Local Control of Nineteenth Century Public Policy and the Ethnic Working Class in New England's Mill Towns

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This essay, using census material, newspaper reports, and other primary sources, examines the impact of local control of public policy on ethnic working class in nineteenth century New England. Research on New England's ethnic groups often focuses on large textile centers dominated by outside interests such as Fall River, Massachusetts or Manchester, New Hampshire. Corporate interests in these cities displayed a disproportionate influence of public policy often serving corporate, not public, interests. The focus of this study, Fitchburg and Worcester, Massachusetts, exhibited well diversified economies controlled by local interests. Local control led public policy in a direction more beneficial to the local population, particularly the ethnic working class. As a result these two cities saw significantly more ethnic cooperation in all facets of life and much less ethnic tension which was so prevalent in the textile cities.

Irish confetti greeted many a French-Canadian immigrant to industrial New England in the nineteenth century. This was not a warm show of affection for new immigrants. Irish confetti was the name given to bricks thrown by Irish workers at new arrivals who threatened their jobs in the local mills.[1] In most cases greetings of this type were in the great spindle cities of the region such as Lowell, Fall River, or other textile producing centers. More often than not, the textile mills were the single largest employer of the local population. In Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence, Massachusetts; Manchester, New Hampshire; and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, 60% or more of the respective local workforces were directly involved in textile production.[2]

Local industrial structures represent a major factor in influencing community formation and resultant public policy. By focussing on the larger "spindle cities" of New England, researchers have taken certain variables as constants. Susan Hirsch writes, "[t]he relationship between specific individuals, local industries and perceived communities offers the best keys to determining the effects of industrialization on the lifestyle and values of workers and on the class and status structures."[3] Immigrants in nineteenth century spindle cities exhibited high rates of ethnic concentration. Textile centers, dominated by an industry which suffered from wild market swings, evidenced ethnic hostility both on the shop floor and in the streets as thousands of immigrants sought a limited number of jobs. This implies that relations between ethnic groups were always tense. However, the distinctive monoindustrial economic structures of textile centers are not necessarily found in other areas of New England. To suggest that different ethnic groups would naturally be hostile to each other is misleading. Diversified industrial cities in New England have been largely ignored, and the ethnic experience in these areas requires examination.

North American immigrants were forced to contend with an urban society still in flux and to compete for jobs in limited markets with U.S. citizens and earlier arrivals.[4] In monoindustrial centers the dominant industry held a disproportionate influence of public policy. As the most important economic entity, and often the very reason for a city's existence, a dominant company could easily control a city council and mayor for its own purposes. This led to policies which benefitted the corporation and its stock holders, but did little to improve living conditions for ethnic workers, often acting to their detriment and leading to inter-ethnic conflict. Public policy then, by benefitting a corporate interest, served only those involved with the company and not other citizens. Hence, those not connected with the company came to feel slighted and turned inward to compensate for the social inequality forced upon them by the dominant company.

New England's spindle cities have several striking similarities. Most importantly by the end of the 1860s, and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the textile industry, controlled from Boston, dominated these cities. Employment opportunities, river access, and real estate were no longer under local control. Although there were several companies producing textiles, they were all under the aegis of the Boston Associates with interlocking directorates.[5] Industrial needs of absentee owners took precedence over the urban living conditions of the local workforce.[6] Corporations attempted to force municipal development in a direction which

would profit the company by controlling land and water rights. The control of land and water allowed these manufacturers to veto further development in New England's cities as water power could be made unavailable or prohibitively expensive.[7] They also attempted, and often succeeded, in stifling the growth of other industries so they could control the local labor force. As corporations sold their boarding houses, urban conditions quickly deteriorated in these cities.[8] Since these companies encouraged housing speculation, house lots became quite expensive and gave rise to the tenements, sometimes called three-deckers, so prevalent in nineteenth century New England mill towns.

