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VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION:
THE CASE OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS,
1840-1860

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VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION: THE CASE OF
LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS, 1840-1860

by

Robert J. Topitzer

B. S., College of the Holy Cross, 1960

A DISSERTATION

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R.J.T.

Merrimac, Massachusetts

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ABSTRACT

VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION: THE CASE OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS, 1840-1860

by

ROBERT J. TOPITZER

The subject of the extent of conflict and consensus values in industrial society continues to inform much of the literature in political sociology. This study was made of one of the earliest and best-known examples of an industrializing community, mid-nineteenth century Lowell, Massachusetts. The purpose was to determine the extent of shared and differing values on major aspects of the industrial system and the social order within which it developed. A content analysis of the editorial pages of three Lowell newspapers was completed for the years between 1840 and 1860.

Sharp division between the values of those representing workers' interests and the values of industrial capitalists were found to exist on most major aspects of industrialization. While certain differences increased during the period of declining worker conditions, overall comment on the factory system declined during the decade of greatest stress. The findings of value conflict are seen as significant because Lowell was a community specifically founded by industrialists for industrial purposes. Therefore the findings lend support to the conflict view of the

social order. The indications of declining comment overall may have been a predecessor of the future passivity of the U. S. labor force given the power of industrialism and the lack of a permanent working class community in U. S. industrial cities.

PREFACE

The subject of change had been of great interest to me long before my academic training in sociology began. When I formally started the academic study of sociology in the late 1950's or early 1960's, I was often impressed and surprised by the avoidance of the very topic that seemed to be at the center of man's continuous interest in society. It was true that an earlier tradition of sociology had addressed itself to change, but some of the more intemperate manifestations of this interest had helped to partially discredit it as a research topic while research more limited in scope gained favor.

From my point of view it was one of the fortunate characteristics of the mid-twentieth century that the topic of change re-appeared as a major research interest stimulated in part by the kind of concern with history advocated by C. Wright Mills in his The Sociological Imagination.¹ It was about this time, too, that social scientists vastly expanded the study of economic and social change in non-western nations that were stimulated by the advance of industrialization and the expansionism of the older industrial countries. Industrialization was coming to be seen as the encompassing social change of modern life, as yet unbounded by time or place and the source of fascination both complimentary and critical.

By the time I was studying for the doctorate in the late 1960's what had come to be called comparative sociology had become quite sophisticated, and as with much of the best research, it employed more than one technique to help resolve the complexities of key change such as industrialization including historical analysis.

Thus, it was not by accident that I focused on the subject of the research to be described in the pages that follow. If industrialization was crucial, it seemed apparent that a student of comparative sociology should study it. Partly to focus clearly on the situation wherein industrialization was relatively new and unaffected by later political and social developments (such as the rise of the advanced industrial state) I chose to study the case of industrialization in one of the places where it had first appeared. Although the British case of industrialization in the nineteenth century was of great interest to me, some difficulty in gaining access to materials was anticipated and the New England case during the same period was chosen as an alternative.

The general purpose of my research was to illuminate something of a community's response to industrialization through an examination of that community's values concerning key aspects of industrialization. This focus of interest was stimulated in part by the kinds of social history exemplified by E. P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class, Eric Hobsbawn's Primitive Rebels, J. L. and B. Hammond's, The Town Laborer, and Peter Laslett's

The World We Have Lost.² Thompson's work was of particular interest because of the way he interwove the threads of one period's characteristics with the actions of individuals and groups in another later period. He seemed to place great emphasis on the pre-existing community structure in which the values of an earlier England welded the reactions of a predominantly rural people to the strange phenomenon of industrialization emerging in their midst. Such an approach to understanding this complex process was productive for Thompson and stimulated my interest in the study of the values of a New England community under similar circumstances.

My perspective and interest were also formed by the well-known conflict versus consensus debate in the social science literature dealing with the political system. Essentially this is an unresolved debate, because although there is no academic contest over the existence or absence of some conflict in a community, there is considerable discussion over the predominance of conflict versus consensus as the basis of the existing social order.³ In the context of the New England case I chose to study, this debate could be examined during a time when the American nation was still experiencing its "growing pains" and a national unity of values about important general matters was not in evidence. Industrialization was one of those general matters that had begun to engage public attention in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Industrialization represented a new way of life to thousands of people and an alternative to an established community of values.

This community of values was complex enough to include both the decidedly non-Jacobin biases of some of the writers of the U. S. Constitution and the developing but explicit egalitarianism much manifested in industrial towns of New England, particularly among the emerging factory operative population and their chief spokesmen. These people continuously spoke out against privilege, monopoly, exploitation, and hypocrisy within the changing environment being created by industrialism and industrialists, and they often phrased their comment in terms of an erosion of the meaning of democratic ideals.⁴ This milieu appeared to be an important setting for the study of values that I wished to make.

The particular community that I chose was Lowell, Massachusetts, the one that has received the most active attention of historians because of its position as a forerunner of modern industrial organization and practices and as a model for the alleged "specialness" of the American industrial case. In the pages that follow I shall attempt to describe in more detail the problem and nature of my research. As a modest contribution to the study of comparative social change, I hope it will be viewed as a successful effort.

CHAPTER I

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM

It is almost a truism that industrialization and industrial society have generated enormous practical and research interest from the moment of their emergence on the world scene in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹ Since that time no generation has lacked scholars and others who felt compelled to deal with the overwhelming phenomenon facing them, even if they could only express interest in the form of explicit rejection or of barely sublimated revulsion.² In fact, reactions to industrialization and to the changes it was producing ranged from such rejection to the open adulation of its wonders, and the development of grandiose schemes for its incorporation into society for the purpose of forever transforming human destiny.³ The immensity of this concern with industrialization matched the vastness of industrialization itself, providing a new kind of dynamic element to social, cultural, and intellectual life, and giving impetus to new intellectual disciplines such as sociology, and new forms of organized life, such as bureaucracy.⁴

Despite some early debate among historians as to whether or not anything as complex as industrialization could be treated as a discrete event of an historical period, most scholars treated the so-called Industrial Revolution as one of the most completely unitary and delimited phenomena ever

to have occurred.⁵ Causal sequences could be followed, especially in the economic realm, that left little doubt about the dependence of industrialization on both the actions of individuals and those events in the social order that led directly into industrialization itself.⁶

In turn, industrialization gave rise to many other changes that continue to affect the twentieth century, so that it is often treated now as the master change process of the last two hundred years.⁷ Practically no area of social science is lacking a perspective on industrialization, and this is manifested today in such different concerns as the prediction of the future, modern studies of alienation and the character of contemporary life, modernization in the "third world", and the rich and rapidly expanding material on labor and the laboring classes.⁸ The subject of this paper fits into the latter category because it is a study of values in the industrial community of Lowell, Massachusetts during the major period of its expansion and development, from 1840 to 1860.

From the enormous topic of industrialization and its consequences the subject of values has been selected for research in this case because of its importance. Knowledge of the values of a society's population is crucial to understanding how it functions, the likelihood and manner of its acceptance of social change, the consistency of its values, and the differences in values among various segments of the population. The extent to which values are shared or differ

is especially important within a political order that claims to be democratic, because contemporary political science and sociological literature generally proclaim the importance of value consensus for the maintenance of a viable social order that is able to deal with something as complex and demanding as industrialization.⁹ While few sophisticated social scientists and historians would deny the existence of some conflict and dissensus in any society, there remains the issue of the extent and intensity of division, especially about the acceptability of industrialization. While the political system in the United States was probably never portrayed as completely egalitarian even as an ideal, it is difficult to ignore the persistent concern with egalitarianism, both in the writing of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and in the works of later historians.¹⁰ Egalitarianism both as an ideal and in practice can suffer from a social system which is openly hierarchical. Industrialization fostered such a system in the United States, so that it becomes a research problem of great interest to examine one setting wherein two contradictory social forms co-existed. Lowell, Massachusetts is one such setting with the special feature of being established as an industrial community. If values were not much shared there, then values conflict is an even likelier aspect of other parts of industrial society, thereby calling into question the whole notion of value consensus.

Critics of the consensus view have seen conflict in values as more typical of any industrial system, and the

opposition of the two views has been manifested in contemporary critical sociology and in the discussion of distinctive class subcultures. The debate between the two positions has deep roots in the intellectual history of industrialized countries, with observers of the industrial order often emphasizing either conflict or consensus with equal plausibility.¹¹ But the question of a population's values is never fully resolved by detached analytical assessment based on selective evidence of conflict or consensus, both of which exist in any society. To re-phrase the problem somewhat, the extent to which values are held in common or are in conflict is an empirical question that needs to be examined, especially in view of the extensive literature attempting to demonstrate that the anti-democratic tendencies of industrialism can be and have been handled within democratically organized countries.¹²

Frank Parkin, a twentieth-century British sociologist who has written on the subject of values in industrial society, has presented a useful way to conceptualize the presence of differing values by referring to what he called three "competing meaning-systems" in society:

- 1) the 'dominant' value system, the social source of which is the major institutional order. This is a moral framework which promotes the endorsement of the existing inequality;
- 2) the 'subordinate' value system, the social source ...of which is the...working class community. This is a moral framework which promotes accommodative' responses to the facts of inequality and low status.
- 3) the 'radical' value system, the source of which is the mass political party based on the working class. This is a moral framework which promotes

an 'oppositional' interpretation of class inequalities.¹³

Parkin's distinctions are a useful conceptualization and are germane to this case study because they provide a broad characterization of three positions with respect to the community values, rather than a monolithic view of them. As a first approximation it would seem that the industrial capitalists of nineteenth-century Lowell were representatives of the dominant value system, the workers accepted a subordinate system, and that the radical system was emerging within the workers throughout the century and among some middle class reformers during restricted periods of the century.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Lowell's working population was composed mainly of middle-class farm girls, the vast majority of whom were silent about the conditions of their working life. By the 1840's a number of incidents had occurred through the actions of this group that conclusively demonstrated their militancy and potential for radicalism, clearly a challenge to a view of their values as only "subordinate" and "accommodative".

One source of the workers' militance was the public debate about the factory system, a debate whose origin was nearly coincident with the beginnings of industrialization, but which had continued to grow with each decade through newspapers, pamphlets, books and in political debate.¹⁴ The debate shifted its emphasis over this time from concerns with industrialism generally to the conditions of the worker in particular, but at no time were the large and small issues

neglected. If anything, some of the larger concern with industrialism generally was resurrected by the 1840's and 1850's because by this time Lowell had lost most of its veneer of paternalism and had entered the beginning of a long period of more openly exploitative relations between employer and employee. The public debate that accompanied this change raises questions about the possible diversity of values on specific and general issues and provides an important context for the subject of this research.

The techniques by which industrialization were fostered were manifold, involving the private independent decisions of manufacturers as well as the enactment of public laws covering industrialization's domain. One of the principal techniques was the use of public media such as newspapers as "sounding-boards" and opinion-molding devices by both the advocates and the critics of the industrial system. As a forum for the analysis of the industrial system, newspapers of the period were a prime source for the examination of the values held by the population of Lowell toward this major social change phenomenon. The appearance of such printed materials was continuous over the period studied and corresponded to the growth of industrialization and of community, regional and national society.¹⁵ Thus, these materials were used as the primary source of data for the questions of this research. In the following section those research questions will be introduced and fully discussed, but first a comment must be made on the relevance of studying the historical case of Lowell.

As is generally known, the so-called Industrial Revolution did not begin in the United States, but when it did "blossom" here its expansion and productive results were without parallel.¹⁶ Throughout its uncertain beginnings only those with the requisite capital, mechanical and administrative skill, fortunate location, and marketable product could hope to succeed, let alone to lead this newly-hatched social change. Such a fortuitous combination of capital skill, location and product was to be found in New England of the early nineteenth century among the merchant capitalists of Boston, the most prominent of whom were known as the Boston "Associates".¹⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter III, the system of manufacture begun by these entrepreneurs came to be known as the "Waltham system" after its place of origin, but it was particularly applied and had its most expansive and popular development in Lowell, Massachusetts. There is no doubt that the system developed at Waltham and Lowell and applied to other places in northern New England was an innovation in the strictest sociological and anthropological sense, and the forerunner of the modern national and multi-national industrial corporation on several levels.

The most important sense in which it was a forerunner was in terms of having a corporate form of organization with limited liability, an innovation that spurred one analyst to say about the Waltham system:

Perhaps more has been written on the system than on any type of industrial organization except slavery. From this plethora of commentary, two points of emphasis have emerged: One, that the Waltham system began as a remarkable innovation aimed at introducing large-scale manufacturing into the United States, but without reproducing¹⁸ the horrors of the English factory system;

Caroline Ware, after describing the early and faltering development of cotton manufacture under the locally-based systems of southern New England, noted that near the close of the War of 1812 a "new industrial form" developed in the United States that came to dominate the cotton industry, and it "marked a radical departure from all that had gone before".

The new factory was freed from its dependence upon its environment, except as it was bound by the need for water power and transportation. ... The new group of men who entered the industry at the peak of war enthusiasm in 1813 brought to the cotton manufacture what it had lacked, extensive resources and efficient organization...

The new form was more purely American than its predecessor, ... It was, in fact, the prototype of the big modern corporation, organized for mass production and integrating all processes from the raw material through the finished product under one management and, as far as possible, in one plant.¹⁹

V. S. Clark noted that the decade of the 1830's in Lowell was the "most remarkable decade of progress, in a single place and industry, as yet achieved in our manufacturing history".²⁰ Much of the success of this new form can be attributed to the heavy capital financing of the operations, much of it in liquid rather than fixed form and amounting to millions of dollars.²¹ This liquid capital allowed wider-ranging investment, thereby attracting many

more investors and allowing the financing of numerous other industries, some of which supported and complemented the textile industry and insured the success of its operations.²² Besides the form of organization itself there is a catalogue of items about Lowell that were innovative and precursors of modern industrialism.²³ In themselves these aspects of Lowell provide great relevance for its selection for research on industrialization. The 1840-1860 period was a particularly crucial one in U. S. industrial history and the site of Lowell was considered the showcase of American industry by both domestic and foreign observers.²⁴

Beyond these considerations, Lowell was important for the uniquely developed value positions of its population (or at least that part of the population publicly "heard from") on the subject of industrialization. The changes in productive processes and in community life involved intense reactions by the industrial capitalists who initiated it and by workers and other community members who were caught up in the process. Lowell became the principal focus of the so-called "factory question" in early nineteenth-century United States, and of the two-pronged attack on the industrial system and the capitalistic economic form underlying it. What Norman Ware called the "Battle of the Books" was a product of intellectuals opposed to the immorality of the system; while the attack by the factory operatives and their supporters found more popular expression in newspapers of the period.²⁵ The attack spread widely and included in its network the

subjects of wages, poverty, social reform, the tariff and slavery questions, the social class arrangements in society, the viability of democracy, and the effects of industrialization on human life. The debate was tied to international social changes such as major religious reform, the arrival of international socialism (some of whose advocates spoke in and used Lowell for the expounding of their views), and the advance of international capitalism and the factory system²⁶. Besides all of this, Lowell was the subject of intense scrutiny in the early and mid-nineteenth century because it was the showcase of domestic manufacturing, and of the beneficial potential of industrialization, a prime source of waxing nationalistic pride.²⁷ Thus, Lowell was at the center of new developments in the United States of that period and a most useful subject for a case study of values about industrialization.

Research Questions

To provide focus for this research the following questions have been formulated. Undoubtedly they provide only a partial delimitation of the field of investigation because this research will raise many other questions that cannot be directly examined in this study. What they do accomplish is a specification of the scope of this inquiry and some statement of the dimensions of the study of values that are most relevant to the topic of industrialization.

The first and basic question is: What were the values of the population of Lowell during its major period

of industrialization? In answering this question it will be necessary to manipulate the data in several ways to emphasize what appears to be significant about them. Most important in this respect is the making of assumptions based on a knowledge of the data gained from secondary sources. These assumptions and the procedures based on them will be discussed further in Chapters III and IV, but this is obviously the central part of the study upon which other questions depend.

The second question is necessary but not self-explanatory. Indeed, it is not at all obvious why it should be raised unless one is acquainted with some of the literature on industrialization. It is this: What is the relation between elite and working class values in an industrializing community such as nineteenth-century Lowell? The subject of elites is a complex one, the variegated nature of which would be distracting to explore in this study.²⁸ It is sufficient to indicate that nineteenth-century American society was stratified along class lines discernible even by later researchers, and that the distinction between a working class and an industrial elite would not be difficult to make²⁹. What is important for the purpose of this study is to ask how the values of different parts of the population of Lowell compared with one another. Were distinctions of values about key aspects of industrialization evident in the expression of these values by spokesmen for different levels of the social structure, as, for example, when they made newspaper commentary? What does the examination of the manifest content of these values reveal about the amount and extent of agreement

or disagreement about major aspects of the enormous social change of industrialization? Keeping Parkin's distinctions in mind, was there such a thing as a "dominant", a "subordinate", and a "radical" values profile in the community of Lowell, and to what extent did each overlap? The importance of asking these questions becomes more obvious from an examination of the literature on industrialization. Whatever "world" of industrialization is selected, the relation between socio-economic elites and the working class is inevitably considered, and this research will attempt to describe the values part of this relation for one industrial community.³⁰

A third question is: What is the relative significance of consensual and conflicting values in an industrializing society, as evidenced by this case study? Using the delineation of values and an examination of their relation, this study will examine what the data indicate about the degree of consensus and conflict of values on key dimensions of industrialization. It will attempt to explain any differences or areas of agreement according to available historical information on the social order. Analytically this question emerges from the consideration of elite and working class values because both consensual and conflicting values may exist in either part of the social structure.

The answer to this question will provide some insight into the political questions of great salience in the literature on industrializing societies mentioned earlier.

The answer to this question will indicate how different dimensions of industrialization were perceived by various parts of the population, and whether or not there were significant variations by source during different periods.

Since values are held by individuals as members of groups, a fourth question suggests itself: What is the relation between values of interest groups or other distinct segments of the social structure and "general community values"?³¹ As indicated in the next chapter, a persistent question has existed in much of the literature on industrial societies that are democratic as to whether or not consensus or conflict characterizes their value structure. Most writers have tacitly assumed an underlying consensus in values that forced newly-emerging groups such as the industrial capitalists and members of the working class in the nineteenth century to assert and demonstrate their legitimacy before the community if they were to succeed in accomplishing their goals.³² The problem for the researcher becomes one of choosing between the consensual or conflict view of the social order. With an extreme conflict view the above question becomes irrelevant, and with an extreme consensual view the uniqueness of different groups does not seem evident. A modified view of both is possible, because traditional New England values of at least the middle and upper classes have been defined and constitute a base of comparison with those values of new groups.

The two remaining major questions are raised because they bear strongly on the question of how industrialization was accomplished. The fifth question is: How are values expressed through newspapers? It is essentially a question of methodology and it will be partially answered in the methodology section of this study. But it is also one that can be illuminated by the research undertaken here because this is precisely one of the kinds of questions that content analysis is capable of answering well.³³

An answer to this question would be in terms of an analysis that compared espoused values with changing historical conditions, such as the shifting emphasis of labor organization activity. Such an analysis is based on the assumption that newspapers were not merely passive reflectors of community values, but that they emphasized differing values as the appropriate need or time demanded.

The role of newspapers in industrialization has been emphasized in the modern context, but generally this has not been true for the nineteenth century case of industrialization.³⁴ Thus, a sixth question logically presents itself: What is the role of the newspaper in a literate industrializing society? "A literate industrializing society" is an apt descriptive phrase for this case study (characterized, as it was, by the unique configuration of sociocultural traits of self-contained New England) because Lowell was exactly that, in contrast to the cases studied by modern research into the role of the newspaper in industrial society. The

resulting contrast and comparison with those studies provides a unique dimension to the usefulness of this study, especially since the case selected here is one that is next to British industrialization in its importance as an historical case.³⁵

Besides these major questions, several related ones will be discussed and examined in this research. First, was the protest and concern about the factory system during the decades of the 1840's and 1850's directed at industrialization generally or against specific conditions? Some form of this question has occurred repeatedly in the literature on industrialization in the United States and Great Britain because, both logically and factually, protest can and has occurred on two levels. That directed at the total system of industrialization has appeared sporadically during the course of its growth, while the questioning of specific conditions has been a nearly continuous feature. The reason for this is not obvious and it will be possible to examine different forms of protest in this study.³⁶

A second related question is: Were the conditions of industrialization perceived similarly by those who supported the system and by others? An attempt will be made in this research to describe any systematic variations in the perception of conditions by examining, in turn, each of the outstanding dimensions of the industrialization phenomenon.

Third, some expectation is entertained that historical events might affect the evaluation of the process of industrialization, and if this is so it would be desirable to know in what direction values about industrialization

aspects did shift. Because of the unbounded nature of many historical events to be considered here and because of the absence of any simple one-to-one relation between events and values, it may not be possible to do more than describe a few such correspondances between the two, although even this modest accomplishment can be illuminating.

A fourth related question concerns the differences between the two decades (1840's and 1850's) considered as a whole. There are differences that historians have felt accurately portray the two decades. For example, the forties were the context of numerous small contents between capital and labor that focused on grievances of large scope; grievances that were "holdovers" from the earlier suspicion of industrialism's possible threat, to an older way of life, sense of community, and understanding of democracy. Ironically, as conditions became increasingly exploitative in the 1850's and as industrialism became more gigantic in its scope and effect, protest was supposedly centered not on industrialism in its totality, but on specific issues of wages, etc. This study will attempt to indicate whether this supposed shift in emphasis was evident in one of the principal vehicles of community concern, the popular newspaper.

All of these questions represent guides fo sociological analysis and constitute important research questions. They have been introduced here to indicate that in the actual data analysis these questions provide a framework for

treating the research findings. In the remainder of this introduction the expected accomplishments of the study and the organization of this paper will be indicated.

Expected Accomplishments and Significance of the Study

In all of the preceding questions two things were generally expected. One was that the newspapers of Lowell would, in fact, reveal answers to at least some of the research questions. It was expected that they would because of the importance of industrialization for Lowell. It was a community whose citizens' lives were based upon for its success, and this fact led to the frequent use of the newspapers as a means of expressing values on crucial affairs that supposedly affected all citizens.

A second general expectation was that on some of the points raised by the questions, historians and others had properly tapped the characteristics of the period accurately. For example, in much of the writing available it is well-documented that the labor movement existing then went through distinct phases and that there are at least some visible differences between the labor movement of the 1830's and 1840's and that of a later period. It was expected, then, that the results of this research would tend to reflect those differences, especially as between the decade of the 1840's vs. that of the 1850's. In Chapters V and in VI the research questions discussed above will be re-examined in light of the data and accorded separate treatment and analysis.

This study has a wider significance than Lowell even though this was the most important and first major industrial city in the United States. As Herbert Gutman and others have inferred, industrialization in the United States was not just a technological revolution but a social one that involved a major threat to established social patterns and had lasting implications for social class.³⁷ What happened in Lowell at that time heralded the development of a class structure based on the industrial system that has continued into the twentieth century. Some glimpse of the context of this development in an ideologically egalitarian society should help us to understand our own political situation better and should provide a contribution to the constantly growing literature (neo-Marian, radical and other) on the significance of industrialization. It would also contribute to what historian Paul Faler describes as the need for more social history on evidence of a distinct working class culture in nineteenth century American and the extent of its similarity to the culture of the middle class.³⁸

Organization of Report

This chapter has attempted to introduce this study and its significance to the reader and to outline its research questions. Chapter III will be a discussion of the previous related research in sociology and other disciplines that illuminates some of the questions explored in this study. The topics taken up reflect both the central questions explored here and related issues. For example, in assessing

the nature and significance of values about industrialization it is important to understand whose values are being assessed, what are their characteristics, and what relationship exists among the values held by each part of the social structure. The literature available on these topics deals with both the historical and contemporary cases and it will be reviewed in Chapter II.

Chapter III is a description of the research case of Lowell as it developed historically into an industrial power. This chapter focuses on the special role of Lowell's developers, including their characteristics and social power; the economic and social changes in the laboring population and their connection with the industrial capitalist elites; the importance of the press in Lowell; and the available evidence about values of Lowell's population as found in historical analyses of the period.

Chapter IV will be an explanation of the methodology employed to answer the research questions posed here. As was indicated, content analysis of newspapers is the principal technique employed, and its application to this research on values will be examined. The questions about methodology that are presently taken to be nearly standard for sociological research, such as representativeness of the sample, validity and reliability, and the appropriateness of the methodology, will all be entertained in this chapter.

The next to last chapter will present the findings of this research on each of the dimensions studied and in

relation to the research questions posed at the outset. The last chapter will summarize other findings, discuss and analyze them in relation to the content analysis results and show conclusions about the research questions on the basis of these results.

CHAPTER II

VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION: SELECTED PREVIOUS RESEARCH

From the classic Marxian point of view, the dominant values of a society within a given historical period are the values of its economic and political elites.¹ There seems to be evidence from diverse sources to support this view, basically because the elites are in a position to widely disseminate their values (or fortunate enough to have others do this for them) while the rest of society is not.² Furthermore, social science and historical research have shown the manifold ways in which the social institutions of a society are permeated by the values of elites due to their strategic positions as office-holders, principal employers, trustees of educational institutions, newspapers backers, community advisers, and other roles appropriately influential in their communities and/or in the nation.³ Even though modern research shows elites not to be monolithic and to exist at local and national levels, various factors such as selection criteria and similarity of experience combine to make them self-conscious and active perpetuators of their own values.⁴

For the purposes of this research, the elites discussed will be those at the local level of the communities of Lowell and Boston because of the close link between them

with respect to nineteenth-century industrialization. In this study, elites were comprised of leaders linked directly with community economics, to the exclusion of artistic achievement or religious office as criteria for elite status. It was these elites who virtually dominated regional economic and socio-political life through their numerous activities (see Chapter III). Even with such importance, it would be a mistake to see only the values of elites as necessarily representative of the values of the whole community. This is clearly an empirical question open to investigation, and the purpose of this chapter will be to review research on the subject of values in an industrial society, whether these are the values of elites or of others.

The values of other community members can be seen in at least two ways. On the one hand, they may be viewed as essentially similar to those of elites, representing a kind of consensus on the key issues that bind a society together while being characterized by various modifications of the dominant values that reflect different positions in the social structure.⁵ The principal starting point of this and other views is the phenomenon of social class, itself seen as the main determinant of values. Although definitions of social class vary, many contemporary social scientists assume a "multi-dimensional" definition of class as a stratification of society based on such factors as income, occupation and education, with resulting differences in life chances, values and behavioral patterns. In this paper,

class includes these items but assumes with Charles Anderson, Ralph Miliband and others that the fundamental determinant of class is ownership or non-ownership of the means of production.⁶ The latter view of class sees conflict rather than consensus as a natural and inevitable result and a more accurate description of the true state of affairs prevailing in a society.⁷ Even when the conflict view of societal values is taken, some writers tend to concentrate on the ways values in conflict can be reconciled by value holders, thus contributing to an image of society's values that portrays the prevalence of consensus. Others maintain the classic conflict view and explain whatever cohesion exists by ascribing it to the greater power of one group to assert itself and its values over another.⁸

In a broad sense the question about representative values in a community is akin to the old "high culture-low culture" perspective of historians and others writing about the medieval period. Thus, while the Roman Church, the university and the artistic world represented the classic, best known and most celebrated values and cultural traits of the period (the "high" culture), the barnyard, traveling minstrels, craftsmen and gypsy theatre represented the seamier and less known side of society (low culture).⁹ Similarly, the Victorian period has been treated in a dichotomous way, one pole being characterized by the puritanically strict code that guided public morality, set the tone of an era, and which later generations took as an

accurate portrait of the period; the other pole represented by the portrayals of a motley lower and working class or the sexually repressed middle levels of the social structure.¹⁰ While the portrayal of these alternative sides of the medieval period and of the Victorian era center on different dimensions of the society, both are similar in their attempts to come to grips with the values of societies in a given age and in seeing those values more or less dichotomously. The contemporary view of the Victorian era tends to see its values as a continuum, a not unusual portrayal that has other manifestations: for example, the concept of dominant-variant value orientations of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (applied to an entirely different social context).¹¹

In fact, it seems logical to expect a continuum of values to be a more realistic image, and when asking questions about such values to begin at least by relating these questions to specific concerns facing a society's members.

In the research described by this paper one of the concerns of a specific society is examined, the process of industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century town of Lowell, Massachusetts. This selectivity of focus was justified by the many accounts of the period and the place which picture industrialization as the key social change in people's consciousness, even though they were differentially affected by it depending on their social class position in the community. This is not a time-bound and esoteric focus because industrialization is increasingly seen as the master

context within which most world societies now function and grow.¹² Understandably, then, much has been written of values about some facet of industrialization right up to and including the present day. To take into account the diversity of concerns involved in industrialization, the present research has examined the major components of the process through content analysis, and therefore an examination of previous research should include these components.

Working Class Values

Most modern research on societal values is not directed toward such global matters as industrialization generally, but to wages of workers, conditions of work life and other items, or on a wider scale to political attitudes toward the society as a whole; and finally, to symptoms of alienation.¹³ Nor are contemporary studies concerned with societies or communities as a whole, but with specific segments such as blue collar workers, professionals, and minority groups.¹⁴

Two themes seem to dominate the literature on the values of members of industrial societies. One is the concept of alienation, and the other is the question of class consciousness. Both of these concerns seem to be peculiarly modern (i.e., occurring with the last 150 years) and germane to industrial society, not only because of Marx's considerable influence on these subjects and the work of Marxist and other scholars of industrial society,

but because of the widely-held contention that industrial society gives rise to these two phenomena to an extent not recognizable in previous systems.¹⁵

While alienation has been one of the outstanding interests of modern and classic sociological thought, class consciousness has undergone a resurgence of popularity within the last decade under the influence of socialist-oriented scholars and others who have considered the nature of modern industrial society.¹⁶ The works of John C. Leggett are probably typical of this genre of critical sociology, and he, like others writing on the topic today, see a developing line of thought on class consciousness in industrial society that is both rich and perplexing.¹⁷ The richness derives from the seemingly inexhaustible and constantly changing character of the state of class consciousness in the industrial countries, while the perplexing aspect is a product of seemingly contradictory research findings on the locus and extent of class consciousness, its underdevelopment in the United States, and its link with alienation.¹⁸

The respective key questions about alienation and class consciousness are; alienation "from what" and consciousness "of what". The response to the first of these is not to be found in any single condition, nor is it manifested in a single direction. As Seeman and others have indicated, alienation has several dimensions and can be directed in several ways. The dimensions vary somewhat in definition

from one researcher to another, and those tapped by this study will be discussed in Chapter IV. It is the directions of alienation that concern us here because it is these which have most relevance for values about industrialization.

At the very least alienation can be diffuse, directed at work, or directed at the political system.¹⁹ In the large, complex societies of the last 200 years, work and the state loom as overarching and overwhelming phenomena to which men are compelled to react. While disenchantment with both entities has produced romantic rejection and distrust as well as full acceptance of industrialization and technocratic planning, a central characteristic of modern alienation is the importance of systems and men's perception of these systems. In other words, while alienation exists in men, it is there because of the external systems that increasingly impinge upon them as members of industrial societies. These external systems force certain conditions on industrial man; among them being powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement, four types of alienation.²⁰ With reference to work there is in each case a specific answer to the question of alienation "from what". In the case of powerlessness the worker is alienated from control over production: ownership, tools, the end product, and so forth. Meaninglessness is alienation from the content of work, its purpose and function. Isolation refers to the experience of a lack of integration within industrial work groups or within industrial communities, while self-estrangement

refers to the experiencing of an inner separation of industrial man from what he does. Of the four, the concept of isolation is most significant for this study and has the closest connections with another major direction of alienation, that directed toward the political system.

