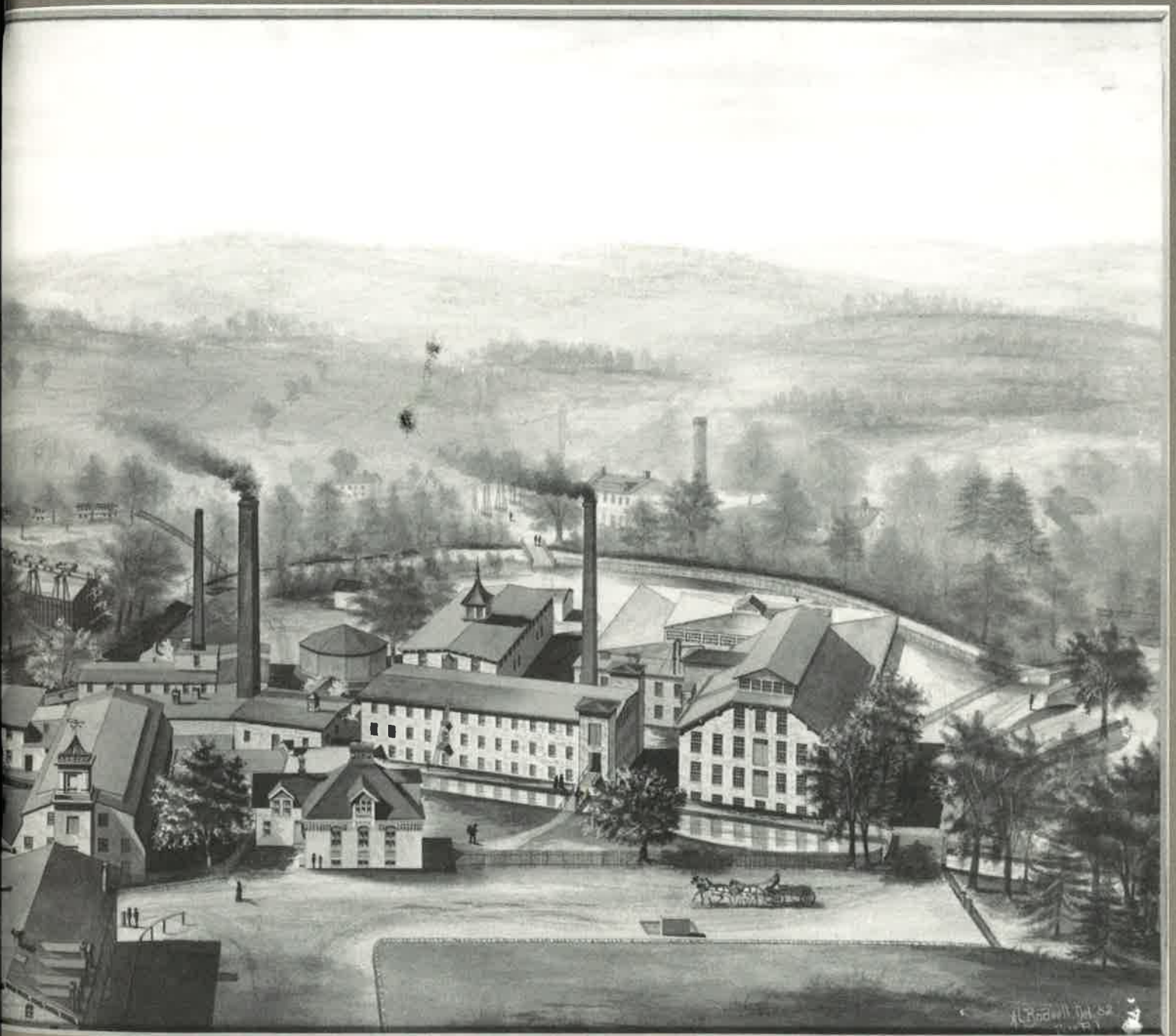


Rhode Island History

SUMMER/FALL 2013 VOLUME 71, NUMBER 2



Rhode Island History

SUMMER/FALL 2013 VOLUME 71, NUMBER 2

Contents

The Business of Slavery and Antislavery
Sentiment: The Case of Rowland Gibson
Hazard—An Antislavery “Negro Cloth” Dealer 35

CHRISTY CLARK-PUJARA

Elizabeth Nord’s Tennis Lesson: How a Labor
Leader Got Her Start in the Pawtucket-Central
Falls YWCA Industrial Program 57

DOROTHEA BROWDER

Index to Volume 71 81

Published by
The Rhode Island Historical Society
110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152

Barry G. Hittner, chair
William S. Simmons, first vice chair
Luther Spoehr, second vice chair
James P. Loring, treasurer
Sylvia E. Brown, secretary
C. Morgan Grefe, director

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Luther Spoehr, chair
James Findlay
Robert W. Hayman
Jane Lancaster
J. Stanley Lemons
Craig Marin
Seth Rockman
Theodore Smalletz
William McKenzie Woodward

STAFF

Elizabeth C. Stevens, editor
Silvia Rees, publications assistant

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

©by The Rhode Island Historical Society
RHODE ISLAND HISTORY (ISSN 0035-4619)

RHODE ISLAND HISTORY is a peer-reviewed journal published two times a year by the Rhode Island Historical Society at 110 Benevolent Street, Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152. Postage is paid at Providence, Rhode Island. Society members receive each issue as a membership benefit. Institutional subscriptions to RHODE ISLAND HISTORY are \$25.00 annually. Individual copies of current and back issues are available from the Society for \$12.50 (price includes postage and handling). Manuscripts and other correspondence should be sent to Dr. Elizabeth C. Stevens, Editor, at the Society or to estevens@rihs.org.

Christy Clark-Pujara is an Assistant Professor of History in the Afro-American Studies Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She would like to sincerely thank Stephen Kantrowitz, Joanne Pope Melish, and Leslie Schwalm for their thoughtful critiques and comments on various drafts of this article.



Rowland G. Hazard (n.d.). RIHS Collection (RHi X17 1424).

The Business of Slavery and Antislavery Sentiment:

*The Case of Rowland Gibson Hazard—
An Antislavery “Negro Cloth” Dealer*

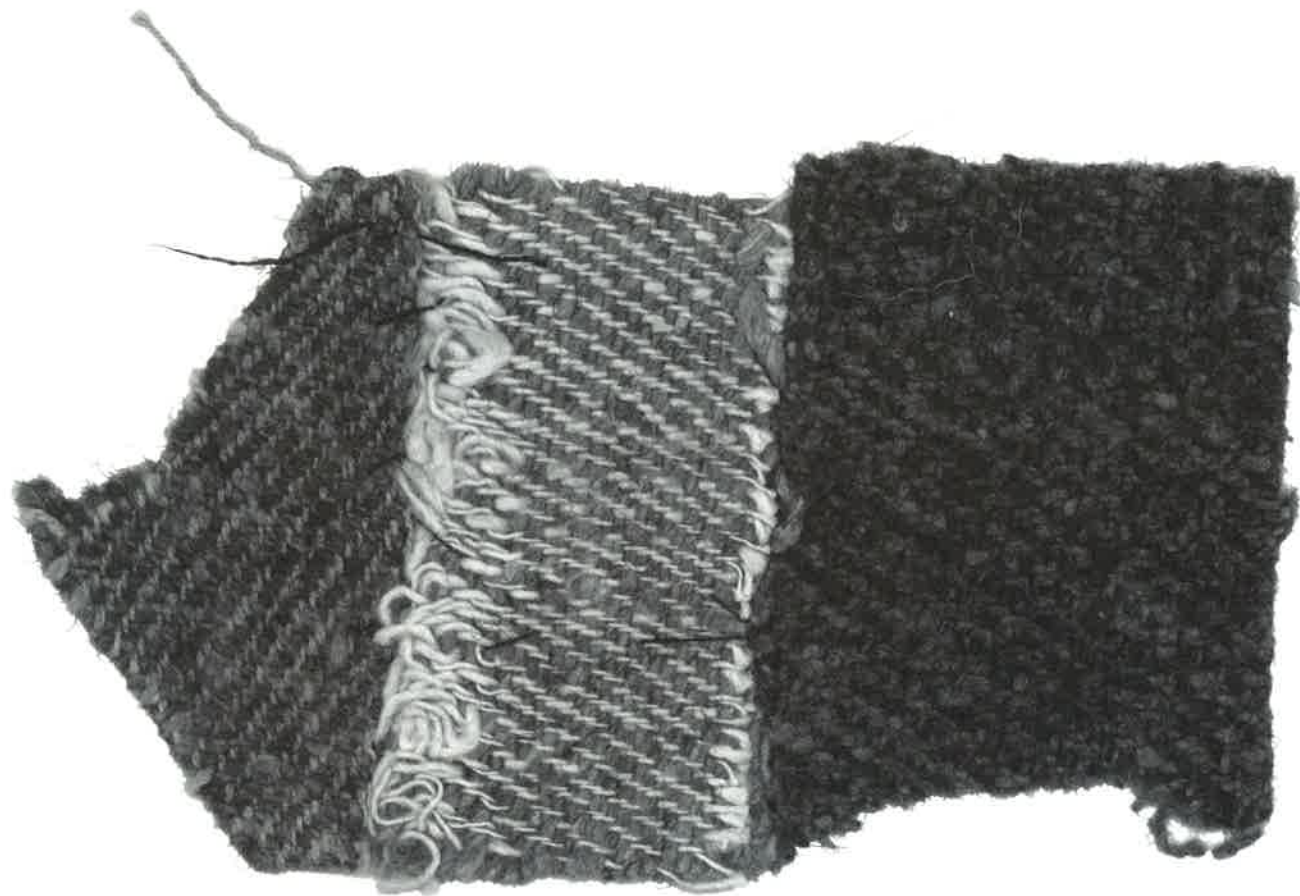
CHRISTY CLARK-PUJARA

In 1841, Rowland Gibson Hazard, a Rhode Island slave cloth manufacturer, successfully advocated for the release of one hundred illegally enslaved African-American and West Indian men who had been put to work on chain gangs in New Orleans. Nine years later, he denounced the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law on the floor of the Rhode Island General Assembly. Although his business directly supported and profited from southern slaveholding, Hazard abhorred the institution of slavery. This article seeks to complicate the history of northern complicity in southern slaveholding and the history of northern antislavery sentiment by examining how and why antislavery businessmen like Rowland G. Hazard simultaneously supported and opposed slaveholding.¹ Northern industrialists with antislavery views, like Hazard, were complicit in southern slavery; consequently, historians’ understandings of the antislavery movement must expand to explain the role played by northern antislavery advocates who profited from slavery.

Hazard was typical in his complicity with and his opposition to the institution of slavery. It was common for the son of an influential Rhode Island family to invest in the business of slavery; Rhode Islanders had been doing so for centuries. Rhode Island merchants dominated the North American trade in slaves. Rhode Islanders’ participation in the West Indian provisions and rum trade was the crux of the colonial and post-colonial economy.² During the antebellum era, Rhode Island industrialists like the Hazards operated over eighty slave cloth mills—

the highest concentration in New England.³ Made in part from cotton picked by enslaved people, “negro cloth” was a colloquial term with which antebellum northerners and southerners would have been familiar. “Negro cloth” was a cheap, coarse, blended cotton-wool material manufactured especially to minimize the cost of clothing enslaved African Americans; the material was also known as linsey, osnaburg and kersey.⁴ The kersey industry was big business in Rhode Island and Hazard was a businessman who invested in slaveholding through the production of kersey.

Yet, Hazard was a typical antislavery New Englander. By the mid-nineteenth century, a clear regional divide on the issue of slavery was emerging. While southern white Americans almost universally took a pro-slavery position; the North had become a locus of antislavery societies, and the morality of enslaving human beings was freely debated in northern communities. Southerners favored the expansion of slavery into the new territories; Northerners, on the whole, were against it.⁵ Hazard, like most white northerners, was committed to free labor. Moreover, he had been raised a Quaker and spent many of his formative years in Pennsylvania, where abolitionism was pervasive.⁶ Rowland G. Hazard lived in Rhode Island, a state that had legislated a relatively early end to slaveholding. His grandfather and father were among the founding members of one of the nation’s first abolitionist societies, the Providence Abolition Society. Hazard came from a family and region where antislavery arguments were articulated and acted upon.



Three fabric samples sewn together. These may be examples of “slave cloth” that was sold by the Hazard brothers to markets in the South. The samples are in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg12, box 2, folder 1, Rhode Island Historical Society. RIHS Collection (RHi X17 565).

In the nineteenth century, the United States textile industry inextricably linked the economies of the North and the South, ensuring that antislavery northern businessmen were complicit in slaveholding. While anti-abolitionist industrialists acknowledged that their business dealings depended on southern slaveholding, antislavery manufacturers like Rowland G. Hazard distanced themselves from the institution through their political activities. Nevertheless, the New England textile industry thrived because of and not as an alternative to slave labor. Free labor in the North depended on slave labor in the South. The kersey industry provides a near perfect example of this paradox because northern manufacturers bought from and sold to southern slaveholders. However, little scholarly attention has focused on the kersey industry, a small segment of the textile industry.⁷

Over the past twenty years, scholars have placed increasing emphasis on recognizing the North’s complicity in southern slaveholding. These efforts have challenged the concept of antebellum slavery as solely a southern institution, breaking down simplistic dichotomies of an anti-slavery North and a pro-slavery South. Yet the impact of this awareness on the study of the antislavery movement has been limited and most studies focus on the moral and political commitments to ending slavery, rather than economic realities of northern complicity in southern slaveholding. Several scholars, most notably Richard Abbott, have highlighted the fact that many mill owners and workers depended on slave labor even though they “opposed” slaveholding. Historians like Ronald Bailey have focused on the interdependency of the rise of the cotton kingdom and of the northern

textile industry. Bailey argues that the textile industry deserves the same scrutiny as the slave trade and the plantation because it was a business that depended on “the system of slave labor using people of African descent in the southern United States.”⁸ Nevertheless, antislavery scholarship remains largely separate from complicity scholarship in that it leaves the northern paradox—the simultaneous dependence on and opposition to southern slaveholding—at the margins of the study of the northern antislavery movement. The case of Rowland G. Hazard, an antislavery industrialist whose actions exemplify this paradox, brings together these threads of scholarship.

Rhode Islander Rowland G. Hazard (1801-1888) inherited a legacy of slaveholding and abolition from his family. Both his great-great-grandfather (Thomas Hazard II, 1660-1746) and his great-grandfather (Robert Hazard, 1689-1762) were slaveholders; however, his grandfather (Thomas Hazard (1720-1798) became an activist against local slavery.⁹ Rowland G. Hazard’s father, Roland Hazard Sr. (1763-1841) directly invested in southern slaveholding when he opened a kersey mill in southern Rhode Island. The Hazard family’s evolution from prominent slaveholders to ardent supporters of local abolition was a matter of religion. Hazard’s grandfather, Thomas Hazard (known as “College Tom”) converted to Quakerism and became one of the leading proponents of Rhode Island’s 1784 Gradual Emancipation Law. College Tom remained committed to abolitionism even after his family threatened to take away his inheritance. Hazard’s father, Rowland Hazard Sr., was also a local abolitionist, although he re-established the family’s direct investment in the institution of slavery. A merchant with business agents in South Carolina, Rhode Island and New York, Rowland Hazard Sr. traded everything from salt to spermaceti oil to cheese along the eastern Atlantic seaboard and in the West Indies. He provided basic necessities and foodstuffs to the plantations in the West Indies and southeastern

states.¹⁰ Hazard Sr. took the profits he made from trading and opened a textile mill in South Kingstown, Rhode Island in 1802. With the opening of the textile mill, the Hazard family moved from investing in local slave production to investing in distant slave production. The Hazards ceased being slaveholders when they began to oppose local slavery, but they transitioned into profiting from southern slavery.

The Hazards’ investments in and attitudes toward slavery mirrored those of many people in the state. Rhode Island colonists invested heavily in the business of slavery and slaveholding, yet they were among the first citizens of the new republic to pass a gradual emancipation law directly undermining slaveholding. By the 1730s, the Narragansett Country in southern Rhode Island was home to between twenty and thirty settler families and their slaves. Most of these settlers, among them Hazard’s great-great-grandfather Thomas Hazard II, had purchased large tracts of land from war-ravaged and destitute Narragansett peoples. Mixed agriculture and livestock breeding transformed the region into “New England’s Slave Paradise.”¹¹ In 1750, Rhode Island had the highest percentage of slaves in New England; ten percent of Rhode Islanders were enslaved people. Among the northern colonies, only New York had a higher percentage of its population enslaved.¹² The Narragansett Country—the southern half of the colony—had the highest concentration of slaves. In 1755, twenty-six percent of the population in the Narragansett Country was enslaved and a considerable number of blacks in the region remained in bondage through the last decades of the eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, Narragansett landowners, often referred to as “planters,” owned anywhere from four to twenty enslaved people with an average of four slaves per family, double the northern average.¹³ A planter’s livestock holdings might have included eight to sixteen horses, twenty-five head of cattle, and one hundred and fifty sheep.

In 1730, Hazard's great-grandfather Robert Hazard owned seventeen acres and grazed dozens of sheep. His female slaves were in charge of twelve cows each and were expected to make twelve different kinds of cheese every day.¹⁴ Female slaves manufactured dairy products (cheese and butter), while male slaves cared for livestock. Both men and women cultivated small amounts of Indian corn, rye, hemp, flax and tobacco. Narragansett Country planters were a small part of the Atlantic plantation complex selling agricultural goods produced by slave labor to distant, international markets.¹⁵

Narragansett planters differed from southern planters in the size and management of their slaveholdings. Narragansett planters are best compared to small or middling southern slaveholders—"slaveholding households with upwards of three slaves"—in historian Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's enumeration.¹⁶ After the first few decades of the

eighteenth century, southern "planters" usually held twenty or more slaves, although the vast majority of southern slaveholders were not planters. The typical Narragansett planter owned four enslaved people who resided in his home, whereas most southern planters and middling slaveholders owned enough enslaved people to warrant slave quarters. Narragansett planters were in charge of the daily supervision and punishment of enslaved people, whereas most southern planters and middling slaveholders hired overseers and stewards to direct and correct their slaves.¹⁷ While both Narragansett planters and southern planters were involved in the Atlantic plantation economy, the discrepancy in the size of their land and slaveholdings led to very different social realities. Much less land and labor were necessary in the Narragansett Country for livestock breeding and small-scale agriculture compared to southern colonies which had expansive land for the cultivation of cash crops like tobacco, rice and eventually cotton.

John Potter (1716-1787), his family, and a young black slave. Potter was a wealthy Narragansett Country planter (1740, Matunuck, Rhode Island; Object 53.3, image 002/533, JPG, Newport Historical Society).



Nevertheless, Narragansett Country planters were wealthy enough to model themselves after the British gentry. They commissioned their own portraits, took long European sojourns and attempted to emulate English landscaping and manor homes. Like the South's wealthier planters, Narragansett slave owners, including the Hazards, intermarried to consolidate their wealth, hired private tutors for their children, and dominated local politics. The wealth they accrued enabled the planters to have political influence throughout the state: three Narragansett planters served as deputy governors between 1734 and 1752. Throughout the 1760s, however, the increase in population on a finite amount of land reduced Narragansett Country landholdings and raised land prices, a trend throughout New England. By the beginning of the American Revolution, the economic position of Narragansett Country planters was deteriorating. Ultimately, their commercial farming operations were disrupted and destroyed by the Revolutionary War. When the British occupied Newport, Narragansett planters were unable to export their food stuffs, which led to bouts of famine among the enslaved populations in the West Indies.¹⁸

Despite deep investments in the business of slavery, Rhode Islanders were among the first to legally dismantle the institution and a Hazard was directly involved in the process. College Tom, Rowland G. Hazard's grandfather, was one of the Quakers who advocated for gradual emancipation. In 1784, the Rhode Island General Assembly passed the nation's second gradual emancipation law. The law freed all children born to enslaved mothers after March 1, 1784; the children were indentured to their mother's master until their twenty-first birthdays. Five years after the passage of this legislation, Hazard's father and grandfather helped to establish the Providence Abolition Society. The Society was dedicated to enforcing the state's gradual emancipation and slave trading laws. College Tom and Rowland Hazard Sr. worked to dismantle an

institution that their forefathers had built. At the same time, the Hazard men continued to invest in and profit from slaveholding in the southern United States and the Caribbean by opening mills that depended on slave-produced cotton and that manufactured goods for plantation owners. The Hazards were not alone in their hypocrisy. Moses Brown, one of Rhode Island's most renowned abolitionists, also invested in slave labor. Brown authored the state's gradual emancipation bill and played a key role in the creation of the Providence Abolition Society founded in 1789. However, Moses Brown also opened Rhode Island's first textile mill—Almy & Brown. Despite Moses Brown's fervent belief in abolition, his factory used slave-grown cotton, a fact that his pro-slavery brother, John Brown, was quick to point out: "The slaves do the work...I can recollect no place at present from whence the cotton can come, but from the labor of the slaves."¹⁹ John Brown clearly and succinctly highlighted the paradox of his abolitionist brother's new business venture. In his public life, Rowland G. Hazard, like Moses Brown, embodied the contradiction of both opposing and supporting slavery at the same time.