The low pay of the textile factories, coupled with high rents and housing shortages, caused ethnic ghettoes. Limited residential choice forced immigrants to congregate in areas with low land values. The arrival of new immigrants brought ethnic tension from job competition in the mills and wage reductions during recessions. Social inequality forced immigrant groups to turn inward for ethnic autonomy to overcome the inequality in the larger society. The industrial structure, and the public policy advocated by the corporation involved, drove each city's public policy to benefit the dominant economic entity, which was rarely cognizant or concerned with the local situation.

Worcester and Fitchburg, Massachusetts, the focus of this study, are not so easily identified as large mono-industrial centers of textile production. Both are located in central Massachusetts, in nearly the geographical center of New England. Worcester was a diversified industrial center without water power, natural resources or a maritime location, an "improbable industrial city." In fact, until the 1930s, Worcester was the largest manufacturing city in the US not located on a navigable waterway.[9] The city was a national center for the making of boots and shores, machinery, and fabricated metal products. Fitchburg, located thirty miles north of Worcester, is an urban center of lesser importance. Like Worcester, it developed a highly diversified economy with no single industry dominating the city. Fitchburg's industrial base consisted of small locally run woolen and paper mills, chair factories, and machine shops until 1880. After 1880 large cotton mills were built and the paper and machinery making industries greatly expanded. As noted by one contemporary New Englander, "To the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, the industrial cities of Lowell, Lawrence, [and] Fall River . . . owe their advancement and prosperity; while by many and varied mechanical industries, Worcester, . . . Fitchburg, and other enterprising places, have attained the prominence they now hold."[10] Since neither was dependent on a single industry or corporation, a diversity of occupa-

tions were accessible to immigrants. More importantly, since there was no dominant concern, public policy evolved under local control and had a much different effect on the ethnic population.

Worcester began to host immigrants in the late 1820s, who in most cases settled on the east side.[11] By the 1890s Worcester was the eleventh largest shoe making center and fourth largest metal machinery producer in the United States, with a value of manufactured goods made surpassing that of Lowell, or Fall River.[12] Industrial beginnings were small scale. In 1890 there were 996 companies located in Worcester, with an average work force of under twenty-two employees. Even the city's largest employer, the boot and shoe makers, engaged less than one quarter of the total workforce and was the only industrial sector to average over one hundred workers per company.[13] With most endeavors small shops, there was no great corporate grip on development. As a result, there was some scrutiny of street, water, and sewer system improvements so that the public, not private or corporate interests, benefitted. Worcester's efforts toward municipal development were centered on managing anticipated economic growth, but not at the expense of its citizens. This is not to say that influential companies or individuals did not try to influence city government for their own purposes, but with no domineering company, mayors and the city council were able to curtail public support for large developmental schemes that would profit only a few.[14] Worcester offered "special facilities for mechanics with small means to prosecute their labor, to run machines, or carry on processes of their own invention, or to ply trades of which they [were] masters."[15]

Fitchburg, like Worcester, was not dominated by a single corporation. The land for industrial development was locally owned and industrial sites bought in small plots from local owners[16] Paper mills, which needed water for processing and waste disposal as well as power, were in the area as early as 1796 and continued to multiply at a steady pace. Alvah Crocker, a local entrepreneur, bought his first mill site in West Fitchburg in 1826. In 1834 he was forced to buy the entire river valley in the western portion of town so he could build a road. After buying the land he gave the necessary roadway to the city and built other mills along the river in West Fitchburg. In all, seven paper mills were constructed between 1839 and 1864.[17] Crocker "identified his interests with those of Fitchburg. Naturally public minded, he saw that whatever would increase the wealth, the population, or the business facilities of his adopted town, would benefit each individual."[18] Metal work had its beginnings in 1832 when Abel Simonds began manufacturing scythes in West Fitchburg. The company moved to Main Street in 1868 when it expanded into saws and other cutting tools. In 1838 Salmon and John Putnam

founded the J & W Putnam Company to make machine parts. In 1858 they reorganized into the Putnam Machine Company producing special machinists and railroad tools. After 1845, when Fitchburg was connected to Boston via railroad, the machinery industry took off. The shops were producing machine tools, steam engines, railroad tools, machine knives, and screen plates used in paper mills.[19] Although Fitchburg was a small city, its industry did not consist entirely of minor local shops. At various times Fitchburg supplied all the paper for the *New York Times*, the *Saturday Evening Post,* and the *Ladies' Home Journal.* Cyrus McCormick was buying sickles from the Fitchburg company of Aldrich and White starting in the 1840s and continued to do so until the end of the century.[20]

