

NOVEMBER 1994



Rhode Island History

A RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATION

Volume 52, Number 4



Rhode Island History

Volume 52, Number 4

Published by
The Rhode Island Historical Society
110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152
and printed by a grant from the State of
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,
Bruce G. Sundlun, Governor;
Barbara M. Leonard, Secretary of State

Grafton H. Willey III, *president*
Edward J. Spargo, *vice president*
Donald F. Keinz, *vice president for development*
Nancy K. Cassidy, *secretary*
Ray Rickman, *assistant secretary*
Richard F. Staples, Jr., *treasurer*
Lisa Madison, *assistant treasurer*
Albert T. Klyberg, *director*

FELLOWS OF THE SOCIETY

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

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Anne Marshall Christner, *chair*
Pedro Beade
Joyce Botelho
Joel A. Cohen
Norman S. Fiering
Robert Allen Greene
James P. Marusak
Thomas McAvoy
William McKenzie Woodward
Harrison Wright

STAFF

Dennis Conrad, *editor*
Denise J. Bastien, *graphics editor*
Allison Cywin, *assistant graphics editor*
Hilliard Beller, *copy editor*
Carol Holscher, *editorial assistant*

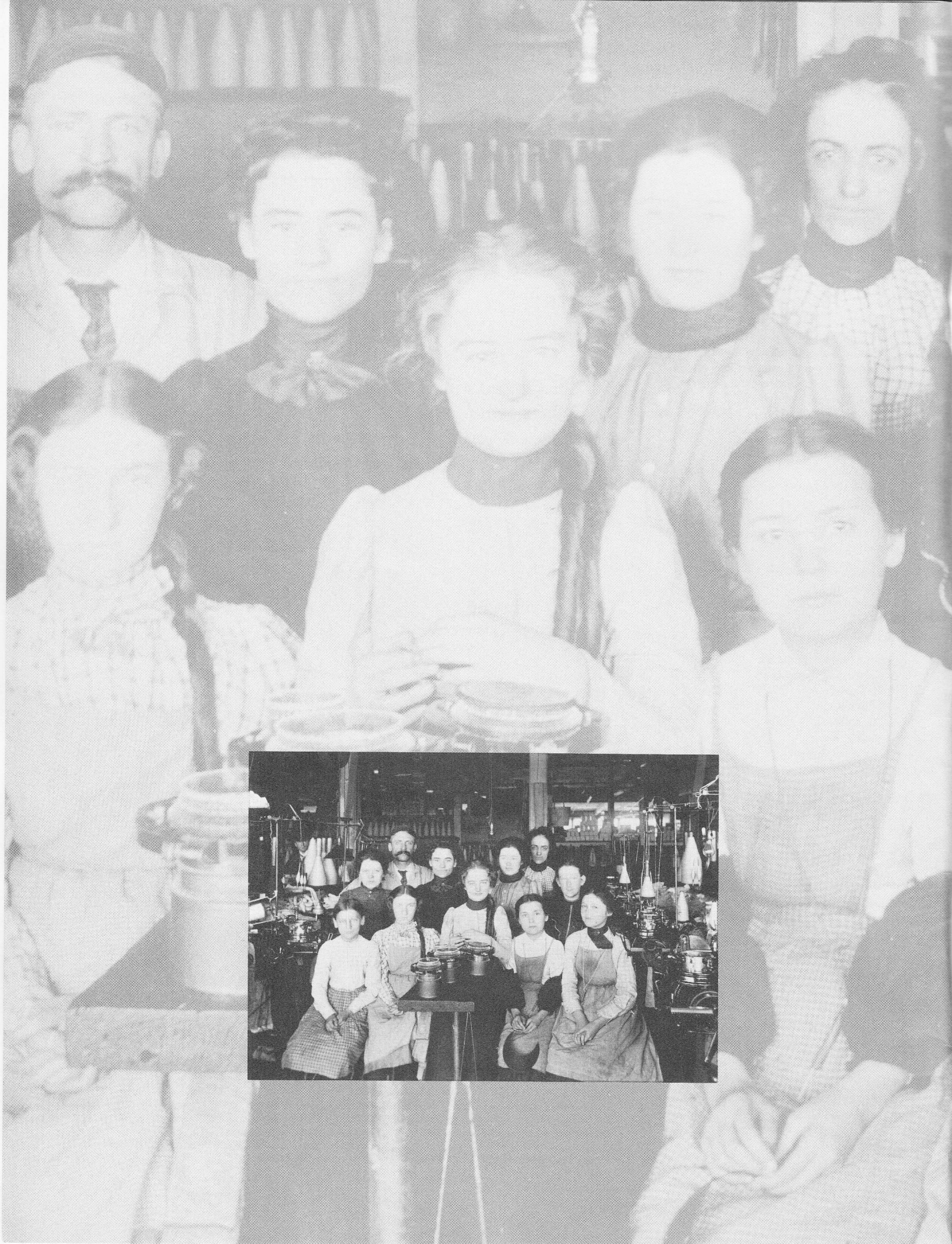
The Rhode Island Historical Society
assumes no responsibility for the
opinions of contributors.

CONTENTS

- “Was She Clothed with the Rents Paid for
These Wretched Rooms?": Elizabeth Buffum Chace,
Lillie Chace Wyman, and Upper-Class Advocacy
for Women Factory Operatives in Gilded Age
Rhode Island 107

ELIZABETH C. STEVENS

- Index to Volume 52 134



“Was She Clothed with the Rents Paid for These Wretched Rooms?": Elizabeth Buffum Chace, Lillie Chace Wyman, and Upper-Class Advocacy for Women Factory Operatives in Gilded Age Rhode Island

ELIZABETH C. STEVENS

On 7 March 1893 Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, a slight, dark-haired woman, traveled from the mill village of Valley Falls, Rhode Island, to Providence to testify at a legislative hearing. A reticent person, she may have undertaken the familiar journey to the bustling city with apprehension; she rarely spoke in public and certainly had never appeared at a formal hearing at the State House. The forty-five-year-old Wyman planned to testify in favor of the Factory Inspectors Act, a multifaceted bill that would regulate hours and working conditions for thousands of women and children operatives in the state's factories, as well as mandate a female factory inspector to travel about the state to monitor enforcement of the legislation.

Arriving at the State House, Lillie Wyman joined a crowd of women activists who had come to speak and show their support for the proposed legislation. Among the women who crowded the state Senate library that day were Lizzie Hunt of the Knights of Labor, Anna Garlin Spencer and Sarah Doyle of the Rhode Island Council of Women, and representatives of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and a number of other organizations. When her turn came to testify, Wyman told her audience simply that her "experience in a manufacturing village had taught her to believe that the women and children of the factories needed protection," and that factory inspectors were necessary to enforce the regulations of the proposed bill.¹

Lillie Chace Wyman's testimony at the Factory Inspectors Act hearing appeared to contrast sharply with the interests of her own economic position. A published author, she was the daughter of a Quaker cotton manufacturer, Samuel B. Chace, who had assumed ownership of the Valley Falls Company mills in northern Rhode Island in 1839 and had owned textile factories in Albion and other surrounding villages as well. Since Samuel Chace's death in 1871, the Valley Falls Company and other family holdings had been administered by Lillie Wyman's brother, Arnold B. Chace, the treasurer of Brown University. The considerable wealth of Wyman's family had been amassed through the ownership of these manufacturing establishments.² Given her intimate connection to the upper-class economic elite of the state, Lillie Wyman's appearance in favor of the Rhode Island Factory Inspectors Act was surprising.

At the same time, Wyman's presence at the legislative hearing bore witness to another deep connection, one that impelled her to disregard what appeared to be her own class interests. Her mother, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, was a reformer whose activism spanned some sixty years of the nineteenth century. First active in the Garrisonian wing of the antislavery movement in the 1830s, by the last decades of the century Chace had established herself as one of Rhode Island's most eminent reform leaders. She helped found the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association in the years following the Civil War, and she led that organization from 1870 until her death in 1899; she worked tirelessly to establish a

With the explosive growth of textile manufacturing in Rhode Island after the Civil War, thousands of young girls and women went to work in factories throughout the state. These worked at the Blackstone Stocking Company in Cumberland. Photograph by T. H. Owens, circa 1890. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8097).

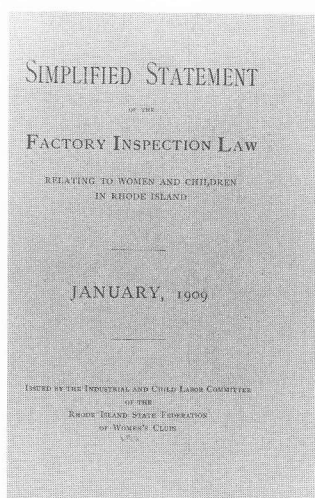
Elizabeth Stevens holds a doctorate in American civilization from Brown University.



Portrait of Elizabeth Buffum Chace and her oldest granddaughter, Bessie Cheney, circa 1880. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8099).

humane state institution for orphans and homeless children; she labored to create a Board of Women Visitors to oversee state institutions in which women lived, and she also urged the employment of female attendants in jails and police stations. A prolific correspondent, Chace published scores of letters on reform topics in the Providence newspapers, and she regularly attended meetings of regional organizations. At the time of her daughter's testimony on behalf of the factory bill, the eighty-seven-year-old Chace was largely confined to her home in Valley Falls, where she continued to conduct executive meetings of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association and provide moral leadership to her younger comrades.³

If Lillie Wyman's presence at the Factory Inspectors Act hearing testified to her deep connection to both the Rhode Island mill town where she had come of age and the world of middle-class reform, it also bore witness to an especially fruitful mother-daughter partnership. In the years prior to the introduction of the Factory Inspectors Act, both Wyman and Chace had labored to bring the issue of factory women and girls to public attention. Breaking her previous silence on the issue, in the early 1880s Chace had made a major statement to a national gathering of women leaders in Buffalo, New York, urging them to pay close attention to conditions in factories and to take action to alleviate the sufferings of women workers. Throughout the decade of the 1880s Wyman had published realistic fiction aimed at informing her readers about life in the mills and inciting them to action on the operatives' behalf. Both women called on their middle-class audiences and colleagues to identify with the sufferings of female factory workers across the barriers of an increasing class stratification in Rhode Island and elsewhere.



Title page of a pamphlet on the Factory Inspectors Act of 1894, issued in 1909 by the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8100).

Their pathbreaking work in behalf of factory women—highly unusual for any middle-class reformer in Rhode Island, much less a mother-daughter dyad from the mill-owning class—laid the groundwork for the coalition of women leaders who would pressure the legislature for the passage of the Factory Inspectors Act in 1893. These efforts by Chace and Wyman have been largely forgotten; Elizabeth Buffum Chace is today remembered for her antislavery and woman suffrage labors, while Lillie Chace Wyman is almost totally unknown to modern Rhode Islanders. Yet the story of their agitation on behalf of women and children factory workers is a significant one, a story of courageous

activism by two dedicated women, and it deserves a place in the history of women's reform activism in Rhode Island.⁴



Elizabeth Buffum Chace was not born into wealth. Her grandfather William Buffum was a prosperous resident of Smithfield, Rhode Island, but Chace's own family had very little money. Her father, Arnold Buffum, was an impecunious businessman, educator, and reformer. Lillie Wyman claimed that after one of Arnold Buffum's business failures, several of his young children, including Elizabeth, went to work briefly in a mill on the Blackstone River. While living

in Fall River as young women, Chace and her sisters "sewed, taught, or helped in a relative's home." One sister, Sarah, "had a little shop" before her marriage to Nathaniel Borden. In the early years of their marriage, as Samuel Chace struggled to establish himself as a textile manufacturer in Fall River, he and Elizabeth were far from prosperous. After his Fall River business failed in 1837, Samuel and his wife returned to Rhode Island, and Samuel purchased the textile mills at Valley Falls.⁵ By the early 1880s, when Elizabeth Buffum Chace spoke out on the conditions of female factory workers, she and her family were well-to-do members of the millowning class.



*Blackstone Stocking Company, circa 1915.
RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8105).*

Although Chace championed the rights of disenfranchised women, dependent wards of the state, and women prisoners during the 1870s, she never directly addressed the adverse conditions of workers—like those women who toiled in her family's Valley Falls Company mills—in her public statements and writings.⁶ The post-Civil War years had witnessed an explosive boom in textile manufacturing in Rhode Island. By the 1870s, when Chace assumed the presidency of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, workers in the Valley Falls

mills, like those in other Rhode Island textile factories, labored in family units of men, women, and children—often as young as eight years old—in order to earn enough money to survive. Unregulated by the state, working conditions in the factories were brutal.⁷ Female operatives made up an increasingly large part of the work force. Employed as unskilled workers, they were forced to stand for long periods of time, and they were frequently at the mercy of unscrupulous or immoral supervisors. Married women operatives returned home at night to care for their families in squalid and inadequate housing, often provided by their employers. An increasingly large percentage of the work force in Valley Falls and elsewhere in Rhode Island were recent immigrants. Irish, English, and French Canadian workers were predominant in the Chace mills.⁸

Although Chace had not addressed the sordid living and working conditions of factory operatives in her public reform initiatives, she had made personal efforts to ameliorate the harshness of life for the workers in Valley Falls. In the mid-1860s she had led a temperance crusade aimed at closing local rum shops, a measure intended to benefit workers by eliminating a drain on family income and improving family relations in workers' homes.⁹ During that time Chace and her husband were instrumental in starting an evening school "especially for mill workers, who could not attend the public day schools" in Valley Falls.¹⁰ In addition, Chace and her daughters initiated a sewing class at their home, and they provided its members, who were mainly young operatives, with reading material.¹¹ Chace also attempted to establish an evening "reading room" for the Valley Falls factory workers, an initiative that failed, her daughter Lillie later wrote, "probably because Mrs. Chace insisted on providing periodicals of a character that were too intellectual."¹² These efforts in the 1860s and 1870s derived mainly from Chace's sense of personal responsibility toward the operatives in her town, however, and did not encompass any institutional changes or critiques of the industrial system itself.

