apathy has stood for quite a while as the generic explanation for all manner of town government ills and the major reason for the precipitous decline in traditional financial town meeting government. Apathy may accurately describe government and citizen inactivity, but the more interesting historical questions pertain to government and citizen activity. Impossible standards and glib assertions must be guarded against. The best justification and incentive for twentieth-century Rhode Island town government research may be the insights such near-at-hand events afford us into our own human strengths and foibles.

in 1904, most special districts have been formed to meet water-supply or fire-protection needs of more densely populated areas within the towns. A few RIBGR publications deal with special districts, dwelling on their disadvantages.

VI

Professor McLoughlin closed a 1983 article on the prospects for Rhode Island history with a call for "intensive monographic and problem-solving studies of various aspects of Rhode Island's history, written from a variety of methodologies and generating new kinds of data."²⁴ The essay presently before you has scouted ways and means for mapping an expanse of Rhode Island's history too long left unexplored.

In moving into the frontier of twentieth-

century Rhode Island town government history, be wary of the snares of nostalgia and antiquarianism. Strive to build arguments as well as to uncover information. Look at the towns on their own terms, and do not feel compelled to make grandiose claims. The basic practice of town government holds more of general historical significance than the unusual or famous person or the single odd event that may be associated with a town. Have patience. Be imaginative and sensitive. The field is wide open. Good hunting!

Appendix A

This appendix lists information regarding town clerks' offices, town libraries, and town historical associations. All phone numbers have a 401 area code. The information has been gathered from Rhode Island telephone books and David C. Maslyn, ed., *The Preservation of Our Right to Information and the Documentation of Our Heritage: The Rhode Island Records Assessment Report, 1984-1985* (Providence: National Historical Publication and Records Commission, 1985). Many town historical societies do not have a permanent home and do not maintain phone numbers, but town clerks or libraries often have current information about these societies. The most comprehensive single research source for all the towns is the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, 121 Hope Street, Providence (331-8575). Note that the following catalog is neither definitive nor immune from the passage of time.

- Barrington:** Town Clerk, Town Hall, 283 County Road, 247-1900; Public Library, 281 County Road, 247-1920; Barrington Preservation Society
- Bristol:** Town Clerk, 10 Court Street, 253-7000; Rogers Free Library, Hope Street, 253-6948; Bristol Historical and Preservation Society, Court Street, 253-7223
- Burrillville:** Town Clerk, Main Street, Harrisville, 568-4300; Jesse M. Smith Memorial Library, Main Street, Harrisville, 568-8244; Burrillville Historical and Preservation Society, Whipple Road, Pascoag
- Charlestown:** Town Clerk, South County Trail, 364-7718; Cross Mills Public Library, Cross Mills, 364-6211; Charlestown Historical Society
- Coventry:** Town Clerk, 670 Flat River Road, 822-9170; Public Library, Flat River Road, 822-9100; Coventry Historical Society
- Cranston:** Clerk, City Hall, 869 Park Avenue, 461-1000; William Hall Free Library, 1825 Broad, 781-2450
- Cumberland:** Town Clerk, 45 Broad Street, 728-2400; Edward J. Hayden Public Library, Diamond Hill Road, 333-2552; Cumberland Preservation Society
- East Greenwich:** Town Clerk, 111 Peirce Street, 884-4410; Public Library, 82 Peirce Street, 884-9510; East Greenwich Preservation Society
- East Providence:** Clerk, 145 Taunton Avenue, 434-3311; Weaver Memorial Library, 41 Grove Avenue, 434-2453
- Exeter:** Town Clerk, Ten Rod Road, 294-3891; Exeter Town Library located at the Town Clerk's Office, 294-3891
- Foster:** Town Clerk, South Killingly Road, 397-7771; Public Library, Howard Hill Road, Foster Center, 397-4801; Foster Preservation Society, Tyler Free Library, Moosup Valley, 397-7930
- Glocester:** Town Clerk, Putnam Pike, Chepachet, 568-6206; Harmony Public Library, Putnam Pike, Harmony, 949-2850; Glocester Heritage Society
- Hopkinton:** Town Clerk, Town House Road, 377-2220; Ashaway Free Library, Main Street, Ashaway, 377-2770; Hopkinton Historical Association
- Jamestown:** Town Clerk, 71 Narragansett Avenue, 423-0200; Jamestown Library, North Main Road, 423-2665; Jamestown Historical Society
- Johnston:** Town Clerk, 1385 Hartford Avenue, 351-6618; Marian J. Mohr Memorial Library, 1 Memorial Avenue, 231-4980
- Lincoln:** Town Clerk, 100 Old River Road, 333-1100; Public Library, Old River Road, 333-1111
- Little Compton:** Town Clerk, Commons, 635-4400; Brownell Library, Commons, 635-8562; Little Compton Historical Society
- Middletown:** Town Clerk, East Main Road, 847-0009; Middletown Library, West Main Road, 846-1573; Middletown Historical Society
- Narragansett:** Town Clerk, 26 Fifth Avenue, 789-1044; Narragansett Pier Free Library, Kingstown Road, 789-9507; Narragansett Historical Society

24. William G. McLoughlin, "Synthesizing Rhode Island History: Problems, Approaches, and Opportunities," *RIH* 42 (1983): 109.

