

Garner, John S. *The Model Company Town: Urban Design Through Private Enterprise in Nineteenth-Century New England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984. Pp. xiv 288. Maps, illustrations, charts, appendixes, notes, bibliography, and index. \$22.50

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value to any student of immigration who cannot claim Bodnar's mastery of the literature.

As a study in comparative ethnic history, *The Transplanted* is a useful antidote to the provincialism that is almost endemic to immigrant studies and that tends to obscure the larger picture. For example, Bodnar demonstrates how groups differed in their premigration experience, and argues that this was consequential for their rates and patterns of socioeconomic mobility in America:

To a large extent what you were in the homeland would play an important role in determining what you would become in the structure of industrial capitalism, a point which suggests that inequality within and among immigrant groups often originated not from a vague American system of social mobility or nebulous cultural variables but from an inherited status. Success depended less upon the fact that you were a Jew, an Italian, or a German and more upon where your structural origins were in the pre-migration homelands of Jews, Italians, or Germans. (p. 142)

Such insights vindicate a comparative approach to immigrant history. They are especially instructive for sociologists who act as though ethnic history began at Ellis Island, but also for historians who still argue the importance of "nebulous cultural variables," forgetting the historical, social, and economic context in which these cultural variables are rooted.

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Garner, John S. *The Model Company Town: Urban Design Through Private Enterprise in Nineteenth-Century New England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984. Pp. xiv 288. Maps, illustrations, charts, appendixes, notes, bibliography, and index. \$22.50.

In this study of the development of single industry towns in nineteenth-century New England, John S. Garner takes issue with the commonly held view of company towns as grim, oppressive bastions of capitalist power. The accepted version of the squalidness of factory town design is successfully challenged in Garner's argument that in several instances, particularly Hopedale, Massachusetts, the company town was well designed and superior to the typical worker housing found in big-city slums, and in the privately developed and unplanned villages and towns that sprang up around industrial sites in the early nineteenth century. In fact the company town was a purposeful reaction to the squalid image of industrial life.

Garner divides *The Model Company Town* into two sections. The first gives an encompassing description of what he terms nation-wide examples of or derivations of the "Model Company Town." Four New England company towns, one each in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, and Rhode Island, are compared and their common features are described with regard to general layout, the issue of paternalism, and housing. In these towns the company policy was to attract and to keep reliable, highly skilled workers by offering better living conditions than at other industrial sites. The presence of the mill owner as a town resident also contributed to a better environment. Professional town planners were hired to plan the landscape and the well-constructed houses and to minimize crowding. Excellent services, including clean water, roads, good schools, and libraries, were also provided.

Garner's descriptions or definitions of industrial satellite towns, government towns (especially Greenbelt and TVA communities), and new towns are accurate and useful to the urban historian or anyone interested in the history of town planning. Yet the author does not offer any new information in these definitions and fails to discuss Hopedale in relation to any of them. While Garner's intention is to avoid confusion for the reader among the various types of settlements, these definitions do not necessarily pertain to nineteenth century planned single-industry communities. Thus, the organizational structure of the work — creates rather than prevents confusion.

The second part of the book focuses specifically on the company town of Hopedale, Massachusetts, noted for its "significant achievement in industrial organization, housing, and site development." Hopedale was founded in 1842 as a religious commune and purchased in 1856 by Ebenezer and George Draper, manufacturers of textile machinery. The Drapers successfully operated it as a company town for the next one hundred years. Garner provides a rich pictorial and documentary record of the Draper firm and the community of Hopedale. His chapter on paternalism is especially good. He provides an excellent definition of this paternalism by stating that it encompassed "a pervasive evangelism, a Protestant work ethic, and a belief in the principle of noblesse oblige." This paternalism led employers to exercise responsibilities not only in the internal affairs of the companies but in external matters (i.e. the living conditions of their employees) as well. While Garner maintains that a prime motivation of this paternalism was to provide positive living conditions in order to attract better workers, it also contributed to the workers' sense of pride in their company and in their company's product as well as to a resignation to low wages and limited occupational mobility.