Isolation can refer to a lack of integration in an industrial community, so it seems quite applicable to a situation where the conditions of work and, indeed, the very nature of the work life is determined by a part of the social structure (in this case an industrial capitalist elite) that maintains political power both directly and indirectly. Political alienation might be expected in a community like Lowell, Massachusetts in the mid-nineteenth century where the separation between workers and the capitalist entrepreneurs seems (at least retrospectively) very real.²¹

The extent of political alienation is one of the key questions of modern industrial society as well, especially after the events of the 1960's in industrial countries seemed to challenge the very foundations of those societies.²² The question of political alienation intensively explored by political scientists such as S. M. Lipset in his influential Political Man is closely related to the sociological issue of work alienation and the question of subcultural value differences that are associated with social class in American society.²³ Besides Lipset and his thesis of working class authoritarianism, other researchers have

pictured the working class as consistently different from other classes, and characterized by values ranging from traditionalism in child-rearing practices to anti-intellectualism.²⁴ The "poverty writers" of the early 1960's saw the working class as a unique subculture, but this thesis has been severely criticized and its credibility eroded by subsequent research.²⁵

The question of whether the worker possesses unique values or shares his values with other classes is related to the question of his experiencing alienation: either job alienation that he will grow out of as he becomes "embourgeoisied", or political alienation.²⁶

Charles Anderson takes the position that the common experience of all workers, blue collar and white collar alike, is the fact of exploitation and alienation. He contends that contemporary alienation is experienced less and less as a matter of income and working conditions, and increasingly as a matter of self-control and self-management. As he notes:

...alienation is not entirely a work place problem. Political alienation and cynicism may have attained an all-time high in the United States. Survey research data indicate that from 1964 to 1970 the proportion of persons who have abandoned faith in the present political process increased from 20 to 39 percent, while in the 1972 presidential election a bare majority of potential voters actually cast ballots....²⁷

Maurice Zeitlin argues on the basis of his research into the Cuban revolution that under certain conditions

alienation of the work place may be transferred into political alienation.²⁸ He found that if workers gave as reasons for alienation their felt exploitation by the capitalist system rather than other discontents (economic insecurity, etc.) then this coupled with a revolutionary ideology attacking the political system, led to political alienation. John Leggett shares with other scholars a belief that there probably is a sizeable proportion of the working class that is alienated and that given appropriate conditions such as prolonged economic insecurity, membership in worker organizations and the availability of "translating mechanisms" (such as an available revolutionary ideology) political alienation might lead to revolutionary change.²⁹

One of the direct concomitants of work and political alienation can be class consciousness, the other great theme of the literature on the values of members of industrial society. Class consciousness may be defined as:

...the varying degrees to which workers acquire a perspective that emphasizes class terms and calls for the maximization of working-class interests through class struggle...³⁰

The discussion about class consciousness owes much of its origin to Marx who tied it into the nature of industrial society.³¹ Marx's analysis of the crucial role of class consciousness is a now-familiar scenario of increasing alienation of the laboring population and the exacerbation of conditions by the actions of the bourgeois

owners of production, resulting in rising class consciousness, class struggle, and an eventual overturn of the system of capitalist relations. It is probably more instructive to review subsequent attempts at application of Marx's ideas to industrial society than to review Marx's ideas as originally conceived. A pivotal point of analysis and debate has been the actual role of the working man and the extent of his class consciousness. It has been noticeably evident that in all industrial countries the working class has not had the classic revolutionary role envisioned by Marx, and according to some scholars, in the case of the United States there has been almost a reversal of worker consciousness and worker militance.³²

There are conflicting findings and conflicting interpretations of those finds, however. In the early part of this century American labor economist Selig Perlman tried to account for the quiescence of American labor by portraying it as patient, intimidated by employer power and espousing an optimistic faith in the capitalist system.³³ Writing in the 1950's Morris Rosenberg tried to account for the lack of class consciousness in American labor, citing the organization of mass industry, political representation by territory, simultaneous multiple group membership, the American life style and goal-consensus among classes as determinants of this condition.³⁴

The portrayal of American Labor as predominantly passive may be overdrawn as indeed, even some of the more conservative of the writers on the worker come close to

admitting.³⁵ Leggett aptly notes a long list of industrial situations in the United States right up to the present time which were far from indicative of labor apathy: the struggle of Akron rubber workers, San Francisco longshoremen, Chicago steelworkers, Detroit auto workers, California migrant workers, North Carolina textile workers and others.³⁶ While such actions are not necessarily indicative of class consciousness, it becomes evident that the potential is there and there is no difficulty in citing some groups in the contemporary United States who are experiencing what approaches "class consciousness" whether they be black auto workers or members of the so-called "new working class". The point to be made is that the translation of class consciousness into political alienation (and then political action) is not clear, for workers may hold quite different values from those in authority, yet-- for a variety of reasons-- be unwilling to reject the larger societal values completely and/or to rid their system of those who hold such values.³⁷ Indeed, contemporary studies seem to show that the opposite reaction prevails: both blue collar and white collar workers are alienated but neither group is able to express this alienation by confronting the possible causes of their problems.³⁸ Even in the instance cited above, the agitation that did occur was not necessarily directed at a global condition. The opinion of Leggett and others is that situations similar to those in the past may recur, and under the influence of appropriate conditions

(e.g., the existence of a mass political party of simply a party with an appropriate program), a translation of worker discontent into political alienation may take place.³⁹

Aside from the question of political alienation and when or how political alienation becomes altered to political action, it is claimed by some writers that class consciousness may be on the increase among certain segments of industrial society.⁴⁰ If embourgeoisement is not the widespread phenomenon that Robert Blauner and others have claimed, and if the studies that report class consciousness and labor uprisings are any indication, industrialization may be promoting class consciousness that has a specific focus on the characteristics of industrialization itself.⁴¹ At the present time the issue of class consciousness or a lack of it seems problematic in view of contradictory evidence.

In his research on the question of value consensus Michael Mann found that modern studies of values in the U.S. and Britain show that consensus on major issues of an industrial society does not exist. If accurate, such findings do make it difficult to support a liberal - democratic consensus view of most industrial societies. On the whole, it appears that consensus theories are not at all supported adequately by research on contemporary industrial societies, and even for the past their relevance seems questionable given the absence of homogenizing

influences such as universal education. In fact, an examination of nineteenth century America reveals that at least a conflict of interests existed between workers and industrial capitalists.⁴² Although the evidence is not so systematic as that of modern social science and historiographic research, some fragmentary evidence does exist about the concerns of workers in the nineteenth century.⁴³ Arrayed with knowledge about the values of industrial capitalists (both of which are discussed further in Chapter III), it would be impossible at this point to conclude that nineteenth century industrial America was a unitary society characterized by value consensus.

From the examination of twentieth century research on working class values and the related issues of alienation and class consciousness, it is evident that the conditions of industrialization are still causes for grievance, and one of the most salient foci for the values of industrial man. There is little evidence of criticism of the industrial system or of capitalism as a whole in the modern worker's complaints. Instead, there is concern about an equitable share of labor's reward, though this situation may be changing under the impact of automation, the decline of union membership and union saliency in solving industrial problems, increasing numbers of the unemployed, and perhaps general economic collapse or at least realignment that is now occurring.⁴⁴ It is possible

to demonstrate decisively that some workers and others have resisted authority arbitrarily exercised throughout United States history, that they have been critical of specific issues facing them, that organizations such as labor unions have handled at least some of their grievances and have been foci for the expression of some of their values about industrialization.⁴⁵ In other words, it is possible to show that there has been both radicalism and conservatism in American values about industrialization. At various times American workers have been willing to sit down quietly and discuss short-run grievances and in other instances have challenged the very structure of authority by their behaviour and their writing.⁴⁶

In assessing the research on American values it might be simpler to assume and to assert, as Seymour Lipset did in his chronicle of American values, that the United States value system has been and remains essentially continuous and is characterized by the canonized twins of equality and achievement.⁴⁷ Lipset makes an interesting remark on values that is worth inclusion here. He says that the American ethos places much more emphasis on the individual than the collective, so that when failure occurs (or generally, when problems arise) they are blamed on the individual even by the individual, rather than being attributed to the social structure.⁴⁸ Consequently, values about the overall industrial system could be expected to be continuously consensual even while values about specific aspects of the system may change. Yet, this is too

simplistic a view of American industrial society, parts of which have often waged violent struggles and have used violent rhetoric that belied any argument about an absence of class thinking and a unity of values in American society.⁴⁹ In any case, it seems likely that research such as described here could attempt to resolve the question of values about industrialization's more general and specific aspects.

The foregoing has been a selective summary of some of the research on the subject of working class values in industrial society. Certain characteristics of the literature on this subject stand out. First, not all of the research deals with values about industrialization "per se" but about this and about values on a wide range of other topics that happen to be salient for people in industrial society. In my selection of issues and research I have tried to emphasize only the former; alienation and working class consciousness being two of the topics focused on industrialization. Second, it is evident that most of the research concentrates on twentieth century working class people rather than the nineteenth century with which this study is concerned. This fact is a by-product of the lack of systematic research on the nature of nineteenth-century working class values in the United States, but evidence of such values is not totally lacking. Edward Pesson and other historians have generally treated the question of values of the working class from the point of view of the spokesmen for the workers, the liberal reformers, labor

leaders and other generally recognized spokesmen for worker's values. But there is question (as I discuss in Chapter III) about this interpretation because many of the champions of the working man's cause were self-proclaimed and because worker interest often lagged behind the enthusiasms of labor leaders, at least in the early part of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ There is primary source data on worker perceptions of the social structure and industrial conditions, although it is non-systematic, fragmentary and focused on a later period. For example, Susan and David Allmendinger have compiled a composite picture of workers' experiences with the industrial society that portrays long and grinding conditions of work; a hopeless evaluation of the possibilities of social mobility; a perception of social class differences and low self-evaluation with reference to industrial occupations.⁵¹ Such overviews are possible because of the existence of state and federal government committees and commissions during this period which investigated the conditions of work and took testimony from workers, and they are useful because of their illustration of workers' lives. However they lack a systematic character, are highly individual-oriented (rather than focused on the social system), they emphasize conditions rather than the values of workers and many are close to being "white-washes" of the actual conditions and feelings of workers.⁵² This latter criticism would apply as well to many of the pamphlets and tracts on industrial system issues during the time of this study's focus. They were polemics rather than portrayals and therefore suspect.⁵³

G. David Garson has examined some of the questions discussed above in relation to the working class. He eschews the simplistic, mono-causal explanation of working class values and consciousness, choosing a "multiple consciousness" description of worker values. This paradigm emphasizes that workers and others develop values that may be defined as both radical and non-radical, the problem then becoming one of determining under what conditions or by what process "...the political economy of capitalism succeeded in mobilizing non-radical rather than radical latent elements of multiple consciousness".⁵⁴ In other words, using Garson's ideas it becomes possible to expect mixed values about industrialization on the part of working class and capitalist elites in Lowell of the mid-nineteenth century; and it seems desirable to treat the newspapers as one part of the "process" by which "capitalism ...mobilized non-radical ...elements of multiple consciousness".

Whether or not in retrospect we can impute to mid-nineteenth century industrial man actual class consciousness and political alienation is a problematic matter which historians of that period do not seem to have resolved. The important point is that some segments of the laboring population besides labor leaders were aware of the characteristics of the industrial system and expressed themselves through the public media of newspapers and pamphlets. Those documents have been preserved into the present and can be examined for what they reveal of working class values.

Elite Values

In the other part of the society are values of highly self-conscious sections of the community in Lowell and Boston who made known their views and valuations through their own writing and that of their chroniclers and admirers. A twentieth century researcher, Paul Goodman, has specifically documented for the capitalist elites of nineteenth century Lowell and Boston, what analysts of the twentieth century have also portrayed: namely, the existence amidst the supposedly egalitarian society of the United States of a self-conscious, articulate elite based on wealth and occupation.⁵⁵ This elite had no reluctance about making its values and life pattern a model for the rest of society through both the covert directing and implementing of institutional growth in the United States, and the open avowal of its own values at any available opportunity. The modern research on the presence and significance of an elite of occupation and wealth in the United States is large and constantly expanding.⁵⁶ On the nineteenth century, Goodman's article stands as a model of clarity on the subject of elite values.

As Goodman phrased it:

In the early nineteenth century, the group of prominent families which had emerged in Boston by accumulating wealth in commerce later invested in ...manufacturing enterprises that transformed... nineteenth-century New England. ...the Bostonians utilized an elaborate web of kinship ties which made the family a potent institution that gave them cohesion, continuity and stability... In addition to ties of blood, the elite shared a common set of values which defined proper

behavior, transmitted goals to the young and provided a measure by which to judge and punish deviance. 'Close and hard, consolidated, with a uniform stamp on all and opinion running in grooves,' the Boston elite formulated a set of beliefs that constituted a personal ethic and also defined its role in society as a republican aristocracy which stabilized as it transformed.⁵⁷

Among the values which Goodman described were the worth of progress, personal success, honesty, diligence balanced with moderation, and social responsibility that found its outlet in public philanthropy and the support of so-called "cultural" pursuits. It is noteworthy in this account that next to nothing is said about industrialization per se, almost as if it were assumed as a "given" of society. This was probably not always the case. Most analysts of the system at Lowell cite a self-conscious concern with industrialization in the early nineteenth-century efforts of industrial capitalists to establish a morally unassailable boarding house system for its workers that would help justify manufacturers to the community at large.⁵⁸ Historians such as Handlin and Samuel Reznick indicate that the birth of interest in and then support for manufacturing was a gradual thing in which concern early entered upon the feasibility of techniques of industrialization and only later expanded into a consideration of working conditions, laboring class grievances, and the larger societal impact of industrialization.⁵⁹ In this early concern with manufactures the existence of elites with values different from those of industrial capitalists was

apparent (for example, among the finance capitalists of eighteenth century Boston), but such differentiations probably became less clear as the century, and industrialization, advanced.⁶⁰ The gradual acceptance of industrialism by many, if not most of the elites in United States society (some finance capitalists of Boston did themselves become industrial capitalists) tends to obscure any differences in the evaluation of industrialism by elites. One exception is a possible differential evaluation along political party lines, such as that expressed in Democratic and Whig papers of the time. It is precisely this difference, if any, that this research will examine.⁶¹

The tariff question was a major dividing point among Boston elites and provides some sort of a rough indicator of differences in support of industrialization, although it was not always clear that those elites who opposed tariff protection for American manufactures also opposed industrialization as a whole.⁶² Robert Lamb cites the instance of division within the ranks of the Boston Associate families, even though these same families generally were involved in the expansion of industrialization.⁶³

A clearer division on the subject of industrialization emerges when the "lines" began to be firmly drawn around the questions of hours of work and "wage slavery" in Northern factories. In contrast to the mixed character of the tariff question, concern about the conditions of

factories became a verbal battleground that seemed to evoke clear-cut reactions to industrialization. Predictably, most of its supporters came from the ranks of the industrial capitalist elite and the Whigs generally, but writings of Democrats and laboring people of unknown political backgrounds revealed support as well as criticism of industrialization.⁶⁴ The ambivalency of its critics is one of the reasons why values about industrialization should be examined through the impersonal medium of content analysis of the manifest content of their writing. Such an examination may reveal lines of similarity and difference in values that are otherwise only confusingly portrayed by a cursory examination of historical materials.

The alleged conditions of Northern factories evoked odious comparisons with Southern slavery and the issue of abolitionism became entangled with criticism of the factory system. Such complexities illustrated the possible division between men of letters and religious leaders on the one hand and business leaders and their spokesmen on the other. But even this division was not always clear-cut, because the clerics of Concord who represented transcendentalism in New England were often in disagreement with those of Boston, and literary men like Emerson or Thoreau who were in favor with the transcendentalists were heartily disliked by the Boston group. Attacks by these two men on the mercantile culture of Boston and on its representatives like Daniel Webster, were thus representative of a clerical-literary group not in sympathy with Boston capitalists.⁶⁵

But other clerics were more sympathetic to New England merchants and industrial capitalists and made careful, widely publicized assessments of the New England factory system which compared it favorably to that of Britain.⁶⁶ Perhaps the best-known of these was a pamphlet by an English cleric, the Rev. William Scoresby which was brought out in the same era when the state of Massachusetts was becoming interested in investigating the conditions of New England factories. The disagreement between this kind of favorable view and that of the critics suggests caustic disunity in New England culture. Indicative of the criticism was the remark made by Ralph Waldo Emerson in the year 1852 that "Boston or Brattle Street Christianity is a compound of forces, on the best diagonal line that can be drawn between Jesus Christ and Abbott Lawrence" (Lawrence was one of the Boston Associates); and, "The lesson of these days is the vulgarity of wealth".⁶⁸ Significantly, a contemporary parody of the capitalist ethic of work used a religious analog to assert its critical point, and the title reveals this. It was called: Easy Catechism for Elastic Consciences; Comprising the Creed, Articles of Faith, Covenant, Signs and Tokens of the Incorporated Sabbath-Labor Christians of Lowell.⁶⁹ Such a portrayal of the values and actions of Boston businessmen contrasts sharply with the frugal, honest, hard-working depiction in Paul Goodman's article described above, but in both the capitalists' high (but not too specific) evaluation of industrialism stands out.

When the actual battle raged in the newspapers over the specific conditions of the factory system, capitalists rose to their own defence or were conveniently championed by factory workers like Harriet Farley, who wrote a pamphlet challenging the allegations of a Southern senator about Northern factory conditions (and had it published by the local Whig publisher).⁷⁰ By actions like the "buying-up" of opposition votes in the Massachusetts legislature during the ten-hours agitation in the mid-1850's, "corporation managers" in Boston revealed some of their values about factory conditions (or about their own interests regardless of factory conditions).⁷¹ Philip Foner notes a fairly consistent series of actions similar to vote-buying by the Boston capitalists and/or Massachusetts Whigs that indirectly reveal their values.⁷² For example, in 1853 they met a proposed change in the Massachusetts constitution that would have curbed the power of the Boston financial magnates with considerable resistance, and other kinds of maneuvers to bring about its ultimate defeat. In 1840 an un-named Lowell newspaper printed a letter by Amos Lawrence's son describing bad factory conditions in Europe at the same time that a new wage-cut was introduced at Lowell. In 1851, Benjamin Butler, the Democratic Ten-Hour candidate from Lowell, carried the town election despite the warning of the corporations that any operative voting the Ten-Hour ticket would be discharged. Finally, in 1853 the Whigs in the state legislature repealed the secret ballot law,

thereby increasing the potential control of the corporations over political life.

All of the above actions indicate the concern of Boston industrial capitalist elites with their general business interests. At times they were more explicit about industrialism and technology, as in Nathan Appleton's own book analyzing and praising the technological and organizational feats that led to the establishment of Lowell.⁷³ And in their private papers and letters to one another and to other community members, their high self-regard was even more evident. Frederic C. Jaher's study of such materials revealed the following typical example. In 1855 one of the Boston Associates, Amos A. Lawrence wrote to Freeman Hunt, editor of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine that "You will accomplish good work in collecting the biographies of the merchants", and he expected this accomplishment of Hunt's to show businessmen as "examples of honour and public spirit".⁷⁴ Overall, it appears that the Boston Associates tried to remain aloof from public explicit statements of values about industrialization, factory conditions and their socio-political dominance, preferring instead to praise their accomplishments generally and to let others wage defensive battles about industrial conditions and effects. Behind the scenes they acted to further their interests by both fair means and foul, seldom ceasing to make use of instruments like the mass media to assist in legitimating their position and actions.

An additional point needs to be made about the extent to which anything like "common values" existed in mid-nineteenth century industrial Lowell. Ultimately this is an impossible question to resolve fully, even if one narrows the consideration of values only to those pertaining to specific characteristics of industrialization. Some writers do believe that the United States is monolithic in its values and class structure so that it is possible to generalize about certain values. As Bruce Johnson states: "What strikes one in general is the remarkable influence over popular life exerted by elites in America".⁷⁵ If true, such a characteristic would bring us full circle to the Marxist position mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Johnson particularly cites the historical roots of this elite penetration of popular social values. He notes that Benjamin Disraeli portrayed industrializing England as "two nations" without interaction or sympathy for one another, but in nineteenth-century United States things were different.

In terms of standard of living and of income distribution, the same two nations existed in industrializing America; yet this economic cleavage acquired scant political expression. America remained 'one nation', with a remarkable cultural and political uniformity.⁷⁶

This was a result of America's lack of "class community", a strongly contrasting situation with that of Europe. But this lack of class community (at least for the working class) was itself based on at least three unique structural features of the United States: universal

popular education in a "fragment society" unencumbered by traditions of earlier strata; economic circumstances such as labor shortages which brought up real wages and the bargaining power of labor; and the early achievement of manhood suffrage, placing the common man on an equal level with everybody else ideologically.⁷⁷ These developments resulted in the melting of distinctions between elites and others, obfuscating real differences and helping to cement an ideological consensus.

Contemporary sociological research lends some plausibility to this interpretation. For example, W. S. Han in his study of common versus class values, found that some values such as "success" are accepted at a general level, but within each class are differences in expectations reflecting different life circumstances.⁷⁸ Hyman Rodman's thesis of "value-stretch" provides a similar instance of the way in which both common values and class differential values may exist in the same social system.⁷⁹ In none of these cases are values about industrialization researched, but these studies are part of the general social science research literature on values in society and they do involve themes also found in the nineteenth-century newspapers studied here, and in the research on industrialization. From such research it seems apparent that industrial societies cohere because they are able to more or less successively combine common values and class-differential values, both of which are at least partially complementary. Because the acceptance

of these values is likely to be important for industrial societies they are supported by elites, and they are an indirect indicator of the support or legitimation of a social system. Some of these points will be explored in the last chapter after the findings of this study have been presented.

The next chapter is a discussion of Lowell, Massachusetts as a case study in industrialization.

CHAPTER III

A CASE STUDY OF VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION

As was discussed in Chapter I, this paper is posing a research question about the values of parts of the population of Lowell, Massachusetts. This inquiry is a reflection of larger questions about industrialization discussed in the first two chapters of this paper. By this research I hope to determine the extent to which values were shared, or those about which there was conflict on the key issues of industrialization, thereby revealing whether industrialization had a consensual or conflictual basis from which to develop. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the characteristics of industrialization in the Lowell case by first tracing its development from the perspective of key sections of the population involved. Then it will be necessary to describe Lowell's economic success and its relation to the rest of the nation in order to better evaluate its importance. Finally, I shall attempt to describe the development of the press in Lowell to provide background for, and a transition to, the following chapter on method.

The Saga of Lowell's Development

"The Story of the New England cotton industry is the story of the industrialization of America".¹ So

begins the analysis by Caroline Ware of a unique event weighty with significance for American life and the nature of its society, the Industrial Revolution in America. The revolution was to occur in one of the simultaneously most and least likely places on earth, the rural countryside of a fledgling, unstable nation where the bias against the principal vehicle of industry-- manufacturing-- was very strong.² Not only was agriculture seen as the future of American prosperity but many of the influences which encouraged manufactures in other countries were lacking in the United States. As Ware notes, there was here no great demand for manufactured products because of an abundance of foreign-made goods, no surplus population to form a ready proletariat, capital was being used elsewhere (as in shipping), and there was a fear of the new focus of industrial activity, the factory itself.³ In Europe the appearance of the factory and the system of work and community organization associated with it had produced immiseration of large parts of the population and a system that seemed inimical to democratic ideals. It was fear of this system that created the greatest dread among the working population who, from the very beginning, protested against not machinery but a "social revolution in which sovereignty in economic affairs passed from the community as a whole into the keeping of a special class".⁴

It seems important to note that this fear was highly selective in being directed at the factory system, and that

it was not shared by all classes or by people in all parts of the country. As Oscar Handlin emphasizes, the nation at this time also contained considerable sympathy for manufactures and nowhere was this more manifest than in Massachusetts.⁵ There the state was actively generous to millowners as early as the late eighteenth century in granting them water rights, often in the face of stiff resistance by other community interests.⁶ In the early part of the nineteenth century hundreds of charters were granted to establish manufacturing corporations in the state and no significant attempt to stop or circumscribe their growth was made by the Massachusetts General Court.⁷

Furthermore, after the disastrous effects of the British embargo after 1812 sympathy for manufactures was probably less important than the necessity for some new outlet for commercial capital available in Boston. Patriotism and entrepreneurship probably played a role because the dependence on Britain for manufactured goods was seen as onerous and the expansion of a domestic market offered real opportunities.⁸ But the event that acted as a catalyst to the development of manufactures was the demonstrated profitable success of the Boston Manufacturing Company in Waltham, the prototype for the manufacturing system established at Lowell. This was the company that put into use for the first time in the country the power loom, and it was the first factory in which all the processes necessary to produce a finished, saleable cotton

product were concentrated in one mill.⁹ Its profitableness led to the quest for a greater power source and sites for larger mills, a search that led to the Merrimack River in northeastern Massachusetts and its tens of thousands of horsepower waiting to be harnessed.¹⁰ After the rapid purchase of farmland and a locks system previously used for transporting timber past the Pawtucket Falls in North Chelmsford, the investors in the Waltham factory set up a mill and incorporated a new town by 1823 which was to be called Lowell after the powerful original investor and machine designer.¹¹

Although the company at Waltham had been preceded by the establishment and success of the Almy and Brown Mills in Providence, Rhode Island dating from 1791, what became known as the "Waltham system" constituted a different form of industrial organization and was the real prototype of the large modern industrial corporation.¹² The catalyst for this system's uniqueness lay in its management by members of the emerging industrial capitalist elite of the nation. In New England this elite was composed of Francis Lowell, Patrick Jackson, Nathan Appleton, and others centered in Boston who came to be known as the Boston Associates. This elite was a group in a sociological sense similar to the titled aristocracy of Europe, united not only by business associations and connections, but by ties of blood, marriage and culture as well.¹³

At the core of this tight little society were a few families of enormous wealth who maintained their control of the expanding industries of Massachusetts long into the nineteenth century by limiting active partnerships to within their own circle, thus making these industries largely family affairs.¹⁴ To insure their success they were eager to displace and merge with the older mercantile social organization of New England and to make their power felt in the local and national political arena as well. The connections of this group with the state legislature and with Washington was directly maintained through the Whig Party and through friendship with Daniel Webster, who was portrayed as being needed in Washington to protect the houses, lands, and stock of the Boston wealthy.¹⁵ Abbott Lawrence, himself part of the inner core of the Boston Associates, nearly became the Vice Presidential candidate in 1848, so close were the connections and participation of these men in politics.¹⁶ From 1930 on, when Nathan Appleton defeated Henry Lee in the state elections, manufacturing and protectionist interests were ascendent and managed to override even the powerful but divided opposition of Jacksonian Democrats and diverse other political interests.¹⁷

Together with manufacturing success and political influence, an extremely important source of the Boston Associates' power was their perspicaciousness when it came to financial and other operations which guaranteed their

economic hegemony. Interlocking power was achieved by intermarriage and by their control of the estates of widows, minors and spinsters of leading families, control that assured them of voting rights in various enterprises of which they were directors. The commission houses that sold their textile wares were often set up by them as textile manufacturing itself grew to the point where one fifth of the cotton spindleage in the United States was directly controlled by them. Real estate, banking and insurance companies were also established by them, of which the two most famous institutions, the Suffolk Bank and the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, were far ahead of their time and very powerful institutions nationally. Finally, they branched out into railroads, ultimately controlling the two major roads in the area, the Boston and Maine and the Boston and Albany.¹⁸ As one author phrased it,

Accumulation of wealth and consolidation of economic power reached heroic proportions by 1850. The Boston Associates controlled 20 per cent of the national cotton spindleage, 30 per cent of Massachusetts railroad mileage, 39 per cent of Massachusetts insurance capital, and 10 per cent of Boston banking resources. A survey of wealthy Bostonians made in 1846 listed twenty-five inhabitants as being worth at least \$500,000. Twenty-one owed their fortunes to Brahmin birth, marriage, or business association.¹⁹

Other writers have pointed out that after the Associates organized the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company in 1818,

...they added steadily to their power in business and politics until in mid-century

they were among the greatest of the new type of American businessman. Tightly knit, their organization had power far beyond what the simple figures show. They controlled water power on the Connecticut and Merrimack rivers and levied water rates on their textile manufacturing competitors who depended upon those waters. They held patents on many important machines and for their use they collected royalties. Builders of canals and key railroads, they owned important transportation facilities in their state and section. They financed their enterprises through their own credit institutions, which also numbered among their debtors many other businessmen and business corporations. They insured their factories and other holdings through their own companies and sold life and fire policies to businessmen throughout the nation. ...Through their banks they speculated in western lands; their insurance companies bought railroad bonds in Missouri, Illinois and Minnesota.²⁰

Consolidation and expansion of economic power and the development of lines of political influence were only the more visible aspects of the elite dominance fostered by the Boston Associates. Bruce Johnson states that:

"What strikes one in general is the remarkable influence over popular life exerted by elites in America".²¹ He goes on to attribute this influence in part to the fact that in liberal bourgeois society of pre-Civil War American elites had a major role in defining the notions of equality in the Constitution, an act resulting in a shift in the function of the state. Besides being the champion of a limited egalitarianism, the state was also to act to guarantee economic growth and power, as Handlin and others have demonstrated.²² This was a distinct change from an earlier period and was illustrated by the arguments during the 1830's and 1840's against the chartering of business

corporations that had limited liability. By this act the state helped to undermine the concept of a "public interest", dissolving this idea into a "simple aggregate of private interests" according to Johnson. Although the state and the Constitution was never meant to guarantee absolute equality of condition to all men, as illustrated by Jefferson's use of the phrase "natural aristocracy", there was considerable debate over the meaning of the equality explicitly stated in the Constitution. Even the contemporary historian Bernard Bailyn, who notes that the "radicals" of the eighteenth century were not democrats in the nineteenth century sense and who certainly interprets the mention of equality in the Constitution as a statement by men who believed in a "propertied oligarchy", cannot escape the crucial nature of this debate.²³ Indirectly Bailyn indicates that while the eighteenth century democrats were seeking the purification of a republican, representative government, writers and pamphleteers of the nineteenth century were concerned with economic and social reforms, "with the problems of economic inequality and the injustices of stratified societies...".²⁴

The Boston Associates were very self-conscious about their values and concerned that those who were a part of their society maintain behavior and a view of life conformable with the standards of a patrician elite, as Paul Goodman has indicated.²⁵ Through their value code the Boston Associates reached out beyond themselves to other elites in the

community and nation, and helped shape the mores of the citizenry through their influence on politics, religion, education, and the written word. Besides their influence in Washington politics, the Boston Associates literally dominated organized religious life on the community level and in relation to the influential Harvard Divinity School. Their contribution to higher education was considerable, and the writings they completed or which they inspired were voluminous.²⁶

The Boston Associates also had admirers of themselves and their works who would willingly sing their praises domestically and abroad, a tribute to their influence and significance. A succession of the famous and prolific in writing visited, viewed and generally acclaimed the system at Lowell and its foresighted founders. Foreign visitors were particularly interested in the manufacturing and community at Lowell because of its obvious comparability with British industrialization, and they made Lowell a requirement of their itinerary from 1827 through 1862. While accounts of such visits were often destined for travel books now long-forgotten, other visitors and their comments were more widely known.²⁷ Harriet Martineau's Society in America contained a favorable account of Lowell enterprise, and being a part of her continuing and widely-read analysis of industrial society, was influential in building a good image of Lowell.²⁸ Similarly, Charles Dickens' American Notes, although containing criticism for other aspects of

America, praised the system at Lowell after being guided through it in 1841. He particularly liked the company boarding houses, the fact that the female labor force subscribed to circulating libraries, and that they published "their own" paper, The Lowell Offering.²⁹ Such praise was explicitly sought by the Boston Associates, as evidenced by the arrangements they made for their visitors at the company offices in Boston prior to a tour.³⁰

Interest in Lowell has continued into the twentieth century on the part of historians, and the nature of this interest has been to focus on three aspects of the Lowell system: the capitalist elites (particularly the Boston Associates) and their characteristics, the community and its economic structure, and the social implications of industrialization generally, especially as experienced by the workers. The concern with elites will be examined before the remaining two aspects are discussed.

Elite Characteristics

The Boston Associates were especially interesting because of the unity and nature of their values.³¹ These Boston families "believed in the gospel of progress" and in the importance of personal achievement. At first the financial and then the industrial capitalist entrepreneur shared the honor of being publicly acclaimed for their ambition and its public results. However, their ambition was not to be a crass quest after money for its own sake but for the purpose of furthering the best fruits of

civilization and the arts. Privately, business enterprise was cherished as rewarding in its own right, and the historical evidence available seems to indicate the significant point that Boston entrepreneurs were not the dynamic risk-takers portrayed by their admirers, but were more probably conservative wealth-holders anxious to carefully control the results of their entrepreneurial acts.³² At least by 1820 such men knew they were not taking very great risks with industrial development because of its demonstrated success, and it attracted commercial capital in increasingly greater numbers, thereby underwriting its further success.

The ethic of personal responsibility at the center of the code of the Boston elite was easily translated into social responsibility by the network of kinship ties binding each individual. Social responsibility manifested itself in a cultivation of learning by the Boston upper class that soon made Boston known as the "Athens of America", and by a feeling of public responsibility that could be seen not only in charity and philanthropy, but in the boarding house system that was one of the hallmarks of industrialization at Lowell.

This system was unique in that it incorporated the quartering of the factory workers in housing provided by the corporations and the supervision of the female operatives by resident housemothers who closed the doors at a specified hour at night. Historians seem to agree that this system was in part adopted because the workers were imported into

a newly established urban place without previous housing, but more importantly because it was a safeguard for the morals of the work force. Such paternalism was seen as necessary by the propriety-minded capitalistic probably as much because of their own values as to curry favor with the parents of the female factory population when they went recruiting on the farms.³³ Whatever its origins, the boarding house system was a source of pride to the Associates in the early years, evidencing on their part laudable community and occupational virtues.³⁴ The gradual lapse and eventual destruction of this system was an accurate indicator of larger changes occurring in the community, nation and industrial structure generally, changes which will be detailed in the following section.³⁵

Economic and Social Changes in Lowell, 1840-1860

Next to the Boston Associates themselves, the most important aspect of industrial Lowell was the labor force. It is being discussed under the subject of changes because in contrast to the unaltered position of the Associates in their relation to industrialization during this period, the labor force was experiencing fundamental changes. From the very inception of the period in the early 1800's the labor force was nearly as changeable as the owners of capital were fixed and seemingly permanent.

First there was the matter of labor force composition and the importance of manufacturing. From the beginning the system at Lowell differed from other cotton textile

manufacturing operations in southern New England and Britain in having a highly transient laboring population. Rather than employing men or whole families, the system at Lowell recruited females from middle class families in rural New England and Canada. This was apparently done directly for the purpose of avoiding a permanent factory population, a feature of industrialization elsewhere that was seen as onerous, undesirable, and avoidable.³⁶ The labor force was sparse all over the United States at that time but particularly so in the areas where the Boston Associates established their operations. There was no class of pauper children as in England, no skilled group of artisans and no large body of eligible males. Such families as were employed in the southern New England mills were generally poor, uneducated, and not considered good workers. However significant their reasons may have been, the Boston Associates' adoption of this system was an astoundingly good stroke of fortune for the public image and acceptance aspects of a nascent industrial capitalism. For within a few short years much praise was given to both the female work force itself and the astute capitalists who enlisted and cared for this army of New England's educated populace.³⁷ A condition that was probably more of an accident of nature and period of settlement pattern than conscious planning, the pastoral, small-town setting of American manufacture became the focal point of many a foreign visitor's contrast between European and American industrialization.³⁸ Yet, accident or not, the

context of American manufactures was a propitious one in many respects for both capitalist and mill worker.

At the same time that the capitalist was profiting by his investments in manufacturing, the American worker in the mid-nineteenth century was provided with an opportunity to participate in America's expansionism even if a given individual was not able to migrate west. Some authors have noted that, far from the western frontier being the only "outlet" for the dissatisfied farming population of New England, entrance into industry was an ever more likely course. Marvin Fisher and others have pointed out that foreign visitors readily noticed the increasingly industrial and urban character of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The extent and marvels of this industrialism led to the "myth" of America as one large "workshop" which, with its counterpart in the "myth" of America as a vast "garden", constituted an overt manifestation of the European and American belief in progress.⁴⁰

The view that America was like a workshop was not only mythological, as is borne out by some statistics. For example, the mills at Lowell were heavily capitalized, the Appleton Company alone being backed by one million dollars. The size of physical plants was enormous, Lowell having six companies in 1834 operating nineteen five-storied mills with one hundred and ten thousand spindles, and the town as a whole employed over 5,000 workers in the mills.⁴¹ By 1860 the cotton industry had spread into 29 states, but 70 per cent

of its capital and over 68 per cent of all cotton products were turned out in New England, and Josephson claims that more yarn and cloth were turned out by each spindle in New England than by any other factories in the world.⁴²

Furthermore, manufacturing was by no means confined to the production of cotton products. In the particular case of the mills owned by the Boston capitalists, all operations in production were carried out by the mills themselves, including the production of heavy machinery to equip the factories. The founders of the industry were basically tinkers, skilled mechanics, engineers and shrewd businessmen who soon parlayed their free capital and accumulating knowledge into subsidiary operations that brought forth a wide range of products including railway locomotives and machinery for other mills throughout the country and the world.