The Hazards were prominent in the kersey industry. In 1802, Rowland Hazard Sr. purchased a half interest in a mill on the Saugatuck River in South Kingstown. Three years later, he acquired a carding machine that enabled him to open the Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company at the site of his original factory. During its first decade of operation, the mill produced hand-spun gingham and linen. However, Rowland Hazard Sr.'s business had a difficult time competing against other regional factories. He abandoned gingham and linen for kersey. Between 1800 and 1870, eighty-four kersey mills opened in Rhode Island; there was a kersey factory at almost every river fall. Nearly half of the mills were located in southern Rhode Island, a region that previously included one of the most concentrated

slave populations in the North. By mid-century, seventy-nine percent of all Rhode Island textile mills manufactured kersey—the highest percentage in the United States. Twenty-two Rhode Island towns and cities manufactured “negro cloth” for over sixty years; more than eighty Rhode Island families owned part of

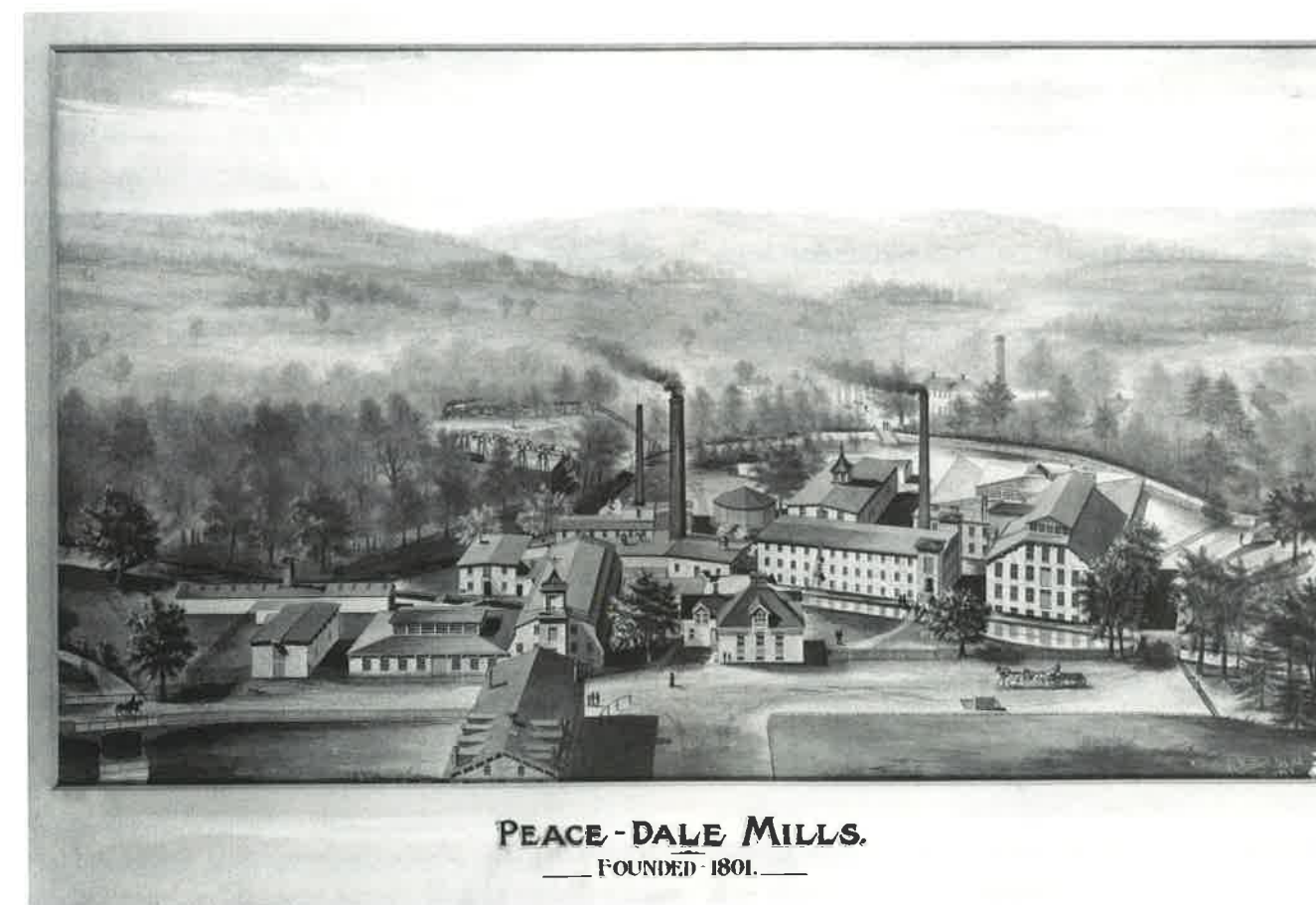
a kersey mill during the antebellum era. In comparison, only about one-third of all the cloth produced at the extensive Lowell mills in Massachusetts was destined for southern plantations.²⁰ Of the seventy-nine kersey mills in Rhode Island in the antebellum period, four were owned by members of the Hazard family.²¹

Table 1. SOUTHERN RHODE ISLAND KERSEY MILLS, 1814-1880 (*HAZARD FAMILY MILLS)²²

Owner(s)	Location (City or Town)	Dates of Production	Years of Operation
Thomas R. Hazard	*South Kingstown	1815-1840	25
Samuel Rodman, Rodman Mill	South Kingstown	1840-1870	30
Thomas Williams	South Kingstown	1814-1858	44
Samuel Rodman, Rocky Brook Mill	South Kingstown	1843-1877	34
N.B. Durfee, Durfee Mill	South Kingstown	1858-1870	12
Joseph Peace Hazard, Saninet Mill	*South Kingstown	1840-1873	33
J.P. and R.G. Hazard, Peace Dale Mill	*South Kingstown	1819-1858	39
W.A. Robinson, Wakefield Mill	South Kingstown	1821-1870	49
Daniel Rodman	South Kingstown	1836-1876	40
W.G. Holburton	South Kingstown	1835-1860	25
Wm. E. Pierce, Narragansett Mill	North Kingstown	1852-1870	18
Ezbon Sanford, Annaquatucket Mill	North Kingstown	1845-1875	30
Davis Reynolds, Davis Mill	North Kingstown	1849-1873	24
G.W. Reynolds, Reynolds Mill	North Kingstown	1860-1870	10
Wilcox and Pierce, Silver Spring Mill	North Kingstown	1823-1870	47
Charles Allen, Shady Lea Mill	North Kingstown	1832-1870	38
Robert Rodman, Lafayette Mill	North Kingstown	1845-1870	25
Charles Allen, Sodom Mill	Exeter	1814-1871	57
Schuyler Fisher, Fisherville Mill	Exeter	1833-1873	40
Dutee J. Hall, Hallville Mill	Exeter	1814-1872	58
Dutee J. Hall, Dawley	Exeter	1854-1874	20
Thomas A. Lawton	Exeter	1830-1860	30
Christopher C. Greene	Exeter	1846-1873	27
James S. Harris	Exeter	1832-1837	5
E. & H. Babcock	Exeter	1846-1876	30
Daniel King, King's Mill	Charlestown	1831-1841	10
J.P. and Jonathan Hazard, Hazard Mill	*Hopkinton	1821-1865	44
S. & D. Smith and Campbell Smith, Campbell Mill	Hopkinton	1845-1870	25
T.R. Wells, Moscow Mill	Hopkinton	1847-1870	23
A. Babcock and W. Stillman, Bethel Mill	Hopkinton	1848-1868	20
John E. Weeden	Hopkinton	1848-1859	11
Oakland Co. Mill	Hopkinton	1850	<1
Briggs and Wilcox	Hopkinton	1850	<1

In 1819, Rowland Hazard Sr. turned the Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company over to his sons Isaac and Rowland. Seven years later, the brothers bought out the last investors and in 1828, the youngest Hazard, Jonathan, joined the family business. The brothers renamed the mill Peace Dale Manufacturing Company in honor of their mother, Mary Peace. The Hazard men transformed their father's modest manufacturing establishment into a major operation that supplied plantations throughout the South. For twenty-seven years until a fire destroyed their equipment in 1855, the Hazard brothers provided southern slaveholders with clothing, blankets and shoes. The Hazards also manufactured “Sunday clothes,” a finer form of kersey.

Peace Dale Mill was the life blood of the village of Peace Dale, located in southern Rhode Island, near where the Hazard family had previously maintained their plantation. In 1823, Peace Dale had just thirty residents, five houses and one store; by 1830, the Peace Dale Mill employed eighty-one people, and by 1860 there were one hundred employees. In 1823, the mill was worth \$6,000; twenty-four years later, in 1847, the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company was worth \$140,000. While the Peace Dale Mill is the focus of this brief analysis, it is important to note that the Hazards owned several other kersey factories throughout Rhode Island (see Table 1). After the 1855 fire, the brothers began to manufacture shawls and cashmere, which they had been producing in



Peace Dale Mill. RIHS Collection (RHi X17 1429).

small amounts since 1844.²³ The brothers did not try to rebuild their kersey business, most likely due to the abundance of kersey mills in the state and the growing regional divide over slavery.

The Hazard brothers aggressively courted southern slaveholders and counted them among their friends. Isaac developed a loyal client base among rice plantation owners in the Carolinas where he served as the mill's southern sales representative from 1820 until 1832. The brothers maintained business and familial connections in South Carolina. In the past, their father had supplied southern plantations with household goods; Mary Peace Hazard, their mother, was born into a slave-owning Charleston family. When Rowland took over as the southern sales representative of the Peace Dale Mill in 1832, he expanded the business, traveling extensively throughout the Deep South. Rowland oversaw the relocation of the firm's southern headquarters from Charleston to New Orleans, a move that gave the Hazards access to larger markets as the slave population in the cotton kingdom exploded. Slaveholders in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana became the Hazards' most important clients. By 1835, the Peace Dale Mill produced tens of thousands of yards of kersey per year.²⁴

The correspondence between Hazard brothers, their sales agents, and clients reveals the close relationships that the brothers developed with their slaveholding customers and illuminates the Hazards' unflinching commitment to a family business that depended on slave labor. Isaac was introduced to the kersey market in South Carolina by John Potter—a planter. Potter owned almost four hundred slaves and espoused a benevolent view of slaveholding. Isaac accepted Potter's worldview, writing to Rowland that southern slaves "do not do a quarter so much work as the northern negroes or whites."²⁵ In another letter from Charleston, Isaac explained to his brother Rowland the importance of developing personal relationships with planters:

[A]s I have got acquainted with a number of Planters should Ketchum and Ripley [sale agents] not contract with us I think I can sell as we make to advantage [.] Ripley I believe is aware of this and would give us the preference[,] he says we must each keep the Secrets of the business as no other house but theirs in this city knows enough of domestics to know what will answer.²⁶

By developing personal relationships with planters and catering to their individual requests, the Hazards secured a favored place in the kersey industry, as seen in the following letter to the Hazards from a distributor in New York:

. . . the prospect of a very good business season here, has become quite certain. Many of our customers are already in, large supplies will be required. If you have any parcels of goods on hand, and you will send them to us, we make no doubt we shall be able to make very satisfactory account sales for you. We should be pleased to receive a few bales of your Negro Cloth as we know they will do well.²⁷

Hazard kersey became a sought-after commodity. One customer wrote, "[T]he kersey you sent me wear so much better than any we have had before, that I want some more...you will please send me about one Hundred yards of the basest of those you sent me last year." The Hazards eagerly sought out advice on how to improve the production of goods for the southern market. In 1829, Isaac Hazard inquired of a plantation owner, "Could we serve you in anyway [*sic*] it would give us pleasure and shall be pleased to have your views on the subject of manufacturing materials for plantations either as clothing or utensils, wherever anything may present itself to your views as mutually beneficial to the North and South." The brothers also advertised directly to their customers. An 1836 advertisement in a New Orleans paper described their products and services to local planters. The Hazards were so successful that they sometimes outsourced their orders.²⁸

The Hazard brothers pursued a multifaceted sales approach in the South: they employed sales agents in major cities along the eastern seaboard and the southern interior. As well, they sold their cloth out of dry goods

NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY, 1836.

Wishing to extend the knowledge and use of the Kerseys and Winter Clothing made at the Peace Dale Factory, Rhode Island, I take the liberty of asking your attention to the subject.

These goods have now been tried by many persons in this section, with very satisfactory results.

By an arrangement with a neighboring manufacturer of the article, I am prepared to furnish brogans of first quality, and in such quantity and sizes as may be directed.

Orders for the Kerseys, Ready made Clothing, or Brogans, sent direct, or to the Agents of the Peace Dale Factory, will be promptly attended to; the goods forwarded to such Agent in New Orleans, as may be named in the order, and a draft made on him for the amount, payable the first of January after, or when requested, at sight, with a deduction of interest, at the rate of eight per cent per annum.

When measures are forwarded they will be attended to. When none are sent with orders for clothes or brogans, such sizes will be supplied as experience has shown to be most likely to answer.

Among others who have made trial of the articles alluded to, you are respectfully referred to Hon. R. Carter Nicholas, Walter Brashear, Esq., G. B. Milligan, Esq., W. H. Sparks, Esq., Philip Miner, Esq., Judge Winchester, Philip Hickey, Esq., Wm. G. Johnson, Esq., John Penny, Esq., T. Saul, Esq., Judge Leonard, H. M'Call, Esq., M. Courtney, Esq., Valcour Aime, Esq., Messrs. M. & W. B. Kenner, R. Bell, Esq., J. R. Thomson, Esq., P. Hoa, Esq. Theodore Segond, Esq.

Very Respectfully,
R. G. HAZARD,
of Peace Dale Factory, Rhode Island.

Agents in New Orleans, Messrs. Godfrey, Blossman & Co., No. 26 Levee Street.

An advertisement for Hazard "slave cloth" that appeared in a New Orleans newspaper. RIHS Collection (RH X17 1425).

stores throughout the South and supplied planters directly. In 1835, Rowland G. Hazard traveled to New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Mobile with samples of his kersey. He acquired major orders in all three cities. "I have made engagements which will _____ our cloths among the planters very generally," he informed his brother Isaac. "They almost all want the double kersey and think it an excellent article. They want them in July, August 1 – 1 September."²⁹ A year later Rowland reported from New Orleans that the Hazard "goods have now been tried by many persons in this section, with very satisfactory results."³⁰ The brothers sold to planters with extensive plantations and those with modest holdings. They even supplied

kersey to United States Senator from Louisiana Robert C. Nicholas. According to Isaac Hazard, the senator said that "his Negroes" were "delighted with it [the Peace Dale kersey] and call it the iron and say it will never wear out." That year, Isaac left New Orleans with promises of "a number of orders by persons in town but they cannot tell how much they want until they go home."³¹

The Hazards' door-to-door sales work suggests that they were comfortable with slaveholding. While identities were often obscured in orders from the South, some bills contained the names and ages of enslaved people. For example, an order revealed that "Steven" was 5'5" tall and his measurements "round the breast in inches and the height of the arm from the middle or seam in the back to the hand," was 39 32; "Isaac" was 5'10" and 39 34.³² For these northern industrialists, slavery was no abstraction; the Hazards solicited orders for enslaved people who had names. The brothers even commented on the management styles of the planters. In 1829, Isaac Hazard informed a sales agent: "We got an order today from J. H. Couper for 2900 yds of milled double Kersey.....The high character of J. H. Couper as a Planter and careful human manager of Negroes is well known."³³ The Hazard brothers admired Couper, who owned a cotton plantation in the Georgia Sea Islands. The comment on his human management skills indicates that Northern textile manufacturers, like their southern clients, accepted slavery in the South as a given.

For the Hazard brothers slavery was not a distant institution. Aside from kersey, the Hazards procured tools for their regular customers. In 1830, Isaac Hazard ordered two dozen axes for one of "his friends from the South"; he made sure they were "of the very best description of warranted goods."³⁴ The Hazards counted southern slaveholders as friends and business acquaintances. This was especially true for Rowland G. Hazard, who spent twenty-three years peddling his family's kersey from plantation

The following measure are taken height of Negro Males 4' in feet & inches. No 1 Round the Breast in inches No 2 the length of the arm from the middle of the shoulder to the back to the hand or leg as long as the thigh or waist No 3

Charles	5 7 1/2	36	30
Jack	5 8	38	33
Moses	5 6	37	31
Sam	5 7	36	32
Simon	5 7	36	32
Jack	5 4	38	29
Deak	5 6	37	32
Simon	5 5	39	32
Water tank	5 4	36	30
Anthony	5 3	36	29
Dennis	5 11	36	34
Henry Tank	5 9	40	32
Henry	5 8	35	31
Henry Mch	5 8	37	32
Isaac	5 10	39	34
S. Hunt	5 6	42	38
Clinton	6	38	34
George Sumner	5 10	37	34
Harry	5 7	38	33
Charles	5 7	37	31
Bob	5 8	38	32
Sam	5 6	36	30
Spencer	5 6	38	32
Arthur	5 9	37	31
Butler	5 6	36	29
Sam	5 5	41	30
Riad	5 2	36	30
George	5 2	35	31

Not Seal
across the

"Measurements of Negroes and A List of Dimensions." (Peace Dale Manufacturing Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School).

to plantation. Slavery was essential to his business success. In the course of doing business, Rowland Hazard witnessed at first hand the intricate workings of the southern slave system.

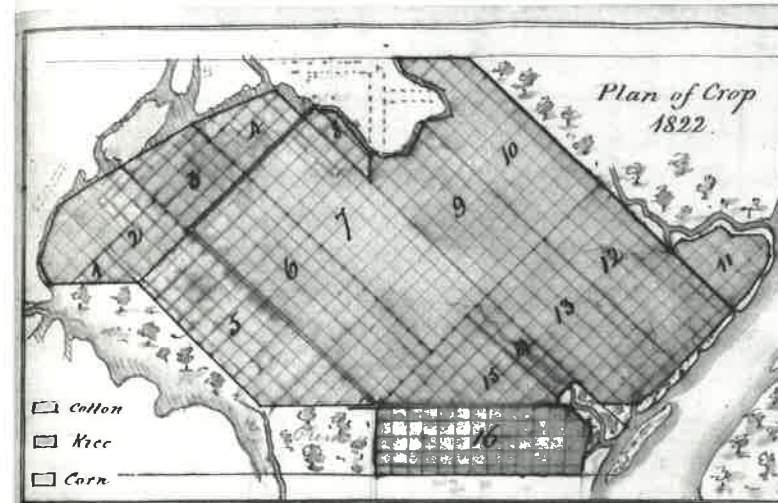
Yet by 1850, Rowland G. Hazard, still active in the Peace Dale kersey industry, decided to take a public stand against slavery. His sentiment was grounded in genuine moral objections to the institution of slavery. Speaking in response to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, as a member of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, Hazard stood in the

House chambers and said: "My own convictions are that it [slavery] is the worst existing form of society for all concerned." Arguing for immediate repeal of the law, Hazard continued, "I am convinced that the slave laws are so repugnant to the moral sentiments of this section [i.e., the North] and the religious convictions of this section, that there can be no peace until they are repealed, or suffered by common consent to become a dead letter."³⁵

Hazard's words were not without economic and personal risk as there were active anti-abolitionists in Rhode Island. Fifteen years earlier, "a very numerous and respectable meeting of citizens of Providence" convened at the Old Town House in a formal repudiation of antislavery activism. These men called for an anti-abolitionist effort in Rhode Island to counter the emergence of a radical antislavery movement in the state and region.³⁶ Anti-abolitionists began to organize protests in response to increasing national and international calls for an end to slaveholding, especially as a new generation of local abolitionists took up the cause in the 1830s. Historian Leonard Richards described northern anti-abolitionists as "gentlemen of property and standing"; they were mill owners, physicians, lawyers, merchants, bankers, judges and Congressmen.³⁷ The anti-abolitionist resolutions seemed to speak directly to the southern planters, reassuring them that northern businessmen were on their side. The men who gathered in Providence in 1835 resolved:

Whereas numerous Anti-Slavery Societies have recently been established in the several states where Slavery had ceased to exist; and whereas the designs and the proceedings of such Societies are, in the judgment of a large majority of this community, considered not only to be dangerous to the existing relations of friendship and of business between different sections of our country, but to menace with destruction of the rights, privileges and blessings, enjoyed under the Union, and accrued by the Constitution, We the People of Providence, deem it to be a solemn duty to our fellow-citizens and ourselves, explicitly to declare our sentiments upon this vitally

important subject.... Whereas the State of Rhode Island and other States in which slavery has been abolished, decided upon this matter, without dictation, interference, or control, from those States in which slavery still exists—Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, all such States ought to be left to set, in this most important of their municipal concerns, equally free from dictative interference or control.³⁸



Fields	Cotton	Rice	Corn	Total
1 N° 1	4 3/4		11 1/2	16 1/4 ann
2 N° 2	20 3/4		10	30 3/4
3 N° 3	21		6	27
4 N° 4	5 1/2		10 1/4	15 3/4
5 Cypress	70 3/4			70 3/4
6 E. Old	81 1/2			81 1/2
7 W. Old	70 1/2			70 1/2
8 Hay			7 1/2	7 1/2
9 E. New	55			55
10 W. New	58		2	60
11 Rice		19 1/2		19 1/2
12 W. River	57 1/4			57 1/4
13 E. River	59 1/4			59 1/4
14 Creek	9 1/2			9 1/2
15 Irregular	35			35
16 Ash	59 1/2			59 1/2
Total of Rice	61 1/4	19 1/2	56 1/4	690 ann
Carry 1st		41		41
Total	61 1/4	60 1/2	56 1/4	731 ann

This anti-abolition statement sought to reassure southerners that Rhode Island businessmen were not in agreement with antislavery sentiments. Three leading proponents of anti-abolitionism, Nicholas Brown, William Goddard and Smith Bosworth, owned kersey mills in the state.³⁹ These men were most likely motivated to organize against abolitionist rhetoric and activism, in an attempt to protect their economic investments in southern slavery. In Rhode Island, the majority of abolitionists were from the middle class—tradesmen and shopkeepers—while most of the anti-abolitionists were elites—businessmen, merchants and mill owners. For example, one of the wealthiest abolitionists owned \$15,000 in real estate, while seven anti-abolitionists in Providence were worth over \$100,000 each and thirty of the thirty-six known anti-abolitionists in Providence were in the top ten percent of property owners.⁴⁰ Anti-abolitionists feared the negative effects of southern boycotts of northern goods.