- North Kingstown:** Town Clerk, 80 Boston Neck Road, 294-3331; Public Library, 100 Boone Road, 294-3306
- North Providence:** Town Clerk, 2008 Smith Street, 232-0900; Public Library, 1810 Mineral Spring Avenue, 353-5600
- North Smithfield:** Town Clerk, Town Building, Main Street, Slatersville, 767-2200; Public Library, 20 Main Street, 767-2780; North Smithfield Heritage Association, Main Street, Forestdale, 766-0710
- Portsmouth:** Town Clerk, 2200 East Main Road, 683-2101; Portsmouth Free Public Library Association, 2658 East Main Road, 683-9457; Portsmouth Historical Society, 870 East Main Road, 683-9178
- Richmond:** Town Clerk, Richmond Town House Road, 339-2497; Clark Memorial Library, Shannock, 364-6100; Richmond Historical Society
- Scituate:** Town Clerk, Main Street, 647-2822; North Scituate Public Library Association, Greenville Road, North Scituate, 647-5133; Scituate Preservation and Historical Society
- Smithfield:** Town Clerk, 64 Farnum Pike, 231-6600; Greenville Public Library, Putnam Pike, Greenville, 949-3630; Historical Society of Smithfield
- South Kingstown:** Town Clerk, 66 High Street, Wakefield, 789-9331; Kingston Free Library, 1329 Kingstown Road, Kingston, 783-8254; Peace Dale Public Library, Kingstown Road, Peace Dale, 783-4085; Pettaquamscutt Historical Society, Kingstown Road, Kingston, 783-1328
- Tiverton:** Town Clerk, Highland Road, 624-4277; Essex Public Library, 238 Highland Road, 624-8079; Union Public Library, 3832 Main Road, 625-5333; Tiverton Historical Society
- Warren:** Town Clerk, Town Hall, 514 Main Street, 245-7340; George Hall Free Library, 530 Main Street, 245-7686
- Warwick:** Clerk, City Hall, 3275 Post Road, 738-2000; Central Library, 600 Sandy Lane, 739-5440
- Westerly:** Town Clerk, Town Hall, Broad Street, 596-0341; Westerly Public Library, Broad Street, 596-2877; Westerly Historical Society
- West Greenwich:** Town Clerk, Town Hall, Victory Highway, 397-5016; Public Library, Victory Highway, 397-3434
- West Warwick:** Town Clerk, 1170 Main Street, 822-9200; Robert H. Champlin Memorial Library, 1043 Main Street, 828-3750; Crompton Free Library, 1679 Main Street, Crompton, 828-2914; Pawtuxet Valley Historical Society

Appendix B

This appendix provides what apparently is the first published compendium of the Rhode Island Bureau of Government Research (RIBGR) Research Series, 1960–1976, and Information Series, 1961–1975. The Research Series contains some substantial studies, while the Information Series consists principally of brief, highly statistical, selective, and time-specific pamphlets. The Research Series listing includes some short annotations. RIBGR also issued a regular newsletter from 1960 through the closing of the bureau in the spring of 1983. The Special Collections Division of the University of Rhode Island library holds a complete collection of RIBGR publications.

RIBGR Research Series

- No. 1:** Robert D. Bolan, *Fundamentals of Home Rule*, 1960.
- No. 2:** John O. Stitely, *An Outline of Rhode Island State Government*, n.d.
- No. 3:** Beverly L. Browning, *North Kingstown Selects Two Town Managers: A Case Study*, 1962.
- No. 4:** Frederick L. Bird, *Local Special Districts and Authorities in Rhode Island*, 1962.
- No. 5:** Albert C. Henry, Jr., and Edwin W. Webber, *A Handbook for the Preparation of an Annual Municipal Progress Report*, 1963.
- No. 6:** Edwin W. Webber, *Rhode Island Local Government and Administration*, 1963. "No effort has been made to survey the individual units on a town-by-town basis. . . . This survey is primarily an introduction to Rhode Island local government for those who wish to make a more exhaustive search into the substance of local government within the state" (p. 5). "The substance of this study was assembled through examination of the state's general laws and acts and resolves concerned with local government" (p. 5).
- No. 7:** Matthew J. Kulick, *Financing the Maintenance of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways*, 1964.
- No. 8:** Charles E. Moan, Jr., *Public Employee Training on the State Level in the United States*, 1964.
- No. 9:** John O. Stitely and Kevin M. Travis, *An Outline of Rhode Island State Government*, revised, n.d. A glossary of state bureaus and agencies.
- No. 10:** Stephen Aronson, *The Legal Powers of Town Councils in Rhode Island*, n.d. This study emphasizes statutory analysis and argues that town councils should have broad powers. Identifies four major categories [General Government; Public Works and Finance; Health and Welfare; Conservation, Education, Libraries, Public Safety, and Business Regulation] and ninety-one subcategories of town council powers. Strong on what town councils can do but thin on how town councils carry out their duties.
- No. 11:** John O. Stitely, *Rhode Island Voting Patterns, 1940–1964*, 1966. Charts and graphs for each town.
- No. 12:** Richard A. Gabriel, *Ethnic Voting in Primary*

Elections: The Irish and Italians of Providence, Rhode Island, 1969.