By the mid-seventies Chace had expanded her personal efforts to include the needs of female mill workers in Valley Falls by establishing a kindergarten there.¹³ The national kindergarten movement was popular among activist women, and Chace had undoubtedly conceived her own project after hearing about other kindergartens founded and staffed by woman reformers.¹⁴ Her kindergarten lasted for about seven or eight years. Differing from her earlier efforts to assuage the harshness of factory life, it drew not only children from families of factory workers but other children as well, including her own grandchildren.¹⁵ The kindergarten was an acknowledgment that workers in her family's mills suffered from the policies of the millowner as well as from their own ignorance or intemperance. In an article praising Chace's "noble work" in founding the kindergarten, Rhode Island suffrage organizer M. W. Campbell stressed that it was established for the children "of the operatives in the mills of the Valley Falls manufacturing company" and was "designed to include such children as are not old enough to attend the public schools and are turned into the streets with no care during the day." The kindergarten was "entirely free," Campbell noted.¹⁶

Chace ended her public silence on the abuses in the mills in the early 1880s. It is not clear why she chose this particular moment to speak out, although her dwindling physical energies may have persuaded her to address the issue in a timely fashion. Her practical work with the kindergarten undoubtedly increased her awareness of the grim conditions in the mill and its environs; her colleagues in the suffrage movement may also have urged her to take a public stand

against injustices in the factory. Her work in the Rhode Island woman suffrage movement had brought Chace into regular contact with persons like the Reverend Frederic Hinckley and activist Elizabeth Churchill, who agitated both for woman suffrage and the rights of labor. Churchill, a temperance and suffrage lecturer and a close colleague of Chace's, helped to found both the Rhode Island Woman's Club and the Association for the Advancement of Women, and she instituted a series of "working-women's lectures" in Providence in 1880 before her sudden death the following year.¹⁷ Frederic A. Hinckley was a Protestant clergyman who came to Rhode Island in 1878 as "resident minister" of the Providence Free Religious Society, an organization in which Chace was deeply involved. An ardent woman suffragist, Hinckley also promoted legislation to regulate the hours and working conditions of Rhode Island workers.¹⁸ By all indications Hinckley and Chace developed a close working relationship in the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association and the Free Religious Society, a relationship that undoubtedly encouraged the aging woman to expand the scope of her reform agenda.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that Chace chose to break her silence on the subject of the factory system in a far-reaching paper delivered before a national forum, the Woman's Congress held in Buffalo, New York, in 1881. The gathering was sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of Women, an organization founded in 1873 in response to the burgeoning temperance, suffrage, and woman's club movements. The yearly Woman's Congresses of the AAW provided a kind of "think tank" for the leaders of a myriad of women's reform organizations. Some of these leaders were abolitionist colleagues of Chace's; others were younger women like Frances Willard, the head of the national Woman's Christian Temperance Union, whose membership numbered in the

Group portrait of Woman's Christian Temperance Union members, Rhode Island, circa 1890. Silver gelatin print. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8027).



hundreds of thousands.²⁰ Chace herself was active in the AAW from its inception, often representing Rhode Island among its officers.²¹ Her paper on prison reform had been read at the first Woman's Congress, held in New York in 1873.²² Chace no doubt considered the 1881 Woman's Congress, attended by her sympathetic friends and longtime colleagues, an appropriate place for suggesting a new dimension to the women's reform agenda. Ironically, she herself was unable to attend the congress because it was "too much of an undertaking" for her; "somebody else will have to read my paper," she wrote to her longtime abolitionist and suffrage associate Lucy Stone.²³

"Factory Women and Girls of New England" was the seventy-five-year-old Chace's clarion call to middle- and upper-class women to investigate the plight of their working-class sisters, and to act on their findings.²⁴ Chace drew in her audience by commenting on the changes that industrialization had wrought on the agrarian New England of her childhood. In the first decades of the century, she recalled, mothers and daughters of the yeomen toiled side by side, creating fabric and clothing for their families in a virtually "classless" society. Even as "the wheels of the first factories" began to transform the village landscapes, sons and daughters of millowners worked alongside other laborers, with no distinction between them. Work in the weaving room of a mill was considered a promotion from the drudgery of farm work for "genteel" young women. Chace cited the "factory girls" who toiled at Lowell while producing the legendary literary magazine *Lowell Offering*; two of them—poet Lucy Larcom and suffragist Harriet Robinson—were active in woman suffrage and other reform movements.²⁵

There were several factors that separated female factory operatives from their middle-class sisters in the postwar era, Chace observed. Many of the workers were foreign-born and Catholic, lacking ties with their Protestant middle-class counterparts. They were impoverished, and with little formal education, either because they had had none in their countries of origin or because their attendance at American public school was limited, as they had begun working in the mills as children. They were also "excluded from the society of their own sex outside of the factory" because their wage work and housework claimed all their time and gave them little leisure. The increasing "tendency" toward "class distinction" militated against a connection between the two groups as well. Women reformers should resist the forces separating them from the concerns of industrial workers, Chace argued, for a large proportion of factory operatives were women and girls.²⁶ Citing statistics from a Bureau of Labor report from 1881, she emphasized that "a very large number of women and girls, from ten years old to forty or fifty," were employed in the textile mills of the north, especially in New England. Given the high proportion of women and girls among factory workers, she wrote in defining the purpose of her paper, "it is a subject of grave concern as to what is their actual condition and what are the duties of other women toward them."²⁷

Chace felt that her duty was to enlighten middle-class women reformers about the sordid conditions under which so many female factory operatives lived and worked. Though for the most part she spared graphic details, she cited several factors that contributed to these conditions. Many operatives lived "a floating life," she wrote, often changing their residences in hope of better wages or working conditions, and the resulting unsettled life bore most heavily on the women. Intemperance was a "terrible curse," especially for working-class women, "who suffer most severely from its effects." The "tenement system,"

with its cramped, ill-ventilated quarters, made "privacy and neatness impossible." Lack of indoor bathing facilities was a far greater problem for women than for men, because men and boys had "the use of the ponds and rivers."²⁸ In detailing the specific ways in which factory life was especially oppressive to women, Chace skillfully emphasized the common bond that linked female operatives to their middle-class sisters.

Chace's paper gave particular emphasis to the harm that factory work did to young women. Teenage girls were sometimes required to do "the most difficult and the most straining of any work done in a cotton mill" because of their alleged "nimbleness and dexterity of the fingers," and although they were able to sit during "spare moments," their work demanded that they stand for ten or eleven hours a day. Chace condemned these conditions as reprehensible. She was especially concerned because physicians insisted that girls needed special care when they entered puberty. The doctors' warnings were directed toward middle- and upper-class girls "of the more carefully guarded classes," she noted, but "the girls for whom I speak come from another class who in other respects, have little chance for health, who sleep in ill-ventilated rooms, who eat unwholesome food, who are often poorly clad, and upon whose dawning womanhood is laid this fearful stain."²⁹ The leaders of the woman's movement took a particular interest in the girls of the coming generation, and Chace's remarks were calculated to engage her colleagues' sympathy while bridging the growing chasm between the classes.³⁰

In addition to the physical effects of factory life, Chace was also concerned about the moral damage it could inflict. Although many girls growing up in workers' families managed to remain virtuous despite extremely adverse conditions, she maintained, others were not so fortunate. Life in mill housing and in the factory itself tended to "break reserve between the sexes," and in the "more ignorant and wretched families, it was almost impossible to protect young women from the daily dangers and temptations" that would so "alarm" the middle-class parents to whom she addressed her paper. The double standard of male and female morality prevailed, and it was a prime cause of misfortune for many young women working in the factories. Women could be driven into unsuitable sexual alliances by economic necessity. Abuse by "drunken parents" often sent girls into the streets "to become an easy prey for any solicitations, which wear the garb of tenderness and gentleness." Yet, despite such "unfortunate circumstances," it was "very rare that a factory girl becomes an actual prostitute," although "less mercenary lapses from virtue often followed by wretched marriages do occur." Chace concluded her consideration of the difficult lives of female factory workers by paying tribute to the operatives' "forbearance," "self-denial," and "patient endurance."³¹

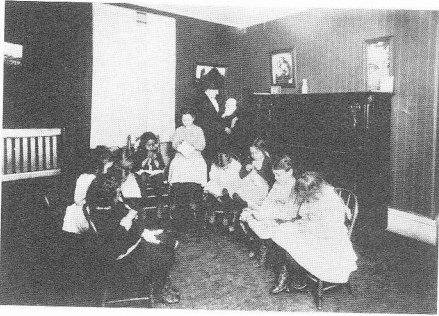
But Chace was not content merely with exposing the hardships and inequities facing female operatives; she also declared her intention to illuminate the lives of "another class of factory women," the wives and daughters of manufacturers. Although they no longer worked alongside operatives as they might have in the early days of industrialization, such women were bound by "duty" to recognize their "responsibility" to working-class women, especially since it was from the labor of women factory operatives that upper-class women derived their "own comfort and enjoyment." Moreover, many middle- and upper-class women had grandparents who had themselves lived and worked in humble circumstances. Those women fortunate enough to have been born into families that had uplifted themselves from poverty were morally bound to "hold out to

*Blackstone Stocking Company, circa 1890.
RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8096).*



the pre-Civil War society in which she had come of age, a way of thinking and feeling that had since been undermined by a fierce economic climate that splintered the female population into separate and distinct economic strata.

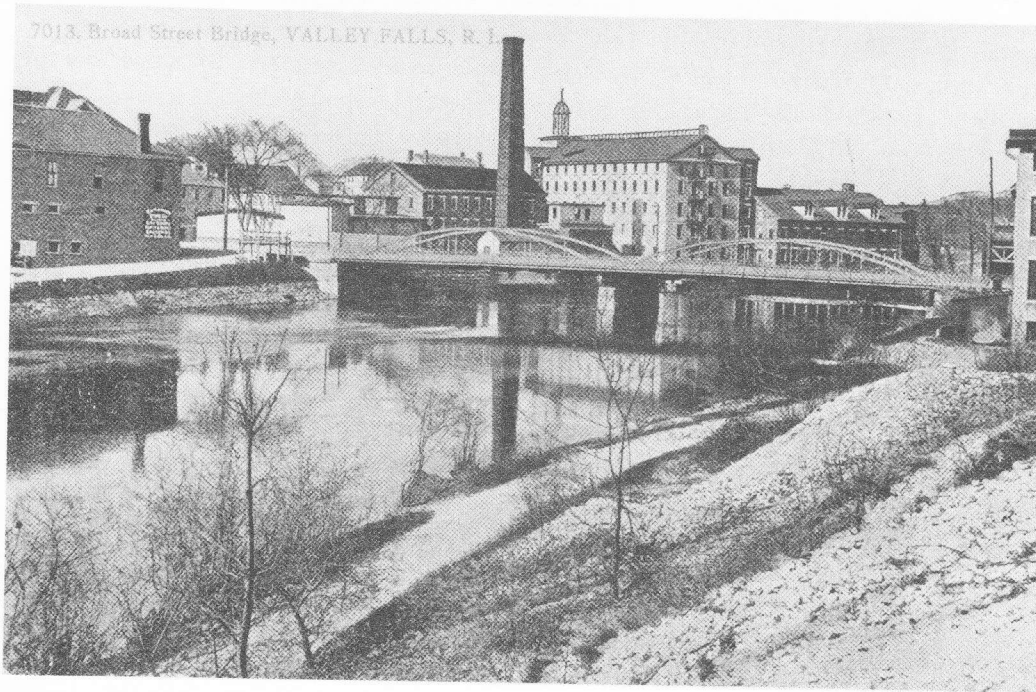
According to Chace, there were several ways in which middle- and upper-class "factory women" could participate in the reform effort she proposed. They should, first, "make themselves personally acquainted with the actual condition of the feminine workers in the mills." These fortunate factory women should monitor working conditions to ensure that their working-class sisters were not required to stand for long periods of time or perform labor that was too arduous for them. Wives and daughters of manufacturers should insist that persons hired as superintendents and overseers were "morally fit to preside over women and girls." These upper-class women should visit the homes of female operatives and take a "personal interest in their concerns." Individual efforts alone would not suffice; Chace encouraged the "better class of factory women"



Chace encouraged upper-class women to support their working-class sisters by providing sewing schools for the young. Photograph by Lewis Hine, no. 854/no. 3174. Courtesy of Slater Mill Historic Site, Pawtucket.

to "combine" to secure the establishment of half-time schools in their states, thus opening the way for "cooking schools, sewing schools and kitchen gardens where the young girls can be trained for house-keeping." Activists should (as Chace herself had done) establish nurseries and kindergartens for the children of factory workers to ensure that they received a healthy upbringing.³³

In concluding her paper, Chace urgently appealed to her "sisters of this fortunate class of factory women" to "banish sleep from their eyes and slumber from their eyelids" until they were "so awakened to a sense of their duties, as to lead them to go forth to the investigation of the conditions of every family and of every woman, and of every girl, whose labor in the mill, while it produces the means of their own support, helps also to furnish the supply of 'purple and fine linen' which these ladies wear." In her final passionate summation she singled out the daughters of the upper class whose "sisterly ministrations" could enrich the lives of young women factory operatives. "To what better purpose" could privileged young women use their "leisure time," she asked, "than in devising and carrying out methods for the amusement, instruction and benefit" of their counterparts in the factory? In pursuing such work, Chace argued, the daughters of the manufacturing class would themselves benefit, as they would "learn lessons of self-sacrifice and faithfulness in the performance of duty" that their previously sheltered lives had given them "no opportunity to conceive."³⁴



Valley Falls was one of many Rhode Island villages overshadowed by industry. Postcard by A. C. Bosselman and Company, 1925. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8101).