Manufacturing was not just contained in New England but spread out in a less concentrated fashion throughout the middle Atlantic, southern and western states, incorporating increasing use of automatic mechanical processes as it spread. Such a growth prompted one observer to be concerned about the likelihood of a reversal of roles between Great Britain and the United States in manufacturing dominance, thereby greatly shocking a group of technically astute visiting Britishers and others who ultimately reported to the House of Commons.⁴⁴ Statistics on profits, railroad mileage, and consumption all bear out the observation of

burgeoning prosperity in the 1840-1860 period.⁴⁵ The fundamental question remains whether and how much of such success was really shared by the worker of the period. As indicated at the beginning of this section, his story is best told in terms of change.

General Implications: The Condition of the Worker

One of the most important works on the 1840-1860 period is the book by Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker: 1840-1860. Ware notes the general prosperity of the period but then goes on to say that during this time ... "the industrial worker was losing ground, absolutely in the first decade and relatively in the second".⁴⁶ He cites statements by manufacturers themselves in reply to a Treasury Department survey which shows that "wages are seen to have fallen or remained stationary, cost of production declined, while prices were maintained and profits increased".⁴⁷

From a variety of sources it does seem that the outstanding change in the condition of the laboring population in the United States during the 1840's and 1850's was a change from the paternalistic condition of the earlier period (primarily before the 1840's) to more intensive non-paternalistic exploitation as the century advanced. This condition was induced primarily by the impersonal forces of market competition and by the personal choices of employer and employee. In the case of the employer such exploitation was clearly to his advantage as he felt constrained to make hard-headed, pragmatic choices in a community situation where he no longer had to justify himself or industrialization

generally. In the case of the native female employees who originally populated the mills, the "choice" was made to return to the farms from which they came or leave the region altogether. In their place the immigrants came, making their forced choices to leave lands that could no longer feed them (in the case of the Irish) or places where opportunities were limited (as in the case of the French Canadians).⁴⁸

The outstanding symbol of the early paternalism, the boarding-house system of housing the operatives, had begun to break down by mid-century as many of the Yankee farm girls left Lowell and were succeeded by waves of Irish, French Canadian and eastern European immigrants. As one chronicler of Lowell phrased it:

With the increase and enlargement of the corporations, the social condition of the people changed. The corporation boarding-house system, which was suitable to a compact, homogeneous village community, made up largely of Yankee girls, from the neighboring farms and country villages, stood the strain put upon it by the coming of the first foreign immigrants, but broke down under the recent immigration from Europe and Asia.⁴⁹

There were other causes for decline, as related by one former agent of the Massachusetts Mills. The growth of the city and hence, of alternatives to boarding houses for single persons (and workers), the growth in the serving of meals to outsiders, all contributed to the change in "corporation housing" that forever altered their original function.⁵⁰ Whatever the causes, the

result was an alteration of the housing system that both reflected and contributed to the growing heterogeneity of the labor force.

Perhaps more crucial than the boarding house system (which was, after all, a reflection of other things) in affecting the composition of the work force was wages. As one modern analyst indicates, "...wages offered under the Waltham system at its start were high. On the other hand, compared to all wages in the economy, the wages offered were in fact low; first, because they applied almost exclusively to unskilled work, but more importantly because they applied to females."⁵¹ Especially in the case of females, wages were lower as a category than for all other workers. Although Abbott Lawrence could boast that the wages of mill workers had risen from \$1.75 in 1842 to \$2.00 per week in 1846, a number of things undermined the significance of this phenomenon. One was that an intervening depression and wage cut reduced the effect of the raise. Of greater significance was the speed-up in operations that produced one third more labor for one eighth an increase in wages. The cost of living had also risen between the 1840's and the 1850's according to some estimates nearly doubling the earlier price of some commodities.⁵² Even though the statistics of this period are unsatisfactory and have been questioned by some, there is little disagreement about the effect of multiple changes on the condition of the worker.⁵³ Gitelman notes:

Wages were caught between a price-profit squeeze. The labor market power of employers incurred such a squeeze. As early as 1834, the mill girls began to complain about wages. Agitations and demonstrations concerning wages and hours continued through the 1830's and 40's. Virtually all studies conclude that by the 1850's worker resistance had been destroyed, and that working conditions had become exploitive.⁵⁴

As Josephson points out, wage-cutting continued throughout the period, being brought about not only by competition but by the higher costs of production as the price of repair or replacement of machinery increased.

Wages were not the only aspect of worker exploitation as urban over-crowding, incidence of diseases, the speed-up of machinery and the continued long hours of work all took their toll on Lowell's formerly idyllic image. Conditions of the mill property holdings became more onerous as the mills themselves were extended in size and bunched together and their windows nailed shut to maintain temperature and humidity and enclose the workers in a fetid atmosphere of flying lint, soot from oil lamps and the intense clatter of moving machinery.⁵⁵ The long hours of work -- longer than those in the much-maligned British textile industry of the same period -- were combining with the generally disagreeable working and living conditions to raise the incidence of respiratory, urinary, nervous and intestinal diseases and to drive out some of the female operators and radicalize others.⁵⁶ Furthermore, as the relentless drive for maintaining dividends intensified, work relationships between

mill-workers and overseers changed because of such devices as the "premium system" whereby superiors were given bonuses for extracting extra work from the operators.⁵⁷ Other devices such as the "blacklist" of recalcitrant workers which prevented their employment in other mills had been utilized from the beginning of the period and indicated the essentially arbitrary coerciveness of the paternalistic system.

The reactions of the mill girls to various negative aspects of work conditions reveals their strong self-conceptions and belies the idea that class consciousness takes much time to develop. An examination of the newspapers of the mid-nineteenth century, the writings of the workers themselves and the historical record of their actions indicates that they were self-conscious at an early date, that they knew and labeled their opponents in their labor struggle and their aims were not always short-run even though their political and insurgent actions often were.⁵⁸

The reactions that developed in the 1830's, 40's and 50's have been described by some writers as a sporadic labor movement at best, a kind of "blind" striking out against injustice that was continuously defeated, lacking even enough substance to be called true strike activity, but rather only "demonstrations".⁵⁹ Gitelman notes that the textile mill girls took to the streets and drew brief public attention to themselves, but such demonstrations

did not last more than "a few days". While Gitelman and others recognize the longer lasting significance of men's strikes, they still do not accord to such actions before the Civil War the status of true working-class consciousness and action. What they fail to recognize is that all labor activity does not have to take the form of public demonstrations or permanent organizations but can and did surface in the form of publishing activity in newspapers and tracts. Even though the best known of the period publications, The Lowell Offering, was generally apologetic of the system, there were many organs of opposition available in short-run or "one-off" tracts and longer-lived mass circulation newspapers.⁶⁰ What such publications do indicate is the emergence of a crystallized focus of opposition to capitalist interests in some cases and at the very least a confrontation with "new" community concerns generated by a growing industrial civilization.

Another major change in the work force in terms of composition was the growth of the foreign-born in the population. Caroline Ware dates the entrance of small numbers of Irish from the early 1840's, Josephson from the 1820's and 1830's when help was needed building dams and canals.⁶¹ The Irish constituted the largest single segment of the work force as the century progressed, going from 20 percent in 1850 to more than 51 percent in 1855. But as Gitelman indicates, the Irish did not in any true sense replace the Yankees, many of whom continued to work in the

mills through the post-Civil War period even with the influx of other groups like the French Canadians. Gitelman also contends that the Irish were not of themselves symptomatic of increasing exploitation by the industrialists as is discussed and accepted so widely in the literature.⁶² As is evidenced by his examination of the records of one of the companies in the Boston Associates' system, Irish workers were employed at all pay and skill levels. Furthermore, even with the introduction with the Irish of a change radical for the Waltham system, the employment of child labor in the 1850's, Gitelman contends that "exploitation" did not occur. Some of the statistics cited by him seem to bear out this contention, but the major thrust of analytical writing on the period by the contemporary historians (and some of that done by earlier chronologists such as George Kenngott), definitely emphasize the increasing exploitiveness of the system.⁶³

In any case, throughout the two-decade period of this study it is evident from the historical record that the idyl of Lowell's paternalistic beginnings was ending. The thing that most made the system unique, the fairly literate, thrifty, unattached and transient Yankee mill girl had begun leaving for -- in most cases -- a more obscure place in history. Before she left, she had contributed to a relatively new and what was destined to become an important phenomenon in labor history, the development of a socially aware and issue-oriented press in Lowell and other industrial communities.

The Emergence of the Press in Lowell

The development of the press in Lowell was part of a larger "mass media" trend in the United States at mid-nineteenth century. Newspapers were one of the few sources of mass information in a diverse, scattered, but increasingly complex society and their importance grew as the country was settled and expanded and as urban centers began to exert an influence on the remainder of the country.

Much of what actually contributed to the characteristic rise and subsequent decline of the hundreds of newspapers of the nineteenth century can only be surmised because of the paucity of information for any but the larger newspapers and newspaper chains. However, the outlines of the socio-cultural milieu and its effects on newspapers can be indicated from the few general sources available.⁶⁴ Besides these more general sources, the histories of particular communities like Lowell do reveal something about the press.

The press in the United States went through several stages of development that can be conceptualized in a number of different ways. For example, in terms of chronological periods the nineteenth century was a key era not only for the sheer numerical accretion of newspapers, but because of their special political role in the society during that period. McClung Lee cites other ways in which the newspaper's characteristics may be subdivided, but he indicates that the most frequently used division is a chronological one.⁶⁵

This conceptualization of newspaper development by a number of different analysts yields three distinct developments, all occurring in the twenty-year period before the Civil War that is the setting of this study. One was the emergence of a distinct political-party press; a second crucial event was the development of a cheap, readable paper for the masses (the so-called "penny press"); and the third was the development of mercantile newspapers.⁶⁶ With the exception of the development of the penny press, the other two kinds of newspapers had arisen in the earlier part of the nineteenth century and then expanded their number as the mid-century approached.

The political party press was highly partisan in its make-up, but it helped usher in a new era in American journalism in which public issues were discussed in a widely disseminated forum, through sometimes intemperate editors and letters to the editor. This meant, as Mott indicates, that newspapers were no longer printed and published by "mere mechanics" who saw their organs only as a way to make a living, but by sometimes skilled journalists who contributed color and vitality to the reading of Americans.⁶⁷ Although these three types of newspapers were not mutually exclusive, it was the newspaper most oriented to political life that provided a vehicle for the tracing of events contemporary to the nineteenth century. The clarity of these newspapers' partisanship is a helpful factor in the development of the purposes of this research.

The mercantile papers were very numerous in the early part of the century, and were originally designed as advertising sheets; but, as the period progressed, this function was also shared with that of editorializing on current events of a foreign, national, regional, and local community nature. The mercantile papers were essentially "good business" and contributed to the solvency and success of newspaper publishing during this period, especially as they developed into daily papers of fairly wide circulation and topical currency.

Finally, the penny press, although a later development of newspaper expansion in America, probably had the most profound impact on the sophistication of the public and the influence of the newspapers in the lives of its members. Unlike the mercantile press, the penny press was not a class-exclusive paper, and its growth corresponded to the spread of the industrial revolution and the growth of the working classes in America. The penny press was significant in another respect as well: that is, it could and did attract the talents of some of the best writers of the period such as Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, and William Cullen Bryant of the New York Post. The Tribune was particularly famous to later historians because of its discussion of working class causes and alternatives to capitalism, including the brand of socialism known as Fourierism; and because for a decade one of its London correspondents was Karl Marx.⁶⁸

All three types of paper shared in the expansive political climate of the times, and while some papers were owned outright and directly used by politicians to promote their interests, most were at least semi-independent of given politicians but aligned with political parties. Thus it is possible to discern the political allegiance of most papers while eschewing the likelihood that they were monolithic vehicles of a single man's ideas.⁶⁹ In his analysis of newspaper growth in the United States, McClung Lee notes that prior to 1830 many papers were, indeed, the private property of individuals or parties; but that after this time the expanding influence of commerce and of larger newspaper units, "decreased newspapers' dependence upon political alignments, various types of subsidy, and individual subscribers and advertisers".⁷⁰

The newspapers of New England shared in and at selected times were leaders in the development of the press in America. For example, Boston had an important role in the establishment of the early cheap penny dailies and Springfield, Massachusetts had one of the finest and most respected papers in the country.⁷¹ New England was also one of the two or three major centers of labor agitation and it was here that certain papers such as the Massachusetts Spy and the Voice of Industry early championed the cause of the workingman and managed to report all events in eastern cities that were of significance to labor. For example, Philip Foner cites a nearly continuous series of events through

the 1830's, 1840's 1850's and 1860's that were a part of labor history and were chronicled in the newspapers.⁷²

It was in the newspapers of New England that the extended controversy arose about the conditions of labor in the North and particularly in the factories producing textile goods. One of the outstanding (though lightly documented) sources on this topic is the article by Charles Persons in Susan Kingsbury's Labor Laws and Their Enforcement.⁷³ Persons noted that Massachusetts was the first state to put into effect laws for the protection of factory workers, and in his study he followed the progression of legislation urged by the actions of various workers' coalitions with the active support of Massachusetts newspapers. It was in the newspapers that the divisions of community interests and the highly political character of the factory controversy became clearly manifested. Newspapers became centrally embroiled in the factory debate and agitation and labor papers such as the Voice of Industry published in Lowell were staffed by people such as Sarah Bagley who was the principal opponent of the famous organ supporting the Boston capitalists, The Lowell Offering.⁷⁴ Miss Bagley was also a principal at the meeting of the New England Association of Workman held in Boston in May of 1845. At this meeting the proposed course of American socialism was discussed by such well known figures as Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Albert Brisbane, the disciple of Fourierism, and Robert Owen, who in

Britain and the United States was widely-known as an experimenter with socialist communes.⁷⁵

Boston and Lowell newspapers were crucial pivots of the factory controversy, as Philip Foner indicates. For example, during the decades between 1840 to 1860 one phase of the discussion about worker conditions in Lowell was begun with an article in the Boston Daily Times, followed by an attack in 1840 on the morality of mill operatives in the Boston Quarterly, the discussion of the ten-hour controversy in 1842, 1843, 1849 and following years, and the extended elaboration of related problems such as immigration and its consequences which continued throughout the 1840's.⁷⁶

The origins, orientations and roles of the Lowell papers specifically cannot be charted with complete accuracy because of the lack of any history of their growth and political leanings. Indirectly information was obtained through selective examination of the editorial pages of the newspapers used in this study when those newspapers first commenced publication. It was also possible to use the brief but indicative references about Lowell newspapers in secondary sources such as historical accounts of the general development of the city.⁷⁷

From such accounts it appears that by the time of the incorporation of Lowell in 1826 there was one newspaper serving the town of two thousand people and this was known as the Lowell Journal. By the middle of the next

decade Lowell had grown to over eight thousand people and in 1834 the Lowell Advertiser was established as an avowedly Democratic newspaper. During the intervening decade several small newspapers, some of them very limited in circulation and life-span, had emerged to serve the needs of the growing community. In 1835 the Lowell Courier began publishing and was soon merged with the Lowell Journal and an 1829 paper, the Mercury, to become the longest-run daily newspaper in Middlesex county in the nineteenth century. By 1841 Vox Populi was established as a newspaper to carry on a vigorous writing campaign against abuses in the management of the corporations of Lowell and its motto "Neutral in Nothing" applied to its style rather than its political leanings. Unlike the Democratic Advertiser or the pro-Whig Courier, Vox Populi assumed controversially opposing positions on many issues rather than consistently aligning itself with a specific party. In terms of political debate and attitudes toward the factory system it was much closer to Democratic than to Whig sentiments but stopped short of being pro-Labor.⁷⁸

In the issue of Vox Populi for November 28, 1845, the editor devotes part of his column to a recounting of the history of Lowell and provides the following brief synopsis of the leading newspapers and their identifications: the semi-weekly Advertiser was Democratic; the daily Courier was Whig, the weekly Journal was Whig (and put out by the same people as the Courier); the Patriot and Republican was a weekly Democratic organ; the Star of Bethlehem was a weekly

Universalist (religious-affiliated) newspaper; the weekly Voice of Industry was "Workingman's"; the weekly Vox Populi was "neutral in nothing"; and the monthly Factory Life As It Is was produced by the Female Labor Reform Association.⁷⁹

During this period it was not uncommon for numerous limited-circulation newspapers to appear and disappear within a short time and for others to be issued for limited audiences such as the foreign population of Lowell.⁸⁰ Most of these newspapers were not of wider significance than which they had for their audience, in their period of time, and in the community of Lowell. By contrast, the Advertiser, Courier and Vox Populi (as well as a few selected other papers such as the Voice of Industry) were of wider significance and cited in secondary sources, were fairly long-running, and were general-interest newspapers of the type prominent in other major cities in the United States at that time. As such they were selected for this study and analyzed by techniques to be described below. Part of what these newspapers revealed is discussed in the following section.

Values in Lowell: The Available Record

The newspapers of mid-nineteenth century Lowell were concerned with a variety of saleable news items. Advertising played a very large role, not only because it supported newspapers from an economic standpoint, but because many of the advertising announcements constituted news for the community's residents. Besides advertising, some literary

fare was usually included and was apparently desired by the reading audience. This was most often carried on the front page and was fictional in nature. As a source of stylized and highly idealized values, such fictional material could be a useful clue for the modern researcher interested in community ideals of that period in American history. For some indication of values held by the community on more "concrete" and socially significant events and characteristics of society, it is necessary to examine the remaining section of those newspapers, the editorial page. To support the findings of such an examination, it is first desirable to peruse the available record of historical research on community values during this segment of American history, a task partially completed in Chapter II and re-examined here.

Values are always held by individuals who, as members of social groups can be expected to share at least some of those values that are possessed by other group members. Another way to state this is to say that values which are said to characterize a total society are actually held differentially by different groups, as much of modern sociological research on this topic tends to demonstrate.⁸¹ Nevertheless, attempts to make general characterizations of the values of nineteenth century Americans abound in the literature on this period. The Jacksonian era and its aftermath has been called by some writers the "era of the common man" in large measure because of the strongly equalitarian nature of the values of the mid-nineteenth century equivalent of the "man in the street".⁸² Foreign

visitors were particularly struck and fascinated by the proudly manifested "I'm as good as you or any man" attitude of the Americans they met.⁸³ As historians rightly caution, egalitarianism was not a fact of the social structure of nineteenth century American but as an operating ideal it could and did influence social conduct. Carl Fish maintains that egalitarianism meant not that all men were in fact equal (a position easily destroyed by everyday observation of enormous inequalities) but that all accepted the belief that becoming "a gentleman" was within the reach of all.⁸⁴

The basis for such an attitude is not readily understood when one looks at the conditions in American society during and after the Jacksonian period. Pessen notes the following:

The Jacksonian era witnessed no breakdown of a class society in America. If anything, class lines hardened. ...Communities already stratified, 'found lines sharpened, class division deepened', as they grew in size and as their economies became more specialized. The wealthiest merchants, according to the testimony of their own diaries and travelers' accounts, became even more class conscious. ...In eastern cities it has also been noted that social stratification intensified during the Jacksonian era.⁸⁵

The evidence for the existence of such inequalities abounds, and one suspects that both foreign visitors and some contemporary historians saw only what they wanted to see or that they were traumatized by their impressions of a strangely shifting and largely incipient class structure into believing that none at all existed.⁸⁶

In fact, the best way to describe values that are prevalent in a society at a given point in time and to

resolve the dilemma of conflicting interpretations of the "true" values is to look at those values held by specific segments of the social structure. For Lowell and for New England generally, two broad portrayals of values stand out: values of the "working classes" and values of industrial capitalists.

For the working classes it is at least partially useful to examine labor organizations and the philosophies of labor leaders. Edward Pessen accomplished this for the Jacksonian era and determined that labor organizations predominantly valued social mobility and the achievement ethic, while in labor leaders' philosophies the following could be discerned:

1. the feeling that American society was marred by poverty and misery;
2. strong feelings of "anti-capitalism",
3. the perception that strategic institutions in the society were controlled by the wealthy classes;
4. the feeling that the power of the wealthy was used to their own advantage;
5. the judgment that society was conflict-torn by class interest;
6. the feeling that leaders used guile to convince the workers that nothing was wrong and deceived them by repeated denials of problems;
7. the feeling that subordination was a key feature of the newly emerging industrial system;

8. the concern that democracy was only a partial hindrance to capitalists;
9. the vision of labor as occupying a degraded position;
10. the rejection of Malthusianism as a rationalization of the rich;
11. the feeling that institutions of the new society were asocial;
12. the ambivalency of feelings about machinery, some accepting it while others rejected it;
13. the presence of an optimism for the future and a high valuation on an belief in the triumph of man's potential and the emergence of a better society;
14. a desire for social equality;
15. education and political action valued as a means to achieve social betterment; and,
16. a patient wait for benevolence frowned upon.⁸⁷

What emerges from this synopsis is a fairly clear-cut perception of differences between capitalists and the working man emerging in the society, differences not present in an earlier period and seen as undesirable. What is not so clear is whether or not such evaluations and perceptions reflect the values of the working classes or the rhetorical faddism of public speakers at labor meetings. Walter Hugins, in his study of the New York labor movement during this period found that journeymen were of two minds on the topic of industrialization. On the one hand some of their number were concerned with job and standard of living problems and

and so were interested in "combination" and the strike; while others sought both immediate and long-term relief through a political movement aimed at the democratization of the society.⁸⁸ Such a split in purpose was to be seen later in the two decades of the 1840's and 1850's. In the 1840's the labor movement took a decidedly grandiose turn with the domination of utopian thinkers who aimed at nothing less than the complete reform of society.⁸⁹ With the failure of these aims by the end of the decade, the workingmen's associations and activities declined in importance temporarily, only to be revised in the 1850's with more limited and intensely specific aims.⁹⁰ Thus it seems plausible to assume that Pessen's findings on labor organizations and philosophies were a reflection of working men's values because such findings tap what actually was a many-sided, multi-dimensional phenomenon. Speakers did indeed capitalize on their audience's characteristics and the interests of the times but the very fact that none of these divergent interests of the labor movement was ever completely submerged indicates their basic importance to the laboring man.

The numerous scattered articles in the newspapers of the 1800's point to the strongly held concerns of the working class and leave no doubt as to its values on key issues that affected its life. The foci of its concerns seem to have been on these major points: specific issues of reform such as hours of work; concern with the nature

of the social organization generally; and concern about specific matters of politics. Norman Ware cites the second of these as most critical to the worker during this time. That is, the worker was most disturbed by the changing system of social relations, "in which sovereignty in economic affairs passed from the community as a whole into the keeping of a special class".⁹¹ The controversies carried on in the Lowell papers and periodicals in the Boston papers cited above provide some clues to the concerns of the laboring population, as do letters to the editor, editorials and occasional published tracts. Such evidence certainly provides an unsystematic impression of working class values; and short of the discovery of a contemporaneous social survey it is good, but meager evidence of their content. On the other hand, the unremitting recurrence of the same issues and stances on issues by spokesmen for laboring men (and occasionally some of their own number) in non-labor newspapers does provide an important source of information on working class values.⁹²

The contrast is notable between the paucity of information on the working-man's values and the abundance of comparable material on the industrial capitalist elite. The reason for the contrast is the common and ancient difference between the literateness of the wealthy and the inarticulate character of the average working man. There were many spokesmen for the working man but few of them were actually laborers. The nineteenth century capitalists of Lowell and

all New England had both those who would describe them (usually favorably if they were foreign visitors) and vehicles of self-expression such as memoirs, autobiographies, analyses of technological achievements of the industrial revolution and newspapers either owned by them, edited by them or sympathetic to their views.⁹³ Numerous historians writing during their "reign" and since have profusely delineated these values as well as other aspects of their social behavior.

One characteristic of elite values that is portrayed by some historians is the lack of unity in those values. Whereas working men were often portrayed as having only two goals, the reform of specific conditions or general societal reconstruction, the capitalist elite seemed to be internally at odds with itself and in conflict with other community groups. As Howard Mumford Jones says, "...in the fifties New England culture was not at unity with itself. There was considerable tension between mercantile culture and the literary men..., and also within mercantile culture itself".⁹⁴ On the specific issue of industrialism Frederic Cople Jaher comments that: "The Boston Brahmins' response to industrialism ranged from eager acceptance of mechanization and social change to flight into a utopianized past of homogeneous communities bound by ancestral ties to well-worn traditions".⁹⁵

Much of the ambivalence of the New England elite was centered around the emergence of industrial capitalism and

what it was causing some among their ranks to become. The Boston Brahmin sometimes turned his revulsion on his own class, sometimes on others such as the "nouveaux riches", condemning what seemed to them "'vulgar', 'irresponsible', 'shifty', ...lacking 'tradition', and having only 'one standard, money or money's worth'"⁹⁶. The Boston elite was distinctive in that some of its members turned to literary, scholarly, and education achievements of importance so that by the time of the post Civil War period concern was expressed over the lack of entrepreneurial activities among the offspring of old Boston scions⁹⁷.

The real battle between the "counting house" and the drawing room supporters did not emerge full-blown until after the Civil War as the offspring of the old entrepreneurs sought other fields of activity. Prior to the Civil War there seems to have been little self-abnegation among the entrepreneurs themselves and the virtues of their calling were both celebrated and developed into a pervasive but usually subtle code that supported values favorable to business activity. It becomes clear from reading accounts of their lives that the New England capitalists of the nineteenth century were not the epitome of self-made men, highly individualistic, risk-taking, insensitive to the community of their peers or to the larger community. Instead the capitalists of Boston were bound by:

...an elaborate web of kinship ties which made the family a potent institution that gave them cohesion, continuity and stability so they might perpetrate their power,

prominence and way of life. In addition to ties of blood, the elite shared a common set of values which defined proper behavior, transmitted goals to the young and provided a measure by which to judge and punish deviance.⁹⁸

The code of values defining the public life of the Boston merchant prince emphasized the gospel of progress and the role of the merchant as its architect. Style counted nearly as much as actual achievement and the worthy entrepreneur was expected to "wear" his wealth with honor, virtue, wisdom, and simplicity, and to avoid avarice, the distorter of values. The ethic of personal responsibility was at the center of the elite value complex because the entrepreneur was seldom a free agent but one of the points in a kin network remarkable for its inbred character.⁹⁹ Responsibility to the larger community was keenly felt and made manifest by both patronage of the arts, education and science, and by numerous charities and philanthropies that proliferated in Boston in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In considering community values it is important to account for some of the continuing religious characteristics of New England, a consideration often left out of the secular analyses of Paul Goodman and others. It may have been only formal, ritualized behavior, but Boston and Lowell capitalists took religion seriously as at least a vehicle of social influence and control in the community.¹⁰⁰ As Robert Russell points out, early Puritan theory that held sway in New England for at least 125 years after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay colony was not at all progressive and

strongly emphasized status and hierarchy. Emphasizing the ordering of the community according to a divine plan, Puritan doctrines developed an intense awareness of total community and collective obligations that paradoxically culminated in the ultimate growth of intensely individualistic competitive drives manifested in many industrialists at the end of the nineteenth century. However, before the Civil War this individualism had not yet developed fully, and the ties of community and family obligations were still intensely felt in the lives of the New England elites, even though the original religious underpinnings of these obligations had weakened.¹⁰¹

Although humanitarian sentiments and sense of community obligations may have arisen from religious and altruistic motives, the fact is that such impulses did stimulate the creation of an active avenue of community control which the Boston Associates were quick to exploit. As described previously in this chapter, the Boston Associates virtually monopolized those key institutions of New England life that supported and insured the success of their business ventures: banks, insurance companies, trusts, railroads, machinery manufacture, and the holding of political office. All of these were within their purview and all were used to actively campaign for what the capitalist elite perceived to be in the best interests of the community. Industrial consciousness itself became a manipulatable product and manufacturers actively promoted the cause of industry through

such devices as the manufacturing societies and associations that were propagated at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰²

On some specific issues of industrialization there seemed to be little question about the values of capitalists. Throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century the Boston Associates and other New England capitalists were heavily involved in the Tariff question, seeking what were essentially reforms of an existing system that was acceptable to them in its general aspects.¹⁰³ Capitalists were fond of singing the praises of industry and laboring but not necessarily of Labor, because it was becoming increasingly evident as the century progressed that the interests of both were diverging and that the capitalist was being effectively challenged by a militant laboring man.¹⁰⁴ Under the circumstances of such challenge the capitalist responded by letting workers go, blacklisting them, threatening dismissal if they voted against corporation interests, presenting elaborate defenses of corporation practices and conditions and enlisting the aid of others to do so, and ultimately by hiring immigrant labor to replace domestic laborers who persisted in their protests.¹⁰⁵ Yet despite the obviousness of some of their actions, it is not always clear to what extent capital and labor really diverged in values or to what extent community values generally differed from those of either of the protagonists. Norman Ware has declared that "the Spirit of the Age" up to 1850 was a

prophetic one promising the expansion of liberal ideals and of human rights, and that during all of these middle decades all classes shared in the conservative temper and the acquisitive urge, evidenced by the following newspaper quote:

'The first lesson a boy is taught on leaving the parental roof', said a Fall River labor leader in 1946, 'is to get gain...gain wealth ...forgetting all but self...'106

While such a conclusion is not groundless, it is a highly selective interpretation that the findings of this study will attempt to verify. In the next chapter the method that this study will employ to resolve this question will be explored.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD OF THE STUDY: STUDYING VALUES THROUGH NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is the principal technique employed in this study. This chapter will briefly discuss the technique and its specific application to this study. The following chapter will present the findings derived from the application of this technique to selected newspapers in Lowell, after which an analysis and interpretation will be made in light of Lowell's history and with reference to other material already discussed in Chapters I through III.

The Technique of Content Analysis

Content analysis is the application of the principles of scientific research to the analysis of communication content or to documentary evidence; and content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying the specific character of messages.¹

Definitions of content analysis emphasize its objectivity, systematic character and generality. Its objectivity derives from its supposed characteristic of applying consistent rules so that two or more people could achieve the same results. Its systematic character refers to the application of the technique so that the same rigorously defined criteria are used repeatedly or with

consistent application, so that all data are treated, rather than just those supporting an hypothesis. Finally, its generality refers to the theoretical relevance of its findings.²

What "counts" in content analysis is the actual message of communication, while all other (and very important) things, such as inferences, are dependent on the content of the message as recorded. Compared to traditional historical analysis of documentary evidence such a reliance and, indeed, emphasis on the manifest message may appear superficial. But it is the view of content analysts that this aspect is critical because of the consciously sought goal of scientific objectivity.

The technique of content analysis is usefully applied in a variety of ways. It amounts to a form of "decoding" of messages and in this specific role it was utilized during the second World War and the "Cold War" to investigate such things as policy shifts in statements of spokesmen of different nations. Used in such a fashion it implies the distinction between manifest and latent aspects of behavior. A piece of communication may not be covertly what it appears to reveal on the surface. A content analysis of a message could reveal patternings or word usages that more fully indicate the significance of the communication. Fundamentally, content analysis counts units of a message, and whether these units be individual words or separable themes, the technique itself is supposed not only to systematize the

the study of documentary evidence, but to reveal configurations otherwise unobserved and in a manner than can be replicated by independent observers. It is a technique for generating data rather than a methodology for the manipulation of quantitative materials, and it has been used primarily for descriptive rather than explanatory studies.³

There are a number of issues involved in the use of content analysis. Such issues involve the importance of quantitative versus qualitative data, the extent to which frequency of word counts indicates a significant interpretation of meaning in a message, and the question of explanation versus description.⁴ As with any technique, there are "solutions" to the problems inherent in content analysis, but what I wish to emphasize is what it can and cannot do and under what circumstances it should be used.

Content analysis can be applied to any written or oral communication of any length, and in fact, when such a message is lengthy or there are many messages to be studied, content analysis is an appropriately used, even necessary device. As Holsti says, it is a valuable supplement to the ordinary reading of documents, especially when they are detailed or their contents diverse.⁵ Content analysis is of manifest content only, so that reading between the lines is now allowed, but interpretations and inferences made from such content are the prerogative of the researcher as in any other type of research approach. Because of the restrictions imposed by this technique (coding manifest

content only, the use of rigidly standardized content categories), some writers say that it leads to the selection of studies with low significance, but this is not a serious problem at all if it is used in conjunction with data from other sources. It is certainly not an endemic failing of content analysis "per se", and it can be avoided in the initial selection of a research topic.⁶

Content analysis cannot answer directly many salient questions that are qualitative in nature, but as statisticians and others are now aware, many qualitative characteristics of social data can be treated at least partially by quantitative means.⁷

Content analysis does stand out in the greater degree of precision it lends to interpreting the content of a communicated message. Furthermore, statistical methods can be applied to the data generated through its use, thereby providing a "powerful set of tools for precise and parsimonious summary of finds, and improving the quality of interpretation and inference".⁸

Content analysis was chosen for this study because it seemed to be a highly useful means of dealing with the essentially qualitative data of newspapers. There were a large quantity of Lowell newspapers containing much diverse material difficult to interpret in a systematic way. The usual manner of handling such data was often revealing but highly selective. To develop a systematic portrayal of community values in order to answer research questions such as those discussed in this paper seemed to require a

different approach which content analysis promised to be. The few studies incorporating it had yielded information probably not obtainable in any other way, and most importantly, it seemed likely to answer my research questions.

Previous Use of Newspapers for Value Studies

The use of newspapers and other communications media for the portrayal of values and other cultural aspects of a society constitutes a wide range of research beyond the purview of this paper.⁹ Research focusing on content analysis of newspapers and related material such as magazines is a still more delimited field of research, and that specifically investigating values about industrialization is nearly non-existent. Nevertheless, some pieces of research do stand out and they will be briefly discussed here for their method or findings.

One of the most widely-discussed books on concerns closely related to the subject of this research is Richard Merritt's Symbols of American Community.¹⁰ Merritt's approach was specifically that of content analysis using newspaper material of the American colonial period. Merritt's book is a classic instance of the use of content analysis to answer research questions about an historical period removed in time from that of the researcher, but a society whose written record left a valuable statement about crucial variables. Merritt's particular concern was whether or not there was a national community developing before the

Revolution, and as an indicator of "sense of community" he used like occurrence of place names in the newspapers of five communities. Although his critics focused on other things such as the validity of content analysis itself as a basis for making the kinds of generalizations made by Merritt, the most serious criticism seems to be the utilization of few issues and the non-randomness of historical events.¹¹ Merritt used only four issues each year, and this coupled with a random selection procedure would seem to guarantee that much of significance might be missed. Furthermore, he did not inform the reader as to the context of the material chosen, and he made generalizations from events in the colonial press to colonial society happenings generally.¹² The latter criticism is most crucial, for if one cannot generalize from the chosen indicator to a larger universe, a serious flaw exists in the research.