- No. 13.:** Richard A. Gabriel, *The Political Machine in Rhode Island, 1970.*
- No. 14:** Joseph E. Coduri, *An Outline of Rhode Island State Government, 3rd edition, 1971.*
- No. 15:** Stephen I. Grossbard, *PPBS [Planning, Programming, Budgeting Structures] for State and Local Officials, 1971.*
- No. 16:** Joseph E. Coduri, *Handbook for Rhode Island Town and City Clerks, 1973.*
- No. 17:** Dennis D. Sheehan and Joseph E. Coduri, *Rhode Island Assessors' Handbook, 1975.*
- No. 18:** Robert W. Sutton, Jr., ed., *Rhode Island Local Government: Past, Present, Future, 1974.*
- No. 19:** Proceedings of the 13th Annual Institute on Problems of Government, *Intergovernmental Responsibilities for Public Health, 1962.*
- No. 20:** *Rhode Island in the Year 1975: Proceedings of a Symposium, 1970.*
- No. 21:** Dieter Hammerschlag, *A New Town for Rhode Island, 1970.* A study of planning a new town on the North Kingstown and South Kingstown border abutting Narragansett Bay and encompassing Wickford.
- No. 22:** *Councils of Government, 1972.*
- No. 23:** Richard A. Gabriel, *The Ethnic Factor in the Urban Polity, 1973.*
- No. 24:** Christine Howells Renzetti, *The Rhode Island Constitutional Convention, 1974.*
- No. 25:** Victor L. Profughi and Edward G. Warren, *Student Interns in the Public Sector, 1976.*

RIBGR Information Series

- No. 1:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1961, 10p.*
- No. 2:** *School Committees in Rhode Island, 1961, 3p.*
- No. 3:** *State Taxes in Rhode Island, 1961, 20p.*
- No. 4:** *Probate Courts in Rhode Island, 1962, 6p.*
- No. 5:** *Mobile Home Regulation in Rhode Island, 1962, 6p.*
- No. 6:** *Municipal Insurance and Surety Bonds in Rhode Island, 1962, 4p.*
- No. 7:** *Salaries and Working Conditions in Rhode Island Police Departments, 1962, 6p.*
- No. 8:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1962, 10p.*
- No. 9:** *A Digest of Rhode Island State Tax Laws, revised, 1962, 17p.*
- No. 10:** *Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Cities & Towns, 1963, 10p.*
- No. 11:** *Safety Codes and Standards in Rhode Island Cities and Towns, 1963, 8p.*
- No. 12:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Benefits in Rhode Island Fire Departments, 1963, 8p.*
- No. 13:** *A Digest of Rhode Island State Tax Laws, 1963 revision, 1963, 17p.*
- No. 14:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1963, 6p.*

- No. 15:** *A Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island, 1964, 18p.*
- No. 16:** *School Committees in Rhode Island, 1964, 4p.*
- No. 17:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1964, 12p.*
- No. 18:** *Salaries and Working Conditions in Rhode Island Police Departments, 1964, 6p.*
- No. 19:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Benefits in Rhode Island Fire Departments, 1964, 9p.*
- No. 20:** *Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Cities and Towns, 1964, 12p.*
- No. 21:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island, revised, 1965, 19p.*
- No. 22:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials, 1966, 8p.*
- No. 23:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials, 1966, 8p.*
- No. 24:** Duplicates No. 23.
- No. 25:** *Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Cities & Towns, 1966, 9p.*
- No. 26:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island, revised, 1966, 6p.*
- No. 27:** *Salaries and Working Conditions in Rhode Island Police Departments, 1966, 6p.*
- No. 28:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Benefits in Rhode Island Fire Departments, 1966, 7p.*
- No. 29:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1966, 10p.*
- No. 30:** *Municipal Insurance and Surety Bonds in Rhode Island: Summary of Practices in Selected Areas, 1967, 7p.*
- No. 31:** *Probate Courts in Rhode Island, revised, 1967, 6p.*
- No. 32:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island, revised, 1967, 20p.*
- No. 33:** *School Committees in Rhode Island, 1967, 3p.*
- No. 34:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials, 1967, 9p.*
- No. 35:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island, revised, 1967, 6p.*
- No. 36:** *Salaries and Working Conditions in Rhode Island Police Departments, 1967, 8p.*
- No. 37:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1967, 12p.*
- No. 38:** *Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Cities & Towns, 1968, 11p.*
- No. 39:** *Municipal Planning Boards in Rhode Island, 1968, 3p.*
- No. 40:** *School Committees in Rhode Island, 1968, 4p.*
- No. 41:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials, 1968, 9p.*
- No. 42:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island, revised, 1968, 6p.*
- No. 43:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island, revised, 1969, 21p.*
- No. 44:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island, 1969, 16p.*
- No. 45:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials, 1969, 9p.*