Coming from one who had heretofore shown little public interest in the issue of female factory labor, and who was herself the wife and mother of manufacturers, the analysis and passion of Chace's paper was unexpected. Although Chace was gentle in her criticisms of employers, even commending a few paternalistic efforts to upgrade living conditions of workers, she refused to accept the economic materialism that was wreaking an ever-widening class division in industry-dominated communities like Valley Falls. She did not agree that "financial laws"

mandated exploitation of young women. "If the controlling classes, in their struggle to retain and increase their wealth, are justified in availing themselves of all the power given them by the possession of capital, of all the forces created by what are called the laws of trade, to the detriment of their weaker fellow-creatures, I see no reason why they would not also be justified in using physical force to attain the same end, thus converting their employees into chattel slaves," she passionately argued.³⁵





Portrait of the Chace family, 1882. Standing (left to right) are Mary Chace Tolman; her husband, James; Arnold Chace; and Lillie Chace Wyman. Seated in front of them are Elizabeth Buffum Chace; Eliza Greene Chace (Arnold's wife); and John Wyman. Courtesy of Sarah Rowland Sonntag and Elizabeth Stevens.

If the aging Chace needed a younger comrade to take up the standard for the cause of factory women, she did not have to search very far. Elizabeth Buffum Chace's seventh child and oldest living daughter, named for her mother and nicknamed Lillie, had been baptized into a life of activism almost from the moment of her birth in December 1847. While her father, Samuel Chace, and his brother Harvey labored to resuscitate the struggling Valley Falls Company textile mill, Elizabeth Buffum Chace devoted herself to antislavery activism and motherhood. By 1843 Chace's first five children, born between 1830 and 1841, had all died of childhood illnesses. Chace shared her culture's reverence for motherhood, and the excruciating deaths of her children made her almost obsessively concerned with her five children who survived: Samuel, born in 1843; Arnold, in 1845; Lillie, in 1847; Edward, in 1849; and the youngest, Mary, born in 1852, when Chace was forty-six years old.³⁶

Like many female reformers of her generation who were also mothers, Chace saw no conflict between her role as a parent and her vocation as a social activist. She deemed it absolutely vital to raise her children to be active in social movements, and thus Lillie and her siblings were all brought up to be "good little abolitionists." During Lillie's childhood in the 1850s the Chace family's homes in Valley Falls were way stations for escaped slaves and itinerant abolitionist speakers, including William Lloyd Garrison (whom the Chaces revered as a sort of household saint), Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelley Foster, and Lucy Stone. The commodious Homestead, built by the Chaces in 1858 on Broad Street in what is now Central Falls, provided a pleasant and attractive base for Chace's mingling of abolitionism and parental responsibility. As a child, Lillie read abolitionist newspapers like Garrison's *The Liberator*, and family legend had it that she had mastered Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by the time she was six years old. Together with her sister and brothers, Lillie was brought to antislavery conventions in Providence and lectures in Valley Falls. The children performed antislavery tableaux at local recitals, circulated petitions against slavery, and played with the children of other abolitionists.³⁷ Quaker Samuel Chace, who had restored the Valley Falls mills to prosperity, regarded his family's social activism with benevolent approval.³⁸

Struggling to reconcile her activist upbringing with a love of literature, Lillie decided early on a career as a writer.³⁹ During the ten years after the Civil War, she published a handful of articles in reform newspapers like the *Antislavery Standard* and the *Woman's Journal*.⁴⁰ While wrestling with her vocational choice, she nominally functioned as her mother's reform helper, attending meetings and serving on committees of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association and assisting at temperance activities in Valley Falls.⁴¹ Beset by a tendency toward mental depression in her struggle to find her own useful work, she also suffered a series of painful losses during this time: the death of her older brother Samuel in 1867, her father's painful demise from cancer in 1870, and her younger brother Ned's sudden death in 1871.⁴² The end of the antislavery movement after the Civil War was another death that grieved her. Abolitionist children like her were "trained for a conflict in which they were not permitted to fight," she wrote, "and like the last knight of the Round Table, when that circle was dissolved 'which was an image of the mighty world,' they go forth 'companionless' to meet 'new men, strange faces, other minds.'"⁴³

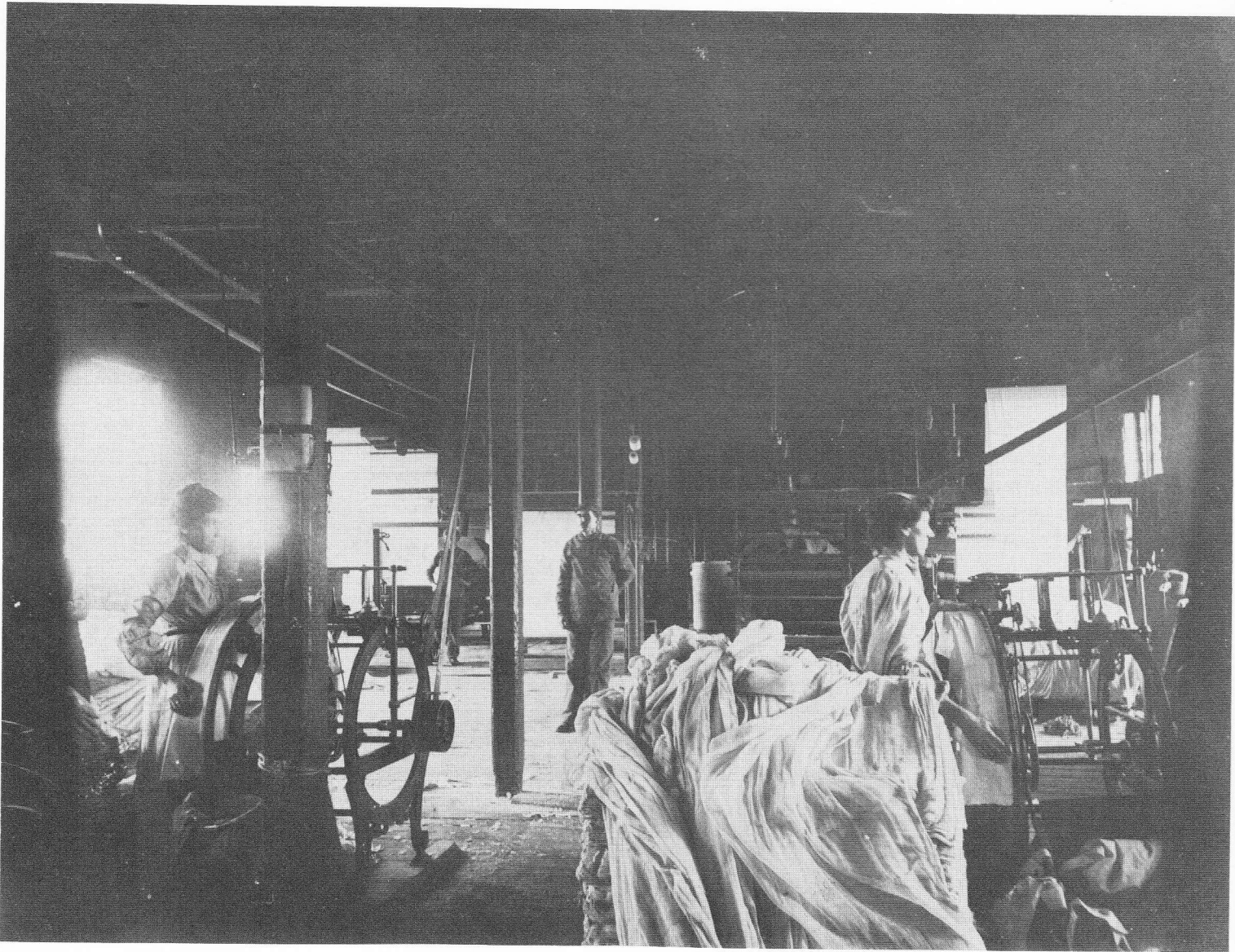
Unlike her mother, Lillie had no experience of an idyllic "classless" preindustrial society. The Valley Falls into which she had been born in 1847 was well on its

way to becoming a typical New England mill village. The Providence and Worcester Railroad was extended through the village in 1847 and 1848, and the Valley Falls mills had begun to thrive. Lillie's growth and development as a child and young woman coincided with the village's industrial development.⁴⁴ During her girlhood Valley Falls experienced its first wave of immigrants into the factories. In her work with the local Juvenile Division, a temperance club for children, and in her assistance at the sewing classes held in her parents' home after the Civil War, Lillie observed firsthand the living conditions of Valley Falls working people. The weekly sewing class, “made up mostly of young operatives,” allowed the Chace family to obtain “intimate acquaintance” with the “family conditions” of the young working women, she later wrote. Her “knowledge of girl-life in factory tenements” was “acquired by her own observation.”⁴⁵

It was during the early 1870s, well before her mother spoke out on the issue, that Lillie began writing about the wrongs inflicted on factory women by the unregulated capitalist system. Perhaps her strongest critique of the prevailing economic climate—and one that explicitly criticized her mother's generation of reformers—appeared in a rumination entitled “Country Whiffs,” published in the *Woman's Journal* in September 1870.⁴⁶ Commenting on a recent address on Christianity by the revered abolitionist and reformer Wendell Phillips, she asked whether “corporations and nations” should be subject to the “higher laws” that individuals must adhere to. “The principle of business is a selfishness so intense,” she observed, “that it often over-reaches itself and falls far short of wisdom.” Criticizing “our wisest and best reformers,” those of her mother's generation, for not addressing the devastating effects of the capitalist system head on, she described the situation in unstintingly dramatic terms: “The laws of supply and demand crush our working-women mercilessly, and the wise selfishness of the day has afforded no relief. Reform itself stands aghast, and almost confesses itself baffled before the untold misery.” Quoting Phillips, she wondered whether there was not in fact a “higher law” that held that “every human being is sacred and infinitely precious.”⁴⁷

If Lillie was critical of her mother's generation of reformers for not placing the plight of woman factory operatives in the forefront of their agenda, she also cooperated with her mother by writing fiction to illustrate one of Elizabeth Buffum Chace's most cherished goals—the establishment of a state home and school for dependent children who would otherwise be sent to the state reform school. In her first published short story, “The Child of the State,” which appeared in the popular *Atlantic Monthly* in September 1877, Lillie presented a bleak, almost horrifying depiction of life at a state reform school and of the prospects for a girl inmate there.⁴⁸ The “child of the state” is Josie Welch, an orphan of factory workers, who is placed in the reform school at the age of ten. There, having had no “good influences” to set her on the proper path in life, she is exposed to a system of cruelty and corruption, and as a young woman she ends up in a house of correction, facing a dismal future.

With “The Child of the State,” Lillie established herself as a reformer-writer who did not withhold graphic details from her genteel middle-class readers. Her description of the reform school life to which young girls are subjected is grim. For discipline, girls like Josie are beaten with a rattan switch. Boys are allowed the use of a “large play-ground” for recreation, but girls have only a “little cooped-up yard where all the drying of clothes for the whole establishment was done,” in which it is impossible for them to “move about freely.”⁴⁹ While boys



*Apponaug Print Works, Warwick, circa 1900.
RIHS Collection (RHi X3 2192).*

are prepared for trades, girls are trained for housework, despite the general reluctance of people to hire former reform school inmates to work in their homes.

Although it was principally intended to expose the cruelty and inadequacy of institutions caring for wards of the state, the story also implies that Josie's dismal situation was partly brought about by the conditions of life prevalent in factory villages. Its opening sentence—"Josie Welch's mother was a widow, who worked in a cotton factory"—seems to carry with it the girl's death knell. It is, in fact, the inadequacies of mill town life that start Josie toward her downfall. "Men and women who labor eleven hours a day in the stifling air of a great factory have limitations to their freedom of will," Lillie writes. "Women must often toil on in the home after the mill work is done. They cannot spend time and money to go out in search of healthful recreation. . . . In factory villages, but little effort is made, by what calls itself Christianity, to compete with Satan in his struggles for souls, or to prove his choice of pleasures an unwise one to the multitude."⁵⁰ In directly connecting Josie's ruin with the deficiencies of life for working-class families in mill villages, Lillie was not only supporting her mother's reform initiative but subtly shaping it to suggest a wider critique.

Interestingly, the middle-class woman reformer who visits Josie at the reform school is depicted as sympathetic but ineffectual.

Lillie's next published story, “Saint or Sinner,” appeared in *Atlantic Monthly* a few months after “The Child of the State.”⁵¹ “Saint or Sinner” has a factory operative as its heroine, and it is set entirely in a dreary mill village. In this story, as in her previous one, Lillie was asking her middle-class readers to consider women and men of a sort that had probably been unknown to them.

In the fall of 1878 Lillie's writing career was temporarily interrupted by her marriage to businessman John Crawford Wyman.⁵² Lillie, who at twenty-four “cherished an appropriately girlish ideal” of the “tall, slender, poetic” man she would marry, first encountered John Wyman on the deck of the steamer *Cuba*, en route to Europe, in 1872. She later described him as “a gray haired man” who was “of medium height, stout, ruddy complexioned and furnished with a double chin.”⁵³ Although virtually no details of their courtship are known, it is clear that what captivated Lillie most about John Wyman was his link to her abolitionist past: he had been converted to Garrisonian abolitionism by his first wife, Emma Willard of Massachusetts, who had died in 1861.⁵⁴ Despite their age difference—John Wyman was twenty-five years Lillie's senior, and closer in age to her mother—and his distinct variance from her “girlish ideal,” the two were wed in October 1878 in a simple ceremony at the Chace Homestead in Valley Falls. The gathering received the blessing of abolitionist patriarch William Lloyd Garrison, who attended with one of his sons.⁵⁵

Although Lillie Chace may have embraced her deep abolitionist roots with her marriage to Wyman, the event literally uprooted her from her Valley Falls home and the reform ambiance that pervaded her mother's household. Although she returned to the Homestead to give birth to a son, Arthur Crawford Wyman, eleven months after her wedding, Lillie lived apart from her mother from 1878 until 1881, as John Wyman's business interests took him to New York City, Boston, and Washington, D.C. During this period Lillie seems to have published nothing. Her removal from her mother's unflagging energy and bustling reform household undoubtedly had something to do with this hiatus. In the fall of 1881, about the time that Elizabeth Buffum Chace was preparing “Factory Women and Girls of New England,” Lillie and her husband returned to Valley Falls and purchased her brother Arnold's spacious house on Broad Street, across from the Homestead.⁵⁶ There, nourished by the renewed proximity of her mother, as well as by the relative isolation of the village, Lillie resumed her writing.