Unlike large corporations local industries would buy from each other, and strengthen the local economy. A local man, D.F. McIntire, established the Fitchburg Lumber Company in 1868. Besides being the owner he acted as the president and manager of the company and employed fifty men within a year. The planer used by this lumber company was made in Fitchburg by the Rollstone Machine Works which employed forty to fifty men. When Crocker and Co. expanded in 1859 the five boilers for the new mill were made by the D.M. Dillon Company of Fitchburg and the paper machines by the Union Machine Company of the same city. The building of this mill also stimulated the city's construction trades. The machinery shops further developed specialized items such as automatic shut off steam engines and special drill rigs used to drill tunnels.[21]

Since Fitchburg was not dominated by a single industry or corporation, local policy sought to advance the interests of the city and not those of a particular interest group. In 1870 the issue of quality drinking water was a major item. Some industrialists in the city wanted systems instituted which would benefit them over others. The final decision by the city council created a highly equitable and inexpensive system of holding ponds to collect rain water, something that had already been done in Worcester. During an 1873 controversy concerning the local sewerage system, city council member E.P. Lang stated "the Nashua River must be used to rid the city of its sewerage. If the paper or woolen mills complain because the sewers empty into the Nashua River, they must seek redress in the courts."[22] Within weeks a more healthy system of underground piping using water from the river was devised.[23] Some of the first new lines were laid in areas densely populated by immigrants from Ireland and Quebec, and not in the fashionable districts which housed the well-to-do native population.

By 1875 several precedents had been set. First local industrialists reinvested in the area. Heywood's chair factory expanded, and other companies retooled, using local suppliers and labor. Second, there

was also a loyalty of worker to company which the employer reciprocated. In May of 1873, only months before the "Panic of 1873," Putnam Machine Co. employed 315 men, many of whom had been with the company over twenty-five years. By November, when the effects of the panic first touched Fitchburg, Putnam had lost fifteen men through normal attrition, and even though business was slowing, did not cut its workforce, although it did go to an eight hour day for a few weeks. In fact no company in Fitchburg laid off employees in the fall of 1873 when companies in New York fired 300 workers. The city continued to lay new sewer lines in different areas of the city.[24] Finally, residence in Firchburg was not based on ethnicity, but rather on occupation. There was more occupational segregation than ethnic segregation.[25] These patterns led to greater integration in a number of activities.

This type of economic development and the accompanying public policy led to significantly altered relations between the native population and immigrants as well as between members of different ethnic groups. In Fitchburg immigrants from Ireland and Quebec played on the same baseball teams with long time residents of the city. There were also other important types of cooperation.

Brought in to work on railroad construction, Irish, and other Roman Catholics, soon wanted mass celebrated. The first substantiated report of Catholic mass being said in the city was in 1845 by a Fr. Monahan. Fr. Monahan (Irish) and Fr. Zepherin Leveque (from Quebec) attended to the area's Catholics. These two priests were essentially itinerant, going from town to town administering to a widely dispersed congregation.[26] St. Bernard's Church was planned in the late 1840s with subscriptions taken in the early 1850s. This church, which began as the "Shanty Cathedral," was, and still is, predominantly Irish, although some French such as Peter Beaulieu and his son Peter, Jr. were both listed as early contributors.[27] When the cornerstone of the new church was laid in the late 1850s it was "blessed by Rev. M.W. Gibson (the area missionary), Rev. Messrs. LeClerc of Canada, J. Boyce of Worcester, O'Brian and Williams of Boston."[28] In Fitchburg the French and Irish clergy as well as the populace cooperated to establish the first Catholic Church in the city. Neither group had been favored in city improvements, hence neither felt disadvantaged.