- No. 46:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island*, revised, 1970. 22p.
- No. 47:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Police Departments*, 1970. 17p.
- No. 48:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island*, revised, 1970. 7p.
- No. 49:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island*, 1971. 15p.
- No. 50:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Benefits in Rhode Island Fire Departments*, 1971. 19p.
- No. 51:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island*, revised, 1971. 22p.
- No. 52:** *School Committees in Rhode Island*, 1970-1971. 7p.
- No. 53:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials*, 1971. 11p.
- No. 54:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island*, revised, 1971. 9p.
- No. 55:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Benefits in Rhode Island Fire Departments*, 1971. 20p.
- No. 56:** *Selected Town Government Salaries in Rhode Island*, 1971. 16p.
- No. 57:** *Salaries, Working Conditions, and Fringe Benefits in Rhode Island Police Departments*, 1971. 20p.
- No. 58:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island*, revised, 1972. 22p.
- No. 59:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials*, 1972. 13p.
- No. 60:** *Selected City Government Salaries in Rhode Island*, 1973. 9p.
- No. 61:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island*, revised, 1973. 23p.
- No. 62:** *Directory of State Associations of Local Government Officials*, 1973. 12p.
- No. 63:** *Directory of Local Government Officials in Rhode Island*, revised, 1975. 22p.

Volume 46 Index

- Adams, Katherine, labor history, 28
 Alcoholic beverages: Portsmouth and Women's Christian Temperance Union, 138-39; prohibition in Allendale, 127-28
 Aldrich, Nelson, 89
 Allen, Crawford, 119, 131-32
 Allen, Philip, 119, 122
 Allen, Zachariah (1), 119
 Allen, Zachariah (2), 89; photo, 119;
 "Zachariah Allen and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism," 117-35
 Allendale Mill, North Providence, 20, 30, 117-35; vol. 4 cover
 American Commonwealth, "Rhode Island and the American Nation," 83-94
 American Federation of Teachers, 64
 American Screw Company, 89
 American Veterans Committee, 49
 American Woolen Company, 43
 Anderson, Henry F., 78
 Anderson, John, 143
 Apponaug Print Works, 12
 Aquidneck, 83
 Architecture: colonial Rhode Island, 87;
 "Zachariah and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism," 117-35
 Arnold, Benedict, 85
 Ashton Mill, 11
 A. T. Cross Company, 92
 Atlantic Mills, 36
 Avery, Ephraim, 112-13
 A. & W. Sprague, 4
 Bagdikian, Ben, labor history, 51-53
 Balch, Mary, 87
 Baltic Mills (Conn.), 4
 Barrington: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Bartlett, Cynthia, labor history, 28
 Barton, William, 90
 Beck, Sam, labor history, 2, 15-17
 Beeckman, R. Livingston, photo, 145
 Bell, Donald, 73
 Bell, Ray, labor history, 28, 50
 Bell, Rose, labor history, 34-35
 Benson, Susan Porter, 2
 Berkeley, George (Bishop), 86
 Bernon Manufacturing Company, label, *illus.*, 132
 Bicknell, Thomas W., 137
 Blackstone River mills, photo, 118
Bloody Tenet of Persecution. The. 86
Bloody Tenet Yet More Bloody. The. 106
 Blue laws, 139
 Borden, Lizzie, *Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England.* reviewed, 112-13
 Botelho, Joyce, 2
 Boulware, L. R., 61
 Brayton, Charles ("Boss"), 141
 Bricher, Alfred Thompson, 87
 Bridenbaugh, Carl, 85
 Bristol: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Brock, Edmund, 46, 49, 77
 Brody, David, 73
 Brown, Edwin, Jr., labor history, 2, 33-34, 42-43, 46, 48, 74, 78
 Brown, John, 90
 Brown Medical School, 92
 Brown, Sevellon, 51-53
 Brown & Sharpe, machine and tool manufacturers, 18-19, 21-23, 46-47, 60-63, 89, vol. 2 cover
 Brown, T. Dawson, 48
 Brown University, 92-93
 Bryant College, 92
 Bryce, James, 83
 Buhle, Paul M.: labor history, 14-15, 19-26, 32-35, 42-45, 47-48, 51-53, 56-64, 66-69, 71-72, 76-78; "Working Lives: An Oral History of Rhode Island Labor," 3-10
 Builders' Iron Foundry, 91
 Burlak, Anne, 32-33, 78
 Burnside, Ambrose, 91
 Burrillville, local history, 151
 Butsika, George, labor history, 35-36
 Caldwell, Joe, 45, 50-51
 Carroll, Charles C., 137
 Casey, Samuel, 87
 Catholic Church and labor history, 5-6, 9, 11, 33, 41, 46, 52, 67
 Catholic Inner City Center, 67
 Centerdale Mill, 20
 Chafee, Henry, 52
 Chafee, Zechariah, 52
 Charles II, 85
 Charlestown: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Chavez, Caesar, 69
 Child labor, 7, 11-14
 Claggett, William, 87
 Clarke, John, 85, 101
 Clarke, Richard P., 77
 Clinker, Duane, labor history, 32-33, 70, 78
 Clydesdale, Dave, 34
 Coastal Resources Management Council, 93
 Coats Thread Mills, J. & P., 18, 43
 Coddington, William, 85
 Coen, John, labor history, 61-63
 Colonial Rhode Island, "Rhode Island and the American Nation," 83-94
 Community College of Rhode Island, 92
 Conley, Patrick T., 75
 Conlon, Noel P., 75
 Conrad, James Lawson, 75
 Cooke, Nicholas, 90
 Corliss, George, 119
 Corliss Steam Engine Company, 89, 91
 Cornell, Sarah, *Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England.* reviewed, 112-13
 Coventry: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Coyle, Farrell D., 148
 Crane, Elaine Forman, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era.* reviewed, 113-14
 Cranston, local history, 151
 Cranston Print Works, 25, 47
La Cronoca Sovversiva. 25
 Cross Company, A. T., 92
 Cumberland: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Cumberland Farms, 89
 Curvin, Harry, 27, 43
 Daniels, Bruce, 84
 Daniels, Chris, labor history, 2, 11-14
 Debs, Eugene, 26, 45
 Demography, "Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research," 136-54
 Desrosiers, Rosetta, labor history, 64-65
 Diaz, George, labor history, 2, 16-17
 Dodge, Nehemiah, 87
 Dorr, Sullivan, 119
 Dorr, Thomas, 6, 75
 Dorr War, 6, 75, 125
 Doud, Laura, labor history, 65
 Downing, Andrew Jackson, 128
 Dunnigan, Kathleen, 2, 77-78
 East Greenwich: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 East Providence: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Education: teachers and labor history, 63-66; Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 120, 126-27, 131
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 54
 Elections, voting patterns in twentieth-century Rhode Island towns, 136-54
 Electric Boat Company, 92
 Ely, William, 131
 Environment, Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 121-35
 Esmond mills, 22, 29-30
 Exeter, local history, 151
Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health. 102