Merritt's "answer" to this charge was summed up by his expressed desire that larger studies than his be developed to contribute to "a more general theory of political integration". He saw his efforts as an attempt to extract key concepts out of American historical data that could in turn be used for the expansion of this general theory.¹³ Thus, as in much social science and historical research, the applicability of this particular study's findings to a wider universe awaits further research, but at least on logical grounds it would appear that Merritt's assumptions are reasonable. Merritt also

addressed the question of how well newspapers represent events in society. He noted that a suitable indicator of the kind of information in which he was interested would have to "be important for a significant share of the population" and be reasonably continuous over the period of the study.¹⁴ In Merritt's opinion, both of these conditions were met by newspapers, and in this study a similar point is made. That is, newspapers which survive over two or more years of publication, must be a useable index to community sentiment. As a point of fact, the newspapers used in this study continued publishing with the same political alignments of their editors for more than a decade. Since newspapers cannot survive without reader support, the values expressed therein must be indicative of community sentiment; and if several newspapers with manifestly differing political makeups are researched, then they should represent a range of values.

A similar kind of study is that by George S. Haye in which United States newspapers in 1828 and 1952 were examined and compared using items that expressed opinion in order to determine the extent of anti-intellectualism in the respective organs.¹⁵ Haye evaluated each article he read by means of a classification schedule in which advocated and existing patterns were distinguished. Tests of significance were used on the basis that the universe from which the examined issues were drawn could be viewed as a random sample from a hypothetical universe. Such

studies as this and Merritt's do raise many questions about research design, the use of statistical tests, and the kinds of categories employed in analysis, but they do also partially resolve the issue of whether such studies can be done and what their results indicate. In his article on this subject, Milton Albrecht raises what are primarily technical questions about such research and criticizes only the excessive reliance on frequency of themes as a reliable basis for judging the correspondence between media material and cultural norms and values.¹⁶ The concern has always existed in content analysis research that merely counting is not a good way to indicate importance or correspondence between the research question and the pattern observed in the data source. But such a caution merely underscores the importance of careful development of content analysis categories and careful phrasing of the research questions; it does not point to an invalidation of the research approach itself. It should be noted that the tests employed by Haye, Merritt and others are of a fairly low order of statistical sophistication, but this seems adequate and necessary given the nature of the data. These authors probably recognize the spurious security that unjustifiably powerful statistical tests can lend to such data and they avoided their use, as has been done in this research.

A very recent piece of content analysis research employed to study values is that of Herman R. Lantz and associates.¹⁷ Lantz was interested in attitudes toward

different aspects of family relationships in the pre-industrial period of American history. To determine these attitudes he examined nationally-circulated magazines during the 1741-1795 period using a schedule that tapped relevant aspects of his research problem such as power relationships. In their most recent article, Lantz and his co-researchers examined a later period with essentially the same research purpose and data sources, but with the additional intention of outlining trends in the development of attitudes towards the family in American society before the advent of industrialism.¹⁸

All these studies share their basic approach, some of their quantification measures, similar data sources, and generally comparable research purposes. The study described in previous chapters is related to all of these but is concerned only with newspapers and with values about the over-arching social change of industrialization. In the following pages the techniques employed to answer the research questions about industrialization described in Chapter I will be indicated.

Techniques and Procedures of This Study

The two decades between 1840 and 1860 were selected as the setting for this study.¹⁹ During these years many newspapers both supportive and critical of the industrial system were printed. A master list of all the recorded newspapers published in Lowell during this period constituted the universe for the content analysis described in this paper.²⁰

Several criteria governed the selection of newspapers from this universe. The first was the desirability of a range of value positions reflecting worker, capitalist and other dominant interests. The second was the selection of newspapers that were largely continuous over the period of the study at a time when most newspapers had difficulty surviving more than two to three years. The third criterion was that newspapers of an avowedly special interest or advertising function be excluded. This is a precaution against the many weeklies published strictly for commercial advertising or for the purpose of "uplifting" the reading public through anecdotal stories or biblical homilies or those that were purely political journals.

The first and third criteria have been met by the examination of several works available on the history of newspapers in the United States and the history of the City of Lowell, as well as by the examination of the editorial page of some of the early Lowell papers to see if they had any avowed partisanship.²¹ It was possible to make an adequate evaluation in the case of all the major Lowell newspapers listed in the National Union Catalog.

The second qualification, that of continuous publishing over the period of the study, was determined by two techniques: one was the listing of the National Union Catalog which provides information on titles, surviving issues and location. The second technique was an item-by-item search of the files of Lowell newspapers held by the American

Antiquarian Society National Research Library in Worcester, Massachusetts. These two sources were cross-checked with the works on the history of American newspapers mentioned above as well as local sources in Lowell to determine the accuracy of the list. By these techniques it was possible to draw up a master list of newspapers and their availability.

The application of these criteria yielded a range of two to four newspapers for each year of the study, from which an initial selection was made of one newspaper representing favorability, one representing opposition to factory interests and a third paper representing an intermediate position.²²

Of the three types of newspapers, the Lowell Courier, was chosen to represent favorability, the Advertiser to represent unfavorability, and Vox Populi to represent the intermediate position.²³

Since one issue per week was to be included for each of the papers (excluding those years that were unavailable) the largest possible size of the sample would be 1664. The actual N of the sample studied turned out to be 196, because the selection criteria necessarily eliminated those issues without items that dealt with industrialization.

Within each issue only material on the editorial page was coded and the coding was limited to that type of item "generally recognized as fulfilling the newspapers' function of expressing opinion" such as editorials, letters to the editor and columns devoted to specific issues (in this case,

those issues related to industrialization specifically)²⁴. Each such selection was read for general content, then re-read and coded only if it conformed to the following selection criterion: the unit of analysis is the item, that is, any column, letter to the editor, editorial or other non-anecdotal insertion intended to describe, comment upon or evaluate a condition, incident or characteristic of the industrial system.²⁵

The coding schedule was divided into 27 items intended to tap expressions of opinion about various fundamental aspects of the industrial system. It was intended as a virtually exhaustive list of the possible variables of the industrial system towards which an expression of opinion could be expected to occur in the newspapers examined. Because no similar list of such variables seems to exist in the literature on industrialization, the one developed for this study was based on the literature available on industrialization generally, the history of Lowell and New England industrialization, the "factory question", and on the basis of a preliminary examination of the newspapers to be coded.²⁶ There are 27 items in this section and they were all coded as directional categories, that is, as favorable, neutral or unfavorable.

The handling of the collected data reflects the two major sources of variation: decade and source. Thus, after the data were collected and tabulated, comparisons were made between the favorable and critical newspapers over the years

of the study, with particular attention given to those years when allegedly significant changes or events occurred. The major sources of comparison were the following: a) between sources during the decade 1840-1850 versus the decade 1850-1860; b) between sources during the public consideration of key issues related to industrialization and the occurrence of historically significant events. Detailed discussion will be made in Chapter V of each of the coded variables of the study that was statistically significant. In the tables that follow in the next chapter, the data is presented as percentages and the calculation of χ^2 for each paper is included.

Although the content analysis of newspapers is the principal type of research approach employed in this study, it is assumed by the investigator that proper interpretation of the results depends on a close acquaintance-with the literature on American industrialization, New England's and Lowell's social and industrial characteristics during the nineteenth century, and the general cultural setting of the period 1840-1860.

CHAPTER V

VALUES ABOUT INDUSTRIALIZATION: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

In this section the data derived from content analysis of Lowell newspapers will be presented and a partial interpretation attempted. In Chapter VI, other evidence will be compared with the content analysis data to develop and explore this initial interpretation in light of the research questions. On each dimension of values discussed in Chapter IV, the results are expressed as favorable, neutral or unfavorable. The tables in this chapter represent the results for twelve of the study values rather than the twenty-seven that were coded, because not all twenty-seven of the values appeared frequently enough to be represented adequately in the newspapers studied. In such cases chi-squares were not significant and the article could be usually coded as neutral about these values. The reasons for the non-appearance of some of the values will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter. In the twelve tables presented on the following pages, the data have been arranged according to newspaper source and decade. The Advertiser represented the local "opposition press" because it was most frequently opposed to the factory system, while the Courier had articles that were the least critical. Vox Populi represents a position that (at times) was more moderate about the factory system than either the

Advertiser or Courier, though its sympathies seemed to be closer to the former. Also included in this chapter are twelve graphs of the relation between each of the study variables and the percentage of unfavorable articles in each of the three newspapers. Finally, for each paper an unfavorable response index was calculated for each year of the study. This index is simply the number of unfavorable items for a given newspaper in any single year of the study as a proportion of the total items coded for that year, and provides a convenient and hopefully reliable measure of change over time.

Values About the Factory System

Table I indicates that the articles from the Advertiser that dealt with the factory system during the 1840's were mostly unfavorable, while those from the Courier were mostly favorable. The direction of this result was expected, because these two newspapers do represent polar positions regarding this encompassing topic. As a way of organizing human work life, the factory system was an enormously significant development. It was still new in the 1840's and it was the total system that often elicited reaction from the press. Even the moderate press represented by Vox Populi found it difficult to remain aloof from comment on the factory system, and its second most frequent response next to "neutral" was unfavorable. If the Advertiser and Vox Populi data are combined, the difference between the

Unfavorability Index
by Newspaper and by Year*

	<u>Advertiser</u>	<u>Vox Populi</u>	<u>Courier</u>
1840			
1841			4
1842	50		3
1843			
1844			
1845	52	36	7
1846	56	32	8
1847	46	17	0
1848	41	28	
1849	43	16	
1850			
1851	46	8	
1852	50	28	
1853	46	19	
1854	50	40	
1855			4
1856			
1857			0
1858			0
1859			
1860			

*Unfavorability Index is obtained by finding the proportion of Unfavorable items to total items for a given year.

Table I
 Values About the Factory System
 by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's				1850's			
	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfav-orable	Total	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfavor-able	Total
Advertiser	11	38	51	56	6	47	47	15
Vox Populi	24	46	30	63	63	29	8	24
Courier	73	23	4	30	67	33	0	6

χ^2 Between Papers: 44.45 χ^2 Between Papers: 16.22
 χ^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = .69
 Vox Populi = 12.12
 Courier = .47

Figure I

Values About the Factory System
 by Percentage Unfavorable

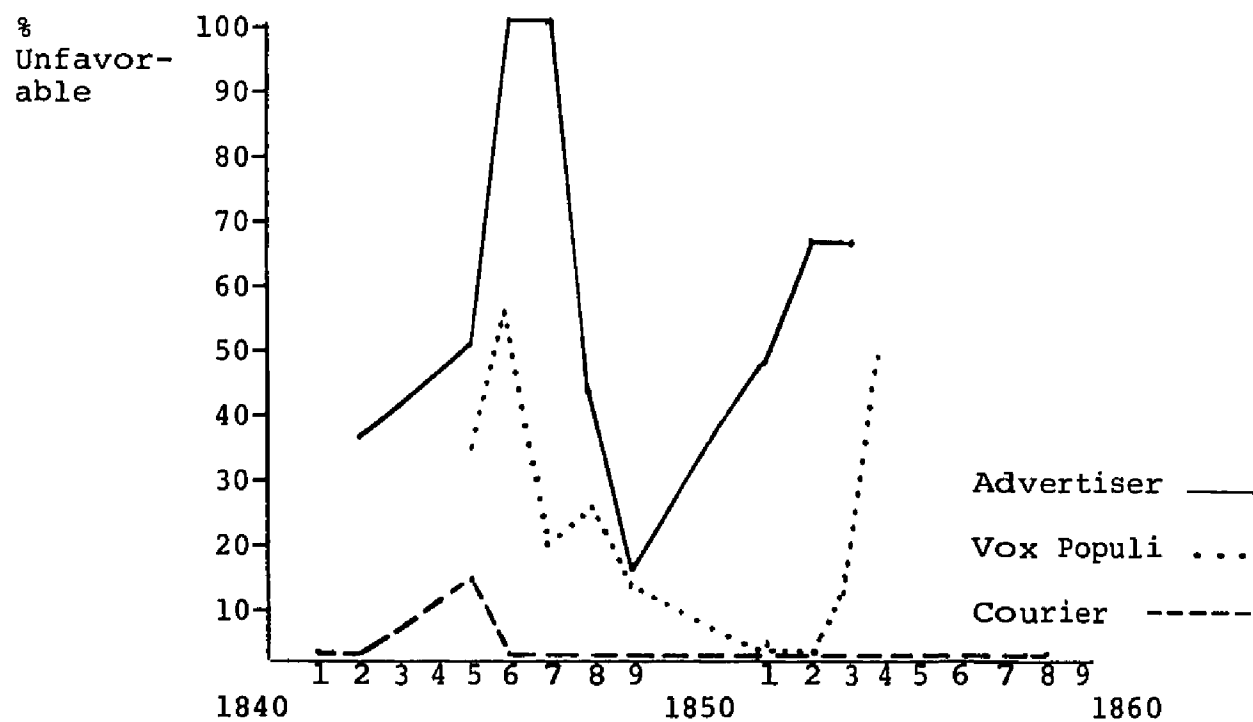


Table II

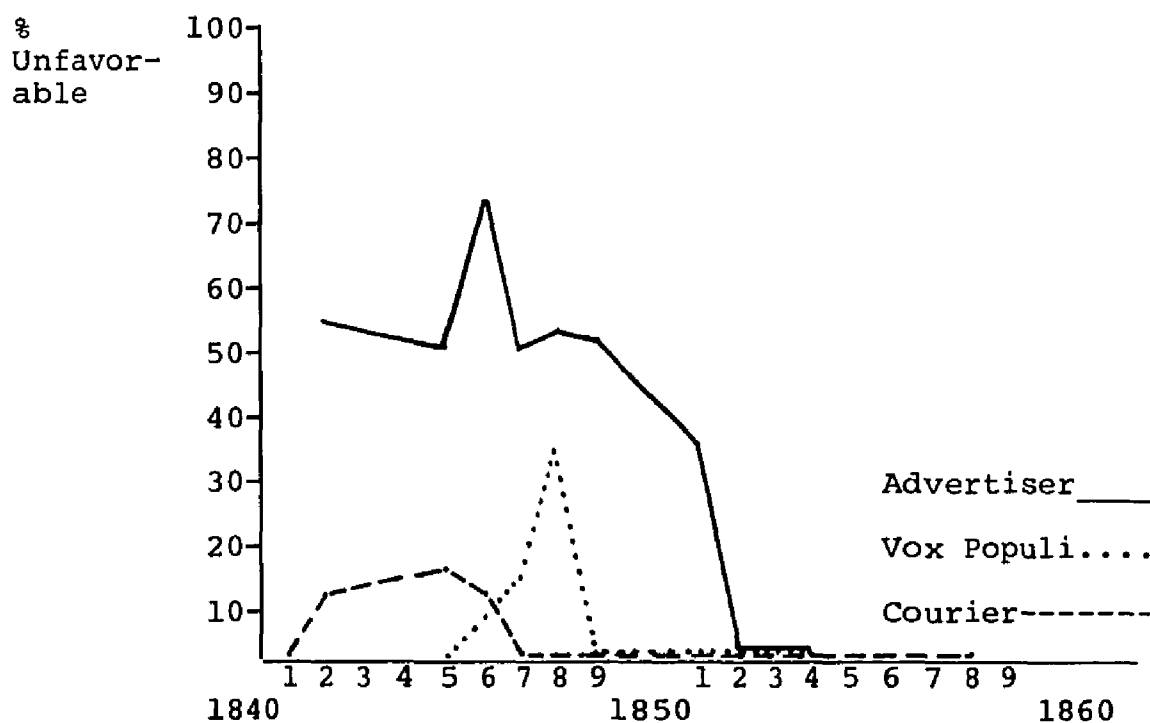
Values About Wages
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's				1850's			
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total
Advertiser	0	46	54	56	0	87	13	15
Vox Populi	11	75	14	63	8	92	0	24
Courier	17	73	10	30	17	83	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 32.87 X^2 Between Papers: 6.05
 X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 7.97
 Vox Populi = 4.24
 Courier = 0.00

Figure II

Values About Wages,
by Percentage Unfavorable



Courier and opposition papers becomes stronger, and the totals of the "Neutral" and "Unfavorable" categories are more nearly equal for these papers.

The differences between the two decades were statistically significant only for Vox Populi, lending some confidence to the initial conceptualization of the Advertiser and the Courieras representatives of polar positions in Lowell with respect to the factory system and the stability of their respective positions over time.¹ Vox Populi changed from ambivalent in the 1840's to strongly favorable in the 1850's. Figure I shows that the proportion of unfavorable articles on the factory system in Vox Populi declined nearly continuously through the early 1850's, then rose to earlier levels in the mid-1850's.

That the factory system in general was mentioned at all in the three newspapers and seen as a specifically new and separate form of social organization was a noteworthy finding. Newspaper articles revealed a reaction not only to basic features of work, but to the system of work organization itself. The responses were predictably favorable or unfavorable, depending on the type of newspaper, a fact visible even to an outsider from another century.

Wages

One of the classic points of contention in a capitalist system has always been wages. Marx made wages a focal symbol of the new condition of the worker under the capitalist mode of production, and the terms "wages", "wage slaves" and "wage slavery" recur continuously in the Lowell

newspapers of this study.² Table II shows that during the 1840's, both the moderate and the pro-capitalist papers remained virtually silent on the question of wages while the Democratic paper, the Advertiser, mentioned wages unfavorably in over half its articles.

Only the Advertiser had a statistically significant change between decades and this was from largely unfavorable items about wages to largely neutrality on this subject. Figure 2 graphically illustrates this precipitous decline in concern with wages, but from an examination of the Negative Response Index it is clear that the Advertiser retained its critical role throughout the years of this study, a circumstance indicating a switch in concern from wages to other matters. The following might be an explanation.

In the mid-nineteenth century wages were certainly as crucial to the workingmen's concerns as they are now; but it may be that where modern workers are concerned with wages for their monetary consequences, the workers of Lowell also saw the capriciousness of wage levels as barometers of their own power or impotence. The differences for which they bargained or struck seem meager in retrospect, and workers of the mid-nineteenth century Lowell did operate within what one writer has called a "paternalistic" system.³ In this context dependency of the workers on the capitalist-created community resources was very high, so that the impact of numerical changes in wage levels may have been cushioned.⁴ Nevertheless, wages were repeatedly discussed

in some newspapers and other publications of the period; and unfavorable comparisons were made between the "white wage-slaves" of the northern United States and the black slaves in the American South.⁵ Clearly as both a symbolic and a practical consideration wages were of great consequence, and newspapers that were Democratic politically tended to make this a fairly central issue and to champion workers' interests in these terms.

The question does arise as to the relative importance of wages for workers and for the champions of workers' causes. Included in this sample were editorial statements about wages which had as their specific source comments and letters of workers themselves, and this was even more the case for certain other papers outside the sampling frame of this study. An example was a comment in Vox Populi on the general reduction of wages for mill workers in 1848 and a letter to the editor discussing wages and other matters in 1864.⁶ Such comments by workers themselves may have been selectively chosen by the respective newspaper editors, but they correspond to other examples of worker interests. For example, when strikes were called, they often had wages as their principal uniting focus for worker militance, although here again the historical record does not separate the symbolic from the practical importance of wages to workers.

In the literature on this period of American history wages were the center of a major controversy. A classic

examination of the question occurs in Edith Abbott's 1905 article on the question of wages for factory operatives and other unskilled workers.⁷ According to her data, the wages of factory workers as a whole rose steadily from 1840 to 1873, but unskilled factory operatives remained at one of the lowest relative wage levels of all workers over the entire period of her study. Both Abbott and Norman Ware acknowledge the inadequacies of the data on wages and living costs during this period, but both seem to indicate the existence of generally low wages for factory operative. H. M. Gitelman acknowledged the complexity of the wages question by referring to two perspectives on wages that may be used by the observer. The wages paid at Lowell were high when compared with other female workers, but from a broader perspective wages of female operatives were low when compared with wages paid all workers. This fact explains the employment of female operatives, the definitive feature of the Lowell workforce. Also, these wages were so inflexibly set by the conditions of the market that workers had little hope of affecting them by strikes, but struck instead to elicit community support, thus making wages an important symbolic issue.⁸ It is significant that Norman Ware takes his interpretation of low wages primarily from labor newspapers, while Caroline Ware, writing on the same period and using mainly corporation-derived data, describes mill wages as comparatively high.⁹ Whatever the true state of affairs, wages were notoriously subject to manipulation

by factory owners, and as such constituted an important source of labor's protest voice.

Conditions of Work

Table III illustrates a curious lack of concern in the newspapers of this study with what has been cited by historians as crucial to factory labor of the mid-nineteenth century. The hours of work, speeding up of machinery and general "sweatshop" conditions were seldom mentioned in any of the newspapers, even though historians have regarded them as crucial, and pamphlets of the time examined such conditions, the Massachusetts legislature investigated them and they formed the basis of agitation for a ten-hour work day.¹⁰

Several possible explanations for such silence suggest themselves. Perhaps the different work conditions included in this variable were not as obviously problematic for all workers as were wages. Even long hours, generally shared by all workers in the cotton industry, initially could have been viewed as an inevitable condition of work life everywhere, whereas wage levels were something arbitrarily fixed by factory owners and subject to comparatively high differentials from industry to industry, between religions, and certainly during various time periods.¹¹ Another explanation might be related to the city of Lowell particularly. As stated earlier, Lowell was a kind of "showcase" for industry no less in its social achievements than its technological ones. The boarding house system, the

Table III

Values About the Conditions of Work,
by Newspaper Source

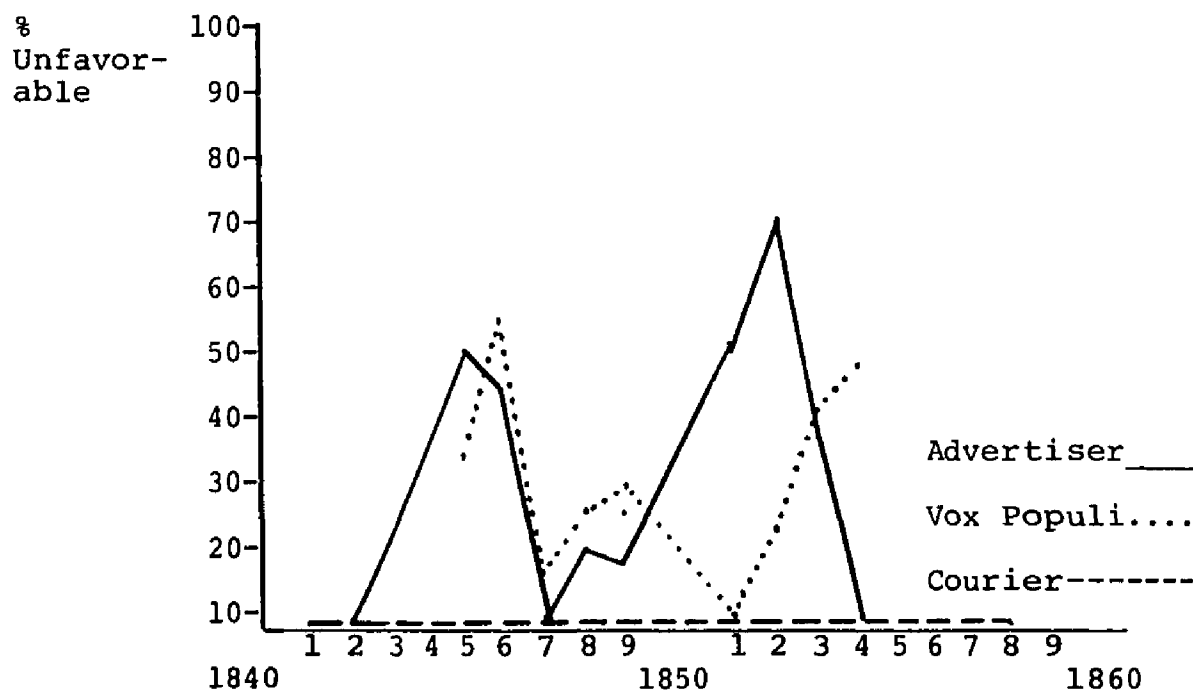
Newspaper Source	1840's				1850's			
	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfav-orable	Total	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfavor-able	Total
Advertiser	0	80	20	56	0	53	47	15
Vox Populi	14	56	30	63	38	38	24	24
Courier	17	83	0	30	17	83	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 21.21 X^2 Between Papers: 11.59

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 4.56
Vox Populi = 5.49
Courier = 0.00

Figure III

Values About the Conditions of Work,
by Percentage Unfavorable



physical amenities for the mill operatives that were often described and praised by residents and visitors, and the communal setting of Lowell itself that contrasted sharply with the grey cities of manufacturing England - all of these features may have helped to obscure any negative work conditions that existed.¹² As was mentioned earlier in Chapter I, the criticism of the factory system began outside of Lowell itself in the newspapers of Boston and other cities.¹³ The attack launched against the factory system of which Lowell was such an obvious example continued well over a decade and had a larger perspective than Lowell itself. For example, the system at Lowell was compared to the slave system on plantations in the American South, and this was the type of comparison that might be made by a newspaper with less parochial interests than those of the Lowell newspapers.

Between decades the changes that did occur were evident in both the Advertiser and Vox Populi. The Advertiser became more strongly negative about conditions of work, while Vox became more favorable. Neither change was significant statistically, but an inspection of Figure 3 shows a nearly continuous decline in the proportion of unfavorable items in the issues of Vox Populi until 1851. After that the sharp rise in unfavorable items probably indicates a shift in Vox from ambivalency to a clearer affirmation of its position. This change occurred under the alledgedly worsening conditions of the new decade and could be an indicator of those conditions.

Table IV

Values About the Condition of the Worker
by Newspaper Source

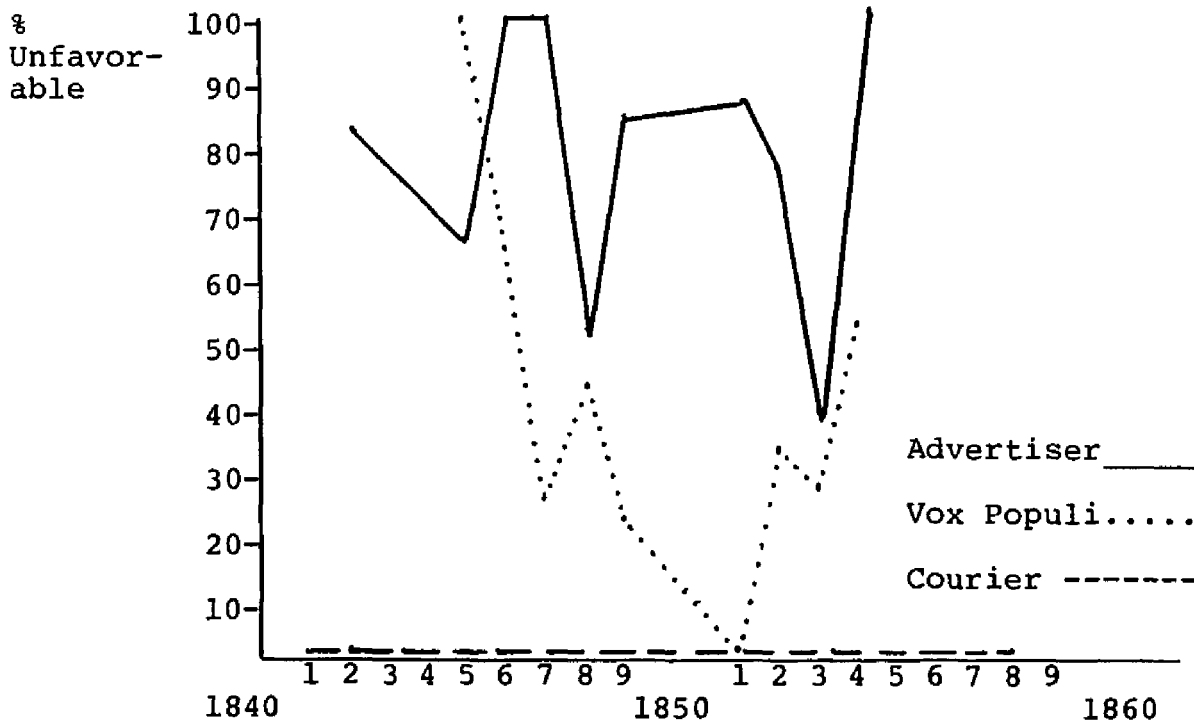
Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfavor-able		Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfav-orable	
Advertiser	4	20	76	56	7	27	66	15
Vox Populi	18	41	41	63	38	38	24	24
Courier	47	53	0	30	83	17	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 52.75 X^2 Between Papers: 15.61

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = .92
Vox Populi = 4.35
Courier = .43

Figure IV

Values About the Condition of the Worker,
by Percentage Unfavorable



Condition of the Worker

There was a strong relationship between newspaper source and favorability, neutrality, or unfavorability about the condition of the worker in the 1840's. With this variable it is the worker as an individual that stands out for comment, rather than some aspect of the impersonal system as with the previous item. From Table IV it is evident that there was a strong polarization between the reactions of newspapers sympathetic and unsympathetic to the factory system. The Advertiser was always ready to print materials outlining the oppression of the worker under the conditions of his work. This was indicated by the willingness to print J. C. Clure's address on the condition of the worker in an issue of 1845. Clure had been a successful organizer of the working man in Britain, and his remarks were carefully reproduced by the Advertiser.¹⁴ Similarly during the same period Sarah Bagley, an outspoken critic of the factory owners and of the journal which tended to praise them, the Lowell Offering, contributed her denunciations to the editorial page.¹⁵ In a particularly significant piece, the Advertiser commented on the alleged increase in individual immorality as Lowell developed the dreaded "permanent factory population".¹⁶ At about the same time that the Advertiser was covering negative conditions surrounding the worker, the Courier was providing its readers with relatively bland assessments of tariff questions, denunciations of John Clure as a "scoundrel, and moralisms

about it being better to "reform men rather than systems".¹⁷

During the same period Vox Populi could be interpreted as assuming a moderating role, dealing at times with topics directly germane to the factory worker and his condition, but often assuming a stance of neutrality as Table IV indicates. Notably on this variable as in some others, such as that about the factory system (Table I) and conditions of work (Table III), Vox Populi becomes less unfavorable in the 1850 decade. Such a shift was probably not due to editorial fluctuations, as inspection of Figure 4 would indicate. A nearly continuous decline in the proportion of unfavorable items about the condition of the worker preceded the 1850 decade, and during that decade previous levels never returned.¹⁸

Societal Effects of the Industrial System

In Tables V and VI is presented one of the strongest overall associations manifested in this study. In the case of both variables the newspapers in this study indicated concern that reflected their respective positions on the key issues associated with industrialization. The Advertiser often railed against what it viewed as conditions of the industrial order denying freedom and control over his own life to the industrial worker. Of greater importance is its perception of these characteristics as threats to a democratic order. While the Advertiser did not advocate

Table V

Values About the Societal Effects
of the Industrial System,
by Newspaper Source

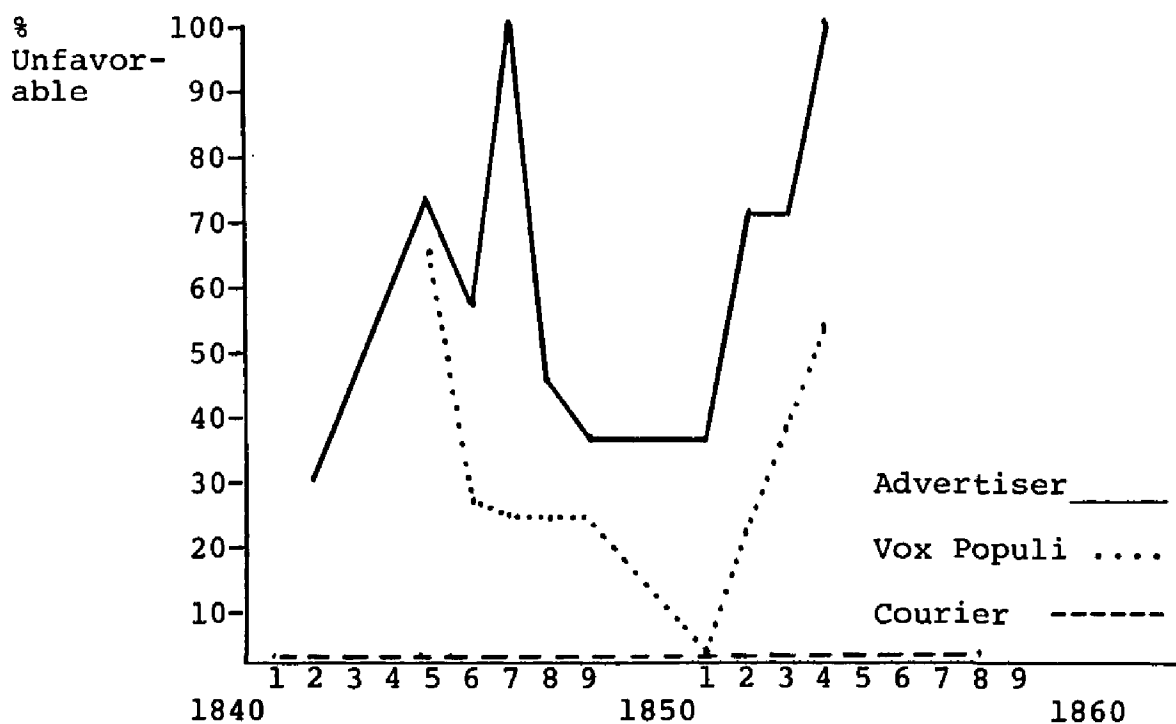
Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able		Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able	
Advertiser	2	48	50	56	6	47	47	15
Vox Populi	18	55	27	63	7	46	25	24
Courier	63	37	0	30	83	17	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 54.19 X^2 Between Papers: 13.29

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 2.06
Vox Populi = 1.52
Courier = .90

Figure V

Values About the Societal Effects
of the Industrial System
by Percentage Unfavorable



an equalitarian social order, it was ready to criticize what could be called "class effects" of the industrial system. The very fact of its emphasis on them and their deleterious consequences was a strong indicator that it perceived them as new and threatening. In doing this the Advertiser and Vox Populi were serving a very modern newspaper role of analysis and interpretation of community and societal developments.