It was in two stories published consecutively in the *Atlantic Monthly* during the winter following her return that Lillie Wyman tapped directly into themes presented in “Factory Women and Girls.” The correlation between these stories—“Hester's Dower” and, especially, “And Joe”—and her mother's paper is remarkable. How closely the two women collaborated in their work is not known, nor is it known if either wrote at the other's urging.

“Hester's Dower,” which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December 1881, harks back to the preindustrial golden age of New England agrarian life that Chace described in the opening paragraphs of “Factory Women and Girls.”⁵⁷ Written by a child of the industrial era, however, the story mocks Chace's rosy recollections. Its protagonist, Hester Arnold, a seamstress, has spurned her weak-willed lover in a fit of anger and has become the classic New England “spinster,” a term evoking the days that Chace celebrated, when village women



Portrait of Lillie Chace Wyman and her son, Arthur Crawford Wyman, circa 1885.
Courtesy of the John Hay Library, Brown University.

of all economic situations joined together to weave their cloth. After she builds a considerable dowry through years of work, Hester and the unassertive Shubael do marry, but Shubael dies intestate shortly thereafter. Although their house and its furnishings have all been paid for by Hester with her own earnings, the prevailing law allows her only one-third of the property, with one-third going to each of Shubael's brothers. When her brothers-in-law claim their two-thirds share, Hester promptly burns down the house and its contents and is sent to prison for arson.

This foray into the world of quaint New England farm folk, complete with country accents and a stubborn heroine, marked the closest that Lillie Wyman would come in her fiction to the pastoral local color of her contemporaries Mary Wilkins Freeman and Sarah Orne Jewett. Like Chace's Yankee forebears, the women in "Hester's Dower" are sturdy and enterprising. Nothing could be more quintessentially symbolic of New England women's bonding than the ritual baking of brown bread—shared in by a poor woman, a spinstress, and a more prosperous farm wife—that Wyman's story lovingly describes.⁵⁸ The idyllic life depicted in the story is disrupted not (as in Chace's recollection of village life) by the coming of immigrants to the factory but by Hester's inequitable treatment under the law. Choosing to destroy her home in order to preserve her independence and dignity, Hester becomes a penniless felon. Although at the end of the story her nemesis, her brother-in-law Jeremiah, is gored by a bull and Hester takes over the rearing of his orphaned child, it is ultimately not a hopeful conclusion, for the basic inequities suffered by women remain.

If "Hester's Dower" was a departure into the fabled territory of early agrarian New England, with "And Joe," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* the following month, Wyman was back in familiar territory.⁵⁹ More than any other story that she would write during the 1880s, "And Joe" most deftly illustrated the ideas her mother had put forth in "Factory Women and Girls." The central characters of "And Joe," however, are not factory operatives but a woman physician, Margaret Denton, and her friend, Theodora Justice, the daughter of a manufacturer. When the bored Theodora accompanies Margaret on her rounds, she witnesses an interview between the physician and a half-witted epileptic boy, Joe, who is living on the streets. Enduring the rude catcalls of his companions when she decides to take him to her home, she is struck by a sudden insight: "They were not many rods from her home," she reflects. "Was it God's fault, or was it partly hers, that men and manners changed thus, as one went 'down street' from her dwelling?"⁶⁰

As Theodora investigates Joe's situation by speaking to his mother and other relatives, she learns much about the squalid conditions—overcrowded housing, frequent changes of residence, intemperance, poverty—under which factory workers and their families live their lives. Overwhelmed, she wonders if there is anything she can do to help Joe. "Dear," Margaret tells her, "ought you not to know your operatives, and seek to be their friend, and not merely their mistress?" When Theodora questions whether such a course could benefit her as well as the operatives she might befriend, Margaret is unequivocal. "You need some one to work for," she replies, and as for Joe, "It may be God made him to keep you from aimless idleness."⁶¹ Here Wyman was restating her mother's message to young middle- and upper-class "factory daughters": there were mutual benefits to be had in connections between the classes.

While the aimlessness of Theodora's life is presented as a significant problem, it frames the still more compelling life stories of a family of factory operatives. Theodora discovers that it was Andrew Moore, the husband of Joe's half-sister, who cast Joe into the streets. When she questions him, Andrew is angry that she can invoke class privilege to interfere in his life. The son of Irish Protestants, Moore had grown up "in a manufacturing town, and graduated early from school into the mill," where he had become a mule spinner, spending "the days of his youth in the mill, his evenings in the street and in saloons, his nights in the filthy air of crowded tenements." A young co-worker, Joe's half-sister Annie, whose own life was spent "toiling day after day, with scarce a single girlish hope or pleasure," fell in love with him, and after he was seen giving her "a rude kiss or a jocular clutch of the arm" at the mill, he was coerced by her French Canadian stepfather into marrying her, although he did not love her. Out on strike during the early days of their marriage, he was supported by his pregnant wife. The sickly Annie returned to work after the baby was born, and her mother, stepfather, three stepsiblings, and Joe all came to live with Andrew and Annie in their malodorous basement tenement. It was under the strain of the overcrowded living conditions there that Andrew put Joe onto the street. "There was no joyousness in that household, where care, anxiety, and ignorance dominated every mood," Wyman writes.⁶²

Joe's family is not the only case study in the story; Wyman also presents Theodora Justice's family as representative of the mill-owning class.⁶³ In a dinner-table discussion among Theodora, her father, and Dr. Margaret Denton, Wyman uses Theodora to frame questions raised in "Factory Women and Girls of New England." Theodora asks whether it is morally acceptable to use financial power to subdue the impoverished working class; that is, whether "one has a moral right to use against a poor man the full brute power of wealth any more than he has to use against a weak man the full brute force of physical strength."⁶⁴ Her father, who claims that factory workers are pitted "against odds which are beyond the powers of common men and women to overcome," cites "the laws of trade" and crude evolutionary theory to explain why it is necessary for the workers to suffer. Theodora objects to such fatalism: "No, no! It cannot be that it is better for the world that men should be cruel and selfish than it would be for them to be kind and helpful."⁶⁵ When Margaret and Mr. Justice steer the conversation to the treatment of Native Americans by European settlers, Theodora pleads with them to return to a consideration of the factory system: "We must not comfortably forget our own sins, while discussing the nation's," she insists. Mr. Justice acknowledges that the desires of manufacturers for both wealth and "success" have in fact prevented them from pursuing a strictly moral path.⁶⁶

Wyman's juxtaposition of the two classes of factory families comes to a climax in the final part of the story, when Theodora actually visits Joe's family in their tenement. "She entered the dingy, ill-odorous kitchen, and her heart felt heavy," Wyman writes. "The women within were slightly clad. Her own garments were warm and rich. Was she clothed with the rents paid for these wretched rooms?" She is confronted with the family's exigencies; Annie's mother cannot care for the baby now, since she must take in washing to supplement Annie's salary as a mill operative, and Annie herself is too sick to work. When Annie explains to Theodora how constant standing in the mill has worsened her condition, Theodora is affected, and she vows to do something to remedy such "oversight."⁶⁷

But Annie's condition grows worse, and Theodora returns to the squalid tenement to nurse the dying young operative later that night. As life ebbs from Annie's ruined body, Theodora's own hitherto "useless" life begins to gain



Blackstone Stocking Company, circa 1890.
RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8098).

meaning and purpose. Ruminating on the "factory people, who seemed to have some claim upon her, which hitherto she had not recognized," she realizes that "it would not be hard to labor for them, because she would love them." The baby, possibly overdressed by an "ignorant" grandmother, joins Annie in death that same night. As Theodora views mother and child "lying peacefully together, her heart swelled within her, and she turned away quickly to hide her tears."⁶⁸

Wyman explored the world of factory operatives in other stories during this time, but none carried the personal passion of "And Joe." "Bridget's Story," which

appeared in the June 1883 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, had a different tone entirely.⁶⁹ In this piece Wyman created a monologue by an Irish working-class woman who has come to the United States from Lancaster, England. Bridget tells the story of her factory-worker friend Ellen McKiernan, the mother of seven children, who quarreled with her husband about their twenty-year-old son's drinking and wild behavior. In this touching and humorous love story there is nothing of the bleak desperation of "And Joe," and while it does highlight the hardships experienced by women operatives,⁷⁰ it seeks to entertain rather than to illuminate or move to action. By artfully crafting a monologue with a painstakingly recreated Irish-Lancaster accent, Wyman tried to enter into the world of the operatives rather than viewing it through the distancing lens of the upper-class factory woman. Lacing her story with humor, she attempted to create multidimensional characters rather than the rather flat victims of the industrial system that appear in "And Joe."

After a three-year period in which she wrote columns for the woman suffrage newspaper *Woman's Journal* but published no fiction, Wyman published the short story "Valentine's Chance" in the June 1886 *Atlantic Monthly*.⁷¹ The protagonist of this story, John Valentine, is a young doctor who has taken up residence in a New England factory village. Drawn to the beautiful and vital Rose, a young French Canadian factory operative, the "well-bred" Valentine wrestles with his feelings, for though intrigued by the exotic working-class French Canadian culture, he is repelled by the "coarseness" of working-class life. His interpreter and guide into the ways of the "other" is Miss Jeffrey, the daughter of the local millowner. Although she is a more "appropriate" match for the young physician, Miss Jeffrey pales beside the vitality and sensuousness of the French Canadian girl, and Valentine ultimately rejects the more "suitable" choice and elopes with Rose.

In "Valentine's Chance" Wyman develops characteristic themes: there is a cross-class bond between women (Miss Jeffrey reaches out to her working-class sisters by visiting them in their crises and passing on clothing to them), and there is an instance of the pain and needless tragedy of factory life (Rose's brother-in-law is killed through negligence at the mill). It is the cross-class, cross-culture marriage of Valentine and Rose, however, that raises the story to a new dimension. Wyman is not at all sure that the marriage will work; as the title of the story suggests, Valentine is indeed taking a chance. Wyman's narrative is full of allusions to the contrast between the two characters; for instance, harsh factory bells intrude on the soft country air as Valentine and Rose meet, and the two must follow different, opposing paths to return to their homes.⁷²

Despite her uncertainty about the outcome of such a match, by raising the possibility of a romantic cross-class marriage Wyman was breaking through significant barriers. In real life her mother had opposed a marriage between an Irish servant girl in the Chace household and an African-American abolitionist, William Wells Brown, allegedly because Brown "was superior to the girl."⁷³ "Valentine's Chance" also broke new ground in its positive depiction of French Canadian culture, by that time an omnipresent fact of life in Valley Falls. Wyman's mother had declared that the culture of foreign-born workers was an impediment to their integration into American life; Wyman presented the folk customs of the French Canadians, such as marriage feasts and Memorial Day picnics, as positive and vital events.⁷⁴

In 1886 Wyman's *Atlantic Monthly* stories were collected and published by Houghton Mifflin under the title *Poverty Grass*.⁷⁵ In her preface to the collection, Wyman explained that she had attempted to portray "the life which I knew best," and that although at first the stories had seemed to her unconnected, she now perceived a unifying theme and purpose. "I have endeavored to depict the characters and feelings of persons who struggle against odds, and reach whatever growth they attain through difficulty," she wrote; hence the book's title, which alludes to the "grass which gains nourishment from the sands wherein other plants perish." She had tried to be "both realistic and ideal, because I believe that the ideal is the most real element in life." Ever the activist, she admitted that if she had a "motive or purpose" in writing the stories, "it has been that I might help ever so slightly to make the fortunate ones of this world know the less happy ones well enough to sympathize with them." Although she dedicated *Poverty Grass* to her three brothers, "living and dead," she concluded her preface by commending her work to "the children of my heart," the "Yankee, English, Irish, and French" who had "dwelt on the dear soil of our beloved New England."⁷⁶

Brought out by a highly respected publisher, *Poverty Grass* represented a major accomplishment for the reticent Wyman, who had spent so many years in the shadow of her mother's renown. With its appearance Wyman attained a small measure of public recognition and critical acclaim. The book was praised by William Dean Howells, an arbiter of middle-class literary tastes, in his monthly Editor's Study piece in *Harper's Magazine*. Howells considered "The Child of the State," which he had selected for publication in the *Atlantic Monthly* during his tenure as the editor of that magazine, the premier story of the collection. Noting Wyman's "power to deal faithfully yet not repulsively, pathetically yet not sentimentally, with one of the most awful problems of civilization," he saw in the story a "kind of monumental strength and quiet." The stories of *Poverty*



Portrait of Lillie Chace Wyman, circa 1885.
Courtesy of the John Hay Library, Brown
University.

Grass were "simple, grim, true to misery, toil, pain, vulgarity, savagery, and the tenderness and beauty coexisting with these in the barest, bleakest, commonest lives," Howells wrote, and he urged those of his readers who did not flinch from the pain of real life to read Wyman's "powerful sketches."⁷⁷

Poverty Grass includes one story that had not previously appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. This is "Luke Gardiner's Love,"⁷⁸ a romantic love story in which Wyman demonstrates how a female operative's innocence is imperiled by the factory system—another theme of her mother's "Factory Women and Girls." The relationship between Luke Gardiner and Eden Ronian, begun in a guileless childhood friendship, is hampered by ethnic divisions, with Eden's father opposing a match between the two because Gardiner is a Yankee and Eden is Irish. An unscrupulous overseer at the mill, Joe Glancy, takes advantage of the innocent Eden and lures her into drinking, dancing, and other vices. Although her reputation is compromised, Gardiner is undaunted, and "like a rough St. George" he carries Eden off to safety and eventual marriage.⁷⁹

A subplot in the story concerns Eden's epileptic and mentally impaired sister, Flit, who eventually commits suicide by throwing herself into a millstream. The description of Luke Gardiner's attempt to rescue her is the story's most compelling scene. While a crowd of workers from the factory watches, Gardiner risks his life by diving again and again until

he finally brings up Flit's lifeless body.⁸⁰ Victims of the factory system like the hapless Flit, Wyman implies, are finally safe only in death.