By the 1870s the French-Canadians of Fitchburg desired their own parish. Although few in number, these people were of sufficient means to support a separate parish. The Irish opposed this new parish as they believed that it would be unable to support itself. Yet in 1876 the French organized Immaculate Conception Church with a French-speaking Irish priest officiating until 1877 when Fr. Clovis Boudouin arrived. Although organized as a separate parish, Immaculate Conception held masses in the basement of St. Bernard's until a new

church could be built. Until the new edifice was completed Fr. Boudouin conducted all business from St. Bernard's and recorded baptisms and marriages there.[29]

West Fitchburg's Catholic community composed of French and Irish, some distance away, had difficulty getting to church, particularly in the winter months, and asked for a church of their own. The Archbishop of Boston bought land in West Fitchburg on Mt. Vernon Street to establish Sacred Heart parish in 1878. The church and school building were completed the following year and was a mixed Irish-French parish. A new parish, St. Joseph's, entirely French-Canadian, was formed in 1890 and church construction began in that year on land donated by John Daniels. By the end of the year the basement was completed and masses were being celebrated. The following year the school was completed. The church and rectory were fully done in 1900.[30]

In many immigrant destination the building of the parish school was often postponed several years, yet in Fitchburg they began immediately. This proved to be a problem in later years. By the 1890s the Fitchburg school board demanded public school attendance for all children in the city. Frank Roberge, enrolled his daughter in St. Joseph's school and refused to comply with the board's wishes. He was brought to court, found guilty of truancy and fined. The pastor of St. Joseph's hired lawyers and appealed the case in Superior Court where the conviction was upheld in 1892. The priest immediately appealed to the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The high court overturned the earlier decision and stated the parochial schools could operate if they taught the subjects mandated by law. After this decision, proceedings against two other Fitchburg men for the same charge were dropped. At the turn of the century all the Catholic parish schools in Fitchburg were certified by the state.[31]

The first lasting French-Canadian society in Fitchburg was the Saint Jean-Baptiste Society formed in 1869. With a chapter in nearly every city with French-Canadians, this society was one of the most important institutions formed by this ethnic group, and essential for affirming the French-Canadian identity. The membership in many places was heavily laden with professionals such as physicians, lawyers, writers, and numerous well-to-do French-Canadians such as grocers.[32] In the spindle cities this elite dominated the Franco-American institutional life.[33]

Unlike Lowell, Manchester, or other spindle cities, the Saint Jean-Baptiste Society of Fitchburg was not elitist. The 1873 president, Paralait Allen, was a twenty-seven year old painter. The secretary was a physician, Dr. J.E. Gendron, but the treasurer was J. E. Pereault, a moulder. Ward officers included a forty-four year old machinist, a woolen mill operative of twenty-seven, and a twenty-five year old laborer. The majority of the society's membership were young

working men. While they lived in various sections of Fitchburg, these men established a single strong national society.[34]

Although there was a trend for democratic ethnic solidarity among French-Canadians in Fitchburg, this issue did not over-shadow the need for cooperation between other ethnic groups. The Saint Jean-Baptiste Society attended the Catholic fair given by the Irish of St. Bernard's en masse in 1873. In 1880 the mixed parish of Sacred Heart collected $225 for the relief of Ireland's poor.[35] The economic welfare of the city's working-class ethnic population may have encouraged participation by all groups.[36] The working class membership of societies coupled with no competition on the shop floor encouraged cooperation unlike the elitist led institutions in the spindle cities which tended to focus inwards. By the end of the 1880s the French community was becoming incorporated into the larger community of the city. The Ste-Anne in Aid Society gave a party at city hall to raise funds in 1889. The "old folks" wore traditional Canadian costumes to liven the festivities, while the Irish women of the city helped during the party. Seven hundred people were present for the festivities.[37] Fitchburg did not have ethnic turf marked out as did other cities with large numbers of immigrants. The apparent lack of hostility in Fitchburg may be due to dispersed ethnic residential patterns and the absence of job competition in a single industrial sector.