- Factories: *see* Industrialization
- Farm workers and labor movement, 66-67
- Faunce, William H. P., 93
- Ferguson, Robert Harry, 77
- Fernandes, John ["Toy"], labor history, 2, 15-17
- Ferraro, William M., "Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research," 136-54
- Field, Edward W., 137
- Findlay, James, 2, 77
- Fisher, Alvan, 86
- Fogarty, John E., 42
- Foner, Philip S., 75
- Foster (town): and federal relations, 147-48; home rule, 150; town history, 151
- Galleani, Luigi, 25
- Gambling, slot machines and Women's Christian Temperance Union, 138-39
- Garvin, Lucius F. C., 76, 78
- General Electric Company, 61
- General Laws of Rhode Island*, 138
- Georgiaville mill, 20, 118, 122, 128-35
- Gerstle, Gary, labor history, 2, 29, 77
- Gersuny, Carl, 75-76
- Gettleman, Marvin E., 75
- Gibbs, Katherine, 89
- Gilbreth, Frank, 89
- Gilkeson, John S., Jr., 76
- Glassworks, 11
- Glocester, local history, 151
- Goddard family, 87
- Goldwater, Barry, 143
- Gompers, Samuel, 34
- Goodman, Jay S., 77
- Gorham Manufacturing Company, 87, 89
- Gorton, Samuel, 83, 85
- Government, "Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research," 136-54
- Gray, Robert, 91
- Green, Theodore Francis, and labor movement, 3, 33, 51
- Greene, Christopher, 90
- Greene, John Holden, 122
- Greene, Nathanael, 90
- Greene, William H., 4
- Greenwood, Richard E., "Zachariah Allen and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism," 117-35
- Gustman, Herbert, 73
- Haddock, Editha, 77
- Haffenreffer family, 58
- Hall, Jack, 47
- Hamlin, Gary, 66
- Hanley, Jim, 46
- Hanley, John, 13
- Harding, Warren G., 26
- Harris, William, 84-85
- Harrison, Peter, 87
- Harrison, William Henry, 91
- Hartz, Louis, 75
- Hasbro Company, 89, 92
- Hascotes family, 89
- Herreshoff Manufacturing Company, 89; *The Reliance* (sailing vessel), vol. 3 cover
- Hewitt, Seth, 75
- H & H Screw Products, 63
- Hine, Lewis, 76
- Historical research, "Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research," 136-54
- Home rule and Rhode Island towns, 148-50
- Hoover, Herbert, 26
- Hope Club, 51
- Hopkinton, local history, 151
- Housing, Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 123-26, 129-31
- Hutchinson, Anne, 85
- Indians, trade with Roger Williams, 95-111
- Industrial accidents and labor history, 69-71
- Industrialization: factory system, 87-89, 92; "Zachariah Allen and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism," 117-35
- Industrial Workers of the World, 9-10
- Injured Workers of Rhode Island, 69-71
- Institute for Labor Studies, 2
- Insurance system, 89
- International Association of Machinists, 60
- International Mulespinners of America, 36
- Irish Land League, 7
- Iron and Russell, jewelry manufacturers, 18
- Irving, Richard F., 77
- Jackson, William M., 76
- Jacquard, Eleanor, labor history, 41-42
- Jaffee, Susan, 77
- James, Henry, 86
- Jamestown: home rule, 150; town history, 151
- Jefferson, Thomas, 85-86
- Jenckes, Margaret, labor history, 19-20
- Jenckes, Norma, labor history, 56-58, 79
- Jenckes, Phebe, photo, 145
- Jennings, Richard, photo, 145
- Jewelry Workers Union, 46
- Jews in colonial Rhode Island, 85
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 148
- Johnston: home rule, 150; town history, 151
- Johnston, William, 78
- Jones, Willis, labor history, 2, 15
- J. & P. Coats Thread Mills, 18, 43
- Kababian, Helen, 78
- Kane, Henry I., photo, 145
- Kasserman, David Richard, *Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England*, reviewed, 112-13
- Katy* (vessel), 90
- Kellner, George H., 73
- Kelly, Richard, 77
- Kennedy, Robert F., 66-67
- Kensett, John Frederick, 87
- Keough, Francis, 46
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 26, 67
- King Philip's War, 84, 109
- Kirk, William, 76
- Klyberg, Albert T., 2; "Rhode Island and the American Nation," 83-94
- Knights of Labor, 4, 7-8
- Knowles, James D., 96
- Kolodoff, David, labor history, 26
- Kornblith, Gary John, 75
- Ku Klux Klan, 26
- Kulick, Gary, 2
- Labor: employee health insurance, 49-50; Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 117-35; *see also* Oral history
- LaFantasie, Glenn W., "A Day in the Life of Roger Williams," 95-111
- LaFarge, John, 87
- Lane, Fitz Hugh, 86
- Lavallee, Gus, labor history, 31
- Lawrence, Pat, labor history, 27
- Lemons, J. Stanley, 73
- Lewis, Fulton, Jr., 53
- Lincoln: home rule, 150; town history, 151
- Lipton, Thomas, 89
- Liquor: *see* Alcoholic beverages
- Little, Royal, 89
- Little Compton, local history, 151
- Livingston Worsted Company, architectural drawing, 134
- Locke, John, 86
- Lombardi, Vincent, 77
- Longo, Thomas, labor history, 2, 25-26
- Lonsdale Mills, 19-20
- Luther, Seth, 75-76
- Lymansville Mills, 20, 30