While Hazard did not call for the immediate or even gradual abolition of all slavery, his strong antislavery statements were a threat to the institution in general especially considering the growing regional divide over slavery. In his 1850 public condemnation of slavery, Hazard separated himself from many Rhode Island mill owners and wealthy citizens who found abolitionism, not slavery, to be abhorrent. Unlike radical antislavery activists, Hazard did not make a case for immediate or gradual abolition. His public condemnation of the institution harkened back to the abolition stance of his grandfather, while it presaged increasing regional division over the issue of slavery.

Hazard publicly denounced slavery and the forced complicity of Northerners in its immorality via the Fugitive Slave Act. Yet he acknowledged in his statement that he had a special relationship with

Left: Plantation of J. Hamilton Couper, South Carolina. Couper was a loyal customer of the Hazard brothers. (#185-z, J. Hamilton Couper Plantation Records, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

southern slaveholding states when he asserted: "I am by descent, by the interest of business and the ties of friendship, more closely allied with the South than any other man in this House or perhaps the state." He reconciled the continued existence of the institution in the southern states and his own investments in it by clinging to an ideology of state's rights:

It is generally conceded that we must not interfere with this institution in the States by enactment of the general government, it seems hardly fair that they should ask us not only to let them alone, but to insist we shall become what they themselves most heartily despise, slave hunters.⁴¹

While he was comfortable condemning the capture and return of fugitive slaves in his own state, Hazard was not willing to denounce the existence of slavery outside his region. Distance from the institution mattered for Hazard's proclaimed antislavery sentiments, yet his business did not allow him to maintain a physical separation from the institution of slavery. Unlike many northern industrialists, Hazard had first-hand knowledge of slavery. He spent the winter months in the South visiting plantations and courting the business of slaveholders; slaveholders were Hazard's only clients. His family's business was doubly dependent on slave labor; they bought from and sold to slaveholders. While Hazard may have been able to ideologically distance himself from the institution of slavery by advocating against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law in Rhode Island, he was immersed in the realities and cruelties the system inflicted on all black people. Regardless of his personal indictment of slaveholding, Hazard accepted the right of white southerners to practice race-based slavery, and in return he expected plantation owners to respect the right of northerners to condemn and disregard the Congressional imperative to return formerly enslaved people to servitude. He asserted that he respected the laws and customs of the Southern region and did not wish to force the laws and customs of his own region on the South. He was

affronted that some southerners had the audacity to disregard the laws of another section by, in effect, forcing others to enslave free men.

Rowland G. Hazard was a part of a generation of northerners who were increasingly critical of slavery and "The Slave Power."⁴² Despite the interdependence of northern industry and southern agriculture and raw materials, after 1830 a distinctive regional divide began to separate the North and the South.⁴³ Northerners had legally dismantled the institution of slavery and were increasingly committed to free labor and the family farm. Southerners, on the other hand, remained wedded to the plantation economy and were eager to take their slave property west. In 1840, ninety-nine percent of black northerners were free and upwards of ninety percent of black southerners were enslaved.⁴⁴ The North and South were coming apart over slavery and Rowland G. Hazard had a stake in both the northern and southern positions. As a New England antislavery mill owner he was invested in free wage labor; however, as a kersey dealer he was also dependent on slaveholding clients.

Even before he spoke out against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, Hazard had recognized the precarious position in which race-based slavery placed all people of African descent. In particular, he abhorred the imprisonment and enslavement of free northern blacks in New Orleans. He routinely visited prisons and courthouses there seeking out illegally enslaved African Americans. Interventions on behalf of captive blacks would have been familiar to Hazard. His father and grandfather had been participants in the activist work of the Providence Abolition Society. The Society filed suit on behalf of several illegally enslaved blacks in Rhode Island in 1789, 1790 and 1791, and brought the first suit against illegal slave trading in the state in 1795. Although he was not born until 1801, Rowland G. Hazard would have known of the antislavery activism of his father and grandfather. In his own work on behalf of free blacks in New Orleans,

Hazard followed in the activist footsteps of his immediate forebears.⁴⁵

If Rowland Hazard's public denunciation of slavery took place in Rhode Island, his activism was largely based in the South. In 1841, while on business in New Orleans, Rowland Hazard worked to free one hundred illegally enslaved African Americans and West Indians after a jailed black sailor smuggled a letter to him asking for assistance. The man claimed to be a free citizen of Newport, Rhode Island, who had been arrested under the suspicion that he was a runaway slave when his ship docked in New Orleans. Dozens of other black sailors shared the same fate and were put to work on local chain gangs. Concerned about the Newport man's situation, Hazard sought out other Rhode Islanders in the city who knew the sailor; however, none of them were willing to testify on the prisoner's behalf. Hazard was appalled: "There were men in the city who knew him and that he was free but to my utter amazement I could not induce any one of them to go into court and testify."⁴⁶ Hazard found only one man willing to help in his crusade to free the prisoners—Jacob Barker, a banker who occasionally practiced law. The two men were of like mind; Barker refused to accept "a very large fee" for representing the imprisoned men.⁴⁷

With Barker, Rowland Hazard undertook a systematic campaign to free scores of black men who had been wrongly detained in New Orleans. Hazard participated actively in Barker's investigation, interviewing sixty-five men and recording their names and stories. He asked how they ended up in prison, and the names of persons that Hazard and Barker could contact to prove their status as free men. Most were sailors from the North; the others were West Indian. They had come to Louisiana unaware that local law required all free persons of color to carry freedom papers. The seamen had been seized by the state as runaways. Once arrested, the men

were "treated like slaves," Hazard remembered. He described the working conditions of one captive, "I found him subject to brutal treatment and compelled to work on the streets with a heavy chain attached to a massive ring firmly riveted about his ankle, and in this condition compelled under a brutal driver to work upon the public streets."⁴⁸ Hazard's use of words and phrases like "driver" and "treated like slaves" reveals his familiarity with the vocabulary of plantation servitude.

Hazard and Barker employed various strategies to secure the enslaved men's freedom. They first argued that some of the captives were not black. This was an important distinction in Louisiana where the French system of slavery restricted the institution to those in whom black blood predominated; of "six men brought into the court to test this point five were ordered to be set at liberty." To orchestrate the release of the others Hazard and Barker sent away for documentation proving their status as free men. Some of the captives lacked any such papers. As a result, Hazard and Barker requested statements from "well respected" white residents who attested to the free status of the prisoners. The authorities in New Orleans resented Hazard's and Barker's intervention and the court refused to release the prisoners due to technicalities. A judge ruled against one man's freedom because the signature of the notary on his freedom papers had not been properly certified. Prison officials began to treat the captives more harshly—denying them adequate food and water. One man was beaten nearly to death. Barker and Hazard responded by bringing cruelty charges against the prison guards. "In our earnest efforts we encountered the law delay till from sheer impatience we resolved to risk decisive action," Hazard recounted in autobiographical notes written some years later. They were successful: "In this we were victorious, and a grand jury in New Orleans presented the city officials with instruction to the prosecuting

1789
A-1153

CONSTITUTION of the PROVIDENCE SOCIETY for abolishing the SLAVE-TRADE.

IT having pleased the Creator of mankind to make of one blood all nations of men, and having, by the diffusion of his light, manifested that, however diversified by colour, situation, religion, or different states of society, it becomes them to consult and promote each other's happiness, as members of one great family: It is therefore the duty of those who profess to maintain their own rights, and especially those who acknowledge the obligations of Christianity, to extend, by the use of such means as are or may be in their power, the blessings of freedom to the whole human race; and in a more particular manner to such of their fellow-creatures as by the laws and constitutions of the United States are entitled to their freedom, and who by fraud or violence are or may be detained in bondage. And as, by the African slave-trade, a system of slavery, replete with human misery, is erected and carried on, it is incumbent on them to endeavour the suppression of that unrighteous commerce; to excite a due observance of such good and wholesome laws as are or may be enacted for the abolition of slavery, and for the support of the rights of those who are entitled to freedom by the laws of the country in which they live; and to afford such relief as we may be enabled to those unhappy fellow-citizens, who, like the sons of Africa, falling into the hands of unmerciful men, may be carried into slavery at Algiers or elsewhere.

From a conviction of these truths, and the obligation of these principles, and from a desire to diffuse them wherever the vices and miseries of slavery exist, and in humble reliance on the favour and support of the Father of mankind, the subscribers have formed themselves into a Society, under the title of *The Providence Society for abolishing the Slave-Trade*.—For effecting these purposes, they have adopted the following rules:

1st. The Society shall elect, by a majority of votes to be taken by ballot, a President, a Vice-President, one or more Counsellors, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall respectively continue in office for one year from the time of their election, and at the expiration of every year succeeding, there shall be a new election of officers in the same manner.

2d. The President shall have authority to maintain order and decorum at the meetings of the Society, and to call a special meeting at any time, with the advice of three of the Standing Committee herein after named.

3d. The Vice-President, in the absence of the President, shall have the same authority as the President; and in case the President shall die or be displaced, the Vice-President shall officiate until a new President be chosen.

4th. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, in a book to be provided for that purpose, and shall cause to be published, from time to time, such part of the proceedings, or resolutions, as the Society may order, or the President with the Standing Committee between the meetings of the Society may think proper to direct.

5th. The Treasurer, if required by the Society, shall give security for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him, and shall keep regular accounts of the monies received and paid, observing always to pay no money without an order signed by the President, or a majority of a quorum of the Standing Committee, who are prohibited from drawing, between the stated meetings of

the Society, for a larger sum than ten pounds, unless especially empowered by the Society at a previous meeting.

6th. If any of the officers above named shall resign or be displaced, the Society shall fill the vacancy in the mode prescribed by the first article; and if the President and Vice-President, or Secretary, or Treasurer, be absent at any of the meetings, the Society may elect one to officiate *pro tempore*.

7th. The Society shall meet once in every quarter, that is to say, on the 3d sixth day in the 2d, 5th, 8th and 11th months in every year, at such place as shall from time to time be agreed upon, in order to receive the reports of the Standing Committee, and devise the ways and means of accomplishing the objects of this institution.

8th. That nine members, with a President or Vice-President, constitutionally assembled, be a quorum of the Society for transacting business.

9th. Every member after subscribing these rules shall pay into the hands of the Treasurer two-thirds of a dollar, and at the commencement of every quarter one-sixth of a dollar; and all donations to the Society shall be made through the President, who shall pay them to the Treasurer, and report them to the Society at the next quarterly-meeting.

10th. Any citizen of the United States, who shall be recommended by two-thirds of the Standing Committee to a quarterly-meeting, shall be balloted for, and if approved by two-thirds of the members present, he shall be declared a member. The Committee of seven shall have authority to receive such members as may offer and subscribe before the next quarterly-meeting, this rule notwithstanding.

11th. Two-thirds of the members present at a quarterly-meeting shall have power to expel any person whom they may deem unworthy of remaining a member, and no person shall be a member who holds a slave, or is concerned in the slave-trade.

12th. It shall be the business of the Counsellors to explain the laws and constitutions of the States, which relate to the emancipation of slaves, and to the slave-trade. And, when it becomes necessary, to urge the due execution thereof, and their claims to freedom, before such persons or Courts as are or may be authorized to decide on the same.

13th. A Standing Committee of seven members shall be appointed to transact the business in general, four of whom are empowered to act; whose duty it shall be to take the most effectual measures to accomplish the objects of this institution, agreeable to the direction and at the expence of the Society, and to report a particular account of their proceedings at the next quarterly-meeting, at which time two of their number shall be released from the service, in the order their names stand on the minutes, and the vacancy filled up by the same or two others appointed in their room, and in like manner a dismissal and appointment of two shall take place at each succeeding quarterly-meeting.

14th. The foregoing Rules shall be in force without alteration six months, after which period they shall be subject to such alterations as two-thirds of the members present, at a quarterly-meeting, shall agree upon.

attorney to proceed against them for cruelty to these negroes," Hazard remembered.⁴⁹

Despite threats from prison officials, Barker and Hazard continued their benevolent labors in New Orleans as the favorable grand jury decision received attention in the local press. Hazard later recalled that he was "daily reminded by the brutal threat of those clutched prey I sought to rescue, by the warnings of friends, and by the intimidation of the public press that I was proceeding at the imminent risk of mob violence and the extremity of Lynch law." Ultimately, Hazard and Barker were instrumental in the release of one hundred free men of color. Hazard later recalled:

I felt there were some objects of effort, some sentiments more controlling than the love of life and that though I did not aspire to or covet a martyr's crown, I could meet my threatened fate at the lamp post rather than abandon the unfortunate friendless down-trodden men whose cause I had espoused.⁵⁰

The threats against Hazard's person proved empty and his business was not affected by the incident, perhaps because slaveholders were concerned with upholding the "respectability" and "lawfulness" of the institution of slavery.

Rowland G. Hazard did not work behind the scenes on behalf of the illegally enslaved men; he was very open in his advocacy. He sought out his contemporaries, requested their assistance, and then visited prisons and courthouses questioning the illegal detainment of black men. Hazard did this in a state and region that depended economically on race-based slavery, where it was legally assumed that all people of African descent were slaves. He committed substantial financial resources to his advocacy. Hazard hired Barker and paid his fees; moreover, he most likely lost money in the time he spent working on these cases. Hazard claimed he worked constantly securing freedom for illegally enslaved black sailors. In so doing, he risked the loss of business contracts in the region. In addition, as he indicated in his memoir, he was incredibly proud of

his work on behalf of the sailors. He later recalled: "I became intensely interested—intensely excited—and for weeks worked nearly twenty of twenty-four hours—it was in the most earnest effort of my life that the love of justice and hatred of oppression developed and manifested." Moreover, on the floor of the Rhode Island General Assembly Hazard publically proclaimed that he fought for the liberty of black men "in the strongholds of slavery, in the prisons of the chain gang, and in the courts of New Orleans." He went on to boast that he continued his work for the illegally enslaved black men, "though repeatedly threatened with lynch law by the officials." Hazard's defense of the New Orleans captives gave him immense personal satisfaction.⁵¹

While Hazard was willing to advocate on behalf of the unlawfully bound freemen from the northern U.S. and West Indies, he was not willing to criticize the regional institution (race-based slavery) that put them in such a precarious position. Further, he seemed oblivious to, or at least unwilling to acknowledge that, having come to New Orleans to sell kersey, he was part of system that oppressed all black people, not only the illegally enslaved men.⁵² Hazard was willing to tolerate southern slavery for the sake of his business and his views on states' rights, but he

A small advertising card with a written note that the Charleston establishment carried "Hazards Negro Cloths." (RHI X 17 1207).

WM. Y. RIPLEY,

DRY GOODS STORE,

Hazard's Negro Cloths

NO. 324 KING-STREET,

Charleston, S. C.

Constitution of the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, 1789. Rowland G. Hazard's forebears were active in the Society. (RHI X3 5991).

was critical of slavery in general and denounced the enslavement of free blacks whether in New Orleans or in the North via the Fugitive Slave Act. Like most antebellum northerners, Hazard opposed slave labor and its expansion west. He claimed that he was not an “apologist of slavery”; nevertheless, he reconciled his moral abhorrence of the institution with his rescue of the illegally enslaved. Hazard’s “crusade” against illegal slavery in the South and his antislavery positions at home allowed him to excuse his own complicity in southern slaveholding.

Rowland G. Hazard’s simultaneous support of and opposition to southern slaveholding exemplifies the situation of a group of northern businessmen who opposed slavery on moral grounds but supported and profited from slavery through their business dealings. Hazard was indeed, “a businessman with a sensitive soul, a slave cloth dealer with anti-slavery sentiments, a defender of black rights who hated abolitionists...a walking contradiction.”⁵³ Hazard considered himself to be against slavery in the North and its expansion in the West. However, he thought radical antislavery activists to be irresponsible fanatics. He had antislavery sentiments, but was not an active abolitionist who worked to destroy the institution of slavery. His ability to reconcile his economic complicity in southern slaveholding with his moral condemnation of slavery was grounded in a specific historical and social context. It mattered that Hazard was a northerner from Rhode Island. From the colonial period through the antebellum, the businesses of slavery were central to the economy in Rhode Island. And while Rhode Islanders were willing to accept the elimination of slaveholding in their midst they remained complicit in slaveholding outside their state, just as Hazard perpetuated southern slaveholding while denouncing the institution at home. In the antebellum North, a region dependent on southern raw goods, Hazard’s seemingly hypocritical activities made sense. Hazard’s sentiment was grounded in genuine moral objections to the institution of slavery; however his

moral objections did not override his own economic interests. For this reason, his primary objection to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law was the requirement that he participate in the maintenance of the institution of slavery while in his home state, not that the law protected the existence of slavery in the southern United States. Hazard rationalized that he could affect slaveholding in his own region and he did. Not only did he publically condemn slavery, he also worked to free illegally enslaved free blacks in the South. He was a strong critic of the intrusion of chattel slavery in his own “section” (i.e., region), however he did not feel that he could impose his views concerning slavery on southerners. Consequently, Hazard could reconcile his complicity in southern slaveholding because he felt that it would be wrong to oppose the existence of slavery outside his region. For Hazard there was no contradiction; there was no hypocrisy. He was an antislavery businessman, who happened to sell kersey to southern slaveholders.

Individuals like Rowland G. Hazard challenge rigid regional categories, specifically antislavery studies that focus on small groups of radical abolitionists instead of larger groups of industrialists who perpetuated slavery while criticizing the existence of slave labor. Studies of the northern antislavery movement and northern complicity must expand to include seemingly contradictory figures like Rowland G. Hazard because simply branding the antislavery manufacturers hypocrites trivializes the complexities of northern opposition to and support for southern slaveholding. Many northern businessmen who invested in slavery were anti-abolitionists; some like Rowland G. Hazard, had antislavery sympathies, yet he also “promoted, prolonged and profited from slavery.”⁵⁴ The competing interests of some northern businessmen are concrete reminders that nineteenth-century antislavery sentiment was not confined to those who called for an immediate or even an eventual end to slavery in the United States. Antislavery rhetoric and actions also came from unlikely people—such as a Rhode Island slave cloth dealer.

Notes

1. Susan Oba, “‘Mostly Made, Especially for This Purpose, in Providence, R.I.’: The Rhode Island Negro Cloth Industry.” (Honors Thesis, Brown University, 2006); Caroline Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics: A Series of Papers Upon Public Questions Written on Various Occasions From 1840 to 1885 By Rowland Gibson Hazard, LL.D.* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1889), 26-29. Some business and personal records of Rowland G. Hazard and his brother Isaac Peace Hazard are in the “Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers,” and the “Isaac P. Hazard Papers,” at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library (hereafter, RIHS); Peace Dale Manufacturing Company records are at the Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.
2. Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1981); Elaine Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985).
3. Myron Stachiw, “‘For the Sake of Commerce’: Rhode Island, Slavery and the Textile Industry.” An essay to accompany the exhibit, “The Loom & The Lash: Northern Industry and Southern Slavery.” (Exhibit at the Museum of Rhode Island History at Aldrich House, 110 Benevolent Street, Providence, Rhode Island. September 15, 1982-January 2, 1983). [Exhibit catalogue, 1982] p. 10.
4. Kersey was a coarse woolen or woolen and cotton cloth with a lustrous, fine nap. Linsey was a strong coarse, durable fabric made of linen or cotton warp and wool weft. Osnaburg was a heavy, rough strong cotton fabric woven with low-grade, coarse, uneven yarns; made in light, medium, and heavy weights. Frederick Douglass was one of the first people to provide a detailed description of “negro cloth” and how it was allotted. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave Written by Himself* (New York: Signet, 1997), 26.
5. Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 294-332.
6. Stattler, Rick and Bob Bellerose, “Guide to Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers,” 1999, RIHS.
7. Richard C. Edwards, “Economic Sophistication in Nineteenth-Century Congressional Tariff Debates,” *Journal of Economic History* 30 (December 1970): 802-838; Ronald Bailey, “Those Valuable People,” in Martin H. Blatt and David Roediger, eds., *The Meaning of Slavery in the North* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 13; Pamela V. Ulrich, “From Fustian to Merino: The Rise of Textiles Using Cotton Before and After the Gin,” *Agricultural History* 68 (Spring 1994): 219-31. To date, the vast majority of studies of the textile industry have focused on how the “industrial order” changed

the lives of white American workers and their families. See William Moran, *The Belles of New England: The Women of the Textile Mills and the Families Whose Wealth They Wove* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002); Mary Blewett, *Constant Turmoil: The Politics of Industrial Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2000); Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

8. Ronald Bailey, "The Other Side of Slavery: Black Labor, Cotton, and Textile Industrialization in Great Britain and the United States," *Agricultural History* 68 (Spring 1994): 36; Martin H. Blatt and David Roediger, eds., *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*; Leonard Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Thomas O'Connor, *Lords of the Loom: The Cotton Whigs and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Scribner, 1968); Richard H. Abbott, *Cotton and Capital: Boston Businessmen and Antislavery Reform, 1854-1868* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991); Bruce Laurie, *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Seth Rockman, "Slavery and Abolition Along the Blackstone," in *A Landscape of Industry: An Industrial History of the Blackstone Valley* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2009), 110-131; Margot Minardi, *Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Drescher, *Abolition*; Sandra Harbert Petruionis, *To Set*

This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven, *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Kathryn Grover, *The Fugitive Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Donald Martin Jacobs, ed., *Courage and Conscience: Black and White Abolitionists in Boston* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993); Anne Farrow, Joel Lang and Jennifer Frank, eds., *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged and Profited from Slavery* (New York: The Hartford Courant Company, 2005).

9. William Davis Miller, *The Narragansett Planters* (Worcester: The American Antiquarian Society, 1934), 20-25.
10. Caroline Hazard, *Thomas Hazard Son of Robt, Call'd College Tom: A Study of Life in Narragansett in the XVIIIth Century, by his Grandson's Granddaughter* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1893). By 1775, nearly eighty percent of New England exports went to the British West Indies. Rachel Chernos Lin, "Rhode Island Slave Traders: Butchers, Bakers and Candlestick Makers," *Slavery and Abolition* 23 (December 2002): 21-38. See John McCusker, "The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1650-1775." (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970).
11. Robert K. Fitts, *Inventing New England's Slave Paradise: Master/Slave Relations in Eighteenth-Century Narragansett, Rhode Island* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).