The Advertiser was not the only newspaper to perform this function. Vox Populi, though often casting itself in the role of "moderation" and although it once described itself as a "Whig, native American" paper, was not reluctant to publish and comment upon the unsavory side of Lowell.¹⁹ For example, an 1847 issue described unsanitary conditions of the mills as a contributing cause of a Lowell death rate of "one per 41.68 people".²⁰ While such "straight" reporting was not a direct statement of values, it was significant in being included at all. In a slightly earlier edition Vox Populi attacked the Courier and its editor as a pet of the corporations and lambasted it for threatening freedom of the press.²¹ In 1848 Vox made sharp criticism of the Suffolk Corporation for being a "monied corporation" engaging in an "act of tyranny" when it discharged a worker without due cause.²² But the same paper contained a classic letter to the editor on the hypocrisy of Northern mill-owners decrying Southern slavery, and then the editor states his disagreement with the writer, saying: "The operatives are sovereign and independent: and their oppression is a mere creature of fancy".²³

These statements and the general neutrality of Vox illustrated in Table V figures for the 1840's seem to indicate at least three things. First, there were some aspects of the factory system of the Boston Associates viewed as negative by community members, and all the newspapers were aware of these. Second, newspapers were likely to make strong negative or positive statements of values about these items depending on their opposition to or support of factory interests respectively: in other words, there was real conflict of values in Lowell of this period even though this was one of the most favorable of settings, a community specifically established for industry. In the case of proclaimed "moderate" papers, ambivalency was more common, with attacks on conditions that outraged community sentiment but support of the overall system or neutrality in still other circumstances: for example, an attack on the system from outside the community. Third, the range of opposition values and of fine subtleties of criticism and support of the factory system often found in the same newspaper illustrates the intricacies of community values, and not just the legerdemain of newspaper editors.

In Table V there is no statistically significant shift in positions from the 1840 to the 1850 decades. In fact, the proportions favorable, neutral or unfavorable of each newspaper in both decades are nearly mirror images of one another, and Figure 5 illustrates the difference in the positions of the respective newspapers in both decades.

Table VI

Values About Power Arrangements,
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfavor-able		Favor-able	Neu-tral	Unfavor-able	
Advertiser	2	23	75	56	0	13	87	15
Vox Populi	8	64	28	63	8	46	46	24
Courier	37	60	3	30	17	83	0	6

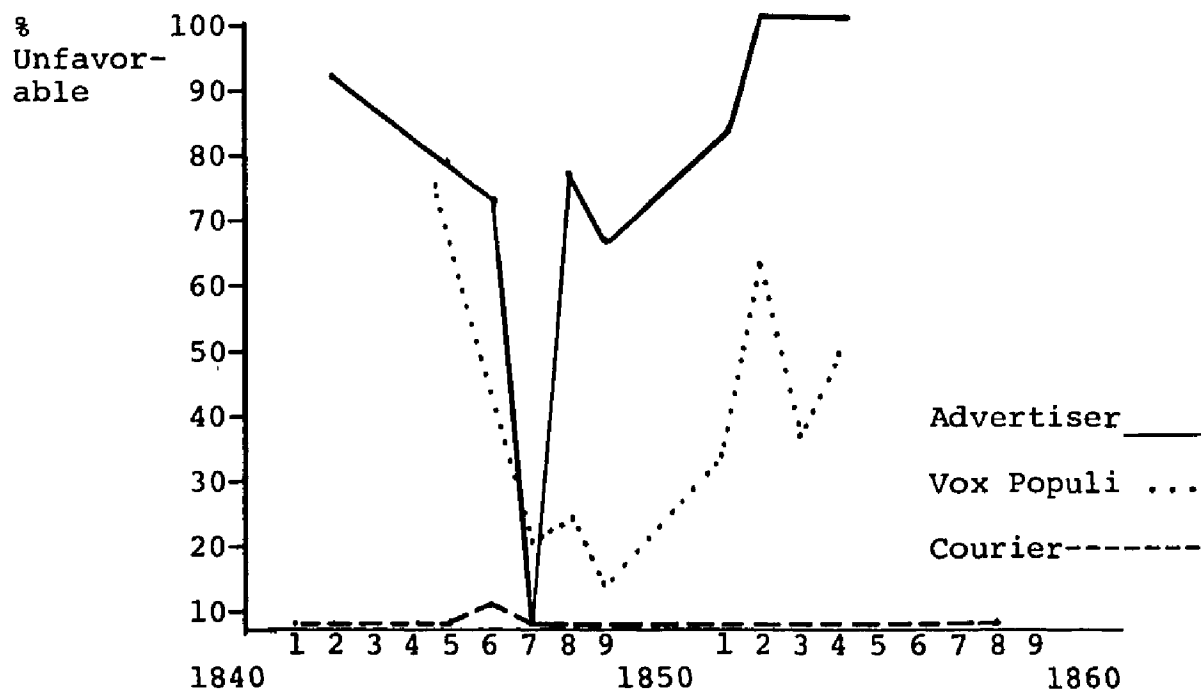
X^2 Between Papers: 61.87

X^2 Between Papers: 14.27

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 1.05
Vox Populi = 2.50
Courier = 1.34

Figure VI

Values About Power Arrangements,
by Percentage Unfavorable



Power Arrangements

Table VI illustrates the special purpose neutrality can serve for those who support a system when that system is under attack. The subject of power obviously touched the Boston Associates very closely, but the organ of their interests was largely silent on this critical issue during the 1840's while the Advertiser allowed its articles on industrialization to be dominated by this subject throughout the decade. For example, in 1842 the Advertiser carried an editorial and letter to the editor on the reduction of wages by the corporations while profits increased.²⁴ In 1845 the Advertiser carried a piece about the "monopolist capitalists" of the corporations "buying" political influence.²⁵ Again in 1848 the Advertiser reported a reduction in wages of the operatives in Lowell as an example of "corporation dictation and oppression".²⁶ Perhaps one of the most damning charges leveled at the corporations and aimed at the unmasking of their alleged hypocrisy was that found in Vox Populi in the 1840's. From the very beginning of Lowell the churches and clergy and the corporations had often reinforced one another. Church membership and attendance was one of the crucial pinions of the original boarding-house system, partly because the corporation owners wished to present an appearance of respectability that would make factory employment acceptable to New England parents who sent their daughters to Lowell. The churches were also important in disseminating the values of the elites and extending the range of influence of the

Boston Associates over the lives of their workers.²⁷ Thus, a charge by a somewhat right-of-center paper like Vox Populi of "Sabbath-breaking" by the corporations was particularly galling to the factory owners. More than once Vox and other papers were able to sarcastically note: The Corporation Dynasty of this city..., early formed and ... maintained a mutual benefit alliance with the clergy and churches..." and Vox continued to run editorials during 1846 that persisted in decrying the power of the corporations to compel their workers to labor on the Sabbath.²⁸ When a foreign observer commented on the number of churches in Lowell, Vox published a comment by Sarah Bagley about the hypocrisy of "Factory Religion".²⁹ Despite all this comment, Vox apparently saw itself as a friendly antagonist of corporation power over the religious sphere, since in 1853 it published a derogatory letter from the Boston Liberator about compulsory church-going in Lowell, and Vox defended the practice.³⁰

Still other negative views of corporate power over the community could be seen in a piece in Vox on the prevention of a theatre in Lowell by manufacturers regardless of voters' wishes; an editorial that deplored the monopoly of Lowell's water supply by the corporations; and, most seriously, a continuing discussion of corrupt political power of the corporations over voters. During the period of this study the issue of corrupt political power is seen as early as an 1842 article in the Advertiser on "improper influence on

the ballot box" by the corporations; a piece on Whig legislation robbing the laborer of rewards for his work; a lead editorial on alleged attempts of the corporations to influence voters in favor of the Whigs; an 1846 article on the unpopular appointment of a Lowell judge believed to be a "tool" of the "corporation dynasty"; an 1851 editorial on the unfair dismissal of employees for political activity; and the 1852-1853 editorials on the investigation by the Massachusetts legislature of corporation threats to dismiss laborers if they voted Democratic.³¹

During this same period the Courier remained silent on many of these issues connected with industrialization in Lowell, choosing instead to engage in scathing denunciations of opposition papers like the Advertiser or airy pieces on "spreading calumny" and "warfare on the corporations".³² The Courier also seemed more concerned with abstract discussions of the philosophy of labor reform and less with specific instances of alleged abuses than either the Advertiser or Vox Populi.³³

In the 1850's the same general relationships held, except that Vox Populi had an equal number of neutral and unfavorable reactions to power arrangements, an increase in negativism that was a reflection of the crucial issues about the power of the capitalists that surfaced in the beginning of the decade. Even for a newspaper like the moderately conservative Vox it was impossible to remain

aloof from the turmoil generated by issues like vote-influencing. Only the Courier remained disengaged from such issues, a largely defensive but distinctly minority position.

Authority of Capitalists

As central community figures, the leading capitalists of nineteenth century Lowell, the Boston Associates, possessed a special significance in relation to the lives of other community members. No one else matched their overall dominance and prominence in community affairs; and judging by the frequent intrusion of the effects of their industrial activities into the newspapers, the newspapers were aware of this (see examples in Appendix II). It was the authority of the capitalists perhaps more than any other item that touched the root of the problem of their activities in an ostensibly democratic political society. As Edward Pesson and Arthur Schlesinger have noted, the democratic ideal of egalitarianism was fiercely promoted as were "fairness", justice, and a strict delimitation of the power of those with money, influence and position. Arbitrariness on the part of capitalists or their spokesmen was quickly seized upon as either typical (in the Advertiser), or as unusual perversions of prerogatives by the factory owners (as in Vox Populi and the Courier). Judging by the 1840 data in Table VII, even the Courier could not remain silent on this central issue even though it seldom found fault with the exercise of that authority. The exercise of

such authority was often portrayed as the measured, benign guidance of the superior wisdom of Lowell's founders, and little mention was made of abuses of the special privileges afforded by being the guiding hand of a community's destiny. The Advertiser was able to capitalize on this dimension by making mostly unfavorable comments in both the 1840's and the 1850's. In retrospect, many of the complaints of the Advertiser and Vox Populi about the authority of capitalists in interpersonal aspects of community life seem small-scale, even trite, or of purely local interest. For example, in 1846 Vox Populi cited a corporation for not fixing a side-walk under its jurisdiction: in 1848 it complained that a corporation watchman had made an illegal arrest with corporation approval; and in 1847 Vox railed against "boarding-house tyranny", citing inordinate corporation control over individual boarding-house owners and the workers who lived there.³⁴ But other newspaper comments were more serious and debate generated by them was more protracted. For example, in 1842 the Advertiser made one of many comments on the arbitrary control by the manufacturer over the wages of workers, and in the same year a letter to the editor in the editor's column commented on the reduction of a worker's wages while corporate profits increased.³⁵ A few years later Vox Populi editorialized on the corporate practice of discharging factory operatives, blacklisting them, and generally being oppressive. The Advertiser complained about a corporation overseer being unfairly dismissed by the Boston

Associates for his political activity, a charge that led to a Massachusetts legislative investigation in 1852.³⁶

Both the minor and the weighty matters cited above may have possessed a special significance. From complaints about sidewalks and corporation fire hydrants to the cutting of workers' wages, community sentiment as expressed in newspapers evinced awareness of the extensive power of capitalists over Lowell life. While the possession of authority to act was tolerated and to some extent seen as beneficial for community welfare, there was never anything "automatic" about the acceptance of industrial capitalists, as Herbert Gutman has shown.³⁷ Although Lowell was established by the industrialists themselves (unlike Paterson, New Jersey, which Gutman described) it was a non-isolated community within an aggressively democratic political society. Such a context at least allows dissent, and with the worsening of relations between workers and employers cited in the literature for this period, it is not surprising that newspapers became carping about any evidence of the non-democratic exercise of authority.³⁸ In contrast to both the Advertiser and Vox, the Courier during the 1840's was either neutral on the matter of capitalist authority or was favorable about its exercise. During the 1850's the relationship between source and values about authority of capitalists remained the same as that of the 1840's, and Figure 7 shows a nearly perfect symmetry of the newspapers' positions throughout the years of this study.

Table VIII

Values About Capitalists'
Paternalism and Benevolence,
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favorable	Neu-tral	Unfavorable		Favorable	Neu-tral	Unfavorable	
Advertiser	0	77	23	56	0	80	20	15
Vox Populi	16	62	22	63	0	83	17	24
Courier	17	83	0	30	17	83	0	6

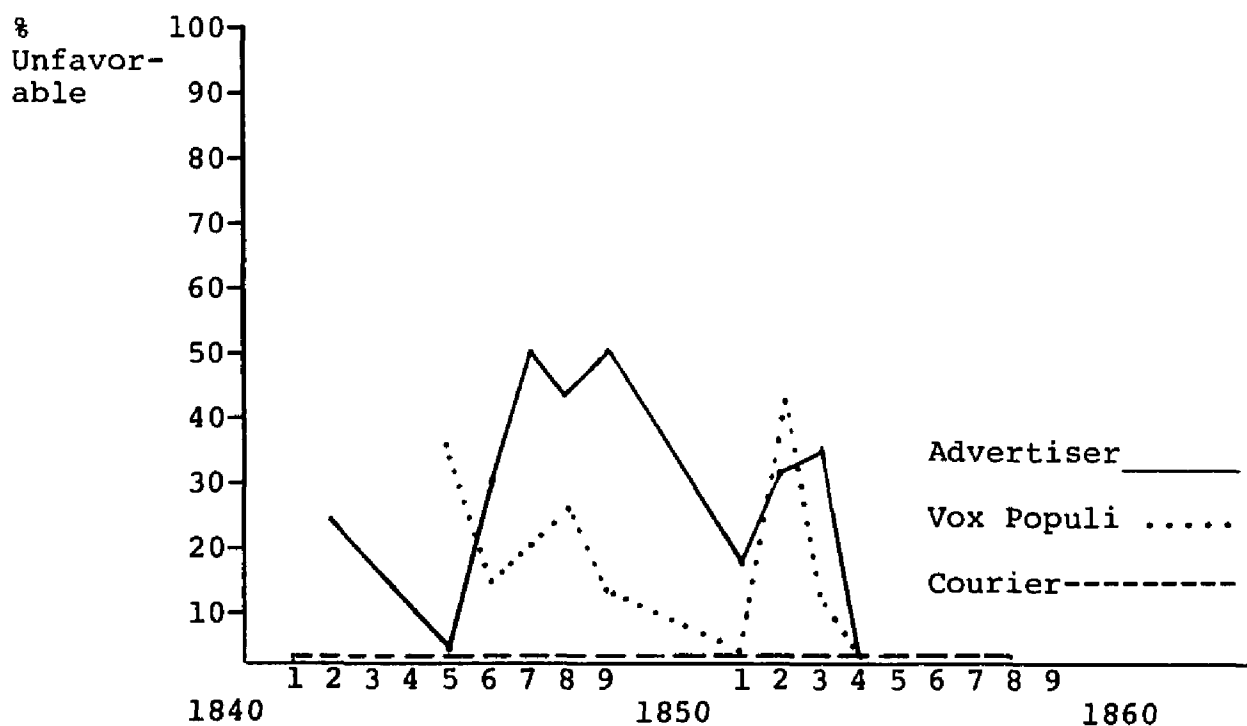
X^2 Between Papers: 17.48

X^2 Between Papers: 7.66

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = .97
Vox Populi = 5.27
Courier = 0.00

Figure VIII

Values About Capitalists'
Paternalism and Benevolence,
by Percentage Unfavorable



Capitalists' Paternalism and Benevolence

In Table VIII the percentages suggest that both for the 1840 and 1850 period, paternalism was not much examined in any of the newspapers. All were nearly always neutral on the subject, although Vox Populi was favorable and unfavorable about equally. One explanation for this absence of comment was that paternalism was much more a feature of the very early factory system in Lowell, with its boarding-house system being used as a model of propriety to insure a controlled work force and to safeguard against any offense to public morality that might threaten the acceptance of industrialism. As the chroniclers of Lowell have indicated, the boarding-house system had changed by the mid-century, becoming less the pristine sanctuary of pious middle class farm girls under corporate protection, than a disjointed collection of private, poorly-managed houses that were themselves at odds with the corporations.³⁹ A less likely but alternative explanation is that the paternalism and benevolence of the factory system was so internalized and accepted by community members that they did not feel it necessary to comment on it. But this explanation does not seem plausible in view of the fact that the Advertiser demonstrated an aggressive stance on other issues, and would not be likely to be reticent about such an obvious feature of the community. Yet the fact of absence of comment by Vox Populi in the 1850's where it had favorably discussed paternalism in the 1840's may be a barometer of worsening

Table IX

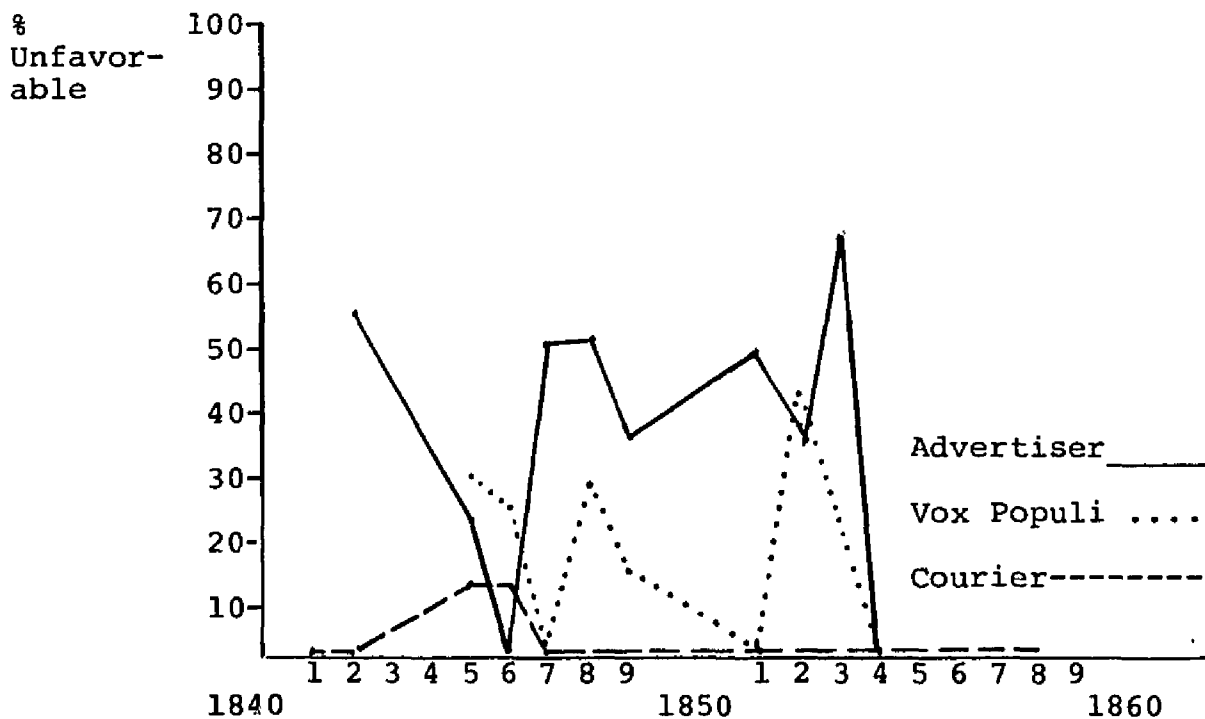
Values About Hierarchical Arrangements,
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable		Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	
Advertiser	0	66	34	56	0	60	40	15
Vox Populi	5	81	14	63	8	67	25	24
Courier	7	86	7	30	0	100	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 13.66 X^2 Between Papers: 5.40
 X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = .21
Vox Populi = 2.05
Courier = .93

Figure IX

Values About Hierarchical Arrangements,
by Percentage Unfavorable



conditions, conditions that Gitelman says were seen as deteriorating by every labor and economic historian but one. An inspection of Figure 8 shows that paternalism was one item least often reported as unfavorable, and for the 1850's this absence was the rule except for one peak period around 1852-1853. It was during these two years that state elections were held that revolved around the Ten-Hours controversy and the attempts of corporations to influence the vote were alleged. It may be that at this time even the "sacred cow" of paternalism could be safely commented upon in a negative way by a moderate paper.

Hierarchical Arrangements

The data in Table IX present an opportunity to speculate on one of the key questions of stratification analysis: the extent of class consciousness in a population. As with John Leggett's contemporary study of class consciousness in Detroit, it is always necessary in such research to use some indicator of consciousness of social class.⁴⁰ Among other things Leggett used what he called "class verbalization" or the ability to use social class terminology as one indicator of class consciousness. In this study of Lowell, expressed values about hierarchical arrangements have been used as such an indicator. The data revealed very limited mention of hierarchical structure in any of the newspapers, although both the Advertiser and Vox Populi mention it slightly and in a negative way. The explanation for the lack of mention may be that the society of post-

Jacksonian America emphasized equality of each person's status to an extent that precluded discussion of what was not seen to exist. As Edward Pessen has indicated in several of his works, equality in mid-nineteenth century American was certainly not a socio-economic reality, but it was an extremely potent part of popular ideology.⁴¹ Inequalities that existed were not seen as permanent, and differences in hierarchy that existed in the factory towns for pragmatic organizational reasons were often lauded as "just desserts" for shrewdness in business, rather than begrudged. There were exceptions. The Advertiser had bemoaned the dangerous growth of an "aristocracy of wealth", of "monied interests" that dominated Lowell life, but it and other papers were prepared to sing paens of praise for the same "interests" when the occasion demanded.⁴²

Paradoxically, in the 1850's when conditions had allegedly worsened, consciousness of hierarchy was no greater. Values about such a matter were probably considered then, as in the 1840's, to be widely-held community sentiment, hardly in need of reiteration except when flagrantly violated, as was the case in the early 1850's in the vote-influencing issue (Figure 9). Under such conditions class consciousness cannot develop.

Social Welfare Orientation of the Social Order

Table X provides one of the strongest examples of a reversal of a relationship between the 1840 and 1850 decades.

Table X

Values About Social Welfare Orientation
of Social Order,
by Newspaper Source

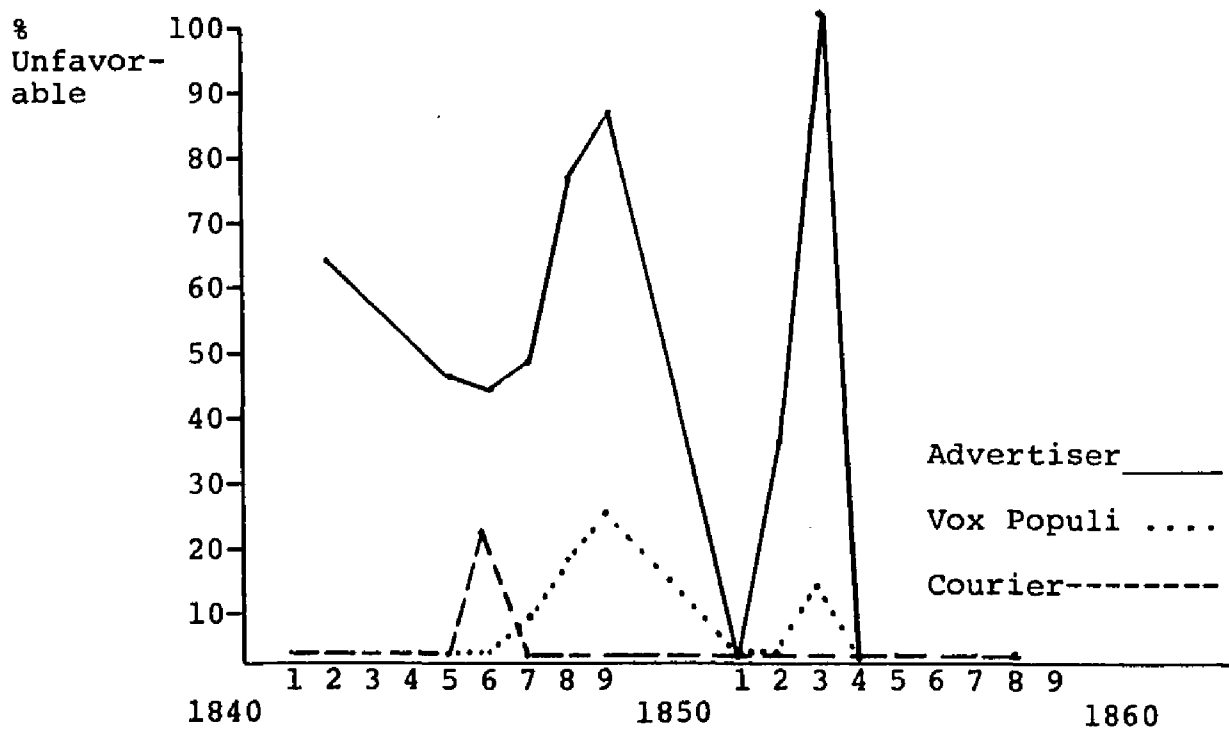
Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Total
	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able		Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfav- orable	
Advertiser	5	34	61	56	7	80	13	15
Vox Populi	32	57	11	63	29	67	4	24
Courier	37	57	6	30	17	83	0	6

X^2 Between Papers: 47.74 X^2 Between Papers: 4.32

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 11.08
Vox Populi = 1.24
Courier = 1.61

Figure X

Values About Social Welfare Orientation
of Social Order,
by Percentage Unfavorable



In 1840 nearly 2/3 of the Advertiser articles on industrialization expressed unfavorable values about social welfare arrangements, while in the 1850 decade the newspaper was largely neutral about this aspect. One likely interpretation of this change could be that in the 1840's the topic of the community's welfare and its connection with the actions of the capitalists was discussed because the factory boarding-house system was still partly in its original paternalistic state of existence. By the 1850's there was little pretense of paternalism in Lowell with the boarding-house system deteriorating as an extension of the factory system and becoming a largely private enterprise. The newspapers included in this study often mentioned the problems between boarding house proprietors and the factories, a fact indicating a measurable alteration in their importance to the factory owners.⁴³

It is significant that as the period progressed there was an increasing number of items about the influx of immigrants into Lowell, and many of the comments in all the newspapers were strongly indicative of rising bigotry.⁴⁴ If such was indeed the case, Lowell's greater heterogeneity was causing some forms of community ties to disintegrate, and it may have become impossible to speak of the social welfare of immigrant factory operatives in the same way that this topic applied to the middle class farm girls of the earlier period.

The 1840's data in Table X are a good illustration of the opposing roles the Advertiser and the Courier were playing during this period. The Advertiser's negative comments were, for the most part, not matched by favorable comments in the Courier but by silence. The occasional breaks in such reserve were brought about as a result of the increasing virulence (of papers like the Advertiser) in their unremitting criticism of corporation actions. For example, in 1842 the Courier spoke of "the spreading calumny" against the corporations as a kind of "warfare" and answered this in part by an editorial stating the importance of the corporations to the welfare of the community.⁴⁵ There were also instances of the Courier's speaking favorably of the contribution of the corporations to community welfare by relatively neutral references to a protective tariff.⁴⁶ On the whole, however, the Courier remained silent about general social welfare, seemingly a surprising stance in view of the importance to the corporations of promoting and maintaining a good public image. A highly plausible explanation for such behavior was the generally reserved tone of Courier editorializing, and this was partly based on the superior power position of the Courier supporters, the corporations. While they did not need to defend themselves frequently, the opposition press of the Advertiser had to repeat its attacks aggressively in order to be noticed. This interpretation is supported by other instances where the corporations were slow to take

Table XI

Values About Special Interest Orientation
of Social Order,
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's			Total	1850's			Table
	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able		Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able	
Advertiser	0	25	75	56	0	27	73	15
Vox Populi	2	57	41	63	0	62	38	24
Courier	0	80	20	30	17	83	0	6

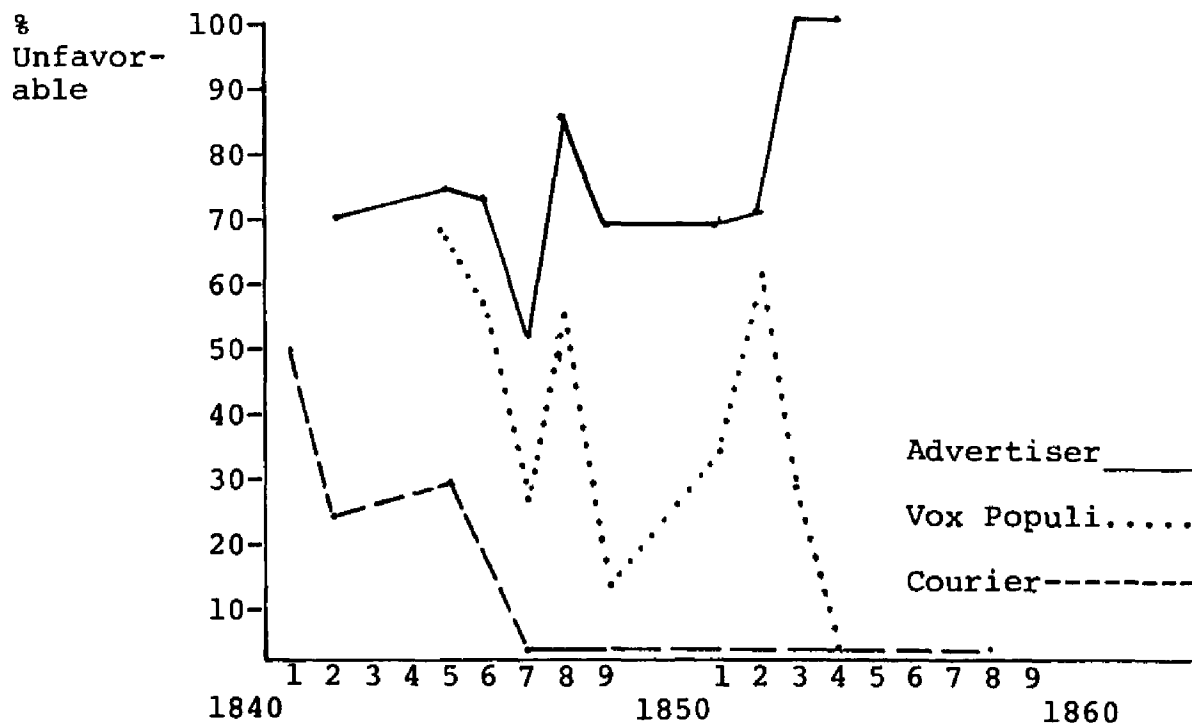
X^2 Between Papers: 27.93

X^2 Between Papers: 15.63

X^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = .03
Vox Populi = .12
Courier = 6.46

Figure XI

Values About Special Interest Orientation
of Social Order,
by Percentage Unfavorable



corrective action in the face of criticism, as for example in the case of blacklisting of workers and the alleged coercion to influence the votes of workers referred to earlier.⁴⁷ Such lethargy is certainly not "neutral" in its consequences and the prerogative of those whose power is stable.

The change of the Advertiser's position from unfavorableness to largely neutrality in the 1850's was statistically significant and may be indicative of a phenomenon already noted; neutrality rather than conflict of values in the face of deteriorated conditions. As will be discussed in the next chapter such a state of affairs may be important enough theoretically to explore separately.

Special Interest Orientations of Social Order

In Table XI it is clear from an examination of the data that the Advertiser played its expected role of critic in both decades, while the Courier remained mostly silent about this variable. An interesting comparison developed in Table XI when viewed against the data for Vox Populi in Table X. In the latter table Vox appears to reverse itself and "side" more with the Advertiser's position.⁴⁸ Such a situation would suggest itself from the avowedly "centrist" position of Vox and the complexity of American political values. In other words, it was possible to accept and praise the state of the "commonweal" while condemning any appearances of favoritism and special privilege that might exist and threaten that social order.

Another interesting feature of Table XI are the data for the Courier. While in both the 1840's and the 1850's the Courier was largely neutral about special interests, when such articles did appear in the 1840's they were unfavorable. Expressing unfavorable values about special interests would seem almost a necessity for any newspaper in a democratic society, but it must be remembered that the Whig position of the Courier would seem to place it on the side of special interests and privileges. If there were any way at all support could be shown for such interests (such as portraying their privileged position as beneficial to the community), it would have probably been done.

However, there is a statistically significant shift in the position of the Courier. In the 1840's it did not comment favorably at all on the special interest characteristics of life in Lowell, while in the 1850's it did. It appears that the paper was not feeling the need to speak unfavorably about special interests in the 1850's. An intriguing explanation for this change may be that in the 1840's the effect of the previous Jacksonian period was still being felt and the Courier was particularly constrained to either remain silent or speak unfavorably about it. By the 1850's important changes had come about in Lowell such as expanded numbers of immigrants in the work force, more difficult conditions in the factories, charges of vote-tampering and legislature investigations

Table XII

Values About Reform
of the Existing Social Order
by Newspaper Source

Newspaper Source	1840's				1850's			
	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able	Total	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able	Total
Advertiser	60	38	2	56	80	20	0	15
Vox Populi	44	56	0	63	42	54	4	24
Courier	23	70	7	30	0	83	17	6

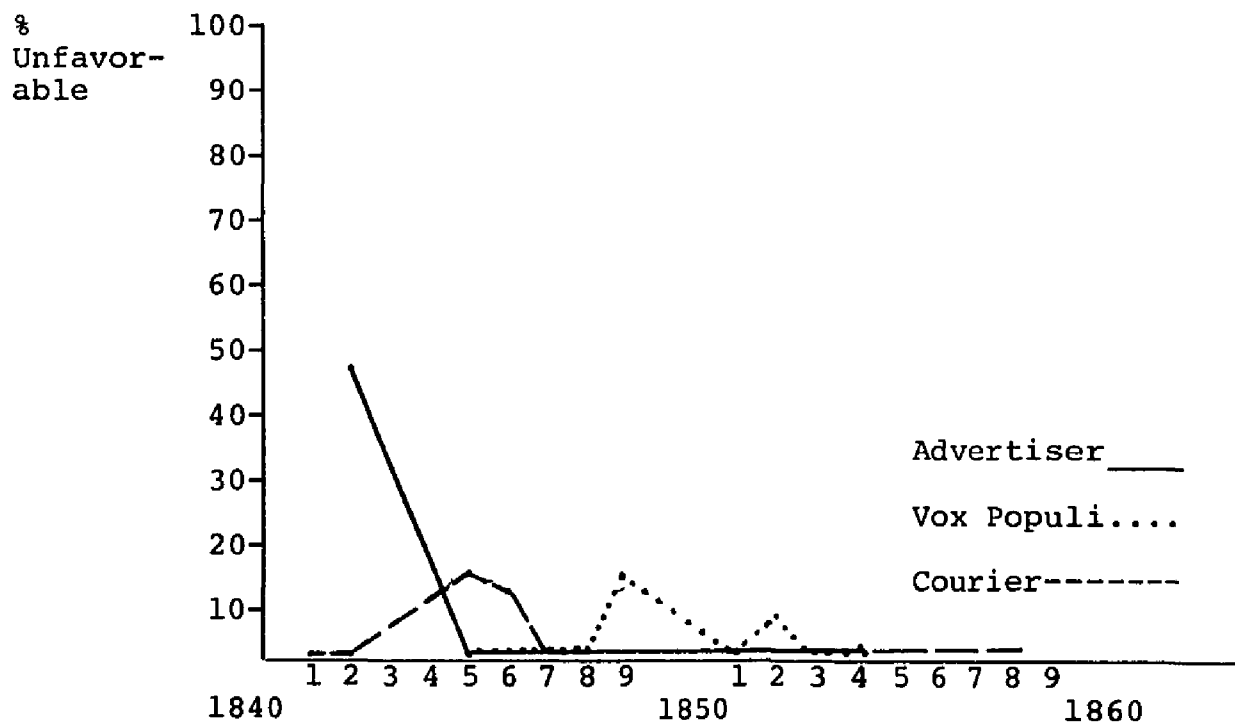
χ^2 Between Papers: 14.80

χ^2 Between Papers: 13.15

χ^2 Between Decades: Advertiser = 2.06
Vox Populi = 2.76
Courier = 17.66

Figure XII

Values About Reform
of the Existing Social Order
by Percentage Unfavorable



of alleged corrupt corporate actions. In such a milieu the corporations may have been "hardening" their "line", and the Courier may have found the duplicity of defending the corporations while attacking special interests an insupportable set of circumstances.