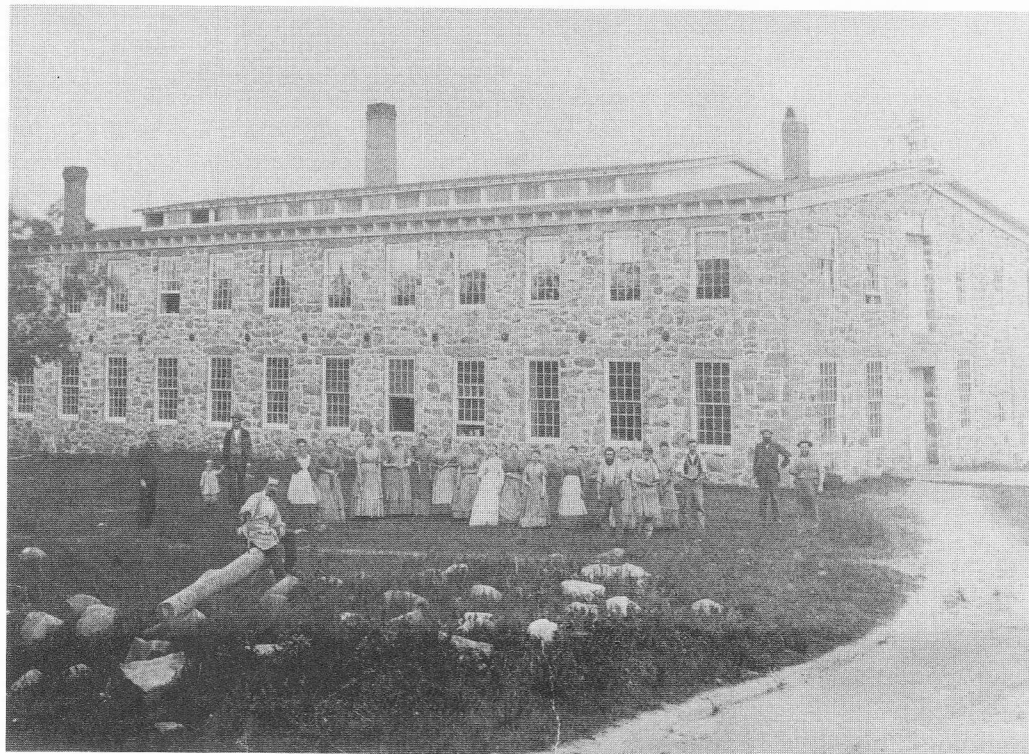
"Luke Gardiner's Love" is particularly notable for its brief portrait of the home of Mr. Comstock, the Quaker millowner. The home is an exact replica of Wyman's own childhood home in Valley Falls. Describing the furnishing of the sitting room, Wyman names the titles of some of the books in a glass-fronted cupboard, including the *Book of Discipline of the Society of Friends* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. "There were no pictures on the buff walls," she writes, "but in the unlighted parlors beyond hung . . . some portraits, in oval gilt frames, of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Parker." With the children in bed, Mr. Comstock is in the parlor reading the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* while his wife, attired in Quaker garb, sews. When Flit quietly slips into the room, the Comstocks "started to see a young girl standing among them, a girl with pale, parted lips, a dead white face, and strange pathetic eyes." She begs for "just one cent," which the manufacturer gives her, and is soon led out of the house by her sister, Eden.⁸¹ The portrayal of the Comstocks—Quakers sympathetic to the antislavery cause but indifferent to the suffering in their own midst—serves as Wyman's implicit criticism of her own family's lack of attention to the plight of their workers. Appearing like the ghost of an ill-used

factory operative come to haunt the owner of the mill, Flit barely causes a ripple in a pious domestic scene that Wyman has obviously drawn from memory.

On the one hand, Wyman's fiction resembled the unrelenting case studies of investigative writer Helen Campbell's 1887 *Prisoners of Poverty*, which focused on impoverished women working in the “needle trades” in New York City. On the other hand, Wyman's stories shared with those of Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary Wilkins Freeman the artful evocation of a locale or region, as well as an elegance of style absent in the work of the journalist Campbell. It was an anomalous position, for Wyman's fiction offered a local color devoid of hues—the stark grayness of a Rhode Island mill village rather than the autumnal tones of the rich New England landscape evoked by Jewett and Freeman.⁸² As Howells warned, Wyman's stories were not for “those who would like fiction to make out that life is a pretty play or an amusing game, and would have all sorrow end well.”⁸³ Wyman could claim a literary ancestor in Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose work she had devoured in her abolitionist girlhood. Lillie Wyman's fiction was designed to enlighten people, to change them, and to alleviate the horrors of a working-class slavery that Elizabeth Buffum Chace herself had compared to the chattel slavery of the old South.⁸⁴



During the remainder of the 1880s, while her mother husbanded her dwindling physical energies and concentrated on a drive to win a woman suffrage amendment to the Rhode Island state constitution, Wyman continued to write pieces aimed at interesting her middle-class readers in the plight of mill workers. In “Studies of Factory Life,” a four-part series of articles that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* between July 1888 and January 1889, she adopted a more temperate approach than that of her stories, seeking now to persuade by information rather than by graphic fiction.⁸⁵ Gone were the fictional mill-village



Hope Valley cotton mill, circa 1850.
RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8104).

dramatis personae and the forceful pleas for cross-class alliances to eradicate the ills of the factory system. Instead, Wyman sought to describe, almost scientifically, the factory villages "strung like beads along the [Blackstone] river."⁸⁶ During the past eighty years, she declared, caste distinctions had evolved between owners and workers in these villages. Whereas the two classes had once lived and worked side by side, they were now removed from one another. The institution of employer-owned housing was "a powerful engine of control" over the workers, and it could be "a tremendous lever in the hands of an unjust person."⁸⁷ Included in the series is a sympathetic description of a strike by male textile workers in Fall River. Disillusioned in her advocacy of a cross-class solution to the inhumanity of the mill, Wyman was now tentatively endorsing labor unions, strikes, and other more confrontational methods.⁸⁸

By the time Wyman testified on behalf of the Factory Inspectors Act at the Rhode Island State House in 1893, other women activists had taken up the cause of the state's female operatives. In 1889 a number of women's organizations, including the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, had banded together as the Rhode Island Council of Women to push for legislative initiatives favorable to women and children.⁸⁹ The following year the council proposed legislation that would regulate hours and working conditions for women and children, and that would mandate a female factory inspector to oversee compliance with the act.⁹⁰ The Factory Inspectors Act—which regulated child labor, sanitary conditions, and hours of employment and insured the appointment of a woman factory inspector to oversee implementation—was passed by the General Assembly in 1894.⁹¹ Significantly, the first woman to hold the post of female factory inspector in Rhode Island, Fanny Purdy Palmer, was one of Chace's associates.⁹² Whether Wyman's *Atlantic Monthly* stories and essays and Chace's "Factory Women and Girls of New England" had helped shape the consciousness of those in the Rhode Island women's movement is not easy to document, but the advocacy of Wyman and her mother undoubtedly mirrored the growing awareness among these middle-class reformers that the conditions of female factory operatives were a matter of critical concern.⁹³

Wyman published several more articles about factory women during the 1890s. In her final contribution—"Girls in a Factory Valley," a two-part piece that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in the fall of 1896—she presented a series of studies of individual operatives and their families that she had known over the years.⁹⁴ Although intended to resemble the factual case studies of her "Studies of Factory Life," these sketches were crafted as carefully as the fiction of *Poverty Grass*. In their artfully simple first-person narrative, they reveal much about Wyman's lifelong and intimate day-to-day connection with the women operatives of Valley Falls—their requests for money, for advice, for assistance; her visits to their homes; her concern about their welfare; her interest in their families. More than anything, these short pieces reveal the inextricable bonds that connected Wyman to her working-class sisters in Valley Falls.

Wyman's simple accounts are poignant and compelling. One sketch tells the story of Ellen McKay, a woman who had lost the use of her legs in an accident when she was ten years old and now spent her days housekeeping for her family, using her arms to drag herself around the flat. When Wyman learned that Ellen had not been "down street" since her accident some thirteen years before, she offered to take her for a carriage ride. After describing her excursion



Rhode Island textile factory, circa 1910. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 8103).

with the crippled young woman and Ellen's happiness at being taken into the town, Wyman comments that "it seemed cruel to take her back," especially to her "dreadful mother"; "the girl's eyes were shining as I think I never saw any other human eyes shine."⁹⁵ The depiction of the two women riding together in the carriage—one the daughter of privilege, the other the crippled daughter of the working class—seems to epitomize the hope expressed in Wyman's best work of the 1880s: the fervent wish that the privileged "factory woman" might reach out to improve the life of her less fortunate working-class sister.

Despite the intensity of Wyman's connection to female factory operatives, a final scene in the last sketch of the first series demonstrates how far her life as a factory woman was receding into a mythic past. Recounting her visit to a seventeen-year-old consumptive invalid girl in a nearby village, Wyman describes the two aunts who were caring for the girl as "not only dwarfish in stature but elfish in nature." Because the "diminutive women" had lived in Wyman's "own village," they became very excited when her identity was revealed to them: "They began hopping before me, uttering wild little cries in a riot of elfish glee at having found out who I was; calling me as the factory folk had been wont to call me before my marriage, by my Christian name preceded by a courteous title ['Miss Lillie']. Their excitement and the use of the old name

almost bewildered me. For a moment it seemed as if their eerie salutations summoned me to partake with them some odd communion, growing out of an old association of their lives with mine,—the association of a common village life." What had once been a vital and integral part of Lillie's life, her bond with the "factory folk," was now summoned up by two aged crones, calling on her to join them in renewing a connection from the distant past, a request that left her "bewildered



For both Elizabeth Buffum Chace and her daughter Lillie Chace Wyman, the 1880s had been a time of rich and significant endeavors. After years of individual effort on behalf of the workers in her family's mills, Chace had spoken out publicly at the beginning of the decade to denounce the abuses of the factory system, issuing a passionate plea to her sister reformers to heed the deplorable plight of women operatives. Her appeal reflected a growing recognition that conditions in the brutal capitalist marketplace had as much to do with the suffering of Rhode Island women as did inadequate reform schools or women's lack of the ballot. Her invocation of a previous "classless" golden age enjoyed by women in the factories, as well as her expressed hope that middle-class women would reach across the barriers of Gilded Age class stratification to uplift their toiling sisters, revealed a pre-Civil War mentality that saw women as united by gender rather than divided by economic class. Her exhortation to fellow reformers to do all in their power to alleviate the sufferings of working-class women reflected the expansive character both of the woman's movement and of Chace herself. "Destiny," wrote Frederic Hinckley after Chace's death in 1899, had "placed her in the ranks of the capitalist." Yet, "in her make-up, she was a part of the moral order of the universe. Wherever a question of justice, or of morality was concerned she rose at once to the largeness of the issue and showed herself superior to the prejudices of class."⁹⁷

If the elderly Elizabeth Buffum Chace ultimately declined to act personally on the compelling imperative she set out in her "Factory Women and Girls of New England," her daughter Lillie Chace Wyman did not hesitate to do so. Reared in a household saturated with abolitionism, Wyman had embraced a vocation as an activist writer, utilizing talents that complemented the organizational skills of her mother. In this role she drew on her personal experiences to become a chronicler of the dreary lives and working conditions of mill-village factory operatives. Although her published writings about factory women in the 1880s and 1890s were not voluminous—a collection of short stories and a handful of essays—they were accomplished enough to earn her a minor reputation as an agitational writer of note. Her fictional attempt to encourage bonds between her middle-class sisters in reform and women factory operatives like those she knew in Valley Falls was encapsulated in her story "And Joe," when Theodora Justice and the dying young mill operative Annie are brought face to face: "So those two gazed at each other—both women, both creatures who had suffered, both daughters of the factory; but how differently had the factory dealt with them!"⁹⁸



Reform efforts helped bring about more humane conditions in the mills. In this 1912 photo a nurse tends to a patient in a room set aside for use as an infirmary and library at a factory in Pawtucket. Photograph by Lewis Hine, no. 3186. Courtesy of Slater Mill Historic Site, Pawtucket.