INDEX

- McAlevey, Patrick, 15
 McAloon, Al, labor history, 2, 14–15, 27, 30–31, 33
 McAloon, Michael, 14
 McCann, John B., 75
 McCarthy, Joseph (Senator), 52
 McCoy, Thomas P., 27
 McElroy, Edward, Jr., labor history, 63–64, 66–67
 McKim, Mead and White casinos, 87
 McLoughlin, William G., 78, 137, 151
 McMahon, Tom, 78
 McVickar, William N., 140
 McVinney, Russell J., 49, 67
 Madison, James, 86
 Manufacturers Mutual (insurance company), 119
 Martland, Douglas, labor history, 47–48
 Marx, Eleanor, 76
 Mason, George Champlin, 86–87
 Mason, John, 107
 Massachusetts Historical Society, 97
 Mateotti Club, 2, 24
 Meade, Martin Johnson, 87
 Melosh, Barbara, 2
 Mendos, Paul, 15
 Michaelson, Julius, 66
 Middletown: home rule, 150; town hall, photo, 146; town history, 151
 Milton, John, 86
 Molloy, Scott: book reviewed by, 112–13; labor history, 11–14; “Resources for the Study of Rhode Island Labor: A Bibliographic Essay,” 73–79
Monitor (gunboat), 91
 Moshassuck, 83
 Motta, Gertrude, labor history, 17–19
 Munoz, Marcus, 66

 Nardella, Guido, 23
 Nardella, Luigi, labor history, 2, 23–24, 77
 Narragansett: home rule, 150; town history, 151
 Narragansett Brewery, 58, 60
 Narragansett Casino, 87
 Narragansett Electric Company, 45
 Narragansett Indians, trade with Roger Williams, 95–111
 Nee, George, labor history, 66–69, 71
 Nelson, Mary C., 76
 New Deal and Rhode Island towns, 147–48
New England Artisan, 124
New Republic, 49
 Newport, 83, 86–87; *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era*, reviewed, 113–14
Newport Daily News, naval base closing, illus., 144

 Nicholson File Company, 89
 Nimini, Luigi, 9–10
 Ninigret (sachem), 107
 Nixon, Richard M., 141
 North Kingstown: home rule, 150; town history, 152
 North Providence: home rule, 150; town history, 152; “Zachariah Allen and the Architecture of Industrial Paternalism,” 117–35
 North Smithfield: home rule, 150; town history, 152

 Odsen, Martin, labor history, 58–60
 Olney, Stephen, 90
 Oral history: “Working Lives: An Oral History of Rhode Island Labor,” 3–10; “Long Time Passed, 1890–1928,” 11–26; “Depression Rhode Island, 1929–1940,” 27–38; “Entering the Modern Era, 1941–1960,” 41–53; “Working People in the Postindustrial Age, 1961–Present,” 54–72