12. In 1750, fourteen percent of New Yorkers were enslaved. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 369.
13. Narragansett slaveholding farmers are often referred to as "planters," not due to the size or management of their slaveholdings, but because they had nearly twice as many slaves as their urban counterparts in the North and they pursued agricultural production, and were directly involved in the Atlantic economy. Similar "plantations" or large farms also existed on Long Island and in northern New Jersey where enslaved people "tended stock and raised crops for export to the sugar islands." Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," eds., Gad Heuman and James Walvin, *The Slavery Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 123. Historians have long contested the size of slaveholdings in the Narragansett Country. Lorenzo Greene claimed that a few planters had as many as forty to sixty slaves. William G. McLoughlin wrote that some had at least twenty—but no more than fifty; while Sydney James claimed that rarely did any slaveholder have fifty slaves and that most had no more than five. Despite these contentions, historians William Pierson and Rhett Jones have asserted that whatever the real numbers there were enough slaves in South County [i.e., Narragansett Country] to make it the wealthiest region of the colony and "to constitute a viable community and a distinct Afro-Yankee society." Rhett S. Jones, "Plantation Slavery in the Narragansett Country of Rhode Island, 1690-1790: A Preliminary Study," *Plantation Society* 2 (1986): 161-62; William Dillon Pierson, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American*

Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

14. Irving H. Bartlett, *From Slave to Citizen: The Story of the Negro in Rhode Island* (Providence: The Urban League of Greater Providence, 1954), 10.
15. See Christian M. McBurney, "The Rise and Decline of the South Kingstown Planters, 1660-1783" (Honors Thesis, Brown University, 1981), and Fitts, *Inventing New England's Slave Paradise*.
16. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household, Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 32; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1975), 365.
17. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 95-98, 118-120, 178, 181.
18. Narragansett Country, located along the southeastern coast of Rhode Island, was conducive to grazing large livestock and the pursuit of small-scale agriculture. Jones, "Plantation Slavery," 157; Fitts, *Inventing New England's Slave Paradise*, 113, 121-40; Irving H. Bartlett, *From Slave to Citizen*, 10; McBurney, "The Rise and Decline of the South Kingstown Planters, 1660-1783," 55, 221-38; Miller, *Narragansett Planters*, 20-41; Philip Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3-28.
19. John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, vol. 10, 1784-1792* (Providence: Knowles, Anthony and Company, 1859), 7; "Quaker Minute Book, 1789-1827," Papers of the American Slave

Trade, Series A: Selection from the Rhode Island Historical Society, Part 1: Brown Family Collection (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1998) Microfilm, Reel 19; Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 120-21; "A Citizen," *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, 28 Feb. 1789.

20. Rowland Hazard Sr. was the first American to employ water power for carding wool and using power looms. Tony Horowitz, "La Chanson de Roland: A Short History of Peace Dale Rhode Island" (student paper, 1977), RIHS; Myron O. Stachiw, "'For the Sake of Commerce': Slavery, Antislavery, and Northern Industry," in Blatt and Roediger, eds., *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*, 33-36.
21. Thomas R. Hazard (1797-1866), the second son of Rowland and Mary Peace Hazard, briefly worked at his father's mill, but opened his own operation in 1821. Stattler, Rick, "Guide to Thomas Robinson Hazard Papers," 1997, RIHS.
22. Some of the mills were owned or operated by more than one person over the period covered; consequently, only the principal owner has been identified. Stachiw, "'For the Sake of Commerce': Rhode Island, Slavery and the Textile Industry." An essay to accompany the exhibit, "The Loom & The Lash: Northern Industry and Southern Slavery," 10-12.
23. Mary Peace Hazard was born and raised in South Carolina. Her parents, Isaac Peace and Elizabeth Gibson, were originally from Barbados, an old and established slave society. Stattler, Rick, "Guide to Rowland and Mary (Peace) Hazard Papers," 1997,

RIHS. See Caroline E. Robinson, *The Hazard Family of Rhode Island; Being a Genealogy and History of the Descendants of Thomas Hazard, with Sketches of the Worthies of the Family, and Anecdotes Illustrative of their Traits and Also of the Times in Which They Lived* (Boston: Printed for the Author, 1896), 77-78. The Hazard brothers' success in the textile industry provided funding for their other business interests, including a general store in Providence, part ownership in Pier Railroads (Providence, Stonington and Narragansett) and the Wisconsin Central Railroad. Horowitz, "La Chanson de Roland," 4-6. Also see: "Historic and Architectural Resources of South Kingstown, Rhode Island: A Preliminary Report" (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, 1984), and the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

24. Rowland G. Hazard apparently became the mill's southern salesman due to his health; no ailment was ever specifically identified in family papers. Caroline E. Robinson, *The Hazard Family of Rhode Island, 1635-1894* (Boston: Printed by Author, 1895), 122; William L. Newbold to Rowland Gibson Hazard, January 31 1830, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS, 483, sg 5, Box 2, Folder 5, RIHS; Isaac Peace Hazard to Rowland Gibson Hazard, January 7 1832, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 2, Folder 7, RIHS.
25. Rowland Gibson Hazard to Isaac Peace Hazard, January 24 1828, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 1, Folder 5, RIHS.

26. Isaac Peace Hazard to Rowland Gibson Hazard, March 4 1824, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 1, Folder 2, RIHS.
27. Pickering Kendall Pope to Isaac Peace Hazard, August 1 1825, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 1, Folder 13, RIHS.
28. Winder Grouch to Rowland Gibson Hazard, April 26 1840, in the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School; Isaac Peace Hazard to J.H. Couper, Esq., January 5 1829, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 1, Folder 26, RIHS; Oba, "Mostly Made, Especially for This Purpose, in Providence, R.I.," 54-58.
29. Rowland Gibson Hazard to Isaac Peace Hazard, February 15 1835, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 2, Folder 1, RIHS.
30. Rowland Gibson Hazard to Agents in New Orleans, January 1836, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 2, Folder 21, RIHS.
31. Isaac Peace Hazard to Rowland Gibson Hazard, January 13 1836, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 2, Folder 7, RIHS; Rowland Gibson Hazard to Jonathan Bouses, "by direction of James Hamilton Couper," August 11 1828, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 1, Folder 25, RIHS.
32. "Measurements of Negroes and a List of Dimensions," in the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.
33. Isaac Peace Hazard to William Ravenel, July 9 1829, in the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company Records, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.
34. Rowland Gibson Hazard to Isaac Peace Hazard, February 15 1835, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 2, Folder 7, RIHS; Rowland Gibson Hazard to Agents in New Orleans, January 1836, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 2, Folder 21, RIHS; Isaac Peace Hazard to Rowland Gibson Hazard, January 13 1836, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 2, Folder 25, RIHS; Rowland Gibson Hazard to Jonathan Bouses, "By direction of James Hamilton," August 11 1828, in the Isaac P. Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 12, Box 1, RIHS.
35. Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics*, 28-30.
36. "Anti-Abolitionist Meeting," *Providence Daily Journal*, 4 Nov. 1835.
37. In an attempt to verify the claims of abolitionists that many of the men who joined the anti-abolitionist mobs were "gentlemen of property and standing," Richards gathered data on three anti-abolition riots in Utica (1835), Cincinnati (1836), and New York (1834). He chose these disturbances because the names of a significant number of the agitators and participants were available. What he found was that seventy-two and seventy-eight percent of the rioters in Utica and Cincinnati, respectively, were commercial and professional men; thirty-seven and forty-five percent, respectively, were "high-ranking" commercial and professional men. In New York, seventeen percent of the mob participants were professional and commercial men. (Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing*, 136).
38. "Anti-Abolitionist Meeting," *Providence Daily Journal*, 4 Nov. 1835.
39. Stachiw, "'For the Sake of Commerce': Rhode Island, Slavery and the Textile Industry." An essay to accompany the exhibit, "The Loom & The Lash: Northern Industry and Southern Slavery," 3-4.
40. Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics*, 26-31; Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing*, 136; "Anti-Abolition Meeting," *Providence Daily Journal*, 4 Nov. 1835. John Slater, J. H. Clark and H. P. Franklin all owned and operated "negro cloth" mills. Stachiw, "The Loom and the Lash," 10-12. Anti-abolitionists feared that if abolitionists gained ground, labor unions would be strengthened and workers would demand a fair distribution of property. Anti-abolitionists wanted above all else to protect the ideals of private property. Their businesses were predicated on making cloth from slave-produced cotton. A move from kersey to finer goods was expensive because it required machinery and capital. However, southern attempts to extend slavery into the western territories pushed many businessmen to oppose the expansion of slavery. While northern industrialists depended on slave-grown cotton to produce cloth, and did not oppose slavery in the Southern states, they drew the line at the expansion of slavery into the territories. Stachiw, "'For the Sake of Commerce': Rhode Island, Slavery and the Textile Industry." An essay to accompany the exhibit, "The Loom & The Lash: Northern Industry and Southern Slavery," 4.
41. Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics*, 26-30.
42. The phrase "The Slave Power" was first used by James Birney, the

- leader of the antislavery Liberty Party, in a speech in 1844; it refers to a group of slave owners who dominated southern politics and society.
43. Abolitionists described the business relationship between northern industrialists and southern planters as the union of "the Lords of the Lash and the Lords of the Loom." See Gavin Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2006).
44. Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), Table 3, 278-79.
45. "Providence Abolition Society Meeting Minutes, February 20 1789," New England Yearly Meeting Archives, RIHS; Bartlett, ed., *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, 10 (1784-1792): 382.
46. Autobiographical notes of Rowland Gibson Hazard, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 22, Folder 43, RIHS.
47. Autobiographical notes of Rowland Gibson Hazard, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 22, Folder 43, RIHS.
48. Autobiographical notes of Rowland Gibson Hazard, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 24, Folder 4, RIHS; "Descriptive Lists ca. 1841," in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 24, Folder 81, RIHS.
49. Autobiographical notes of Rowland Gibson Hazard, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 22, Folder 43, RIHS.
50. "Descriptive Lists ca. 1841,"; Jacob Barker to Rowland Gibson Hazard, June 17 1841, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 24, Folder 82, RIHS; Jacob Barker to Amos and Samuel Willets, Esq., April 12 1841, and Charles Challenger, April 6 1841, in the Rowland G. and Caroline (Newbold) Hazard Papers, MSS 483, sg 5, Box 22, Folder 43, RIHS.
51. Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics*, 26-29.
52. Hazard, ed., *Economics and Politics*, 26-29.
53. Oba, "'Mostly Made, Especially for This Purpose, in Providence, R. I.," 4.
54. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing*, 3-5, 171-73; the quotation is a reference to the title of Farrow, et al., *Complicit: How the North Promoted, Prolonged and Profited from Slavery*.

Dorothea Browder is assistant professor of history at Western Kentucky University. She was born and raised in Rhode Island. She is the author of "A 'Christian Solution of the Labor Problem': How Workingwomen Reshaped the YWCA's Religious Mission and Politics" (*Journal of Women's History*, 2007) and is revising a book manuscript about the YWCA Industrial Program. A research grant from Western Kentucky University generously funded her research. She would like to thank her mother, Anna, for last-minute research assistance, and her father, Andrew, for libations and moral support.

Elizabeth Nord's Tennis Lesson:

How a Labor Leader Got Her Start in the Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA Industrial Program

DOROTHEA BROWDER

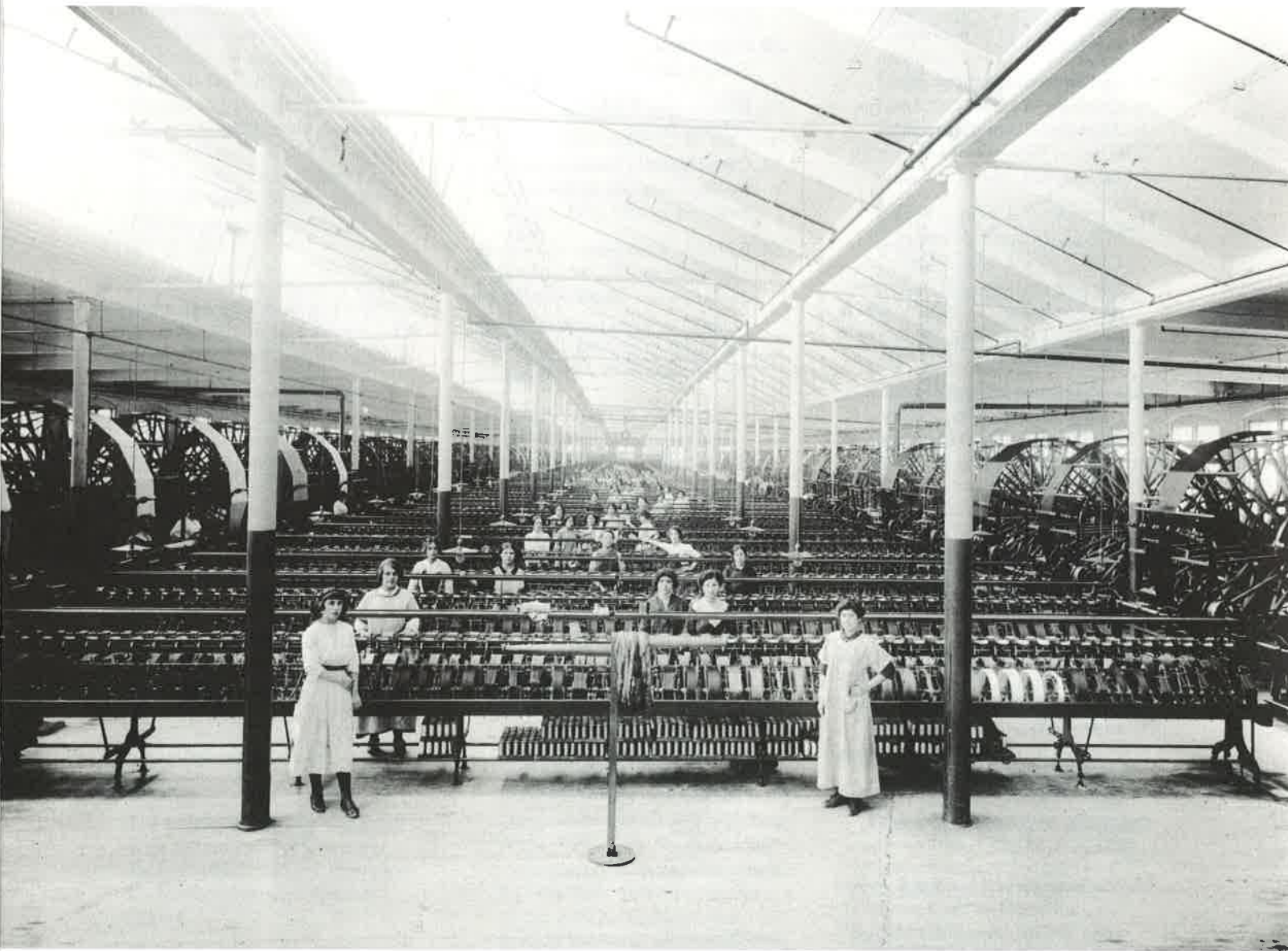
In 1917 one evening after work at the Lorraine Mills in Pawtucket, a fifteen-year-old weaver named Elizabeth Nord made her way over to the Pawtucket-Central Falls Young Women's Christian Association on Broad Street in Central Falls. Whatever the Association's name might suggest, Nord was not seeking spiritual guidance. She planned to join the YWCA Industrial Club, a working girls' club, where she could learn to play tennis after her long workday in the mill. Nord's destination that night was not an unusual one for a young working woman. In this era, hundreds of young Rhode Island working women gathered in YWCA industrial clubs, especially in the Pawtucket-Central Falls club located right on the border between two of Rhode Island's largest industrial cities. On that fateful night in 1917, with a modest intent to master tennis, Elizabeth Nord entered a milieu that would profoundly shape her life's path. The teenage Nord would find that joining the YWCA Industrial Club in Pawtucket was one of the most important and meaningful actions of her life. Through the YWCA she gained skills, knowledge, confidence, and a female support network that together ushered her into a lifelong career advocating for working people.

Industrial clubs for young women, which combined social, educational, and political activities, were part of a national program of the YWCA's Industrial Department. By the 1920s, the YWCA had initiated more than eight hundred local industrial clubs across the nation. At its height in the 1930s, the program organized 50,000 women

annually.¹ In the clubs, young working women like Nord gained knowledge, made friends, played sports, forged a sense of female labor solidarity, and honed public speaking and organizing skills. The national YWCA Industrial Department connected local clubs through shared program work, regional and national conferences, and visits and publications from national staff. Club members who took on leadership roles developed a sense of commonality with other working women across the region and nation.

The YWCA was one of the largest women's organizations of the first half of the twentieth century, with hundreds of thousands of members. Through industrial clubs, working women joined an ecumenical group of college students, middle-class women, and elite women, all seeking solutions to pressing social problems.² One of a number of efforts to organize women across class lines in this period, the national YWCA Industrial Program, though unique in being nominally Protestant, was successful in reaching the most working women of any organization of the period.³

Had Nord encountered the YWCA's programs a few years before 1917, she might have been irritated and alienated by its conservative focus. Groups of middle-class Protestant women formed the first Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, out of concern for the "temporal, moral and religious welfare of self-supporting young women."⁴ Operating primarily in cities on the East Coast, YWCA organizers opened boarding houses, operated room



Workers at the Royal Weaving Company, Pawtucket, ca. 1910-1915. RIHS Collections (RHi X3 487).

and job placement services, set up lunchrooms, and provided educational and recreational classes for young working women. Some Associations offered job training, first in “legitimately feminine” occupations such as sewing and domestic service, and then, as work opportunities expanded, in stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, and penmanship.⁵ In the late nineteenth century, staff members visited factories during noon lunch hours to hold Bible classes and religious discussions. YWCA organizers also invited young female workers to evening social events.

In 1904, however, the national YWCA leadership signaled an increased commitment to expanding its working-class membership, appointing Florence Simms to head a new “Industrial Program.” Simms was a young woman from Indiana who had worked for the YWCA around the country in various capacities since her 1895 graduation from DePauw University.⁶ The effort began as an extension of the Association’s evangelical work. Through lessons in “Applied Christianity,” elite Protestant women had previously initiated YW programs that encouraged working women to meet a standard of a proper “Christian” life through modesty, temperance, and decency. YW staff reached out to young workers in order to save them from the dangers and temptations to “unchristian behavior” that accompanied urban life.⁷ However, working women approached by the YWCA staff urged the organization to offer a program that would be more relevant to their problems of long hours, dirty and unsafe working conditions, and low pay. They wanted some control over the content of YW offerings; they sought programs that would help them understand the political and economic context within which they worked. Florence Simms was sensitive to industrial club members’ requests. Furthermore, she had been influenced by new educational theorists like John Dewey and the Social Gospel movement. Consequently, in the early

1910s, Simms shifted the program’s approach, from top-down moral uplift to self-governed industrial clubs whose working-class members played a role in program planning.⁸

By the late 1910s, local YWCA clubs like the one at the Pawtucket-Central Falls Association had organized into regional federations that sponsored



A postcard of the Pawtucket-Central Falls Young Women's Christian Association. (From the collection of the author).

conferences where working women devised their own activities. Young workers claimed more control at the local level as well. A staff member or “industrial secretary” oversaw the local club activities, but by the time Nord joined in 1917, working women elected leaders and planned programs together with the secretary.⁹ The Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA industrial club had just begun to shift its program toward labor-oriented education along with recreation and social opportunities.