From inspection of Figure 11 it is clear that both the Advertiser and Vox Populi regularly had unfavorable comment, and again in the 1852-1853 years the proportion of these comments rose dramatically.

Reform of the Existing Social Order

In Table XII there is a greater incidence of favorable values expressed by all three newspapers in both decades about reform of the existing social order than about any previous variable of this study. However, the crucial differences between newspapers remains when the type of reform advocated by each is examined. For example, the Courier was most interested throughout this period in changes in conditions that could best be seen as primarily serving Whig interests most directly: reform of the tariff, protection of manufacturing interests in the United States from foreign competition, and changes in community attitudes towards the interests of manufacturers.⁴⁹ Although there were some instances of the Courier's taking the "side" of the underdog in Lowell, it could hardly be typified as doing this. Far more characteristic of championing of the cause of the workingman was the Advertiser. Starting with its lead editorial in January of 1842, its announced policy was to be critical of

corporation actions, not because they were corporation actions but because of what it saw as serious community problems generated by industry in Lowell.⁵⁰ In the same year of this early editorial it demonstrated what it meant by panning the alleged attempts of corporations to influence worker votes in favor of the Whigs, and by chastising the corporations as being "their own worst enemies" in such deliberate acts of manipulation.⁵¹ Throughout the two-decade period of this study the Advertiser concerned itself with such basic reform issues as wages versus excess corporate profits, "monoply capital" buying political influence, striking as a means of reform of the system, reduction of the hours of work to ten, and limitations of corporation power through democratic means.⁵² The classic role of the critic who deals with the specific aspects of a system while the supporter of the system mildly suggests general reform, if any change, is here manifested in the subject matter of the respective papers.

During this same period Vox Populi considered some basic problems and solutions such as overcrowding in the boarding houses, hours of work, and the monoply of the town water supply by the corporations. It occasionally dealt with larger issues such as the alleged ruinous collusion between manufacturers and the Whigs, the discharge of workers for voting a Democratic ticket and the importance of the secret ballot law in Massachusetts as a means of thwarting corporate influence.⁵³ Overall the role of Vox was far less clear than those of the other two papers. It was not

averse to assuming a critical position, yet as often it dealt with different matters by only gently chiding the perceived sources of the problems (usually the corporations). Of the three papers, clearly the Advertiser was most favorable to reform in both the 1840's and the 1850's, and it more often favored reform of the status of the working person than either of the other two papers.

In the following section I shall discuss briefly the remaining variables of the first part of the study that were found to have low statistical significance. All the newspapers were mainly neutral about each of the values in question. This means that in the coded articles about industrialization these variables were simply not mentioned. In the following section I shall try to offer some reasons for this result.

Values About Industrialization: The "No Shows:

The coding schedule was intended to tap those aspects of the industrial system most often mentioned in the literature and expected to appear in the papers. An initial look at the Lowell papers of this study seemed to indicate that they contained an over-all grasp of the effects of industrialization on the community and that most of the variables in the coding schedule would appear.

Values about the use of machinery simply did not appear in the issues of the newspapers included in this study. The subject of machinery's use has been seen as important by numerous writers on the Industrial Revolution,

particularly that in England.⁵⁴ The interpretation of machinery's significance have ranged from workers seeing it as a threat and an object of destruction to its playing a minor, mainly symbolic role.⁵⁵ The simple fact of its newness would seem to guarantee its mention. Its non-appearance may have been due to one or all of the following factors: first, machinery was never seen by people in the United States as the instrument of oppression by a particular class, nor was the machinery seen as fearful in its own right. In contrast to the case of Britain, the peculiar conditions of early nineteenth century America prevented the recognition of anything systematic about whatever exploitation did exist, whether as a general societal characteristic or as channeled through the vehicle of technological development.⁵⁶ Thus, machinery was seldom mentioned as worthy of special attention as an attribute of industrial development. Secondly, a more mundane reason for the absence of this variable may be that Lowell was established primarily as an industrial community from the beginning, rather than being an established non-industrial community into which mass-machine production was introduced. Thus, hostility to machinery was never at issue (though alternatively, its praises could have been sung, but never were). This explanation and a third one, namely that the 1840's and 1850's were too far removed from the beginning of industrialization, are not as likely as the first because the machinery of production was a prominent and relatively

new feature of the working life of the citizens of Lowell throughout this period. It is just that machinery was not singled out as a special feature apart from other aspects of the total process.

For identical reasons the second coding variable, values about science and/or technological solutions to problems was not significant in the newspaper issues of this study. Although science and technology were obviously crucial to what happened at Lowell in the nineteenth century, they were, perhaps rather too complex to be considered by a general newspaper or too acceptable to be called into question as vehicles of progress or exploitation. The so-called "progress of the manufacturing arts" or of "mechanics" was sometimes viewed as a suitable topic for the kinds of newspapers studied here, particularly when they wanted to praise Lowell's progress as a community or the genius of its creators, the Boston Associated. For example, in praise of the founding of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association, the Courier in 1857 expressed favorable values about science and the use of machinery.⁵⁷ Similarly Vox Populi expressed favorableness on the occasion of a visit by President Polk, in celebration of Lowell's founding of another manufacturing town, Hadley Falls, and in the reportage on the visit to Lowell of Hungarian exile Louis Kossuth.⁵⁸

A third variable with non-significant results was that of values about work. In this example the chi-square value

was too low for significance even at the .05 level, and from examination of the data it was evident that all three newspapers had approximately equal percentages of neutrality on this value. As interpreted in this study, this means that in articles on industrialization this variable did not appear and/or was not evaluated. This variable might have been expected to appear, particularly in the Courier if one takes Max Weber's thesis of the Protestant Ethic at all seriously, especially in its application to the United States society of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Where were the ringing injunctions to work because of its salutary effect on the moral character of individuals? Where were the hortatory examples of hard work bringing its own rewards, the Ben Franklin admonitions about work in the chain of cause-and-effect? Apparently neither this variable nor the fourth variable concerned with the "necessity of work" were generally seen as compelling topics of newspaper analysis. The precise reasons for this omission may never be known, but it was evident that favorable statements about these variables were made no more significantly by one newspaper than another.

The next group of significant omissions were those about the political system. Both variables six and seven, dealing respectively with democracy and with socialism, were treated casually by all three newspapers with neutrality being the response 2/3 or more of the time.

Although it can be safely presumed that democracy and democratic principles were important to Lowell citizens, and that the equalitarianism of democracy may have infused their everyday social behavior, democracy and socialism as formal conceptions seemed not to have often entered public discourse. The exceptions occurred when Governor Williams of New Hampshire visited Lowell in 1848 and made a speech on the controls over the privileged and the corporations built into government so that democracy could flourish.⁶⁰ Or the occasional instance when the alleged abuse of power by the corporations could be rendered all the more onerous by contrasting this with democracy.⁶¹ Or when labor meetings such as the New England Workingmen's Convention in Boston could be the occasion of the Courier's supporting democracy while condemning socialist solutions to problems.⁶² Finally, there was the "classic" article by the Courier in which William Channings' lecture on labor reform and advocacy of the abolition of private property was curtly countered by editor Schouler's comment that he believed in "...reform of men rather than systems".⁶³ On the whole, however, overt discussion of democracy or socialism took a decidedly second place to other aspects of the industrial system.

In the section of the coding dealing with "interpersonal" variables (those concerned with social interaction and processes rather than social structure), there were three variables that did not have significant chi-square values:

values about cooperation, about competition or achievement, and about individualism. The data on the cooperation variable show an almost perfect instance of how nearly identically neutral were all three newspapers in the study. It was assumed at the beginning of the study that these three processes would be part of the general value system of a community such as Lowell amidst industrialization, especially when it might be assumed that this society's functioning partly depended on the proper articulation of these values. Because the newspapers of a community can be assumed to have the role of key articulators of values it was assumed that values about cooperation, about the competition and achievement syndrome of western industrializing societies and about individualism (as a crucial feature of the U.S. setting) would be expressed in the papers of this study. Their general non-appearance was partly attributable to a self-imposed and vital limitation of this study; its focus only on the editorial page of each newspaper. In the newspapers of this period some of the best examples of community values were mainly discussed in the front-page anecdotes, homilies, and serialized fiction regularly carried by all three of the newspapers of this study. Especially would it be true that abstractions such as "achievement", "cooperation" and "individualism" would be more difficult to treat in an editorial, and more likely to be accepted and understood when presented in a fictional format. This writer suspects

there is a decided difference between these subjects and the concrete issues of wages, social structure and work conditions that makes their discussion less likely.

Perhaps more significant than the foregoing is another feature of this study. Only articles about industrialization were coded; therefore there may have been many more editorial articles that did contain discussions of the three values apart from the subject of industrialization. Because the mention of industrialization determined the selection of articles included in this study, it may be that these values were discussed on the editorial page but not usually in connection with industrialization.

When these values were discussed in connection with industrialization (and therefore included in this research), they were treated predominantly in two contexts: on the one hand they were often part of vacuous statements on the progressive expansionism of Lowell's industry or on the other, they were part of an article by the Advertiser or Vox Populi on problems of labor. For example, several times the Courier lauded industrial progress, as in the 1857 issue where it predicted that Lowell would "come abreast" of England's Manchester and suggested that achievement and individualism would play a role in this development. By contrast, the Advertiser was unfavorable about achievement when it corresponded to what the paper saw as "ruinous Whig and manufacturers' policies"; and Vox Populi expressed unfavorable values about cooperation in a piece about a

Nashua strike action.⁶⁴ The Courier was not reluctant to use a favorable article on one or some combination of these values when it served its purpose, as, for example, in an 1842 article about the unhappiness of female operatives after a reduction in wages and the salutary effects of a speech by Benjamin Butler (one of labor's champions) not to strike.⁶⁵

Such instances were rare, however, and when messages similar to those above were intended by the newspapers, they less frequently appealed to abstractions like "cooperation", and more often made their point by dealing with specifics like the condition of the worker, wages, and the social welfare orientation of the social order.

There are five remaining variables that did not show significance. Of these, two are related to processes in or conditions of the social order, and the other three deal with changing the social system. One of the two variables, "conflict", seemed to be a logical choice for inclusion because of the potentially abrasive nature of the industrialization process on segments of society such as the workers. The literature on industrialization, both Marxian and non-Marxian, is filled with indications of the potential of industrialism to generate conflict. It was expected that emphasis on conflict or on harmony would not be evenly distributed among all the newspapers of this study but rather likely that discussions of conflict would be more likely to appear in the Advertiser than in the Courier, but it was to be an empirical question as to how

each would evaluate conflict and harmony when these two did appear in the respective newspapers.

To cite the "harmony" variable as an example, the data indicated that for the 1840 decade all three newspapers were largely neutral (96%, 83%, 76% for the Advertiser, Courier and Vox Populi respectively), while for the 1850's both the Courier and Vox Populi were split nearly evenly between favorable and neutral with the Advertiser completely neutral. Although the data for the 1850's are sketchier and interpretations are hazardous, it does seem significant that those two newspapers with the least critical stance were more likely to evidence favorable values about harmony in the social order. The increase in this emphasis in the 1850's may be indicative of the more strained relations prevalent in Lowell during that decade, and a perceived need to discuss this quality self-consciously in newspaper articles. Again it is the connection between industrialism and discussion of the harmony variable that is of interest rather than general discussions of harmony in the society. The very fact of non-occurrence followed by appearance, during a decade of special significance to the development of industrialization in New England, may indicate (although speculatively at this point) a change in community characteristics that the emphasis on harmony was calculated to correct.

Similarly, for the three remaining variables concerning reactions to the characteristics of the social order, there

was neutrality about "political solutions", "patient acceptance" and revolutionary change" of the system. This could indicate that these reactions were not considered in relation to industrialization, possibly because of its relative newness, and because specific programs and alternatives had barely been considered. In this connection it is useful to recall that "reform" of the social order did appear as a significant variable. While the "political solutions" variable referred to specific political change affecting industrialization, the "patient acceptance" referred to community willingness to accept industrial conditions; and while the "revolutionary change" variable concerned drastic social alteration, the "reform" variable was an indicator of gradualist general social change evaluated in the newspapers. The difference between these other variables and that of reform may have to do with the mildly reformist nature of a democratic polity, a system that usually eschews both patient acceptance (meaning "non-change"), and drastic or direct political intervention that might signify a threat to the political order.

In the concluding chapter that follows, the findings of this study reported in this chapter will be assessed against the background of other known information about values during this period.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The key question raised in Chapter I and discussed in Chapter V was about the actual values of the population of Lowell concerning various aspects of industrialization and the extent of conflict or consenses on these values. Three newspapers were used as representatives of Lowell's population, and the results of the examination of their expression of those values were portrayed in Chapter V. It was anticipated that this study would contribute a partial answer to the fundamental question of whether industrialization in the United States took place within the context of value consensus or conflict.

Aside from the well-known portrayals of the mid-nineteenth century by later writers, relatively little is known of the values in an industrial community from first-hand sources such as popular periodicals. This question is of particular interest because Lowell was a community specifically founded for industrial purposes and in one way is analogous to the modern industrial state. The latter's overarching characteristic is assumed to be the prevalence of the industrial experience, and as sociologists such as Ralf Dahrendorf have indicated, it is very problematic indeed how such a state functions.¹ Thus, this study has attempted to illuminate this subject and has presented its data in tables contrasting the 1840's and 1850's; it has graphed yearly fluctuations and it has

used an Index of Unfavorability to clarify any value differences that might appear.

Overall, the results clearly show that: 1) there was strong conflict of values about industrialization in the community of Lowell, Massachusetts in the mid-nineteenth century; 2) the two papers opposed to one another in relation to the industrial system generally did not much change their positions from one decade to the next; while the moderate paper lessened its criticism; and 3) there was consensus on many major aspects of industrialization per se, but conflict on many of its specific economic and structural characteristics. Before considering these major findings, it might be useful to review the research questions posed in Chapter I and to assess the results in terms of them.

While some variables originally thought important did not appear, the items concerned with the factory system, wages, condition of the worker, societal effects of the industrial system, power arrangements, authority of capitalists, social welfare and special interest orientation of the social order were expressed as favorable or unfavorable depending on newspaper source. That is, the Advertiser and Vox Populi took the expected position on these issues in accordance with their role as critics of the industrial system, while the Courier predictably assumed an aggressively supportive posture, or remained generally non-committal about these variables. Initially

these results may appear disappointingly unrevealing, but from the vantage of this paper's major concerns as outlined in Chapter I, such results are seen as quite significant. To recall the discussion presented in Chapter I, the writer visualized the key problem of this research as the determination of "values in the industrial community of Lowell, Massachusetts", thereby revealing whether it had a consensual or conflictual basis from which to develop.² This was presented as an important research problem on industrial society because of the extensive discussion in the sociological and political science literature of value consensus or dissensus in the industrial state. If, on the one hand, value consensus is the norm, then the accomplishment of industrializing a society is not very problematic. If, on the other hand, value dissensus on most issues is the norm, then industrialization can only be accomplished in spite of value conflicts. Furthermore, if the latter is the case, it becomes important to examine how "non-democratic forms (the social structural products of industrialization) are maintained and accepted within an ostensibly democratic political milieu with a presumed emphasis on egalitarian political values".³ This research shows that value conflict was the norm on most key issues associated with industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century city of Lowell, and that the newspapers of this industrial community were used as carriers of those differing values, providing a rough guide to the actual value structure in this city.

A conflict of values might be expected from one kind of argument, namely that which sees the rise of manufactures in United States history as a difficult process. According to this line of reasoning, "industrial consciousness" was somewhat slow to develop mainly because of unfavorable economic and social conditions in the United States.⁴ Therefore it might be expected that there would not be consensus on a phenomenon that was viewed by some as negative, and by others as an unknown.⁵ On the other hand, with equal likelihood it might be expected that Lowell's unique history of being established specifically as an industrial community would tend to create considerable value consensus. Apparently this latter expectation cannot be supported by the data of this study.

This evidence of value conflict seems to answer the second major question discussed in Chapter I; namely, the contrast between elite and working class values in Lowell. Of course, not all elites were represented by the Courier because the existing elites were not monolithic. But as Paul Goodman and others emphasize, the Boston elite who directed the Lowell system was remarkably unitary in many respects, being connected by family and business ties and a common code of ethics.⁶ And there seems little doubt that the Courier, published during most of the years of this study by William Schouler, an outspoken advocate of manufacturing interests, was an organ of the capitalist elite.⁷ Thus it seems safe to conclude that the data from

the Courier were representative of at least the business elite of Lowell. On the other hand, working class values are more difficult to scrutinize because the Advertiser was not specifically a workers' paper. However, both in stated policy and in the composition and reportage of its articles, it clearly favored the working-man's interests, while Vox Populi was a more moderate paper than either.

Differences of values between parts of the population of Lowell during the 1840's and to a lesser extent during the 1850's, were associated with the different newspapers according to their acknowledged sympathies toward the system.

However, what was not expected was the high level of consistency in values for the Advertiser and the Courier, and the changeability of the moderate Vox Populi's value positions.

While there was also a considerable body of commonly-held values such as that of reform, numerous points of difference emerged from the respective newspapers. It should be kept in mind that both values and the social structure were "emergent" (that is, developing) during this period in American history, and to use Parkin's distinctions discussed in Chapter I, there were at least "dominant" and "subordinate" values in Lowell, overlapping on some issues and at certain times, even though the more typical response was to express conflicting values. It was noted earlier that absolute consistency in the expression

of values was not a feature of any of the newspapers, because even a critical paper like the Advertiser could rail against corporation abuses while singing the praises of Lowell's founders. It is contended here that such a position was not totally inconsistent because in New England, unlike Britain, criticism of industrialization was seldom criticism of technology itself. Technology was accepted here, and this would be the case particularly in Lowell, a city founded for industrial purposes. But the negative results of technological applications under the factory system established by the Boston Associates obviously could not be accepted in all its details, and was criticized more stringently by those who supported working class values. The data of this study, therefore, suggest that for a democratic capitalist country like the United States, there can be a real but not irrevocable split between the values of different segments of the population with respect to the operation of industrialization without an inevitable condemnation of the total system.⁸ Instead, in industrial society, the capitalist system of social relations was not so much criticized by the community as the open flaunting of community norms, and this negativism was not automatically extended to the larger political system. Thus, in the data of this study the abuse of authority was criticized by all the newspapers at one time or another, but expression of values about democracy and socialism did not appear.

The consideration of this question logically leads to the third; what was the relative significance of consensus and conflict of values on key aspects of industrialization in Lowell? In the last chapter it was pointed out in the discussion of corporate power that an increase in unfavorable values about such power appeared in the 1850's in the moderate paper Vox Populi.⁹ This was interpreted as a possible response to the supposedly worsening conditions of the factory system during the decade, and it illustrates how a conflict in values may intensify during periods of community stress. Vox Populi is a particularly good illustration of this because previous to this decade it had been markedly ambivalent, reflecting its middle position on the battleground of community sentiment. This previous ambivalence may be indicative of changing values that became generally unfavorable with declining conditions.

There were also periods when the silence of newspapers on key issues may have been as significant as the assertions of opposing value positions. There are two types of silences of this type by the newspapers. One was a general silence by all three papers, as in the values discussed in Chapter V as "no shows".¹⁰ The virtual non-appearance of these variables was probably due to a variety of causes peculiar to the unique nature of each variable as discussed at the end of Chapter V. The second type of omission was selectively used and reveals a more general pattern of handling subjects likely to be in conflict. One of these subjects

connected with the factory system was wages, a critical topic for those defending or criticizing Lowell's form of industrialization. From the data of this study, it is evident that the opposition press made wages a central and unfavorable theme of more than 50% of its articles on industrialization, while this was the case in only 10% of the articles from the factory-oriented press, and in only 14% of the articles in the moderate press.¹¹ The reaction to the power variable showed a similar kind of neutrality in the 1840's, as did the variables dealing with authority of capitalists, hierarchical arrangements, and special interest orientation of the social order. All of these subjects were certainly potential and real points of contention during this period as evidenced by the Advertiser's generally unfavorable reactions to them.

Yet another way of handling conflicting values is the championing of an issue other than that taken up by the opposition paper. This was the case, for instance, with the condition of the worker. As noted in Chapter V, at the same time that the Advertiser was commenting on the negative conditions surrounding the worker, the Courier was running articles discussing tariff questions, denouncing opposition spokesmen, and engaging in abstract moralisms.¹²

Thus, four possible different techniques used by newspapers to handle issues of industrialization have emerged in the Lowell papers of this study.

1) First and obviously, newspapers may take a position in

line with their sympathies toward the industrial system as it was manifested in a community like Lowell. This was evident in the graphing of each variable in Chapter V.

2) Second, all the newspapers may remain relatively silent or neutral on given issues, reflecting some of the particular conditions described in Chapter V as associated with certain variables. This was the result in thirteen of the 27 items coded in this study.

3) Third, a newspaper critical of the factory system may discuss a given issue connected with it, while the newspaper supporting the system remains silent. This was evident in nearly all the graphs of negative responses presented in Chapter V. The Courier was generally the silent newspaper. Such reluctance to speak out could be an indicator of either of two mutually exclusive things: very secure status of a group that could refrain from engaging in public debate, or a group's insecurity that could not risk public scrutiny of an unpopular position. I believe the latter seems more likely as an explanation because the Courier was the only newspaper to keep silent on just those issues that were unpopular in the democratic climate of post-Jacksonian America. As indicated in Chapter V, for example, the Courier did not comment on power arrangements even though this was a vital issue in mid-nineteenth century Lowell (see p. 13 of Chapter V and those following).

4) Fourth, a newspaper critical of the system may discuss issues directly while the supportive paper counters with

a discussion of a different issue, or by some other device that amounts to an attempt to obscure the issue. The Courier used this device in the discussion of the conditions of the worker and again in the really heated public debate about influence on the ballot. These were issues of great importance in a democratic society and yet the Courier could only engage in a defensive counter-attack on its opposition.

In summary of these and previous points, the significance of values about industrialization in mid-nineteenth century Lowell was that they formed a polarizing axis for emerging community sentiment. Absence of comment on a given issue by one newspaper did not necessarily indicate consensus among community groups, but may have been a deliberate attempt of one newspaper to avoid confrontation with community values. This does, in fact, provide an indirect clue to what those community values were if this thesis is correct. The general decline in the absolute number of comments on each issue revealed in most of the Tables (but not in the proportion of unfavorable comments), probably indicates, along with the high proportion of unfavorable comments, an important change in community life. In other words, things were bad enough, but it was less possible to comment on them. The increasing heterogeneity of the population and the generally worsening conditions, including the erosion of paternalism, probably produced less of a true "community", except among the remaining mill girl employees.¹⁴

Finally, some issues expected to appear did not do so frequently enough for consideration here because of special conditions in the community at that point in history, such as the decline of paternalism during these decades. Overall this result would seem to indicate that researchers will have to consider some aspects of industrialization as historically unique preventing ready generalization.

These points lead the observer to the answer to the fourth question: the relation between values of interest groups or other distinct segments of the social structure and other values in the community. At least two interest groups were represented in this study: the workers in the factory system (plus their Democratic supporters), and the industrial capitalist founders of Lowell and owners of the corporate factories. Unfortunately, at the present stage of knowledge about values and attitudes of populations in history, there is no standardized base of comparison to illustrate how the values of interest groups differ from the values of other community members. A recent sociological study by Herman Lantz pointed to the difficulties of analysis and gaps in the study of value patterns in history that studies using content analysis can help to fill.¹⁵ Essentially the data of this study help to complete some of those omissions and combined with other historical material, provide the sort of data needed for answering the kinds of questions posed here.

In the case of Lowell, the values of the corporate business elite were well-known. As discussed in Chapter III, they seemed to form around a cohesive core comprised of a set of ethical norms about personal performance, as well as a sharply self-conscious sense of their own value to the community.¹⁶

The Courier articles used in this study clearly reflected this latter view and explicitly advocated those political and other measures necessary to consolidate the position of the corporate elite.¹⁷ Besides the elites associated with the large corporations, there were so-called "private" industries organized along non-corporate lines and referred to by Vox Populi.¹⁸ Despite the existence of such articles, nearly all the articles studied dealt with the corporations whose nerve center was the Boston Associates, and these were the principal feature of Lowell's industrial-business life. For the Boston Associates the evidence of this study suggests a narrowness of values that certainly could not have encompassed the values of very many of the citizens of Lowell, and newspapers that supported them reflected those interests.

The Advertiser, by addressing itself to a variety of the issues of this study rather than frequently remaining silent (as did the Courier), appeared to represent a wider spectrum of community values, and along with the moderate Vox Populi, there was broader representation of values than in the Courier. For example, the graphs included in Chapter

V reveal a non-responsiveness on the part of the Courier that contrasted with the fluctuating negativism of the other two papers. Also, the Courier was more often neutral on issues about which the other newspapers responded strongly, as with wages (Table II, Chapter V) and power (Table VI, Chapter V). Much of this suggests that one interpretation of events of that period is correct, namely: that the industrial capitalists rather than the workers were the "newcomers" who had to legitimate themselves.¹⁹ This contention seems supported because on every issue that vitally touched the interests of the Boston Associates the Courier remained silent or discussed other concerns. For example, the wielding of social power is difficult to publicly defend but easy to attack, so on this variable the Advertiser and other papers did confront this issue but the Courier avoided it. This was generally true with other items such as the authority of the capitalists and the social welfare orientation of the social order (Chapter V, Tables VU, VII and X). The capitalists represented and were, in fact, special interests in the community, and in the emerging democratic climate of the post-Jackson era they were fair game when their actions could be portrayed as overstepping the norms of that climate.

But the more truly suggestive point is that genuine conflict of values did exist in the industrializing community of nineteenth century Lowell, consensus was minimal and often ambivalent (as in the case of Vox Populi), and

that values in the community were emergent rather than fully defined, and responsive to changing community conditions.

The fifth and sixth major questions were: How are values expressed through newspapers; and what is the role of the newspaper in a literate industrializing society? It is evident that values about industrialization were expressed in the newspapers of Lowell through the editorial page with sufficient frequency to conclude that they were attempting, in G. David Garson's words, "attitude mobilization". Garson's point is that because socio-economic conditions generate "multiple consciousness" rather than unity in a population, capitalism can attempt to mobilize or activate the non-radical side of the consciousness, and will do so in its ascendent period.²⁰ It does appear that the Courier was attempting to tap the non-radical component of the population's values while the Advertiser was more radical. Garson thought this was possible only if there were a change of economic conditions or the erosion of elite power. Both Garson's comments and this study's data are suggestive on this point, and it would be interesting to focus systematically on this aspect of the problem in another study. Content analysis could help to correlate changes in newspaper editorial appeals with fluctuations in economic conditions and/or the shifting power of the capitalists and do it with more precision. The newspapers of Lowell attempted to mold as well as reflect

public values sharpening the issues seen as crucial by their editors, transforming the prosaic nature of events into vehicles of social change or consolidation of special interests. In the function of introducing social change they acted much like the "cultural broker" described in anthropological literature.²¹

However, in a society such as that of the United States, it does seem that the role of the newspaper differs from that in a third world country industrializing today. First, unlike the contemporary case, newspapers in mid-nineteenth century Lowell were not the carriers of a completely alien culture of modernization to a society that was essentially traditional, although within the system that existed they were emphasizing more strongly than ever before the element of social hierarchy as undesirable or as justifiable. Second, the newspapers addressed themselves to an audience which already understood and possessed opinions on many of the issues treated. Third, the audience for these papers had to compete with one another to some extent, and this probably had some retroactive effect on the treatment accorded issues.²² These special conditions lead to the conclusion that newspapers in a society like that of Lowell's were important carriers of community values, perhaps even more than they were molders of community opinion. The observer gains confidence that the findings were fairly accurate reflectors of community values, because otherwise these papers could not

have survived, based -- as they were -- on community subscriptions and existing in a competitive newspaper market.²³

Most of the related minor questions have been independently treated in the discussion of the findings in Chapter V, but some reiteration will serve to summarize the data. First, this study has shown that the concern about the factory system was directed at specific conditions of industrialization and its societal effects even though there was awareness and concern over the factory system generally. While historically the period of greatest overall challenge to the industrial system and the proposal of alternatives by the early labor reformers was the 1840 decade, the date of this study do not indicate much difference in values about the factory system overall between the 1840's and the 1850's (Table I, Chapter V). Most specific conditions of industrialization were known about and subject to reflection sufficiently so as to appear in the papers of this study although there were major exceptions referred to earlier (Chapter V, pp. 26-35).

The second related question was about systematic variations in the perception of conditions of industrialization in Lowell during this period. This study has shown that the supporters of the factory system and its critics differed considerably and fairly consistently in their views of its conditions, even in Lowell, a community specifically founded for industrial purposes. This finding is viewed

as significant in light of the "democratic consensus" view of American politics, calling that view into question as adequate or accurate for the American socio-political system. Only on one variable, that of reform of the system, did they appear to agree. But as discussed in Chapter V, closer inspection indicated that the kinds of reform advocated varied according to newspaper source, thus revealing continuous difference among newspapers.

The third related question to which an answer was expected was the effect of historical events on the evaluation of industrialization. While the research was not undertaken specifically to answer this question systematically, it was expected that there would be some indications of a relation between events and newspaper reactions. The problem of selecting the appropriate events exists, but some patterns are revealed by the graphs presented in Chapter V and it appears that at least one of the fluctuations can be associated with a part of Lowell's history. Near 1851-1852 there appears a sharp change on most of the graphs, and it was at this time that there was a state election in which vote-tampering by the corporations was an issue. This is the kind of sensitive issue that could be expected to evoke newspaper reaction and it was at this time that "power arrangements", "condition of the worker", "societal effects", "authority of capitalists", and "special interests" graphs all showed sharp increases in unfavorable reactions for the Advertiser and Vox Populi. During the

same time the Courier remained mostly neutral. For purposes other than those of this research it would be possible and revealing to explore the relations between historical events in Lowell and changes in values through a "time series" such as that used in economics.²⁴

The final question concerned the overall differences between the 1840 and 1850 decades. The only differences significant at the .05 level were the following: Vox Populi showed a significant shift relative to "values about the factory system", changing from mainly neutral in the 1840's to mostly favorable in the 1850's. Apparently in regard to the factory system overall, Vox resolved its earlier ambivalence (about equally favorable and unfavorable in the 1840's) and became largely supportive of the factory system in the following decade (Table I). In regard to wages, only the Advertiser had a significant shift between decades, being mainly unfavorable in the 1840's but largely neutral in the 1850's (Table II). Since the Advertiser had not changed its editorial policy during the same period, the most probable conclusion was that the wages issue had become less significant for reasons not immediately evident. As indicated in Chapter V, there is reason to believe that wages held some symbolic significance for workers besides whatever monetary consequences followed from wage reductions. Caroline Ware has indicated that the "...last years of the period before 1860 witnessed a tendency toward the depression of wages" which were met by increasing numbers of strikes

after 1850, none of which brought a halt to "the process of wage reduction".²⁵ Declining coverage of wages as an issue in spite of their importance could indicate increasing fatalism, resort to other avenues of redress, or that wages were important as a "cause celebre" when it still seemed possible to effect them but not when this was clearly not possible. Ware notes that the wages of mill operatives for the "corporation" mills were on the average \$2.50 per week, which was higher than most other employments and initially necessary to attract the middle class females to the mills. Perhaps the concern over wages in the 1840's was a kind of startled and outraged reaction to what was an obvious flaw in the vaunted paternalism of the factory system, a reaction that changed as the reductions became a constant feature of the system.²⁶

There were only three other cases of chi-square values for shifts between decades that were significant statistically. One was for the Advertiser regarding the "social welfare orientation" of the social order (Table X); the other two were for the Courier regarding "special interests" and "reform" (Tables XI and XII). The Advertiser had shifted from a position of nearly 2/3 unfavorable responses to the social welfare orientation of social order to an 1850's position of nearly unanimous neutrality. The two changes for the Courier involved on the one hand, a reversal about the special interest aspect of the social order: from unfavorable in 1840 to partly favorable in 1850 (Table XI).

Although it is true that in all three of these cases the majority of the coded articles were neutral on these topics, such changes as occurred probably indicate an important difference for the 1850 decade. Despite declining conditions, the newspapers of this study simply did not continue to address themselves to the salient issues of industrialization. The conditions of community life may have been so deteriorated - or at least, so altered - that comment about the social order as it related to industrialization was no longer attempted. In fact, a kind of counter-attack of conservative forces in the community may be evident in the Courier's position illustrated in Tables XI and XII. There it appears that the Courier was actually able to begin cautiously favoring special interests and to oppose social reform by the 1850's! An equally likely reason for the abandonment of issues about industrialization in the 1850's has been offered by Norman Ware. Ware notes that in the 1840's an air of expectation was evident in the various reform movements dealing with Free Soil, the Ten-Hour system, religious evangelicalism, communitarian movements and Abolitionism. But by 1850 "the bubble had burst- the Prophetic Age of American history had ceased to be". The slavery struggle, the settlement of the American continent and the discovery of gold in California all served to diffuse and disarm the struggles of the previous decade, and this change may help explain the far lower number of articles in the 1850's on industrialization questions.