Fraternal societies in Worcester started to finance a church. Initially established in 1853, Worcester's Saint Jean-Baptiste Society was specifically created to build a church. This chapter had fifty members. This group was short lived, experienced a quiet death in 1855, and reappeared in 1868.[38]

When the society reemerged in 1868, the officers were representative of the working class. Although the president was a doctor, the vice president was Joseph Marchessault, a thirty-two year old black-smith. The secretaries included a shoemaker, an armorer, and a blacksmith. By 1871 doctors and lawyers were absent from the list of officers in this organization. The president, mason P.L. Paquette, remained active in the society's affairs for many years. Joseph Marchessault continued as the vice president, and other officers included shoemakers, car builders, and a printer. Broad, community-wide involvement in this society exemplified the group's 1874 trip to Montreal for Saint-Jean-Baptiste day. Members filled thirteen railroad cars on the Canada bound train.[39]

This city also saw substantial cooperation between ethnic groups in institutional life. The Irish supported the orphanage established by French nuns, since children of both nationalities received help from the nuns. Irish pastors helped to raise funds to support the expansion of the nuns' services. Even the small Armenian commu-

nity forming in the 1890s gave food to the orphanage. The French were also active in the predominantly Irish organization, The Ancient Order of Foresters. This benevolent association helped sick or unemployed workingmen who were members. Some French-Canadians, like J. Vaudriel, a factory foreman, were involved with the Foresters early in the 1880s, becoming dues paying members. Vaudriel may have joined the Irish chapter, since as a foreman, he was acquainted with these men from experience at work. The first French-Canadian chapter, Cour L.J. Papineau, formed in 1893; other French chapters were formed in 1896 and 1902. The groups took their rules and organization from their Irish predecessors, and the state-wide hierarchy, controlled by the Irish, approved their charters. In spite of the development of French chapters, French-Canadians still maintained a small presence in the older Irish chapters. This may be due to accruing benefits which occurred as length of membership in a chapter increased. In this case and others, ethnicity was not the single driving force in institutional affiliation.[40]

Naturalization clubs were another important French-Canadian social institution in Worcester. These clubs were established to increase the political strength of French-Canadians and to dispel the image of industrial interlopers taking work away from Americans.[41] The first French-Canadian naturalization club in the city was established in 1874, the year they were first encouraged by the national French-Canadian convention. This club started in Ward 3 and began with 107 members. In its first year it naturalized seventy-two French-Canadians. To join, those applying had to be accepted by a majority of the regularly attending members. New chapters formed in Wards 4 and 5 in 1886 and Ward 6 in 1887. The church supported these societies as the curé of Notre-Dame was the president of the Ward 3 club in 1886. Two years later he was still listed as the president, although it was now an honorary post. Like the membership of other societies, membership in these naturalization clubs cut across class lines, and working-class leadership was pronounced. There was but a single physician among the officers and executive councils of these clubs in 1890. Over 60 percent of the officers and committee members came from the working-class. Shoemakers, carpenters and blacksmiths comprised nearly one half of these upper level officials. Among these men was J.G. Vaudriel, Secretary of the Ward Three Club and president of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste-Society in 1890. At a special naturalization session in 1889, ten French, seven Irish, three German, three Swedes, and two English were sworn in. [42]

The Foresters also formed Canadian chapters in Manchester, NH, although several years later than Worcester. The paternalistic nature of Amoskeag may have retarded the growth of this working man's relief group. Additionally, while the Worcester chapters were admin-

istered out of Boston by the Irish, Manchester's Ordre des Forestiers Independents Cour Lafontaine, established in 1898, was part of the Canadian order based in Ottawa. The structure of Manchester's French-Canadian community may have made it more desirable to affiliate with an Anglo-Canadian group rather than with Irish-Americans. Poorly paid mail operatives, not experiencing the economic success of workers in Fitchburg and Worcester, may have felt less allegiance to societies run by other ethnic groups in the United States.