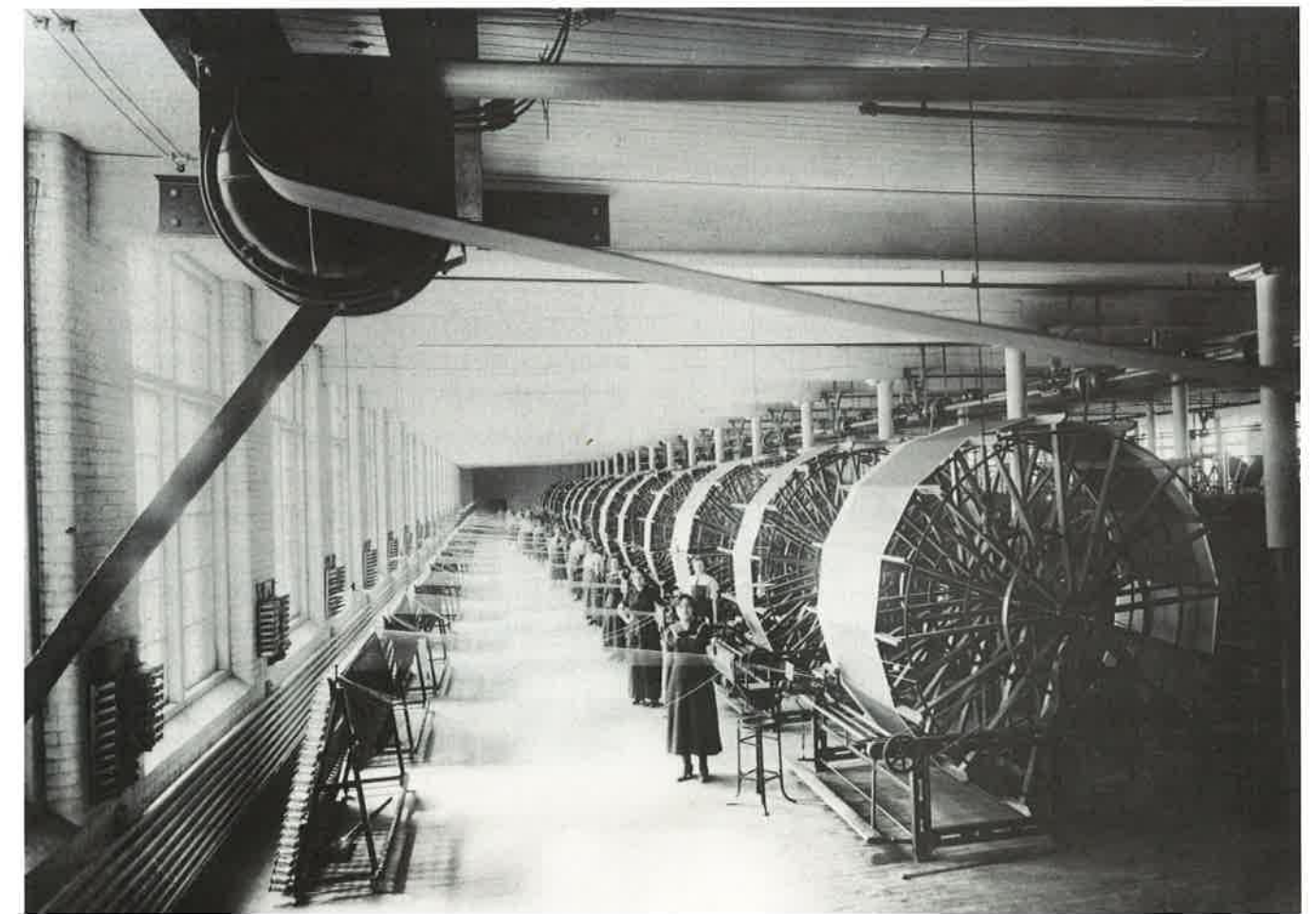
The YWCA industrial clubs had much to offer Rhode Island’s working women in the early years of the twentieth century. Rhode Island had an especially high concentration of laboring women; by 1910, more than one in three women over age thirteen worked for wages, a higher proportion than anywhere besides Massachusetts and the District

of Columbia.¹⁰ Of these women, the majority worked in textiles. Women over age sixteen made up nearly three-fourths of the hosiery and knitted goods workers, over half of those in silk, and over two-fifths of those in the cotton goods and woolen and worsted industries.¹¹ As working families were dependent on their children’s income, most young working-class women left school early and had little access to formal education.¹² Textile work in such cities as Pawtucket and Central Falls was not easy.¹³ Women held the lower-paid jobs and had little access to leadership positions (or even membership) in unions. An American Federation of Labor official expressed male unionists’ reluctance to accept women as equal workers when he wrote, in 1909, that “it is to the interest of all of us that female labor should be limited so as not to injure the motherhood and family life of the nation.”¹⁴

Elizabeth Nord was a typical member of the Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA industrial club: she was an immigrant who had a strong sense of working-class identity, and she craved educational opportunities and social time with other working women. Born in Lancashire, England in 1902, Nord emigrated to Rhode Island with her father, mother, and two brothers when she was ten years old. In England, Nord’s mother’s family were weavers who worked in the textile factories of Lancashire. Nord’s relatives on both her mother’s and father’s sides were union organizers and supporters; her father, Richard, had been a coal miner in England, and became a machinist in Rhode Island.¹⁵ Union protection was so valued by Nord’s English relatives that her English aunt once expressed shock at the idea that Nord and her coworkers were not unionized.¹⁶

With a family history of textile work, Elizabeth Nord sought employment in the Pawtucket mills.

Silk warping machines and workers, Royal Weaving Company, Pawtucket, ca. 1910-1915; RIHS collections (RIHS X3 875).



At fourteen, she was hired as a quiller at the Royal Weaving Company. Quillers operated the quilling machine, which filled the bobbins used in the shuttles on the loom.¹⁷ Her younger brother, Charles, also worked at Royal Weaving, training to be a mule spinner, a “skilled” job. When she was fifteen, Nord joined her mother (whose name was also Elizabeth) as a wool weaver at the Lorraine Mill.¹⁸ Mrs. Nord wanted a better life for her daughter; she suggested that Elizabeth enter silk weaving, a more highly skilled trade. A year or so later, Nord gained a position at Salembier & Clay’s silk mill in Central Falls, which she later described as the finest such mill, highly respected for detailed work with very few imperfections.¹⁹ The YWCA was just a short stroll down Broad St., less than a mile from Nord’s workplace.

The club offered wonderful social opportunities. At the YWCA, young working women like Elizabeth Nord found a congenial atmosphere where they could meet other young workers with similar interests. Nord recalled that, “especially in my work—in weaving—there weren’t many people in my age group with the same interests. A lot of married women. Men, you’d see a lot of men. And [married] women.”²⁰ In the Industrial Club program, Nord had a “wonderful experience, really a great experience.” She remembered:

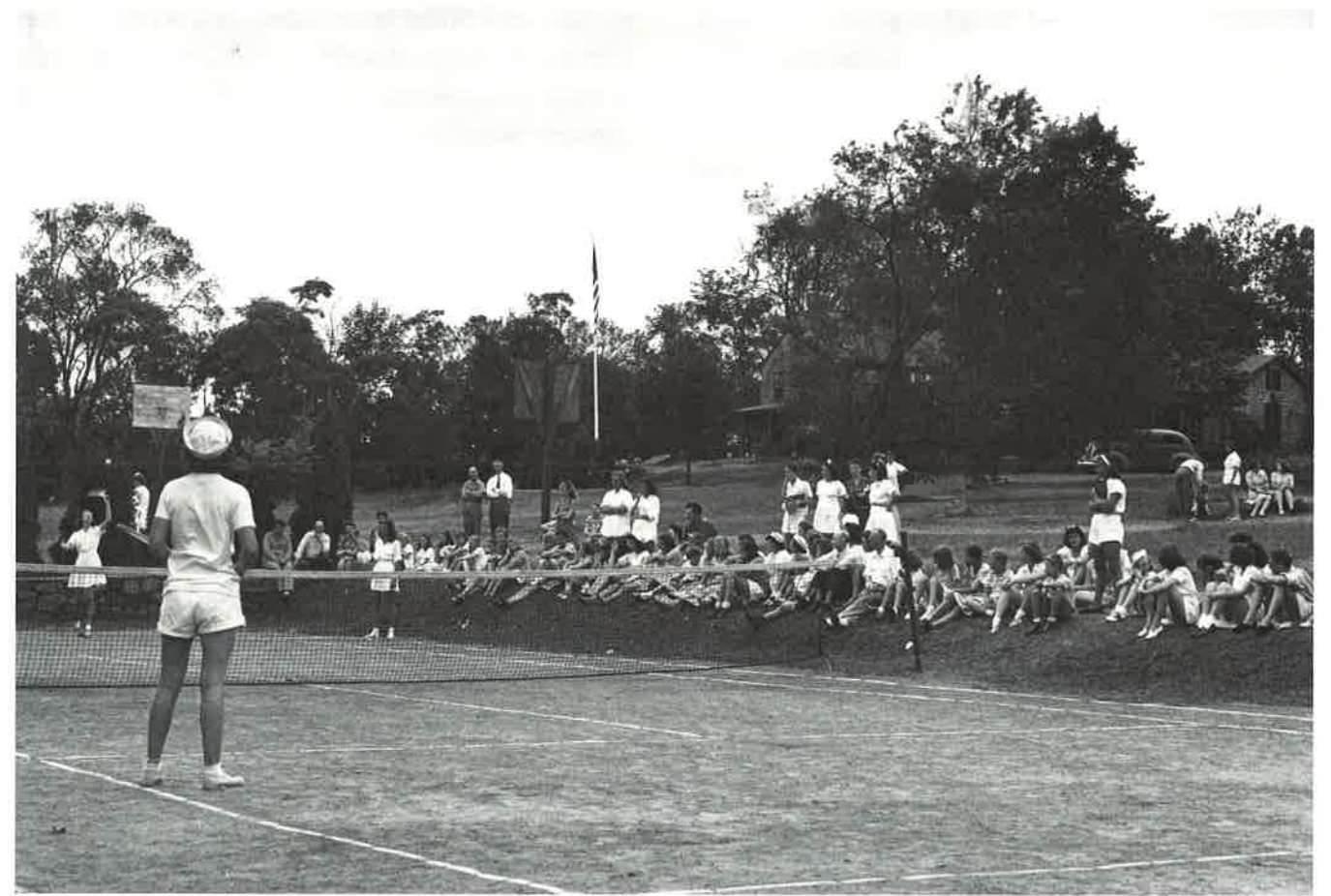
They would have a special night on which they would serve supper. My dad would say ... “Do you remember when you used to ask me to kill a chicken to take to the YWCA supper?” He had a few chickens, I said, “Can I have a chicken on Thursday night, Dad?”²¹

Shared suppers anchored the program, built bonds among the women, and fueled the members for a rigorous evening. Club evenings at the YWCA would last from 6:00 until about 9:30. The program included guest speakers, discussion, crafts, and sports. After supper, the industrial members would hold an assembly to discuss important issues. The YWCA’s industrial staff—whom Nord recalled as

“marvelous people, really great people”—would invite experts in issues that interested club members. The visitors lectured, then led conversations, on subjects such as labor laws, economic history, and studies of textile industries abroad.²² After assembly, Elizabeth Nord remembered, club members would have “gymnasium. And then basketball. By that time you’d be half-dead. And then swimming... One right after the other.” Nord recalled that “those in your group became your friends, you know, a group of friends with the same interests and age group.”²³

Nord and her fellow club members grew close over the many recreation opportunities that YWCA staff emphasized to counter long days standing or sitting in factories. Pawtucket YWCA Industrial Secretary Wilma Duntze noted that it was “hardly possible to record the number of hikes and picnics, large and small” that took place.²⁴ The club members went on hikes to Lincoln Woods and outings to Shawomet. A dance drew such a large attendance that it produced a \$14.00 surplus, which members added to the fund for summer conferences. And women health experts offered club members a health talk and a demonstration of the physical exam the YWCA offered.²⁵ In 1924, the Industrial Program coordinated with the YWCA’s Health Education Department to organize noon volleyball games at Coats, Lorraine, Lumb Knitting, Lebanon, and Sayles Bleacheries, among other mills, immediately drawing nearly one hundred participants. Club members also put on exhibition basketball games at the YWCA.²⁶

In addition to recreation, the Pawtucket YWCA offered Elizabeth Nord an opportunity for a female working-class solidarity. It brought her into contact with women who worked outside textile factories, as not all Pawtucket YWCA industrial members were textile workers—their ranks included waitresses, power machine operators, jewelry industry workers, and household employees.²⁷ The industrial program offered women like Nord a chance to forge alliances



YWCA members play tennis. RIHS Collections (RHi X17 1427).

beyond their own ethnic institutions, similar to but developing earlier than the “working-class Americanism” that Gary Gerstle found in 1930s Woonsocket. Scholars such as Gerstle and Louise Lamphere have noted the cultural insularity of ethnic groups in early twentieth-century Rhode Island. Lamphere, writing of Central Falls, found that wage-earning women’s “non-work experience was confined to ethnic settings. Neighborhood, church, and leisure activities created networks of families bound together through a common identity as French-Canadian, English, or Polish.”²⁸ Nord, though, did not find close ties in her neighborhood or church, so the YWCA offered her particularly valuable opportunities for community. Luckily for her, in the 1920s the YWCA

Industrial Program in Rhode Island (and nationally) sought to increase its outreach to immigrants from many backgrounds. By 1935, the Pawtucket YWCA included women who identified as “American, Armenian, Assyrian, Canadian, English, French, French-Canadian, French-American, French-Irish, German, Greek, Irish, Irish-American, Irish-Scotch, Irish-Italian, Italian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Scotch, Swedish, and Syrian.”²⁹ Its industrial program provided a milieu where young women workers of immensely varied ethnic and religious backgrounds could become acquainted through their common interests.

Elizabeth Nord remembered her friends from the YWCA—staff as well as fellow workers—as

the center of her social life throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. Her YWCA friends came to her family's home at 595 Benefit Street in Pawtucket, which she shared for decades with her parents and her younger brother.³⁰ She recalled that "a lot of these [YWCA] people were happy to have someplace to come to, like YW secretaries [program staff] and people like this, happy to have a home to go to so to speak. So your family knows these folks...as a matter of fact, they were really fond of some of these people."³¹ She recalled her neighborhood as not close-knit at all, with few community activities to bring people together. She sometimes attended church services, taking the bus down to St. Paul's on Park Place, and was confirmed in the Episcopal church, but otherwise the church played little role in her life. "Of course," she recalled, "then my big social thing for years was YW things, and YW people, where I'd either be with them at the YW or they'd be at my house, or whatever we did."³²

The dictates of her employment made it difficult for Elizabeth Nord to attend school as a teenager; yet she had a desire to be educated, and the YW was a superb educational resource for Nord and other working women. Nord left regular school after sixth grade, but then took evening classes and finished seventh and eighth grade in one year, "with the help of a teacher." She took high school courses as well, "for years, doing all kinds of nothing," mostly business courses, as those were what was available. She studied "English, typing, arithmetic," nothing she felt of great practical use to her but because, she recalled, "I just wanted to go to school...I loved reading." She greatly enjoyed studying—"loved biology" when she attended a year of high school in the mornings while working night shifts, she remembered.³³ While these courses fed Nord's general love of learning, the YWCA provided both the framework she was missing in school (where most of the courses seemed geared toward training her for secretarial work, in which she was uninterested) and a much broader, more relevant and fun experience.

The education component of the Pawtucket YW Industrial Program (like that of the national YWCA program) was not directed toward working class mobility. Instead, it addressed issues of deep importance to women workers. Nord recalled her father's pride in his work for the Pawtucket water department, and her mother's satisfaction in training her to weave. "I loved my weaving and knocking the old looms around!" Nord recalled. "I never expected to leave it."³⁴ What the YWCA offered was both education for personal growth and education that working women could put to use in the workplace.³⁵

For Elizabeth Nord, the Pawtucket-Central Falls industrial club program also offered leadership opportunities. In 1923, at age twenty, she became president of her club. She held the position into the late 1920s, when she joined the Pawtucket YWCA's board of directors. An enthusiastic leader, Nord helped shape the Pawtucket industrial club into a "very flourishing program," according to Grace Coyle of the national industrial staff, who regularly visited and reported on local clubs in the region.³⁶

In the twin cities of Pawtucket and Central Falls, where most of the population of 90,000 was, like Nord, linked to textiles, the industrial club organized educational and artistic projects around the textile industry. In 1925, for instance, members launched a study that provided foundations for a national YWCA program on textile work. The study was initially entitled "Historic and Economic Factors of the Textile Industry: a six weeks' project." It was renamed "24,000 Miles of Textile Romance" in "the belief that popularizing the titles was the only way of making an effort on 'Historic and Economic Factors' acceptable." The project's organizers had high goals that mirrored those of the YWCA Industrial Program: to highlight the dignity of labor, emphasize working women's skills, and foster a sense of pride, solidarity, and labor internationalism. The project and its culminating public exhibit were written up in the local press.³⁷ In 1930, national Industrial Program

staff chose the Pawtucket program to lead a study of the textile industry in New England. The young women who directed Pawtucket's textile project gathered information and personal stories that the national Industrial Program spread to members throughout the United States, linking Rhode Island's textile workers with household workers in Minneapolis, candy makers in St. Louis, and mill and tobacco workers in North Carolina.³⁸

Not all Pawtucket YW industrial club activities focused on work. "Making a Living and a Life," the title of a December 1924 talk that drew three hundred members, suggests the educational philosophy in the industrial program. The same month in which the club

organized the textile exhibit, Pawtucket and Central Falls members also put on an operetta, "The Fire Prince," to an audience of 265, and attended weekly "Charm School" on subjects such as "The Charm of a Real Home" and "Appreciate—art, reading and music."³⁹ The young women held political debates and rallies in which members "divided into three parties," Democrat, Republican, and Progressive, "according to individual convictions." The club members presented their party's history, its platform, and candidate qualifications, closing with a torchlight parade.⁴⁰ Luminaries such as Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Labor Department, came to the Pawtucket club

A lunch room at the YWCA, 1920. RIHS Collections (RHi X17 1426).



to encourage political engagement.⁴¹ Nord and her fellow club members also attended cultural events. In 1931, for example, a group took a special trip to Brown University to hear poet Countee Cullen.⁴²

These activities demonstrate both how the YWCA's Industrial Program promoted broader horizons for women like Nord, and how the national effort relied on the growing skills of women in the industrial clubs. National and local program staff sought to provide tools that would enable young working women to analyze their place in the broader economic and social system, to maintain pride in their working-class identities, and to understand their responsibilities to other working women, including those in other nations.

Elizabeth Nord's education took place not only at the YWCA in Pawtucket, but also at regional and national YWCA industrial conferences, where she participated with other working-class YWCA members in workshops, lectures, discussions, and recreation. The summer conferences were planned by elected members of the local industrial clubs, with help from staff.⁴³ At the annual regional conferences, held in scenic rural settings in upstate New York, Nord and other Rhode Island club delegates met with YWCA members from the northeastern states.⁴⁴ The conferences ran for a week or ten days, combining recreation with program planning and in-depth study of political, social, and religious issues. They provided working women like Nord with rare opportunities to hear political and social reformers and labor activists. Prominent leaders in the women's, labor, peace, and cooperative movements lectured and led conversations exploring connections between those movements and working women's lives. A.J. Muste, the peace activist and labor educator, was a frequent YW conference leader. Representatives from the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers League also spoke frequently at YW gatherings. Conference participants addressed their responsibilities to other

working women. For instance, the women at the 1926 Northeastern summer conference discussed the Passaic, N.J., textile strike at length, took up a collection, and added the money from their camp cooperative bookstore to contribute to the strike fund.⁴⁵ Finally, delegates passed platforms meant to guide all industrial club members.

For women like Elizabeth Nord, the summer conferences also provided a rare place for interracial contact and organizing as well as a site for discussing nativist and racial prejudices. Increasingly, working women in the Industrial Program addressed racial justice and participated in local interracial projects.⁴⁶ The national Industrial Program sought to foster ties among women of different backgrounds; by the early 1920s, the program was particularly focused on encouraging "Unity in Industry" among native-born white women, women of color, and immigrant women. This emphasis was apparent at the program's conferences.⁴⁷ When Elizabeth Nord attended the 1924 National Industrial Assembly, a group of 350 members that met as part of the YWCA's biennial National Convention, the conference program focused particularly on racial and interethnic relationships.⁴⁸

Race was a major emphasis at the northeastern industrial club conference a few months later, at the 1924 Summit Lake Camp in Central Valley, N.Y., where Elizabeth Nord served as a Pawtucket delegate and as conference treasurer. This conference, previously attended by only white delegates, had advocated equal workplace treatment for African-American women five years earlier. By 1924 the gathering was interracial. Participants heard a presentation on the injustices faced by black Americans in general and the "Negro girl in industry" in particular. In the discussion that followed, a number of delegates described their own experiences with prejudice. Myrtle Anderson, a New Yorker who was at the 1924 National Convention with Nord, "told of her difficulty in

getting a start in any line of work because of her color." Another delegate, Dorothy Cranck, related that she had "met many difficulties with the white girls with whom she worked."⁴⁹ Floria Pinkney, a trade school graduate from Brooklyn, "told of her experience and the difficulty of getting a chance to advance in her trade by her own efforts."⁵⁰ Pinkney found herself confined to domestic work like many women of color; she soon spearheaded efforts to get household workers' concerns higher on the agenda of the YWCA industrial clubs.⁵¹ Nord's experiences suggest a vibrant culture at regional and national YWCA conferences, in which barriers between ethnic, religious, and racial groups began to crumble as early as the 1920s.⁵²

Elizabeth Nord's involvement in the YWCA propelled her into the thriving women's labor education movement of the 1920s.⁵³ Nord spent the summers of 1923 and 1924 at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. She learned of the program through a flyer on the Pawtucket YWCA bulletin board, applied successfully, and was awarded a scholarship. YWCA industrial secretaries had helped to organize and staff this early experiment in workers' education, and they recruited the bulk of working women in the early years. Founded by Bryn Mawr president M. Carey Thomas in 1921, with help from the YWCA, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers League, and some unions, the Bryn Mawr Summer School educated hundreds of working women in the 1920s.⁵⁴ Much like the YWCA summer industrial conferences, the Bryn Mawr summer program brought together working women from a range of backgrounds for education, recreation, and solidarity. The summer school was one of the best class-bridging efforts offered to working women in the 1920s.⁵⁵

Only twenty years old when she arrived at Bryn Mawr Summer School in 1923, Nord matriculated with one hundred women from a wide range of geographic areas, occupations, and ethnic and



An undated photograph of Elizabeth Nord. (Image ID 99961.jpg, Wisconsin Historical Society).

nationality backgrounds. The participants worked in textiles, garment making, electrical instruments, candy making, tobacco, railroads, cardboard manufacturing, tailoring, telephone switchboards, shoe-making, glove making, millinery, automobile assembly, engraving, printing, hosiery, bookbinding, novelties, horseshoe nail manufacture, typewriter assembly, and paper goods, among other blue-collar occupations. Many identified simply as "American," but others listed their nationalities as "Russian, English, Roumanian, Lithuanian, Czecho-slovak, Austro-Hungarian, Polish, [or] Italian."⁵⁶

The summer program of 1924 included a debate on the Equal Rights Amendment and an international folk music festival, celebrating the ethnic diversity of the student body, as well as economics classes focused on working people, astronomy programs, campfires, and hikes, along with a rigorous writing program

that emphasized the students' own experiences. Tensions arose over ethnic and religious differences (especially between Southern white workers and Jewish immigrants from the Northeast, and between non-unionized and unionized students). However, the school's discussion-based curriculum and emphasis on respecting difference ameliorated those tensions; students frequently described themselves as more broad-minded after attending the Bryn Mawr Summer School.⁵⁷

More than anything, the Bryn Mawr program appears to have built confidence and skills. Numerous students, including Elizabeth Nord, later credited the summer school with setting them on the road to social justice careers. Nord, an eager student, recalled her experiences there with great enthusiasm, calling the program:

... a whole story in itself which is absolutely amazing... Absolutely marvelous, and the curriculum... was not strictly geared to working in the trade union movement, although that was the purpose... you had social science, in addition to labor legislation, economics, and some psychology and literature.