Notes

1. The hearing and Lillie Wyman's testimony are described in "Factory Bill: Prominent Persons Speak in Favor of Its Passage," *Providence Daily Journal*, 8 Mar. 1893. I am indebted to Scott Molloy of the Labor Research Center at the University of Rhode Island for sharing this and other pertinent newspaper clippings with me. The bill itself is discussed in Henry J. Crepeau, *Rhode Island: A History of Child Welfare Planning* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941), 132-43.
2. Brief biographies of Samuel B. Chace and Arnold B. Chace appear in *The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Biographical* (New York: American Historical Society, 1920), 381.
3. Until recently the standard reference work on Elizabeth Buffum Chace was Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace: Her Life and Its Environment*, 2 vols. (Boston: W. B. Clarke Co., 1914).
4. The only modern full-length study of Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Lillie Chace Wyman is Elizabeth C. Stevens, "'From Generation to Generation': The Mother and Daughter Activism of Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Lillie Chace Wyman" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1993). A brief biography appears in Marguerite Appleton, *A Portrait Album of Four Great Rhode Island Leaders* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1978), 88-113.
5. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:10, 20, 68.
6. In 1873, while traveling abroad, Chace wrote several letters to her son Arnold indicating that she had been privately thinking about the injustices experienced by textile workers in their employment. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:7, 44, 77. After visiting a textile mill in Manchester, England, she wrote to her son of the intense heat endured by workers in some areas of the factory. "Do we keep ours as hot?" she asked. *Ibid.*, 7.
7. Editha Hadcock, "Labor Problems in Rhode Island Cotton Mills, 1790-1940" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1945).
8. Dana W. Cleary, "The History of the Valley Falls Co. Mills, Central Falls, Rhode Island," unpublished paper, RIHS; "Statistics of Women at Work, Rhode Island, 1875-1905," *Board of Trade Journal* (Providence), 1908, pp. 361-66; *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics Made to the General Assembly at Its January Session, A.D.* 1888 (Providence: E. L. Freeman, 1888). Thomas Dublin chronicles the replacement of single women workers with the family unit in the mills at Lowell, Mass., as immigrants replaced native-born Americans in the work force. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 144.
9. Chace's leadership of a temperance crusade in Valley Falls is detailed in a manuscript description of the event. Woman's Christian Temperance Union Collection, box 1, subgroup 1, ser. 1, vol. 1, RIHS.
10. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:283. In his funeral oration for Samuel Chace in 1871, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison cited Chace's evening school for laborers as evidence of the manufacturer's "deep interest in the welfare and elevation of the laboring classes." "Discourse of William Lloyd Garrison at the Funeral of Samuel B. Chace," Elizabeth Buffum Chace Papers, John Hay Library, Brown University.
11. The class, taught by a "volunteer teacher" who also provided reading material for its "ten to twenty pupils," was in existence for some ten to twelve years. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:283-84.
12. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:284.
13. The kindergarten was established in 1876. *Ibid.*, 2:77-78.
14. See, e.g., Elizabeth Peabody, "Women as Kindergarteners," *Woman's Journal*, 20 Feb. 1875, p. 58. In the mid-1870s the *Woman's Journal*, the organ of the American Woman Suffrage Association, carried many articles about the kindergarten movement. Included during the spring and summer of 1874, for instance, were "Kindergarten Schools in America," pt. 1, 28 Mar. 1874, p. 104; "Kindergarten Schools in America," pt. 2, 4 Apr. 1874, p. 108; "The Washington Kindergarten," 16 May 1874, p. 155; Elizabeth Peabody, "Mr. Spring's Lectures on Modelling Clay," 23 May 1874, p. 162; a reference to Miss Garland's Training School for Kindergarteners, 23 May 1874, p. 163; and "The Carondelet Kindergarten," 11 July 1874, p. 220.
15. The kindergarten "was designed primarily for children of factory families, but was open to others and her own grandchildren attended it." L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:77.
16. "Who Works in Rhode Island," *Woman's Journal*, 16 Feb. 1878, p. 49. Several years later, in *Concerning Women*, its column of brief notes, the *Woman's Journal* commented favorably on Chace's efforts, noting that the school had been established "for the children of factory operatives who are often exposed to danger and neglect while both fathers and mothers are at work in the mills." *Woman's Journal*, 27 Oct. 1883, p. 341. Chace supported the kindergarten with her own money. After trying to convince the local Valley Falls government to take it over, she decided to give up the school in the mid-1880s because it had become too costly, her health was failing, and she felt that "her own private benevolence prevented the development of public conscience in the matter." L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2: 77-78.
17. E. K. Churchill to Rowland Hazard, 3 Nov. 1880, Hazard Papers, RIHS; "In Memoriam: Elizabeth K. Churchill," *Woman's Journal*, 12 Mar. 1881, p. 84; "Elizabeth K. Churchill," *Woman's Journal*, 2 Apr. 1881, p. 110. Churchill served as an organizer for the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. She is called "brilliant and versatile" in Susan B. Anthony and Ida H. Harper, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage* (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 4:909.
18. When he left Rhode Island in 1888, Hinckley was given a reception and social entertainment by labor organizations at a Knights of Labor local, where he was presented with a gold-headed cane. *Providence Daily Journal*, 30 May 1888. I am indebted to Scott Molloy for this reference.
19. After Chace's death in 1899, Hinckley remembered that during his ten years in Providence he had worked with her "in constant and confidential counsel." Frederic A. Hinckley to "Dear friend" [Anna Garlin Spencer?], 20 Jan. 1900, R.I. State Archives. Lillie Chace Wyman described Hinckley as an "intimate friend" of her mother's. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:52.
20. The extraordinary popularity of the WCTU during this period is detailed by Ruth Bordin in *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 7-8.
21. Chace was elected vice president for Rhode Island during a meeting of the AAW held during the Second Woman's Congress in Chicago in October 1874. L. B. C. Wyman

- and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:56.
22. "The Woman's Congress," *Woman's Journal*, 1 Nov. 1873, p. 350. Chace was unable to attend the congress; her paper was read by Elizabeth K. Churchill.
 23. Elizabeth Buffum Chace to Lucy Stone, 15 Sept. 1881, Stone-Blackwell Papers, Library of Congress.
 24. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, "Factory Women and Girls of New England, Paper by Mrs. E. B. Chace, read before the Women's Congress held at Buffalo, Oct. 19th, and also before the R.I. Woman Suffrage Association, Nov. 17th, 1881." The paper was printed in pamphlet form; a copy is in the Sidney Rider Collection at the John Hay Library, Brown University.
 25. *Ibid.*, 1-3.
 26. *Ibid.*, 3-4. Lillie Wyman claimed that Chace's "most intimate friend" in Valley Falls during the 1840s had been Dorcas Harmon, "an American spinster, who was a mill operative." L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:72. By the 1850s, Wyman wrote, "the operative population had . . . become largely foreign in birth or immediate extraction and it was Catholic in religion." Her mother "never tried to establish, with this class, any social relation." Neither did Wyman remember any social connection between her mother and "the American mill workers," aside from Dorcas Harmon, although some "family intimacy" existed with "the overseer and cloth room contingent." *Ibid.*, 116.
 27. E. B. Chace, "Factory Women and Girls," 4. Among workers in the fifteen Rhode Island establishments surveyed by the Bureau of Labor, women outnumbered men almost 2 to 1. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*, 4-6.
 29. *Ibid.*, 8-9. Many books and treatises of the period focused on the effects of study and physical exertion on the reproductive capacities of young women. One of the most popular works was Edward Clarke's *Sex in Education, or A Fair Chance for Girls* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1875). Clarke's thesis, that young middle-class women's bodies were harmed by too much intellectual work, was refuted by Julia Ward Howe and others in Julia Ward Howe, ed., *Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. E. Clarke's "Sex in Education"* (1874; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972). Most of the discourse centered on young middle-class women; Chace now suggested that similar consideration be given to young factory women.
 30. Numerous articles about "our girls" appeared in the *Woman's Journal* and other periodicals. Mary A. Livermore, a national woman suffrage and temperance leader, apparently delivered her lecture "What Shall We Do with Our Daughters?" more than eight hundred times. Edward James, Janet James, and Paul Boyer, eds., *Notable American Women* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), 2:412. The lecture was reprinted in Livermore's *What Shall We Do with Our Daughters?: Superfluous Women and Other Lectures* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1883).
 31. E. B. Chace, "Factory Women and Girls," 10-13.
 32. *Ibid.*, 13.
 33. E. B. Chace, "Factory Women and Girls," 13-14.
 34. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
 35. *Ibid.*, 9.
 36. The births and deaths of Chace's ten children are discussed in L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace*, vol. 1.
 37. Lillie Wyman described her unusual upbringing in her article "From Generation to Generation," *Atlantic Monthly* 64 (August 1889): 164-77. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace*, vol. 1, contains numerous references to the Chace household in the 1850s. Elizabeth Buffum Chace wrote of her own antislavery work in *Antislavery Reminiscences* (Central Falls, R.I.: E. L. Freeman & Son), 1891.
 38. "Let it suffice that they were one in their sympathies, trials, hopes and triumphs," said William Lloyd Garrison of Samuel B. Chace and his wife. "Discourse of William Lloyd Garrison."
 39. "My intention for a good while has been to be a writer," sixteen-year-old Lillie Chace wrote to her friend, orator Anna Dickinson, in 1863. Lillie B. Chace to Anna Dickinson, 17 Apr. 1863, Anna E. Dickinson Papers, Library of Congress.
 40. Her first published piece, "Sallie Holley in Rhode Island," appeared in the *National Antislavery Standard*, 18 Aug. 1866 (the article is signed "L.B.E.," but there can be little doubt that the author was "L.B.C.," Lillie Buffum Chace.) Other essays and letters were published in the *National Antislavery Standard* on 1 Feb. 1868, 11 July 1868, 20 Feb. 1869, 25 Dec. 1869, 29 Oct. 1870, and 2 Sept. 1871. Lillie's first article in the newly founded *Woman's Journal*, "The Education of Girls," appeared on 15 Jan. 1870. Lillie also published "To the Girls" (*Woman's Journal*, 28 Feb. 1870), "Country Whiffs" (*Woman's Journal*, 10 Sept. 1870), and "How Women Shall Be Enfranchised" (*Woman's Journal*, 3 June 1871).
 41. Lillie described her assistance at temperance activities in humorous letters to her older brother Arnold, then studying in Paris. Lillie B. Chace to Arnold Chace, 25 Dec. 1867 and 13 Apr. 1868. I am indebted to the late Mrs. Malcolm Chace of Providence for making these letters available to me. Among her woman suffrage endeavors, Lillie worked on the gazette of a suffrage fair in Boston in the fall of 1870 ("The Bazaar Meeting," *Woman's Journal*, 15 Oct. 1870, p. 324); she was a delegate from Rhode Island to the American Woman Suffrage Convention in Philadelphia in December 1871 (*Woman's Journal*, 9 Dec. 1871, p. 386); she served on the executive committee for the RIWSA annual meeting in 1874 ("Rhode Island Annual Meeting," *Woman's Journal*, 10 Oct. 1874, p. 124); and she was a member of the finance committee for the RIWSA annual meeting in 1875, where she was elected corresponding secretary of the organization, a post she apparently held for one year ("Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Association," *Woman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1875, p. 360).
 42. Lillie had struggled with ennui and depression, for which she was under a doctor's care, even before the deaths of her close relatives. Lillie B. Chace to Anna Dickinson, 17 Dec. 1866, Anna E. Dickinson Papers. Her sadness at the deaths of her brothers is reflected in a brief diary she kept between 1868 and 1871. Lillie Chace Wyman, "Poetry of the War and Diary," Harris Collection, John Hay Library, Brown University.
 43. Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "From Generation to Generation," 176.
 44. Robert Grieve, *An Illustrated History of Pawtucket, Central Falls, and Vicinity: A Narrative of the Growth and Evolution of the Community* (Pawtucket: Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle, 1897), 140-41, 170-72; John Williams Haley, *The Lower Blackstone River Valley: The Story of Pawtucket, Central Falls, Lincoln, and Cumberland, R.I.* (Pawtucket: E. L. Freeman Co., 1936), 114-16, 151.
 45. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:283-84, 2:88. Although her girlhood in Valley Falls undoubtedly played a major part in her