The economic success of immigrants in Fitchburg and Worcester was due to the economic structure of these cities. This structure, based on an articulated economy, provided a variety of jobs for immigrants through industrial diversity. The variety of available jobs eliminated, to some extent, ethnic competition on the shop floor as ethnic populations sought work in different economic activities.

In Fitchburg and Worcester, Irish and French supported each other's institutions without rancor, unlike the major textile centers, where the influence of the dominant company swayed public policy and forced ethnic groups to contend for limited numbers of jobs. Importantly, the Irish and French clergy supported the other's bazaars and church functions.[43] The economic structure of Fitchburg and Worcester, by creating an atmosphere fostering interaction, may not have accelerated assimilation, but influenced the acceptance of ethnic differences and minimized tension between groups.

Public policy in Fitchburg and Worcester was affected by economic structure. In the textile centers public policy served corporate interests and the wealthy native born population and ignored the ethnic working class. Unlike New England's textile centers, local control of public policy in Fitchburg and Worcester served the public and not interests outside of the city. Additionally, the diversified economies of these two cities did not allow a single local industrial concern to dominate public policy formulation and implementation.

The ethnic experience in New England's mill towns was shaped by both economic structure and public policy. The more well known experience of Lowell, Fall River, and other nineteenth century textile cities is well documented: ethnic tension, lack of access to public services, and ethnic ghettoes. Cities of this type had similar and distinct economic structures with public policy controlled by external interests. Fitchburg and Worcester had economies and policies controlled by local interests who saw the ethnic working-class as valued members of society. Public policy was led in directions quite different from the corporately controlled textile centers. City improvements benefited the ethnic working-class and the general population, not just corporate interests. Public policy was aimed at

managing future growth as well as current problems. There was, in turn, greater cooperation between ethnic groups in many respects.

The economic structure of a given locality, by influencing the direction of public policy, creates a new venue for the ethnic population. Less direct economic dominance by a single entity leads to decreased competition between ethnic groups. The ethnic community, while becoming a strong influence in the life of its members, focuses less inwardly as a response to perceived social inequality, and seeks a greater measure of accommodation with the larger community and with other ethnic groups. In an atmosphere where ethnic groups are not looked down on, but are valued members of the community, each community will seek to retain its customs, traditions, language, and religion, but will not seek to further its own ends over those of other extractions. Because the policy undertaken by the city did not favor any one group cooperation, not contention, became the accepted norm.

NOTES

[1] Michael Guignard, *La Foi-la langue-la culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine* (Privately Printed, 1984).

[2] *Eleventh Census of the United States*, 1890.

[3] Susan Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), xvii.

[4] Harold Abramson, *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), 35; Ralph D. Viscero, *The French-Canadian Immigration to New England: A Geographical Perspective* (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 295.

[5] Robert F. Dalzell, *The Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 45, 48-49, 69, 119-22.

[6] John Cooledge, *Mill and Mansion* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1942), 24; *Worcester Daily Spy,* 3 January 1889.

[7] Peter Haebler, *Habitants in Holyoke* (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1976), 14.

[8] Frances H. Early, *French-Canadian Beginnings in an American Community, Lowell Massachusetts, 1868-1886* (Ph.D. diss., Concordia Univer-

sity, 1979), 32, 38; Tamara Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 20, 13-14; James P. Harlan, *The Working Population of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1840-1886* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 14-15; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufacturers in the United Sates, 1860-1914,* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute, 1928), 26.

9 François Weil. *Les Franco-Américans* (Paris: Berlin, 1989), 31:Albert Farnsworth and George O'Flynn, *The Story of Worcester* (Worcester, MA: Davis Press, 1934), 129.