 Paine, Thomas, 90
 Paquin, Emily, labor history, 65
 Parks, Roger, 136
Pawtucket Evening Times, 74
 Peabody Award, 53
 Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, photo, 88
 Perry, Matthew C., 91
 Perry, Oliver Hazard, 91: illus., 90
 Phelps, Harold A., 77
Philosophy of the Mechanics of Nature, 119
 Plante, Diane, labor history, 65–66
 Politics, “Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government: A Survey of Areas for Research,” 136–54
 Portsmouth, 83, 85; home rule, 150; local history, 152; Women’s Christian Temperance Union and liquor sales, 138–39
The Practical Tourist, 119, 121–25
 Praeger, Frederick A., 77
 Pressen, Edward, 75
 Privateering, 88–90
 Progressive party, 50–51
 Providence, 83–84
 Providence Art Club, 51
 Providence Bank (Fleet), 89
 Providence College, 43
Providence Evening Telegram, 74
Providence Journal, 25, 51–53, 137
Providence Journal Almanac, 137
 Providence Marine Corps of Artillery, 91
Providence Morning Star, 74
 Providence Newspaper Guild, 53
 Providence Plantations, patent for, 99–100

Providence Tribune, 23
 Prude, Jonathan, 117

 Quakers in colonial Rhode Island, 85
 Quinney, Richard, 77
 Quirk, Charles, 46

Radical History Review, 2
 Raponi, Sam, labor history, 44–45, 71
 Regan, Ambrose, 43
 Reid, James P., 9, 77
Reliance, The (sailing vessel), vol. 3 cover
 Religious liberty, 84–86; “A Day in the Life of Roger Williams,” 95–111; Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 126–27, 131
 Retail Wholesale Department Store Union, 66
 Rhode Island, map (1636–1659), 98
Rhode Island Acts and Resolves, 138
Rhode Island: A Bibliography of Its History, 136
Rhode Island: A Bicentennial History, 137
 Rhode Island Bureau of Government Research, 140
 Rhode Island Central Labor Union, 7–8, 42
 Rhode Island College, 92
 Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities, 2
 Rhode Island Department of Economic Development, 139
 Rhode Island Development Council, 139
 Rhode Island Grape Boycott Committee, 66
 Rhode Island Group Health Association, 49
 Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, 140
 Rhode Island Hospital, 92
 Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company, 89
 Rhode Island Junior College, 92
 Rhode Island Labor History Project, 2, 4–5
Rhode Island Local Government: Past, Present, Future, 140
Rhode Island Manual, 137
 Rhode Island State Council of Defense, “On to Victory” float, photo, 149
 Rhode Island Workers Association, 68–69
 Richards, William Trost, 87
 Richman, Irving B., 140
 Richmond, local history, 152
 Rigney, James, labor history, 22–23, 29–30, 46–47, 61
 Risorgimento Club, 24
 Roberts, Laura M., 78
 Roberts, Tom, 2