Notes continued

- interest in factory operatives, a biographical sketch of Wyman written in the 1890s suggests another influence, attributing her interest in labor issues to the time she spent in Rome while on a European tour with her mother and sister in the early 1870s. According to the biographical entry, for which Wyman herself may have supplied the information, while in Rome she developed an interest in "liberal Italian politics" and soon began to feel very strongly that "the labor question and kindred social questions were the most pressing and important ones of her time, and that they should engage the attention of all conscientious persons." Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century* (Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), 806.
46. L. B. C. [Lillie B. Chace], "Country Whiffs," *Woman's Journal*, 10 Sept. 1870, p. 282.
 47. Lillie then cited "the Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby," who had questioned "whether an employer has the moral right to trade in the agony of a woman who struggles to preserve her chastity, and to grind her down to the lowest wages on which she can keep body and soul together, and preserve both pure." *Ibid.*
 48. Lillie B. Chace [S. A. L. E. M., pseud.], "The Child of the State," *Atlantic Monthly* 40 (September 1877): 334-47. Lillie used the pseudonym S. A. L. E. M. for her first published stories. The letters undoubtedly stood for the names of Lillie and her siblings.
 49. *Ibid.*, 336.
 50. *Ibid.*, 334, 335
 51. Lillie B. Chace [S. A. L. E. M., pseud.], "Saint or Sinner," *Atlantic Monthly* 41 (April 1878): 468-84.
 52. A biographical sketch of John Wyman appears in Alfred M. Williams and William F. Blanding, eds., *Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leaders in Business and Professional Life in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, comp. Richard Herndon (Boston: New England Magazine, 1896), 151-52.
 53. Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, *American Chivalry* (Boston: W. B. Clarke Co., 1913), 125-27.
 54. "I have always been proud of my anti-slavery relations," Lillie Wyman would write a friend in 1924, "and that I married into the same moral connection." Lillie Chace Wyman to Angelina Weld Grimké, 3 Dec. 1924, Grimké Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
 55. William Lloyd Garrison to Wendell Phillips, 30 Oct. 1878, in Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames, eds., *To Rouse the Slumbering Land: The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), 6:532-33.
 56. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:162.
 57. Lillie Chace Wyman [S. A. L. E. M., pseud.], "Hester's Dower," *Atlantic Monthly* 48 (December 1881): 792-801.
 58. *Ibid.*, 793.
 59. Lillie Chace Wyman [S. A. L. E. M., pseud.], "And Joe," *Atlantic Monthly* 49 (January 1882): 38-56.
 60. *Ibid.*, 40.
 61. *Ibid.*, 42.
 62. *Ibid.*, 42-44. In "Factory Women and Girls of New England," Elizabeth Buffum Chace had urged her sister reformers to investigate "the condition of every family, and of every woman and of every girl, whose labor in the mill, while it produces the means of their own support, helps also, to furnish the supply of 'purple and fine linen' which these ladies wear." P. 14.
 63. Wyman may have given the manufacturers the name Justice as an ironic touch, or she may have wanted to suggest that Theodora is capable of genuine "justice" toward her working-class neighbors.
 64. L. C. Wyman, "And Joe," 46.
 65. *Ibid.* Elizabeth Buffum Chace had written, "If the controlling classes, in their struggle to retain and increase their wealth, are justified in availing themselves of all the power given them by the possession of capital, of all the forces created by what are called the laws of trade, to the detriment of their weaker fellow-creatures, I see no reason why they would not also be justified in using physical force to attain the same end, thus converting their employees into chattel slaves." "Factory Women and Girls," 9.
 66. L. C. Wyman, "And Joe," 47.
 67. *Ibid.*, 52-54.
 68. *Ibid.*, 54-55.
 69. L. C. Wyman, "Bridget's Story," *Atlantic Monthly* 51 (June 1883): 775-81.
 70. "Tom, I worked in the mill day-times, an' I worked in the 'ouse nights, when I was the mother of seven small childer," Ellen tells her son; "and you, as 'as nothin' but a man's part to do in this world, 'ill never know 'ow 'ard a woman's lot can be." *Ibid.*, 776.
 71. Lillie Chace Wyman, "Valentine's Chance," *Atlantic Monthly* 57 (June 1886): 763-77.
 72. "'This is my way,' he [Valentine] said, pointing to a path leading in a direction opposing to hers [Rose's]." *Ibid.*, 768.
 73. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 1:142-43.
 74. "Men and women chatted. Children ran about. A crowd gathered round a platform where there were music and dancing. Everybody had a foreign color and air," Wyman wrote in her description of a Memorial Day picnic held by the French-Canadians. L. C. Wyman, "Valentine's Chance," 766.
 75. Lillie Chace Wyman, *Poverty Grass* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886). In addition to the stories discussed in this paper, *Poverty Grass* includes "A Stranger, Yet at Home," *Atlantic Monthly* 51 (January 1883): 100-115. Set in a mill village, this is a story of an upper-class romance between a well-to-do Quaker and a Baptist spinster.
 76. L. C. Wyman, *Poverty Grass*, v-vii.
 77. William Dean Howells, Editor's Study, *Harper's New Monthly* 74 (February 1887): 482-83. I am indebted to Jane Atteridge Rose of Georgia College for this citation.
 78. Lillie Chace Wyman, "Luke Gardiner's Love," *Poverty Grass*, 84-119.
 79. *Ibid.*, 101.
 80. *Ibid.*, 107-9.
 81. *Ibid.*, 89-91.
 82. Sarah Orne Jewett herself apparently told author Hamlin Garland that "'Octave Thanet's and Mrs. Cooke's and Mr[s]. Chase-Wyman's and Miss Wilkins' stories are so much better than all but the very best of Russian and French stories.'" Hamlin Garland, *Roadside Meetings* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 35. I am indebted to Jane Atteridge Rose for this citation.
 83. Howells, Editor's Study, 483. Jane Atteridge Rose praises Wyman's "critical realism" in "Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman: Writing for Reform" (paper presented at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the National Women's Studies Association,

- Towson, Md., 14-18 June 1889) and "Recovering Lillie Chace Wyman and 'The Child of the State,'" *Legacy* 7 (Spring 1990): 39-43.
84. In her preface to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe had written, "The object of these sketches is to awaken sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust as to defeat and do away the good effects of all that can be attempted for them, by their best friends under it." Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (New York: New American Library, 1981), v.
 85. Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "Studies of Factory Life: The Village System," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (July 1888): 16-29; "Studies of Factory Life: Among the Women," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (September 1888): 315-21; "Studies of Factory Life: Blacklisting at Fall River," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (November 1888): 605-12; "Studies of Factory Life: The American and the Mill," *Atlantic Monthly* 63 (January 1889): 69-79.
 86. L. B. C. Wyman, "Studies of Factory Life: The Village System," 20.
 87. *Ibid.*, 22.
 88. Strikes in the mills that involved sacrifice for a principle were actions that resonated with the abolitionist daughter. "Demagogues may deceive," Wyman concluded, "honest leaders may make mistakes, but the hearts of the people are sound when they are willing to sink into still deeper poverty in order to maintain what they believe to be their rights." "Studies of Factory Life: Blacklisting at Fall River," 612.
 89. A historian of the Rhode Island Council of Women wrote that it was an "association of varied interests and not an extension of any single movement; the bringing together in council, not individuals, but associations of women in such a way that the divers spheres of influence might be extended and the bodies enabled to work together for some specific good." Olivia D. Hammill, *Thirty-Five Years of Accomplishment: The Story of the Rhode Island Council of Women from 1889-1924* (n.p.: R.I. Council of Women, 1925), 7. The council successfully pushed for legislation mandating a police matron in every municipal jail in the state. *Ibid.*, 8.
 90. A Rhode Island law passed in 1883 had mandated school attendance by children for "at least twelve weeks a year" and had set the minimum age for employment in factories at ten years, with the working hours of children over ten left unregulated. A ten-hour law for women and children was debated and passed in 1885, but it lacked sanctions for its enforcement. Crepeau, *Rhode Island*, 132-43. No women's groups appear to have been involved in the 1880s efforts to protect women and children factory operatives, although individuals like RIWSA official Frederic Hinckley undoubtedly lobbied for such legislation. Crepeau dates the council's push for the factory legislation from 1890 (*ibid.*, 144) and includes the council's 1894 petition on the Factory Inspection Act (*ibid.*, 317-18).
 91. Hammill, *Thirty-Five Years of Accomplishment*, 8-9.
 92. Palmer, who had moved to Providence in 1867, had held leadership posts in both the Rhode Island Woman's Club and the RIWSA. She was also a member of the Providence School Committee and president of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. A published writer of sketches and stories, she was a member, with Lillie Wyman, of the Providence-based Short Story Club. According to one biographical description, Palmer was a "moving spirit in various parlor clubs and in reading circles." Willard and Livermore, *A Woman of the Century*, 555-56. In 1877 Chace had differed with Palmer over the inclusion of African-American members in the Rhode Island Woman's Club. Told that Palmer held "that people of different races should not mingle together," Chace declared Palmer's beliefs "a prejudice born of the oppression of one race by another, which has produced its legitimate result of hatred of the oppressed by the oppressor." Elizabeth Buffum Chace to Elizabeth K. Churchill, 13 Apr. 1877, in L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:79-80. Although Chace was well known for her unwillingness to associate with people with whom she disagreed politically, she and Palmer seem to have had cordial relations in the 1880s, when Palmer served as corresponding secretary of RIWSA. In an April 1880 letter Palmer complimented Chace on a paper she had written on Quakerism and woman suffrage. L. B. C. Wyman and A. C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace* 2:125.
 93. The 1890s also witnessed closer links between women's organizations like RIWSA and organized labor. The corresponding secretary of RIWSA for much of the nineties was Ellen Bolles, who, like Frederic Hinckley, was an outspoken advocate for the rights of labor. A middle-aged socialist and "associate with the Knights of Labor," Bolles had been a principal speaker at a memorial meeting for the slain Haymarket Square anarchists, held at the Central Trade Union of Rhode Island in November 1887. "Anarchists Memorial," *Providence Daily Journal*, 14 Nov. 1887; Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage* 4:908-9. Bolles was also an officer in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, heading its committee on the franchise. Printed minutes of the RIWCTU annual meeting, Providence, 3-5 Oct. 1893, Sidney Rider Collection.
 94. Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "Girls in a Factory Valley," *Atlantic Monthly* 78 (September 1896): 391-403, (October 1896): 506-17. Her article "Companions of the Cotton Loom," on factory-village conditions as they pertained to women, appeared in the Woman's Council Table department of *Chautauquan* magazine in February 1894.
 95. L. B. C. Wyman, "Girls in a Factory Valley," 394.
 96. *Ibid.*, 403.
 97. Hinckley to "Dear friend," 20 Jan. 1900.
 98. L. C. Wyman, "And Joe," 53.



Index to Volume 52

- Abolitionist movement, 116
 African Americans, 39-41, 45, 123
 Albion (Lincoln), 100
 Albion (Lincoln), 100
 Albro, John, 14
 Alco (automobile), 71, 79-80
 Allen, George, 13
 Allen, Ralph, 14
 American Locomotive Automobile Company, 79
 American Revolution, 42, 43
 American Screw Company, 79
 American Ship Windlass Company, 76
 Anabaptists, 3, 6, 7, 13
 "And Joe" (Wyman), 119, 120-22, 128
 Anthony, Susanna, 38, 39, 42, 44
 Antinomians, "Cast Out from the 'City upon a Hill,'" 3-19
Antislavery Standard, 116
 Apponaug Print Works, 32
 Aquidneck, "Cast Out from the 'City upon a Hill,'" 3-19
 Aquidneck Park (Portsmouth), 73
Argus (ship), 61
 Ashton (Cumberland), 100
 Aspinwall, William, 8, 9
 Association for the Advancement of Women, 111
 Atkin, Joseph W., 79
Atlantic Monthly, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 126
 Atlantic Rubber Company, 81
 Automobiles, "The Automobile Comes to Rhode Island," 71-93

 Baker, Ray Stannard, 87
 Baldwin (automobile), 78, 82
 Baldwin, Leo F. N., 77, 78, 83
 Baldwin Automobile Company, 78
 Baldwin Motor Wagon Company, 78
 Baptists, 13, 97
 Barnes, David L., 62
 Barrington, 63, 76-77, 83
 Bastien, Denise J., "Images of Rhode Island: The Photographer's Art," 31-32
 Baulston, William, 14
Ben-My-Chree (ship), 22
 Berkeley (Cumberland), 100
 Berkeley, George, 7
 Bernon (Woonsocket), 100
Betsey (ship), 61-62
 Bicycles, 71-72
 Bishop, Mary Cunningham, 74
Bismarck (ship), 25
 Black, Lloyd, 100
 Blackstone Canal, 98, 99
 Blackstone River, 95, 97, 98
 Blackstone Valley, 97, 98, 100, 102

 Block Island, 60, 61
Board of Trade Journal (Providence), 77, 80, 81, 87
 Borden, Nathaniel, 109
 Borden, Richard, 14
 Branch River, 95, 98
 Brayton, George B., 77
 Brenton, William, 8
 Bridenbaugh, Carl, 99
 Bridgeton (Burrillville), 95
 "Bridget's Story" (Wyman), 122
 Bristol, 61, 63, 76
 Brown, Moses, 62
 Brown, William Wells, 123
 Brown and Sharpe, 77, 79, 81
 Brown University, 107
 Buffum, Arnold, 108
 Buffum, Sarah, 109
 Buffum, William, 108
 Bull, Henry, 14
 Burrill, James, Jr., 97
 Burrillville, "Burrillville: A Town on the Blackstone?," 95-103
 Buses, 88

 Cameron (automobile), 80
 Campbell, M. W., 110
 Campbell Machine Company, 74, 82
 Canning, George, 65
 Carr, Robert, 14
 Carroll, Royal Phelps, 74
 Carter, John, 52
 Central Automobile Exchange, 78
 Central Falls, 82, 95, 100, 116
 Chace, Arnold B., 107, 116, 119
 Chace, Edward, 116
 Chace, Elizabeth Buffum, "Was She Clothed with the Rents Paid for These Wretched Rooms?," 107-33
 Chace, Harvey, 116
 Chace, Mary, 116
 Chace, Samuel (son of E. B. Chace), 116
 Chace, Samuel B., 107, 116
 Channing, George, 64
 Chase, Julian A., 82
 Chepachet (Glocester), 99
Chesapeake (ship), 59, 61
 "Child of the State, The" (Wyman), 117-19, 123
 Churchill, Elizabeth, 111
 Clap, Nathaniel, 36, 37
 Clark, B. S., 82
 Clarke, Jeremy, 14
 Clarke, John, 12, 13
 Coddington, William, 11, 12, 14, 15
 Coggeshall, John, 11, 14

 Congregationalists, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 36, 42
 Conley, Patrick T., 49
 Constitution, U.S., ratification of, "The Rhode Island Pillar," 49-57
 Coral Sea, Battle of, 26
 Corliss Steam Engine Company, 77, 79
 Cornell, Thomas, 14
 Corp (automobile), 79
 Corp, Frederick, 79
 Corp Brothers, 79
 Cotton, John, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11
 "Country Whiffs" (Wyman), 117
 Cranston, 61, 73, 79, 81, 83, 85
 Crescent Park (Cranston), 88
 Cross, Alonzo T., 78
 Cruickshank Engine Company, 77-78
 Cumberland, 63

 Dacre, G. B., 22
 Democratic-Republican party, 59, 63, 64
 Dewitt, F. C., 74
 Doyle, Sarah, 107
 Dummer brothers, 9
 Duryea Motor Company, 73
 Dyer, Mary, 7
 Dyer, William, 7, 11

 East Greenwich, 63, 77
 Easton, Nicholas, 14
 Economycar (automobile), 81, 82
 Edmonds, C. H. K., 22
 Education, eighteenth-century, "Religion, Education, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island," 35-47
 Ellery, William, 61, 62
 Elm Cottage Inn (Narragansett), 85
 Embargo of 1807, "Rhode Island and the Embargo of 1807," 59-67
Enterprise, USS, 27
 Erskine, David, 65
 Exeter, 63

 Factory Inspectors Act (1894), 107, 126
 "Factory Women and Girls of New England" (Chace), 112-15, 119, 120, 128
 Fall River, 109
 Familists 5, 6, 7
 Federalist party, 59, 63, 64
 Fenner, James, 63
 Fifth Monarchy movement, 9
 First Congregational Church, Newport, 36, 37, 42, 44, 45
 Fish, Joseph, 40-43
 Flink, James, 71
 Foster, 97
 Foster, Abby Kelley, 116