Garner's ultimate argument seems to be that model company towns demonstrated a number of successes. These include a demonstration that the spatial design and architectural standards of a community could significantly influence

the behaviour and attitudes of the town's residents. Here Garner provides an optimistic prediction for city and town planners in that they can make a significant social contribution to urban life by proper site development. Yet he also demonstrates that the ability to influence has not always elicited social attributes and values which have been totally beneficial to city and town dwellers. But in the end, Garner does demonstrate how the model company town has contributed to a greater understanding of how humane town planning and environmental management can be achieved.

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Tucker, Barbara M. *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. Pp. 268. Illustrations, notes and index. \$29.95.

For the years between 1790 and 1860, New England has come to be a laboratory for case studies investigating antebellum industrialism. In her study, *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790-1860*, Barbara Tucker has joined Jonathan Prude and others in analyzing the transition of the region from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial. Both Prude and Tucker focus on the influence of Samuel Slater and the impact of the factory system upon the older farm oriented lifestyle. While Prude argues that the first factory workers were hostile to the workplace demands of the factory system, resisting innovation and imposing rural attitudes whenever possible upon reluctant managers, Tucker depicts Slater's successful efforts to retain the practices and values of pre-factory culture amid rapid technological and economic changes.

In Part I Tucker examines early British textile manufacturing and Slater's attempt to introduce aspects of it into Rhode Island and Massachusetts, his troubled partnership with William Almy and Moses Brown as well as his later independent entrepreneurial efforts. This examination contains some enlightening observations on the dominance of family and religious connections of the general merchant, the nature of mercantile business practices and internal management arrangements, the importance of the putting-out system and of the Brown family's widespread commercial connections, the emergence of the factory system during the War of 1812 and English efforts to regain their American markets at the war's end, the system of pauper apprenticeship, and the shift to child contract workers. Tucker concludes in Part I that

What emerged by 1800 was a factory system uniquely American, an extension of the values, institutions, and ideas present in New England society. And a chief char-

acteristic of this system was patriarchy. It could be observed in the family firm, where kin both owned and managed the business, and in the family system of labor that emerged in the factories. All rested firmly upon traditional, eighteenth-century familial values. Slater realized the strength of patriarchy in America and organized his factory system to accommodate it. (p. 86)

In Part II Tucker delineates a whole sequence of developments which contradicts our picture of the traditional mill village and its "dark satanic mills." Most important, Slater involved the entire family in his factory operations by duplicating the old household production unit. The wife still laboured in the home, the children, placed there by the head of the household, tended mill machinery, and the father continued to allocate jobs and dispense discipline even if he laboured outside the mill in nearby fields or as a construction worker or teamster. The Slater mills duplicated the pre-factory family hierarchy thus maintaining and even strengthening patriarchy. Also effecting the peaceful transition from agricultural to industrial life were Slater's factory villages, with Webster, Massachusetts, in particular, being a showcase. These communities preserved such links with New England's colonial past as the open-field village pattern, single-family dwellings, the church, and the town meeting, thus easing even more the transition to industrialism.

In Part III, Tucker explains that "In the long run the benign, paternalistic structure of New England society was unable effectively to assimilate massive economic change." Even before Slater's sons assumed power, he began to assume parental responsibilities, assign children to certain work, discipline them, and take charge of their moral and educational training in his Sunday School which inculcated order and authority. "Increased competition, the growth of the market economy, the ready availability of new and inexpensive sources of labor, and the ascension of Slater's sons to power in the family firm caused this fragile social structure to disintegrate," Tucker concludes. Slater's practices may be seen as bridging the pre-factory and factory society, even though they lasted barely one generation before conflict "based on gender, family, and religion divided the residents of Slater's industrial communities."

This study of the complex social relationships and the role of traditional culture in shaping the new republic's first factories is presented in colourful detail and based on scrupulous historical scholarship. Tucker commands a wide range of manuscripts and secondary works and uses tables, maps, and drawings effectively to enlighten and enliven her work. Economic and social historians as well as students of New England will benefit from this excellent study.

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