INDEX

- Roger Williams College, 92
 Rogers, Sarah, 87
 Roman Catholicism: *see* Catholic Church and labor history
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 143
 Royal Mills, 23
 Royal Weaving Company, 17
Rural Essays, 128
 Ryan, Gene, 66
- Sacco, Nicola, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, 24-25
 Saftel, Alan, labor history, 2
 Sansbury, Gail, labor history, 2, 18-19, 41-42, 64-66, 78
 Sayles Finishing plant, vol. 1 cover, 19
 Saylesville Bleachery, 30-31
 Schwartz, Charles, labor history, 2
Science of Mechanics, 119
 Scituate, local history, 152
 Scunzio, John, labor history, 69-71
 Service Employees' International Union, 69
 Sgambato, Frank, labor history, 20-22, 29-30, 43
 Schacht, Robert, 51
 Shade, William, 75
 Shapiro-Perl, Nina, 78
 Shapot, Robert, labor history, 31
 Sharpe, Henry, 47
 Shawomet, 83
 Shelton, Henry, labor history, 67-68
 Shipbuilding, *The Reliance*, vol. 3 cover
 Sidney, Algonon, 86
 Simmons, Christina, 2
 Sisk, Jonathan, 2
 Sisti, Al, labor history, 2, 32-33, 36-38, 78
 Skemp, Sheila, book reviewed by, 113-14
 Skiffington, John, labor history, 42
 Slater Mill, 5, 11, 73
 Slave trade, 87-88; *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era*, reviewed, 113-14
 Smith, Mrs. Edwin C., photo, 145
 Smith, John Francis, 76
 Smith, Judith, 2, 77
 Smith, Richard, 99, 101, 109
 Smithfield: Georgiavillemill, 118, 122, 128-35; home rule, 150; town history, 152
Solar Light and Heat, 119
 South Kingstown, home rule, 150; town history, 152
 Spitz, Lawrence, Jr., labor history, 2, 29, 35, 38, 45-46, 48, 51, 72, 74
- Sprague, A. & W., 4
Springfield Morning News, 53
 Steffens, Lincoln, 140
 Stiles, Ezra, 86
 Straight, Mike, 49
 Stuart, Gilbert, 86
 Sunday blue laws, 139
 Sutton, Robert W., 140
 Sweet, Benjamin, 123
- Talbot, Silas, 90
 Tallman and Bucklin (carpenters), 123, 125
 Taylor, Maureen, 78
 Tefft, Thomas Alexander, 126
 Textiles: labor history, 11-12, 17, 19-24, 29-30, 34, 36-38, 43, 46, 48; Sayles Finishing plant, vol. 1 cover; Zachariah Allen and industrial paternalism, 117-35; *see also* Oral history
 Thayer, Simeon, 90
 Thomistic Guild, 46
 Thompson, E. P., 73
 Throckmorton, John, 101
 Tillinghast, William, 75
 Tiverton, local history, 152
 Topp, Michael, labor history, 2
 Tormey, Dorothea Jane, 75
 Touro Synagogue, 87
 Towles, John Ker, 76
 Towns: and federal relations, 147-48; home rule, 148-50; planning of, and Zachariah Allen's industrial paternalism, 117-35; "Twentieth-Century Rhode Island Town Government History: A Survey of Areas for Research," 136-54
 Townsend family, 87
 Transportation, trolley cars and labor history, 12-13
 Tucker, Barbara, 75
 Tucker, Bruce, 2
 Turner, Bruce H., 77
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 109
- Unemployed Workers Union, 68-69
 United Electric Railway, 14
 United Farmworkers' boycott, 66, 69
 U.S. Rubber plant, 42
 U.S.S. *Providence*, 90
 United Textile Workers, 39-40
 University of Rhode Island, 92
- Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, and Nicola Sacco, 24-25
- Vernon, Samuel, 87
 Verrazzano, Giovanni da, 85, 94
 Victor, Stephen, 76
 Von Schinkel, Friedrich, 128
- Wadbrook, Mary, labor history, 27
 Wallace, Henry, 50-51
 Wallendorf, Ellen, 76
 Walsh, Charles A., 45
 Warren: home rule, 150; town history, 152
 Wartime Rhode Island, 89-91
 Watson, Franklin J., 78
 Westerley: home rule, 150; town history, 152
 West Warwick: home rule, 150; town history, 152
 Wharton, Edith, 86
What Price Security?, 52
 White, John, 57
 White, John, Jr., 57
 Whitrege, Thomas Worthington, 87
 Wickford, 84
 Wilcox, John, 101
 Williams, Mary (Mrs. Roger Williams), 102
 Williams, Mary (daughter), 102, 104, 107-8
 Williams, Roger, 83, 86, 89, 94; *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution*, 86; *The Bloody Tenet Yet More Bloody*, 106; "A Day in the Life of Roger Williams," 95-111; *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, 102; "The Landing of Roger Williams," *illus.*, 100
 Winthrop, John, Jr., 97, 101-2, 105-8; *illus.*, 97
 Winthrop, John, Sr., 103
 Witherspoon, Prentice, labor history, 71-72
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, 138-39
 Women's suffrage, 146; photo, 145
 Woonsocket, St. John the Baptist parade, photo, 93
 Workingman's party, 124
- Yankee* (vessel), 90-91
 Yates, Elizabeth Upham, photo, 145
 Young Christian Workers, 67
 Young Workers' League, 24
- Zimbalist, Andrew, 78
 Zuckerman, Michael B., 76

The Correspondence of Roger Williams, 1629-1682



"Landing of Roger Williams," by Alonzo Chappel, 1857. Courtesy of Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

GLENN W. LaFANTASIE, *editor*

For the first time all the letters of America's famous religious dissenter, advocate of religious freedom, and the separation of church and state, friend to the Indians, and founder of Rhode Island are available in published form. This two-volume set contains every known piece of correspondence by or to Roger Williams from his days as a chaplain in England in 1629 to the eve of his death in New England, including a few letters never before published. Coupled with extensive annotation and detailed commentary, these documents reveal for modern readers the multifaceted dimension of Williams' career in Puritan New England and the central role he played in settling and developing colonial America.

The collection replaces an incomplete and faulty edition of Williams' letters published in 1874. It should immediately become the standard source for both scholarly researchers interested in specific aspects of Williams' career and students of colonial

American history seeking a general appreciation of his life and times. Among the topics raised in the letters are relations with the Indians, religious and political developments in the Providence Plantations and Rhode Island, news about people and events in revolutionary England, Williams' protests about treatment of religious dissenters in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and complaints to his neighbors about disorders and divisions.

All documents are arranged chronologically and transcribed in full from authenticated sources, retaining original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. The volumes contain extensive annotations and editorial notes, a general introduction, a history of Williams' personal papers, a description of editorial methods used by the editor, a glossary of Indian names, and a cumulative index of names and subjects.

1024 pages. 17 illustrations. 6 maps. Two-volume set, \$100.00

Published for The Rhode Island Historical Society. A Brown University Press book.

University Press of New England, 17½ Lebanon Street, Hanover, NH 03755