- Foster, Theodore, 97
 Foster, William, 9
 Fournier, Henri, 73
 Franklin, Benjamin, 53
 Frazer, Hugh C., 21
 French Canadian mill workers, 97, 98, 110, 122-23
From Front Porch to Back Seat (Bailey), 84
- Gallatin, Albert, 60, 62
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 116, 119, 124
 Gay, George, 28
 Gazzaville (Burrillville), 95
 Gibbon, Edward, 8
 "Girls in a Factory Valley" (Wyman), 126-28
 Globe (Woonsocket), 100
 Gloucester, 97
 Gorham Manufacturing Company, 79
 Gorton, Samuel, 4, 12, 13, 15
 Gould Island, "Gould Island Naval Air Facility and Aerial Torpedo Bombing," 21-29
 Gould, Daniel, 14
 Gould, Jeremiah, 14
 Gould, Richard A., "Gould Island Naval Air Facility and Aerial Torpedo Bombing," 21-29
 Graniteville (Burrillville), 95
 Great Awakening, "Religion, Education, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island," 35-47
 Greyhound Motors Corporation, 81
 Guidoni, Alessandro, 22
 Guyse, John, 38
- Haggar, Benjamin, 36
 Haggar, Susanna Guyse, 36
 Hahn, J. Jerome, 74
 Hamlet (Woonsocket), 100
 Harding, Philippa, 7
 Harding, Robert, 7, 9
Harper's Magazine, 123
 Harrisville (Burrillville), 95, 102
 Hawkins, C. A., 23
 Hawkins, Jane, 7
 Hawkins, Richard, 7
 Hazard family, 99
Heaven's Alarm to Unconverted Sinners (Alleine), 38
 Helme, Christopher, 14
 Herreshoff, James, 76
 Herreshoff, John Brown, 76
 "Hester's Dower" (Wyman), 119-20
 Hibbon, William, 8
 Hill Company, J. J., 79
 Hinckley, Frederic, 111, 128
Hiram (ship), 61
 Hoadley-Knight Steam Auto-Trucks, 79
 Hopkins, Samuel, 38, 42, 43, 44
 Hopkinton, 63
Hornet, USS, 27
Horseless Age, 73
Hosho (ship), 23
 Houghton, Mrs. Percy D., 21
 Howell, David, 62
 Howells, William Dean, 123
 Hubbard, William, 7
 Hughes, William, 79
 Humphrey, Carol Sue, "The Rhode Island Pillar": Rhode Island Newspapers and the Ratification of the Constitution," 49-57
- Hunt, Enoch, 9
 Hunt, Lizzie, 107
 Huntsville (Burrillville), 95
 Hutchinson, Anne, 5, 7, 9, 15
 Hutchinson, Edward, 9
 Hutchinson, William, 7, 8, 12
 Hyde-Thomson, Douglas, 22
- Immigrant mill workers, 97, 98, 110, 113, 117, 122-23
 Impost of 1781, 53
 International Cyclecar Company, 82
 International Power Company, 79
 Irish mill workers, 97, 98, 110
 Irwin, Raymond D., "Cast Out from the 'City upon a Hill': Antinomian Exiles in Rhode Island, 1638-1650," 3-19
- Jackson, Richard, Jr., 63
 James Brown Machine Corporation, 80
 Jay, Augustus, 74
 Jay, John, 56
 Jefferson, Thomas, 59, 62-65
John (Providence ship), 61
John (Tiverton ship), 61
Jolly Robin (ship), 60
 Juvenile Division (temperance club), 117
- Kaga* (ship), 23
 Klyberg, Albert T., "Burrillville: A Town on the Blackstone?," 95-103
 Knights of Labor, 107
 Knightsville (Cranston), 79
 Kujawa, Sheryl A., "Religion, Education, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island: Sarah Haggar Wheaten Osborn, 1714-1796," 35-47
- Labor reform, "Was She Clothed with the Rents Paid for These Wretched Rooms?," 107-33
 Larcom, Lucy, 113
 Layton, John, 9
 League of American Wheelmen, 71, 83
 Lemons, J. Stanley, "The Automobile Comes to Rhode Island," 71-93
 Lenthall, Robert, 13
Leopard (ship), 59
 Leverett, John, 9
 Levy, Austin W., 101
Lexington, USS, 26
Liberator, *The*, 116, 124
 Lippitt, Henry F., 74, 86
 Longmeadow (Warwick), 76
 Longmore, Arthur, 22
 Lonsdale (Cumberland/Lincoln), 100
 Lord, Avery, 31
 Lowell, Massachusetts, 113
Lowell Offering, 113
 "Luke Gardiner's Love" (Wyman), 124-25
- Macon's Bill No. 2, 65
 Madison, James, 64, 65
 Manton, Joseph P., 76
 Manville (Lincoln), 100
 Manville Company, 74
 Mapleville (Burrillville), 95
 Marshall, Frank Warren, 31
 Martin, H. G., 82
 Massachusetts Bay Colony, "Cast Out from the 'City upon a Hill,'" 3-19
 Mather, Cotton, 7
 Max Motor Car Company, 82
 Maxwell (automobile), 81
 Maxwell-Briscoe Motor Company, 81
 Melish, John, 60
Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn (Hopkins), 44
Memorial of the League of American Wheelmen (1889), 83
 Methodists, 97
 Middletown, 83
 Midway, Battle of, 27
 Mill villages, 98
 Miller, Perry, 7
 Mohegan (Burrillville), 95
 Moncrief (automobile), 80
 Moncrief, James A., 80
 Moncrief, James A., Jr., 80
Motocycle, 73
 Mott, Adam, Jr., 14
 Mount Pleasant (Burrillville), 95
Mount Vernon (ship), 61
 Murphy, Thomas H., 21
- Narragansett Bay, 21, 26, 60, 99
 Narragansett Country, 99
 Narragansett Electric Company, 82
 Narragansett Park (Cranston), 73, 77
 Narragansett Pier (Narragansett), 85
 Nasonville (Burrillville), 95, 99
 National League for Good Roads, 72
Nature, Certainty, and Evidence of True Christianity, The (Osborn), 38-39
 Needham, William, 9
 Newport, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 21, 35-45, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 73, 82, 99
Newport Herald, "The Rhode Island Pillar," 49-57
Newport Mercury, "The Rhode Island Pillar," 49-57; 64
 Newspapers and ratification of U.S. Constitution, "The Rhode Island Pillar," 49-57
 Nicholson File Company, 79
 Nonintercourse Act, 65
 North Kingstown, 25, 78
 North Providence, 63
 North Smithfield, 83, 95
- Oakland (Burrillville), 95
 Oak Valley (Burrillville), 97
 Oldfield, Barney, 73
 Oliver, John, 8
 Olney, Jeremiah, 60-62
 Olneyville (Providence), 78, 79
 Osborn, Henry, 38
 Osborn, Sarah Haggar Wheaten, "Religion, Education, and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island," 35-47
- Page (automobile), 82
 Palmer, Fanny Purdy, 126

- Parker, George, 14
 Partridge, Alexander, 12
 Pascoag (Burrillville), 95, 97, 100
Patoka, USS (ship), 21
 Pawtucket, 79, 80, 81, 82, 95, 100
 Pawtucket Motor Carriage Company, 74
 Pawtucket Steamboat Company, 80
 Pawtuxet, 61
 Peace Dale (South Kingstown), 99
 Pearl Harbor, 25
 Peckham, John, 13
 Pelfrey, John Gorham, 7
 Phillips, Wendell, 116, 117, 124
 Photographic collections, Rhode Island
 Historical Society, "Images of Rhode
 Island," 31-32
 Pinckney, Charles C., 64
 Poole, Edward, 9
 Porter, John, 14
 Portsmouth, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14
 Potter, Elisha, 63
Poverty Grass (Wyman), 123-24
 Prince, Thomas, 38
Prince of Wales (ship), 25
Prisoners of Poverty (Campbell), 125
 Prison reform, 112
 Providence, 6, 59-65, 71, 76-79, 81-83, 88, 97,
 111
 Providence and Springfield Railroad, 99-100
 Providence and Worcester Railroad, 98, 99,
 117
Providence City Directory, 79
Providence Columbian Phenix, 64
 Providence Engine Works, 81
Providence Evening Bulletin, 78
 Providence Free Religious Society, 111
Providence Gazette, "The Rhode Island
 Pillar," 49-57; 64
Providence Journal, 31, 78, 86
Providence Journal of Commerce, 77
 Puritans, "Cast Out from the 'City upon a
 Hill,'" 3-19

 Quakers, 3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 97, 124
 Quidnessett Memorial Cemetery (North
 Kingstown), 78
 Quincy, Josiah, 7
 Quonset Naval Air Station, 25

 Railroads, 88, 98, 99-100, 117
 Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, 101
 Reform schools, 117
 Republican Association of Newport, 64
Repulse (ship), 25
 Rhode Island Auto Carriage Company, 78
 Rhode Island Automobile Club, 73, 86
 Rhode Island Aviation Heritage Association,
 27, 28
 Rhode Island Company, 88
 Rhode Island Council of Women, 107, 126
 Rhode Island Locomotive Works, 77
Rhode Island Republican, 64
*Rhode Island Secondhand Automobile
 Register*, 82
 Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association,
 107, 108, 109, 111, 116, 126
 Rhode Island Woman's Club, 111

 Rhodes-on-the-Pawtuxet (Cranston), 85
 Richmond, 63
 Roberts, John H. 77
 Robinson, Harriet, 113
 Rocky Point (Warwick), 88
 Roman Catholics, 97, 113
 Russell, Jonathan, 64

 "Saint or Sinner" (Wyman), 119
 Sanford, John, 14
Saturday Evening Post, 86
 Savage, Thomas, 9
 Saxonville (Burrillville), 95
 Schools, 110, 115, 117
 Second Beach (Newport), 73
 Selden, George B., 73
 Sheep raising, 99
 Sheldon, Charles T., 80
Shenandoah (zeppelin), 21
 Shepard, John, 86
 Shepard, Thomas, 5
 Shepard and Company, 78
 Sherman, Philip, 14
 Sherman, William Watts, 74
 Shipbuilding, 97
Shoho (ship), 26
Shokaku (ship), 27
 Shotten, Sampson, 14
 Smith, Herbert, 23
 Smithfield, 108
 Smuggling, 60-62
 Sopwith, T. O. M., 22
 South Kingstown, 63, 99
 Spencer, Anna Garlin, 107
 Spencer, John, 9
 State Board of Public Roads, 84, 86
 Stevens, Elizabeth C., "Was She Clothed with
 the Rents Paid for These Wretched Rooms?:
 Elizabeth Buffum Chace, Lillie Chace
 Wyman, and Upper-Class Advocacy for
 Women Factory Operatives in Gilded Age
 Rhode Island," 107-33
 Stillwater Worsted Company, 101
 Stone, Lucy, 112, 116
 Strum, Harvey, "Rhode Island and the
 Embargo of 1807," 59-67
 "Studies of Factory Life" (Wyman), 125-26
 Sueter, Murray, 22

 Talbot, Peter, 21
 Tarkiln (Burrillville), 95
 Temperance movement, 110, 111, 116, 117
 Tennent, Gilbert, 35, 36
 Tew, Richard, 14
 Textile manufacturing, "Burrillville: A Town
 on the Blackstone?," 95-103
 Thornton Machinery Company, 81
 Tiverton, 61
Treatise concerning Religious Affections
 (Edwards), 38
 Trolleys, 88

Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 116, 124
 Union Street Railway Company, 77
United States Chronicle, "The Rhode Island
 Pillar," 49-57
 United States Motor Company, 81

 "Valentine's Chance" (Wyman), 122-23
 Valley Falls (Cumberland), 100, 107, 108, 110,
 116, 119, 126
 Valley Falls Company, 107, 109, 116
 Vanderbilt, Jr., Mrs. Cornelius, 73
 Vanderbilt, Reginald, 74
 Vera (automobile), 82
 Vinal, William, 40

 Waite, Thomas, 14
 Waldron, John C., 28
 Wallum Lake (Burrillville), 95, 97
 Wardall, William, 14
 Warren, 83
 Warwick, 14, 63, 76, 83
 Washington, George, 53
Wasp (ship), 61
 Watts, Isaac, 38
 Welde, Thomas, 6
 Wells, H. G., 87
 Westerly, 63
 Weston, Francis, 14
 What Cheer Laundry, 85
 Wheaten, Samuel, 36
 Wheatley, Phillis, 45
 Wheelwright, John, 4, 5, 8
 Whitefield, George, 35, 36
 Whitten Motor Vehicle Company, 79
Who Is It?, 82
 Wilbore, Samuel, 14
 Wilbore, Samuel, Jr., 14
 Wilbour, Isaac, 64
 Willard, Frances, 111
 William A. Harris Steam Engine Company, 81
 Williams, Beriah, 61
 Williams, Roger, 6
 Wilson, John, 8, 11
 Winthrop, John, 5-7, 11-13, 15
 Woman suffrage movement, 107, 108, 109,
 110, 111, 113, 116, 122, 125
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 107,
 111, 126
 Woman's Congress (1881), 111
Woman's Journal, 116, 117, 122
 Women and automobiles, 85
 Women and labor reform, "Was She Clothed
 with the Rents Paid for These Wretched
 Rooms?," 107-33
 Women in eighteenth century, "Religion,
 Education, and Gender in Eighteenth-
 Century Rhode Island," 35-47
 Women's Educational and Industrial Union,
 107
 Woonsocket, 95
 Woonsocket (automobile), 82
 Woonsocket Village, 100
 World War I, 22
 World War II, 25-28
 Wyman, Arthur Crawford, 119
 Wyman, John Crawford, 119
 Wyman, Lillie Chace, "Was She Clothed with
 the Rents Paid for These Wretched
 Rooms?," 107-133

 Yamamoto, Isoroku, 25
Yorktown, USS, 26

Rhode Island History
110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152
ISSN 0035-4619



SECOND CLASS
POSTAGE PAID AT
PROVIDENCE, RI

Cover

Detail from a group portrait of Woman's
Christian Temperance Union members,
Rhode Island, circa 1890. Silver gelatin print.
RHS Collection (RHi X3 8027).