She remembered with pleasure a motto someone had coined at the school: "To Give the Workers a Voice in the Pen."⁵⁸ Nord recalled an empathetic faculty sympathetic to working women's problems.⁵⁹ She received first-class teaching from the liberal and radical faculty who staffed the school.⁶⁰

Elizabeth Nord remained a vivid figure to Bryn Mawr Summer School director Hilda Smith a half century after Nord had matriculated. Smith was impressed with Nord's pride in her work. Nord told her, "You know, it takes just as long to be a weaver as it does to be a lawyer, and that's nine years," Smith recalled, adding that the pride in skill was a family matter. "Her mother taught her to weave; she taught her brother to weave," Smith remembered. Nord in her first year was a "very quiet little person" who "didn't stand out," Hilda Smith recalled. When Elizabeth Nord returned to Rhode Island, American

Federation of Labor president William Green asked her to speak about labor education. Green was so impressed that he published her talk in the AFL's *The Federationist*, and pressed her into service as a regular lecturer. Nord became, Smith noted, "quite well known as a speaker on labor education." Smith laughed to remember the school's happiness to have Nord back for another year, calling her a "most remarkable person."⁶¹ In 1924, Elizabeth Nord was elected to a two-year position on the Bryn Mawr summer school's Joint Administrative Committee, a governance committee equally composed of college representatives and working women.⁶² She also attended the Barnard Summer School for Working Women in New York in the mid-1920s.⁶³

In 1929, Nord sought more in-depth labor education through an eight-month residential program at Vineyard Shore School for Workers. She was one of thirteen working women in the school's residential program, located in Hilda Smith's "old-fashioned house," just across the Hudson River from Vassar College. An outgrowth of the Bryn Mawr summer school, Vineyard Shore offered an intensive program in labor education. As at the Bryn Mawr program and other labor schools, the Vineyard Shore curriculum was based around workers' own experiences, using courses in psychology, economics, history, and sociology.⁶⁴ Nord returned to Salembier & Clay in Central Falls after finishing at the Vineyard Shore School in 1930. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, she publicized workers' education at conferences and labor conventions and in the press.⁶⁵

The labor school experiences strengthened Nord's speaking, writing, and organizing skills, but by the time she had enrolled in the Bryn Mawr Summer School, the YWCA already had provided her a strong grounding in labor activism in a female setting. YWCA founders had not anticipated this turn, though by the late 1910s, industrial staff were beginning to promote it. As early as 1916, national Industrial Program staff found themselves "on



Dinner hour at J. & P. Coats Thread Mills, Central Falls. RIHS Collections (RHi X3 5945).

the firing line," as one put it, regarding what their relationship should be to trade unions. Though they faced pressure from YWCA leaders and funders to avoid unions, the industrial staff increasingly saw it as their task to help organize working women.⁶⁶ Beside providing networking opportunities for industrial club members, the YWCA's regional and national conferences inevitably led to conversations about labor issues and workers' right to organize. In the summer of 1919, New England industrial club members formally reinterpreted the YWCA's purpose from one of moral uplift to one of political action. At the 1919 regional conference in Altamont, New York, industrial club delegates passed a platform that called for actively tackling "industrial problems," and "practicing Social Equality founded on our study of

Christ's relationship to others."⁶⁷ This emphasis on awareness of political and industrial issues marked a shift from a stress on personal morality in earlier platforms.⁶⁸ Further resolutions at the conference included one "that working girls should accept and apply the principle of collective bargaining in order to obtain a living wage and better working conditions."⁶⁹ In 1919, arguing for workers' right to organize was political tinder both among YWCA leaders and across American society. At this time, the word "labor" was, one national YWCA leader later recalled, a "dirty word."⁷⁰

A few months after the Altamont conference, a national gathering of club members pressed for major policy changes in the national YWCA. In October 1919, Nord and her fellow club members

sent a Pawtucket representative, Annie Johnston, to Washington, D.C for the first YWCA National Industrial Conference.⁷¹ Sixty-six delegates, representing industrial clubs from around the country, met to discuss a set of issues concurrently under consideration by the First International Congress of Working Women.⁷² They heard from prominent figures like Mary Anderson, Margaret Dreier Robins from the National Women's Trade Union League, Florence Simms, and representatives from other progressive organizations.

At the end of the 1919 conference, delegates passed a momentous resolution that called for the *entire* YWCA membership and national leadership to acknowledge workers' right to collectively bargain. The resolution also urged the YWCA to educate its own members and the public on labor issues. Delegates sent the resolution to the YWCA National Board for consideration at the 1920 National Convention. It passed at the national convention, but only after significant debate. Its passage prompted a YWCA national board member to publicly resign.⁷³ A sign of the rising power of industrial members and staff, the resolution also ushered in decades of internecine struggle, as the Industrial Program's labor sympathies never gained full acceptance in the YWCA's boards and governing bodies.⁷⁴ Local YWCAs varied greatly in their acceptance of labor activism and in their willingness to allow working-class members to share governance.⁷⁵

The YWCA Industrial Program was among a number of cross-class women's efforts to help working women, efforts that were sometimes fraught with tensions but nonetheless accomplished much. Starting in the late nineteenth century and well into the early twentieth, organizations that allied elite, middle-class and working-class women, such as the YWCA, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers League, and Working Girls' Clubs, offered rare institutional resources to working women who were largely neglected by labor unions

and had little to help them negotiate the power differential between employers and employees.⁷⁶

Class relations in these networks proved complicated at times. The Women's Trade Union League, for instance, "ran into difficulties in its attempt to form an egalitarian alliance of working women and upper-class women," notes historian Nancy Schrom Dye.⁷⁷ Within the YWCA, which encompassed industrialists' family members as well as poorly paid wage workers, tensions quickly grew once industrial members began to shape their own programs and claim policy mandates for the interests of the working class. Those early struggles within the YWCA over the direction of the program and later local struggles over labor activism illuminate the barriers facing such efforts.

Elizabeth Nord's leadership positions in the YWCA led to leadership positions in a number of these other women's organizations. Within the YWCA, Nord served as discussion leader in a cross-class experiment, the "Student-Industrial Program," that developed in the 1920s (initiated by the national YWCA's Student and Industrial sections). It brought together Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA members and a group of students at Pembroke College, who were members of Pembroke's Student YWCA.⁷⁸ She served on the Executive Committee of the Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA throughout the late twenties and early thirties, and in regional YWCA posts as well. Nord was elected president of the regional YWCA mid-winter conference in 1931, at age twenty-nine, and served on the executive board of the YWCA's Northeast Industrial Council, which coordinated programs and conferences in the region. Also in 1931, Nord was elected the first president of the Rhode Island Committee of the Women's Trade Union League, and went to Boston for the League's Conference on Economic Planning.⁷⁹ She served on the board of directors of the Rhode Island Consumers League for several years starting in 1934.⁸⁰ Through the YWCA,

Nord thus entered a broader network of cross-class female reform.

Though Nord found supportive networks that included middle-class women through these activities, she encountered opposition in the leadership of her own YWCA. The conflicts characteristic of cross-class women's organizations had always existed in

had strong support from the staff of the YWCA's national Industrial Program and the working-class women (including Nord) on the YWCA's National Industrial Council, which coordinated the program. Industrial conference participants discussed unions; their programs engendered a sense of solidarity and common goals among working women. Indeed,



Young working women found many recreational opportunities at the YWCA ca. 1935 (RHi X17 1428).

Rhode Island's YWCA affiliates, as in local YWCAs elsewhere. The subject of unions was a source of tension both within local Associations and within the national YWCA movement.⁸¹ Labor unions

working women in the program had been hearing about the benefits of unions at least since the first National Industrial Conference of 1919. Yet Nord found that the board of directors of her own

YWCA was more sympathetic to employers than to working women on the subject of labor rights.

In 1928, Elizabeth Nord joined the United Textile Workers the first time she was offered the chance. She left work at midnight on a Saturday night and saw an organizer handing out leaflets on "a very stormy night." She recalled thinking, "My, my...he means it!...to be standing out in this kind of weather...I was very impressed." The union was not very active in the late 1920s, and Nord recalled sometimes being the only one at the union hall on Broad Street at meeting times.⁸² The union's leadership was mostly male and older, like most leadership in the American Federation of Labor. As she began to rise to leadership positions, Elizabeth Nord drew attention because the rest of the upper ranks were exclusively male. She later recalled a friendly warning from a business manager: "They'll knock the pins from under you"

as the only woman organizer. Her mental response, she later recounted, was: "Nobody's going to knock the pins out from under me," though at the time she was unaware of the challenges that might face her as a rare female organizer.⁸³

Elizabeth Nord simultaneously worked as a union organizer and an ardent leader of the YWCA, a precarious mix of roles. In 1930, Nord served as an official YWCA National Industrial Council representative at the AFL convention in Boston.⁸⁴ YWCA national staff member Elsie Harper reported with glee the sharp contrast of conservative-minded old men, white-haired or bald, with the bright, vibrant young YWCA women like Nord.⁸⁵ Nord herself later skirted an interviewer's question about prejudice she had encountered as a woman in the labor movement, stating simply, "I think if you want to do something and are interested, you can just do

Workers and machines for the twisting operation at the Royal Weaving Mill Pawtucket, 1910-1918. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 1192).



it. This has always been my experience."⁸⁶ Being a union organizer did not conflict with her leadership role in the Industrial Program, but when she moved into a YWCA position outside the Industrial Program, it was a different story.

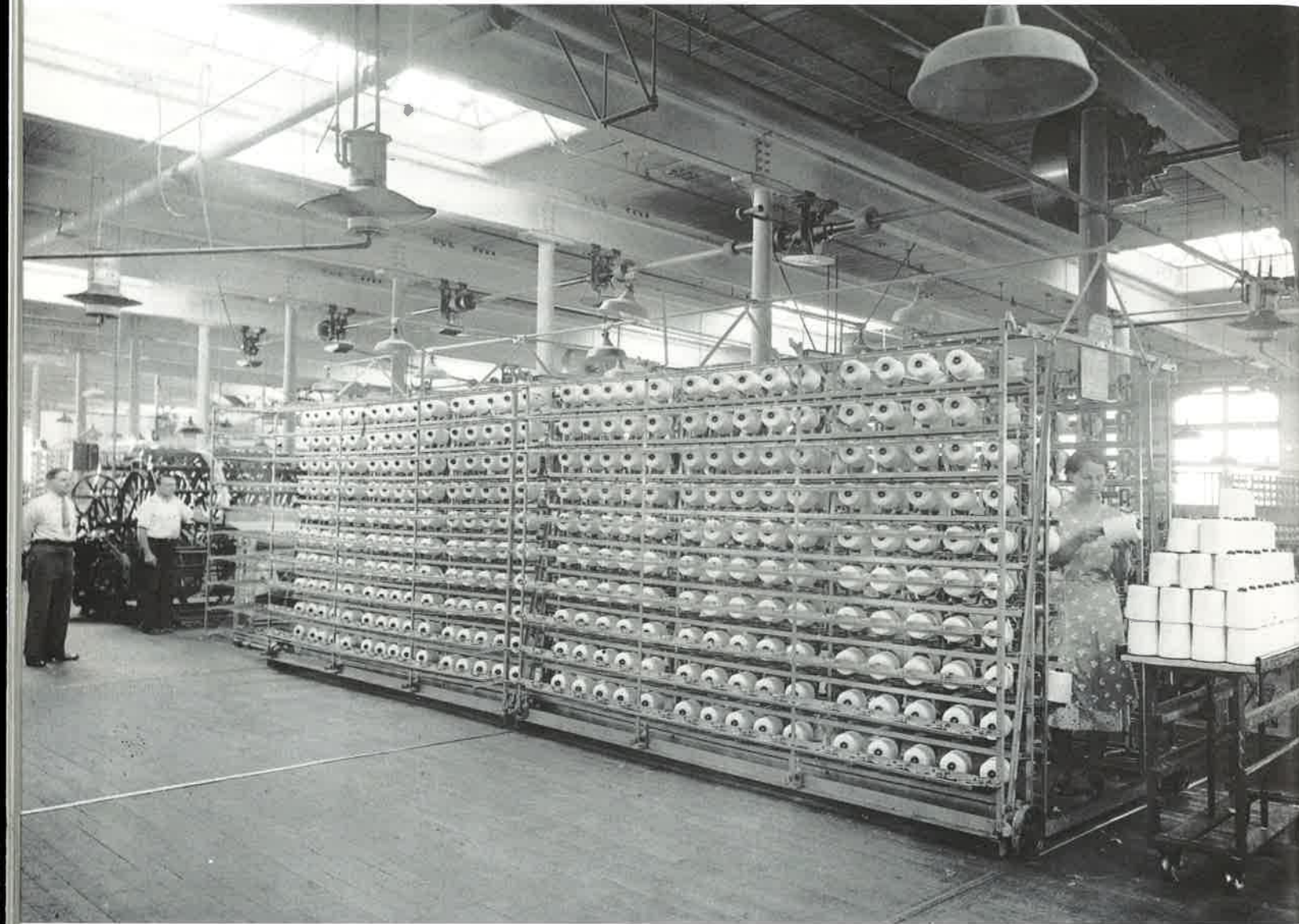
In 1928, the same year she became a member of the union, Elizabeth Nord joined the Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA's Board of Directors. During Nord's tenure on the Pawtucket YWCA Board of Directors, from 1928 to 1936, developments in the YW vividly embodied the persistent tensions around labor activism and working-class agency.⁸⁷ Labor strife peppered Rhode Island in the early twentieth century. Between 1919 and 1928, strikes broke out across New England's textile factories, as the industry contracted in response to postwar conditions and international competition.⁸⁸ Further strikes erupted in the 1930s, culminating in 1934, in what Gary Gerstle terms the "single largest industrial action in the history of American labor," one which drew in a majority of Rhode Island textile workers.⁸⁹

Despite people in the national YW organization who supported solidarity among working women, numerous well-off YWCA women preferred to continue to define their mission as uplift of poor working girls. The Central Falls-Pawtucket Association served mill workers and other laboring women in addition to a broader populace but was governed largely by elite, conservative women. In addition, some of the Pawtucket board members were "closely connected with the management of several of the mills," YWCA national industrial staff member Helen Gifford noted in 1931, adding that those members were "quite antagonistic toward any liberal thinking on industrial questions."⁹⁰ When textile strikes broke out in Rhode Island in 1931, Gifford, who oversaw the Northeast region, questioned whether YWCAs in the northeast were committed to the national Industrial Department policy (which supported collective bargaining rights). "There is an appalling problem in relation to strikes in the area,"

Gifford reported to the YWCA's National Industrial Committee. "In Pawtucket," Gifford observed, "the girl leader of the strike is a leader in the Industrial Department and the Association is linked in other ways with the mill—for instance, the president of the B&P [Pawtucket YWCA Business and Professional] group is secretary to the head of the mill."⁹¹ Such conflicts were not uncommon in local YWCAs with thriving industrial programs for working women. Members of employers' families often sat on YWCA boards, and the local Community Chest and Manufacturers' Associations feared a program they saw as potentially dangerous.⁹²

The strikes brought out the class tensions inherent in the Pawtucket YWCA. At the same time that the Pawtucket YWCA would not formally support a 1931 strike, some members went out on strike, and Agnes Kessler, the Pawtucket industrial secretary, "strongly advised other girls not to adopt scab jobs in the mills that were out."⁹³ This apparent ambivalence reflected the complex governance of YWCAs, initially run by elite women interested in charity, now contending with an Industrial Program filled with labor-friendly staff. In the early thirties, democratizing pressures, brought by the Industrial Program, affected the YWCA movement across the nation.

On the Pawtucket YWCA's board of directors, Nord encountered conflict with some of the board's more elite women, who disapproved of labor organizing and of the labor unrest that disrupted Rhode Island's textile industry. Some board members sought to serve as intermediaries between strikers and management, perhaps in a gesture of well-meaning "sisterhood" that ignored the political realities. Nord recalled the 1933 general strike and the widespread 1934 strikes in mills in Woonsocket, Saylesville, Pawtucket, Central Falls, and in the South County mills. At the height of the unrest, in mid-September 1934, about two-thirds of Rhode Island's textile workers were not at work.⁹⁴ "This is awful," Nord remembered some years later, using



High-speed warpers at a Central Falls factory, October 1, 1935. (RHi X17 1430).

the present tense to describe her intense feelings: “the wives of some of the textile manufacturers were on the Board of the YWCA—I can’t tell you how awful this is.” Three board members invited Nord to speak to them about the strike. One board member’s brother was superintendent of a mill that Nord’s union was picketing; Nord’s board colleague arranged for Nord and her brother to meet in hopes of a rapprochement. “And I did go talk with him,”

said Nord, “but didn’t have any luck. But,” she later commented, “it was a great day in the YWCA in those days,” for the “very effective work among industrial girls” despite the tensions on the board.

Nord went right ahead organizing strikers, volunteering during the 1933 strike because the union “just didn’t have the money [or] the people.” She recalled: “We had to do our own organizing. We had to do our own negotiating. We were the

leaders.” She and some coworkers would leave their mill jobs at 3:00 after an eight-hour shift, and go “around anywhere anybody wanted to organize, and we’d organize.” Nord, then, was working full-time in her mill job, organizing strikers, and negotiating contracts, all at the same time. She was “the only woman in the whole United States, let alone Rhode Island, who was doing anything in the union.” (Nord was 31 at the time).⁹⁵ She took a paid organizing position with the UTW in the spring of 1934, as unions became invigorated by federal government support under the National Industrial Recovery Act. She was a prominent leader in the September 1934 strikes in Rhode Island across the Blackstone Valley.⁹⁶

After the 1934 unrest, Nord became a national organizer for the United Textile Workers, going to Washington for textile industry hearings and meeting national labor leader Sidney Hillman.⁹⁷ She later rose to a vice presidency, and was the only woman in the upper ranks of the United Textile Workers for a long time afterward.⁹⁸ She spent a year in Washington, D.C., Virginia, and Cumberland, Maryland, trying to organize workers often in very hostile circumstances. In one instance, in Cumberland, she realized it was a battle between “Elizabeth Nord and the six-million-dollar Celanese Corporation” as she was the sole organizer. The company police chief and an assistant stood at the door of the union hall to intimidate workers from entering. Nord spoke with a friend in the miners’ union, and the next meeting night, the “sidewalk was filled with miners,” gathered to prevent police intimidation. The police retreated to a hotel across the street from which they watched the doorway, and the miners picketed the hotel “until these guys [the police] just got up and went away.”⁹⁹ Doubtless her courage and confidence had been fostered by her long history in the YWCA and related female networks.

Elizabeth Nord spent the rest of her life as a labor advocate. She served as union manager in Rhode Island during World War II and again in

the late 1950s, and was appointed the first female vice president of the union. She became assistant director for the Rhode Island Department of Labor, and represented labor on the Rhode Island Department of Employment Security’s Board of Review. She lived with her father, Richard, who died in 1972 at age ninety-seven. Elizabeth Nord retired in 1976 after sixty years of work, and died in Pawtucket ten years later, at eighty-four.¹⁰⁰

Elizabeth Nord did not owe her labor radicalism to the Pawtucket YWCA industrial club, nor to the intense labor education that resulted from her membership there, but the YWCA, Bryn Mawr Summer School and Vineyard Shore did provide her with critical skills, friendships, and networks that served her well in a lifelong career in labor activism. The experiences built her skills and confidence in ways that later supported her as a labor organizer and office-holder in a male-dominated union. Later in life, she attributed her labor movement orientation to her family background, and credited her growth and social life to the YWCA and the related labor programs. She made her closest friends in the Pawtucket Industrial Club, and YWCA work anchored the first two decades of her lifetime of activism. She became a well-known labor activist, and was widely in demand as a speaker in the field of labor education. Nord left the Pawtucket YWCA nearly twenty years after that first tennis-seeking evening only because her organizing job required her to relocate.

Elizabeth Nord’s story exemplifies a number of aspects of working women’s history in Rhode Island and beyond. First, it illuminates interesting ethnic and religious dynamics in Rhode Island working women’s history. As early as the 1920s or even late 1910s, immigrant working women at the YWCA were creating inter-ethnic allegiances that historians more commonly date to the 1930s. They were also organizing across religious lines; while Nord was Protestant, the YWCA industrial

club offered opportunities to many working-class Catholics. Because of the YWCA Industrial Program's ecumenical emphasis, working women in Rhode Island's industrial clubs were able to negotiate religious differences—or at least to meet in friendship—in a climate in which religious affiliation was deeply freighted with class and political implications.¹⁰¹

The narrative of Elizabeth Nord's life also illustrates important dynamics of the widespread cooperation between middle-class and working-class women in this era. The class diversity of the YWCA, and the Industrial Program's position to the left of the rest of the Association, engendered conflicts over working women's activism, but the middle-class industrial staff greatly helped working women gain skills to advocate for themselves. The YWCA Industrial Program offered education and leadership opportunities to working women. It provided connections to other working women across the nation and to prominent reform and labor groups. Nord's experience at the schools for women workers, which she accessed via her leadership role at the Pawtucket YWCA, allowed her a wider field than the YW program.

Elizabeth Nord's history demonstrates how YWCA opportunities enabled some working women

to forge ties with a broader movement, one in which college-educated women and men in the period's major social justice movements sought to use their expertise to improve working women's lives, and to facilitate labor activism. Even before the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the late 1930s, to which scholars attribute a loosening of ethnic and racial insularity, some of Rhode Island's more ambitious working women were seeking broader horizons and forging common cause with a diverse group. The Pawtucket YWCA set Nord on that path.