10 Elias Nason, *A Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1890), 29-30.

11Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Robert Roberge, *The Three-Decker: Structural Correlate of Worcester's Industrial Revolution* (MA thesis, Clark University, 1965); Edwin T. Weiss, *Patterns and Process of High Value Residential Districts: The Case of Worcester 1713-1970* (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1973).

12*Eleventh Census of the United States,* 1890.

13*Eleventh Census of the United States.* The actual number of boot and shoe workers per company averaged 101.

14 Roberge, 1965, 18: Robert J. Kolesar, "The Politics of Development: Worcester, Massachusetts in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 16, 1 (November 1989): 3-28.

15*History of Worcester County,* 1879, (Boston: C.F. Jewett, 1879), 658.

16 Pratt Papers, Letter #5 held in the Willis Room of the Fitchburg Public Library, Fitchburg, MA.

17William Bond Wheelwright and Sumner Kean, *The Lengthened Shadow of One Man* (Fitchburg, MA: Privately Printed, 1957), 7-8, 21. Crocker's purchase of river valley land is an obvious exception to the small purchases of other local industrialists.

18*History of Worcester County,* Vol. 2, 500.

19Peter B. Doeringer, David G. Terkla, and Gregory C. Topakian, *Invisible Factors in Local Economic Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 35-36; Wheelwright and Kean, 41; Simonds

Manufacturing Company. *Seventy-Five Years of Business Progress and Industrial Advance, 1832-1907* (Cambridge, MA: Privately Printed, 1907), 2; Atherton P. Mason, "Fitchburg in 1885" *Bay State Monthly*, (January 1885): 341-358; Nason, 308; "Daniel Simonds Memorial Address by Rev. Edward B. Saunders to the Fitchburg Historical Society April 20, 1914", *Proceedings of the Fitchburg Historical Society* 5 (1914): 157-166.

[20]Ivan Sandrof, *Massachusetts Towns: An 1840 View* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishers, 1963), 40; Simonds Manufacturing Company Account Book, 1834-1867, unpaginated, archives of Simonds Manufacturing Company, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production 1800-1932: The Development oaf Manufacturing Technology in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 157.

[21]Wheelwright and Kean, 41; Mason, 1885, 343; Carol D. Wright, *Census of Massachusetts* 1875, Vol. 2, 764-765; Wright, *Census of Massachusetts 1885*, Vol. 2, 434-38; *Fitchburg Sentinel*, 24 April 1869, 16 September 1889.

[22]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 15 May 1873.

[23]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 14 May 1870, 23 May 1873, 16 June 1873; Pratt Papers, Letter #5.

[24]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 18 August 1868, 19 May 1873, 23 May 1873, 16 June 1873 29 October 1873, 4 November 1873, 13 November 1873.

[25]See Robert Lewis, "The Segregated City: Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montréal, 1861-1901," *Journal of Urban History* 17, 2 (February 1991): 123-152; John T. Cumbler, *Working Class Community in Industrial American: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); and Stephanie Greenberg, "Industrial Location and Residential Patterns in an Industrializing City: Philadelphia, 1880," in Theodore Herschberg, ed. *Philadelphia: Work, Space , Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). This view has been strengthened by works on Toronto, Hamilton, Montréal, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.

[26]*100th Anniversary of Saint Bernard's Church, 1845-1945*, 11, 13; M.M.S. Moriarty, *Catholicity in Fitchburg* (Boston: Cushman, Keating & Co., 1889), 6-10; Joseph Emile Plante, *La Paroisse St-Joseph, Historique 1890-1040* (Fitchburg, MA: Cleghorn Courier, 1940), 3; William

Walkovich-Valkavious, *Immigrants and Yankees* (West Groton, MA: St. James Church, 1981), 109.

[27]*100th Anniversary of Saint Bernard's Church, 1845-1945.*

[28]Moriarty, 51.