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated that the values of an early industrial community in the United States were generally in conflict regarding matters vital to community functioning. Thus, the contention of those social scientists who see industrial society as based on a conflict of values but held together by power relations is lent some support. This study has indicated that there also existed an apparent ambivalence of values that could have accurately reflected the complex, changing character of American cultural values and institutions. It further hints at the somber reality that the worsening of community conditions did not necessarily help to sharpen antagonisms, but to mute and largely neutralize previous points of conflict under the influence of diverting conditions such as immigration, geographic mobility, and sensational issues like slavery. Such a result could have been the harbinger of the future passivity of the American labor force as industrialization advanced and overwhelmed the worker with its distractions.

NOTES FOR PREFACE

1. C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
2. E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Random House, 1963); Eric Hobsbawn, Primitive Rebels (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959); J. L. and B. Hammond, The Town Laborer (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917); Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost: England Before The Industrial Age (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965).
3. A point I shall emphasize repeatedly in the following chapters because it underlies a contemporary classic confrontation in the social sciences between two divergent views of social order. For an important statement of the two views and their points of convergence, see Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis", American Sociological Review 28, no. 5 (October, 1963), 695-705.
4. The repeated uses of the words "monopoly", "privilege", "monied interests", "corporation dictation and oppression", the "buying of political influence", and "corporation dynasty" plus similar terms in the newspapers and pamphlets of mid-nineteenth century America clearly and, I think, irrefutably indicate a sense of outrage and concern over a social system developing in increasingly non-democratic directions. See Appendix II for some excerpts from such writing.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. See Paul Mantoux, The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927) and Phyllis Deane, The First Industrial Revolution (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1967).
2. For a discussion of the range of reaction represented by two contemporaries of early industrialization see K. J. Fielding and A. Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy: Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau", 19th Century Fiction, 24 (March 1970), 404-427. For a laudatory assessment of industrialization by a factory operative see Harriet Farley, Operatives Reply to Hon. Jere. Clemens, Being a Sketch of Factory Life and Factory Enterprise, and a Brief History of Manufacturing by Machinery (Lowell: S. J. Varney, 1850).
3. Saint-Simon and August Comte were among those early sociologists who saw the possibilities for organizing society around the enormous potential of 'industrialism'. See Raymond Aron's summary of Comte's thought on this subject in Aron's Main Currents in Sociological Thought, Vol. I (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 68 ff. Schemes for the incorporation of industry into utopian societies abounded during the nineteenth century. For a description of some of these designs, see Leo Loubere, Utopian Socialism: Its History Since 1800 (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1974).
4. See Max Weber's works for an understanding of the new and especially relevant growth of bureaucracy in the modern world. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), Chapt. VIII, pp. 196-244.
5. Louis Hacker is one of those historians who sees the unitary character of industrialization in his The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of Forces in American History to the End of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947).
6. Some of the most explicit attempts to follow causal sequences have been the studies of achievement orientation as a precursor to economic growth. See David C. McClelland's The Achieving Society (Princeton, N.J.: D. van Nostrand, 1961) and Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1962).

7. This view informs such works as that of Richard Peterson, The Industrial Order and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973).
8. The list of materials on these subjects is enormous. Alvin Toffler probably has the modern "classic" on the study of the future in his Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970). See also Alvin Toffler (ed.), The Futurists (New York: Random House, 1972). C. Wright Mills has written most cogently on the character of modern life in his White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). Irving L. Horowitz's major work using the concept of the "third world" is Three Worlds of Development, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). The material on labor is referred to in my bibliography. See especially, Paul Faler, Working Class Historiography (expanded pamphlet version of article that originally appeared in Radical America, March-April, 1969). (Lynn, Mass: People's Printing Co-op, 1969).
9. Most political science and political sociology texts at least examine if not outwardly stress the importance of consensus for the political system. Irving L. Horowitz provides a good summary of the Enlightenment threads of the consensus versus conflict argument in his Foundations of Political Sociology (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), especially Chapter 3, pp. 19-52. The question of legitimacy per se is at least as old as Max Weber's The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: Free Press, 1947, originally published as Part I of Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in 1922) and is continued in such contemporary works as the following: Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy", American Political Science Review (March 1959), especially pp. 96-111; J. W. Prothro and C. W. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Basis of Agreement and Disagreement", Journal of Politics 22 (1960), 276-294; Seymour M. Lipset, "Value Patterns of Democracy: a Case Study in Comparative Analysis", American Sociological Review 28 (August 1963), 515-531.
10. Ralf Dahrendorf is one of the outstanding proponents of this view, especially in his Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959). See also Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956) for an examination of conflict's binding functions in the human group, and Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1961)

for a study of general value patterns among different groups in the U. S. Most modern "radical" sociologists would assume the conflict model as a prerequisite to adequately evaluating the modern polity, finding the functionalist one emphasizing consensus to be bankrupt on several counts. It seems evident that very recent radical scholarship is providing us with a needed re-interpretation of American history generally and industrialization specifically. An example of an article of this genre is Bruce C. Johnson, "The Democratic Mirage: Notes Toward a Theory of American Politics", Berkeley Journal of Sociology 13 (1968), 104-143, in which the basis of consensus in pre-Civil War nineteenth century America is examined from a non-establishment view. Also see Michael Mann, "The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy", American Sociological Review 35 (June, 1970), 423-439 for an examination of empirical studies in the literature on the extent of consensus and dissensus on American values among the working classes. The discussion of conflict versus consensus in the social system generally has been discussed in the literature under the functionalist debate. See particularly, Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis", American Sociological Review 28, no. 5 (October, 1963), 695-705.

11. See W. S. Han, "Two Conflicting Themes: Common Values versus Class Differential Values", American Sociological Review 34 (October, 1969), 679-690; William G. Beau, "Puritan versus Celt, 1850-1860", New England Quarterly VII (1934), 70-89; Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860", American Quarterly XVIII (1966), 437-451; Howard M. Jones, "The Unity of New England Culture", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society LXXIX (1967), 74-88. Maurice F. Neufield, "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson", Labor History 10, no. 1 (Winter, 1969), 5-43.
12. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict ...
13. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 81-82.
14. One of the most readable sources on industrial "walkouts" during this period is Hannah Josephson's The Golden Threads: New England Mill Girls and Magnates (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949) and this is probably one of the better sources for accuracy as well because other accounts were usually written by people directly connected with Lowell who tended to discount the frequency and importance of

these early collective actions by labor. Published materials during this period were plentiful, but the one that overshadowed all others in notoriety (but not critical content) was the Lowell Offering, published from 1840-1845. For an assessment of this work see Rita M. Foley, The Lowell Offering (Durham N.G.: unpublished M. A. thesis, University of N.H., 1944). Examples of critical material were published in newspapers but some other sources were the following: Citizen of Lowell (sic), Corporations and Operatives: Being an Exposition of the Condition of Factory Operatives, and a Review of the "Vindication", by Elisha Bartlett, M.D., (Lowell: Samuel J. Varney, Printer, 1843); Israel of Old (sic), Easy Catechism for Elastic Consciences: Comprising the Creed, Articles of Faith, Covenant, Signs and Tokens of the Incorporated Sabbath and Labor Christians of Lowell (Lowell: no publisher given, 1847); J. C. Ayer, M.D., Usages and Abuses in the Management of Our Manufacturing Corporations Lowell: C. M. Langley & Co., 1863); Charles Cowley, The Ten Hours Law; Argument Delivered Before the Joint Special Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature upon the Hours of Labor, in Behalf of the Petitioners for a Ten Hour Law, March 22, 1871 (Lowell: Stone & Hase, Printers, Vox Populi Office, 1871).

15. Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1947). See also, Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964).
16. See Thomas Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962); John R. Commons, History of Labour in the United States, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1918); and Charles H. Hession and Hyman Sardy, Ascent to Affluence: A History of American Economic Development (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969).
17. Hannah Josephson's treatment of the activities and values of the Associates is both entertaining and informative. See her The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates. A more narrow but well developed exposition of Associate values is to be found in Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860", American Quarterly, XVIII (1966), 437-451.

18. H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish," Labor History, VIII (1967), 227.
19. Caroline Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1931), p. 60.
20. V. S. Clark, History of Manufacturing in the U. S. 1607-1860 as quoted in John Chamberlain, The Enterprising Americans: A Business History of the United States (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).
21. Hannah Josephson.
22. The manufacture of machinery to stock the mills is one example of supportive industry. See George S. Gibbs, The Saco-Lowell Shops (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
23. See Caroline Ware, Chapter IV.
24. This aspect of the Lowell story is described in Chapter III of this paper.
25. Norman Ware's labor-oriented work cited in Note 15 is an excellent example of the use of newspapers of the nineteenth century to demonstrate the nature of the attack on the factory system.
26. See Richard L. Power, "A Crusade to Extend Yankee Culture, 1820-1865", New England Quarterly, XIII (1940), 638-653; Lawrence Lader, The Bold Brahmins: New England's War Against Slavery, 1831-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Dutton, 1961); John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954) for some of the issues connected with the industrial system in New England. See Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964). The general history of industrialization as well as that of Lowell and New England is concerned with some of the key considerations of western civilization: the rights of man, democracy, the value and conditions of labor, distrust of class privilege, belief in the possibilities of social change. In the case of workingmen's associations of the Jackson era in the United States (immediately preceding the period of this study) Edward Pesson distinguishes at least eighteen items that reflect these concerns and from which the items of this study were adapted. See

Edward Pessen, Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement (Albany, N.Y.: State Univ. of New York Press, 1967); and his "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jacksonian Era", Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLIII (1956), 428-443. The history of the "Factory Question" has been treated in a variety of sources, some of the more useful being the following: Foner, History of the Labor Movement ...; Ware, The Industrial Worker...; Ray Ginger, "Labor in a Massachusetts Cotton Mill, 1853-1860", Business History Review XXVIII (1954), 67-91; Robert G. Layer, Wages, Earnings and Output in Four Cotton Textile Companies in New England 1825-1860, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952; Josephson, The Golden Threads; Charles E. Persons, "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts" in Susan M. Kingsbury (ed.), Labor Laws and Their Enforcement (New York: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1911); H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish", Labor History VIII (1967), 227-253; K. J. Fielding and A. Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy: Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau", 19th Century Fiction 24 (March, 1970), 404-427.

27. Gitelman notes the special importance of Lowell as does H. Wright in his "Uncommon Mill Girls of Lowell", History Today 23 (January, 1973), 10-19. A more significant indication of Lowell's importance is to be found in the numerous assessments of foreign observers like Charles Dickens and Harriet Martineau. See Marvin Fisher, Workshops in the Wilderness: The European Response to American Industrialization, 1830-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).
28. For a synoptic modern discussion of elites see Geraint Parry, Political Elites (New York: Praeger, 1969).
29. See Edward Pessen's inciteful comments on this point in his Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969), especially Chapters 2 and 3. Also see Chapter III of this paper.
30. The terminology, "worlds of development" is taken from Irving L. Horowitz's important work, Three Worlds of Development: The theory and Practice of International Stratification 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).
31. Ralf Dahrendorf makes extensive use of these terms in his Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society but I am only assuming their heuristic value and do not wish to formally defend them.

32. Herbert Gutman takes this position relative to industrial capitalists in nineteenth century Paterson, New Jersey in his "Class, Status and Community Power in Nineteenth Century American Industrial Cities. Paterson, New Jersey: A Case Study," The Age of Industrialism in America, ed. Frederick C. Jaher (New York: Free Press, 1968), and his "Industrial Invasion of the Village Green," Transaction (May-June, 1965), 385-390.
33. See R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969).
34. Newspapers are sometimes treated as one of the important communication indicators of modernization. See Daniel Lerner's, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York: the Free Press: 1964). For a period previous to that of industrialization see Richard L. Merritt's Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).
35. See the work by Phyllis Deane cited in note 1 and the tracts comparing Lowell and British industrialism such as that of the Reverend William Scoresby, D.D., American Factories and Their Female Operatives; With An Appeal on Behalf of the British Factory Population, and Suggestions for the Improvement of Their Condition (Boston: William D. Ticknor and Co., 1845).
36. One of the many questions that E. P. Thompson discusses is that of the direction of protest about industrialization as in his The Making of The English Working Class (New York: Vintage, 1963)
37. Herbert Gutman, "Class, Status and Community Power....," and his "Industrial Invasion of the Village Green".
38. Paul Faler, Working Class Historiography.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. See Karl Marx, The German Ideology, trans. and ed. by S. Ryazanskaya (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1964); Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader (New York: W. E. Norton & Co., 1972); and H. B. Acton, "Ideology" in Tom Bottomore, ed., Karl Marx (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973). Acton says: "...there will be a sub-class who specialized in the production of ideas. Since these ideas are produced from within the dominant class, they will be imposed upon the whole society." (p. 114).
2. For analysis of the crucial role and vantage of elites, see Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1968).
3. For this point see Ralph Miliband's, The State in Capitalist Society (New York: Basic Books, 1969) especially Chapters 7 and 8. See also G. William Domhoff, "How the Power Elite Set National Goals" in Robert Perrucci, The Triple Revolution: Social Problems in Depth (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971) and Domhoff's, Gabriel Kolko's and other researchers' many recent works on "power elites".
4. C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 30-46.
5. This is the position taken by Hyman Rodman in his "The Lower-Class Value Stretch", Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), 205-215.
6. See W. S. Han, "Two Conflicting Themes: Common Values versus Class Differential Values", American Sociological Review, 34 (October, 1969), 679-690. For an assessment of the different views of class, see Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), especially Chapter Five. An earlier work of great usefulness in assessing the differing views of class is: Milton Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958). If social class refers to relationship to the means of production, then it is accurate to speak of middle class people doing blue-collar work as part of the working class, as in the case of Lowell.

7. See Lewis A. Coser, Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict (New York: Free Press, 1968).
8. Herbert Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) is a modern Marxist statement of this view. For a testing of consensus and conflict theories, see Michael Mann, "The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy", American Sociological Review, 35 (June, 1970), 423-439.
9. Anthropologists distinguish in a similar way between written and oral traditions, the more formal written tradition being the possession of the higher levels of society because of their education.
10. An important study of this period for England is Charles Booth's Life and Labor of the People of London, 5 vols. (London: Kelley Publishing Co., 1902). The little-known side of victorian morals is portrayed in Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians (New York: Basic Books, 1974).
11. Florence Fluckhohn, and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Co., 1961).
12. This point was made in Chapter I, note seven.
13. Studies such as that by John C. Leggett include a cross-section of items tied into the theme of class consciousness. See John C. Leggett, Class, Race, and Labor: Working Class Consciousness in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
14. See such works as Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brenda Sexton, Blue Collars and Hard Hats (New York: Random House, 1971); David Laibman, "Technologists -- Part of the Working Class", Political Affairs 48 (April, 1969), 52-59; and John C. Leggett, Race, Class and Labor.
15. The "modernness" of alienation is an observation made by Robert Blauner in his Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 166-182.
16. See Melvin Seeman's comments on the importance of the idea of alienation to sociology in his "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review 24, vol. 6 (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.
17. See John C. Leggett, Taking State Power: The Sources and Consequences of Political Challenge (New York Harper and Row, 1973).

18. Note that Charles Anderson tries to resolve divergent findings on alienation and class consciousness in his The Political Economy of Social Class (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), especially in Chapter 7.
19. Ada W. Finifter, ed. Alienation and the Social System (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971).
20. Blauner, pp. 166-182.
21. Retrospectively the separation of workers and employers can seem very exploitive and alienating, although some historians have seen it otherwise and have stressed the equalitarian nature of nineteenth century America as we shall discuss in Chapter III.
22. Ada F. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation" in Ada F. Finifter, p. 189.
23. Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1960); S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," Social Problems 9, no. 1 (Summer, 1961), 86-97.
24. Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brenda Sexton, Blue Collars and Hard Hats (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971). Also see Melvin L. Kohn, Class and Conformity: A Study in Values (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969), especially his Chapter 5, "Orientation to Work, Society and Self," pp. 73-87.
25. Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).
26. See Ada W. Finifter, pp. 181-211.
27. Anderson, pp. 180-181.
28. Maurice Zeitlin, "Alienation and Revolution", Social Forces 45, no. 2 (December, 1966) 224-236.
29. Leggett, Taking State Power, pp. 130-136.
30. John C. Leggett, Class, Race and Labor: Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 39.
31. Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, trans. & ed. by T. B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 167-177.

32. See Irving L. Horowitz's discussion of this point relative to three arguments on the working class in his Foundations of Political Sociology (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 510 and ff.
33. Selig Perlman, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).
34. Morris Rosenberg, "Perceptual Obstacles to Class Consciousness", Social Forces, 32 (October, 1953), 22-27.
35. See the lengthy discussion by Eugene Schneider in his Industrial Sociology: The Social Relations of Industry and the Community, 2nd edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969), especially, pp. 392-293.
36. Leggett, Taking State Power, pp. 102-103.
37. Leggett cites the paradoxical cases of the British working class and that of the United States during the mid-1940's. Leggett, Taking State Power, pp. 103-104.
38. Sexton and Sexton, pp. 198-202. Also Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horten, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action", Social Forces, 38 (1960), 190-195.
39. Leggett, Taking State Power, pp. 133-135. Frank Parkin discusses this outcome in his Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies (New York: Praeger, 1971, pp. 97-102.
40. See John H. Goldthorpe, et al. The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 55.
41. Robert Blauner.
42. See Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingman's Movement, 1829-1837 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960); Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).
43. John R. Commons et. al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, 4 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1910). My point is that newspapers and other circulated printed matter contains much untapped material on this subject.

44. James Boggs cites these changes and their probable consequences in his, The American Revolution: Pages From a Negro Worker's Notebook (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1963), especially Chapter I.
45. Norman Ware's work is superb in exploring labor class concerns in relation to unions. See Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964).
46. Samuel Yellen, American Labor Struggles, 1877-1934 (New York: Monad Press, 1974).
47. Seymour M. Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (New York: Basic Books, 1963).
48. Lipset, p. 175. Dorothy Wedderburn makes a similar comment on American values in describing social welfare in the United States. See her "Facts and Theories of the Welfare State" in Milton Mankoff, The Poverty of Progress: The Political Economy of American Social Problems (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), pp. 190-206.
49. For a picture of American propensity to trade union violence see Arthur M. Ross and Paul T. Hartman, Changing Patterns of Industrial Conflict (New York: John Wiley, 1960); Louis Adamic, Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America (New York: Viking Press, 1934).
50. Maurice Newfield, "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson", Labor History, 10, no. 1 (Winter, 1969), 5-43.
51. Susan and David Allmendinger, Jr. (eds.), The American People in the Industrial City (West Haven, Conn.: Pendulum Press, 1973), especially Chapter IV, pp. 101-132.
52. As Hannah Josephson charges. See Hannah Josephson, The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949). See Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Hours of Labor and Condition of the Industrial Classes, House Document no. 98 (1866) and Carroll D. Wright, Report on the Factory System of the United States. United States House Document, Miscellaneous 42, part 2 (47th Congress, 7th Session, 1913).

53. See J. C. Ayer, Uses and Abuses in the Management of Our Manufacturing Corporations (Lowell: C. M. Langley & Co., 1863) for an exception to this description. More representative of my statement here is Elisha Bartlett, M.D., A Vindication of the Character and Conditions of the Females Employed in the Lowell Mills, Against the Charges Contained in the Boston Times, and the Boston Quarterly Review (Lowell: Leonard Huntress, Printer, 1841).
54. G. David Garson, "Radical Issues in the History of the American Working Class", Politics and Society, III (Fall, 1972), 25-32.
55. Paul Goodman, Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860", American Quarterly, XVIII (1966) 437-451.
56. Starting with C. Wright Mills', The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956) the research on elites has included such works as the following: E. D. Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class (New York: Free Press, 1958); Gabriel Kolko, Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution (New York: Praeger, 1962); G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America? (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967) and his The Higher Circles: The Governing Class in America (New York: Random House, Inc., 1970).
57. Paul Goodman, p. 437.
58. Hannah Josephson takes this view in her book, The Golden Threads.
59. See Oscar Handlin and Mary Handlin, Commonwealth, A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861. rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969. Also see Samuel Rezneck "Rise and Early Development of Industrial Consciousness in the United States", Journal of Economic and Business History, 4 (1932), 784-811.
60. The early history of towns such as Lowell give evidence of other elites, but often these were not in opposition to industrial elites and in some cases, for example, with the clergy, were even openly supportive of capitalists. See Hannah Josephson, and Charles Cowley History of Lowell, 2nd ed. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1868).

61. The tariff question was a continuing controversy throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century. See Charles H. Hession and Hyman Sardy, Ascent to Affluence: A History of American Economic Development (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969) and Louis M. Hacker, The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of Forces in American History to the End of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947).
62. Whigs generally favored domestic manufactures but Democrats did also. Splits that occurred tended to be about specific issues within industrialization such as the tariff, the banking question and later, "wage slavery". See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1945), especially Chapters 6-12.
63. Robert H. Lamb, "The Entrepreneur and the Community" in William Miller, (ed.) Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).
64. See Howard Mumford Jones, "The Unity of New England Culture", Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LXXIX (1967), 74-88.
65. For an illustration of the mixing of such sentiments see Richard Lyle Power, "A Crusade to Extend Yankee Culture, 1820-1865", New England Quarterly, XIII (1940), 638-653.
66. Howard Mumford Jones, p. 77.
67. Rev. William Scoresby, D.D., American Factories and Their Female Operatives; With an Appeal on Behalf of The British Factory Population, and Suggestions for the Improvement of Their Condition (Boston: William D. Ticknor and Co., 1845).
68. Howard Mumford Jones, p. 77.
69. Israel of Old (pseudonym), Easy Catechism for Elastic Consciences: Comprising the Creed, Articles of Faith Covenant Signs and Tokens of the Incorporated Sabbath-Labor Christians of Lowell (Lowell, 1847).
70. Harriet Farley, Operatives' Reply to Honorable Jere. Clemens, Being a Sketch of Factory Life and Factory Enterprise, and a Brief History of Manufacturing by Machinery (Lowell: S. J. Varney, 1850).

71. Charles Cowley, History of Lowell, 2nd rev. ed. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1868), p. 149.
72. Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1947).
73. Nathan Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell (Lowell: Penhallow, 1858).
74. Amos A. Lawrence to Freeman Hunt, June 9, 1855, as quoted in Frederic Cople Jaher, "The Boston Brahmins in the Age of Industrial Capitalism" in Frederic Cople Jaher, ed., The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values (New York: The Free Press, 1968).
75. Bruce C. Johnson, "The Democratic mirage: Notes Toward a Theory of American Politics", Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 13 (1968), p. 371.
76. Ibid., p. 370.
77. Much of Johnson's analysis is taken from Louis Hartz's discussion of the liberal tradition in America as in his book The Founding of New Societies, (1964), in which Hartz used the term "fragment society" to describe nations formed from Europe.
78. W. S. Han, "Two Conflicting Themes..."
79. Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Social Forces (December, 1963), 390.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Caroline F. Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1951) p. 3.
2. Ibid., pp. 4-8. Ware discusses the fact that although Alexander Hamilton encouraged the growth of manufactures around the time of the late eighteenth century, even into the first quarter of the nineteenth century there was little support for his views in the rest of the country.
3. Ibid., pp. 6-8.
4. Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Chicago Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. XI.
5. Oscar Handlin and Mary F. Handlin, Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774-1861 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), especially Chapter 3, pp. 51-86.
6. Ibid., pp. 71-73.
7. Ibid., p. 162
8. Ibid., pp. 183-184; Caroline Ware, pp. 9-11.
9. Nathan Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom and The Origin of Lowell (Lowell: B. H. Penhallow, 1858), pp. 8-9; see also Margaret T. Parker, Lowell: A Study of Industrial Development (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940), pp. 59-60. A factory for spinning cotton had been set up at Beverly, Massachusetts in 1787 by the Cabots, relatives of Lowell's founder, Francis Lowell. But this factory was driven by horse power, all operations were not under one roof and it closed in the 1790's as a failure. See Caroline Ware, pp. 19-20.
10. Water power was, of course, crucial to early industrial development prior to the introduction and application of the stationary steam engine. New England and Massachusetts particularly were favored with numerous water power sites though only a few were as powerful as that at Lowell. See Robert G. LeBlanc, Location of Manufacturing in New England in the 19th Century (Geography Publications at Dartmouth, no. 7, 1969).

11. The three original investors were Francis C. Lowell, Warren Dutton, Kirk Boott, Nathan Appleton, and Patrick Tracy Jackson with Raul Moody as the chief mechanic and Kirk Boott as the first Treasurer and mill agent or overseer. See Charles Cowley, History of Lowell 2nd rev. ed. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1868), pp. 42-47.
12. Caroline Ware provides an interesting account of the success and decline of the Slater mills owned by Almy and Brown, derived in part from their Company papers. Although she sees these mills as financial successes and as the "father" of the cotton industry in the U.S., she is definite about their lesser influence on industrialism generally. See Caroline Ware, Chapters II, III, and Chapter IV, p. 60.
13. For a description of the roots and interconnections of one of the key families in this industrial venture see Ferris Greenslet, The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), especially Chapter 5, pp. 154-160.
14. For a discussion of the interlocking character and centralized control by a few families of the manufacturing of New England, see Thomas H. O'Connor, Lords of the Loom: The Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), pp. 28-41.
15. One of the most readable, detailed, and sociologically aware social histories of the New England cotton magnates and their relation to the state is in Hannah Josephson's, The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949), pp. 170 and following.
16. Hannah Josephson, p. 171. See also Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945) for portrayals of the Massachusetts statesmen of the period.
17. Thomas H. O'Connor, pp. 35-38.
18. Hannah Josephson, pp. 99-104.
19. Frederic Cople Jaher, "The Boston Brahmins in the Age of Industrial Capitalism" in Frederic Cople Jaher, ed., The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 193.

20. Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 71-72.
21. Bruce C. Johnson, "The Democratic Mirage: Notes Toward a Theory of American Politics," in Milton Mankoff, ed., The Poverty of Progress: The Political Economy of American Social Problems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), pp. 362-390.
22. Handlin, Chapters 4 and 5. See also John P. Davis, Corporations: A Study of the Origin and Development of Great Business Combinations and of Their Relation to the Authority of the State. 2 vols. (New York Putnam, 1905).
23. Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 283-284.
24. Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860," American Quarterly, XVIII (1966), 437-451.
25. Frederic Cople Jaher has documented this influence on intellectual and commercial elites in the reference cited above. The Boston Associates thought of themselves and were in many respects a "family". Kinship linkages became common, not only between Boston commercial, industrial and intellectual elites, but between them and elites from other areas of the country including the South. See a description of the latter in Thomas H. O'Connor, pp. 47-50.
26. Hannah Josephson, pp. 84-85, 107-111.
27. Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America in the Year 1827 and Patrick Shirreff's Tour Through North America.
28. Harriet Martineau, Society in America ed. and abridged by S. M. Lipset (New York: Doubleday-Anchor, 1962, originally published 1837). For an analysis of the debate between Miss Martineau and Charles Dickens and an assessment of her views on industrialism, see K. J. Fielding and A. Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy. Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau," 19th Century Fiction, 24 (March 1970), 404-427.
29. Hannah Josephson, pp. 178-185.
30. Ibid.

31. What follows on the nature of Boston elite value systems owes much to the excellent essay by Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise..." and scattered other sources, while the implications drawn are principally the responsibility of the present author.
32. Goodman seems to find much written evidence of the essential caution and moderation esteemed among Boston businessmen as they wrote about themselves and as they were described in eulogies. See Paul Goodman, pp. 448-450.
33. A view of the boarding house system as a necessary palliative to the families and communities from which the mill girls came is seen in George F. Kenngott, The Record of a City: A Social Survey of Lowell, Massachusetts (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), p. 8, and in Hannah Josephson, pp. 70-72.
34. Even contemporary writers from various fields find the mill housing and general urban design of nineteenth century Lowell and Manchester, New Hampshire an instance of well-intentioned planning and execution of a plan showing paternalistic concern for human welfare. See John Coolidge, Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts 1820-1865. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), originally published in 1842), pp. 47-48. Also Randolph Longerbach, "Lost City on the Merrimack", Boston Sunday Globe Magazine March 9, 1969, pp. 21-26.
35. For a description of the decline of the boarding house system by an agent of one of the mills see George F. Kenngott, pp. 46-48.
36. Caroline Ware, pp. 198 and following.
37. See Marvin Fisher, Workshops in the Wilderness: The European Response to American Industrialization, 1830-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) for a copious introduction to the manifold aspects of European interest in the nature of industrialization in the United States.
38. Ibid. Also see Rev. William Scoresby, D.D., American Factories and Their Female Operatives; With an Appeal on Behalf of the British Factory Population, and Suggestions for the Improvement of Their Condition Boston: William B. Ticknor and Co., 1845; K. J. Fielding and A. Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy: Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau."

39. Marvin Fisher, pp. 7-9.
40. Fisher carries out this theme, in Chapter III as does Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (New York: Praeger, 1964).
41. C. Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture, pp. 109-115; Josephson, p. 56.
42. Josephson, p. 206.
43. The description and documenting of some of these operations can be found in George S. Gibb, The Saco-Lowell Shops: Textile Machinery Building in New England, 1813-1849 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
44. William A. Scoresby.
45. Douglass C. North, The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860 (New York: 1965; Edward C. Kirkland, Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948); Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).
46. Norman Ware, p. 6.
47. Ibid., p. 9.
48. A revealing account of the pressures on the Irish and their resulting migration can be seen in Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849 (New York: The New American Library, 1962). See also Barbara Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England Tradition (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).
49. George Kenngott, p. 26.
50. Mill agent W. S. Southworth as quoted in Kenngott, pp. 26-27.
51. H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish", Labor History, VIII (1967), 233.
52. Norman Ware, pp. 30-31.
53. For a discussion and criticism of the statistics of labor for this period see Edith Abbott, "The Wages

- of Unskilled Labor in the United States, 1850-1900", Journal of Political Economy, 13 (June, 1905), 321. See especially Table XXII which shows the comparatively low wages for all classes of factory workers.
54. Gitelman, p. 237.
 55. Josephson, pp. 218-219.
 56. See J. C. Ayer, M.D., Usages and Abuses In The Management of Our Manufacturing Corporation (Lowell: C. M. Langley and Co. 1863); Dr. Josiah Curtis, Brief Remarks on the Hygiene of Massachusetts, More Particularly on the Cities of Boston and Lowell (Philadelphia: American Medical Association, 1840). Kenngott discusses the miserable living conditions of a later period and cites scanty information for the pre-1860 period in Chapter IV, pp. 64-109.
 57. Voice of Industry, December 21, 1846 as quoted in Josephson, p. 221.
 58. For newspaper indications of these points see Boston Times, July 13 and July 19, 1839; Voice of Industry, July 10, July 17, September 11, 18 and 25, 1845; January 2, March 27, April 3, September 18 and 25, 1846 and other issues through 1848; Lowell Advertiser January 3, December 5, 14, 23, 30, 1842; March 12, 1845, June 10, September 19 (good discussion of "Capital" and "Labor":, October 24 and November 18, 1848 (in which there is strong editorial on arbitrary power of capitalists plus comparisons with foreign countries) plus other years through the 1850's. These newspapers were not alone in discussing such matters, and with the exception of the Voice of Industry Lowell newspapers were not notably pro-Labor.
 59. This view is seen in Louis M. Hacker, The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of Forces in American History to the End of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 276-277 and Gitelman, p. 237.
 60. There were many radical publications or newspapers with moderate identification that published radical material outside of Lowell, but Lowell itself had "credible" papers for the time. The Voice of Industry was a well-known radical working man's paper that appeared in Lowell in the 1840's after a brief stay in Worcester. Other papers in Lowell (there were upwards of 30 different titles before the Civil

War) were a "mixed bag" at best, but several did distinguish themselves by consistent concern with important political and social issues of the day. Among these were the Advertiser, Courier and Vox Populi used for this study, and about which more will be said in later chapters. In the offices of the latter and similar printing establishments, numerous tracts and pamphlets poured forth on every current subject. No complete list of these is available as there is with newspapers but some of the more interesting are listed in the bibliography.

61. Caroline Ware, pp. 228 and following; Josephson, p. 215.
62. Gitelman, pp. 239-247. Even without such replacement, immigrants were very much in the public's consciousness as witnessed by the increasing reports on Irish and Germans in the newspapers. See the Advertiser for 1854, especially July 6.
63. George Kenngott (cited in note 33) took a sympathetic but not laudatory view of the corporations in Lowell and their relations with employees, yet could not avoid devoting a major part of his book to the negative side of things and the occasional lack of humanity in corporation actions. But the strongest condemnation comes in Norman Ware's book, virtually the only account of happenings in Lowell and capitalist elite actions that sides strongly with the working man.
64. Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947); Frank L. Mott, American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960 3rd edition (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962). William C. Dill, Growth of Newspapers in the United States (University of Kansas Bulletin, 1928; C. S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, 2 vol. (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Anti-quarian Society, 1947).
65. Lee, pp. 11-12.
66. Josephson is particularly good at "placing" the importance of newspapers and periodicals in Lowell. See also Rita M. Joley, The Lowell Offering. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1944 for a muted description of the Lowell organ cited as a corporation mouthpiece by many.

67. Mott, p. 114.
68. Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of Journalism, 2nd edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962), pp. 230-231.
69. Newspapers of the period tended rather to voice the ethos of a community as with Newburyport papers' espousal of a mobility ideology in the nineteenth century. See Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 70-71.
70. Lee, p. 181.
72. Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1947).
73. Charles E. Persons, "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts" in Susan M. Kingsbury (ed.), Labor Laws and Their Enforcement, with Special Reference to Massachusetts (New York: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1911).
74. Foley; Lowell Offering: A Repository of Original Articles Written Exclusively by Females Actively Employed in the Mills (Lowell: 1840-1845).
75. Kingsbury, pp. 32-33.
76. See Middlesex Standard, August 15, 1844, and the Lowell American during 1849 and following years.
77. See particularly Charles Cowley, History of Lowell 2nd edition, revised (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1868).
78. Ibid., p. 124.
79. Vox Populi, November 28, 1845, p. 2
80. See Charles Cowley, "The Foreign Colonies of Lowell" Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association, II (1883), 164-179 for an indication of the importance of ethnic groups to Lowell's history.
81. See Herbert H. Hyman "The value Systems of Different Classes" in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset, (eds.) Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, 2nd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1966), pp. 488-489, and Chapter II in this paper.