Nord's life trajectory also demonstrates relationships between Rhode Island textile workers and networks of reform and radicalism, beyond the textile unions that usually figure at the center of the narrative—and it shows a world of female labor organizing that existed in a different arena from the male-dominated union leadership. Women such as Elizabeth Nord were not downtrodden female wage-earners, dutifully drudging away and wishing for a leg up into the middle class. At the Pawtucket YWCA industrial club and in the networks the club opened up, a group of mostly immigrant or second-generation working women sought to claim rights as workers and to enjoy a lively fellowship in a rapidly changing, complex period in Rhode Island history.

Notes

1. Mary Frederickson, "Citizens for Democracy: The Industrial Programs of the YWCA," in *Sisterhood and Solidarity: Workers' Education for Women, 1914-1984*, ed., Joyce L. Kornbluh and Mary Frederickson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 75-106.
2. For the YWCA Industrial Program, see Dorothea Browder, "A 'Christian Solution' of the Labor Situation": How Working Women Reshaped the YWCA's Religious Mission and Politics," *Journal of Women's History* 19 (2007): 85-110; Frederickson, "Citizens for Democracy"; Marion W. Roydhouse, "Bridging Chasms: Community and the Southern YWCA," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, ed., Nancy A. Hewitt and Susan Lebsack (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 270-95; Katrina Hagen, "From 'Industrial Girls' to 'Career Girls': Postwar Shifts in Programs for Wage-Earning Women in the Portland YWCA," *Journal of Women's History* 15 (2003): 204-208; and Richard Roberts, *Florence Simms: A Biography* (New York: The Womans Press, 1923). Other scholarship on the YWCA can be found in Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Nancy Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood: Race Relations and the YWCA 1906-1946* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Judith Weisenfeld, *African-American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Kate Dossett, *Bridging Race Divides: Black Nationalism, Feminism, and Integration in the United States, 1896-1935* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), especially pp. 66-106.
3. Frederickson, "Citizens for Democracy," 96-97.
4. Annabelle M. Stewart, *The Industrial Work of the Y.W.C.A.: Report of a Study Made for the Laboratory Division of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association* (New York: The Womans Press, 1937), 6.
5. Department of Method, *The Handbook of the Young Women's Christian Association Movement* (New York: National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, 1914), 54.
6. Marion O. Robinson, *Eight Women of the YWCA* (New York: National Board, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., 1966), 98-99.
7. YWCA Industrial Program, East Central Region, "Report of the Religious Work Commission, Camp Nepahwin, 1915," 18. YWCA of the U.S.A. Records [hereafter "YWCA"], Sophia Smith Collection [hereafter "SSC"], Box 508, folder 7, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Also, see Dorothea Browder, "A 'Christian Solution,'" and, for description of early membership in the program, "[Minutes from] Field Industrial Secretaries' Conference," Jan. 3-9, 1916, YWCA, Box 501, folder 17, SSC.

8. Browder, "A 'Christian Solution.'" Simms advocated on behalf of industrial work to Association leaders and members, urging them to learn about actual industrial working conditions. In a later study of the industrial program, a staff member noted "how revolutionary that point of view was for numbers of Association women, both staff and volunteer," in the early 1900s. Stewart, *The Industrial Work of the Y.W.C.A.*, 7.
9. Browder, "A 'Christian Solution'" provides the national overview of this shift. For a local example see Report of the Industrial Secretary, May 1928, Central Falls/Pawtucket, R. I.. The report details how, at the largest industrial club supper of the year at the Central Falls/Pawtucket YWCA, members elected a club president, officers, and committee heads.
10. Kate Dunnigan, et. al., "Working Women: Images of Women at Work in Rhode Island, 1880-1925," *Rhode Island History* 38 (February 1979): 3-23; statistic from p. 8.
11. Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Abstract of the Census, with Supplement for Rhode Island*. (GPO, Washington, D.C., 1913), 614. Census figures at this level of detail have not been released for 1920 or afterward. For a close study of working women in Central Falls in this period, see Louise Lamphere, *From Working Girl to Working Mother: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). In nearby Central Falls, eight-six percent of unmarried women from British and Scottish immigrant families, such as Nord's, worked for wages, mostly in textiles. Lamphere, *From Working Girl*, 147-49.
12. Dunnigan, et. al., "Working Women," 11-12. By the 1910s, increasing numbers were attending high school or business college to enter the growing field of clerical work, which paid little better than factory labor but offered advantages in class status and contacts for those who wished them. Sharon Hartman Strom, "Old Barriers and New Opportunities: Working Women in Rhode Island, 1900-1940," *Rhode Island History* 39 (May 1980): 51-53. Nord, an avid reader, took high school classes for years but had no interest at all in entering clerical work. Oral History Interview with Elizabeth Nord, November 12, 1975, Providence, R. I., by Professor James Findlay, Gary Kulik, Christina Simmons, and Judy Smith, for the Twentieth Century Trade Union Woman: Vehicle For Social Change Oral History Project (Program on Women and Work, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan-Wayne State University, Ann Arbor Michigan: 1978 [hereafter, Nord OH 1975], 23-24.
13. See, for instance, the recollections in Paul M. Buhle, "Working Lives: An Oral History of Rhode Island Labor," *Rhode Island History* 46 (February 1987).
14. Quoted in Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States, 20th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 202. Perhaps in response to such indifference from union leaders, a 1910 government survey of women textile workers found they had "no opinion" about unions, though that had changed by the 1930s, when Rhode Island's working women were quite active in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Strom, "Old Barriers," 47.
15. Nord OH 1975, 3. See also *Pawtucket and Central Falls, R.I.*,

Directory (Murdock & Co.) for 1915, 1919, 1921, 1927.

16. Oral History Interview with Elizabeth Nord, July 12, 1976, Providence, R.I., by Christina Simmons and Judy Smith, for the Twentieth Century Trade Union Woman: Vehicle For Social Change Oral History Project (Program on Women and Work, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan-Wayne State University, Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1978) [hereafter Nord OH 1976], 13. On the militancy of English and Irish immigrants in Rhode Island, and employers' preference for supposedly more docile French Canadians, see Gary Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 39-41.
17. Nord OH 1975, 1.
18. Labor laws prevented Nord from joining her mother in mill work before age 15, because the mill job required at least a 48-hour work week. Nord OH 1976, 6.
19. Nord OH 1975, 1-2.
20. Nord OH 1976, 31.
21. Nord OH 1976, 25.
22. Such subjects were still controversial within the YWCA; national staff in 1916 discussed the possibility of circulating information about federal and state labor laws "if we dare." Browder, "A 'Christian Solution.'" 23.
23. Nord OH 1976, 25
24. Wilma Duntze, "Industrial Report, May 1925," YWCA Collection [hereafter, YWCA], Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," Rhode Island Historical Society [hereafter, RIHS].
25. Report of the Industrial Secretary, May 1928, Central Falls/Pawtucket, YWCA, Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," RIHS.

26. Wilma Duntze, "Industrial Report, September 1924," and "Industrial Report, October 1924," YWCA, Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," RIHS.

27. Annual Report of Industrial Department, January 1 to December 31 (Central Falls/Pawtucket, R.I., Y.W.C.A. Industrial Department), 1931, [hereafter "Annual Report of Pawtucket Industrial Department, 1931"] p. 1, YWCA, Box 32, "Annual Reports 1931," RIHS.

28. Lamphere, *From Working Girl*, 93-94.

29. Tina J. Adam, "Membership Report January 1, 1935," and Master File Statistics, Jan. 1, 1935, YWCA, Box 41, RIHS. No membership statistics could be located for the 1920s. Other women might join the YWCA only for the sports opportunities, or for the Professional and Business Club of white collar women, or for homemaking classes.

30. Nord also had an older brother who left home at around age twenty-one and moved to New York State. Nord OH 1976, 20.

31. Nord OH 1976, 39-40.

32. Nord OH 1976, 25.

33. Nord OH 1976, 23-24.

34. Nord OH 1976, 14-15 and 1-2.

35. For examples of Pawtucket club offerings when Nord arrived, see "Report of Educational Commission, Makonikey-1917," and "Reports of the Industrial Girls Club Councils, Altamont, Makonikey, 1917," YWCA, Box 508, folder 16, SSC.

36. Report of Miss Grace L. Coyle, Industrial Secretary, for March, 1925, YWCA, Box 515, Folder 6, SSC. Coyle noted the "fine spirit" among members and "quite a little advanced education" among some, and spoke well of the local industrial secretary, Wilma Duntze.

37. Bulletin to Industrial Secretaries of the Young Women's Christian Association in the United States, XI, February 1926, YWCA, Box 511, folder 10, SSC. The program also encouraged global labor solidarity; see, for instance, "Notes on the Meeting of the World Fellowship and Industry Committee of the Northeast Industrial Council, June 3, 1928," and "World Fellowship and Industry 7/16/1928," YWCA, Box 506, folder 16, SSC.

38. Mary Mardany, "Minutes of the Meeting of Executive Committee of the Northeastern Industrial Council, Jan. 4-5, 1930," YWCA, Box 506, Folder 16, SSC.

39. Wilma Duntze, "Industrial Report, May 1925," YWCA Collection, Box 32, Reports, 1920-1928, RIHS. Charm School events drew about one hundred members per session in 1924. "Industrial Report, May 1924," YWCA, Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," RIHS.

40. Wilma Duntze, "Industrial Report, October 1924," YWCA, Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," RIHS.

41. Wilma Duntze, "Industrial Report, February and March 1924," YWCA, Box 32, "Reports, 1920-1928," RIHS.

42. Annual Report of Pawtucket Industrial Department, 1931.

43. For more on the regional conferences, see Ernestine Friedman, *The Federation: An Industrial Movement*. (Y.W.C.A. Publication Department of the National Board. New York: The Womans Press, 1919); Stewart, *The Industrial Work of the Y.W.C.A.* and records of the regional conferences, YWCA, SSC.

44. In 1932, the YWCA combined the Northeastern region with the mid-Atlantic states. Minutes of the National Industrial Council Meeting in New York, N.Y., November 5-8, 1931. YWCA, Box 507, folder 7, SSC; Helen Gifford, Report of Summit Lake Industrial

Conference, Central Valley, N.Y., June 20-July 1, 1936, YWCA, Box 504, folder 2, SSC.

45. "Notes on Prospect" for 1926 Prospect Industrial Conference, Box 503, folder 21, SSC. The delegates also wrote letters to the Passaic YWCA and the Federal Council of Churches Research Department, on "the Passaic situation and the belief that further study should be conducted of the strike condition this year... It was voted at the last business meeting that the delegates go back to their local Associations to try to get their industrial departments at home to study the Passaic strike and their relation to such an industrial situation."

46. See, for instance, Annual Report of Pawtucket Industrial Department, 1931.

47. Dorothea Browder, "From Uplift to Agitation: Working Women, Race, and Coalition in the YWCA Industrial Program, 1908-1950." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2008), Chapter 3.

48. Proceedings, National Industrial Assembly, Eighth National Convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America, New York, N.Y., April 30-May 6, 1924, YWCA, Box 271, SSC. This emphasis was part of a broader thrust within the YWCA in this period; see Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood*, 71-151.

49. Findings of the Summit Lake Industrial Conference, Central Valley, New York, June 14-28, 1924, YWCA, Box 502, folder 22, SSC.

50. Findings, Summit Lake Industrial Conference, 1924, 6. Duntze, "Industrial Report, February and March 1924." For more on Pinkney, see Findings of the Prospect Industrial Conference, June 20-July 3, 1925, YWCA, Box 503, folder 20, SSC.

51. Pinkney also was active in A. Phillip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which was engaged in building its own multicultural labor movement. She attended Brookwood Labor College and became the ILGWU's first African-American organizer, even as she remained active in the YWCA Industrial Program through at least the early 1930s. Pinkney's story exemplifies the interracial labor networks that YWCA conferences fostered. Daniel Katz, *All Together Different: Yiddish Socialists, Garment Workers and the Labor Roots of Multiculturalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 111-112; Melinda Chateaufort, *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 44; Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood*, 130.
52. Findings, Summit Lake Industrial Conference, 1924, 2.
53. For the labor education movement, see Richard Altenbaugh, *Education for Struggle: The American Labor Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); William H. Cobb, *Radical Education in the Rural South: Commonwealth College, 1923-1940* (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 2000), and Katz, *All Together Different*. For essays on the many projects in the women's labor education movement, see Kornbluh and Frederickson, eds., *Sisterhood and Solidarity*.
54. Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith, March 11, 1975, by Marion Roydhouse, Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) [hereafter Smith Interview], Southern Historical Collection, The Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 3-5. The most complete published accounts of the Bryn Mawr Summer
- School are Karen L. Hollis, *Liberating Voices: Writing at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), and Rita Rubenstein Heller, "Blue Collars and Bluestockings: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers," in Kornbluh and Frederickson, *Sisterhood and Solidarity*. A film documentary by Suzanne Baumann and Rita Heller, "The Women of Summer" (Alexander Street Press: Filmmakers Library, 1986) also captures the mood of the program. See also, Dorothea Browder, "Race and Occupation at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers," (MA Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2000), and Smith's account in Hilda Worthington Smith, *Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School* (Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry and American Association for Adult Education, 1929).
55. Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 243-45.
56. Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers Statistics, 1923. American Labor Education Service Records, Bryn Mawr Summer School Collection, Box 7: Statistics, Wisconsin Historical Society.
57. Heller, "Blue Collars and Bluestockings," and, "Women of Summer"; Browder, "Race and Occupation at the Bryn Mawr Summer School."
58. Nord OH 1976, 27.
59. Heller, "Blue Collars and Bluestockings," 126.
60. For more on the faculty, see Heller, "Blue Collars and Bluestockings."
61. Smith said that initially Nord had seemed so passive that the school did not plan to accept her for a second year. Smith Interview, 21-22.
62. "Industrial Report, November 1924" for Central Falls/Pawtucket

YWCA, YWCA, Box 32, "Reports: 1920-1928," RIHS.

63. Smith Interview, 3-5, and 21-23. The Pawtucket and Central Falls industrial members helped support the school; for instance, a May 1928 food sale raised \$23.00, which was sent to the school's Rhode Island committee. Report of the Industrial Secretary, May 1928, Central Falls/Pawtucket YWCA, YWCA, Box 45, RIHS.
64. Marion W. Roydhouse, "Partners in Progress: The Affiliated Schools for Women Workers, 1928-1939," Kornbluh and Frederickson, eds., *Sisterhood and Solidarity*, 187-221; "Vineyard Shore School Opens," *Vassar Miscellany News*, Volume XIV, 16 Nov. 1929, 1; "Vineyard Shore School," *Vassar Miscellany News*, Volume XVI, 24 Oct. 1931, 4; "Success of Drive Crucial to Vineyard Shore Opening," *Vassar Miscellany News*, Volume XVII, No. 8, 26 Oct. 1932, 1. Quotations from 1929 *Miscellany News*.
65. Summary of Annual Reports, 1931, and Nord OH 1975 and 1976.
66. Records of Field Industrial Secretaries Conference, January 3-9, 1916, remarks of Miss Gogin and discussion on January 7, in particular. YWCA, Box 501, folder 17, SSC.
67. Annual Report, Altamont Industrial Council, Altamont Camp, June 28 to July 12, 1919 (Northeastern Field Committee, YWCA), 7, YWCA, Box 508, folder 1, SSC.
68. See, for instance, the emphasis on "Clean Habits"; "Love of Home"; "Sympathy"; "Patience"; "Unselfishness"; "Self-Respect"; "Contentment"; "Decent Pleasures"; "Good Friendships"; "Love of Work"; "Caring for the Other Girl"; and "Control of Speech and Temperament," at the 1915 industrial conference for the East Central region. "Report of the Re-

ligious Work Commission, Camp Nepahwin, 1915," 18.

69. Annual Report, Altamont, 1919, 3, 6. Industrial staff had encouraged the collective bargaining focus, although they had just been fending off threats of "influential men of Buffalo to withdraw support if the YWCA took any stand on legislative matters." See "Report of Miss Grumman, Summer of 1919," YWCA, Box 515, folder 12, SSC. As the reference to "Social Equality" implies, the delegates also resolved, "that Colored girls should be given the same opportunity in industry as White girls." These resolutions are the more remarkable for their passage during the post-war crackdown on labor rights and the horrendous anti-black rioting of the summer of 1919. For more discussion of the labor platform, see Browder, "A 'Christian Solution.'" For a consideration of the sources of racially egalitarian language in the Industrial Program, see Browder, "From Uplift to Agitation," Chapters 2 and 3.
70. Marion O. Robinson, *Eight Women of the Y.W.C.A.* (New York: National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, 1966), 113-14.
71. Official Delegates, National Industrial Conference, Washington, D.C., Oct. 24-28, 1919. YWCA, Box 501, folder 14, SSC.
72. Ruth Chivvis and Lucy R. Somerville, *National Industrial Conference Washington, D.C., October 20-21-22, 1919, Handbook for Delegates* (Industrial Committee, War Work Council, YWCA-USA, 1919), 15.
73. Browder, "A 'Christian Solution'" discusses this development in detail.
74. See, for instance, Margaret Spratt, "The Pittsburgh YWCA and Industrial Democracy in the

1920s," *Pennsylvania History* 59 (January 1992): 5-20. See also Stewart, *The Industrial Work of the Y.W.C.A.*

75. For instance, in a list of "Our Common Problems" in the findings from their 1919 first national conference, industrial members included "Financial backing of the Y.W.C.A. from those who do not uphold its Industrial Standards or who might wish to limit its freedom in upholding those." Records of "National Conference of Industrial Clubs of the Young Women's Christian Association called by the National Industrial Committee in Washington, D.C., October 24 to 28, 1919," 30. YWCA, Box 501, folder 14, SSC.
76. The vast scholarship on cross-class women's organizations of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century includes an examination of the disjuncture between working-class and middle-class women's visions for reform. See, for instance, Lara Vapnek, *Breadwinners: Working Women and Economic Independence, 1865-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*; Priscilla Murolo, *The Common Ground of Womanhood: Class, Gender, and Working Girls' Clubs, 1884-1928* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Kathleen Nutter, *The Necessity of Organization: Mary Kenney O'Sullivan and Trade Unionism for Women, 1892-1912* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999); Robin Miller Jacoby, *The British and American Women's Trade Union Leagues, 1890-1925: A Case Study of Feminism and Class* (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1994); Nancy Schrom Dye, *As Equals and As Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980).
77. Dye, *As Equals and As Sisters*, 4. The WTUL also became frus-

trated with a labor movement that seemed uninterested in organizing working women and turned its focus to protective labor laws for women instead.

78. Like the industrial members and staff, YWCA college students chafed against the conservative proclivities of YWCA boards and administrators. The Student-Industrial Program encouraged college students to learn first-hand about working conditions in factories and other blue collar work, both by meeting regularly with industrial club members and by spending summers in factory work. The Rhode Island program ran from 1924 through the early 1930s. "Industrial Girls Guests of Christian Association," *The Record: Published by the Women's College in Brown University*, Jan. 14, 1925, 3, and YWCA of Pawtucket and Central Falls, R. I., Summary of Annual Reports, Presented January 26th, 1931, YWCA, Box 32, RIHS; "Annual Reports 1931." The Pembroke women do not seem to have met with Providence working women, probably because the industrial program in Providence remained weak and underdeveloped. See, for instance, Business and Industrial Department, Providence YWCA, "Report of B&I Department, September Through December—1944," which characterized industrial work as "the sore spot of the department. In a city the size and type of Providence, the Y.W.C.A. should have a large industrial group, which it does not." YWCA, Box 45, "Membership Reports," RIHS. For more on the national Student-Industrial program, see Frances Sanders Taylor, "On the Edge of Tomorrow: Southern Women, The Student YWCA, and Race, 1920-1944" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1984).
79. Annual Report of Industrial Department, 1931.