[29]Moriarty, 51, 77; Plante, 3; Doris Kirkpatrick, *Around the World in Fitchburg* (Fitchburg, MA: Privately printed, 1957), 189.

[30]*St. Joseph Diamond Jubilee Program* (1965), 1; Kirkpatrick, 189-90; St. Joseph's Register of Baptisms, 1890-1; St. Joseph's Register of Marriages, 1890-99. These registers show that many of the people in this parish were young and newly arrived. Their parents were often noted as being from New Brunswick or Quebec.

[31]Fitchburg *Sentinel* 22 June 1893. Weil, 147-150, notes that similar problems occurred earlier in Manchester and Holyoke.

[32]Kirkpatrick, 191; Weil, 148. For members of the various Saint Jean-Baptiste societies, see Félix Gatineau, comp., *Historique des conventions générales des Canadiens-Française aux Etats-Unis, 1865-1901* (Woonsocket: L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amérique, 1927), 42, 234-5, 257, 498; *Société Nationale Canadienne-Française* (St-Jean-Baptiste de Paris, 1887), 4-7; T.A. Chadonnet, *Notre-Dame-des-Canadiens et les Canadiens aux Etats-Unis* (Montréal: Desbarets, 1872), 1.

[33]Pierre Anctil, *Aspects of Class Ideology in a New England Ethnic Minority: The Franco-Americans of Woonsocket, R.I. (1865-1929)* (Ph.D. diss., New School for Social Research, 1980); Anctil, "Brokers of Ethnic Identity: The Franco-American Petty Bourgeoisie of Woonsocket, Rhode Island," *QuebecStudies* 12 (Spring/Summer 1991): 33-48; Gary Gerstle, *Working Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), all document the elite dominance of Franco institutions.

[34]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 11 August 1873; *Fitchburg City Directory* 1873; US. Manuscript Census, 1880, 1890.

[35]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 1 January, 29 January, 9 February, 10 February, 3 April 1880.

[36]*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 11 October 1873, 9 February 1875; *Worcester Aegis and Gazette*, 2 May 1874.

[37]*Fitchburg Sentinel,* 1 March 1889, 25 March 1889, 2 July 1889; *Fitchburg City Directory* 1888; E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Québec: N.S. Hardy, 1891), 306-07.

[38]A.H. Bélanger, *Guide Franco-Américain des Etats de la Nouvelle Angleterre* (Fall River, MA: Bélanger, 1916), 322; Chandonnet, *Notre-Dame-des-Canadiens,* 1-2, 7, 19, 27, 95-6, 98; Gatineau, *Historique des Conventions,* 42.

[39]Chandonnet, 1, 97-98; US Manuscript Census 1850, 1860; *Worcester City Directory* 1865, 1870, 1875; *Massachusetts Spy,* 26 June 1874.

[40]Sister Marie-Michel-Archange, *By This Sign You Will Live* (Baie-Saint-Paul, Québec: Little Franciscans of Mary, 1955), 36, 97, 347; *Worcester City Directory* 1890; *Cour L. J. M Papineau, Ancien Ordre des Forestiers d'Amérique,* Worcester (1890); *Cour Notre Dame #140 de l'Ordre des Forestiers Catholique* (1902); *Court Palestine #7 Order of Foresters,* Worcester (1880); *Court Bay State #1 Order of Foresters,* Worcester (1878).

[41]Gatineau, 307.

[42]Gatineau, 307; *Worcester Daily Telegram,* 27 November 1889; *Club de Naturalisation du Quartier Trois* (Worcester, 1886); *Club de Naturalisation du Quartier Quatre* (Worcester, 1900); *Club de Naturalisation des Quatiers Quatre et Cinq* (Worcester, 1902); *Le Worcester Canadien* 199-204; *Worcester City Directory* 1885, 1890, 1895.

[43]Weil, 1989, notes that the clergy in large French-Canadian centers often fueled ethnic tension. This was not the case in Fitchburg and Worcester.