82. Carl Fish uses this phrase in his The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850 (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971).
83. Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 5-38.
84. Fish, p. 8.
85. Pessen, Jacksonian America... p. 57.
86. For evidence of actual inequality see Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress..., Tables 2, and Chapters 1 and 5; Charles Cowley's description of Lowell and Norman Ware, Chapters IV and V.
87. See both Edward Pessen, Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement (Albany, N.Y.; State University of New York Press, 1967), and "The Workingman's Movement of the Jacksonian Era", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII (1956), 428-443 by the same author.
88. Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 80.
89. Kingsbury, Chapters I and II.
90. Norman Ware, p. XVIII
91. Ibid., p. XI.
92. Only one newspaper of Lowell during the period of the study could be classified as distinctly pro-Labor, and this was the Voice of Industry. Although the famous Lowell Offering was written by some factory girls and was always heralded as their accomplishment, there seems little doubt in the writings of later scholars like Josephson, Rita Foley and others that this periodical was not in any meaningful sense "representative" of the workers and its tone was decidedly "pro-Capitalist". My point in this statement about the usefulness of non-labor papers is that while one could expect bias in papers ideologically committed to any cause, the discovery of similar findings in non-committed papers (let alone opposition papers) should be an indicator of an issues' importance.

93. See Nathan Appleton's, Correspondance (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1849) and his Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell (Lowell: Penhallow, 1858), the latter being essentially a combination of partial autobiography and technical analysis; also, Appleton's "Memoir of Hon. Abbott Lawrence", Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 3 (1856), 69-70. Also see the Perkins' and the Lawrence Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Probably the most well-known popular celebrations of the Boston elite is Cleveland Amory's The Proper Bostonians (New York: E. F. Dutton and Co., 1947).
94. Howard M. Jones, "The Unity of New England Culture". Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LXXIX (1967), p. 75.
95. F. C. Jaher, "The Boston Brahmins in the Age of Industrial Capitalism", p. 190.
96. Ibid., p. 200.
97. Ibid, p. 198.
98. Goodman.
99. See Ibid, especially p. 442.
100. See Josephson, Chapters I-III for a description of this point.
101. Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); also see p. 15 of Harriet Farley's Operatives' Reply to Hon. Jere. Clemens, Being a Sketch of Factory Life and Factory Enterprise, and a Brief History of Manufacturing by Machinery (Lowell: S. J. Varney, 1850).
102. Samuel Rezneck, "Rise and Early Development of Industrial Consciousness in the United States", Journal of Economic and Business History, 4 (1932), 795-797.
103. For an example of the utility of the tariff question for the changing political purposes of the capitalists, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), p. 271.
104. Norman Ware, pp. 24-25.

105. All the major works on industrialization in New England and Lowell document these practices. See Norman Ware, especially Chapter VII; also the Lowell Advertiser, December 23, 1842, October 24 and November 18, 1848 and December 13, 1851.
106. Voice of Industry, May 29, 1946.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Ole Holsti, "Content Analysis" in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1972).
2. Ole Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969) p. 5.
3. Robert Edward Mitchell, "The Use of Content Analysis for Explanatory Studies", Public Opinion Quarterly, 31, no. 2 (Summer, 1967), 230-241.
4. See I. de Sola Pool (ed.), Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1959) and George Gerbner, et al., (eds.), The Analysis of Communication Content (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969).
5. Holsti, "Content Analysis", in Lindzey and Aronson.
6. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences, pp. 9-12.
7. See Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972) and Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences, p. 14.
8. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences, p. 9.
9. See the discussion in this paper, Chapter I, pp. 4-5 and Chapter II, pp. 2 and following.
10. Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).
11. See review in American Historical Review, 72 (October, 1966), 287.
12. See review in Journal of American History, 53 (Summer, 1966), 404. Also see American Sociological Review, 31, (October, 1966), 737.
13. Merritt, p. 188.
14. Merritt, p. 42.
15. George S. Haye, "Anti-Intellectualism in Press Comment: 1828 and 1852", Journalism Quarterly 36 (Fall, 1959), 439-446. Tests of significance like those in these studies are a subject of debate. See Appendix II of this study. There is no reason to believe that the period 1840-1860 has any unaccountable biases. The

advantage my research has over that of Hays is the longer time period for examination of materials. See note 29 below.

16. Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?", American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), 722-729.
17. Herman Lantz, et. al., "Pre-Industrial Patterns in the Colonial Family: A Content Analysis of Colonial Newspapers", American Sociological Review, 33, no. 3 (June, 1968), 413-426.
18. Herman R. Lantz, et. al., "The American Family in the Pre-Industrial Period: From Base Lines in History to Change," American Sociological Review, 40 (February, 1975), 21-36.
19. Besides being the major part of the time between the establishment of manufacturing in Lowell and the beginning of the Civil War, Ware cites the 1840-1860 time period as being "...peculiarly a unit..." and as being the two decades in which "...were concentrated to an unprecedented extent the social effects of the revolution in industry". Ibid., Chapter I, p. 1.
20. Winifred Gregory, ed., American Newspapers 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1937); the list of newspapers on file at the Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society; the Lowell, Massachusetts Public Library; the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts; the Boston Public Library; the Baker Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum at North Andover, Massachusetts; and especially the Special Collections at the Lowell Institute of Technology, Lowell, Massachusetts. Content analysis in the sense conveyed by the following works as the principal formal methodological technique used. See Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences and Humanities; Ithiel de Sola Pool (ed.) Trends in Content Analysis; George Gerbner, et. al. (eds.), The Analysis of Communication Content; Robert E. Mitchell, "The Use of Content Analysis for Explanatory Studies."
21. Besides the volume by Winifred Gregory cited in note 20, the following are available on the newspapers of the period; Frank L. Mott, American Journalism, A History 1690-1960, 3rd edition (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962); William C. Dill, Growth of Newspapers in the United States (University of Kansas Bulletin, 1928); C. S.

Brigham, History and Bibliography of American News papers, 1690-1820, volumes I & II (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1947). has been used: Margaret Parker, Lowell: A Study of Industrial Development (New York: Macmillan, 1940); George F. Kenngott, The Record of of a City: A Social Survey of Lowell, Massachusetts (New York: Macmillan, 1912); Frederick W. Coburn, History of Lowell and Its People (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1920); L. S. Bryant and J. B. Rae, Lowell: An Early American Industrial Community (M.I.T.: Technology Press, 1950); Caroline F. Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1931); Nathan Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell (Lowell: Penhallow, 1858); Samuel Batchelder, Introduction and Early Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1863); Harriet H. Robinson, Loom and Spindle, or Life Among the Early Mill Girls (New York: Crowell, 1898; Harry C. Meserve, Lowell: An Industrial Dream Come True Boston: National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, 1923); Henry A. Miles, Lowell, As It Was and As It Is (Lowell: Powers and Bagley, 1845). Also useful is an examination of the editorial pages of the Lowell newspapers where the sympathies of the newspaper and others in the community may be unequivocally stated. This is true, for example, of the editorial page of the Vox Populi for November 28, 1845, where the lead editorial evaluates all the major local newspapers according to political persuasion.

22. Determining the position of a newspaper was not difficult because most newspapers of the period clearly stated their editorial position. If opposition to the industrial conditions was important to the paper's existence it would be so stated. Neutrality or favorability was less obvious in the newspapers, but the political persuasions of editors were widely known. For example, the Lowell Courier was edited by William Schouler, a man known in Lowell as a sympathizer for industrial capitalist interests. This paper was selected to represent favorability toward such interests for the purposes of this study. The Lowell Advertiser and the paper substituted for it later in the study (Vox Populi) were widely known in the community and described themselves as "neutral in nothing" or as being under no corporation's "banner", and editorial comment in them supported this characterization; therefore they were chosen to represent opposition to capitalist interests. The selection of materials for content analysis on the basis of relatively qualitative criteria is a widely used practice in the literature of sociology and history.

See Murray A. Straus and Lawrence J. Houghton, "Achievement, Affiliation, and Co-operation Values as Clues to Trends in American Rural Society, 1924-1958", Rural Sociology 25, no 4 (December, 1960), 394-403; and Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775 for example of this in sociology and in history respectively. The basis of selection for this study is a "confidently empirical" one because the choice and categorization of papers rests on a variety of historical sources. Even if the editorial position of the newspapers chosen were closer than the editors would admit, this would not detract from the study because content analysis deals with manifest content only, and if this were found to be similar for avowedly different parts of the population, it would be as significant as sharp differences in manifest content.

23. The Lowell Courier was complete for the following years: 1840, 1842, 1844-1851, 1853-1856, 1859-1860 or a total of 16 years. The Lowell Advertiser, representing opposition press, could be found for 1842, 1845-1849, 1851-1858 for a total of 14 years. Vox Populi was available for 1845-1849 and 1851-1854 for a total of nine years. While the opposition papers were weeklies, the Courier was a daily. To standardize the number of issues it was decided to include only every eighth issue of the Courier (or one per week, every week) starting with the first surviving issue printed in 1840 and continuing with every eighth issue so as to avoid the possible biasing effect of early, mid-week or end-of-week editions.
24. The inclusion of only this material is similar to that found in George S. Hays, "Anti-Intellectualism in Press Comment: 1828 and 1852". Some of the inspiration for the use of content analysis, the kinds of categories, and the statistical measures used and their application to historical material is taken from the Hays source plus the following: Herman R. Lantz, et al., "Pre-Industrial Patterns in the Colonial Family in America: A Content Analysis of Colonial Newspapers"; Chilton R. Bush, "A System of Categories for General News Content", Journalism Quarterly 37 (Spring, 1960), 206-210; Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?"; and Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775.

25. See Hans Sebald, "Studying National Character Through Comparative Analysis", Social Forces 40 (May, 1962), 318-322. The technique of checking reliability through the use of a second coder to re-code part of the material was used in Straus and Houghton, Rural Sociology 25, no. 4 (December 1960), 394-403. The coefficient of reliability formula sometimes used in content analysis has been criticized for not accounting for the extent of chance intercoder agreement. Hence, a second formula was used as suggested in W. A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding", Public Opinion Quarterly 19 (1955), 321-325. This formula is:

$$pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ Expected Agreement}}$$

To "plug in" the proper values for this formula it is necessary to use the first formula to get the percentage of observed agreement; then the percentage of expected agreement is determined by finding the proportion of each item falling into a category of a category set, and summing the square of those proportions. This procedure is also suggested in Holsti, Content Analysis....., p. 140.

26. The general history of industrialization as well as that of Lowell and New England is concerned with some of the key considerations of western civilization: the rights of man, democracy, the value and conditions of labor, distrust of class privilege, belief in the possibilities of social change. In the case of workingmen's associations of the Jackson era in the United States (immediately preceding the period of this study) Edward Pessen distinguishes at least eighteen items that reflect these concerns and from which the items in Section I were adapted. See Edward Pessen, Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement (Albany, N.Y.: State Univ. of New York Press, 1967); and his "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jacksonian Era", Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLIII (1956), 428-443. The history of the "Factory Question" has been treated in a variety of sources, some of the more useful being the following: Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States (New York: International Publishers, (1947); Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964);

Ray Ginger, "Labor in a Massachusetts Cotton Mill, 1853-1860", Business History Review XXVIII (1954), 67-91; Robert G. Layer, Wages, Earnings and Output in Four Cotton Textile Companies in New England, 1825-1860, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1952; Josephson, The Golden Threads; Charles E. Persons, "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts" in Susan M. Kingsbury (ed.), Labor Laws and Their Enforcement (New York: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1911); H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish", Labor History VIII (1967), 227-253; K. J. Fielding and A. Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy: Dickens vs, Harriet Martineau", 19th Century Fiction 24 (March, 1970), 404-427.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. The actual levels of significance were .0000 for the 1840's data and .0027 for the 1850's figures.
2. Karl Marx's discussion of wages is particularly well-developed in his Wage, Labour and Capital, reprinted in Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader (New York: W. W. Horton & Co., 1962). For a retort to the "white slavery" charge published in a previous edition of the paper, see the editorial in Vox Populi, March 23, 1849, p. 2.
3. The term "paternalistic system" is widely used as in William Peterson, The Industrial Order and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972).
4. The actual wage level quoted by Josephson and by Nathan Appleton himself was in the neighborhood of \$2.50 per week, and Gitelman has a comparable figure of a monthly earning ranging from \$8.72 to a high of \$19.80 in 1850. See H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System and the Coming of the Irish", Labor History VIII (1967) 227-253.

See also, Robert G. Layer, "Wages, Earnings, and Output in Four Cotton Textile Companies in New England, 1825-1860", unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1952.
5. For one exposition of the involvement of northern capitalists in the slavery question, see Lawrence Lader, The Bold Brahmins: New England's War Against Slavery, 1831-1863 (New York: Dutton, 1961).
6. Vox Populi, October 20, 1848 and Vox Populi, September 25, 1846.
7. Edith Abbott, "The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States, 1850-1900", The Journal of Political Economy (June, 1905), 321-367.
8. See Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860 (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1964), pp. 67-70.
9. Caroline Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 236-240.
10. See Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Hours of Labor and Conditions of the Industrial Classes", House Document no. 98, 1866: and J. C. Ayer, M.D., Usages and Abuses in the Management of our Manufacturing

Corporations, Lowell: C. M. Langley & Co., 1863: and Carroll D. Wright, Report on the Factory System of the United States, U. S. House Document, Miscellaneous 42, part 2, 47th Congress, 2nd Session 1865.

11. See Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Historical Review of Wages and Prices, 1752-1860", Part IV Sixteenth Annual Report 1885; and Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, U. S. Senate Document 645, Vol. X, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, 1913.
12. For a glowing defense of such conditions, see Elisha Bartlett, M.D., A Vindication of the Character and Conditions of the Females Employed in the Lowell Mills, Against the Charges Contained in the Boston Times, and the Boston Quarterly Review, Lowell: Leonard Huntress, Printed, 1841.
13. See Chapter I, p. 10 of this study.
14. Lowell Advertiser July 17, 1845, p. 2 vol. 3 and again, December 6, 1845, p. 2.
15. See Sarah Bagley's caustic reply to foreign observers who favorably commented on the number of churches in Lowell in "Factory Religion", Vox Populi, November 20, 1846, p. 2.
16. Advertiser, February 27, 1847.
17. Courier, December 7, 1841; Courier, January 19, 1846; Courier, March 19, 1846.
18. From newspaper comment in the early 1850's it was evident that the principal editor of Vox Populi during the 1840's had become embroiled in a libel suit with the Advertiser that partially removed him from active editorializing, yet the general tone of Vox did not appear to change substantially.
19. Allusion to "Whig" and "native American" is in Vox Populi, June 23, 1848, p. 2.
20. Vox Populi, March 26, 1847, p. 2, col. 5
21. Vox Populi, January 28, 1845, p. 2.
22. Vox Populi, August 18, 1848, p. 2., col. 5.
23. Vox Populi, March 15, 1849, p. 2., col. 1.

24. Advertiser, December 23, 1842, p. 2, col. 3
25. Advertiser, March 12, 1845.
26. Advertiser, October 24, 1848. See similar editorial November 18, 1848, p. 2, cols. 2 & 3.
27. For an account of this connection, see Hannah Josephson, The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York: Dwell, Sloan and Pence, 1949).
28. Vox Populi, July 10m 1846, p. 2, col. 3. Also on this topic are the following: "Desecration of the Sabbath" Vox Populi, July 3, 1846; "Sabbath Labor", Vox Populi, August 21, 1846; and "A Short Sermon", Vox Populi, September 11, 1846.
29. Vox Populi, November 20, 1846.
30. Vox Populi, April 29, 1853.
31. The respective dates and sources for these articles are: Advertiser, March 11, 1842; Advertiser, June 8, 1842; Advertiser, December 5, 1842; Vox Populi, May 22, 1846; Advertiser, December 13, 1851; Vox Populi, April 30, 1852; Advertiser, October 1, 1853.
32. Courier, March 12, 1842 and December 12, 1847; and Courier, December 15, 1842.
33. See "The New Philosophies", Courier, June 12, 1845; "The Corporation Doctrine", Courier, July 22, 1845; "John Clure and Hours of Labor", Courier, October 8, 1845.
34. Vox Populi, June 26, 1846; Vox Populi, September 22, 1848; Vox Populi, December 24, 1847.
35. Advertiser, June 6, 1848; Advertiser, December 23, 1842.
36. Vox Populi, August 11, 1848; Advertiser, December 13, 1851.
37. Herbert Gutmann "The Industrial Invasion of the Village Green" Transaction. (May-June, 1966), 385-390.
38. For evidence of the changing conditions see George F. Kennigott, The Record of a City: A Social Survey of Lowell, Massachusetts, New York: Macmillan Co., 1912.

39. See Charles Cowley's account in his, History of Lowell, 2nd ed., rev. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1868), and Kenngott, The Record of a City. For corporation-boarding house disputes, see Vox Populi, May 28, 1847, p. 2, and September 5, 1845, p. 2.
40. John C. Leggett, Class, Race and Labor: Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
41. Edward Pessen, "The Workingmen's Movement of Jacksonian Era", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII (1956), 428, 443; and Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement (Albany, N.T.: State University of New York Press, 1967).
42. A contrast between the criticism of special interests in the Advertiser, May 9, 1845, p. 2 and a favorable article on the fourth of July speech of the Courier's editor William Schouler in Advertiser, July 6, 1848, p. 2.
43. See note 39; also Advertiser, April 11, 1846, p. 2.
44. The Advertiser, 1854 contained a number of such articles such as that of October 10, 1854 directed at the Irish and the Germans in the community. The newspaper of this time often had what appear to the contemporary observer as strange mixtures of concern for the laboring man and bigotry directed at Catholicism and members of minority groups (pre-dominantly Irish).
45. Courier, December 15, 1842, p. 2.
46. Courier, December 7, 1841, p. 2.
47. See notes 25 and 31.
48. It should be noted that this reversal was not an artifact of the coding procedure, because even though "social welfare" and "special interest" suggest opposite positions, it was possible (and often happened) that the two items did not appear in the same article. Nor could the coder automatically code an article on one dimension because of its position on another. As in all content analysis, the mutually exclusive character of the dimensions had to be and was maintained.
49. Courier, June 21, 1842; Courier, February 24, 1842, Courier, December 15, 1842, p. 2.
50. Advertiser, January 3, 1842, p. 2.

51. Advertiser, December 5, 1842, p. 1 and December 14, 1842, p. 2.
52. The following respective issues of the Advertiser dealt with each of these topics: Advertiser, December 23, 1842, p. 2; March 12, 1845, p. 2; September 19, 1848, p. 2; November 25, 1851, p. 2; June 16, 1854, p. 2.
53. Vox Populi, May 8, 1846, p. 2; February 12, 1847 p. 2; April 30, 1847, p. 2; and June 18, 1847, p. 2; November 4, 1855, p. 2.
54. See H. J. Habbakkuk, American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).
55. For an exposition of some of these understandings of machinery see E. P. Thompson's, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage, 1963).
56. The fragmentary nature of the early American working class and its different perception of the onset of industrialization may be seen in Stanley Aronowitz', False Promises: The Shaping of the American Working Class (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973, Chapters 3 and 4.
57. Courier, September 10, 1857, p. 2.
58. Vox Populi, July 9, 1847, p. 2; August 13, 1847, p. 2; September 21, 1849, p. 1; and May 7, 1852, p. 2.
59. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Scribner's, 1958).
60. Advertiser, June 10, 1848, p. 2.
61. Advertiser, December 5, 1842, p. 2.
62. Courier, July 16, 1845, p. 2.
63. Courier, March 19, 1846, p. 2.
64. Courier, January 13, 1857, p. 2; Advertiser, February 22, 1848, p. 2; Vox Populi, September 17, 1847.
65. Courier, November 26, 1842, p. 2.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. See Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), especially Chapter V, Part II.
2. Chapter I, p. 2 of this study.
3. Chapter I, p. 4.
4. Samuel Reznick, "The Rise of Industrial Consciousness in the United States, 1760-1830." Journal of Economic and Business History, 4 (1932, 789 and ff. Also see Herbert Futman, "The Industrial Invasion of the Village Green," Transaction (May-June, 1966), 385-390.
5. Such thinking can easily be traced back to the formulators of the U. S. Constitution and the conflict carried on between the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian factions. See Charles H. Hession and Hyman Sardy, Ascent to Affluence: A History of American Economic Development (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969).
6. Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860," American Quarterly, XVIII (1966), 437-451. Also see Howard Jones, "The Unity of New England Culture," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LXXIX (1967), 74-88.
7. See Vox Populi, January 28, 1845 and April 16, 1847 for evidence of editor Schouler's leanings.
8. Bruce Johnson made the observation that the values of the upperclasses have penetrated those of the lower classes in the United States to a "remarkable extent". See his "The Democratic Mirage: Notes Toward a Theory of American Politics," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 13 (1969), 104-143. Other studies seem to point to much value dissensus and confusion among the working class, with some consensus among the middle class; but overall there is a real schizophrenia of values for all classes. That is, most class members separate their ideal and their operational values. See Michael Mann, "The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy," American Sociological Review, 35 (June, 1970), 423-439.

9. Chapter V, p. 13.
10. Chapter V, p. 26 and following. Again note that these variables were mentioned so infrequently as to be non-significant statistically. For the purposes of this research such infrequent occurrence is tantamount to not appearing at all.
11. See Chapter V, Table II.
12. See Chapter V, p. 8.
13. See Eugene J. Meehan, Explanation in Social Science: A System Paradigm (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968), Chapter Three, pp. 31-68, for a discussion of isomorphism as a problem of the adequacy of explanations in the social sciences. If a set of empirical events and a set of logically-related events "fit" with one another, they are said to be isomorphic. Since there are degrees of isomorphism, there may be degrees to which a given case of industrialization "fits" the logical generalized case.
14. Herman Lantz, et. al., "The American Family in the Pre-Industrial Period: From Base Lines in History to Change," American Sociological Review, 40 (February, 1975), 21-36.
15. Chapter III of this study and Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise..." See also Ferris Greenslet, The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946).
16. For example, the Courier's concern with the passage of the tariff (December 7, 1841) and advocacy of the expansion of Lowell industry (November 14, 1846).
17. Vox Populi, October 26, 1849, and an article in the Advertiser, December 12, 1852 supporting "private enterprise" as a counter-balance to the corporations.
18. Herbert Gutmann ("Industrial Invasion of the Village Green") interprets the actions of capitalist elites in Paterson, New Jersey during a similar period as being evidence of their newness. Even though Lowell, unlike Paterson, was founded by industrialists for industrial purposes, capitalists may still have had to legitimate themselves because manufacturing was not fully accepted in the U.S. and because the work

force was composed of middle class females. The construction and maintenance of the Lowell boarding house system is often taken as evidence of this need to legitimate. See Hannah Josephson, The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949); and Caroline Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1931).

19. G. David Garson, "Radical Issues in the History of the American Working Class," Politics and Society, III (Fall, 1972), 25-32.
20. E. R. Wolf introduced the concept of the cultural broker and defined those who "mediate between community-oriented groups in communities and nation-oriented groups which operate through national institutions". See E. R. Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico," American Anthropologist, 58 (1956), 1065-1078. Also see Sydel F. Silverman, "Patronage and Community-Nation Relationships in Central Italy," Ethnology, IV, no. 2 (April, 1965) for an elaboration of the "mediating" role of such persons or groups.
21. That this was not a minor factor is indicated by the continuous demise throughout this period of low-circulation newspapers, and the constant appeals subscribers to continue their support.
22. For some uses of content analysis similar to that used in this study and reasons for confidence in its use see: Robert E. Mitchell, "The Use of Content Analysis for Explanatory Studies," Public Opinion Quarterly, 31, no. 2 (Summer, 1967), 230-241; Murray A Straus and Lawrence J. Houghton, "Achievement, Affiliation and Cooperation Values As Clues to Trends in American Rural Society, 1924-1958," Rural Sociology, 25, no. 4 (December, 1960), 394-403. For another discussion of values during the period of this study see William E. Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in America, 1825-1875," American Quarterly, VXII (1965), 3-11. For one interpretation of values and community structure in Lowell, see Thomas Dublin, "Women, Work, and Protest in the Early Lowell Mills: 'The Oppressing Hand of Avarice Would Enslave Us'", Labor History (Winter, 1975).
23. Many historical events tend to be discrete and confined, whereas the "net" of the articles included in this study was not "fine" enough to construct a sample that could be used in meaningful comparisons with such

historical events. For a discussion of time series and their sociological counterpart, see Donald T. Campbell, "Measuring the Effects of Social Innovations by Means of Time Series", in Judith M. Tonur, et al., (eds.), Statistics, A Guide to the Unknown (San Francisco: Holden-Day, Inc., 1972).

24. Caroline Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture, pp. 269 and 276.
25. Caroline Ware, pp. 236-239.
26. This is stated even though much happened in subsequent American labor history that more completely accounts for the supposed docility of the American Labor force. See Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises: The Shaping of the American Working Class (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

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APPENDIX I

SELECTION OF STUDY SAMPLE AND CODING

As explained in the test, the coding of all material was done for 27 items. Every piece was coded for all 27 items and recorded on a "Data Sheet". Coding was of manifest content only, rather than of any implications it seemed possible to draw from a given passage. All articles were read first for the purpose of deciding on whether or not to include the material, then re-read to do the actual coding. All relevant identifying information was filled in at the top of the Data Sheet before the actual coding began.

The selection of the newspapers for inclusion in the study was based on their representation of three possible value positions in Lowell, their coverage of the 1840-1860 period, their availability as researchable documents, and their character as general interest newspapers. Individual newspapers were selected for inclusion in the study by starting with the first available issue of each newspaper at the beginning of the 1840 decade and thereafter selecting one per week every week for the remaining available years. For newspapers published three times per week, as well as those published daily, this meant beginning with the first available day of the week and choosing successively later days in the week for all 52 weeks each year so as to avoid any possible bias that early, mid-week or end-of-week editions might have.

The second kind of selection was of the kind of article within each of the newspapers. This selection was guided by the fact that the unit of analysis in this research was the item, by which is meant: any column, editorial, letter or other non-anecdotal insertion that does not only describe an event, and is meant to comment upon, evaluate or describe a condition or characteristic of the industrial system. Many of the newspapers of the 1840-1860 period were set up so that the first page was devoted to stories with a moral, fiction or serialized pieces, while the latter part of the paper was devoted to advertising. In between was the editorial page, on which editorial comments, pieces by contributors dealing with the characteristics of the society and letters to the editor were all found. Consequently, only the editorial page was coded, and on that page only material dealing with the industrial system.

Examples of items that would be coded were the following: articles on wages of industrial workers, profiteering and exploitation by capitalists, evaluation of labor unrest, descriptions and comments on industrial

practices, comparisons of Lowell factory workers' wages with those of workers abroad, letters to the editor and reprints of addresses dealing with industrial conditions or with people involved in the system, discussion of the hours of work or related controversies, extracts from other newspapers commenting on industrialism, and abstract discussions of the class system, industrialism's salutary or damaging effects and alternative visions of the industrial order (including political alternatives).

Examples of items that would not be coded are anecdotes about workers, the simple report of the burning of a mill, or the latest dividend declared by a corporation; reports about a mill owner received a testimonial, accidental destruction of factory equipment, the construction of a new mill, or literary pieces intended as entertainment.

Coding of Sections

The logic of coding items as Favorable, Neutral, or Unfavorable, was that these items deal with values and the attitudes associated with such values are directional (that is, they have positive or negative "loading"). The neutral category refers to those instances where an article mentions an item without comment or else does not include mention of an item.

The description of the different variables follows and had to be thoroughly understood before coding began. Once the coding was mastered, it was estimated that the average newspaper item could be coded in under five minutes.

VALUES CODING

	A. General	Code no.	Coded as:		
variable: description:			Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able
	1. Expressed values about use of machinery ---explicit mention of machine aspect of industrial production. Code as Neutral if no evaluation made.	1			
variable: description:	2. Expressed values about science and/or technological solutions to problems ---explicit mention about science as as general phenomenon or of using aspects of industrial system to achieve results	2	"	"	"
variable:	3. Expressed values about work a. meaning and value of it ---statement of purpose of work as a category of behavior	3	"	"	"
	b. necessity of work ---description of work as a societal value rather than a personal one; that is, work as something compelled by social circumstances	4	"	"	"
variable: description:	4. Expressed values about factory system ---explicit mention of some part of industrial system arising from factory form of production that was largely introduced and expanded in the nine- teenth century. This variable also should be taken to include a related aspect of the factory system other than the factory itself, such as the boarding house system	5	"	"	"

		Code no.	Coded as:		
	B. The Political System				
variable:	5. Expressed values about democracy ---overt mention of democracy as an abstract political form or of some characteristic usually associated with it in the American interpretation of the democratic ethos	6	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able
variable: description:	6. Expressed values about socialism or other political form ---overt mention of political alternatives to democracy, either abstract or real	7	"	"	"
	C. Capitalism				
variable:	7. Expressed values about wages ---explicit reference to wages or related remuneration connected with industrial system (e.g., cost of boarding house)	8	"	"	"
variable: description:	8. Expressed values about work conditions ---explicit reference to unsanitary conditions, hours of work, speed-up of machinery, etc.	9	"	"	"
variable: description:	9. Expressed values about condition of worker ---specific reference to physical fatigue, psychological problems, worker enrichment	10	"	"	"

		Code no.	Coded as		
variable:	10. Expressed values about societal effects of industrial system	11	Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able
description:	---discussion of class effects (i.e., division of society, creation of special interests, narrow wealth concentration, etc.)				
variable:	11. Expressed values about power arrangements	12	"	"	"
description:	---references to concentration or dispersion of power, power threats to social order, control of capitalists over worker destiny				
	D. Interpersonal Arrangements				
variable:	12. Expressed values about authority of capitalists	13	"	"	"
description:	---references to personal super-ordinate-subordinate relations, control of mill owners over lives of mill operatives				
variable:	13. Expressed values about industrialists' paternalism and benevolence	14	"	"	"
	---reference to unique system in Lowell mills, ability inherent in mill owners to have best interests of worker uppermost				
variable:	14. Expressed values about cooperation in the community	15	"	"	"
description:	---concern with this factor as a motivational force, emphasis on united efforts to achieve assumed desirable community goals				

		Code no.	Coded as		
variable:	15. Expressed values about competition or achievement	16	Unfavorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
description:	---emphasis on the achievement ethic as idealized in the Protestant work ethic				
variable:	16. Expressed values about individualism	17	"	"	"
description:	---emphasis on the desirability, strengths, morality, etc. of individual vs. collective activity				
	E. Social Structure (General)				
variable:	17. Expressed values about hierarchical arrangements	18	"	"	"
description:	---mention of stratified character of the society of Lowell, of New England, or of American society generally. Typical example might be the connection between Capitalism and stratification				
variable:	18. Expressed values about egalitarian arrangements	19	"	"	"
description:	---discussion of the egalitarian aspect of the American social system				
variable:	19. Expressed values about conflict	20	"	"	"
description:	---mention of possibility or likelihood of conflict because of industrial system				
variable:	20. Expressed values about harmony in the social order	21	"	"	"
description:	---mention of effects of industrial order in promoting unity or in creating a viable social order without major problems				

		Code no.	Coded as		
variable:			Favor- able	Neu- tral	Unfavor- able
description:	21. Expressed values about social welfare orientation of social order ---mention of general social- as opposed to special interest orientation of social order	22			
variable:	22. Expressed values about "special interest" orientation of social order	23	"	"	"
description:	---mention of social order being oriented to or favoring limited interests in the community				
variable:	23. Expressed values about <u>political solutions to characteristics of social order</u>	24	"	"	"
description:	---mention of <u>specific action</u> aimed at altering some existant condition of the social order				
variable:	24. Expressed values about <u>patient acceptance of the characteristics of the social order</u>	25	"	"	"
description:	---indication of acquiescence to the characteristics of the social order even if change indicated for the future				
variable:	25. Expressed values about reform of the existing social order	26	"	"	"
description:	---mention of specific measures aimed at gradual alteration of the social order through legislation, education				

		Code no.	Coded as
variable:	26. Expressed values about revolutionary change of the social order	27	Favor- Neu- Unfavor- able tral able
description:	---mention of drastic change of the existing social order		

APPENDIX II

The following is an example (but not necessarily a typical one) of an article that was included in this study. It is presented here to provide some direct indication of the "flavor" of the pieces coded. In many cases such as that presented below, the modern reader would immediately notice the somewhat melodramatic phrasing and the attenuation of the basic message. But the message is clear and explicit and the terms are not very alien to the modern reader. This article is taken from Vox Populi, November 24, 1948. It should be recalled that this paper was seen to represent a generally moderate position in the community.

'The excitement among the mill operatives is subsiding. They begin to see that they have been more scared than hurt. They begin to see that labor is depressed and suffering, from various causes, everywhere, in every branch of industry, at this time; and that factory labor has been and still is better paid in Lowell than in any other branch of labor in New England. It is for the interests of the corporations to pay well, without which they cannot command the services of a respectable class of operatives. A good name and a healthy condition, morally and physically, among manufacturing operatives, are considered vitally important to the success of the manufacturing enterprise in this country; and capitalists are not unmindful of this fact.

A jealous imagination has created 'a great gulf' between the interests of employers and employees; whereas Truth and Reason say their interests are closely interwoven, and cannot be served without injury to both."

On the next page is a reproduction of the actual coding completed on this article. The original code sheet is not provided because variable names were not included on that paper because of space limitations.

Vox Populi, November 28, 1848

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
1. Values about machinery		X	
2. Values about science		X	
3. Values about work			
a. meaning and value		X	
b. necessity of it		X	
4. Values about factory system	X		
5. Values about democracy		X	
6. Values about socialism		X	
7. Values about wages	X		
8. Values about work conditions			X
9. Values about condition of worker	X		
10. Values about societal effects	X		
11. Values about power arrangements	X		
12. Values about authority of capitalists	X		
13. Values about industrialists' paternalism and benevolence	X		
14. Values about cooperation	X		
15. Values about competition			X
16. Values about individualism			X
17. Values about hierarchical arrangements	X		
18. Values about egalitarian arrangements	X		
19. Values about conflict arrangements	X		
20. Values about harmony	X		

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
21. Values about social welfare	X		
22. Values about special interests			X
23. Values about political solutions			X
24. Values about patient acceptance	X		
25. Values about reform of existing social order			X
26. Values about revolutionary change			X