80. Landon Storrs, *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 30.
81. Browder, "A 'Christian Solution.'" 82. Nord OH 1975, 4-5.
83. Nord OH 1975, 7-8.
84. Summary of Annual Reports, 1931.
85. Elsie D. Harper, "Report of American Federation of Labor Convention Held at Boston, Mass., October 6 to 17, 1930." YWCA Box 501, folder 1, SSC.
86. Nord OH 1975, 7.
87. For Nord's tenure, see "Y.W.C.A. Board of Directors" lists for 1928-1936, YWCA, microfilm reel 212, SSC.
88. James F. Findlay, "The Great Textile Strike of 1934: Illuminating Rhode Island History in the 1930s," *Rhode Island History* 42 (February 1983): 17-29; Paul Buhle, "Working Lives: An Oral History of Rhode Island Labor, Part One," *Rhode Island History* 46 (February 1987): 9-11; Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism*, 53-54.
89. Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism*, 127; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 245-47. See also, Findlay, "The Great Textile Strike of 1934," 17-29. For a national history of the strike, see John Salmond, *The General Textile Strike of 1934 From Maine to Alabama* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).
90. Helen W. Gifford, "Y.W.C.A. in Pawtucket, Rhode Island in September 1931," p.1, "Pawtucket and Central Falls, R.I., Industrial," YWCA, microfilm reel 212, SSC. These class tensions were common to local YWCAs; see note 74.
91. Report of the final meeting of the National Industrial Committee Meeting, October 1, 1931. YWCA, Box 501, folder 2, SSC. Nord was serving on the Northeastern Industrial Council in 1931; she helped plan the regional mid-winter conference topics as conference chair. Minutes of the Northeastern Industrial Council Meeting, New York, Dec. 5-6, 1931, YWCA, Box 501, folder 2, SSC.
92. Report of the final meeting of the National Industrial Committee, October 1, 1931. For an example of local industrial programs feeling bullied on labor issues by the YWCA National Board, see Mary Mardany's letter to National Board member, Mrs. Robert E. Speer, Dec. 6, 1931, YWCA, Box 506, folder 16, SSC.
93. Annual Report of Pawtucket Industrial Department, 1931.
94. Findlay, "The Great Textile Strike of 1934," 21.
95. Nord OH 1975, 8-11.
96. Nord OH 1975, 14.
97. Nord OH 1975, 17.
98. Philip Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War One to the Present* (New York: Free Press, 1980), 290.
99. Nord OH 1975, 19-21.
100. Lynn Ardit, "Elizabeth Nord," in *Women in Rhode Island History: Making a Difference* (Providence: The Providence Journal, 1994), 24.
101. For more on Catholic working people and the Protestant elite in Rhode Island, see Evelyn Savidge Sterne, "Bringing Religion into Working-Class History: Parish, Public, and Politics in Providence, 1890-1930," *Social Science History* 24 (Spring 2000): 149-82, and, Sterne, *Ballots and Bibles: Ethnic Politics and the Catholic Church in Providence*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Index to Volume 71

- A
- Abbott, Richard, 36
- Abolition, local, 17, 35, 39, 45, 50
- African Americans, enslaved, 35-55; in labor movement, 64-65
- Afsai, Shai, "Jews, Freemasons, and Religious Accommodation: Rhode Island's Redwood Lodge and the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David," 2-19
- Alabama, 42
- Allen, Charles, 40
- Almy & Brown, 39
- Altamont, N.Y., 67
- American Federation of Labor (AFL), 59, 66, 70
- Anderson, Mary, 63, 68
- Anderson, Myrtle, 64
- Angell, Thomas, 28
- Annaquacket Mill, 40
- Anti-abolitionists, 36, 44-45, 50
- Antislavery, activism, 35, 37; sentiment, 34-55
- Armenian immigrants, 61
- Arnold, Benedict (Gov.), 15, 21, 24, 29
- Arnold, Benedict (Gen.), 21
- Arnold, Welcome, 5
- Arnold, William, 21, 24-29
- Assimilation, 5-9, 14, 15
- Assyrian immigrants, 61
- Atlantic plantation economy, 38
- Austro-Hungarian immigrants, 65
- B
- Babcock, E. & H., 40
- Bailey, Ronald, 36-37
- Barker, Jacob, 47-49
- Barnard Summer School for Working Women, 66
- Baton Rouge, 43
- Bessel, Martin, 14
- Bessel, Paul M., 14
- Bethel Mill, 40
- Biblical Index to Freemasonry, 9
- Blacks, 34-55
- Blackstone Valley, 57-74
- Bookbinders, 65
- Bosworth, Smith, 45
- Bradford, William, 23, 24, 26
- Briggs and Wilcox, 4
- Broad Street, Central Falls, 57, 60, 71
- Brooklyn, N.Y., 65
- Browder, Dorothea, "Elizabeth Nord's Tennis Lesson: How A Labor Leader Got Her Start in the Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA Industrial Program," 56-79
- Brown, John, 39
- Brown, Moses, 39
- Brown, Nicholas, 45
- Brown University, 64, 68
- Bryn Mawr College, 65
- Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 65, 66, 73
- C
- Campbell Mill, 40
- Canadian immigrants, 61
- Candy makers, 63, 65
- Canonicus, 28
- Cardboard manufacturing, workers in, 65
- Caribbean, 39
- Celanese Corporation, 73
- Central Bridge (in R.I.), 22
- Central Falls, 56-79
- Central Valley, N.Y., 64
- Chapin, Howard, 28
- Charlestown, 40
- Christian symbolism, in Masonic ceremonies, 3, 7, 8, 11-15
- Clark-Pujara, Christy, "The Business of Slavery and Antislavery Sentiment: The Case of Rowland Gibson Hazard—An Antislavery 'Negro Cloth' Dealer," 35-55
- Coats Mill, 60, 67
- Community Chest, Pawtucket, 71
- Conference on Economic Planning (WTUL), 68
- Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David, 3, 4, 5, 15

Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 74
 Consumers League, 68
 Continental Congress, 26
 Cotton goods, workers in, 59
 Couper, J. Hamilton, 43, 45
 Coyle, Grace, 62, 73
 Cranck, Dorothy, 65
 Cross-class reform efforts, 68-72
 Cullen, Countee, 64
 Cumberland (Md.), 73
 Czechoslovak immigrants, 65

D

Davis mill, 40
 Dawley, 40
 De Pauw University, 58
 Dewey, John, 58
 Domestic work, 60, 63, 65
 Duntze, Wilma, 60
 Durfee mill, 40
 Durfee, N.B., 40
 Dye, Nancy Schrom, 68

E

Economy, of Rhode Island, 30, 35, 50
 Education, of women workers, 60-65
 English immigrants, 61
 Engravers, 65
 Enslaved people, 34-55; measurements of, 44
 Equal Rights Amendment, 65
 Ethnicity, 61, 65, 66, 74
 Exeter, 40

F

Federationist, The, 66
 Fels, Tony, 6, 12, 14
 Fisher, Schuyler, 40
 Fisherville Mill, 40
 Fiske, George McClellan, 8
 Foster, Geraldine S., 4
 Foster, Theodore (Sen.), 28, 29
 Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, 38
 Fox Point, 21
 Freemasonry, American, 5; anti-Freemasonry, 5
 Freemasons, 2-19
 Freemasons Hall, 7, 11
 French immigrants, 61

French-Canadian immigrants, 61
 French-Irish immigrants, 61
 Friendship Street Synagogue, 2
 Fugitive Slave Law, 35, 44-46, 50

G

Germany, Jewish immigrants from, 3-4; liberal Jews in, 12; immigrants from, 61
 Gertle, Gary, 61, 71
 Gifford, Helen, 71
 Glove makers, 65
 Goddard, William, 45
 Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, 3
 Greece, immigrants from, 61
 Green, Henry, 5, 7
 Green, William, 66
 Greene, Christopher C., 40
 Greenwald, Alice, 12

H

Haggai Lodge (B'nai B'rith), 5
 Hall, Dutee J., 40
 Hallville Mill, 40
 Harper, Elsie, 70
 Harris, James S., 40
 Harris, W., 23
 Hartman (Hardman, Hortman), Leopold, 5, 8
 Hays, Moses Michael, 4
 Hazard brothers, 36, 41, 42
 Hazard family, 39-42, 46
 Hazard, Isaac P., 41, 42, 43
 Hazard, Jonathan, 40, 41
 Hazard, Joseph Peace, 40
 "Hazard kersey," 35-55
 Hazard, Mary Peace, 41, 42
 Hazard mill, agents of, 42, 43; clients of, 42
 Hazard, Robert (1689-1762), 37, 38
 Hazard, Roland Gibson (1801-1880), 35-55; work for illegally enslaved men, 46-49
 Hazard, Roland Sr. (1763-1841), 37, 39, 41, 42
 Hazard, Thomas II (1660-1746), 37
 Hazard, Thomas ("College Tom"), 37, 39, 45, 46
 Hazard, Thomas R., 40
 Heirloom Masonic Bible, 9
 Hillman, Sidney, 73

Holburton, W. G., 40
 Hopkins, Stephen (Gov.), 28, 29
 Hopkinton, 40
 Horseshoe nail workers, 65
 Hosiery workers, 59, 65
 Hudson River, 66

I

Illegally enslaved men, 46-49
 Indians, 21-26, 28, 37; see also Native Americans
 Industrial Program, YWCA, 57-74
 Industrialists, 35, 39
 Interfaith efforts, 3, 4
 International Conference of Working Women, 68
 Interracial programs, 64, 65, 74
 Irish-American immigrants, 61
 Irish-Italian immigrants, 61
 Irish-Scottish immigrants, 61
 Isaac (an enslaved man), 43
 Isaac Lesser Lodge (Free Sons of Benjamin), 5
 Italian immigrants, 61, 65

J

Jacobs, Charles, 5
 Jewelry industry workers, 60
 Jewish assimilation, 6
 Jewish community, 3-4, 5, 6
 Jewish fraternities, 4, 5
 Jewish immigrants, 61, 66
 Johnston, Annie, 68
 Judaism, and Freemasonry, 2-19
 Judaism, moderate reform, 3-7, 15

K

Kenyon, George H., 3, 4, 15
 kersey ("slave cloth"), 35-55
 kersey mills, 37, 39, 40
 Kessler, Agnes, 71
 Ketchum & Ripley, 42
 King, Daniel, 40
 King David's Lodge, 4
 King's Mill, 40
 Klapp, Lyman, 8
 Knitted goods workers, 59

L

Labor organizing, 62-75
 Lafayette Mill, 40

Lamphere, Louise, 61
 Lancashire, England, 59
 Lawton, Thomas A., 40
 Lebanon Mill, 60
 Lincoln Woods, 60
 Linen, 39
 Lion of Judah, 9, 10
 Lithuanian immigrants, 61, 65
 Lorraine Mill, 60
 Louisiana, 42, 43, 47
 Lowell (Mass.) mills, 39
 Lumb Knitting Mill, 60

M

Mackey, Albert Gallatin, 9
 MacLachlan, Linda, "When Was Providence Founded?" 20-32
 Manton's Neck, 22
 Manufacturers Association (Pawtucket), 71
 "Map of Rhode Island, 1794," 27
 Mashpauge River, 23
 Mason, Earl, 6
 Mason, John (Maj.), 23
 Masonic lodges and ritual, 2-15
 Massachusetts, 58
 Massachusetts Bay Colony, 22-24
 Massachusetts Bay General Court, 22
 Master Mason Degree, 11-12
 Merchants, 35, 37
 Miantonomi, 28
 Mill owners, 35-55
 Mill workers, in N.C., 63
 Millinery workers, 65
 Mills kersey, 35, 39-41; textile, 56-74
 Minneapolis, 63
 Mississippi, 42
 Mobile, Ala., 43
 Moderate Reform Judaism, 3-7, 15
 Mooshausick (Moshausuck) River, 23, 28
 Moscow Mill, 40
 Mule spinners, 60

N

Nantasket, Mass., 22
 Narragansett Bay, 22, 26
 Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company, 39
 Narragansett Country, 37-39
 Narragansett Indians, 23, 24, 26, 28, 37
 Narragansett Mill, 40

Narragansett planters, 37-39
 National Consumers League, 65, 68
 National Industrial Assembly, 64
 National Industrial Club Conference (YWCA), 64
 National Industrial Recovery Act, 73
 Native Americans, 21-26, 28, 37
 "Negro cloth," 35-55; orders for, 42
 Neotakononitt, 23
 New England, slavery in, 38, 39; textile industry in, 36; YWCA Industrial Club in, 67
 New Orleans, 36, 42, 43; enslavement of free blacks in, 46-49
 Newport, 6, 39, 47
 New York City, 42
 New York, Colony of, 37
 Nicholas, Robert C. (Sen.), 43
 Noot, Myer, 5, 6, 14
 Nord, Charles, 60, 66
 Nord, Elizabeth, 56-74
 Nord, Elizabeth (Mrs.), 60, 66
 Nord, Richard, 59, 73
 North, slavery in, 34-55
 North Carolina, 63
 Northern businessmen, 36, 44-45
 North Kingstown, 40
 Novelties, workers in, 65

O

Oakland Company Mill, 40
 Old Town House (Providence), 44
 Orthodox Judaism, 6, 7, 15
 Ousamaquin, Sachem of Plymouth Indians, 24

P

Paper goods workers, 65
 Pawtucket, 23, 59, 62, 63, 70, 71
 Pawtucket-Central Falls YWCA, 56-74
 Pawtucket Community Chest, 71
 Pawtucket Manufacturers Association, 71
 Pawtucket mills, 59
 Pawtucket River, 21, 25
 Pawtucket YWCA Industrial Program, 56-74
 Peace Dale (village), 41
 Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, 41
 Peace Dale Mill, 40-43
 Pembroke College, 68

Pierce, William E., 40
 Pilgrim Church, 22
 Pinkney, Floria, 65
 Plantations, in Narragansett Country, 37-39
 Planters, Southern, 38-46
 Plymouth Colony, 22-26, 29
 Polish immigrants, 61, 65
 Portuguese immigrants, 61
 Potter, John (lived in S.C.), 42
 Potter, John (lived in South Kingstown), 42
 Power machine operators, 60
 Prence, Thomas (Gov.), 25, 26
 Printers, 65
 Protestant, fraternities, 5; women, 57
 Protestantism, 6
 Providence Abolition Society, 35, 39, 46, 48
 Providence, 44, Judaism in, 3-5; founding of, 20-29; 250th celebration of founding, 21
 Providence City Council, 21
 Providence Lodge (Free Sons of Israel), 5
 Providence Tercentenary Committee, 21, 22

Q

Quakers, and antislavery, 35, 37
 Quillers, 60

R

Racial prejudice, 64-65, 74
 Railroad workers, 65
 Recreation, for working class women, 60, 61, 69
 Redwood, Abraham, 6, 9
 Redwood Lodge, 2-19
 Reform Judaism, 2, 3, 4
 Regionalism, 35, 38, 45-46, 50
 Revolutionary War, 39
 Reynolds, Davis, 40
 Reynolds, G. W., 40
 Reynolds Mill, 40
 Rhode Island Committee of Women's Trade Union League, 68
 Rhode Island Department of Employment Security, 73
 Rhode Island Department of Labor, 73
 Rhode Island General Assembly, 39, 49
 Rhode Island General Court, 24
 Rhode Island Gradual Emancipation Law (1784), 37, 39

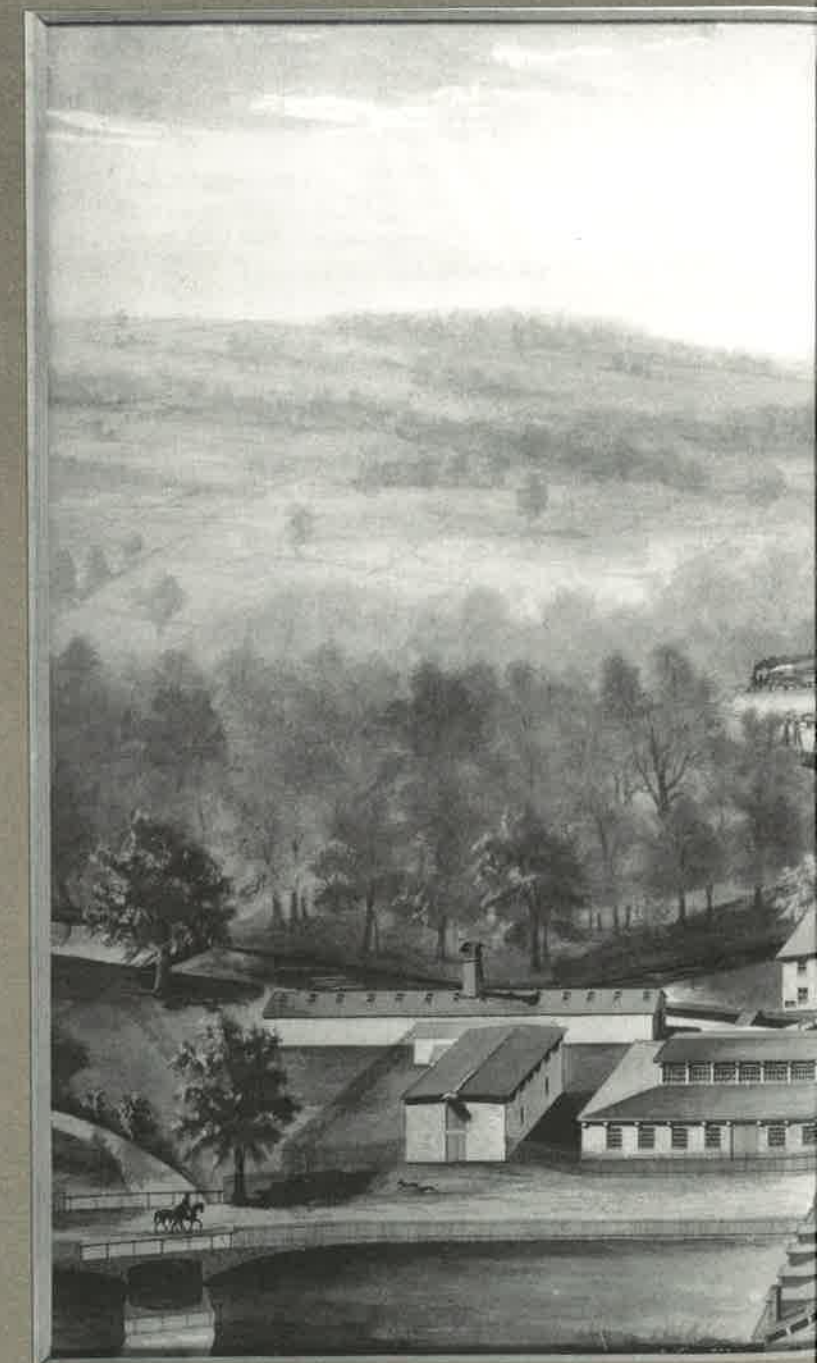
- Rhode Island House of Representatives, 44
 Richards, Leonard, 44
 Robins, Margaret Dreier, 68
 Robinson, W.A., 40
 Rocky Brook Mill, 40
 Rodman, Daniel, 40
 Rodman mill, 40
 Rodman, Robert, 40
 Rodman, Samuel, 40
 Roger Williams Avenue, 26
 Roger Williams Landing, 21, 28
 Royal Weaving Company, 56, 60, 70
 Rugg, Henry, 5, 8
 Rumanian immigrants, 65
 Russian immigrants, 61, 65
- S
- St. John's Lodge, 4
 St. John's Lodge (#2), 4
 St. Louis, Missouri, 63
 St. Paul's Church (Pawtucket), 61
 St. Stephen's Episcopal Church (Providence), 8
 Salem, Mass., 22-24, 36
 Salembier & Clay's silk mill, 60, 66
 Sanford, Ezbon, 40
 Saninet Mill, 40
 Saugatuck River, 39
 Sayles Bleacheries, 60
 Saylesville, strikes in, 71
 Schwarz (Schwarz, Swartz, Schwartz), Joseph, 5
 Scottish immigrants, 61
 Sea Islands (Ga.), 43
 Seal-Coon, F.W., 12
 Seekonk, 23, 26
 Seekonk Cove, 22-26
 Seekonk River, 21, 23, 25, 28
 Shady Lea Mill, 40
 Shawomet, 60
 Shoemaking, 65
 Siexas, Moses, 4
 Silk weaving, 59, 60
 Silver Spring Mill, 40
 Simms, Florence, 57, 68
 Slave cloth, 35-55
 "Slave Power, The," 46
 Slavery, 35-55; in Caribbean, 39; in southern R. I., 37-38, 41
 Slave trade, 35, 37; in R. I., 46
 Smith, Campbell, 40
 Smith, Hilda, 66
 Smith, John, 23
 Smith. S. & D., 40
 Social Gospel movement, 58
 Sodom Mill, 40
 Sons of Israel and David, synagogue, 2-5, 7, 11
 South, and slavery, 35, 37, 42
 South Carolina, 37, 42
 South County mills, 71
 South Kingstown, 37, 39
 Southern R. I., mills in, 39
 States rights, 46, 49-50
 Steven (an enslaved man), 43
 Stillman, W., 40
 Strauss, Alexander, 3
 Strikes, 71, 72
 Student-Industrial Program (YWCA), 68
 Summit Lake Camp, 64
 "Sunday clothes," 41
 Swedish immigrants, 61
 Syrian immigrants, 61
- T
- Tailoring, workers in, 65
 Telephone switchboard workers, 65
 Temple Beth-El, 3
 Ten Mile River, 26
 Tennis, 57, 61
 Territories, slavery in, 35
 Textile factories, Lancashire, England, 59
 Textile industry, New England and R. I., 36, 37, 39-40, 59-62, 65, 71-72
 Textile workers, women, 56-79
 Theater, Masonic production, 13
 Thomas, M. Cary, 65
 Tobacco, 38, 65; workers, 63
 Typewriter assembly, workers in, 61
- U
- Unions, textile workers in, 59, 65-73
 United Textile Workers (UTW), 70, 72, 73
- V
- Vassar College, 66
 Veteran Citizens Historical Association, 6, 7
 Vineyard Shore School for Workers, 66, 73
 Virginia, 73
- W
- Waitresses, 60
 Wakefield Mill, 40
 Wanasquatucket River, 23
 Washington, D.C. 58-59, 68, 73
 Waterman, Richard, 23, 28
 Weeden, John E., 40
 Wells, T. R., 40
 West Indian trade, 35, 37
 West Indians, 35, 46-49
 West Indies plantations, 37, 39
 What Cheer Cove, 21, 28
 Wicks, Francis, 23
 Wilcox & Pierce, 40
 Williams, Roger, 20-29
 Williams, Thomas, 39
 Winslow, Edward, 23, 24, 26, 28
 Winthrop, John, 22
 Women, as workers, 56-74; education of, 58, 62-65; right to organize, 67; in labor movements, 70-74
 Women's Bureau of U.S. Labor Dept., 63
 Women's Trade Union League, 65, 68
 Wool weaving, 60
 "Working-class Americanism," 61
 Working-class solidarity, female, 60-62, 65
 Working women, 56-74
 World War II, 68
 Worsted goods workers, 59
- Y
- Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Pawtucket-Central Falls, 57-79
 YWCA, cross-class efforts and, 68, 69; labor activism and, 68, 71; unions, and, 67, 68
 YWCA, Health Education Department, 60
 YWCA Industrial Clubs, 57-74; program of, 60-65; staff of, 60-65, 71
 YWCA Industrial Department, 57, 74
 YWCA National Convention, biennial, 64
 YWCA, National Industrial Conferences, 68, 69
 YWCA National Industrial Council, 70, 71
 YWCA Northeast Industrial Council, 68



THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
PROVIDENCE, RI
PERMIT NO. 617



COVER
Peace Dale Mill. RIHS Collection (RHi X17.1429).